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

Also, a couple of questions for you.

Quotation marks for chapter and article titles. APA style? Your Springer 2002 Enduring Issues book has articles in “” while your 2009 Nursing Policy Research has no “ “. Which do you prefer?

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

(The Times, 1869, September 16).

And in the References:

The Times (1869, September 16). The Prudhoe Convalescent Home. p. 10C.


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

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

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

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

Proposed revision of Part 2:

Nightingale’s early writing:

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

Access to care for the poorest:

Brief on workhouse infirmaries, 1867

Tribute to Agnes Jones, workhouse matron, 1868

Fundraising for district nursing, 1876

Nightingale’s last writing on nursing and hospitals

Hospitals and Patients, 1880

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

Sick Nursing and Health Nursing, Chicago World Fair, 1893

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

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

County Record Offices, 1574 pages
1 Upper Harley St
1 June 1854

Dearest

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

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

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

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

My own feeling, however, is that it is best not to mix up this question of the Nurses with that of Dr. Kirkes — The
latter will not thank
you for it - & it will do
his Election no good to have it mixed up with the general question of the glaring abuses of Hospitals "en masse" - 
I have seen one of the most useful and independent officials of St. B’s today - but he retracted almost all that he has ever said before, through fear of its being made use of - He would only say that the subject of the Nurses required a 

thoro’ systematic revolution, & that it was no use correcting (or enlarging upon) details. 
With regard to these details, I find some things amended since two years ago, entirely thro’ this Mr. Bentley’s influence - The day= nurses still sleep in the wooden cages - but the night=nurses have rooms allotted to them to sleep in in the day at the top of the house. The Nurses are still as
disrespectable as ever - 
The Sisters are only 
respectable, not 
religious - Though there 
are now 4 Chaplains, 
the patients are not 
individually visited. The 
Chaplain reads prayers 
between the 2 wards, 
which is mere mockery. 
Every time a Patient 
wishes to be visited 
individually, he is obliged 
to send down a printed 
Card by the Sister to 
the Chaplain - called 
the “Chaplain’s Card”.

And it used to be 
constantly my lot to 
hear the jubilation of 
the R. Catholic & the 
Dissenter Patients, “Look at our 
Priest”, or “at our Minister”. 
contrasting his zeal with 
the Ch. of England’s - 
The “dressers” do not 
give any fee to the 
Hospital, but to the 
Surgeon, whose pupils 
they are - & who 
recommends them every 
year to the Board, 
which nominates them
With the present staff
of which
If you chose to separate
the two subjects of the
Nurses & Dr. Kirkes,
I would try & see Mr.
Bentley & different
people belonging to St.
B’s promiscuously &
ascertain what I could —
But this the short
time does not allow —
And I believe it quite/almost
useless to see people
officially, because they
ask What use are
you going to make of this,

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

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

will influence the
Election of Dr. Kirkes —
Will you thank Mr.
A’ Court for his note
& his tidings of you &
the Bab & believe me
ever, dearest, yours

F.N. [end 12:93]
The organization of the Sanitary service, (not one step in which has yet been taken,) will consist of

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

7. Keeping Sanitary books & records -

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

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

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

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

He writes:-

"Baring has stopped all ventilation, till "the grates have had "another year’s trial. "It is just what I
“feel will happen as
“soon as Ld Herbert
“goes. All these
“Sanitary improvements
“are only skin deep
“- and the whole
“thing will revert
“to what it was
“before”.

This is exactly
my own opinion -
But what I
want to do now is
to get back our
£10,000 in the
Estimates (taken for
ventilation) or whatever
the sum is -
If P Herbert
would answer the
Minute in this way: -
- take the £10,000
for ventilating shafts
& inlets - & wait the
result of the trials
with the altered grates
before putting in any
more -
This is the only
common sense. What
Baring says, & Galton,
(if he did say it), is
not common sense
ever yours F.N.
If P Herbert should wish to act upon the idea of separating the ventilation from the grates, - the rationale of the thing is this: -

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

---

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

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

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

Why give the men Typhus in the summer because they might
catch cold at Christmas?

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

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

It is true that, in summer, when there is no fire, the grate inlet will supply air, but it is not requisite for this, because the shafts & inlets ought to give enough.

The use of the grate is to warm part of the incoming air in very cold weather, allowing the ventilation to go on without interruption.

But why, because partially warmed incoming air is good in a very severe winter - are we to have no air all the year? for that part of the ventilating apparatus which is adapted for winter? F.N. [end 16:400]
I loved him. No one ever loved him and served him as I did. Others loved him for himself, but I knew him & loved him for the sake of God and mankind. After you, no one can mourn him as I do. I feel as you do that no one can know the greatness of your loss. There is no comfort but to know how noble he was, how you and he were married for eternity, how the worst that can happen to you is to be separated for a few years.

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

F.N.

Aug 3/61
initialed letter fragment, 1f, pen 2057/F4/65 [8:684]

... returned with many many thanks.
    I thought of you on your wedding day & all day.
    As for me, he takes my life with him - My work, the object of my life, the means to do it, all in one, depart with him.

    F.N.
    Aug 15/61

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

    Hampstead NW
    Aug 17/61

Dearest
    I enclose exactly what I believe to have been his “wishes” as to what was “to be Galton’s position in the Office” - quoting, as far as I could, his own words.
    The P.S. is not essential - tho’ it would make it more complete.
The reason why I could not answer yesterday is that I had to send for some papers concerning it. I hope this is not too late for you.

The reign of intelligence is gone at the War Office. The reign of muffiness has begun - Lord de Grey is the only one (who can) who wishes to carry out his plans -

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

The "Royal boy", as you used to call him, appears to have forgotten already the lessons he had been so wisely taught. Lord de Grey stands out nobly - And, as in this, so in other things, is active & obstinate in following up his wishes.

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

God bless you ever yours
F.N.
Hampstead NW
Aug 29/61

Dearest,

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

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

Two things which
lay at his heart
were: (I speak
now merely of small
administrative things:)

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

He considered our
soldiers as his country=
men, having home=ly/like
English feelings - & that
they would seek their
homes, if he did
not find them for
the men, in the worst of places.
You know that one of his last official acts was to call together the Commn on Soldiers’ Dayrooms & Institutes - that the Resolutions were sent to him, as soon as they were drawn up & before the Report was signed & that, no sooner were these Resolutions sent in, than he immediately instructed Capt. Jackson, R.A. (who had had successful experience in founding Soldiers’ “Homes” at Gibraltar) to go to Aldershot & report to him on the facilities of forming Soldiers’ “Homes” (or Institutes) there immediately.

Had he lived, I am certain (and I believe you are too,) that he would
immediately have given effect to Capt. Jackson’s Report, on forming a “Home” at Aldershot in the first place - He attached particular importance to Aldershot, as you know, on account of the terrible immorality of the men there.
If you could say anything most strong to Lord De Grey, from your own knowledge of his wishes, greater than mine - I am sure it would be most true, as to his intention with regard to the Aldershot plan - And it would be one of the best tributes to his memory - to him who was always thinking how to improve the soldier, body & mind.
The Report of the Commn on Day Rooms went in yesterday -
Capt. Jackson’s Report goes in, this week, as to Aldershot.
And he had been farther instructed to go to Portsmouth about a “Home” for the Garrison there. And he has similarly reported as to its great facility.
Portsmouth, I expect, will be done. For it entails hardly any expence.
But Aldershot
will not, without a helping hand from those who loved him - For it will be more expensive.
2. The success of the new “General Hospital” arrangement at Woolwich - begun the very day of his death - to which he looked as a school for training Officers for “General Hospital” service, wherever required
in time of war - in order to prevent the recurrence of the Scutari catastrophe -

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

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

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

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

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

In the very letter, June 7, which told me of his intended resignation; - in letters & conversations before & since, - he always spoke of Lord de Grey as looking to him to re-organize the office. I can scarcely bear to recall what he said & wrote, except to carry out his wish. He said, “De Grey will do it better than I.” - and “De Grey understands it better than I.” He even spoke & wrote of resigning, as if it were to open the way for Lord de Grey to carry
out that plan of “re-organization” of the Office, dated Jan 1, 1861 - in Ld de Grey’s writing - & which he showed me on Jan 9, 1861.
You will know better than I whether to recall these things to Ld de Grey - whether it would be well to tell him how he looked to him only, - to do this -

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

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

It is hard to say, His will be done.

-----

Let me say (for you alone) that Lord de Grey is working nobly to follow in his steps. What Ld de Grey’s weight is I do not know - But at all events he spares no work - On one occasion when the “Royal boy” came in to C. Lewis’s room to try to upset some= thing which our master had done,
(it was the new Woolwich Hospital) Lord de Grey, who happened to be in the room: (every thing happens there now, is not systematically done, under the new reign:) said "Sir, it is impossible: Lord Herbert decided it & the Ho: of C. voted it" and so silenced them both - And many similar assertions of our master’s decisions I have heard of Lord de Grey making -  

God bless you - ever yours  

F.N. 

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

32 South St  
London W  
Dec 12/61  

Dearest I send you a copy of Dr. Farr’s paper, read at Manchester before the British Association.  
And I was in hopes to have sent you a paper of mine on Hospital Statistics & Hospital plans, read at Dublin before the Social
Science Association.
But I have only this day got the first Proof of it
And therefore I can only enclose one (the last) sheet/page, which perhaps you may like to see -

You know that we have lost our poor Clough. He was dying when I saw you - But I had not the heart to tell you. He died on November 12 at Florence. His wife had joined him a few months: his sister a few days before - The end was very rapid. He was a man of rare mind & temper - of the highest & tenderest spirit it has ever been my lot to meet - of uncommon genius, worn & fretted by the necessity of working at hard & uncongenial matters for daily bread. He has left his poor widow & three children, of which the youngest was only 3 months old when he died, in a most anxious position.

He was my support in life, as my dear master was my object in life. "The righteous perisheth
"& no man layeth it to heart - none considering that he is taken away from the good he might have done -

The last words I ever had from him were when he heard (abroad) of my dear master’s death. I shall never hear such words of sympathy again. He felt so much for us all & was so entirely overcome when he spoke of us to his wife that I cannot help believing it hastened his death. He was only 41. But death for him was not premature.

He was already worn out in life. He had worked so hard at Oxford that his peculiar impressionable temperament never recovered it.

{envelope, black-edged}

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

Aeschylus uses the true expression “unloving love.” Perhaps he was thinking of the difference between this & his love, when he used the words, “loving love”.

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

Florence Nightingale

This sad New Year

1862

{in another hand:}

To be kept for my Children EH

Extract from a letter of Florence Nightingale (written by herself) containing a statement of Sidney’s feeling regarding the happiness of his married life.
Sept 10/70

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

procure us so great a good as that of His love shall send. You are not one who will be satisfied to hear His voice only from the foot of the mountain - Even where the cup is so bitter that Our Lord Himself says: let/If it be possible, let this cup pass from me: you will hold out both hands for it. It seems indeed as if He would try you in every way - & give you the opportunity of victories in your bed more pleasing to Him than even those of open struggle with evil.
Let us thank Him, even tho’
the flesh is weak, that He treats
us as He treated His son -
Having desired to suffer with
Him, let us thank Him for
granting our prayer - When
we think that He has sent this,
we know that He will give
the strength to bear it. His
strength is made perfect in
our weakness. Our Lord
chose the path of the Passion
& the Cross for Himself - O that
we may be able, of our own
free will, to choose it too!
that we may be able to run,
not only with patience, but
with joy, the appointed course
at the end of which He waits

for us, He is expecting us.

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

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

ever yours
Florence Nightingale
The Horse Guards have taken quite a different tone lately - owing, I believe, to the “Meeting” of the 28th. Every one said that he was the only man in England for whom such a Meeting could have been held - men of all parties, the representative of the Crown, the representative of Parl. uniting to do him honour.

Mr. Rathbone of Liverpool tells me that they are going to have a similar Meeting there - as soon as the immediate turmoil of this terrible American business has past. You know that Liverpool has always stood out prominent about him & about the Crimean War
For the Statue, I have most earnestly recommended that it should be in Westminster Abbey. He deserves a place there. For he is the initiator of a new era - that of taking the human side of the policy as regards the soldier - looking upon him as a man & not as a machine.

After all, politics are ephemeral. And Westminster Abbey a higher & worthier place than the House of Commons or Palace Yard. Wiltshire does not think of building yet but of applying the funds to your Charmouth Institution.

The “Herbert” Gold medal will be for the best proficient in “preserving the soldier’s health” at the Chatham School. This as a tribute to
his particular object.

The D. of Cambridge has written to Sir G. Lewis to ask for the Quarter Master Genl to be President in his room of the Barrack Commission, (Galton, Sutherland & Burrell, you know)

I was sorry & I was glad. But it was impossible to refuse

On the one hand it shews that they mean to keep on the Barrack Commn,

which I never thought they would, after he was gone - & that they mean to play the game of treading in his steps for the sake of his popularity.

On the other hand, to have Airey or Percy Herbert in his place & with the/a President’s power of putting a stop to every thing (this Commn has had the spending of £50,000 a year since 1857) is very galling.
Lord de Grey works his very best at the W.O. [Sir G. Lewis is studying the Astronomy of the Ancients - profitable speculation!]
Lord de Grey has the whole of the charge of this expedition to Canada. Everything is being raised to War Establishmt. Lord de Grey applied to us to know what he had done in reference to the China Expeditionary Force & followed exactly in his steps. And I was very glad to be able to shew how beautifully his “Regulations” work & meet every emergency.
Ld de Grey did exactly what he did; & we revised the Sanitary Instructions.
I have no doubt that this American business is one of the things which have made the Horse Guards
The country would never forgive them if they were to lose another Army (in Canada).

But I see more & more every day how different it is having only Ld de Grey in the W.O. He does his very best. But he has no power.

He cannot remodel the Engineering (Fortifications) Department as HE had intended & writes/written to me in his very last letter - And Galton remains tale quale. You know that poor Godley is dead. Had Ld de Grey been powerful, he could have used this opportunity for remodelling in some degree the position - as I am sure he wished.
Let me tell you
one thing which I
think will give you
pleasure.

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

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

Ld de Grey will
I think carry the
Soldiers’ Day Rooms
in time. The
Commander in Chief
had taken the
Iron House at Aldershot we
wished to have
(for his Officer’s
Club) But I think
the W.O. will buy
a house there for
£2000 for us -
I have recommended
that a tract
containing the
account of the
Meeting of the
28th & an address,
with appeal to the
Soldier, to be got/done
from/by Dickens,
shall be sent to
every Soldiers’ Reading Room
& every Commanding
Officer by the
W.O.

{page missing?}
the more pleasure
because I send
them to some of
his poor adherents
And I always tell
them they come from
Wilton; poor, poor Wilton.
    I would write a
great deal more -
But I have had
two Doctors’ Consultations.
And they say that, in
addition to all my
other woes, I have
now congestion of the
spine, brought on by
sorrow & worry And
What the Army Medical Board ought to be able to do in this Indian case - Nothing can save the poor troops now from a tremendous loss -
But, if there is to be a Military occupation with Queen’s troops, no time should be lost in making preparations.
The first step would be to “make A. Smith a Marquis”, - but, if this cannot be, the Sanitary adviser of the Consultative Board should be able to do the following:
Military authority ought to lay down all the points to be occupied - Sanitary authority all the points which can be healthily occupied
Hitherto, the banks of rivers have been the Military base - It is impossible to improve these Sanitarily - But there is scarcely any other situation which cannot be improved - Military problems are like all other problems - they require common sense to solve them more than anything else - though Military men would fain persuade us otherwise.
England would not be England, if she could not, in India,
make Railways to bring
troops down from the
healthy positions upon
the unhealthy ones which
must occupied &
cannot be improved -
& if she could not
improve the unhealthy
positions which are
capable of improvement.

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

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

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

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

[end 15:272]
I think Tulloch’s Mountains will be very effective, if he would give us a series of mortalities for the years before & after 1837 in Mountains. I prefer our Diagram for exhibiting Maxima & Minima of Mortality - since Diagrams are to catch the Sparrows - Tulloch’s Mountains have made me think that it would be a good thing for us to have a series of Mountains, exhibiting for the Crimea -

Mortality per month
Salt meat (Date & quantity)

Biscuit
Vegetables
Clothing
Fatigues -

If you approve, will you propose it to Farr? For this purpose,

I enclose a series of Data of this kind, which I once made, & which I could give you more in detail for Dr. Farr - It would be more very instructive for the Sparrows - ever faithfully yours
F. Nightingale
unsigned memorandum, undated, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/65

Home Stations

Upon mean force annually

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mortality</th>
<th>Navy</th>
<th>Marines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>per 1000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Disease alone</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Wounds &amp; Injuries</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Mortality</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>under 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

both on board ship & in barracks

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

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

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

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

[end 14:495]
Why the Invalids must be added in addition to the aggregate strength, for their mortality.

Foot Guards

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strength</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1844-52 = 44388</td>
<td>891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845-53 = 1565</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Invalided: 45953 Invalids, 1101 Mortality (23.9/1000).

The aggregate strength, 44388, of the Guards, '44-'52, yields its own proper mortality of 891. But, besides the mortality on effectives, there is a mortality taking place on non-effectives invalided. These Invalids are discharged at any time after the Army strength is taken - which is on April 1. They are included in the strength up to the day the Annual Return is made. But they begin to disappear & their mortality together with them, directly the day of taking the strength has passed.
comes round. They, after wards, form a distinct class with a special Mortality. It is considered that one year’s Mortality among these Invalids may be fairly added to the Mortality of the effects, because the Diseases, of which they die within the year, may be fairly attributed to causes connected with their Service. In order to add this Mortality fairly, we must leave it out for the first year, & continue it a year beyond the last year, for which the Mortality of effectives is given (- the mortality in Invalids being always taken a year after they have left the service)

To do this, we must add together the effective strength & the mortality for 1844-52 to the Invalid Mortality & strength 1845-53.

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

It was thought doubtful whether half the Invalids’ strength should not be added besides, because they may be supposed to remain under observation on an average of half the year - But it was decided that the Discharges might very well be told off on one hand against the Accessions of Strength from Recruits on the other, who will be reckoned in the Strength of the next April 1, altho’ they may have been on the strength only half the year -
allowance must be made for the selection at entry, which excludes the sick. This may be put down as nearly equivalent to half the Deaths among the Pensioners. Thus the true strength & Deaths will be about

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strength</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Effectives</td>
<td>22948</td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensioners</td>
<td>876</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excluded</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sick of Dangerous Diseases</td>
<td>24262</td>
<td>627</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The conclusions upon this Table are as follow:

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

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

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

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

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

2. that the Army Mortality, as stated in the Report, cannot be accurately compared with that of Civil Life at the same ages - To say that the Mortality
in the Guards is double that of Civil Life
is to make an under-estimate of the
truth. For the Army Mortality merely
shews the Deaths among those staying in
the Service long enough to die in it. It
does not shew the Deaths among those
discharged to die elsewhere —
A low rate of mortality therefore
may imply not a high state of health
but a high rate of invaliding.
And Statistics thus organized may
give all the results which Sanitary measures
would give.
For, if every man likely to die were
invalided, the Army would appear immortal.
For not a man in it would ever die.
The table I enclose adds upwards
of 15 per 1000 to the annual Rate of
Mortality of the Army. It shews that,
in 5 years, nearly 1 ½ Regiments were
swept away within 12 months after
invaliding.
And all these men were between
30 - 35 years of age - had had an average
of 10 years’ service. For those invalided
after completing their time do not die.
The difference between the different
Arms shews the method by which the
apparent Mortality in some is reduced
e.g. The Life Guards actually reach a
Mortality of 15 per cent in the 5 years.
the Horse Artillery is as low as 4 ½ per
cent.
3. The result is that we have no
reliable Statistics of the Army Mortality
& that, without some principle in those
of Invaliding, we cannot compare the
rate of Mortality in our Army with
that of any others - For, in some, we
know that every man who dies dies in Hospital
Nor can we compare it with Civil Life.
Nor can we even compare Regiment
with Regiment.
The real Statistics of the Army, to be
at all brought out, must include:
(1) the adoption of an accurate nomenclature & classification of Disease & Mortality.
(2) accurate tables of invaliding, stating the Diseases & Deaths for 12 months, or such other period, if practicable, as would include the termination of the cases up to what would have been the termination of the man’s service — Deaths from other diseases, not contracted in service, should not be included.
(3) tables of the continued influx of healthy lives which at known ages — are continually drafted into the Army.

4. The true Army Mortality would then be calculated as follows:
   Mortality in Army Hospitals — plus that from all Diseases or injuries for which men are invalided — minus that from Diseases or injuries taking place after what would have been the expiration of the term of service — the percentage being taken on the active Force, plus the Invalids.

   e.g. 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strength</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
<th>Invalids</th>
<th>{Deaths of Invalids</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Mortality would, according to present
Mayne {Glasgow

Dr. Borlase Childs write to {Liverpool

surgeon to Police Division Inspectors {Edinburgh

? Strand - of Police {Manchester

at {Birmingham

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

6 sickness in the Police? Rheumatism

Army

5 mortality in different Barracks
   of metropolis from same classes
   of disease? & fro total mortality?

6 average strength
   sickness from these diseases
   per cent

7 amount & nature of night duty

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

examine Mayne & Dr. Fisher

examine Dr. Southwood Smith

Report by Waller Lewis

required Mortality
& Sickness in Model Lodging houses

required Mortality
& Sickness in the Post
Office
Mortality from Disease alone
in the Navy
for Seven years’ average
1837 - 1843
Per 1000 Annually

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Rate per 1000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. America</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Packet Service</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Coast Spain</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediterranean</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Indies</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Indies</td>
<td>34.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Coast Africa</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unhealthy Stations

Annual Average 14.9
Mean Force 33,000
It appears from a Return given in Mr. Grainger’s Report of Cholera in the Metropolis in 1849, published by the General Board of Health, that H.M. Troops suffered in a much larger proportion than the Civil Population in which of the Parishes in which the Barracks were situated -

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Per 1000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

while facts which prove that the Local predisposing causes of Cholera were of a more intense character in and around the Barracks than among the dwellings of the population generally. They would indicate the existence of effluvia connected proceeding from defective drainage and latrine arrangements - in addition to atmospheric impurity, proceeding from overcrowding & defective ventilation.
Cholera

Proportionate Mortality of Troops & Civilians in the Metropolis in 1849

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civilians</th>
<th>2nd Life Guards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deaths per 1000</td>
<td>Regent’s Park 10.7/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R.H.G 17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Pancras</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kensington</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knightsbridge</td>
<td>1st Batt. Gren. Gds 17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st Batt. Coldstream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marylebone</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; St. Martin’s in Fds</td>
<td>Portsmouth 3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trafalgar Sq.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John &amp; St. Margt Coldstream Gds*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westminister</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. London &amp;</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitechapel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marylebone</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.F.G. 1st Batt.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St John’s Wood</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{illeg Cotnam?} W</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

we must add for the strength of the

Pensioners

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

Thus making the aggregate strength for a year 23,824 out of which

454 effective
115 pensioners

569 died in the year -

Thus mortality was at the rate of

24 inn 1000 annually among the effective & pensioners, whereas the mortality among the effective alone was

\[
\frac{454}{22948} = 20 \text{ in } 1000
\]

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

For your consideration all the men, who served well in the Crimean War, as subjects for your Medical branch consideration in re Medical Army Medical & Statistical branch. Dr. Taylor’s Division (3rd) was always the best administered - from the time you sent him out - that of Alexander always excepted, who also bore the burden & toil of the day, the first winter, which Taylor did not - There are several good Regimental Officers, Longmore & others - But they are wholly untried in administration. And a very plausible subject of complaint might arise - on the parts of Messrs. Dumbreck & Forrest, & Co, if they were passed over for a Regimental Surgeon, whereas the appointment of Taylor who has served in all parts of the world, in war as in peace, & is a tried man in administrative matters, is unexceptionable.

[in another hand: Miss Nightingale - on the re-constitution of the Army Medical Board]
For your consideration, Taylor is a wholly untried man in this - Algebra is necessary, which Balfour has & Taylor has not.

True, if Alexander is Director General, Taylor/Balfour is a very bad adviser for him, for he is opinionated, while Alexander is modest.

But Balfour has been working at this for 18 years - and could, with difficulty, be passed over - He might still hold his position as Surgeon to the "little red men" - just as well as he does now - for he does all the Statistics now -

The real hold you have on both Statistical & Sanitary branch/Heads is only the enactment which you have established your= self, of viz. the Quarterly publication of Civil Registrar = General of the "deaths", with any comments of their/his own.

The Registrar General’s Office is the most popular department of the Service And, if a Barrack shewed, e.g., no improvement in Phthisis, the a remark from the R.G.’s Office would bring public opinion down upon them directly. Of this, Balfour is well aware - & on this account, he kicked - in your Report.
Qy - whether it would be possible to ask for two clerks from Farr’s Office, with a small increase of pay to make it worth their while to go over to the service of the W.O., and to make this an excuse for Balfour to work the first six months at the Civil Registrar = Genl’s Office, under plea of Farr wishing to keep his eye upon his own Clerks -

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

For the fact is, there is not a man in the Army fit for Statistical or Sanitary branch - And yet, you must have a man in the Army. [end 15:271]
Note on the Monthly Quarterly Return of Sickness & Mortality

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

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

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

The second of these is an important suggestion – especially at the present time.

But the first requires to be seriously examined.

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

2. he acknowledges that
the Bengal Returns are
for the 3 healthiest mon.
in the year. And yet
the Mortality was at the
rate of 39 per 1000 per ann.
Madras 54 " "
Bombay 58 " "
the returns for the two
last Presidencies being
for the more unhealthy
Stations Seasons.
This fact alone destroys
his argument -
But we find another
means of comparison in
the D.G.’s Report. He says
the Bengal Mortality
for the Quarter given
was “nearly one half less”
than what took place
during the previous Quarter.
This would make the
Mortality for the previous
Quarter 77 per 1000.
In Sir A. Tulloch’s
Evidence before the Indian
Organization Commission,
p. 180, he gives the following ratios for 39 years -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Rate per 1000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>79.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>62.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>61.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All India</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

II. the Quarterly/Monthly Form might be so improved as to give a larger amount
of such information as the S. of S. requires.

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

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

(3) The Classification of Diseases should be exchanged for the classification on “No. 1 Administrative Form, “(Morning State)” contained in the new Regulations.

(4) In stating the Percentages, the amount per 1000 per annum should be given - instead of “1 in 7” which is simple nonsense -
(5) The Annual Percentage of Death to Strength should also be given.
(6) The columns of "Increase" & "Decrease" "in the month" are useless; because 1. the event to which they refer is past & no conclusion can be drawn from it. 2. they might lead to erroneous conclusions as to the healthiness of a Regiment. e.g. we find in one Column a decrease of 17 Admissions. Sir J. Hall made use of this very fact in the Crimea to congratulate the Commander of the Forces on the "improving health" of the Army, at the very time an epidemic was pending.

III. The Mortality in China has been enormous & requires strict enquiry.
2. The returns fully bear out the immense impor-
tance of the prevention of Zymotic Diseases on foreign Stations. These Diseases occasion far the largest amount of sickness, mortality & inefficiency.

3. Should not the S. of [S.? side of sheet cut off] obtain the Monthly Statistics of every one of the Foreign Stations to enable him to ask questions regarding any excessive Mortality in one or more Stations? We learn incidentally from the D.G.’s Report that Dysentery has prevailed at Secunderabad & yet the Statistics give no information whatever upon the fact - Secunderabad being included in one General Average sweeping over the whole of the Madras Presidency
Hampstead N.W.
Sept 7/64
Dearest
I thought your note
to Dr. Parkes just
what it ought to be.
With regard to Lady
Bath's Vill: Nurse -- -- we
have quite forsworn
recommending people
for that position -- we
train people whom
their future employers
recommend -- This makes
the employer responsible
for her Village Nurse --
makes the employer
indefinitely more wise
in her superintendence
- instead of being only
occupied as often
happens, in picking
holes in the Village
Nurse who has been
recommended to her; --
& who requires all
her employer's countenance
to carry out her most
difficult task.
If Lady Bath will
choose (& send us) a
woman, we will give
her 6 months' Midwifery
training - if she is to
be a Midwifery Nurse, -
at the Lying-in Ward
at King's College Hospital.
And she can also
have general nurse
training, if desired -
& if special arrang=
ments have are made.
Already in different
parts of England we
have Nurses sent
out often this fashion.
1000 thanks for game
God bless you
ever your F.
August 1859

Miss Nightingale
Chatham Soldiers
Institute

Note on the plans of
Chatham "Soldiers' Institute"

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

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

2. Or the money might
   be spent perhaps more
   advantageously in
   providing a larger
   amount of cheaper &
3. The proposed plans are very defective in warming & ventilation arrangements - and require revision on these points.

4. Looking at the elevation, it is very doubtful whether the building could be finished for the sum proposed, which moreover does not include the following order:
   1. Increased Barrack & Hospital accommodation - and plain cheap day=rooms in the mean time for the men to live in thro' the day.
   2. Married Soldiers' quarters.
   3. Soldiers' Institute - such as the one proposed - which is highly to be approved of in its proper place - so much so that, were it so carried out, I should gladly furnish it, if allowed to do so.

[end 15:428]
In conclusion, the "Institute" plans would answer excellently, except the warming & Ventilation, for a new Barrack, built on the best model and complete in its parts.

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

Money is wanted at Chatham for constructive works in furnishing.

5. While it is proposed to spend this large sum of money, we must not forget that, in almost every Barrack-room at Chatham, married women & young unmarried women sleep & live among the men.

Does not this fact intimate a more pressing necessity for married quarters?
Mar 1/58

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

But his Weekly Return (enclosed) is in opposition to the principles of the your Report respecting the Army Medl Board, which principles, together with those you expounded to me as to the administering a Board, are set forth in the enclosure with a green string -

A criticism on Farr’s Weekly Report accompanies it -

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

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


Preface. Handwritten at top, around printed “Preface”:
Dear Mr Herbert. This is the kind of Preface I intended to put supposing you approved, and if you wrote me “the letter” regarding the insertion of the Abstracts of the Army Medical Correspondence.
Feb 4/58. F. Nightingale

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

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

4 February 1858

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

1 Upper Harley St.
   29 May 1854

My dearest

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

of the Wards, where
it was impossible
for any woman of
character to sleep,
where it was
impossible for the
Night Nurse, taking
her night in the
day, to sleep at all,
owing to the noise,
where there was
no light or air
but that admitted
through the glass
doors- & where
three were together
in this small space,
but/tho’ only two, it is
ture, slept at a
time.

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

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

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

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

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

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

whether the cages
& other varieties
are there still.

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

of jobbing in Hospitals.
The "dressers" (who are students) buy their places, which are much sought after, as dressers, so that not he who is most skilful but he who has most money gets on. At Guy’s this shameful practice is done away with, but not, I believe, at the other Hospitals. I will try & learn whether it is still so at St Bartholomew’s. I was overjoyed to see your handwriting again. God bless the little Bab & you, & believe me, ever yours F.N.

Three years ago, all the windows front at St Bartholomew’s was remodelled & beautified, while the nurses were...
1 Upper Harley St
16 October 1854

Dear Mr. Herbert
   I shall be too grateful
to see you today at the
time you mention, between
3 & 5 o’clock, if you can
spare the time to come
up here -
   Yours very truly
   Florence Nightingale

Harbour of Balaclava
May 7/55

Dear Mr. Herbert
   There are many
things about Scutari
which I have long
been anxious to say
to you, though I do
not know that it is
of any use -
   Not being a soldier
& being told by those
who were at Scutari
that to remedy these
things was impossible,
I held my peace & supposed that these were the evils which we are informed are inseparable from war -

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

our Depot at Scutari is supposed to be the worst managed & our Commandant at Scutari acknowledged to be the worst officer in the service (It appears that he was asked for by Lord Rag/Stratford merely because he was a man of rank) If we had had a man like Major Fellowes, on Ld Raglan’s Staff, or like Genl Jones, or like many others I could name, how different Scutari would have been!
The intoxication &
indiscipline of the
Barrack at Scutari
is what shocks, not
mere civilians like
ourselves, but old
Officers - I never knew
what dead drunk
meant till I saw
these wretched beings
brought into our Hospital
upon stretchers - But
all the redress we could
ever get from Ld W. Paulet
was "These are the
brutes you spoil" -

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

Birk Hall  [14:451-52]
Ballater
Sept 28/56

Dear Mr. Herbert

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

elsewhere abroad,
I should question
the desirableness of
having a permanent
establishment at
Bath - I should
like to see the
experiment tried there,
which I have
proposed to Dr.
Pincoffs & Lord Panmure
with 60 Patients
for this year on
the terms which
I shewed to you -
But I think that
the upshot will be
that it will be found
better to concentrate
all our efforts towards
having a good sea-
bathing (warm) equip-
ment of Baths/Douches &c at
the Southampton Mily
Hospital - as, for
external application
(which would be
all we should do
at Bath,) equally
efficacious - This is
a question however
for medical opinion
& not for me to
decide -

-2-
I had meant to
have written to you
this very day to
claim your very
important promise
to meet me, if you
were in London,
for “a combined
attack upon the
Bison”. I have
found the Queen,
Prince Albert & Sir
George Grey propitious -

Yesterday however
the Queen came
here & pressed me
to remain here to
see Lord Panmure
(who comes on duty
here this week)
with reasons which
it would have
been foolish in me
to oppose - though
I would rather
have seen Lord
Panmure with you.
However the one
does not preclude
the other - And I
hope you will (like
a Cid) stand up
for the cause of the
poor oppressed Army

Hospitals which I
assure you have not
won one a step of
the ground yet by the
experience of the War -
I have progressed
so far as this that
the Queen has asked
me to write a plan
for Lord Panmure &
to send it to her -
She is interested -
the Prince is enlightened-
And both anxious to
do their best for reform.
The Prince’s predilection for the Horse Guards is however alarming. How odd that they should not understand that the Chelsea Commission has really struck the severest blow at the prerogative of the Crown, because the country will never trust the Executive again - The cleverest thing which ever was done by an Executive was the appointment of an honest Commission who did their work honestly & neutralized the effect of Roebuck’s Committee - Then Govt throws overboard its own Commission - & the country proclaims again (& this time with truth) that Ministers cannot be trusted to do their own work - I think the return of the Regimental Officers
from the Crimea who
felt most keenly the
inconsistency of Chelsea
will exasperate this
feeling still more -
I shall come to
London as soon as
I can, & see Fort Pitt
& our Home Military
Hospitals, & I hope,
yourself before I
finally assault the
"Bison" - Yours ever gratefully
F. Nightingale

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

30 Old Burlington St.
London
Oct 31/56

Dear Mr. Herbert
If you come to London
during the next fortnight,
will you have the
goodness to let me
know that you are
there? There are
many things for me
to refer to you -
Not at all connected
with these things, but
still a matter to be

referred to you is the
following. I have seen
a letter from one of my
“Council”. I do not
remember the exact
words (for it was only
shewn to me) - But the
gist of it was that
I might go to Operas
& Races - no pledge
against amusing myself
exist/ed/ing - but that I
might not take Govern-
ment employment -
being pledged to work for Civil Hospitals — by the Fund —

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

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

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

that the two things clash — If you do, — as I am quite sure that, in the events of another war, which seems so near, I should go, if Ministers offered me the opportunity as you did — and as I am sure that, war or no war, I never can cease, while I live, doing whatever falls in my way in the work I have mentioned above viz. the Military Hospitals
which God & you so
singly put into
my hands, - I would
ask you whether you
would ask “my Council”,
during this month of
November, when no one
has much to do, to
determine this question.
I am provoked to
have to bother about
such a question now,
when there are such
much more important
ones - about which I
would so much rather
consult you -
Pray believe me
dear Mr. Herbert
Yours very truly & gratefully
Florence Nightingale
I have not answered
your two kind letters.
But I should have
much to tell you
about my “Pan”, could
I see you -

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

The Newcastle Case
would make a very
good illustrative case
altogether, if we had
the invaliding.
The outbreak of Yellow
Fever in 1856 was
exceptional - And it is
of importance to ascertain
the cause of the exception.
Lawson’s pamphlet
is a very good Analysis
of the facts. He disposes
effectually of the theory
of Contagion - and shews
the disease to have
been of local origin.
He does not however
account for it satisfactorily.

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

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

The effect of the
elevation & lower tempera-
ture being/were decided
in modifying the disease.

Dr. Burrell mentions
one or two important
illustrative facts on the
same side. From June
to November, 1843, the
60th Regt at Newcastle
Derbyshire Co Record Office had 60 cases of sharp Fever - And the 77th Regt at Maroon Town, also a Hill Station, had 80 cases — without a single death (in either Regiment).

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

Dr. Burrell even goes so far as to hint that, in consequence of this neglect, they will/may be obliged to take up new ground -

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

It shews the necessity of establishing a Sanitary Police throughout the W. Indies & India - in order that while the one condition of health, viz. a selection of proper sites, is carried out, the other, of/viz. what the Indians call "conservancy", is/may not be neglected -
Dr. Burrell says “that “Newcastle has been occupied “from 15 to 20 years by a “succession of Regiments” - “that the sloping ground “has been partially leveled, “scooped out & disturbed “from time to time”. that, “on the level spaces, “impurities inseparable “from a not very cleanly “population have been “allowed to accumulate” - that “soldiers neither “know nor inquire into “the habits of former “occupants” - that “old “thatch & other decomposing “matters have been thus “allowed to accumulate” - and that “the privies “entered into cess-pits “or into the ravines.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

The upshot of them is this
The Duke of Newcastle was told there were wants in the Crimea, & being a feeling man, he was much shocked, made that speech saying how much he was interested & that he had sons out there, & finally, went out to enquire for himself in the Crimea - Now there was no occasion for him to go to the East to enquire - he might simply have sent to St. James’s Place, & asked Dr. Andrew Smith ‘what supplies have you sent out?’ Roe-buck’s Committee did ask, & Dr. Andrew Smith furnished them with a “Return” - Roe-buck’s Committee did nothing that I know of except furnish people with breakfast=table conversation - But, if the Duke of Newcastle who is so conscientious, or Mr. Roe-buck who is so sharp, had simply looked over that List which Dr. Smith put in, they would have seen that the Hospital Supplies, sent out for the whole 8 months terminating Dec/54, would last 2000 sick just 3 weeks - whereas it is but too well known that our sick in
August, September, October, were 11,000, in November, 16,000, in December 19,000.
Yet Dr. Smith expresses amazement that he cannot imagine where all his supplies are gone to.

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

And what must Dr. Smith think? For I suppose he knows what that “Return” means. He must think how well he calculated, after all, for you are out & he is in -

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

In the same way, people look at the “return” of washing (say) done at Scutari & they see 3000 pieces washed per month, & they think that is a good many - They are incapable of the arithmetic that where there is an ever-changing population of averaging 2000 Patients, that makes
1-1/2 pieces per month (per man & not the same man.) & a pair of socks is 2 pieces.

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

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

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

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

Believe me faithfully yrs

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

Dear Mr. Herbert,

I think, as my professional foster-mother, (a curious position, by the way for you to stand in towards me,) it is my duty to inform you that the Director General of the Navy Medical Department is making serious proposals to me viz. to occupy the position of fulfilling the same duties in the Naval Hospitals at home which you assigned me in the War Hospitals. Sir John Liddell is to take me down to Haslar almost immediately - I will confess to you that, if I accept, it will be mainly because I think it will shame the Army Hospitals into doing what they require so much more - I cannot forget my first love, nor marry another Department again so soon. I was shocked & scandalized by the Woolwich
Artillery Hospital when I visited it with General Williams, & longed to be “at it”. Lord Palmerston even spoke of giving me (when I saw him) a permanent Commission to visit & inspect the Woolwich & Aldershot Hospitals. But I have heard nothing of it since.

I should consider it by no means breaking but entering into, the spirit of the kind of engagement I am under to your Fund, to include the Naval & Military Female Nursing in my work - But I will not enter into any engagement without consulting you.

I will only ask you to mention this to no one for 2 reasons - Sir J. Liddell is, for obvious causes, anxious to keep it all quiet till all is settled - 2. Mr. Bracebridge & I are almost as wide apart in our courses as Sir J. McNeill & Col. Tulloch. He wishes me to liberate
my soul, as he calls it, say as many disagreeable things i.e. as I can, & then have nothing to do ever with Government again. I, on the other hand, mean to stick to the Army Hospitals as long as I live, & do not see what at all how I liberate my soul with regard to them by “speaking my mind” so that it would eject myself, even if that mind were a true one -

Please to be so good as to return me those notes of mine I troubled you with, as I have no copy. It does not signify about your reading them, as I could tell it you all in ½ an hour, if you have “Your Commission”. [end 16:246]

ever faithfully yrs F. Nightingale [15:148-49]

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

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

30 Old Burlington St.
W.
Jan 19/57 [14:476-77]

Dear Mr. Herbert

Thank you very much for your letter & for your hint (most valuable) with regard to using the scissors instead of the pen - The history of my not doing so is curious enough to tell you - When I was in the East, most of the Blue Books pertaining to the War used to be sent out to me - I never read those, or the Newspapers,
or any other papers. Sir John Hall asked me for my copy of Maxwell’s Commission which I lent him & which he did not return to me for upwards of a year, viz. when we evacuated the Crimea when I asked him for it. When he returned it to me, he had several pages were cut out. I, never having read it, knew not what they were, & innocently set to work, with the mutilated copy, when I returned to England. I thought there was so little to my purpose that a very little copying would do - especially as Maxwell had, I knew, so cut down the Scutari evidence that I reproached him with it on the spot & he answered “What would you have me do? I have a wife & 8 children”

However, I sent for another copy, & then I found that what Hall had cut out was the whole of Alexander’s evidence, & indeed all the most valuable part. I sat or copied gradually thro’, instead of doing what I ought to have done, viz. deciding at once on all I should want. But I took it, as I have said, really “at random” - I know, from Dr. Hall
himself that he believed my copy to be the only one in the Crimea - & the only other one I am aware of was not, I know, accessible to him. I have reason to believe that he made use of the mutilated copy with those in Command - & was not detected -

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

Col. Lefroy is a really high-minded man - and as we had not much of that growth in the Crimea, I clung to him, in the prospect of another campaign, (like in illeg) to do our business with Lord Panmure - which he did. But he has a singular incapacity of distinguishing true evidence from false, & if he thinks a man “ill-used”, that man is always sure to be a knave. Still he has a curious
influence over Lord Panmure, & the only man I ever knew the noble Lord to have any consideration for is Col. Lefroy. He is, however, very unfit to have charge of educating us -

The D. of Cambridge’s principle seems to be nomination, not selection, in the Staff Education - whereas what has been found to answer so well in that noble little Army, the Sardinian, is selection by examination - But I suppose that, as long as a Regiment belongs to the Officer & not to the Officer to the Regiment, we can never have anything like the Sardinian -

I am going down to Haslar tomorrow morning with Sir John Liddell - When I have done my Precis, I shall write no more - I will work for Lord Panmure, or, if he won’t have me, for somebody else.
But I will write no more for him. My time is short, & I should like to do what work I can while I am here - the pen & ink service I don’t call one -

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

yrs faithfully
F. Nightingale

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale Jany 1957 on the mutilated Scutari Evidence & Col Lefroy’s system of Army Education}
compromise himself in writing, but to approve or propose verbally, & then say, “what proof have you to shew?”

He has played this game now - To all Sanitary proposals, he & Lord Palmerston have always answered “Sutherland is to be made the Civil & Sanitary adjunct to And. Smith.”

This, at least, they cannot say that I proposed. Dr. Sutherland is now going to take other employment, as he will not

employment/wait any longer - Lord Panmure

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

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

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

Dear Mr. Herbert
I have written you
the enclosed formal note
& should be really glad
that you should make
use of it.
I know you cannot
come to me today, because
of the Estimates, but I
will either wait for you
or come to you tomorrow -
which ever is least
inconvenient to you
All that Lord Panmure
Derbyshire Co Record Office
has hitherto done (and it is just six months since I came home) has been to gain time - And this Commission, I hold it, granting it only as he does now, is also merely to gain time - He has broken his most solemn promises to Dr. Sutherland, to me & to the Crimean Commission. And, on three months from this day, I publish my experience of the Crimean Campaign & my suggestions for improvement, unless there has been a fair & tangible pledge by that time for Reform. I do not hold this out as a threat, which would be unworthy of my cause; But I hold it a plain duty to go on - And I have a higher Master than my daily task=master at the War Department to serve. It does not appear, either, that any one will go on with the cause, if I do not.
I conceive that, if you knew as I do, the promises made by Lord Panmure, you would declare as I do the delay during the recess to be scandalous - The men are sacrificed, as usual, to the Officers & the “Department”. What Lord Panmure calls the “healthy state of his Army” I should call the unhealthy state of our Army. I would not head the Commission, if I were you, without a fair pledge from him that the Report shall be acted upon - faithfully yrs if approved F. Nightingale

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

30 Old Burlington St. [14:493–94]

Feb 13/57

Dear Mr. Herbert

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

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

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

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

faithfully yours
Florence Nightingale
Dear Mr. Herbert

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

F. Nightingale

I am bound to add that every one of these men gave as his reason for "going on" this & this only - that it would be placing a mass of information in the hands of Lord Panmure's successor - but that, as far as the present S. of S. for War went, there could be but one conclusion viz, that any faithful Report would meet with the fate of that of the Crimean Commission -

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

F.N.
Dear Mr. Herbert

I have had your letter of the 31st, and you have had by this time Sutherland’s of the 1st, asking your orders about serving on the new Netley Commission — I think what you think is probably the best — viz. to let them have their wicked way — and to fight the thing in the Ho. of Commons & before the public.

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

2. Having seen a second time in the “Times” since your departure that the Indian invalids were to be hulk-ed, I wrote to Sir J. Liddell, and enclose his answer. You will observe that the thing has been considered — that the order is only suspended, not rescinded — so that I suppose it might take place any time.

3. Soyer is to give a plan for 140 men’s
Derbyshire Co Record Office 100

cooking in Wellington
Barracks -
    I hope you are better
& not changing your
plans for your health’s
sake -

    Believe me
    ever faithfully yours
    F. Nightingale

The “Guards” have got out
an eminently silly pamphlet against your Commission,
called as to the “Causes” of their Mortality,
laying it upon their own
misconduct - It admits of
an easy answer.  [end 14:501]
30 Old Burlington St. W.
April 25/57

Dear Mr. Herbert

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

This is only to inform you that the Commission, of which you have consented to be Head, is to be out in a few days – The Instructions have been sent to a lawyer to “rédiger” – And I have this morning entered my protest at the W.O. against their being finally settled without being submitted to you – as well as the names on the Commission – I saw it written down then & there, in pencil that it was to be so – But such is
my experience of these
gentry that I "fear even
their gifts" - And thought
it better to premonish
you - You will know
best how to be on
your guard -

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

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

From several speeches
you have made in the
Ho. of C., you have assumed
occupied & still occupy
in the opinion of the country,
the solitary position of
Reformer of the Army -
God knows there is
enough to reform! - You
perhaps read Dr. Letheby’s
report in the “Times” on the
sanitary & moral state
of one of the Lanes in the
City. I believe not a
newspaper in England but has had its leading Article upon it. I thought to myself, “My dear friends, reserve your consternation! At this moment, in H.M.’s Barracks at Brompton, (as I saw the last time I went there), 9 women, 9 men, & 23 children are/were living promiscuously in one casemate with only a window on each side the door!”

Now John Bull knows nothing of this. His deep feeling, in the large manufacturing towns, about what he does know, viz. Sir J. McNeill’s & Col. Tulloch’s Report, remains unabated – If a man had no higher motive than that of making a reputation, let him, with accuracy of facts, knowledge of his subject, & feeling for his subject, really state a good case on the present Moral & Sanitary State of the Army at home in the Ho. of Commons, & he will find the House
with him, & ready to
vote any Estimates -
    Panmure is incapable
of doing this or of organizing
anything - But you
might have it all
your own way - if you
chose - the facts are ready to
your hand -
    The House is zealously
anxious to do something-
it does not know what.
    Dr. Alexander is in
England - I have seen him
two or three times. He
is full of moral energy
& directness of purpose.
He knows what he wants
& will go straight at it,
without any disguise -
    Had he been at the head
of Medical things in the
Crimea, we should have
had no Limejuice lying
unused at Balaclava,
while the men were perishing,
nor Quinine left at
Scutari when there was
none at B’clava - in time
of Fever.
    I have just had a
note from Panmure to
say that the Draft
Instructions go to you today,
& that he will bring
them himself to me on
Monday - PRAY write [und 4 times]
to me by return of post, & tell me what you mean to say to Panmure, & what I am to say to him, that we may be in the same story.

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

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

I doubt whether your letter covers the entire
ground - whether, e.g. Barrack accommodation, Rations, Condition of the Wives could come in - (as it at present stands) among the matters to be looked into by the Commission - Yet these things are far more important than the Hospital system to the health & moral state of our Army - And no one can look at the physical construction of the children in the Royal Military Asylum, without seeing what a race we are producing by our criminal neglect in such things as I have mentioned, as occurring at this Moment at Chatham - For these things, there is no excuse at home -

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

Pray believe me most sincerely yours (tho’ a “turbulent fellow”) F. Nightingale

[end 14:506]
Dear Mr. Herbert

Lord Panmure is just gone - He consents to all your additions - & to the additions which you will see added in pencil on your M.S.-

Note I. “adding to” would not have included Statistics, as one less sadly versed in the A.M.D. than I am, would naturally conclude it did - Dr. A. Smith would not allow that

Statistics formed a part of “professional knowledge”, tho’ you & I should. Besides, these men know only the Statistics that they themselves give - You could not call the evidence of Tulloch, Balfour or Farr upon anything/authority in this form? Commn I have therefore added the two clauses, which Lord Panmure has approved, & which I hope will make sure of our “Statistics”
He would not admit the corrections in Note II, viz - “hospitals”, “canteens”, “accommodation for families of married soldiers”.
I was in hopes & he was in fear that it would bring in the whole question of “wives” -

Are you coming up to town for the 30th.
The final D form goes in to the Queen for signature on Friday week - But it has first to go to Andrew Smith & then to be engrossed or whatever you call it - And P., he has refused, which I entreated, to let it go to you at Wilton for final approbation first.
However, he sends me one tomorrow - And I shall send it to you, unless you will be up on the 30th - as I should like one more struggle for “wives” & “canteens” -

Your men are a good working Commission & far better than anything I expected - in great haste very faithfully yrs F. Nightingale
I think your corrections covered all the ground except the Statistics—
P. says that some of the opinions of the Commission may be carried out before the whole Report is ready. And he calls upon you to prepare your course of taking up subjects. I have made a sketch, which may be of some use to you—
{in another hand: 27 Apr/57 Miss Nightingale Ld Panmure Dr. A. Smith Statistics wives & Canteens The Commission

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

30 Old Burlington St. [14:506]
May 1/57

Dear Mr. Herbert

With regard to your “Commission”, I have just heard that my “alterations” (which I shewed you) “are introduced “except that relating to “the treatment & ‘prevention “’of disease’” Lord Panmure says that “these words “are unnecessary, as “‘professional education’ “must include the “cure & ‘prevention of
“disease” - This is just what it does not do - neither in Civil nor in Military medical life - And the whole frightful catastrophe of the War=Hospitals is one continued illustration of the fact.

I keep the note, because it is important, in that it is Lord Panmure’s own interpretation of his Instructions. And I have no fear but that you will stretch them to cover this - It shews, however, in what complete ignorance he sent out his own Sanitary Commn, & his act is in opposition to his fact(?)

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

I saw Dr. Alexander immediately after you yesterday - & set him to work to “index” his subjects - I am doing the same - So is Sutherland.
We shall all be ready by Tuesday – I think Sir T. Phillips ought then to see us in your presence.

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

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

Lord Palmerston appears anxious to do the Army Estimates himself –

ever yours faithfully
F. Nightingale

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

May 13/57
Dear Mr. Herbert

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

Yours ever faithfully
F. Nightingale
Dear Mr. Herbert

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

For once, the Medical & Purveying Depts are “d’accord” – The ideas of the former on Army Medical Reform are

- more pay
- more relative rank
- more funeral honors
- less work

The ideas of the Purveying Dept on Purveying Reform are

- more pay
- more relative rank
- less work

It is truly Homeric.

But it is curious how these Purveyors entirely ignore, at least in these notes, the care /interest of the Sick, viz. that which they are there for. It is Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out – I see my old friend of Jersey lifting up his head again, & graciously bestowing his approbation. while Purvr Jenner, the man who best
did his duty in the War,
is not there at all -
But what is really
distressing & not at all
a joke is this -
Most of these men
I have served with in
the war. I know that
they know the evils, from
which followed the loss
of an Army, as well as
I do. Yet there is not
one who has habits of
business, or organizing
power, or clearness of
perception, or of feeling
enough to (illeg)/see other than
what is noted in this
Paper - The only sensible

suggestion in it is that
against contracts & this is negatived by Purv. in Chief. This
Paper is in itself the
strongest condemnation
of the whole Department I
have seen -
I am very glad to/you have
seen it. before examining.
2. I am sorry, that/but not
surprised, that “my
Pratt” was not confidential.
However, four of your men
whom I have seen,
unite in saying that
he made such a
break-down, or rather
Exposé, as to condemn
the system, root & branch.
My Pratt is a treasure.
And I was quite satisfied with his evidence - I am much more afraid of Robertson, who is a clever fellow - & a plausible - for making the worse appear the better cause -

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

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

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

   In the E. Indian Service, the Steward does every thing which I propose he should do - excepting that he is the servant of the Commissst & not of the Governor - Were our Commissst on the same model & with the same military organization as theirs, it might do - But never as ours is now constituted -
I send you Sir J. McNeill’s criticisms upon me, which please return.

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

ever faithfully yrs
F. Nightingale
May 20/57

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

July 15/57 [14:526-27]
I return the Draft Report, because I am sure it must be wanted - I agree & more than agree with it. At the same time, I should like to go over the whole some day much more carefully, as I might be able to suggest some things which might be of use to Mr. Herbert. Now, however, would you tell him this? viz.

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

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

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

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

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

If Mr. Herbert could
get me this Report,
it would be of much use - now -
ever dearest yours

F.N.  
[end 14:527]
30 Old Burlington St.
London W.
Aug 8/57

Dear Mr. Herbert,

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

The whole point, however, is lost by this scheme, which is: if you are to improve the Army Medical Dept, the means of improvement are not to be dictated by themselves, any more than by any other uneducated class – Independence of the “Director-General”, (at least of any D.G. you are likely to have for the next 20 years,) would constitute the main claim to public confidence, the main means of usefulness of this School – It ought, therefore, to depend immediately on the S. of S., or, if an Army Educational Board be constituted, on this Board. There are many precedents in Government to this –
(It is positively incredible that the young men should have been, up to this time, put under any chance Inspector at Fort Pitt to be educated).

Till the Army Medical Board is educated, it is no use putting the education under it - Dr. Sutherland has seen the enclosed Draft, which I have made for your approval, & he approves - Should you take this view, you might either propose it direct to Panmure, who would, otherwise, be left in the hands of Andrew Smith - or call a Sub-Commission of say Dr. Parkes, Sir B. Brodie, Mr. Ferguson, with yourself at its head, & call upon them to consult with you upon some such scheme for Panmure. It might perhaps come with more force from a lay Authority i.e. under you -
2. The Barrack Commission progresses thus: Dr. Sutherland, having consulted Capt. Laffan, by Lord Panmure’s direction, as to a competent Royal Engineer, Capt. Laffan admitted that he had none to recommend — What an admission — that, altho’ we had Engineers to build Barracks to kill the men, we had none to cure them — Sutherland has accordingly written to Panmure asking for a Civil Engineer, besides the Military one, whom Capt. Laffan proposes should be Capt. Galton, Board of Trade, (i.e. for London alone) — and for Dr. Burrell as the only Medical Officer he knows who is Sanitary also —

This complication will make it still more impossible to work, unless you are at the head to decide differences —
Col. Jebb went out of
town yesterday. He came
to see me, & said he
knew of no R. Engineer.

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

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

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

The Model Camp
gives 248,000 men to
the square mile - The
lowest is 150,000 - The
inhabited area for Camps gives 800,000
men to the square mile!!!!

Now LONDON is 50,000 only. [triple und] [end 14:529]

ever sincerely yours
F. Nightingale

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

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

Dear Mr. Herbert

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

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

3. The more I think

about placing the Sanitary
Officer in the field under
the P.M.O. the more I
feel sure it will not
work - Because the two
have nothing in common.
The P.M.O. will report
to your newly created
Medical head - the
Sanitary Officer to your
Sanitary head - The
P.M.O. is really a
mistake. He performs
1. Inspections which
are of no use - because
they are upon things
in which the Regimental
Surgeon is far more interested & has more knowledge than he has
2. he collects bad Statistics -
3. he bungles the supplies of medicine.
These are his occupations & he has nothing to do with the Sanitary Officer -
ever sincerely yours
F.N.

Aug 13/57

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

Burln St.
Aug 15/57 [14:530]

Dear Mr. Herbert

Dr. Sutherland has written to you - It appears to me that, with such ideas as Lord Panmure has, about the esse “financial limit” of the Barrack Commission, you should hardly allow yourself to be put at their head, as they can only fail in their object of doing good to the men & disgrace themselves -

Upon a rough calculation I have made, founded upon other building works of a Sanitary kind, I should think 2s/2d per man per annum a fair calculation, i.e. a half= penny per week per man, as the interest of the money laid out. I should not be at all surprised, if the improvements of the Six
London Barracks cost £10,000, instead of £600, according to Pan. But, if your Report does not bring about an expenditure like this, I think Pan is reckoning without his host.

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

2. Dr. Balfour brought me the “Recommendations” today. He has made a material alteration, as to Statistics, utterly inadmissible, & which strikes at the vital element of Statistics, which is uniformity - I send 1. the original substance of the Report, 2. Balfour’s alterations & some emendations, signed between Brackets, which I did not suggest to him, tho’ I contended the point with him. but, without which, I think nothing is gain{ed}
We recommend that a Nominal List of the deceased soldiers & of the births & marriages in the Army be communicated to the Registrar General [in the forms of the Schedules appended to the Registration Acts — (F.N.)] at such periods & in such a shape as may be necessary for the object in view.

That an improved nomenclature of diseases be adopted in the Army Medical Returns, & such alteration in the classification of diseases as may admit of an accurate [& ready F.N.] comparison with [the National & F.N.] other returns of a similar nature, & that the periodical publication of the Statistics of Sickness & mortality among the troops be regularly organized.

[one great object of Army Statistical Returns is to shew to men of science & the public the peculiar diseases from which the Army suffers; & this will be accomplished most effectually by adopting the same classification as is employed in returning the causes of Death in the civil Population. F.N.]
We recommend that the statistics of the mortality of the Army be kept with the same nomenclature & forms, as used by the Registrar General, & that, during together with a nominal list of the deceased soldiers, they be communicated to the Registrar General for publication, at such periods & in such a shape as may be necessary for the object in view -

{at top of preceding f, written sideways}

in great haste
ever faithfully yours
F. Nightingale

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

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

30 Old Burlington St
London W.
Aug 17/57

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

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

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

I am afraid this is too late for the Report. But it might come into the final Report.

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

2. I have got the Returns of Receipt & Expenditure from the Guards’ Model Lodging House – It brings in about 2.2 per cent. I think we shall be able to make out a very clear case, both as to economy & morality, for Lodging Houses for the Line – Government does, you know, already give lodging-money, – 2d per day per woman allowed to marry & to live out of Barracks.

in haste ever faithfully yours F. Nightingale

{in another hand: 17th Aug/57 Miss F.N. – compare whole rate of army mortality with that of general Population – Guards’ model Lodging House}
Dear Mr. Herbert

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

It makes such an important difference in the Mortality of the Army that it is impossible to leave out in your Report a more detailed mention of it.

I venture to send some conclusions for your private consideration.

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

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

It cannot be left to the Appendix - Whenever I am infuriated, I revenge myself with a new Diagram & Dr. Farr, in whose hands I have placed a Copy of this Table, & who is constructing a very pleasing “Curve” -

2. Dr. Balfour is strenuous against the Sub-Commissions on Regulations & Statistics. The fact is, the best of these men want to keep Regulations & Statistics to themselves, & they do not see that, unless you are there to do battle with A. Smith & Panmure, nothing good will be done. Dr. Balfour wants it to be left to the Army Medical Council.
Dr. Balfour is going to tell Lord Panmure that he disapproves of the Sub=Commissions. It is incredible how these men will stick to abuses & kick against the pricks.

3. Many thanks for your letter - I thought the Sub=Commissions very satisfactory - The clause about the “necessary things for all Barracks” will neutralize the harm of the £100 - The clause about the Statistics the harm of the alteration in the Recommendations F.N. [end 14:532]

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

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

Great Malvern
Sept 8/57 [14:535]

Dear Mr. Herbert

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

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

You will judge
better than I, whether there is anything to be done -
   I don’t well see how the Commission are to get on without Alexander - He is not a genius. But he is pretty nearly the honestest man I know, & the only honest man in the Department -
   Perhaps he has written to you -
   Don’t trouble to answer this to me -
   Should you have occasion to write to Alexander, I fancy Preston Pans Edinburgh the most likely to find him -
   Yours very sincerely
   F. Nightingale

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

Great Malvern
Sept 20/57

Dear Mr. Herbert
   I will take your advice & not come up to town tomorrow. But, as I must be there soon on business, I hope you will be so good as to tell me when you return from Wilton to do “Pan”, because I want to bother you a little more & come too -
   I have gone through
Derbyshire Co Record Office 131
all the Sanitary Letters & Papers of the Army in the East - I have Dr. Sutherland down here now, helping me. Of course he will come up whenever you want him -
They confirm your Report in toto. They confirm the supposition that there is no Sanitary Officer, except Dr. Burrell, who will do for your Medical Board. Cooper, Surgeon to the
4th Drag. Gds, whose excellent evidence you may remember in the McNeill-Tulloch Report, writes the best letters Sanitary recommendations after Burrell -
It will not do to print these Papers in your Report, because it would necessitate the printing of other papers - They are not complete without other Published Returns which we have - But, when compared with these, they constitute to me
by far the most perfect key to the history of the War which is in existence, & the most complete reason for the disaster.
I will write tomorrow to you a little sketch of them.
We have completed an Analysis of them for your private information only. I question whether, if you go over it, you will not think it desirable to add a Resolution to your Report for Commanding Officers in the Sanitary matters, besides that already there -
You will see -

Yours ever faithfully
F. Nightingale

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

Great Malvern
Sept 26/57

Dear Mr. Herbert
The papers (sent to the Commission) on/of the “Sanitary recommendations” for the “Army in the East” contain I find, three classes:
1. the correspondence which passed through the Director General’s Office.
I send you by this post a Digest of this, with remarks. Please read them & send them me back by post – unless I am to meet you in
London first -

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

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

and also a little sketch must be given on the mode of procedure of the French War De=artment & our own Home Department in Sanitary matters - as a comparison with that of the Horse Guards.
It might be desirable to print in the Appendix to your Commission an Analysis, with illustrative facts, of these “Sanitary papers,” without the Remarks - You will judge of this. I do not send you the Analysis, because I have, in my Remarks, given a sufficient one.

The other two classes are:
2. correspondence of Medical Officers
3. extracts from letter books which contain a vast amount of matter, both as to Scutari & the Camp.

I will send you a Digest of each.

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

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

The soldier was necessarily dependent upon the Commissariat for every kind of supply – both in Bulgaria & still more in the Crimea.

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

Preserved Potatoes
Chocolate
Coffee
Tea
Sugar
Rice
Barley
& to be paid for daily out of the soldier’s pocket money

Porter
Ale
Tobacco

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

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

No other system was made to supply its place for a considerable period.

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

initialed letter, 1f, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale - Proposing a meeting - & that Drewry must produce the Forms} black-edged paper [c1857] 2057/F4/66

I have just seen Farr. He had not then got the blessed Forms back from Drewry, who is as bad as any washerwoman about sending home things on Saturday night—But I do think it would be well
worth while to have a Meeting tomorrow & Drewry MUST produce the Forms.

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

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

Yours sincerely

F.N.

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

Dear Mr. Herbert

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

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

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

but what is there brought forward.

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

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

Yours ever faithfully

F. Nightingale

Gt. Malvern

Sept 28/57
Burln St Oct 9/57 [14:538-40]

Dear Mr. Herbert,

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

1. The Diagram is for the Q.M.G., & will astonish our friends of the Dark Ages at the Horse Guards a little. I have been asking Military reasons for that plan of killing people, but have, as yet, found none - I have not shewn those calculations to any one but Farr.

2. As to the Returns, (1). Tulloch’s are very valuable. For this/these reasons, Clumsy as they are, they shew what not a man of the Army Medical Dept knows a bit nor a scrap of - Yet these Returns are made up from Andrew Smith’s. What has he been about that, for the last 20 years, he has not published/made them up every six months? From these Returns, it is quite possible to gather what/which Stations have stood still in
Sanitary measures, which have made progress, & which will want your Barrack Commission - I guess that Malta & Corfu have been stationary. The whole result is most satisfactory & shews that, from the improving good sense of Commanding Officers, \textit{how} much has already been done by Sanitary means to reduce Mortality.

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

(2). I have stolen a whole heap of Recruiting Returns, which I think/want to shew you - You will perhaps like to print them. The number of rejections amounts, in some instances, to 63 per cent. The causes (which are specified) for which they are rejected, prove that we have a system, which must ensure for our Army the finest physical speci\text{mens} in the world, (saving, I suppose, some of our best aristocracy) You will say that the ingenuity which produces Scrofula, Consumption & Premature Mortality among such
a physical “pick” cannot have reached its very high present state of perfection without repeated trial. It far surpasses the ingenuity of Majendie & Co. in producing Scrofula among Rabbits, which was less quickly & less extensively done — (3). The third set of Returns is some on Invaliding & Mortality/ies Returns, of which the results are excessively curious. But Dr. Balfour has taken them away to “cook” them — It appears that the rate of Invaliding under 14 years’ service is lowest among the “Household Cavalry”, but the Mortality among such Invalids is highest — that the rate of Invaliding under 14 years’ service is highest among the “Horse Artillery”, but the mortality among such Invalids is lowest. The sappers & miners give almost the same result as the H. Artillery.
I have made a quite rough calculation, which must not be used till our Data are less rough, of how much this will raise our Mortality. You will see that the relative proportionate of mortality of each arm is much more kept to, than we expected. Your Cavalry will always be healthiest. And the Cavalry of the Line & Horse Artillery will be probably much alike. But we have not yet the Artillery Returns complete.

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<th>1844-52</th>
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<th>119</th>
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<table>
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<td>24573</td>
<td>1832</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>256173</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sappers & Miners

Per 1000

With Invalids 18.2
Without "     17.7

I forget whether I ever shewed you a calculation which was verified by Dr. Farr, which I made for the Foot Guards, to shew how their Mortality would be raised by taking into account both the Invalids & those excluded in recruiting - I enclose it - But I had not then seen the Recruiting Returns I now have - I suspect I have underrated the “Excluded Sick of Dangerous Diseases” -

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

F. Nightingale
30 Old Burlington St.  
London W.  
Oct 9/57  
[14:540]

Dear Mr. Herbert,

Dr. Balfour desired me to read the enclosed to you - And, upon it, I have to say that, troublesome as it will be to us to read through a bulk “three times the size” of what we have already, I don’t see how we are to write “Regulations” for the future, without knowing what, in the past, the Army Medl Dept. have considered their functions, & how they have fulfilled them - Whatever comes out in Dr. Smith’s Blue Book that we have not seen, he will always say, “This overthrows your Report. You see we have done it all already” - And Panmure will take it all for truth, without giving himself the trouble to see which is
truth. It would be very
discouraging to be over=
thrown by a mere
quibble of this kind -
Therefore I say, “Yes,
have it all”. And I
will undertake, (at least
before next meeting of
Parlt) to have it all
analysed - & collated.

2. With regard to
circulating my Evidence,
I had wished it put
off, knowing that it
will bring upon me
something disagreeable.
But perhaps it is
better not to put off
the evil day - If Smith
wants to cross-examine
me, (illeg) /he ought to have the oppor=
tunity -

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

Yours faithfully

F. Nightingale
Dear Mr. Herbert

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

1. “Blank forms - Copies of all the forms that are in use in the Army Medl Dept for statistical purposes.”
2. “Copy of each Return or Form filled up. To shew the usual manner of doing so-

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

4. “A copy of all Sir A. Tulloch’s Statistical Reports .
5. Introductions to the Medical Officers of the Guards’ Hospitals in London - to the P.M.O. at Woolwich Artillery Hospital - to the P.M.O. at Chatham, with the view of seeing the working of the present system of Returns. This he wishes to do quietly & without official fuss -

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

I entirely see, with you, that upon a proper Statistical organization depends all future progress of the Army - The very publicity alone will enable you
to call these fellows to account, who have made a kind of Egyptian priesthood of their Military mysteries, which are no mysteries at all –

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

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

However, please try & get your foot into the “Regulations” in this Statistical Commission. You have pointed out the way in your letter this morning to me. I enclose a few data which, if you thought well of them, might form a part of the suggestions in your Instructions to Farr.

2. With regard to the Medical School, the great thing will be to find the men for the Chairs. For the Sanitary Pathology & Chemistry, it will be in vain to seek in the Army - Grainger or Parkes for the Sanitary & Aitken for the Pathology would, I believe, obtain most votes among Non-Army men - For the Surgery, it will be desirable to steer clear of Matthew, who has been appointed to the Edinburgh Army Chair - a good Surgeon, but with no one requisite for teaching - It is difficult now to get a good Teacher, for the Pupils are up to their Masters. But there must be good Army men for this. [end ams]
Sir James Clark is, I think, the only other Commissioner you mention not likely to be in town at the beginning of next week or close of this - You will know best when the Q. comes back -

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

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

ever faithfully yours
F. Nightingale

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

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

30 Old Burlington St.
Nov 2/57

Dear Mr. Herbert

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

I hope that Panmure moved by idleness and Andrew Smith, is not
going to say that he asked you to help them, & you would not, & so he has done the best he could.

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

If he will not give up the organization, there would be two pis allers, 1. that you should join the Commission proposed, of himself & yourself, A. Smith & Croomes, when you could, at the worst, refuse to sanction what is imperfect or useless - & have the reply in the House 2. that you should add to your Report a
Derbyshire Co Record Office

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale Medical Board Nov 2/57}
sketch of the evils,
with an existing Regulation
as an illustration of
each - and a proposed
Regulation as a remedy
for each -
I could, with very
little trouble, supply
you with a case & an
existing Regulation for
each evil, pointed out
in your Report, if you
would compose the
Code of Remedies -
I do not believe that
it would be possible for the
existing Organization to stand
against such a show-up

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

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

This is the first Proof
of the Description of the
Diagrams. If you approve
of this kind of way of
doing it, you will
perhaps return me
this Proof the first
thing in the morning
with your criticisms,
as I think it might
be improved - Dr. Farr
has a Proof too, in
order that he may say whether the inferences are correct. It is the most complete justification of all that Sir John McNeill has ever said asserted. They had better have cried “Peccavi” - For here is the {illeg}/damning proof that he did not advance a statement which was not more than warranted - I shall like him to see this, when your Appendix is out - I hope you will not think it impertinent, if I enclose a note of his, which refers to how your present investigations in the Barracks, of which I have told him, bear out your state ments in the Report - & shews a little what his indignation has been with the Q.M.G.’s & Army Medical Departments ever yours faithfully Nov 11/57 F. Nightingale
This is the “Constitution” of the Army Medical Board, as proposed in the Report. It is extracted from a fuller Sketch which you have/had, giving his/its Powers too. (This Constitution in/by itself, would convey no idea to Panmure probably, who is stupid).

It should be accompanied by a sketch of the Powers. Mr. Alexander would do those of the Medical branch - Those of the Sanitary we could extract from the Sanitary regulations, now going to press, in which a Sanitary branch is presupposed, & they/which must be compared with it, for the sake of consistency - The Statistical branch we must wait to see Farr’s forms, in order to do - Perhaps, if you approve the “Constitution,” which is almost copied from yours, you might send it to press, & we could draw up the Powers, whenever you desire/direct it. [end 14:543]

F. Nightingale

Nov 11/57
Regulations

Nov 15/57

[14:543-44]

Regulations Proof -

Dear Mr. Herbert

You only can judge

about those Regulations -

I shall of course obey

orders - Unquestionably

they must agree with

the Report -

I think it may

be managed very easily.

The point, in calling

the Pay Master Treasurer
& the Purveyor Steward
(in the General Hospitals)

is that the Treasurer

takes one of the functions

of the Commissst (Banking)

in addition to being

Paymaster - the Purveyor

Steward takes another

function of the Commissst,
& one of the Barrack Master,
in addition to his

Purveyorship - The real
difficulty however of

the name “Purveyor” is

that it brings him

under the Purveyor in Chief,
in London
whereas we/you want to centralize the power in the Governor, vide Report.

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

The case of the Regi= mental Hospls is different. And, as your Report says that the Purveyor must be under the Principal Medical Officer, so must the Regulations say - Ever yrs faithfully

F.N.

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

30 O. Burl St
Dec 19/57

Dear Mr. Herbert

I have seen Tulloch’s Diagrams. They merely give the state of the Army before & after 1837. Your Diagrams take up its condition at precisely the point where Tulloch says the improvement begins & shew how bad it is - It reminds one of Miss Austen’s young lady who had bought an ugly bonnet & said there were much uglier in the shop - Or of Tulloch’s own just indignation with the Crimean people at the Chelsea Board who said It might have been worse. Tulloch & Balfour seem to think that they will be in
some way to be blamed for the Army not being better - instead of our being very much obliged to them (which I am sure we are) for what they have done - The thing is however now to guard the future progress of the Army -

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

"The numerical results in this Table are well illustrated by the Diagrams, supplied by Sir A. Tulloch, shewing the diminished Mortality from different Diseases among troops serving on foreign Stations after the year 1837. The improved condition of the whole Army since that period is represented in contrast with the Mortality among Civilians of the same ages at home on the coloured Diagrams C & D.

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

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

Do not trouble yourself to answer this -

I do not hear a very good account of Dr. Greenhow’s Sanitary Lectures at St. Thomas’s Hospital - Mr. Whitfield, of St. Thomas’s, whom you
know a little to be a good man, says they give dry statistical facts & not practical knowledge - He says of Mr. Tufnell of Dublin that, altho’ a superficial man, he is a first rate Lecturer for a Surgical Chair more for that than for Medicine
So that is “bien trouvé”

I hope Mrs. Herbert is observing absolute “recumbency”, (a Hospital word,) till 2 P.M. daily -
Believe me ever most sincerely yrs
F. Nightingale
{in another hand: Dec/57 Miss F.N. Tulloch & Balfour - Diagrams - note to be added - as to Dr. Greenhow - and Mr. Tufnell of Dublin.}

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

30 Burl St.
Xmas Eve

Dear Mr. Herbert
I have gone thro’ Ewart’s “Colonization in India” 4 Reports, (which are only Evidence) & marked all the passages which refer to Sanitary business - If you would like to have the marked copy rather than the trouble of doing the
same thing, I will send it you -

The impression it leaves upon my mind is, through much evidence, often contradictory, generally clumsy, & flimsy & always vague, that the thing can be done - i.e. the Sanitary Reform can be worked - that practical insight in the details is utterly lacking - but that there is a prima facie case, which is entirely irresistible, that men may live in India as well as in England, if people will set about it but that nobody has set about it.

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

The impression it leaves is that the only persons who
understand any of the subjects are the Civil administrative people - & that all the rest are idle bunglers -

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

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

One curious fact I have got at - that at Dugshai, Subathoo, Kussowlie, stations as healthy as any English climate, the troops suffer intensely from Diarrhaea - Why? Because in the plains the skin does the whole eliminating function - And then they are sent up to these hill stations - without a rag more clothing. Why,
if they did not have Diarrhoea, every man of them would die. Oh how poor Nature is abused, and blamed, for/who is only doing her very best to save us from our own folly! which ought to be the thing blamed -

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

of Ewart’s Report -
But I am more & more convinced that no real good will ever be done except by a Report calculated to carry weight with it - & compel observance by regulation -
Pleas don’t suppose that I am staying in town on account of the business. Williams
is very recalcitrant (& was when you spoke to me) about my going to Malvern at all. I have not made upon/my mind - but if I stay here, it will only be on account of my own health.

yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

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

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

Great Malvern  
Dec 29/57

Dear Mr. Herbert
Your behests shall be observed as to the “Coxcombs” - No one has seen them but yourself, Dr. Farr & Dr. Sutherland, not even Dr. Balfour. It is our flank=march upon the enemy. And it leaves them not a word to say - “This is what you have done with the Army”. They
cannot answer it. They can only deny. There will be plenty of that, as there was at the Chelsea Board - I could wish that it were out, before fools are thinking of the Princess' marriage, & wise men of the coming "row" in Parliament - The gigantic business of organizing the India Army makes all you are doing only the more important.

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

2. I venture to send, for your consideration, a few remarks I have just put down, in which I have helped myself largely from
Sir J. McNeill, to whom I wrote, as to the absolute necessity of separating the functions of Banking & Supply, the Offices of Paymaster & Purveyor in General Hospitals. When Mr. Croomes said it had never been done, he did not know how fearfully we had suffered from its "never having been done". There is no hurry about it - but you would perhaps take it into consideration before you finally pass the "Regulations". ever yrs sincerely

F. Nightingale

{from the first f, written in the left margin) I saw a book once in the Wilton Library, of the time of Cromwell, called "God’s Revenge upon Murder". This is what you should call the Coxcombs. [end 14:550]

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

Gt Malvern
Dec 31/57

Dear Mr. Herbert
You received the Copy of the "Regulations" this morning. So did I. And I have gone over those for the "Nurses" carefully - and made the following Remarks, which I send -
I am really very sorry to worry for you - for all that is written in that long story might
have been said in 10 minutes. If you would just glance over it however, & if you approve my emendations & their reasons, send on the M.S. to Dr. Sutherland to be worked into the “Regulations” - before you meet at Wilton - If you don’t approve, perhaps you will remit them back to me with your objections “for re-consideration” -

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

I am afraid I shall have to worry you again, now you have received the “Regulations”. But it shall be as little as possible. I think ’57, poor old year, has been a good year’s work for the troops - But I hope ’58 will be a better - And so it will, under you -

ever yours faithfully
F. Nightingale

{in another hand: 31 Dec 1857 -Miss Nightingale - Paymaster}
Gt Malvern
Sept 19/58
Dear Mr. Herbert

In order that you may see that I have not been quite idle in your absence, I send you a few News= paper Articles on Netley - [These are not all.] In the next debate on Netley, I should like some M.P. to get up, unroll these, & a great many more, & remark upon the beautiful unanimity of the British press & the common sense of the public.

Please return me this curious literature, as I have no other copies of my works. I hope you will come here & look at this place - a very handy place, when one can’t go abroad - & I don’t at all “want not to be seen” -

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

Among other things I have to do there is this. They want a Regimental Hospital for 60 men for the Hut Camp at Woolwich - And they
are so obliging as to say that Galton may furnish them with plans - I want it to be a Model of Regimental Hospitals for unborn ages. We/It is a fine opportunity - We have the plans sketched out, but cannot go on with them till we all meet in London - Galton’s draughtsman has sent down the first draught to me [end 16:313] here. yrs sincerely

        F. Nightingale
Dear Mr. Herbert

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

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

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

You proposed to write me a letter, such as I could print, (immediately after
Ld Panmure’s letter
of Instructions to me to write a Precis) - accounting
for the way I came by
this correspondence -
And I thought some
ting like the enclosed
Draft Heads would do - put
in your own way -
For, altho’ we have
been in the habit
lately of writing
“Instructions” to ourselves,
I am afraid I am
not successful in
writing a letter to myself -

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

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

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

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

2. You are at liberty
to make such use of
them in your Precis
as may best advance
the object in view,
viz. the improvement
3. I would suggest that short Abstracts be made of them, setting forth the contents of the papers, and that any remarks with regard “to the Sanitary requirements of the Army generally” such as you have been instructed to make, & that these be appended to your Precis.

S.H.

-----

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

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

F.N.
Dear Mr. Herbert

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

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

I have finished the “Army Medical Correspondence” during the War. And I ask myself, What was the result of it all? The sending out of Lime Juice, which was not distributed
till too late - & of Peat Charcoal, which was not wanted -

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

What can one say more in condemnation of a Department? Lord Raglan was the primary cause of Andrew Smith’s appointment - Never was there a more fatal act. It cost him his Army & his reputation -

Believe me ever most sincerely yours

F. Nightingale

The only letters in the whole collection which mark a Sanitary genius are Cooper’s, Surgeon, (4th Drag. Gds - I think) But he had the credit of a most impatient spirit. Though every one who saw him was struck with him, with his independence & genius. He is now at Manchester,

I believe - And it might be worth while to make more enquiries about him, though his temper would unfit him for the “Sanitary Member of Council,” I fear - Dr. Sutherland was much impressed with the correctness of his Sanitary views.

There is no hurry about reading me -
It will do at any time

F.N.

{in another hand: Dec/57 Miss F.N. “Army Medical Correspondence” her opinion of it - Surgeon Cooper - his sanitary genius - Army Medical Board}
Gt. Malvern
Jan 9/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

I am very sorry you have lumbago -
I hope it is not very bad & that it is nothing worse.
I only write a line to say in re Hawes - (you know I am worse than 7 idiots at Politics, & therefore I have no idea how this will do) - your reply is a complete one to Hawes’s proposal - but, if Alexander gives way, you should have no act or part in Hawes’s scheme - better, then, to connect the Sanitary element with W.O., or Horse Gds, & throw the D.G. overboard - The prestige of his Office is then gone. The "Regulations" must be remodeled - for, without your "Instructions" to Medl Council, the whole thing is worthless - Better to keep your principle intact & lie by till better times than fall in to such a slough-
If the Medical Council is, on the other hand, won - (you gained the School) - I can’t but think you will gain this too) - still Burrell must be had. What Alexander says is all nonsense. The Warrant does not apply to the Council. Even if it did, which it does not, there must be exceptional departures from principles rules for the sake of a cause - [The old Medical Board consisted chiefly of Civilians] Genl Peel should make Burrell a Depy Insptr.

Without any paternal fanaticism for one’s own inventions in organization, I think you may safely say that Hawes has no invention at all (in that line of organization). He is the genius of dis-organization. Two men it would be cheap to the country to pension off on full pay - Hawes & Laffan.

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale
“Mrs. Dr. Blackwell” is in England for a few days. I thought it wrong to lose the opportunity of seeing whether she would do for the “N. Fund” & have asked her down here. She is come but I have not seen her yet - I shall report to you & whatever she is or says, shall make her no proposal, which pledges us, before that.

Great Malvern
Jan 10th/58
Dear Mr. Herbert
I will only now answer your question about the proportion of Nurses to Patients -

1.40 Bed Ward
minimum size for Regulation
number of 4 attendants

1 - a Ward of 40 Patients might be efficiently served (but it would be hard work) with
1 Head Nurse - Female
3 orderlies -
With no number of Patients to a Ward under 40, can the Regulation proportion of 1 Attendant to 10 Patients be adhered to.

2.20 Bed Ward
requires 3 ½ Attendants -

2 - With a ward of 20 Patients (cut, the scheme & arrange the hours and duties as you will) you cannot efficiently serve it with less than
½ Head Nurse (Female)
3 Orderlies.
& the other Ward of this Head Nurse must be very near too, and the Female Superintendent must have power to monopolize her to one ward, if necessary.

N.B. the same number would quite as efficiently serve a ward of 25 or even 30 Patients: but, in the latter case, there must be one Head Nurse must superintend to each ward

3. 10 Bed Ward cannot be served by 1 Orderly plus 1/5 Nurse

bad case among the 10, as by 9 in the 10 -

For, ë/is the same Orderly to be on duty for the 24 hours?
The difficulty is practically got over by the Army with a permission that any “bad case” may select any one he likes of his comrades (out of the Depôt) to be “told off” to attend upon him.

This extraordinary regulation is equivalent to (& affords no other practical result than) granting opportunity for any quantity of spirits & “grub” to be smuggled into Hospital.

4. Female nurses not to be substitutes for Orderlies.

4 - The introduction of Female Nurses into Military Hospitals is not intended to supply the place of Orderlies - but to perform a class of duties which never has been performed at all in the Army - the only Hospital duties, hitherto performed, of those generally called such, have/having been (in Military Hospitals),

Diet=carrying
Sweeping
Every thing which is “writing”
5. Naval Hospitals
   In all Naval Hospitals, the Regulation number of Attendants is 1 to every 7 Patients: & this is, in
   dependent of Female Matrons & the overseeing class.

Civil Hospitals
   In Civil Hospitals, the number is have even far greater of Attendants to Pa-
   9 Attendants to 44 Patients - the size of the ward, than by
   the badness of the cases - e.g. in one Hospital where
   there are quadruple wards of 44 Patients, (11 in each compartment)
   the number of attendants is from 7 to 9 to the 44 Patients -
   i.e. 1 Head Nurse } 1 _____
   4 Day    - )or {4 _____
   2 Night  - } 4 _____
   ——              ——
   7               9

   And in another Hospital, where there are 40 Patients in one Ward,

   -2-
   1 Head Nurse
   2 Day    -
   1 Night -
   are found to do the duty efficiently - (though it kills the Head Nurse,
   if she is a trustworthy woman - but, with one more, she might do it well)

6. Same
   One woman does the work of three men in a Hospital - speaking of
   will not do the duties discharged by Under Nurses
   same amount in Civil Hospitals - for men are un-
   of work as an accustomed to those duties from their
   equal number childhood up (in England)
   of women would this is not to say that women of the
   class of Under=Nurses in Civil Hospitals should be employed in Military Hospitals,
   which unquestionably they should not, but it is to say that you will not get
   the work done (efficiently) with a smaller number of men than you
   would employ of women -
7. Hospital attendance never been intelligently considered an entirely in the Army at all - & if you ask any Army Medical Officer what he would do in such cases as the above, he can give you no practical answer. I conceive it to be practically impossible to serve 4 Wards of Netley with 1 Head Nurse 4 Orderlies for, as I have said one bad case in each ward makes this/upsets the economy as unmanageable/much as nine would. do -

II. 8. Female Superintendent must practically modify the pro-portion of Female Nurses to cases according to circumstances, & not be tied up to 50 -

"Nurses shall be selected & appoint ed by the Superintendent=General of Nurses for each Genl Hospl in a proportion not exceeding one Nurse for every 25 cases" as being better than either my pro-position or Mr. Alexander’s Because it must practically be left to the Supt (Female) to decide, & in either of the other two proportions, an ill-inclined P.M.O. might make her duties almost impossible.

9. Sir John MacNeill 9 - Sir J. MacNeill did not “argue on the supposition that the Female Nurses are to be the only Nurses” He wrote with the Draft Regulations before him - how indeed could one Female attend alone “to 25 (or even 20) men”?
10. Desirableness of separating Medical Officers separate the Convalescent from the sick, & have convalescent wards, it will have practically the most beneficial result that could be. There are strong reasons for not allowing Female Nurses to Convalescents at all - any Female Supt would know this - & would, at most, give one to 100 cases, (if desired by the P.M.O.) merely to serve out wine, medicines &c. The amended Regulations would allow of this latitude.

11. Hospital Wards in the Army nothing with an inspection by a medical officer twice a day. You want to make it (by your new Regulations & your Female Nursing) into a place where the sick are attended. But this cannot be done by such a scheme as 1 Female Head Nurse to 50 Patients, in, say, 6 Orderlies to 6 (Netley) Wards, though this would be more than sufficient for 50 cases in one ward. But this wards of more than 25 beds would be, (sanitarily) too large.

12. Regulation as to 1 Orderly orderlies might require guarding. Practically it is broken every day, & in the extraordinary manner I have mentioned, which is much as if a Surgeon were to say “This operation is too much for me. I’ll call out of the window to a “Navvy” to help me” For the most serious cases are left to the rawest hands to nurse.

I should like to look over the Nurses’ Regulations very carefully again, before they are finally passed.

F. Nightingale
Gt. Malvern  
Jan 17/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

1. I will send you the rough estimate of the difference of total cost in attendance on wards differently distributed, as you have sketched them - If you could send me, from Genl Storks, the present rate of pay of the new Hospital Corps, it would be less rough -

   (What you gave me in London did not contain the pay.)

   But it will be but a piece of special pleading on our sides, after all, grounded on a false assumption, viz. that these people wish the soldier to be well nursed - They will always answer, “we can get a man out of the Depot to do all these duties of yours for nothing, who
is eating his head off at our expence."

2. I am very glad you are going to “convert the bureaucracy” to the “Treasurer” question in General Hospitals. For, if they are against it, it will fail - But, practically, if 300 Mr. Kirbys were to swear that there never had been one/a Treasurer, and 600 Sir B. Hawes’s that there never ought to be one, it should not make an iota’s difference in your opinion - which is formed upon the mischief arising out of this very defect under the Hawes & Kirby administration. It was not upon their expe-
ience that you invented General Hospitals -

If all the 600 Army Surgeons were to swear that Cholera was an “inscrutable decree of Providence” & it was
no use to drain, it would make no difference in your opinion. But, unless the Army Surgeon can learn to say this, he cannot enter into the kingdom of the A.M.D., as at present constituted. And so is it with the Hawes & Kirby kingdom.

3. By the way, did you see a capital letter of Dr. Rigby’s in the “Times” of the 14th, on the constant ratio of ventilation to mortality in his Lying-in Hospital - There has been an appearance & disappear- ance of Phagedæna, according to ventilation, in the same way, in the Military Hospital you sent me an account of at Winches- ter - Many thanks for that long letter -

4. I hear, as I dare say you have, that Col. Macdougall is to be the Chief of the Staff College at Sandhurst - There is to be one more Examination at Burlington Ho. under the present system, for Admissions to Woolwich - after which they become extinct animals. I suppose the entrance to Woolwich
Derbyshire Co Record Office

will be exclusively
thro’ the Sandhurst
Junior School now -
a great pity, don’t
you think so?

5. I think I shall
have to submit to you
some modifications in
the “Nurse Regulations”,
before they are finally
passed - And it might
be as well if you thought
well to send me back
my paper on Nurses Pay
& Pensions.  

My aunt S. Smith’s address
in London is 6 Whitehall still -
ever faithfully yrs F. Nightingale

[end 15:274]
Dear Mr. Herbert

This is only to say that, having heard from General Storks this morning that Panmure was expected tomorrow, Thursday, I shall come up to the old place, 30 Old Burlington St., tomorrow night -

This is not, of course, to be a gêne to you in your Manchester plan in any way - but only to signify that I shall be there, if you will be good enough to come & see me, whenever you go & see Panmure -

The Indian news is terrible, or rather the goings on of the War Dept, with regard to it. We have seen terrible things for the last three years - but nothing, I think, like Panmure’s unmanly & brutal indifference - What are the murders committed by these miserable Bengalese, compared to the murders committed by the insouciance of
However, you have begun at the root of the matter - the physical & moral efficiency of the Army - And, by carrying your Reforms, all the rest will follow, & the Indian matter, indirectly, too -

I have read Hall -

It seems to me that he & I have been doing the same labor of love - without the knowledge of one another - viz. exposing the Sanitary system of the Army -

I have a mass of Regulations ready for you - Also, the letter press for the Diagrams is ready. These, I think, should be printed in such a form that they can be re-printed for private distribution, with the sanction of a Government Commission upon them. They speak to the eyes of the nation & will carry its feeling with you.

Perhaps you will let me know, when before I see you, at what time you will come - ever yours faithfully

F. Nightingale
You will not, of course, adopt any of the Suggestions, verbatim et literatim, which I have ventured to make - They are only medical facts, about the correctness of which I have consulted Farr & Sutherland, for your consideration -

signed letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/67

GT. MALVERN
Jan 20/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

I sent you this morning, “as directed”, a rough estimate of the comparative cost of attendance on wards of 30, 25, and 9 Patients respectively -

But, for fear it should be made use of “to our disadvantage”, I pray you to listen to what I now want to say, (not “as directed”), upon the different alterations of Netley in your letter.

Any alterations you may see fit to advise, with regard to the wards at Netley, must, in the first place, provide for the direct lighting & ventilation
of every part of every ward - This is not the case - No throwing of wards together, no causing parts of wards to project behind will compensate for the evil produced by ill-lighted & ill ventilated other parts, left in doing so.

The chief ward=improvement made, by the first Commission, on the old plan consisted in clearing out odd/all corners - And, in attempting to improve the new plan, the old defects must not be restored.

Again, the back buildings are much too close to admit of any projecting wards or parts of wards being thrown out behind - You would have two wells or “culs=de=sac”, with stagnant atmosphere, on each side the corridor leading to the back buildings.

If you throw out wards behind, you would require to pull down all the kitchen & dining room buildings & remove them to a greater distance. If left, they would hinder ventilation & light - Also, in such a plan, every ward projected out behind would interfere materially with the lighting & ventilation of the whole building.

The projections in the old original plan of the Chapel & Dining Rooms across the line of lighting were bad, and every ward projected would make it worse - unless indeed the distance between each projection were at least 101 feet, as at Aldershot, which is impossible to get at Netley.

If, Plan 2, the adjoining wards are thrown together so as to produce
long wards with beds along the back & front - then the Ward windows into the Corridors would have to be altered from the present plan, (in which these windows are in reality glass doors,) so as to leave a sufficient wall space between each two windows for two beds -

The plan of joining two wards by excavating a dark passage through the Orderlies’ room would not do.

These seem to me the principles to be kept in view in making the alterations. To some of them I should say directly, if I were you, I won’t have it. Of others, I should like to see the plans, as you have kindly proposed, very much -

The cost of attendance must also be considered - I see no alteration of plan which will not involve sacrifice of bed-space - And the Hospital will not accommodate the number its vast size ought to do - this will be another source of outlay. [end]

ever faithfully yours
F. Nightingale
Dear Mr. Herbert

Pray excuse my impertinence in the enclosure - You will not feel it so much as I do -

Of course the only value of Mr. Dasent’s speech is

1. that the “Times” means to do your Report justice
2. that it wants to have time for an analysis
3. that to send it a copy, as soon as you feel you can, would be worth while.

ever yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

Dasent of the Times spoke to me on yesterday/Saturday about Mr. Herbert’s Report & the subject of Barracks - As soon as it appears, he said they would put into good hands -
only they must try &
get an early copy:
for which it seemed
to be his purpose
that they should
apply to Mr. Herbert
himself. Of course
I could say nothing
to that, all my
discourse having
been the importance

of the subject & the
necessity of waiting
for the information
contained in the
Report -

He spoke very
highly of Mr. Herbert,
but their information
appears to be that
Lord Panmure has
no sort of intention

of resigning for the
next two years -
Nothing came from
the Printers on Saturday,
but I hope something
will come to go with
this.
Have the Sp Tr
arrived?

Ever Yours
A H Clough
Dear Mr. Herbert

1. The glass in Netley Corridors is intended to open double - not to be removed at all - (It would be impossible to remove it) - Such, at least, was the last plan I saw, sanctioned by the Comtee upon it.

2. It is better that there should not be an architectural correspondence between the arches of the Corridors & the doors of the wards, for Sanitary purposes. The piers are so thin that neither light nor ventilation are impeded.

3. The Hospital would not now be unhealthy. At least, it would be more healthy than any London Hospital. But it is quite behind the day. It is most expensive for administration - It is not at all what the Great Military Hospital of the British Empire should be - It would make a model Barrack for 2000 men -

4. To propose a good Hospital plan would/will be the key note to your Report - giving plans, details, estimates - This would, in itself, condemn Netley & prove your case. Otherwise, the Govt would find fifty Architects to swear that Netley is the best Hospital they ever saw, which is true now -

5. The site cannot be other than unhealthy.

6. In regard to the principles to be kept in view in alterations, you cannot afford to sacrifice any of those which
we have laid down together -
I send you a plan for the illumination
of your Commn, provided they will not
sacrifice the site:
1. Propose to provide for 800 sick.
You will never have more.
2. Keep your foundations
3. Have your corridor one story,
   with open terrace above.
4. Throw out 4 pavilions, 100 feet
   apart, behind the Corridor on
each side. The pavilions to
contain 3 wards in tiers
   101 ft long
   25 " wide
   16 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high
5. Remove the kitchens altogether
   from the centres of the square
& place them behind - The
dining=rooms* will be on the
*Or they may be
made room for
in the front of
in each Pavilion-
middle floor.  
[end 16:259]

Rate of Pension (Nurses)
Jan 23/58
I cannot conceive how Dr. Sutherland
could have made such a mistake
as to the Nurses’ Pensions - or how
I could have so mis=expressed myself
as to mislead you - The increase
of the Pension after it has been
awarded was never contemplated
either by Dr. Farr or me - Nor
did Dr. Sutherland understand it
so, when we three talked it over
in London - Unquestionably the
only principle in pensioning is
what you state - and “the 2 per
“cent (to increase annually till it
“reaches 70 per cent)” was intended
to be upon the rate of wages
received previous to retirement, -
not upon the pension which, once
Derbyshire Co Record Office  190
awarded, is to remain always the same -
Send me back my paper, of which I have no copy, (that I may correct it to make this clear,)
at your own convenience.
It should be - "rate of pension to be fixed according to rate of wages received in year previous to retirement - 2 per cent being added &c" for each year of service at &c
{in another hand: 23rd Jan. 1858 - Miss Nightingale}
Rate of Pension (Nurses) to be fixed according to rate of wages received year previous to retirement
signed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/67

Gt. Malvern [16:259]
Jan 31/58
Dear Mr. Herbert
I do not see that you could say less - or more than what you propose about Netley -
For it is the exact truth -
I cannot help hoping that they will adopt your Barrack suggestion for it.
Sir Harry Verney’s fear of large Hospital wards, because the French have small prison wards, reminds me of the argument used by the first Netley projectors against light (in Hospitals) because Col. Jebb found small windows good for solitary prisoners!!

I had heard that Panmure is very mad about Netley. It does not much signify, I suppose - If God would make Sanitary laws, we are not responsible for them. We are not the inventors or even the discoverers of them.

But I really have nothing to trouble you with, except that I am very sorry you still have Neuralgia, & glad you are going to Paris & not by night.

ever faithfully yrs
F. Nightingale

If you can lay your hand upon my Nurse paper, send it me here, please - But it does not signify.

{in another hand: 31 Jan. 1858 - Miss Nightingale - Netley}
Gt. Malvern  
Feb 4/58  

Dear Mr. Herbert

  I am very, very sorry to hear that you have your old enemy.

  I think it is mere quackery to advise a man to come down here for a few days - or to try water-treatment in London, when going on with all his Ho. of C. business &c &c -

The causes which brought it/the thing on must be suspended, in order to send it away again - And I think both Homœopathy & Hydropathy when they says otherwise, are quacks -
But I do very much
wish you could give
this place & the man
here a fair trial of
4 * or 6 weeks, if it
were possible, - I believe
it is the only cure for
Neuralgia - & that
it would destroy your
liability to its recurrence,
which surely is worth
while -
    I asked the man here,
who is not a quack -

- in a general way
your question - And
he said the same
thing -
    Without pretending
to judge about the Ho.
of C. business, surely
such a lull as this
might be managed -
some time soon
And, about our
business, we would
disinterestedly do all
we could in your
absence, viz. the detail,
leaving the management
of the principles till you
could come back - ever yours

F.N.
30 Old Burlington St
Feb 9/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

I really trust you are better - as I saw your name in the Ho. last night - That is the first thing.

2. I dare say you have seen all your Paris Commissioners - They seem to have come back strengthened in the “Pavilion” view of the Hospital question - thinking that no further alteration can be made in Netley - & that all that can be done is to recommend it as a Barrack -

3. I am come back, as you see - I did not write to you, because I was afraid you would say, “Don’t - we don’t want you”, when it would
have been sheer
impertinence in me
to have come.

4. I think it is
curious in the “Times”
Article of this morng,
to see A. Smith
coming out in the
character of a
complainant - & a
reformer, about the
Barrack & Hospital
question - And I
wish it would not
attack P. Albert
& the D. of Cambridge,
which sets them
against us - &/men who both,
are certainly far more progressive than
A. Smith.  

But this brings
me to what you say
about the Abstracts.

5. There is a
great deal to be said
upon the whole
question in your
letter - But I will
only take up your
time with one thing -
I adopt gratefully
all your amendments.
- except, - I think
I see a principle
at stake where you
see only a “fine dis=
-2-

tinction” in the administra
tive question -
(1) But the point
about the publication
of the papers/letters is, as
you say, the important
one - & one on which
you only can decide -
My own feeling is,
the public is now
occupied about other
things - but it is
quite upon the cards
that, if it takes
interest some day
about this Barrack

& Hospital question,
all that can be learnt
about the deficiencies
of the Army Medl
Dept may be called
for - And I think
it in the highest
degree important
that A. Smith should
be allowed to tell
his whole case now -
If I were Pres. of the
R. Commission, I should
therefore write to him
to ask him if he
has any more papers
he wishes to produce,
(have his answer in black & white)
& print them in an
Appendix with a
Prefix by yourself.

I do not think as
you do, the Public
would read them -
I do not think you
would find two other
people who, like Dr.
Sutherland & myself,
would have the
patience to “diagnose”
them -

And therefore I think
it the more important
that the whole case,
as told by A. Smith
himself, should be/come
out - while it can still
be “diagnosed” -

This brings me to
answer one of your
objections - We have
given the case exactly as
they have given it
to us. We have even
actually used Hall’s
own Abstract, verba=
tim, of his own
recommendations
& not ours -

(2) I have a feeling
about historical justice.
History, right or wrong,
is written in a very
different way now
from what it used
to be - Macaulay &
Lamartine do not
write, (as in the
Egyptian hieroglyphs,
of the reign of Bocchoris,)
of Victoria’s reign,
“In this reign a
lamb spoke” - The
whole Crimean story
will be carefully sifted
some day -
Surely, the justice to
our poor men, who
are lying forgotten
already in their
Crimean graves, is to
let blame rest
where blame is
due - not in order to punish
the offenders but to
prevent a recurrence
of the offence -
Let the truth be
known that, with
the Medl Dept & the
Military authorities,
not with the Home
Govt is the, I will
not say fault but,
ignorance - *
If you like it, I
will take out every
stricture upon the
Divisional Doctors,
who don’t deserve
much -
But it must lie
with Smith & Hall.
And I will modify/blame
about/a little more the Military
authorities - Altho’
I do think Hall
*You will defend Ld Canning,
but you won’t defend yourselves -
acquits Lord Raglan
(most unconsciously)
out of his own letter
to Smith
    ever yours faithfully
    F. Nightingale

    I hope your Netley report will give, once
    for all, all that is known of Sanitary
    principle regarding Hospital Engineering-
    we are sadly behind the rest of the world.
    Sir H. Verney came to Malvern to see me about it. He is ignorant but agog.

signed letter, 3ff, pen {in another hand: Feb/58 Miss Nightingale who shd review the Report.} 2057/F4/67

30 Old Burln St
Feb 11/58

Dear Mr. Herbert
    If you have regard for the different styles of the Reviews, you should not have Ld Stanley for the “Westminster” - Lord Stanley will write so as to make people think - Only Chadwick will write so as to make them do - Ld Stanley will take your facts
& put/reproduce them out of their proper proportions, and though he will make a good popular Article, he will never make a good practical one.

The Westm. handles these subjects & disposes of them practically. The Quarterly only munches them as an ass does thistles.

I know nothing against Chadwick as a publicist - As an administrator he is detestable - But he is the only man in Europe who could handle your Report as it ought to be handled - I had written to him as soon as I received Mrs. Herbert’s note last night - And though I do not think that compromises you to anything, I should be very sorry

I confess to see Lord Stanley in the Westm. Do not have Winter - He is a mere medical man & will produce a mere medical Article. If Farr can’t do it himself, which he can, have Ld Stanley for the Quarterly, & Farr for the Medico-Chirurgical Review - Howell shall be seen tomorrow for the Edinburgh - he is in town -
Kingsley has been written to tonight for “Fraser” -
J.H. Burton for the “N. British” -
Southwood Smith for the “British Quarterly”.
Do not forget Dickens for the comical side for the Household Words -
Please send me your final behests early tomorrow morning -
As Chadwick may come in the course of the day - And I must not compromise you -
I have not done any of the others myself, as it is better that your name should be used in all.

ever yrs faithfully
F. Nightingale

signed letter, 6ff, pen 2057/F4/67

--1--
30 Old Burln St. [14:977-79]
Feb 12/58

Dear Mr. Herbert
1. I have not yet heard from Chadwick - And I think he might be got to write in the “National” - a very rising Review, which has taken the same ground, as to social questions, as the “Westminster,” & is not so dogmatic on the religious question.
I think, therefore, if you have not yet done anything about Lord Stanley, I would let him stand, if such is your opinion, for the "Westminster", Farr for the "Quarterly", & Balfour for the "Medico-Chirurgical" - Balfour, as you know, is no authority at all on Sanitary questions - And, therefore, could you give him a hint to take it up on the Medical question, viz - shewing the Medical profession how much your Report does for them, instead of being against them. In that case, I think he will do - Otherwise, he is stupid.

2. I enclose you a note from Howell - I think, if you would write to Reeve today, it would be best. But if you can’t
shall I? I know him.
3. There is the "Quarterly Edinburgh Medical & Surgical Journal", - much read by the Army Medl Dept - Shall I write to Sir J. McNeill to manage that for you and recommend Dr. Begbie, who would do it well?
4. I think, if you would write to the Editors of the "Athenæum" & "Leader", it would be best, merely asking for an early notice?
5. The "Foreign Quarterly" is extinct -

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I would rather have one of my old soldiers to defend me than any of you all a great deal. The only answer to the "Guardsman" is in the old/"Private soldier's" letter this morning - "Touchstone" & is no answer at all & might be picked to pieces by any body, who knew any thing of the subject, of whom fortunately for us there are very few -

The arguments
1. about the Police
2. " Canada
3. " the Tower
4. " Cavalry
are all fallacious & blunders, & might easily lay us open to objec=
tions from those who, as I say, are fortunately few - who can see a blunder -

The Cavalry question however brings us to Gymnastics - and that must be looked to soon.

I hope you are better & will not go out today -

I enclose an “official letter” to you which I have long felt to be necessary.

ever yrs faithfully

F. Nightingale

The common sense of the last paragraph of the “Old/Private Soldier’s letter beats us all.

The “National” has been writing Military articles lately.

I have just seen Lord Stanley’s note.

I will think of somebody else for the “National” & keep Chadwick to the “Westm.”

Chadwick just come!
1. I think Ritson would be worth writing to -
   Because he carries the Manchester local Press
   with him - which is of more value than London imagines - Let him put an Article in the "Manchester Guardian" -
2. I think the "Athenæum" should be treated respectfully - And the Editor asked to do it. It is the only paper of many professional men.
3. For the sake of the Drs, the "Medico-Chirurgical" must also be treated respectfully - And Farr or Carpenter (the Editor) would do it well -
4. I don’t think Chadwick can be offered any Review but the "Quarterly", if he does not have the Edinbur “Westm.” He is a dangerous enemy - And he carries with him all the Shaftesbury Sanitary party. If he does not write with us, he will write against us, especially if neglected - And he is much more read in Europe than any one else/Sanitarian - Some of his things have been translated into every language -
5. If J.H. Burton fails, Sir J. McNeill might be asked for the "N. British" - Not otherwise, I think - His name has become a watch-
word of a party, by no fault of his -

Would Mr. Herbert send today by post, with W.O. stamp, copies to
1. John Hill Burton Esq
   Advocate
   Edinburgh
2. Southwood Smith Esq
   M.D.
   St. George’s Hill
   Weybridge
   Granton Ho.
   Edinburgh

These people ought to have it, whether they write or not. [end 14:979]

F.N.

This is in re “Constitution Army Medl Council” v.
“Weekly Statistical Return” - & refers to the two papers sent on Monday.

There is no hurry - But the thing stands thus.
All this last month the “Regulations” have hung fire- Because Farr would not write the Statistical ones till Sutherland had written the Sanitary ones.
And Sutherland would not write the Sanitary ones till Farr had written the Statistical ones -

Farther than this, you will find the “Report”, the “Regulations” & the “Weekly States” all at variance -

This will not do - I have therefore written the enclosed Draft Regulations for Sanitary reporting, which Sutherland has condoned to endorse -

And which, if approved by you, may/might go into the reprint of the “Regulations”.

Farr should be requested to write his Regulations for Statistical Reporting in accordance with them, IF approved by you -

And one line in/by you in your own Report of/for the Sub=Commn on Statistics will arrange the matter -

The weekly Report for Statistics is important (for reasons I have given) at least in the United Kingdom -

And the third Draft Regulation, (see Draft enclosed), will, if carried, give the most valuable assistance to civil reporting on health, which ought to bribe Farr’s assent.

F. Nightingale

March 3/58
I wrote to Lord Stanley a letter, (in my usual temperate terms & with the moderation which is my characteristic,) about the affair at Dum-dum, where 1800 women & children having been packed into a space for 300, 500 of them died of Dysentery - And all within 5 miles of Calcutta - And the Govt Officer, instead of dispersing them immediately, drives back to Calcutta & makes a Minute. Really I can remember nothing in the Crimea, (for a want of all organization) to compare with this - And then people say, "It’s all the climate. What can you expect? Women & children WILL die in India"
I wrote to Lord Stanley, pointing out how urgent such facts make a Commission of Enquiry. He answers:

"I can only say at this moment that the Dum=Dum affair shall be fully enquired into." [I hope not by old Indians] "I had seen it, but thank you none the less for reminding me" - If it has "reminded" him to do it the old way, it will be no good - I hope "at this moment" means that another "moment" is coming.

Martin & Tulloch were not examined yesterday before the Re=organization Commissn, as intended - but Genl Franks & Major Holland were. Martin & Tulloch are to be examined on Monday - And I have written a sentence for Martin (which he has inserted into some written Evidence of his to be given in) as to the necessity of a Sanitary Commission - The Dumdum enquiry, if fairly gone into, must bear so heavily on somebody, (possibly Linton who is at Calcutta,) that I should hope

{from the bottom of the first page}

it would initiate a real & searching Sanitary Commission Enquiry
March 16/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

Farr complains that the printers at the War Office are so very long. [I think he is also very long himself]

1. His Statistical FORMS are still, he says, in the Printer’s hands - And we cannot finish our “Instructions” in the “Regulations” without them. He promised to write to you to ask you to “touch up” Mr. Drewry - But, in case he does not, I do-

2. He has finished his part of the Statistical Report - which is very able, but omits all mention of the defects which made it/the Commission necessary.

{the following paragraph is crossed out}

He wants an order for/from you to print it, before discussing it in the Commission. I hope he has written to you -

3. The only point (among the enclosures I send) for your immediate consideration is that about this bundle of “Sanitary & Statistical Regulations” -

F. Nightingale
Dear Mr. Herbert

1. I cannot help saying
   (with regard to Capt. Jervis) that Sutherland & I were *appalled*
   by his letter - It is not only a stupid letter -
   It is a bad letter -
   It is fifty years behind the age - It

   supposes that Medical Officers are to be made efficient for the health of men by having a little more pay - And it has every Military & exploded prejudice about Military authority which nobody wishes to attack -
   I have great hopes from your interview with him this morning.

But I don’t think even you can make even a “worsted purse” out of such a “sow’s ear” -
   Now the Westminster is quite sound on all these Sanitary questions - Both Sutherland & I know Dr. Chapman-

And, if you fail
in educating Capt. Jervis in half an hour, you must let us try our hand with Dr. Chapman to make him exercise his Editorial power upon the Article, which is an important one - 2. I saw Farr last night - And he brought the Proof of his “Admission & Discharge Book” - It is one of the simplest & most beautiful things I have seen, & shews the man’s ability - But it will necessitate some additions to your “Statistical Regulations,” of which I sent you the mangled M.S. yesterday - for Press - If Mr. Drewry could throw off Proofs of those & of the “Nurses’ Regulations”, (sent you last night,) we might then finish your/the “Regulations” for your criticism this week -  Yours sincerely  F. Nightingale  March 18/58  Please make Mr. Drewry send us back all our M.S.S. It saves our time - Have you heard from Mr. Elwin? If you can lay your hands upon the “Army Medical Correspondence” Proofs without trouble, the Bearer would bring them back -
March 23 1858

Dear Mr. Herbert

I have been some time hesitating as to the course I ought to take, with regard to the large Fund which is called by my name, and which was so generously placed in my hands for the purpose of being applied to a most useful and beneficent object.

After allowing a time to elapse fully sufficient for forming a judgment, I find my health so much impaired and I am consequently so unequal to begin a work which, to be properly performed, will require great exertion and unceasing attention that I feel it incumbent upon me and due to the contributors to beg you to communicate to the Trustees and Council my inability to undertake the task.

This communication is very painful to make, for I hoped by my exertions in the work proposed to me, to mark my deep sense of the confidence reposed in me, and I looked
forward to the attainment of an object which has always been nearest my heart.

But I strongly feel that the realization of these objects ought not to be indefinitely postponed, nor a large sum intended for a benevolent purpose to be allowed to lie useless, because I am incapacitated by illness from undertaking its application.

I must therefore under these circumstances ask you and the Council to consider in what way the objects contemplated by the Contributors may now best be effected -

I remain

dear Mr. Herbert

most faithfully & gratefully yours

Florence Nightingale

Rt Honble

Sidney Herbert MP

signed letter, 1f, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale March 29 1858 On the Netley Report being referred to Laffan, Mapleton & Co} 2057/F4/67

March 29/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

Genl Peel has referred your Netley Report back to the “2nd Netley Commission”, which means, I suppose Laffan, Mapleton & Co. Perhaps this was unavoidable - Perhaps you knew it - Any how this requires no answer.

Yours ever faithfully

F. Nightingale
April 23/58
Dear Mr. Herbert
I hope that you are better today.
This is only to say, will you keep back the “Instructions to the Army Medical Board” till I see you?
A very important Instruction, which I omitted, has occurred to me to submit to you -
ever sincerely yours
F. Nightingale

I had a long letter this morning from that Princess of pompous old women, Sir Harry Verney. It is not worth troubling you with -
But he details at great length a conversation he has had with the Bison - in which the only thing
that strikes one is that the Bison is prepared to defend Netley in the Ho. of Lords with evidence, of which he has plenty & too much. But not prepared to resist its being turned into a Barrack. If this is so, to shew what a Hospital ought to be & then condemn Netley as a Hospital, not as a Barrack it is princely, is the plan.

2. Winchester Military Hospital is the worst possible form of construction - It combines the outside corridor covering one front with the inside staircase - The result is that every ward communicates with every other ward. And the top has all the foul air - Netley is much better than this as a Hospital.
April 24/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

I am greatly delighted to see the Barrack Report. And I send in return what that unspeakably wicked Drewry - beside whom Orsini is an ass - has sent here, after keeping both a whole week.

The enclosed are the Instructions (for the Regulations) on Farr’s forms. I think, if you please, the sooner Burrell & Galton have their copies of the Barrack Report, the better -
Although I dare say they will not “refresh themselves” on Sunday with it as we shall. Would you like any figures relating to ventilation cubic space kitchens as to Croyden & Chatham for yourself before they are put into a Report?

Drewry has caused a frightful waste of time -

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

{in another hand: F. Nightingale April 24./58 Enclosing Instructions for the Regulations on Farr’s forms.}

signed letter, 7ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale May 3 1858 on Dr. Sutherland’s Claims} 2057/F4/67

30 O. Burln St.

May 3/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

I will answer your question in the way of business - And you will extract what you judge best for the W.O. I suppose they will take your word for it. Sutherland has given the full number of Office hours to the Barrack Commission every day since it
began - And he has
only charged his “days”
at all since the day you
first (illeg)/summoned your Barrack
Commission at Wilton.
But, besides that, he
has given his “extra” hours
to your two other Commissions,
upon which he was
requested* & consented
to serve. He might
have charged for these
beyond his £3.3 a day,
but did not - because
*by the War Officer
(viz. the “Regulations” & the “Medical School” Commissions)

he considered it a
labour of love - had
these Commissions been
the emanations of
different Govt. Offices,
he would have charged
the different Offices, &
charged beyond the £3.3 per diem.
He has given more
time to the Barrack
Commission alone than
Burrell has - But
Burrell has always
shewn his face at the
work=shop, and Suther=
land has done most

of his work here -
Sutherland’s name
is still on the Home
Office books - And he
has occasionally had
matters referred to him
by the H.O. since his
return from the Crimea
& answered to the
reference & done the
work. but he has
never charged the
H.O. a single day’s
work, altho’ entitled
to £3.3 a day, since
his return home, because
he considered that he could not serve two masters - the Home & the War Office -
During the whole of the time that your Royal Commission was sitting, he was therefore receiving no pay at all - altho’ keeping himself out of other (paying) work for the purpose -
Till Oct 26/57 you will observe he has not charged a day
[He gave up a permanent appointment to go to the Crimea - And he might be earning, and has earned £7.7 a day & his expenses, on private Sanitary business]
Since Oct. 31/57 I have seen him every day, with the exception of five weeks at Malvern, & I could assert upon my honor that his whole time, not only Office hours, has been given to Govt business - And, during the week he was with me at Malvern, we did nothing else all day & every day.
He is very silly in saying, as he always does, that “he comes here to help me”, - as if we were “refreshing” ourselves
with a general view
of civil cess-pools, instead of confining
ourselves to Army cess-pools, as we
always do!

I have always
considered his time
as Govt time, bought
& paid for - and
have never asked
him to do a single
thing, in the any general
line of business, except

once, when
Sir J. Liddell
referred his Woolwich Hospital plans to me, &
Sutherland
helped me. He comes here,

-3-

and dines & drinks
tea here, & has done so
every day for the last twelvemonth;
because he is so queer
& such a hypochondriac
that, if he did not &
had not me to help
him, he says and I
believe it, he should
be in bed - That is, I
believe it, after the
fashion of a R. Catholic
Bishopric in partibus.
For Sutherland is a
man incapable of
determining to do any
thing but what he likes & incapable of determining to day what he will like tomorrow -

For all that, he has more brains than all your other men put together, {he}/and has been absolutely essential to the business - and when I compare the work we have done with the work which was done by the Board of Health or by the Public Health of Towns Commission,

I think there is cause to be well satisfied -

At the same time, we are losing now much precious time in some of the things- owing to the necessity of employing excessively occupied men, like Dr. Farr & Capt. Galton. I hope we are not thereby losing our opportunities or wasting the impression made on the public.

But I do wish we
could get Farr’s Forms passed - He has not yet received them from the Printer -

I hope you are better - Believe me ever yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

I must just add that Mrs. (not Dr.) Sutherland told me that he “had done nothing at his private affairs since October last - he had been so busy with his public ones.”

-4-

I think we shall be beaten at the Netley affair by dishonest management - Mapleton sees each of the Pundits separately, as he says, to give “information” - Not one of them all, either old or new, not Mapleton himself, defends the Netley site. But there seems to be a parti pris, an understanding to get the Govt. out of the scrape -

If this is the case, the only way will be to give them the go=by, and for the Aldershot plans & the Aldershot site to referred to you for your proposed General Hospital & Medical School -

F.N.
Gt Malvern
Sept 28/58

Dearest

I write to you to trouble you with this, because I suppose you will hardly have been able to make that melancholy journey North.

I will say nothing about her - whom you have lost - Because praise of her, as of Lady Pembroke, would seem almost sacrilege from me to you - I

write but little & only on business, knowing I can say nothing you will not have already felt, & believing you understand me sufficiently to make it needless -

I had a few lines from Mr. Herbert yesterday - a few of his kind, manly words of deep feeling such as he only can write -

What I want to say is only this:

1. will you, when he
resumes his guardianship of your Infirmary, tell him that, of the three “Schemes” I sent for his consideration, I think that marked (I) in the second letter is the best - & that I would, upon further thinking, quite decidedly, give the discretion about “Patients’ exercise” to the “Sister” - and all the “Stair=cases” to the “Matron” - I think this will prevent some collision - the wards & all their appurtenances remaining to the “Sister”, responsible to the “Matron” - the “Patients’ exercise” remaining to the “Sister”, responsible to the Surgeon.  

2. would you tell Mr. Herbert that sometime that Neison has read a very mischievous Paper at the British Ass. at Leeds, reproducing in full his fallacies about overcrowding having nothing to do with Consumption & condemning the conclusion of Mr. Herbert’s Report. I have written to Farr
about it because, if not answered, the matter will do us much harm. To be as short as possible: Neison adduces the Reg. Gen. Statistics as to overcrowding. Some one in the Reg. Gen. Office has totally mistaken the question of overcrowding & has produced great mischief to our cause, on account of these Population Tables being quoted as authority -

Thus:

{two dotted circles with solid circles inside and the words Liverpool, Manchester, in the latter case the solid circle is much smaller than the dotted one}

Dotted circles - Registration districts of which the population is given by Reg. Gen.

Black circles - actual densely inhabited parts.

Now Greenhow compares the density within the dotted circles & not within the black ones & shews that, inasmuch as the Manchester one is much less densely peopled than the Liverpool one, & yet has the same Mortality from Phthisis,
therefore density does not influence Phthisis, therefore overcrowding is rather a healthy thing - the real fact being that the density for Manchester & Liverpool is very nearly the same. Nelson seems to have done the same thing. But the worst part is this - Surface density has in reality nothing to do with the matter & Mr. Herbert never said it had. It is density in rooms. Our Barracks have a smaller surface density generally than any town or perhaps village population in the kingdom, but they have a far higher room density. And this it is which does the mischief - Dr. Farr ought, on public grounds, to correct this public error, as far as the Reg. Gen. Statistics are concerned - And the best way would be for him to address a correction to Mr. Herbert, as Chairman of the R. Commission -
I am going up to London on Saturday, because I don’t want them to do anything about some Regimental Hospital plans without me -
When Mr. Herbert has anything to say to me, perhaps he will write to me there -
I hope you are pretty well.
Believe me, dearest,
ever yours anxiously & sorrowfully
F. Nightingale

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale 28 Sept 1858 Salisbury Infirmary Neison doing mischief at Leeds — Fallacy that overcrowding does not produce consumption}

Signed note, f1, pen Written on the back of a folio in another handwriting:
Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67
11 May. 1858.
Suggest that Alexander be present at the Commission

Dear Mr. Herbert
This big parcel is only Farr’s tools.
Would you think well to have Alexander to help him at your Meeting, as otherwise Tulloch will bayonet him with some technicality, which will delay business - & which Alexander, (who is always to the front), might be able easily to meet?
Alexander is at home, 64 Ebury St., as I dare say you know -
Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale
May 11/58
Dear Mr. Herbert

It occurred to me that, to convince the Unbelieving, you might require Farr’s Table recalculated upon Tulloch’s, P. 31. I therefore enclose it, with the fractional problem stated for your Infidel, but which you will put in your own words.

F. Nightingale

Thursday morn

[possibly this is where fragment should go]

P VIII

Some Note necessary to explain difference between Tulloch’s Army Numbers in this Table & Farr’s Army Numbers in Table in your M.S. (a)
Miss Nightingale

Cost of Nursing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sick Attendants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Ward for 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 &quot;s &quot; &quot; &quot; = 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 } viz Orderlies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Ward for 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ) viz Orderlies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Cost of 27 sick
at £50 per ann  } 7 X 50 = £ 350
per attendant

(2) Cost of 30 sick  } 4 X 50 = £ 200

Capitalized  }£ 350 = £ 8750
at 25 years’ purchase  }£ 200 = £ 5000

Capitalized  }£ 8750 = £ 324.1.6
cost per patient  27
} £ 5000 = £ 166.13.4
30

Cost of nursing  } (1) £ 324000
per 1000 sick  (2) 166000
Difference  £ 158000

Signed letter, ff4, pen, on back in another hand: May 29/58 2057/F4/67 Miss Nightingale O. Burrell Sanitary Commission {illeg} of O. Sutherland

May 29/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

I was going to mention
the enclosed to you the other
day, in order to
submit to you a
scheme, but Sutherland
was here & I was
afraid he would hear.

You must have
seen enough of Burrell
by this time to see
that, altho’ the best
man we have, he is absolutely incapable of organizing & initiating a new Department -

Unless some man, like Sutherland, who would, I know, add this work to that he has already on the Barrack & Hospital Commission, were called upon officially to do it, (which also

would, while that Commission lasts, add the weight of your authority into the scale,) the Regulations would, believe me, be a dead failure.

Burrell’s appointment should be made conditional upon some such measures as this - And if he resists,

put in Cooper. But he will not.

We have the estimate & scheme of the new Army Medical Board nearly ready for you. But there are some vexed points which will require your own direct decision, before you can “instruct” Genl= Peel with it.

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale
1. The Sanitary Regulations, as they stand now, presuppose an amount of administrative experience in the Army Medical Council which absolutely does not exist.

2. The Army Medical Council will have to be guided in this matter until every Regulation is in full working order, & the whole Service in a state of thorough completeness.

3. It will take several years to do this for England, India & the Colonies.

4. The transitional period will have to be got over just as it is in any other new Department.

5. The Secretary of State for War would have to write a letter commissioning some competent Sanitary person to organize & initiate the new Sanitary Department, & also to inform the new Director General that he had done so.
Miss Nightingale
Netley

I send you the third Article I wrote in the "Builder" because it contains the canons of Hospital construction, & is therefore more suited to the practical Cheetham than the Liverpool papers which contain only its defects - Moreover it is the only one not out of print -

F Nightingale

There are one or two things in the Netley Appendix you had which I think we have rather altered our minds about. as concerns at least a small Hospital -

[end]
Dear Mr. Herbert

For your interview with Alexander, I send:

No 1. Proposal after hearing all that Alexander & Farr have to say and amendments on “Instructions” consequent

No 2. Alexander’s own proposal, his last, nearly the same as ours, & considerably modified from his three first.

Please let me see all these again when talking over the matter with you

No 3. Smith’s proposal in your own Report, modified according to your “Instructions” enclosed

No 4. some miscellaneous information

Present state of Board & Smith’s proposed Board are included on this & on Alexander’s Paper No 2 & this No 4

F. Nightingale

May 31/58
June 1, 1858
on Sidney’s
Letter to the
Treasury

I have made no
suggestions, for I
think it is quite
perfect from your
point of view.

May it only
incline the hearts
of the Treasury
towards us!

F. Nightingale
June 1/58

June 5, 1858
Dr. Sutherland has stolen
the enclosed for your
benefit - a practice I
learnt from the Army
& taught him.

After having read this,
I am at a loss to conceive
how Thomason could have
signed the approval
of the site sent to Gen=l Peel, except upon
a principle set forth
by Dr. Menzies at
I once saw a letter of his to Dr. Smith - denying the want of stores & addressing as his evidence a letter of Werford’s the Purveyor, petitioning the Ambassador for stores & saying that the smallest contribution would be acceptable.

Thomason’s appears to me a better Report on your side than De Witt’s.

He shows a larger amount of fresh water in the Estuary than you bargained for. His mud is upon the whole rather worse than your mud. And the only practical difference between you & him is this - he considers the mud healthy though it is, might
be advantageously covered up - while you think it better, on the whole, to remove away from it.

In some Sanitary points, Thomason’s is behind the existing knowledge - But it will certainly do us no harm.

Oh for a little common sense which would shew any body that a site which requires all these Analyses to clear, cannot

[at top of left]
be a very suitable one.

F. Nightingale

Unsigned letter, undated, ff2, pen, 2057/F4/67

I applied to Sir J. Liddell [16:247] to give me data for the period after 1843. He cannot, but will send approximate data, if he can -

The result of my examination of his Blue Books up to 1843 is astounding. The Mortality is even lower than we thought.

For, (excluding the unhealthy Stations,) while the highest mortality at a foreign
Station is 11 per 1000 -
that at the Home
Station is under 7 -
Now a ship is more
difficult to ventilate
than a Barrack -
What can make the
Mortality of our Guards
in Home Barracks
nearly 3 times as much?
 These are quite
authentic & fair to use.
At the same time,
while abusing Tulloch

for his unfairness in
getting at his Results,
it would hardly be
right not to say that
these are almost as
bad.

Upon looking in
Tulloch’s Blue Book
for what you pointed out to me, it is
obvious that his way
of calculation may
tell any way.
 For, unless the
proportion is constant

between the Mean Force
of each period of two
different populations,
you may bring out
a perfectly identical
result - (by adding
the Deaths & dividing
by the number of periods) from
data which tell exactly
the other way, & vice
versa

[end]
Derbyshire Co Record Office

Signed part of a letter, undated, f3, pen 2057/F4/67

one great comfort is that there is nobody at the War Department who can understand them - F.N.

This is the state of the matter in regard to the “Regulations”.

The Statistical Regulations & Instructions have been gone over with Dr. Farr, whom I have asked to come here tomorrow morning for a final Revise.

Dr. Alexander has gone over the whole of the Regulations with a view of making his
The Diet Rolls are now completed & are in Mr. Drewry’s hands for final printing off - after which they can be sent to Gen=1 Peel, in answer to Lord Harding’s letter to you.

Matters being thus, would you prefer authorizing the “Regulations” being directly sent to press for which they are now ready with the view of submitting proofs to the Regulations Comm=ns in the course of (say) two days? or would you think it necessary to meet here for the purpose of revising and authorizing the few corrections, before the Proof is sent to press?

I do not think the corrections involve any of your principles,
and it would just depend upon your own time.

If you wished to have only the formal Regulations= Commission Meeting before you go, I would send the things tomorrow morning to Drewry, as soon as Farr has seen them finally.

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Sunday night
Evils of the Present System

I. Tendency to fritter away responsibility
II. Delay
I. All this minuting does away with all responsibility. It was devised to instruct the newly appointed Head of the Office in the details of which they were ignorant, but did not like to ask of those over whom they were.

System of minutes does not draw out all the points of a case.

Minute put upon a paper by A (asking for decision) states certain points - B & C raise other points to shew their acuteness - A who knows the case

[Questions 3218 etc bear on Minuting System.
Sir J. Graham

which B & C do not, has no opportunity of answering B’s & C’s points. If the decision of the S. of S. Be against, A time is lost & the whole paper has to be brought out forward again with A’s reasons against B & C.

Moreover A’s Responsibility is gone, because he knows beforehand that B & C are going to revise him.

==

Personal intercourse Between the S. of S. & The heads of Branches in all important matters should be the rule, instead of the exception, as now -
II. Delay.

Delay is owing to the Minuting System & to the Registry.

To get a paper from the Bk Dep. to the S. of S. & back with his decision occupies never less than two & generally four days.

Registry.

Bk Dep. Never gets a paper till the day after it is received & often not for three days.

Then time is lost by sending the paper back to Registry to have previous papers annexed.

This takes two or three days more. Registry decides whether the paper is to have a green cover - often decides wrong.
When a really pressing case is shewn - [So Registry is S. of S. virtually.]
Registry often mislays the paper in its custody - & when asked for, send back to ask what. from the Letter Books of the Dep't.

Each branch keeps letters it writes, but sends to the General Registry (for custody) the letters it receives. [It always takes more than a day to get papers back from Registry.
And good Officials act on their own former replies in their own Letter Books rather than wait]

Concentration without proper sub=division is only confusion.
The excellence of a Register depends upon the Index. The excellence of the Index upon Subdivision & Classification.

Without subdivision the Head of Branches cannot fix responsibility on the Registrar.
Business of each branch is distinct enough to allow each to have its own registry & custody of papers. [Their business is quite as distinct from each other as C. in C.’s from them]
A paper always relates mainly to one branch even if
connected with another. It should be kept in the branch to which it mainly relates & be borne on the Registry of the other branch to show where it is. Replies should be kept with letters received.

All the registries might be in one room, but the distance would probably make it more convenient to separate them. There should be a Superintendent of Registration to press uniformity.

[A list of all letters received might be kept with a note of the branch to which they belonged, if judged necessary]

There is neither responsibility nor publicity — neither economy nor punctuality in the present system.
2. Internal Organization of the W.O.

should be framed solely on the principle of making Heads of each Branch directly responsible to S. of S. ===
---
General principals upon which duties of each branch are to be conducted should be accurately laid down ===
---
Questions of principle Alone would have To be submitted to S. of S. for decision. and, as a rule, by personal intercourse with S. of S. ===
---

Check No 1 As a check upon
Upon responsibility this responsibility,
Of each Head of the results of the
Branch working of each Dep-
should be periodically

Brought before S of S. To effect this, it might be necessary to establish a Dep=t of Control or Audit —
Or this might be done under Under S. of S.; or under Acc=t Gen=l; or each branch might exhibit it.

There should be exhibited a Classified analysis of the Expenditure, shewing under each necessary heads, as Superintendence, Housing &c the cost incurred per man maintained or per article manufactured. — the comparison being carried on from year to year.
This Analysis could hardly be made under the present system of Acct Genl’s Dep. In framing a remodeled system of accounts (said to be much wanted) some first-rate City Accountant conversant with the management of large Public Companies should perhaps be Consulted. But whether this be done or no, it should be

==

Kept in mind that one of the objects to be attained is the exhibition of the results of the Expenditure.

This would shew the results of the expenditure & would lead to economy by shewing where saving might be effected. [Well managed Railways (not many English!) shew cost per passenger or ton transported - divided under expences of management, maintenance of road, fuel consumed, repairs of engine & carriages stations &c &c etc] There is no reason Why the W.O. should Not make out its Expenditure to exhibit The results of its working] ==
Upon responsibility
Of each Head of Branch
Every complaint
should be brought
before the S. of S or
Under S. of S.
not dealt with
by Head of Branch
against whom it is
made.

Note. There appears to be no advantage
in the Minuting System for any matter
which concerns two or more branches.
Were the heads of such to meet, consult
together & come to a decision before
the matter is referred to the S. of S.,
or were they to meet in his presence,
the matter would probably occupy
as many minutes as it does now days.
If there was a reference needed to some branch
not under the same roof, (as the A.M.D.,) the papers
would be sent to him & an interview requested.
Dear Mr. Herbert

Dr. Farr sent in his corrected Report to be printed yesterday. Would you tell Drewry to have it done as soon as possible and would you order the number of copies you think is fit?

We shall want 12 copies ourselves to append to the Regulations for the Sake of the Forms which are necessary to explain the Regulations.

Yrs sincerely

F Nightingale

June 24/58
Initialed letter, ff3, pen Written upside down on last folio in another handwriting:

Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67
June 30
1858
On the Netley Report

June 30/58
Enclosed is the Netley Report & Sutherland’s Protest – both of which I must have back by 10 o’clock in the morning, please – If you have time to read them & to criticize the Protest, so much the better.

As to the Report, I don’t see what a sensible Peel (if there is such a man) can have to say to it – but “this is not a Report at all – it does not answer anything in Mr. Herbert’s report – nor is there anything...
in it he can
answer – the best
thing I can do
is to ask him
to report now upon
their evidence”

F. Nightingale
Simon’s quotation of
The authority of the
Quarantine Officer
at Southampton is
disgraceful – a

miserable little
official, whose
existence at all
is a disgrace to us.

F.N.

Signed letter, ff4, undated, pen
Written on back of folio in another handwriting:
Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67
Exam-n of
Mil-y Purveyors-
Civil Hospitals -
Dr. Farr -
{illeg}
Sutherland
Alexander
Sterks
to Cook at Fort Pitt

Dear Mr. Herbert
As you are going to
examine Purveyor=Chief
Robertson on Monday, I
would anxiously suggest
that you should also
examine the
House Governor, Mr. Hill
London Hospital
Superintendent, Dr. Steele
Guy’s Hospital
Resident Medical Officers
[added in another hand] Treasurer & Whitfield &
Steward
St. Thomas’ Hosp=1
Perhaps also other Treasurers.
All that you will “get” out of the Military Purveyors will be that they think everything admirable – altho’ Purveyor Pratt, Fort Pitt, told me that he made indents on the Barrack Dep=t & never got any thing – which he desired me never to tell, which is the reason why I tell you – I think the Purveying of the Civil Hospitals far from perfect, but it is suggestive – The only improvements of Robertson, (who, you will remember, did not come out till April/55 to Scutari), upon poor old Wreford, was a violent expenditure & the relaxation of all rules & discipline – But the study of our “Purveyor’s Regulations” – a model of that system which consists in throwing responsibility from one man to another, till the last throws it out of window, is the only way to judge. If you will allow me, I would come down to you on Sunday about 5 o’clock, & go over them with you – I feel very strongly as to the desirableness of making the Purveyor’s a mere Steward’s Department, whose business shall be that of merely keeping the stores always full – and of separating the Attendance Department entirely from the Steward’s & putting everything, as
Derbyshire Co Record Office 254

soon as it comes out of store, under charge of the Superintendant of Attendants, the latter having, in all 
reasons practice, the only & real care of it – The Governor head over all. The present indiscipline of Military discipline in a Hospital is indescribable. It is impossible for the Medical Officers to look after the attendants – The Steward ought however to look after the repairs &c subject always to the Governor – I would, however, if I were you, send down three of my best men, Sutherland (Sanitarily) Alexander (for system) Storks (for supply) to look at Fort Pitt. One inspection of the system at work will tell more than all the evidence – As I have said, all that you will get will be that “everything works admirably” –

Will you not examine Dr. Farr statistically? He would be your best evidence – And would you not desire him before hand to draw up a List of the questions to be asked himself, in order to bring out the real thing? Ever faithfully yours Florence Nightingale Friday night
Vide Plan

The long ward for the 24 men is an administrative improvement, which might very well be carried out over the whole length of each side.

But it is not a Sanitary improvement

1. The surface area of the ward is too large in proportion to its height.
   The height of a ward should be two-thirds of the breadth – Netley wards are 15 ft high – But 33 ft. from back to front.
   There is no question but that, for the ward here proposed, you must have additional height.

2. The distance between the windows is 6 or 7 feet too great for good natural ventilation – though if there were additional height, this would be compensated.

3. Excrecence No=3 must be lopped off –

4. Each of the smaller wards must have only 8 men – the number agreed to by the former Committee to atone for defective construction. 10 beds is inadmissible, and bring back the cubic space & average distance between the beds almost to our present heinous “Regulation Book” –

5. There is no room for more water closets in the Excrecences than exist in the original plan – Crowding, filth & foul air go together –

6. 12 ventilating shafts must be provided in the long ward, viz. one for every two beds – if it is approved.
7. Pulling down the partition walls between wards diminishes ventilation. For these were provided with ventilating shafts. Now air ascends by the walls. Ventilating shafts in the ceiling away from walls do not act, therefore, so well as those in the angle between wall & ceiling.

8. Unquestionably, therefore the large ward could not be ventilated by natural means.

9. Insist upon all the fire grates being much larger – for the sake of ventilation –

10. With regard to the "excavation", the amount of light is not the only objection. For this might be increased by ground glass in all the upper parts of doors opening into it.

But the disciplinary disadvantage is greater than those not used to Military Hospitals can at all estimate, viz. of the number of doors & corners communicating with the wards & with the Nurse’s room – To see at once where every body is is a first rule – or at least to know where he is, if you do not see him. The present construction of Netley has a great advantage, in this respect. [The swing door is less objectionable]
I send 6 wet copies of the Netley “Remarks”, with every correction in. The only important one is the note added, P. 3.

Could you ask Mr. Gladstone (or somebody) to watch the thing in the Ho.?

If Peel says what you tell him, good:

we will hold our tongues: if he does not, could Mr. Gladstone (or somebody) move for these “Remarks’, with your Letter to Peel, which is necessary as suggesting the solution, and which ought not to be “private”.

Unless the “Remarks” become a public document, we can make no use of it, in case Peel does not do what he is bid.

And I mean to devote my remaining days to putting to death Simon & the 7 Pundits. You will see me breaking out in
Dear Mr. Herbert

Enclosed is a Proof of the “Regulations” ready for the press – which, as I mentioned in my last note, has been gone over by Farr, Alexander & Sutherland. If you thought well to send it to Drewry, with a stringent order to send it back in two days, for you then to have your Commission to sit upon it, it would save time.

And it is important that the new Director Gen=1 should begin administering with the new Regulations & not with the old ones -

Yours sincerely

F Nightingale

June 21/58
Dear Mr. Herbert

Do you think Genl Peel would say in the Ho. (when the Netley vote is brought forward) that he has received such a proposal from you as the one I enclose a Draft of, & that H.M. Gov=t has accepted it?

We should then get all we want –

Your object being, not to fight them, but 1. to get your foot into Aldershot & 2. to save a few of the poor “sequels”,

If, with possession of some of the “sequels” we had a General Hospital & a Medical School at Aldershot, we should do –

They have a grant for Aldershot Hosp=1, I believe, have they not? It is in the Estimates – They must send you the Aldershot plans.

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

July 9/58

Practically, I think the eventual result would be that all the incipient Consumptives from
home would be sent
to Netley and all
the “sequels” from
abroad to Aldershot.
And the Director=
Genl would be the
man to determine
this which
Alexander would do
in the most sensible
& satisfactory
manner.

(SH) 49 B. Sq.
July 16
1858

[not FN:] My Dear Peel

[FN:] I enclose a Copy of
Remarks we have
thought it necessary
to draw up on the
Report of the Netley
Hospital Committee –
It appeared to us to
be necessary to send
you these Remarks
because, in our opinion
you and {illeg}
to }illeg
{illeg} points
(1)

at issue (SH) between
them & us are lost sight of in (FN) from the
Report of the Netley
Committee. The case,
as regards Netley,
appears to stand as
follows:

1. the climate
will not be suitable
for certain those classes of
Invalids, for whom
(SH) require (FN) a more bracing (SH) climate (FN) one
will be necessary

2. not (SH) having drawn a distinction between a
Hospital and a depot for Invalids to which the
Committee attach great importance but
to its capabilities as a Hospital
and not solely as a depot (FN) having
considered the building
at Netley with relation
to its accommodation solely for Invalids, we are not called upon to give any opinion of its adaptation fitness for such a purpose.

But after the favorable opinions which have been given, we may

3. both the Commission & Committee agree that it is not suitable for a General Hospital for sick, to which a Medical School is to be attached & where a General Hospital administration may be (SH) practiced and (FN) learned.

4. it is understood to be the intention of Government to erect a large Military Hospital at Altershot on a suitable plan - One of these elements it appears to me that an arrangement
might be framed which would meet all the requirements of the case as follows:

1. If His Majesty is satisfied (I am not) that Netley is suited for an Invalid Depot let it be restricted to that use, so far as the local climate is found to agree with the cases, (SH) and let the unused portion of it which in peace will be very considerable be used as a consumptive Hospital for which the Climate fits it.

2. Let the Hospital at Aldershot be proceeded with. We have seen the plans & think them, on the whole, very good; with a few modifications which we shall be very glad to point out, these plans can be made suitable for all the purposes contemplated by the

3. Let the Medical School & its buildings be attached to the Aldershot Hospital - This plan would have the advantage of bringing the candidates into immediate contact with Regimental & Camp duties. Having we examined into the French Military Medical School we should be very glad to render any assistance
4. There is only one disadvantage and that would be the absence from Aldershot of cases of chronic disease coming from abroad. But such cases could as easily be sent to Aldershot from any port of arrival as to Netley, and cases might even be sent from Netley to Aldershot.

An additional advantage to the sick would accrue from this: For the climate of Aldershot is the very one to suit those cases (SH) (especially (illeg) Indian-tropical) (FN) which that of Netley would not suit. By such an arrangement as the one proposed, the whole question would, as it appears to us, receive the most satisfactory solution possible (SH) of which it is capable. (FN) Government might (if satisfied, on the point) complete Netley as an Invalid Depot, and Aldershot Hospital could be made suitable for the objects required by the R=1 Commission, while it would afford accommodation for the Invalids, with for whom the climate of Netley did not agree (SH) is likely to prove disadvantageous.
(FN) These are, in fact, all the points at issue between the Gov't & the Public and between The Barrack & Hospital Commission & the Netley Committee.
I make this proposal for your consideration, as I know your only object is the furtherance of the public service and the adaptation to the most useful purpose of which {illeg} found already done at a great public out lay and in this with everything clear I need not tell you that I am glad to give you any assistance I can.

Believe me

(FN)
Draft of proposed Letter to be sent to Gen=l Peel with a Copy of the Remarks on Report of Netley Committee

Signed letter, ff2, pen Written on back of folio in another handwriting:
July 11/57. 2057/F4/67
Miss F. N.
On the Police Returns

Dear Mr. Herbert

As to what you say of the Police Returns, I have to say the enclosed. If you like me to give it in evidence, I will. But I think it would be much better for Dr. Sutherland to do so - Because I have a kind of nondescript reputation, in dear John Bull’s imagination, like the Unicorn or the Dodo
And he does not know whether I am a fabulous animal or a real sound Sanitary opinion, to be consulted as to facts.

I could give you all the Returns, on which the enclosed are founded. Please send me the Evidence from p. 241

yours very faithfully
F. Nightingale

In regard to Promotion, I send you a very curious Diagram, which I should like to explain. I would come to you tomorrow, if you have time.

July 11/57

Initialed copy of a document in FN’s handwriting, undated 2057/F4/67

Copy

Wanted
1. The best India House map of India
2. The trigonometrical survey, as far as completed
3. List of all Military Stations - to be marked also on the maps.
4. Copies of all periodical reports of Medical Boards in Presidencies which have been published.
5. Copies of all published Army (Indian) Statistical tables.
   Same - Queen’s troops
6. Lists of all places where there are permanent Barracks & Hospitals
7. Access to catalogue of documents at the India House & to all documents there, bearing on the enquiry.
   Note. The above data being obtained, upon them might be constructed Forms of Returns or printed questions to be sent out to India, filled up there & returned.
This should (?) be the construction of the Commission. This I have **NOT** sent to Lord Stanley

Chairman - Mr. Herbert  
Sanitary - Dr. Sutherland  
Mr. Martin  
Medical - The Director General  
A.M.D.  
Engineering & Topographical - (Indians)  
Military (Indians)  
Statistical Dr. Farr

I don’t know what Mrs. Herbert will say to me for even "evening" of such a thing to you - I hope you will give Gastein time -  
FN.

Copy of unsigned document in FN’s handwriting, undated, ff2, pen. 2057/F4/67

**Copy**

1. Altho’ the subject of enquiry is in India, the enquiry itself would be best conducted in England & extended to India if necessary.

2. The best means of contorting such an enquiry would be by constituting a special Commission, composed of people, conversant with the various matters connected with the enquiry.  
Sanitary  
Medical  
Engineering & Topographical  
Military  
Statistical

3. The Commission should have ample powers of obtaining information & documents. It should have access to all documents in the India Ho. relating to Topography  
Diseases & Mortality among the troops  
Supplies &c of every district in India, where Military Stations have been or are likely to be placed. Likewise to all documents relating to Hospitals.

4. It should examine retired or acting Medical, Engineering & Military Officers, conversant with the stations in each of the Presidencies. It should enquire into the Sanitary condition of existing stations, with a view of recommending improvements. It should recommend improvements in existing Stations, Barracks & Hospitals & in the diet, drink, dress, duties & exercises
Derbyshire Co Record Office

of soldiers.
5. It should point out the best of positions for sanatoria & the method of using them, so as to be most conducive to the health & efficiency of the troops.

6. It should enquire into the whole question of hill stations, & recommend the best positions available for troops in a military & sanitary point of view.

7. It should, further, indicate the special provisions necessary for field hospital & field sanitary service, suitable to the different presidencies.

8. Also, any specialties in the organization of general & field hospitals to make them more suitable for Indian service.

9. Also, the organization of medical boards for regulating the medical & sanitary service in the presidencies.

10. The commission must have power to extend its enquiries to India & to appoint persons for the purpose, subject to the approval of the minister.
The plan of Netley, with its wards for 9 sick, is by far the costliest for administration, v. the following facts-
1. It is proposed to provide the Hospital with Orderlies & Nurses to conduct the Nursing, in wards of 9 sick.
2. Wards may accommodate 25 - 30 sick - & the sick be better off, on Sanitary grounds, than with 9 - We may therefore choose the larger, being guided only by the cost of the Nursing.
3. A ward of 9 sick would require
   1 day Orderly
   1 Night "
   1 Nurse
   3 (i.e. a Nurse would Nurse 3 such wards)
4. Orderlies & Nurses cannot be counted at a cost of less than £ 50 per ann. including lodging, rations, wages & not including pension. This, when capitalized at 3 per cent - (33 years’ purchase) would amount to £ 1650 for each -
5. A ward of 9 sick would cost in Nursing £ 1650 X 2 1/3 = £3850 or £ 427.15.6 per bed
6. A ward of 30 sick would cost for Nursing in perpetuity £ 1650 X 4 = £ 6600 = £ 220 per bed
7. The cost of the two plans relatively for a Hospital of 1000 sick would stand thus
   Wards with 9 beds = £ 427,775
   " " 30 " = 220,000
   Capitalized difference of cost in favor of } £ 207,775 large wards

Netley has cost already Land = £ 30,000
   Works = £ 89,000
   £ 119,000
It hence appears that, if works & site were both sacrificed & fresh land purchased, & wards for 30 sick built on it, the country would actually save the difference between the two sums of £ 88,775.

II.
But the best number of sick to a ward, for Sanitary purposes, is 25. The cost of attendance would then stand thus:

For each ward of 25 sick
  3 Orderlies at £ 1650 = £ 4950
If two such wards are built in line, close to each other, with the Nurse’s room between them, one Nurse could superintend both wards or 1/2 Nurse = £ 5775
Or cost for each bed 5775
  25 = £ 231

Wards with 9 beds = £ 427,775
  “  “  25 “ = £ 231,000
£ 196,775

Deduct cost of Netley {already incurred} ..... 119,000
Saving from abandoning Netley £ 77,775
Cost of administration per 1000
at Netley & Aldershot

Netley £ 427,775

Aldershot

pavilions with 3 super=
imposed wards & 25 sick
in each would require
3 orderlies }
1 Nurse }to each Ward
& would cost £ 264 per bed
in perpetuity, or per 1000 sick

£ 264,000

Difference in cost £ 763,775
in favor of Aldershot}

As there are few wards,
with 16 or 18 sick, at
Netley, some abatement
of cost would have to be
made, on this account,
as regards Netley -

F.N.
Cost of Nursing

I will generously make Panmure a present of the difference of 1 per cent in cost of administration. But he will not be much the richer.

Wards of 9 beds { 2 Orderlies }

{ 1/3 Nurse } £ 50 per ann. each
money at 4 per cent for 1000 sick
= £ 324,000

Wards of 30 beds { 3 orderlies }
{ 1 Nurse } per 1000 = £ 166,000

Cost of Netley 119,000

Saved by abandoning
Netley } £ 39,000
30 Old Burlington St  
Oct 4/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

Dr. Sutherland is writing to you - And I think he will give you reasons why it is not essential to the progress of the business that you should be troubled to come up to town just now - All that is necessary can be sent down to you -

I am very sorry to trouble you either with the reply to Neison at this time.

(i illeg illeg) Nor do I think there is any great hurry about it. You can consider it later - But Farr & Sutherland met here this morning. And they concluded that two things were necessary

1. & least important - that Farr should make a Statistical indirect attack on Neison’s figures at the Liverpool meeting - for which we have furnished him with Barrack & other data.

2. that some sort of official
reply should be made
by you, sent to the
different late Royal Commis=
toners for their adhesion,
& a copy sent by
Balfour to the “Times”
for insertion, & another
to Owen, the President
of the British Association
Meeting at Leeds for
insertion into the Annual
Vol= of their Transactions
with Neison’s paper.

I enclose what
Farr & Sutherland suggest
for you to - These are
merely heads & very
diffuse - If you, in
your own terse way,
could some time
write a Reply of this
kind (which Sutherland
tells me you think
is needed), it would
set the question at
rest - We would have it
put up in type -
Believe me
ever yours
F. Nightingale

Neison’s paper reminds me
of Lardner’s famous paper
which proved incontrovertibly
by figures that the “Great
Britain” could never cross
the Atlantic. The Bristol
people answered it by
sending her across the
Atlantic - And Neison’s
paper will be answered by
your curing or at least diminishing
{written vertically in left margin of 1st folio}
Consumption in Barracks. [end 16:316]
Dr. Sutherland is at the Office. So I opened your letter to him. He will, I believe, bring back with him here the Portsmouth Report in question (signed), if Galton, as well as Burrell, is “to the fore”. And I will imme=
diately send it to you.

I enclose the Proof

of your letter on the Regulations, only premising that the War Dep. do not seem at all inclined to pass anything which because they cannot understand it, & that therefore leaving them in ignorance has not attained the object in view.

Yrs sincly

F Nightingale

July 10/58
Monday

Dear Mr. Herbert

I think it my duty, (as the South Africans & the Ho. of Commons say), to send you the Draft of a Memorial, which the Middlesex Hospital - who have “gone & done it again”, - sent in on Saturday to Gen=1 Peel anent Netley Hospital.

F. Nightingale

30 Burlington St.
May 24/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

It is in the United Service Gazette (but as “news”, not gazetted) that Smith is placed on the Retired List with £ 1200 a year & that Alexander is to be Director General.

With regard to this question of his appointment, what
would you think of desiring (?) General Peel to appoint Alexander immediately, in order to make sure of that event, - which would set a great many obscene birds to flight immediately from the Army Medical Board, where they have been collecting there five years - But Gen=1 Peel further to be instructed (?) that you will not be ready with all your “Regulations” &c &c for three months, (which I am afraid, will be the time necessary) & that therefore Smith, who cannot be turned out neck & crop, may hold his office for that time, after which Alexander & Council will be ready to move in bodily.

2. What would you think of instructing (?) Gen=1 Peel to give you an order upon H.M.’s Stationary Office Spottiswood printing upon your own order, i.e. at your own time? as you are anxious to present these things to him within a reasonable space of time - and they are not strictly what is called “Secret” Printing. The
instruction to Drewry
is to print secretly
the practice is to
print slowly*

3. Gen=l Peel has told
the Netley Committee to
send in their Report
to him on Thursday
to be ready for him
on Friday in the
Committee of Supply -
But they say they can’t -
Babington, the oldest
of their Pundits thinks

* As the time (three months)
mentioned in No. 1 depends very
much upon the printing, it might
become, if you carry No. 2, six weeks.

Netley the “nicest”
thing he has seen -
both as to “site” and
construction”.
I have asked Dr.
Sutherland to write
to you about this -
Believe me
sincerely yours
F. Nightingale

Chadwick has just been
here. He says he is very
busy about some
Manchester Sanitary
thing - he has engaged to

write for the N. British
for your Report - &
if Elwin does not
answer by Friday,
he should like to
write to him to with=
draw his Article for
the Quarterly, being

thus - much pressed for
time

F.N.
May 21/58

Dear Mr. Herbert,

I scarcely know whether it is worth your while to look over the enclosed Farr’s Report, in which I have written in pencil all Balfour’s objections –

Balfour says that he cannot get ready before Saturday night his Memorandum for you on the subject, altho’ it contains nothing more than this – & a few Forms, which he wishes to do himself –

I hope you will then be so good as to send them back to us, for Farr’s consideration.

I think it is well Balfour’s objections are no worse – He is come on wonderfully in his education this last twelvemonth –

He & Tulloch frighten one out of one’s wits with their mysterious “It won’t do.” One thinks
one is going to have
the Quadrature of the
Circle explained to
one in Sanskrit - &
to be obliged to
give in without a
struggle - And there
are only these few
innocent objections -
which Farr calls
“nice little amendments”.
The real struggle will
be about the publication
of the Weekly State.
Please let me have
back this copy of Farr’s
Report. Yours sincerely F. Nightingale

Signed letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/67

Great Malvern
Aug 4/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

Thank you very much
for your letter. I sent one to
you from Alexander, addressed
to Hamburg; which I hope
you had.

As to what you say
about the Indian Sanitary enquiry,
I entirely agree as to its
difficulty, but not as to its
impossibility.

1. I think it must be
conducted in England, because
in India there are not the
men (to do it)

2. I think there are only
a few men in England who
can do it with any profit so as to be of any use
because much of the informa-
tion which will have to be
obtained from India will be erroneous - or rather it will consist of opinions, not facts & have will have to be sifted by those who can sift.

The Netley enquiry is most alarming - not because we have lost Netley by it, though that is a great loss - but because it shews what ignorant or dishonest opinions can do - & what an amount of mistaken information is always at Government command.

The conclusions of the Netley Report & of almost all Sanitary Reports, existing, excepting yours, are like Mrs. Nickleby’s, who, when she found that Cardinal Wolsey’s & Defoe’s fathers were butchers, supposed that there was something in the suet. There will be great danger in any Indian enquiry
of conclusions being offered to Government entailing perhaps an expenditure of half a million, like Netley, founded on something in the suet.

3. Again, I think this enquiry must be carried on, if undertaken at all, in something like the way your R. Sanitary Commission was, altho’ I acknowledge the greater difficulty. Because you had, on that, some people whose conclusions were all ready made in their heads founded on experience of their own, which nothing could alter & nothing could take away from..

Still, had the India Bill passed before your R. Sanitary Commission sate you it would have necessarily had to include the Indian enquiry in it & it is only an extension & continuation of that Commission.
4. There are, I assure you, in England people from India who have both “livers” & “heads”. And there is an immense deal of accumulated documentary evidence at the India House which if sifted by those who are capable, would give a great deal of information not open to the objection which would attach to the information received at home from an enquiry instituted in India, which would transmit home opinions, not facts.

At the same time, this Commission if Commission there be, must have power to institute enquiries of its own in India - And the most valuable part of this information would probably be derived from Forms of Returns which it would itself construct & send out, to be returned to it filled up.
But these must be read by people who are capable of reading them.

I have just seen an instance of the reverse. I have just seen Burrell’s Notes on the S. Eastern Barracks enclosing the Returns filled up, Galton’s Notes, who had not seen the Returns, & Sutherland’s. Burrell has written his, as if he had not seen the Return - And nevertheless the facts readings from these will make the most important part of the South Eastern Inspections Report.

To sum up -
I think
1. that the enquiry as to Indian Sanitary things must be instituted in England & by a Commission
2. that this must consist of a few men of great experience in this way, or it had better not sit at all
3. that it must follow much the course of the former R. Sanitary Commission
4. that it must have power to institute enquiries & to issue Circulars of printed Questions to be filled up in India
I assure you that I have not been so good as to offer your services to Lord Stanley - which I am afraid you will think I have -

But I enclose copies of suggestions I have made to him this day.

[I had a second letter from him saying “only show me how we are to set to work,” & offering & asking for “information”.

My belief is that, if he has a Commission with any other Chairman, he will make bring together a great mass of blunders instead of information - as the Commission for the Indian Army is, as you say, a blunder - You call Hawes an “inconvenient little dolt.” But that Commission will prove an inconvenient large dolt.

Believe me, I do not even wish, much less hope, that you will undertake this. I only think Lord Stanley had better let it alone, if you don’t.

Pray excuse, dear Mr. Herbert, what may seem impertinent to you in this I did not mean to be impertinent - & believe me yours sincerely F. Nightingale
30 Old Burlington St.
Sept. 15/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

As I dare say you are only going through London to one of Your “numerous seats”, (the expression is a borrowed one from Mr. S.C. Hale) I am just going to make you a Compte Rendu - & have done

I did not come up to town to intercept you - I did not indeed.
I came up on the 4th, because Lord Stanley himself fixed that time (of his being crowned head of the Indian Council) to turn his mind to the Sanitary matters, & he now very naturally finds he has too much to do, & adjourns it

I. 1. Gen=ls Peel & Storks are gone out of town this morning to Plymouth on an Expecting Expedition -
   2. Your Barrack Commission is gone to Ireland only today (Galton was detained on B. of Trade business till today), will do the S. of Ireland only, & will be back in 12 days - about -
   3. I enclose their business first
      1. Woolwich Report
      This has been corrected by themselves & awaits your consideration -
      Some of the Woolwich Estimates have been obtained (for Ventilation of Barrack Rooms only) & sent in - to the amount of about £ 3000 The improvements begun. The other not yet come in - will be about £ 10,000 altogether, - independent of accommodation.
2. Chatham Report
Corrected as sent in. A part of the Estimates (for ventilation of Barracks & drainage of Fort Pitt only) have been obtained & sent in to the amount of about £5000 - some of the work begun - The Estimates altogether will be about £12000, independent of accommodation. But none other of the Estimates than the above are yet to come in.

3. South Eastern Report
First Proof enclosed - not yet considered even by your Commissioners. Estimates not yet received from the Commanding R. Engineers - will be something quite enormous - it is so bad -

4. Portsmouth & Winchester Report
Corrected as sent in. Estimates & all NB Woolwich & Chatham are the only ones for your consideration, therefore I do not enclose


2. Manchester, Bury, Ashton Stockport, Preston, &c Report - in printer's hands - Estimates will will be very trifling- perhaps not above £3000 altogether

3. "General Orders" as to improvements, in preparation concerning 1. ventilation - size of apertures &c 2. drainage etc 3. lavatories & how to make them 4. kitchens & what to have in them - for all Barracks -
The Gen=ls Peel & Storks have been hard at work inspecting Barracks, (taking the bread out of your mouths, in fact) & very much to their surprise as to results. They have been at Dover, Chatham, Portsmouth, & do Plymouth to day. They say that two millions will be required to complete the Barrack reforms, including Hospitals - But that they will get the money. I think the danger will be (not that they will not be foreword enough but) that they will take “leaps in the dark” & do ignorant things, if you are not Dictator to them.

Mennie is consulted about every thing, & with his 25 years’ traditions of the R. Engineers Dep=t, does many foolish things, besides Netley. (2)

II. About Alexander’s affairs - I hope you will see him before long & he will then tell you himself -
1. The Warrant is not yet out
2. Medical School Regulations might be advantageously inquired about -
Of the Regulations he has not heard a word - And you will remember that you desired Gen=1 Peel to refer them to him. I don’t believe they have even been looked at - Of the Medical School he has - It has been referred to him. And he has written an excellent letter about it. So has the Warrant. It was sent back to him, with “improvements” (?) And he wrote a first rate letter about it. He thinks it is safe
But it is not out as I understand. You ought to see his two letters on these two subjects.

I don’t think you at all overrated the use Alexander would be of. He is determined to carry out the spirit of the R. Commission & he is doing it with great judgment. I should think the War Dep. had never received two such letters before - They amount to a censure, without being in the least imper- tinent - Certainly old Andrew never told them anything of the kind. The letters & minutes I have seen from the War Officials (of Alexander’s position) in the War Dep. would do, with the alteration of a word or two, to put in “Punch”. Have you seen Punch’s “Scentral Board”? {sm.caps on S of Scentral}

I wish those Regulations, though, could be heard of. It is like the search after poor Franklin.

4. They have been “adding insult to injury”, as the parrot said when he was made to learn English, for, after having crammed Netley down our throats, they have referred it to Alexander to organize - an unorganizable place - I think this has been done as little badly as it can be done.

III. About the Indian matter, [9:68] I think it is “as well as can be expected”-

Since you were so very good as to say that you would undertake the matter, the chief fear has been that Lord Stanley would say his “Organization” Commission could do it. He is however convinced 1. that it has neither men nor “Instructions” to touch it at all. “The best means
of securing the efficiency “of troops raised for Indian service - is the only sentence in their Instructions which can be construed to mean Sanitary Reform at all. And Lord Stanley says it does not. I am glad of it.

2. he is convinced that the subject ought to be dealt with & “separately” & “fully” & “urgently”. These are all his own words. He says he cannot do any thing directly. But I do not think he will do anything without consulting you - And that is the main matter - And as he will do no mischief, which is satisfactory, I hope in a few weeks he will be able to do good. He has not “committed” himself to any thing either way.

(3)

I am going to Malvern tonight, because I know, if I were to stay, I could not keep my hands off tormenting you - But I hope you will be so very good as to let me know when you come to town - I suppose you may perhaps be “looking up” the creatures in a fortnight’s time? Please don’t deceive me. Because it is nothing to me to come up -

I hope you are quite well
Believe me
Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

{on back of last folio, not FN's hand:
Miss Nightingale
Sept. 15. 1858
Containing
Woolwich Report
Chatham Report
Portsmouth & Winchester & South Eastern Reports etc.
Also Inspection of Barracks by
Genls Peel & Storks}
Gt Malvern  
   Sept 23/58  
Dear Mr. Herbert  
   I have had (not a letter but) a volume from Sir J. Clark about the Army Medical School. I don’t think there is anything in his letter new to you or different from your own opinion. And therefore I only send you an Abstract of it.  
   I think he must exaggerate Alexander’s opposition - as we have always found him so very reasonable - And I have seen him since he saw Sir Jas Clark. All the rest that Sir J. Clark says is very true & what we have always thought. There can be no harm in Sir Jas Clark poking Gen=n Peel, I suppose, nor perhaps much good. If you wish to suggest or alter any thing, perhaps you would write yourself to tell Sir Jas Clark at Balmoral.  
   I have simply written, saying that, as far as I knew, you would agree with all his views.  
Yrs sincerely  
   F. Nightingale  

{on back of last folio in another hand:  
Miss Nightingale  
   Sept. 3. 1858  
Enclosed a Letter from Sir J. Clarke about the Army Medical School}
30 Old Burlington St  
Oct 5/58

Dear Mr Herbert

I send you the Leader with Guy’s answer to Neison. It is good - much what we would have said ourselves - if taken not on the Statistical but on the Sanitary ground - It will bring Neison out - And there will be a “row” - Yrs sincerely

F.N.

The Barrack Commission

are in their vanity very angry. Because all the Military Newspapers attribute your excellent system of Ventilation to Gen=l Peel

F.N.

{not FN’s hand,written on back of folio: Miss Nightingale Oct 5 1858 on Neison’s paper on density} of population} & it’s fallacious
Oct 6/48 [yes it is 48]

Dear Mr. Herbert

Neison has not only made the mistake you mention in your note, viz. of estimating the population of the great city of Wilton as extending over a large area of Salisbury Plain - But he has confounded together surface over crowding & over crowding in cubic space, which are quite distinct things. E.g. the Metropolitan Lodging houses exhibit a larger amount of surface over crowding than perhaps any part of the Metropolis - But they have a much larger amount of cubic space than the working classes usually have - And they are well ventilated & otherwise rendered healthy. Hence, in spite of their surface overcrowding, they are the most healthy part of the Metropolis - Neison’s whole enquiry is simply a stupidity & nothing more - But he has some countenance for it in the fact that the Reg. Gen.’s densities of population refer (not to inhabited areas but) to empirical boundaries of all kinds - To correct
Neison thoroughly therefore, it would be necessary to shew that the Reg. Gen.’s method of estimating densities was incorrect.

If you think it necessary to take this line in the Reply, we had better consult Farr, & get him to give an explanation. We have been going into the Barrack part of it to which you allude - And we find on a superficial examination

1. that the largest surface area in Barracks is possessed by the Cavalry & Household Cavalry
2. that the Infantry are somewhat more crowded on square area
3. that the Guards are most crowded of all
   As regards cubic space we find
1. that the Cavalry have much the largest amount
2. that the Infantry come next in order
3. that the Guards have least cubic space of all

Next, as to the external ventilation of Barracks, we find
1. that the Barracks of the Cavalry
   Household Cavalry
   Infantry
are generally free from surrounding
buildings - & mostly in the open country - thereby exposing them to the free action of wind

2. that the Guards Barracks are so constructed & situated as to be extremely deficient in external ventilation -

Lastly, that the existing ventilating arrangements of Barrack rooms are very nearly equally deficient in all arms of the Service.

We have not as yet accurate Statistical data - But if you think it necessary, they can be obtained from the Returns -

In regard to the Reply, you will see by the “Leader” sent yesterday that Dr. Guy has confuted Neison generally. Perhaps you would think it better to wait till we see if Neison 

replies to Guy - which he probably will - And then Your Reply will be the more victorious -

Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

Dr. Balfour has just been here & says that he was requested by the Editor of the Medical Times to write a leader for next Saturday in reply to Neison. He has done so & sent it in. From what he says he has taken very
Derbyshire Co Record Office 297

much the same argument
as Guy - only he has
shewn up Neison more
completely from his
better knowledge of
what the Commission
really said. I will
send it you - [It is
of course unofficial]

Balfour says that
the Warrant is gone
to Balmoral for signa=
ture & will be gazetted
in about 10 days -
that they have made
some alterations not
of great importance -
They have cut out the

full pay retirements -
which, as being
intended to meet
special cases, they
say should be specially
provided for when the
cases occur -

There is only one scale
of pay instead of two -
And they have extended
the period of service
of the Deputy & Insp=
Gen=l from 25 to 30
years - giving an
increase of retirement
of 2/6 per diem after
25 years’ service.

These are the chief
alterations - And
upon the whole
Alexander is satisfied.

F.N.
30 O. Burlington St
Oct 8/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

Surface density has nothing to do *per se* with disease - but the conditions to which density gives rise. Distinguishing surface density from density in cubic space, the surface density of towns is not known, *in itself*, to exercise any influence whatever upon health - But wherever there is surface density there are in unimproved towns Sanitary defects which give to surface density its power of producing disease - defective cleansing, drainage, &c - Even Neison assumes (what is contrary to fact) that, in towns of all densities, these defects are to the same amount - Thus just as
the effect of overcrowding depends within limits on defective ventilation, the effect of Surface density depends on the accompanying Sanitary conditions.

No correct Vital Statistician would ever adduce surface overcrowding on overcrowding in cubic space as per se forming an element in his calculations -

It is consistent with experience that two-storied houses may be so crowded as to give a higher surface density than that of five or six storied houses - Into such a comparison, the width of streets is not made to enter.

We can get out accurately the Statistics of overcrowding in the Guards - The Barrack Returns in the R. Comm Report *by* (imperfect as they are,) shew that the overcrowding is greatest in the Guards - In cubic space - And the numbers
of Barrack flats shews that the density is also greatest in surface. The Barracks at Chatham are only occupied about 6 weeks by the same men. They don’t, like the other Barracks, enter into the system of rotation.

The Infantry Barracks, hitherto examined by the Barracks Commission, comprise the most overcrowded in the U.K. The average space in the Irish Infantry Barracks is much larger. Until the average is corrected for the Irish Barracks, we cannot get the proportionate over crowding for the Infantry generally - With this proviso, they find the deficiency of accommodation at 600 cubic ft per man to stands as follows:

Household Calvary +7 per cent
Infantry Barracks} excluding Chatham} -- 25 per cent
Foot Guards -- 26 per cent

so that, even excluding exclusive of
Chatham, but including all the other worst Barracks, (which are the S. Eastern ones), the Infantry are still 1 per cent better off than the Guards - all the Guards’ Barracks being taken & not the best Infantry Barracks - We are however going to ascertain the amount of cubic space in the 3 classes of Barracks accurately - & will send it you.

The Warrant has been signed at Balmoral & will be in print tomorrow -

The Regulations have traveled as far as Robertson (Purveyor in Chief) at the War Office - There they have Stuck - He “can’t understand them at all.” To us it sounds like finding out where the hitch is in the Atlantic Telegraph = But I am not sure that the

3 bottom of the Atlantic is not a less hopeless place than the bottom of the W.O.

The Diet Tables have also stuck, in the same manner & at the same place.

The Council has stuck, but not at the same place - They will let us have the Officers but not as Councilors. This will not do - They have notified that the Medical School
is not to be at Netley.

One of Alexander’s best men, Muir, has been appointed Sanitary Officer at Bombay. He reports to his Chief that the Sanitary abominations there are quite enough to account for our Mortality.

The same at Calcutta - I had a note from Lord Stanley this morning - But not a word about the Commission. The wretch is at Knowsley. How dare he be at Knowsley? Is he persuading his Papa? I have seen Alexander, who seems to hold his ground well - The Atlantic information comes from him.

ever yours sincerely
F. Nightingale
30 Old Burlington St
Oct 11/58

Dear Mr. Herbert

I send you a thing about Nursing which I wrote, fearing that I might never again be able to give personal active help in Military or in Civil Nursing. It is very imperfect - And a Manual about Nursing is in an impossible thing - But it may give some Cautions to the Superintendent of Military Nurses, if such there be, & to her of the “Fund” Nurses, when they exist - in matters of organization -

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale
Army Medical Contagion

Your Canterbury Report
is gone in - but
none too soon -
Fever had broken
out in the Barracks -
In a very proper
Report, the Medical
Officer referred it
to the right (& very
obvious) local cause
viz. the abominable
drainage.

The Deputy Inspector,
Mouat, comes over,

& to please the Commanding
Officer, refers it to
"Contagion"! "The men
had caught it in the
town"!! But, with
marvellous inconsistency,
he recommended an
improvement in the
drainage.

Why so? either let
us have Contagion &
Cordons, -- or Local
Causes & Sanitary
improvements.

The whole matter
was referred to your
Commission -

And very sharp I
should have pulled
up Mr. Mouat, if I
had been Sanitary
Councilor (in the
future office).

I know that Dr.
Sutherland has told
you all this & the
Croydon business. But
could you not say
something about it
(in your own pointed way) in your Article, to the effect that, had logic prevailed, Canterbury Barracks would have put Canterbury town under Quarantine, & Croydon Barracks, would themselves have been put under Quarantine by the Croydon town - But fortunately common sense stepped in, & saved us from the effects of logic, & from such a catastrophe.

3 in the unimproved Scutari Hospital to have been (proportionately) double what it was in the Regimental tents of the Crimea exposed to every kind of want & hardship. And this is surely enough - So much for the General question - But now that “Anonymous” has started this particular point, I mean to set to work tomorrow with Smith’s big Blue Books & work out (by the process of exhaustion) taking Smyrna, Abydos & all of the Hospitals, how much the Total Deaths, now stated to the Ho of Commons, exceeded month by month all & each of the conflicting Statistics.
which Anonymous states to be exaggerations & which are really understatements of the truth -
    If you do write a Note upon any of these subjects in your Article, please let me see it before it goes to press. I think, if you notice the Guards’ attack & its result, (not forgetting the man who died of “old age” at 60) this pamphlet might form a suitable pendant - in a Note-

    Yours sincerely
    F. Nightingale

Hall has written to Alexander to recommend him Hall as one of H.M.’s “Honorary Surgeons”!!
Dear Mr. Herbert,

I don’t know whether you will think it wise to look back to the old Crimean story -

But the height of absurdity in that correspondence (of App. LXXIX of your Report) has never been surpassed. You might treat it a la Rabelais in your Article -

What was the practical result of all that bulk of letters? The sending out of Lime Juice, which was not distributed till too late, & of Peat Charcoal which was not wanted.

This was all -

What can one say - More in condemnation of a Department? What was it there for?

There is nothing in Molière to compare with this.

Lord Raglan was the primary cause of Smith’s appointment - Never perhaps was a more fatal act committed by a more honest man. It cost him his Army & his reputation -

If you, as an administrator, were to touch it up, as you well know how, so as to extract the ha’porth of bread out
of all that abominable
deal of suck, I think
it might do good. It
is Weston all over - [?]

The good advice,
whenever the advice
is good, always comes
a month too late.
And the kernel of
those 212 (double column)
pages is ---- what?
If you want an
Abstract, that, (which
you have seen already)
is a faithful one, Preface
& Appendices to Section I
Preface to Section III, Preface
to Section X, Part 2, in my big Vol=
Signed note, f1, pen, black-edged paper, In another handwriting on back of a
folio:
Miss Nightingale 2057/F4/67
14 Oct 1858
Sent with the
Warrant

Signed & sealed
Here comes the Warrant,
without any change
to negative it, & with
a sentence at the
beginning satisfactory
as admitting from
the Head of the State
that you were right -
It takes force, you
will see, from the
1st of this month -
Please return it
to Alexander, who has
The Medical School is NOT gone in to the Treasury.

Storks, Hawes & Godley are to "sit upon" the Regulations & Army Medical Council after this week - & I believe upon the School also.

F Nightingale

Oct 14/58

Signed letter, ff5, pen, black-edged paper, on back of folio: 2057/F4/67

Miss Nightingale


on Neison’s

Fallacy

30 O B S

Oct 25/58

[16:319-20]

1. I am glad you did not answer Neison - because now we shall have all his say out, & be able to answer it in a lump-

Neison believes man to be solely influenced by what he does. He is quite guiltless of all Physiological, Climate, or sanitary knowledge - was himself a working man & thinks work the only element in our lives & healths -

2. The Pamphlet which Neison asks after is the Pamphlet I sent you last night.

3. The Guards are about to build a General Hospital for the three Regiments
on the site of one of
their Regimental Hospitals
in the Westminster -
Nothing is settled yet.
They would be very
glad to receive
hints, provided they
may have all the
credit of them, (which
you have no objection
to,) & provided they
are not lectured
officially - We were
only waiting for you
to come home to

ask you to ask them
to put the plans
onto your hands -
when, if you would
send them to us,
Sutherland & I
would do our best -
They are quite incapable
of doing it themselves.
But it must not be official.
4. I have gone thro'
all the figures in
Smith’s Blue Big
Book today. And
the result is simply
this - (a result which
I must say has
astonished even my old
mind) -

In the 6 months
Oct/54 to Mar/55 there
are 735 Deaths -
(unaccounted for -
not included in
any of the Medical
Mortality Statistics
which have yet
been presented to
Parliament - ) which

which agrees (within 2) with
what Smith says himself

Smith - regardless of
exposure, as it
seems,- has plastered
on with a trowel
upon those 6 months
thus: Oct 211
     Nov    9
     Dec  151
     Jan  239
     Feb  122
     Mar   3
          735
upon Scutari & Sick
Transport promiscuously

This, if calculated
into the Rate of Mortality
will raise it consi=
derably above what
Farr calculated & the
“Anonymous” complains
of.

I must say I feel
inclined to do it -
heart=sick as I
am of the subject -
if you feel inclined
to put a Note to
your Article

Yours sincerely,
F Nightingale
Further, the “Anonymous” has taken the Head Roll of Burials from February which I stated expressly to be for Scutari alone, & substituted it for the Medical Returns which are for Scutari & Koulali (the most unhealthy of all the Hospitals) together, See P. 362 & P 391, Table IV.

Rep. R. Commiss=n add the Koulali deaths to the Burials at Scutari and, so far therefore from the Mortality having been over-stated it has been under-stated by 124 Deaths.

Signed letter, ff3, pen, black-edged paper, all 3 pages, 2057/F4/67 on back of folio:
Miss Nightingale
5.Nov.1858
article in West Rev
Aldershot Statistics
Anonymous writing

Dear Mr. Herbert

There are 73,000 letters in 32 pages of West Rev. type - and 54 000 letters in what you have written already or about 24 pages of Westm Rev. (I assure you I have not done this by counting like a “learned pig”) The consequence I am very sorry for - We do not
find any “Medical heresies”, or anything which require re-consideration, except Mr. Chapman’s space—

If we could see the whole at once, I think we should be able to consider better what must be left in & what cut out. As it is, I incline to resuming about 20 (written) pages of controversy with Neison into 3 or 4, & curtailing the rest as little as possible - I wish we could see the second half - before suggesting any curtailment in this however.

We have got the Aldershot Statistics from Alexander. They are very favorable & (when calculated) may be inserted in this Article, we think, with good effect as an illustration. Mortality from Phthisis about 2 per 1000 only -

I have taken advantage of your condemnation of anonymous newspaper writing to indulge in an unrestrained course of the same of a vicious nature - As it is only in the Builders however I am not incurably outrageous. I shall send you the course = [They attacked us on Contagion]

I did not agree with you about anonymous writing - But the Times
has put itself so completely in the wrong that I think most people will agree with you now. However the Times never can give up anonymous writing - In a mere mercantile speculation, which such a paper is, how could it? [end]

Believe me
Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

Signed letter, ff5, pen, black-edged paper, all pages, on back of folio in another handwriting: 2057/F4/67

Miss Nightingale
10.Nov.1858
“B.A.” Surgeons
do not require further exam?
presses for the Statistical returns
Bad Plans for Malta Hospitals

30 Old Burlington
10/11/58
Dear Mr. Herbert
1. I think, if you could write all you have to say & then see what room Chapman has, it would be well. Some of the subjects you enumerate are so much more important than ventilation - I still
think, if something must be abridged, it had better be the Neison controversy - I have written an abrégé of some 20 of your (written) pages from your approval, trying to shew up his statistical blunders & strengthen the statistical case for the Army Med. Council

2. I like Brodie’s B.A. idea & yet quite agree with what you say - Could there not be a supplementary Warrant (or something) saying that a man who is a B.A. may pass Surgeon (from Assistant Surgeon) without the additional Examination you have (justly) exacted in your Warrant? I think the B.A. (General) education quite an equivalent to the (special) Medical examination - Of the 20 Surgeons gazetted today as Surgeons Majors I am quite certain there is not one who is or could be a B.A. But the Civil profession is so enchanted with the Warrant - it looks upon it as such a
2. prize for the Medical profession - that there will be little difficulty in future of getting B.A.s

3. I do so wish the Statistical Forms could be out for the New Year - Would not Genl Peel let the Statistical Scheme begin with Jan 1/59 - If so, he must be quick.

4. Malta is to have a new General Hospital for 500. Plans have been granted for 300. They are come to England for approval - Mennie has them in his hands. Burrell has seen them. He says they are atrocious. They must be bad indeed, if my old Burrell says so - It is eminently legitimate for you to ask for them, because you have recommended a General Hospital at Malta. Both Burrell, Sutherland & I are well acquainted with the intended locality at Malta - Would not you ask for these pestilential plans to be submitted to you?

5. Sir James Clark was here today, hunting about for a President= (M.P...) for the new Medical
Council. They want to have you. I suggested Headlam, Wm Cowper, Ld. Elcho, Shaftesbury, G. Hardy. I don’t want them to have you. It’s nothing but a Registration Council, for the prosecution of interlopers. I think doctors are like insects, of no earthly use but to be killed - In medicine I think

3.
the State is like the Confession, doing every thing it ought not to do & nothing it ought to do. It does not prevent us from being poisoned - But it gives to certain Schools the right to poison us - I think you would have to give a great deal of time to do a very little good - as President of that Council. They want you, because they want the “prestige” of a great man - 6. I do wish Gen’l Peel would give us some of our things now. We have not been troublesome. The Regulations have been “in” since July. Could he not give us one of our “little ones”? Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale
Dear Mr. Herbert

What original ways the War Office has - a remark, not new but true - If Anything could were wanting to convince one that it wants clearing out entirely, I think it is this -

To put a set of subordinates to report upon the doings of their immediate chiefs seems the method of doing business in that Department

Thus:
Mr. Herbert
Sir R. Airey.......... Belfield
Mr. Alexander ...... Beatson
Dr. Sutherland
Mr. Croomes ........ Milton & Robertson

are appointed subordinates to draw up in the same the Regulations office, are appointed to report upon said Regulations. They have adjourned themselves till 10th Jan
A Military Officer is then to be joined to them - & they are to report all over again -

What does the War Office expect to come at by this? Laffan is still ill & does not return till March.

Galton says the Medical School buildings will not cost above £ 1000 & might be ready in 2 months.

I think I have achieved a great victory in convincing Balfour of the superiority of taking the Constantly Sick instead of the Admissions - He promises (but "promises are like pie crust") that he will give me these for at least the Bengal Stations in classes of disease

Your sincerely

F. Nightingale
30 Old Burlington St.
London W
Dec 27/58
Dear Mr. Herbert,

On Friday I took my courage by the fore lock & wrote to Lord Stanley to ask him to come & see me - The reason of my doing this wild act was that I thought, if it failed, it would only pass for a foolish woman’s love of being busy,

& if it succeeded it would succeed - I took care to let Lord Stanley know when he came that you were not particeps

He came today - There are so many things that both he & I could say which it would not be fair upon him to ask him to write & which it would not be fair upon you to ask me to write.
Bref, he says he will write to you directly to ask you to be Chairman & to select your own tools.

I confine my eloquence or my stupidity to these three points -

I confine my reasons to merely showing him an Indian map which I have now completed with the mortality of Queen’s & E. I. C. troops written under each station - & to telling him the practical results which you have given to your first R. Sanitary Commission - also recapitulating to him what you had said in your letter from Gastein - the substance of which he had seen before -

Altho’ you never think of your own dignity, I have a Little which indeed is not necessary feeling that it should never be compromised through my foolishness -

Lord Stanley says that he was only waiting for the end of the Organization Commissions - but says that he will not now wait for that. “At all events” he added “the work of that Commission will be finished by the meeting of Parliament” -

I hear from Sir A. Tulloch & Mr. Martin
that the bounty "row" among the E.I.C. troops has made a great impression upon the Commiss=n [the bounty question has made] been sent in for decision to the Crown lawyer] On Jan 11 the Comm=rs decide upon series of resolutions regarding whether the Army is to be Royal or local - Lord Stanley it is supposed. will carry the day - But the whole Report, Ld. Stanley says will be ready by the meeting of Parl=t. Of course I was very careful not to be "spearing" impertinent questions at Ld S. Therefore I kept rigidly to the matter in hand - By the way, I must just tell you that Lord S. shewed my letters to Sir Geo. Clerk & Sir G. Clerk spoke of them to Martin who told me - In these cases, the poor
woman always goes
to the wall. It is
always supposed
it is she who has
prated - But,
curious way of
doing business as
it seems to me
for Sir G. Clerk to
tell these kinds of
things, I wish YOU
to know that it
is not I -
It is an immense relief
to me that Lord Stanley
has promised those
three things - In fact
it was all I wanted
Sincerely yrs F. Nightingale

Lord Stanley said
that he must speak
to Lord Derby first.
So he has not done it yet
    I am afraid I am
a bad ambassador
    I am too anxious.
But if Lord Stanley
will just write to you,
& put the matter
into your hands, I
shall be satisfied
& leave you to fight
your own battles -
And I promise,

as the old Prussian
General said in his
prayers, Only give
me this this once,
& I never will
pray to you again.
    Please write
to me at Malvern
    F.N.
June 30/58
I saw all the correspondence, which you have now in your hands, between Farr & Tulloch – Both Farr & I are anxious, for Tulloch’s sake, that he should not print his objections. They are weak, & not what he would have written 5 years ago. And, if he would but hold his tongue, he might have the credit of the Report.

Farr is anxious that you should tell Tulloch privately to withdraw them, or to send them in
private to the Director General, who is with us.
    I doubt whether even you could move that obstinate old square head – (an obstinacy which stood us in good stead at the Chelsea Board)

The main point however, is that the printing of these objections should not delay the sending in of the Report, which it must not be allowed to do –
F. Nightingale
Great Malvern
Aug 19/ 58
Dear Mr. Herbert
At the risk of annoying you, I think I had better tell you how Lord Stanley is going on - He wrote to me thus: 

Private  "Ind. Bd.
Aug 14/ 58

"How would this do? Drs. Martin, Sutherland, Simon, to conduct the enquiry: "here: without Royal Commissions or 
"any such pompous delays, without 
"compulsory powers, but with all the 
"aid we could give them in collecting 
"evidence from Indian witnesses: special 
"instructions to them not to produce a 
"last Blue Book, but to embody in 
"their Report whatever facts they thought 
"worth preserving: the subjects of enquiry 
"to be, health of troops in first instance 
"and next, the sanitary conditions under 
"which European life is possible in India: 
"their report to be in size, style & subject, 

"such that it might serve as a manual 
"to engineers planning cantonments, to 
"Officers in charge of troops & to intending 
"settlers in India. Tell me if you approve 
"& I will speak to the Chairs & get the 
"thing in train at once".

He enclosed a long letter to himself from Sir G. Clerk, approving of a "Commission of enquiry", but giving all the arguments of the "old Indians" to prove that India must be unhealthy, as it was from the beginning, is now & ever shall be, world without end.

Lord Stanley concludes "I have heard "the same things propounded by others - "Possibly you may know whether it is "a vulgar prejudice or a scientific truth".

Fortunately for you, I have no copy of my answer - But unfortunately for you I think it expedient to recapitulate my arguments viz. 
I. that from experience it may be found that 1. it will not do merely to collect evidence in England. Sir G. Clerk’s letter
Derbyshire Co Record Office 327

confirms this, for, althou’ it states facts it grounds opinions on them, now known to be untenable. Present knowledge tells us the very unhealthiness of which he complains might be prevented.

Before such a Commission as that named by Lord Stanley similar statements would be repeated without end, & the practical result would be what every “old Indian” will uphold that India is essentially unhealthy. Hence

2. The Committee would have to make personally or to direct to be made on the spot by practical persons enquiries to test the truth of such allegations.

Considering the supreme importance of the subject, it would be necessary to give the Committee or Commission as wide Scope as possible

II. As to the constitution

1. it would not do to exclude every element except the Medical. The subjects of enquiry, Engineering, Military, Sanitary & Medical must be exhausted before the Report is drawn up. People acquainted with only one of these subjects would never be able to draw up either Report, Regulations or Instructions involving the duties of Engineers, Military & Sanitary Officers.

Whether Committee or Commission, it should have

1. Indian Military Officer of high rank
2. Indian Military Engineer & topographer
   ? Col Goodwyn or Bengal Army
   or ? “ Greene or “
   or ?? Capt. Wichterlony or Madras “
   or ?? Lt. Col Grant - - -Bombay “
[Col. Waugh, I suppose, could not be had for the asking.]
3. Indian Medical (Sanitary) Officer
   Mr. Martin
4. Civil Sanitarian conversant with Camps.
   Dr Sutherland
5. Civil (Sanitary) Engineer
   Mr Rawlison
   (by far our best water Engineer)
6. Statistician
   Dr Farr
   (There must be some one to “read” the Statistics)
2. & MOST IMPORTANT.

There must be a Chairman over all to direct the enquiry, to give consistency to it & to prevent differences of opinion. He must not only have experience in this special subject, but be of such a position as will carry weight with the public opinion.

3. The enquiry must not be hurried & the men who undertake it will have to work at it long & hard.

To conduct the enquiry by the three men named (alone) & in the manner named by Lord Stanley would be to arrive at nothing more than an abstract of existing opinions, an aide-mémoire, or manual—very useful. But Regulations which must be followed would be much more useful. Also, Lord Stanley might be out of office before the Report or Manual was ready—And then, what influence would it have with a Council of “old Indians”? There MUST be a Chairman to carry weight with the country.

Also, if Lord Stanley wants an abstract of existing opinion, one of the persons he names, Mr Simon, has no opinions at all, & has had no practical experience of Army topography whatever.

The object of the enquiry should be, certainly, to obtain the practical results Lord Stanley mentions.

In order to do so, however, there must be competent Engineering assistance & evidence, because the result should not be only to point out positions for cantonments, but precautions to be taken I making sites more healthy. Such precautions being for the most part engineering works, they must be recommended by capable Engineers, 7 a manual for Engineers must be stamped with engineering authority.

But the Committee or Commission must also draft Regulations for consideration — and such Regulations involving military, engineering & medical points, it must contain all these elements.

Sir G. Clerk’s letter contained the substance of the objections generally raised against India — founded on the
assumption that there is something deadly inherent in all tropical climates & that, somehow or other, disease & death must be the penalty of subduing the earth.

The discovery of the reasons for local unhealthiness is often difficult. And when people unaccustomed to such enquiries come in contact with these problems, they are very apt to take refuge in fatalism. We used to have ague here, till draining was discovered. And Sir G. clerk mentions fevers as growing in gardens in India. And so they will, till man has learnt how to use water in tropical climates.

The very last Report which proceeded from the defunct Bd of Health (by Mr. Simon) only a few days ago lays the blame of the excess of infantile mortality which, since the first Board was broken up, it has taken no means to prevent, on infection & contagion, two exploded superstitions. And it puts forward a scheme of statistics (simply trash) to prove that Sanitary precautions have been greatly over valued, that epidemics are inevitable, & that Quarantine is to be substituted for Sanitary improvements.
Mr. Simon’s publications must be considered in the light of a “prospecting” expedition, as they call it in the gold countries. His work may fairly be called “scampish,” in the language of the trades.

So far from blaming the “old Indians,” they are a green tree compared with the dry one of our old Board of Health. But the Indian question will not be solved by them & we must do it for them.

If Ld Stanley does not like a Royal Commission, it will be more “distingué” (as Ld Castlereagh was without any orders) to have none. And it does not matter much, provided the enquiry be conducted by men specially suited for all departments of the work, by a Chairman who can give unity & precision to it, & with power to extend it to India, if found necessary.

I hope you are better-

ever yours faithfully F. Nightingale

I have heard nothing whatever of the minute-making process having been begun on your “Regulations.” That Peel might have done just that. I wish his memory could be refreshed. He sent for Capt Galton & said he was very anxious to have the Sanitary
works of Woolwich & Chatham begun & spend the money. Capt. Galton has asked for parts of the estimates, in order that the Report may be sent in with them - the remainder to be supplied afterwards. Capt. Galton suggested a premium for the best cooking apparatus for Barracks - to which Genl Peel listened agreeably. The Barrack Co= will have to lay down the principles.

The Barrack Co: has inspected Manchester, Preston, Burnly & all those Barracks. It finds some of them on much better plans than the new Aldershot ones. So we have made progress backwards.

F.N.

Mrs. Herbert will say that I give you the best possible argument for not coming back to England, which I acknowledge.

Part of a signed letter, no salutation, ff6, pen
Written on the back of a folio in another handwriting:
Miss Nightingale
June 28, 1858
Relating to
The Warrant
& mistakes
made by
Milton

had been re-cast
by Milton, (about
the last person in
the world who could
know anything about
it - It was like
asking him to cut
off a leg, because he
belongs to a War
Office).

I never was in
the kitchen at the
War Office before -
and whenever I
am chief cook in
that Dep't, I will not do the business in that way.

Upon this infor-
tunate Warrant there were lengthy minutes by cooks, 1, 2, 3,
-Acc't Gen'l Kirby
-Ass't Under Sec'y Godley
-Chief Clerk Roberts

smaller minutes by
-Under Sec'y Hawes
-Mil'y Sec'y Storks

et id gemus omne,-
the whole of each differing from every body’s else, & no one of them having the most distant glimmering of the practical working of the Warrant, as intended by you-

The three principal mistakes were all made however by Milton – and I made Alexander put the original all in again - But whether he will carry it; neither he nor I shall know - And
The object of this note is
--would you think
it well to tell Genl Peel to shew you the
Warrant again before
it finally goers in
to the Treasury?
Yours sincerely
F.Nightingale

The three mistakes were
at “examinations in
Military Medicine,
Surgery & Hygiene”
they had substituted

for “hygiene” Medical
Science, which makes
it nonsense — & is
just the opposite of
what is meant —
2. they had
abolished the value
of Assistant Surgeon’s
service and had
made to 20 years
service which was
to raise to the rank
of Surgeon Major
to be 20 years full
Surgeon’s Service

they had made
the Surgeon of whatever
rank junior in
that relative rank
to all the relative Military
Officers — whatever
the date of Commission.
II. Alexander tells me
That the famous
Crimean Blue Book
(of Smith & Hall)
is lying all ready
in his Office. He
is anxious that you
& I should see it -
but says very properly that, without
Gen=l Peel’s authority, he
has no right. If you
would write a word,
he would send it.

III. Gen=l Peel has directed
the Netley Comm=n to send
in its Report by Friday.
Phillips’s Section is
entirely in support of
you - and this Section
they will not send in.
Also, they mean to
bring the Hospital out

of the domain of
your “Regulations” by declaring it not to
be a General Hospital
at all - Then what
is it?

I trust that Gen=l
Peel understands
that he is not to
lay the Report on the table
of the House without
your having first
seen it. It is so easy
to answer -

F.N.
Poor Howell is dead, who wrote
your Review for the Edinburgh.
West Hill Lodge
Highgate Rise
April 30/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

I told Sutherland your wish that he & Martin should immediately draw up the paper of questions to send out to the Indian Stations. He will have to look at the any documents, which the E.I. Ho: has to shew, first. And, as there was not time for you then to get them the authority before he started for Ireland, he put it off till he came back.

Do not you think that it will be adviseable for a good deal of this preliminary work to be done before the Commissn meets for business? Because whereas, in
the Crimean case, we had all the experience on our side, in the Indian case, they will have all the experience on theirs.

It will not take long to do a good deal - If you would get them us access to all the information at once by asking Lord Stanley to put Dr. Sutherland & Mr. Martin (&, if you thought well, Dr. Farr,) into communication with the India Ho:?
The two first they would then prepare the Forms of questions as soon as they have/had abstracted the documents necessary - Farr, I suspect, would find no Statistics but what we have already.

I. 1. Dr. Sutherland & Mr. Martin might be asked by you at once to examine all records &c & to abstract the information already available, for you as Chairman - to draw up forms for local enquiries: questions for getting local information from all the Stations in India.
perhaps to accompany/cause these forms to be accompanied by skeleton maps & plans, which Dr. Sutherland could do very well.

2. Dr. Farr might be asked in the same way to do the same thing as to the present state of Indian Statistics - for you - (There are Reports of the Statistical Socy which he can consult at home, for this.

3. Mr. Martin ditto as to the present Sanitary state of Indian Stations & position of Indian Medical service in regard to it - (a short abstract for you) - It would not do to be (from want of experience) in the power of the India Council men.

II. The Commission’s work will include (according to its Instructions)
- Topography
- Barracks
- Climate
- Camps
- Productions
- Stations
- Diseases
- Hospital
- Localities
- Sanatoria
- Waters
- Strategic Points
- Statistics
- Enquiry into possibility of organizing a system of registration
1 Selection of healthy sites
2 Enquiry into causes of sickness & mortality in unhealthy Stations
  Diet - Drinks
  Clothing - Duties
  Occupations of troops
  Changes of Stations for health
3 Sanitary improvements required in existing Stations
4 Organization of an Indian Sanitary Department

[It is very evident that
  Messrs Mapleton & Logan are wholly incompetent for this - that it would never to do put the health & hospitals of the Indian Army into such hands - At home public opinion will check their stupidities - In India not - Perhaps each of the three Presidencies must have its own organization - At all events, the D.G. at home must have

signed letter, 2ff, pen (in another hand: May/59 Miss Nightingale Balfour is not to leave Chelsea Asylum - Sir R. Napier Bengal Engr as witness before Indian Commission)

West Hill Lodge
Highgate Rise
N.
May 6/59 [15:283-84]

Dear Mr. Herbert

The Governors (or whatever they are called) of the R. Mily Asylum held a Board today, at which H.R.H. and Staff presided, & decided that Balfour was not to be spared from dosing the little boys, “and
“they cannot therefore
“sanction the
“appointment of
“Head of the Statistical
“Branch of the Army
“Medl Dept being
“held by the Surgeon
“of this Establishment.”

Probably you may
have heard from
Balfour - So I say
no more -

Had Alexander
taken his stand firmly

upon the foundation
laid (by the Report
which he signed)
for this Council,
probably all this
botheration scompiglio,
would not have
happened - As it is, Balfour
will neither leave the Asylum,
nor accept the other thing, cut down
as it is. Yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale
I am very glad, on

the whole, that you
have Sir E. Lugard -
I wish Ld. Stanley
would give the word

to Open Sesame to
his treasures for
the beginning of the/our
three.

The Irish inspections
terminate today.

Do you know Sir Robert Napier, Bengal
Engineers, (?) who made
the roads in the
Punjab for Sir J.
Lawrence - He is now
on his way home - is
a good Sanitarian
& will give capital
information as a
witness.  

[end 15:284]

[9:82]
Highgate
Dear Mr. Herbert
It occurs to me, [9:82-83]
do you know Col. Alison, late Mil. Secy to Lord Clyde? If we cannot have the bird, at least the stake the bird sat upon may taste of it. Col. Alison has the credit of being a highly educated man.

& very good Officer -
I don’t know what more we shall get than good sense & local knowledge in any Queen’s Officer - Because H.M. has no Sanitary Engineers in India at all. poor thing! Col. Alison was to be at home from Italy about this time -
I will send you every word I can gather about Greathe or any body else tomorrow - [end 9:83]
yours sincerely

F.N.

May 9/59
I am coming to a use of my proper senses as to the "Royal boy."
I think this is a work of genius - putting down the Artillery porter.

Certainly poor Sir Wm. Codrington’s letter is not.
All he says is that it is a practice which he has allowed to continue under his government. And therefore it must be right.

Why not turn every Serjeant in the Line into a beer-shop keeper then? If it is right for the Artillery, it must be right for the Line.

But how can a N.C. Officer arrest a man for riot, with the money in his own pocket for the drink which made the man riotous?

I consider H.R.H. one of the greatest of men - He has "put a stop to "so improper a "proceeding" - which it is.

F.N.
March 2/61
April 24/61

I back Dr. Sutherland.

I have had the largest experience of the worst kind of cases - and I am not a hard-hearted sort of Nurse - And I consider the “extras” in the enclosed papers perfectly preposterous.

I am thoroughly experienced in the Civil Hospitals - And the Military Diet=table is infinitely superior, both in variety & capacity of nourishment, to every Diet=table in London - far more so, to every one in Edinbro’ - most of all so to every one in Paris. I consider both the expence & the composition of the Diets in “Left Wing”, Woolwich, as monstrous - & calculated to bring discredit upon
the whole system of liberality which has been adopted in British Army Hospitals.

It is not necessary to tell us that the “Patients did badly” in this “Left Wing”

F. Nightingale

The Average Cost per Diet is in this “Wing” nearly 19d - Speaking from experience, I assert that 13d covers the very highest expence that need be gone to for the most fastidious & desperate cases as an average cost per diet.

[end 15:154]

F.N.

{in another hand, upside down: Miss Nightingale April 24, 1861 agrees with D. Sutherland as to the Extravagance in the Woolwich Hospital Dietary.}

unsigned memorandum, undated 6ff, pen 2057/F4/68

OLD Woolwich Hospital

GENERAL Hosp. scheme.

All hands concur that Col. Clark Kennedy would be the best Governor, if he will accept it. that Major Buckley is too old & wanting in mental activity.

that, if Col. K. would accept it, the best way would be to leave him to select all the minor appointments, x (which are all S. of S. appointments, vide Regns.)

that, if he will not accept, the best way would be to remit the whole question back to the Hospital Corps Commn, of which Kennedy was Chairman, & to make them recommend to the

x Captain of Orderlies &c &c &c Steward &c
Secretary of State the names of the whole staff.

Otherwise we know how the thing will be and it will be months before any Commission is procured. Because all the Commissions will have to go thro’ the Horse Guards

The building is now ready.

Col. Yolland, R.E. Board of Trade, Capt. Tyler, R.E. are both said to be very good men for Governors – [But perhaps a R.E. would not do among the R.A.s.]

The appointment is not looked upon at all, as you expected – i.e. as “shelving” a man –

On the contrary, the object being
to train a complete General Hospital staff for the event of war, a war would make the Governor’s fortune. He would be made Bt Colonel, K.C.B. &c &c &c – Smyrna & afterwards Scutari made Storks’s fortune –

Now Major Buckley is too old to train for war –

Again, a R.E. w/could take a Station afterwards & be in no wise “shelved.”

P.S. It is said that “Col. Kennedy is so exceedingly fond of the organizing this sort of thing that it is not unlikely, as he is a married man, he might accept it.

General Hosp. organization
Old Woolwich Hospl
Staff

{in another hand, at the side: Miss Nightingale Appointment of Governor and Staff at Woolwich General Hospital May 1861}
Governors of Hospitals
Col. Wilbraham } recommended
Ass. Adj. Gen. Northern division } by
Surgeon Riach } Sir J. McNeill
Major McCrea R.A. } by Col.
Capt. Theod. Webb R.E. } Lefroy
h.p.
Lt. Col Clifford }
Ass. Q.M.G. Aldershot } by the
Col. J.C. Kennedy } D.G.
Mil. Train. }

note:
These two Dr. Gibson
wishes to propose to you.
We might as well ask
the great Storks, I am
afraid - to be our Governor
More names are
coming to you -
It will make the
difference of having
the Cape Sanatorium
well or ill governed.
If it is to be ill
governed, have a
Commandant. If well,
a Governor -
The answer/course you propose

viz “that you might “persuade her to take “the place till her “paragon is found - “if not, that she is “bound to produce “a live woman to “take her place, or “at the least to “suggest one” - this, in civil & official language, is the only answer.

I am not surprised at Mrs. Shaw Stewart’s letter - rather, at the moderation of length & language it puts on, which is not customary in the writer -

If she fails (after such an answer as you propose), I have no other string to the bow -

1. Her vision of the Officer’s widow is purely ideal. I have, of course, the largest acquaintance in wives & widows of
Derbyshire Co Record Office

Officers, Medical, Military & Ecclesiastical, (with whom Scutari, Constante & the Crimea were crammed)- that any one ever has had or is likely to have again. One would have thought such a time would have "called out' some of them. It is notorious that not one of them ever "did a thing," or was capable of "doing a thing". Lady Canning was the laughing-stock of the whole Army for sending out poor Mrs. Moore, the widow of Col. Moore, to "nurse the Officers." She was well known. And she killed herself by going out boating at night with the Officers she was sent to nurse -

You know that I look forward to the Nursing Service being ultimately performed by Officers’ & men’s widows as Supts & as Nurses -

But it would be well
to find the ONE first.

2. “Three month’s at St. Thomas’s” would not prepare any woman to be Supt. altho’ excellent as an accessory.

   No Civil Hospl service would entirely prepare any woman by itself. The one difference, in the Military Hospl, viz that the Nurse is in charge of a large ward full of men, herself the only woman, (the other attendants being men,) necessitates changes which the best Civil Hospl Matron might make the most serious mistakes about. But a Civil Hospl training is also necessary, of course.

3. Mrs. Shaw Stewart, as an inferior, is not capable as she supposes, of giving hints to her Superior. I am the only person who was ever able to receive such from her. She has actually been (since) obliged to leave a Hospl, because her Superior could not bear her ill-timed interference - She must be Superior in the Mily Hospl while she is training the ideal. But the ideal
I would by no means write to her these remarks in my language which are only intended for your information - I would simply write to her what you propose, reiterating the hint that the Female Nursing if it waits till the ideal Supt is found, will wait for ever - but that the ideal Supt may be found, she Mrs. Shaw Stewart being once in - [You will put this more shortly than I.]
I mean that the ideal Supt, even if found, will not be appointed by a future S. of S.

This should be very strongly stated - as also that you have very sufficient knowledge of what is to be expected of the widows of Officers; and that you know of none & have never heard of one whom you would entrusting with such an Office.

{printed address:}30 Old Burlington Street.
{upside down} W.
I think I would say this pointedly. Because
she has no business
to be advising you
on a point you
must know better
than she -

Would you think
well to add that
this/Woolwich is a very small
beginning - (4 Nurses
and a Linen Nurse) -
As she has always
advocated small
beginnings, this would
be a point in its
favor to her -

There is some
coquetry in her letter-
And she wants to be

urged.

[She thinks it very
fine to decline being
a Supt for a Nurse.]

If she refuses again
the 2nd time, I would
trench the matter thus:

"will you come then
"as Nurse? i.e. as
"Head Nurse -with
"4 Nurses under you -
"And we will provide
"otherwise for the
"Linen. Meanwhile
"we will look out for
"the Supt while you
are thus laying the ground"
P.S. I do not overlook that she says also "widows of professional men". "We have not found one such yet: we will look out" - I would say to her - x as well as "widows of Officers"

unsigned letter, 2ff, pen, {in another hand: Miss Nightingale Jul 4.61 on the Instructions to be given to Galton for Devonport} 2057/F4/68

{printed address:} 30 Old Burlington Street.

W.
July 4/61
Lord Herbert will remember that he ordered Col. Kennedy’s Committee to report on turning into General Hospitals
Woolwich
Devonport
Portsmouth
& that these Reports were made - Woolwich is done Capt. Galton could go on with Devonport, if some such instruction as the enclosed were given him.
It appears from what Dr. Farr said this morning that the chief object he has in view in having a Weekly State, printed is publicity & the Weekly State being accompanied by Notes pointing out the most important results of the Weekly Statistics, as regards the health & efficiency of the troops, he expects, would direct the attention of the Commanding Officers more pointedly to the Sanitary State of his Regiment, while the Public will be kept fully informed on the Sanitary State of the Army.

Without giving any opinion either on one side or the other, it may be well to consider how far the Horse Guards would permit this publication. A Weekly Return is indispensable for the working of the Sanitary Department & must be had. Consequently all the Forms & Books required for this Weekly Return are indispensable.

The only remaining question of importance is the one alluded to, viz. the Weekly publication.

The experience of the great loss to the Troops from Tropical Diseases shews the extreme importance of studying carefully the whole subject of Army Hygiene & tropical epidemics, with special reference to applying such local Sanitary measures as may remove the local sources of Malaria. Whether as regards Garrisons, Stations Barracks and Hospitals - upon which such epidemic outbreaks depend - and diminishing as far as practicable the circumstances of personal exposure which tend to augment the individual predisposition of the Men -
To Mrs. Herbert
Dec 27, 1860
Hampstead NW
Dec 27/60

Dearest/ I think
Your account -a very
favorable one -
Thank God for it -
and thank you for
sending it. It is
favourable, and
favours the idea
that the disease is
more functional
than organic, when
the albumen diminishes
with sleep, exercise
& fresh air - altho'
of course it is liable
to return with any
exhausting cause -
    I am sure that
Mr. Herbert could not
have felt himself
his leaving the Ho=
of C. more than I
did [You know how
you & I have
always quarreled
on that point] and
yet I am thankful
that all that is over
& settled -

      Of all exhausting causes
the Ho= of C. is the most
exhausting.
    Yet I know that
Mr. Herbert will feel
without his Ho= of C.,
as I feel without
my men - now that
I have only Regulations
& not human beings
to deal with. But
it is not true in
his case.
    I am quite ready
to sing an Io paean
now to Lord de Grey,
as much as you like
- to his goodness &
  his disinterestedness -
Also, I will say if
you like, that his
Minutes have always
been the only good
ones (not excepting

Godley's) in that
blessed War Office.
I am very sorry
to lose him.
  I don't at all
undervalue his
sacrifice in being
willing to give up

Office under Mr.
Herbert, which
I am sure was
very great. But he
is quite certain to
be able to get Office
again if he likes it,
by & bye.
  Altogether, I am
very thankful-
  You may have
a whole wilderness
of Hawes's now, if
you like - keep them
in the park at Wilton,
if there is room for
them - though I
still think my Netley plan the best - ever dearest yours F.N.

I am not "wedded" to Lowe. If he has been sounded, there is, as you say, "No more to be said" - But, if he has not, he told Clough, (his Private Secy,) some time ago, that he did not like his present post it ennuyéd him - there was nothing to do.

And generally I have always heard men say that the Under Sec'y ship of the War Office was so interesting that men would give up more independant places for it - if asked.

But I will not bother you with another word about

that-

Will you tell Mr. Herbert that the Lisbon Hospital plans, about which he spoke to me some time ago from the Prince, have come - They want a deal of re=arranging. But the wards will be the finest in Europe. the proportions are beautiful. F.N.
Every "Man=Jack"
of my belongings is orhave been atEmbley for mycousin Bertha'smarriage to WilliamColtman, (son of thelate Judge.) You havealways been sokindly interestedabout Bertha thatI meant to have told you of it - especially oncewhen you said
to me something"en l'air" abouther marriage -But it was notsettled then.And last timesI saw you, youknow why wecould not speakof anything else butone thing.It is a very happyconcern, exceptthat they are tolive with hismother, Lady Coltman- always a greatmistake, I think.People may havethe tempers of angelsas in this case -But it neverAnswers.
Dear Mr. Herbert

Dr. Sutherland is here - And he meets Dr. Farr here tomorrow for the purpose of talking over together some of the preliminary work of the Indian Commission - On Monday he calls upon Mr. Martin for the same purpose - But the work which could be done between this & Thursday, (if, as at present arranged, the Barrack Commissn go to Scotland on Thursday,) would be very much facilitated by having the permission for the India Ho:

You know, of course, that the Barrack Commissn are planning a ten
days’ Inspection in Scotland from next Thursday - And you, I believe, mean to meet them our/yourself at Edinburgh on the 17th.

Much of the Indian preliminary work cannot therefore begin effectually, (if this plan is carried out,) till Monday fortnight.

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

We have been going over the Heads of questions to be sent out to the Stations in India.

May 10/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

All the enquiries I have made tend only to prove that there is no (Indian) "Queen’s Officer" at all who will not be worse than useless - And if H.M. made the condition, She did it to embarrass. I will send you tomorrow all the pros & cons. I hope
you can wait a day longer. For I have nothing satisfactory yet - The answers, such as they are, tend to

1. Col. Alison but merely because old Colin is supposed to have a good eye for a man
2. Brig. Greathed but merely because there is nobody better at home -

Such a beggarly array of empty benches or rather heads!
I hope to have some better recommendations tomorrow.
Farr, it appears, has some difficulties with Major Graham, his chief, about accepting to be on the Commissn. And he asks you to write to Major Graham saying you want his (Farr’s) services.

yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

{in another hand: May/59 Miss Nightingale no Indian Queen’s officer fit to be on the Commission - as to Col. Alison & Col. Greathed. Major Graham to be written to about Dr. Farr.}
West Hill Lodge
Highgate Rise
N
May 11/59

Dear Mr. Herbert,

I have a promise of Sir John Lawrence’s answer on Friday, (about a Queen’s Officer for the Commissn) if you thought it worth waiting for. Unfortunately he was from home - when I wrote to his friend -

Do you think that, now at the 11th hour, you could have him too on the Commissn & fence the Queen’s Officer by him, as they have forced a Queen’s Officer upon you -

I feel that all these men whom we have got (or have lost) are such children, rogues, or asses by the side of him - and he is the founder of anything that is Sanitary in India.

But you will be a better judge of this than I.
I don’t see how
Lord Stanley or the Queen could refuse. Sir J. Lawrence might -

I ought to remind you perhaps about Alison of the extremely bad reputation as to want of judgment that hangs about his family in Scotland. [end 9:85]

Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

signed letter, 6ff, pen 2057/F4/68

May 11/59
West Hill Lodge
Highgate Rise
N

Dear Mr. Herbert
It’s choice o’mislikins “is all I’n got in this “world.”
I The substance of [9:85]
the information various as it is, may thus be summed up. There are no superior Queen’s Officers in India - therefore superior Indian Queen’s Officers cannot be had -
Except in the late War & those are not come back.

I am just where I was, after having got all this information.

1. Col. Alison

Tho’ nothing favourable or unfavourable is to be known as to our matters about this Officer - He can give information about strategic points & positions & is a most efficient man.

3. Sir W. Colebrooke

This man appears to have far more general ability & experience than any one else mentioned. But he is old & his experience is not recent- He is however a genuine Sanitarian & a very remarkable man & admirable reformer. He is an Officer of the R.A., served as such in Java & India - was
A.D.C. to Lord Hastings
in the Mahratta War
1816-7 when Cholera
first appeared -
Q.M.G. with Sir W.
K. Grant - & many
years in India -
always in tropical
climates. Governor
of N. Brunswick,
recently of Barbadoes.
He is a man of a
much higher class
of mind & character
than any one else
we have had
recommended. [end 9:85]

4. [but a long way
behind Sir Colebrooke]
M. Genl Boileau
(late 22nd Foot) now
in England - great
local experience
in Bengal & Bombay,
Punjab & field Service.

5. Major Gall 14th Drags.
Though a Cavalry
Officer, long in
India, both in
Bengal & Bombay,
very active &
able Officer
(now in England)
Now I am come to an end.

Martin strongly praises Col. Alison (No 1)

Sir J. McNeill has often told me of Sir Colebrooke’s high character & abilities. (No 3.) The Senior U.S. Club would be sufficient address -

Everybody speaks well of Greathed. But then

they say nothing that would not do for a man like Gen. Windham just as well -

Boileau & Gall are men a good way lower down -

The worst of it is that Sir W. Colebrooke is the only man who has been the least tried in our line of business - The others may be geniuses or altogether wanting.

I have asked Sir John Lawrence to recommend (through a common friend) but have not yet his answer -

What would you think of asking Sir E. Lugard to send you (not one but) several names for you to choose amongst?
II  Laffan has at last 
    resigned on account 
    of ill health - They 
    will not do any 
    thing in the way of 
    change in that 
    Office till your 
    Committee has 
    reported - perhaps 
    not for a twelvemonth. 
    It would be well 
    worth while to 
    get Galton in 
    for a twelvemonth. 
    The office is very 
    troublesome against 

the Barrack Commission. 
- Galton might 
not accept it, even 
if offered to him, 
because of the 
B. of Trade - 
  This is what 
I hear from the 
Whitehall people - 
Of course many 
things may happen 
between this & 
then -
The only definite & positive information I have obtained from the united researches of Drs. Sutherland, Farr & Martin (relative to beginning the Indian Sanitary Enquiry) is that there is a Clerk who has been 150 years (sic) in the India Ho: who will know all about the documents there when we have got the entrée.  

Yours [illeg] sincerely  
F. Nightingale

{in another hand: May/59 Miss Nightingale Indian Commission as to Col. Alison, Col. Greathead, Sir W. Colebrooke, Genl Boileau, Major Gall - Laffan resigned - suggests Galton}

signed letter, 2ff, pen

May 13/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

At the last moment Sir J. Lawrence’s answer has come - He evidently thinks that you might as well “ask him to “dance, having tied “up his legs” - (In fact, he says so) - as choose a Queen’s Officer. 

He would choose, he says, if he must, Col. Campbell
of the 52nd, or Col. Orlando Felix, who has been 18 years in India. He does not know Col. David Russell, he says — He does not like Greathed or Alison.

He does not highly extol even his Col. Campbell — [He knows him by character only.] He but calls him “the only officer he would name”. He puts Col. Felix, however, second to Campbell.

I am afraid this kind of information will only offuscate you. But if Airey or Lugard have sent you lists, it may help to have Sir J. Lawrence’s imprimatur —

in great haste sincerely yours F. Nightingale Lawrence is of course very careful not to commit himself in any general condemnation of the Queen’s service. He only speaks “of these matters” “for this purpose” &c

[end 9:87]

[in another hand: May/59 Miss Nightingale Indian Commission Sir J. Lawrence’s opinion of Col. Campbell, Col. Felix, Col. Greathead Col. Alison]
Highgate
May 14/59
Dear Mr. Herbert
This is the last: [9:87]
vero ultimo.
Ross Mangles, a poor judge you will say, says Greathed is a man of great ability
But do you know old Martin says that, when he was Presidency Surgeon &
Mangles Secretary at Calcutta, he (Mangles) was the only person who ever gave him help in improving (illeg) that sink of all un=Sanitary abomination, viz. our capital of India.
Greathed is about 50 - a nephew of Glyn, the banker - Probably you have decided long since.
I only report my last. [end 9:87]
yours sincerely
F. Nightingale
West Hill Lodge
Highgate Rise
N
May 19/59
[15:371]

Dear Mr. Herbert,

Sir Jas. Clark is
in great tribulation
about the Medl Sch.
And I advised him
to write to you direct.
Enclosed is the
effusion - I have
no doubt Sir J. Clark
is a fidget - And his
preference of Panmure
over Peel & of A.
Smith over Alexander

is the oddest choice.
Still I have no
doubt, because I
hear it from Martin
too, & very venomously, that Alexander
thinks to win the
Army Medl Chairs
for his men, (as
he has done the
Council,) by working
on Genl Peel - &
that you will have
to interfere -
Alexander is really
too bad - in this -
Martin he says he is
quite impenetrable.  [end 15:371]
As Greathed is to be only ornamental, it is a good name to have - And Sir E. Lugard’s letter is the letter of a man of thought & feeling, tho’ not of a man of the world. [I wish he would not appeal to Hawes.]

I shall not break my heart about Sir J. Lawrence. Tho’ he is a much better Sanitarian than Lord Stanley. What he seems to have said is absurd enough - But whatever was done in India by him or his brother was good Sanitary action. However, it does not do to have a man of that weight second on a Commissn who, if he were to go wrong, might go & write a Report all to himself, which would be awkward.
I had another reason for wishing Sir J. Lawrence to become intimate with you - But that you can do all any way, if you like. He says that things may ripen for another uproar in India - that there are seeds & that he cannot get Ministers in England to attend to him. 

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

signed letter, 3ff, pen {in another hand, Nightingale Fund 1859} 2057/F4/68

Highgate
May 24/59

IN RE N. FUND

No hurry.
Believe me, I have not been neglecting this. And, during March & April, in town, I saw or corresponded with pretty nearly all the Hospital authorities & female Superintendents in esse or in posse that could be applied to the Fund.

I will not tell you in writing (tho’ I could any day in viva voce) all the pros & cons of the different plans I have successively tried to initiate.

The most promising; that of the “London”, qua Hospital, & of Miss Blackwell, M.D. qua Superintendent, has fallen thro’. And I am bound to say the Hospital shewed itself far more accommodating than the lady. [She is
Miss Erskine, who was Supt. of the Naval Hospital at Therapia, I have wooed in every way. She will not be won to leave her own family again. It is in vain to try her any more - The grasses are green - So I will not deplore these two & sundry other schemes - one of which was to tack ourselves on to St. John’s House at King’s College Hospital. For various reasons, that will not do - I have talked over the matter at great length with Sir John McNeill For some months past, I have also discussed it with some of the authorities of St. Thomas’ Hospital. The Matron of that Hospital is the only one of any existing Hospital I sh/could recommend - to form a “School of Instruction” for Nurses - It is not the best CONCEIVABLE
way of beginning. But
it seems to me the
best possible. It will
be beginning in a
very humble way -
But at all events
it will not be
beginning with a failure
i.e. with the possibility of upsetting
a great Hospital - for
she is a tried Matron.

Sir John McNeill
leaves town on Saturday.
So that he will not
see you again. I have
therefore asked him
to write to you about
some business matters

relating to the
appointment of an
Executive Committee
&c - & a Secretary,
a kind of man of
business, with whom
I could communicate,
to settle all the
details with the
Hospital authorities,
which it would be
unreasonable to
expect any of the “Fund”=
=Council to undertake.
I have written a
kind of Programme,
which I will shew you.
Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale
Highgate               [12:123-24]
May 26/59

PRIVATE
In re N. Fund

Sir J. McNeill shewed me the letter/draft he was writing to you & which you will have today - I agree so far.

1. The proposal of a Secretary & of Mr. Clough as Secy, which originated from Sir J. McN & not from me, I think quite essential not only to the success but to the very starting of the scheme - I don't know whether Mr. Clough would take it. But if he does not, I can't conceive who else would do - I think the Secy must be the servant of the Council & not mine, & that he must be a paid Servant -

I should therefore wish to leave £10000 to the Fund, (the income of which is now about £1344 per ann.) which would increase it to about £1700 per ann. This would provide for the pay of a Secy. And I cannot conceive that, for the first 3 or 4 years (afterwards a mere Clerk would do) a Secy who undertakes so troublesome a business should have/could be found for less than £300 a year - I might easily have managed this privately between Mr. Clough & myself, (if he will act, which I don't know-) But I think, as I said before, he must be the Secy of the Council, in order
Derbyshire Co Record Office 377

to act at the Hospital with their authority in their name, & not as my friend - certainly.

2. Sir J. McNeill’s little Executive Committee of three I think is quite necessary - But Mr. Clough thinks that he, Sir J. McN., must be fourth on it himself - for & that, even with him at Edinbro’, it will act better so than with any one else in London - Because he is almost the only man on the Council with an organizing head. Why did you name them then, you will say. And I have often asked myself why. But I have known, durin since I named that Council, a great many men under the most singularly favourable circum= stances for finding out organizing talents - And I could not name a better Council now if I were to try -

As for Doctors, Civil & Military, there must be something in the smell of the medicines which induces absolute administrative incapacity. And it must be some= thing very strong too, for they all have opportunity for developing administrative capacity, (almost more than any other profession) if it were but there -

The three Civil Doctors on the Council are perfect infants in this respect - And Mr. Clough expressed his perfect repugnance to bringing business before them, if they were to form alone the Executive Committee -

Dean Dawes & Col. Jebb (oh why does he call himself Sir Joshua) have both great power of organization - but both are such very busy men -

F. Nightingale [end 12:124]
June 26/59

We have put a complete copy of the Army Medical School inside your own letter in the India rubber band -
We have pinned in some slips into your own letter giving rather fuller answers to the letter of June 3.

The mistake of the whole Correspondence is referring back questions regarding the School, not to the Commission entrusted with its organization, but to the D.G.

Alexander’s letter assumes for himself the very position (in reference to the Chairs) which the R. Commission guarded most carefully against any D.G. occupying.

For otherwise the School would be subordinated to the Army Med. Dep.

Longmore or Trench would do very well to fill both Chairs (Medical & Surgical)

But, as there must probably be two men to do the Hospital work, (Medical & Surgical Divisions) why not both Professors?

F. Nightingale
July 4/59

Dear Mr. Herbert
About the ARMY MEDICAL SCHOOL?

How would this do?
To have three Professors (as once proposed) viz
1. Surgery ------ Army man
2. Medicine------ E. INDIAN
3. Hygiene ------ Civilian

These to form the Senate:
-then 2 Teachers

1. Pathology  {would yield
2. Chemistry  {these to the

{Civilians

You see the E. Indian service is so incomparably superior, in point of good men, to ours, that it would be an absurdity to put their men to School to ours - if, as is most desirable, you carry out your plan of having the E. Indian candidates to your School.

I am sure that, if you had read one
half of the E. Indian Medical Reports which Sutherland & I have been reading up, you would at once say - that Alexander is not fit to be an Assistant Surgeon to these men - far less that Alexander’s men should be their teachers.

The non= sense of it is in calling it an Army Medical School at all - Now, if an E. Indian were one of the Professors, it would break down the delusion at once. And, if the E. Indian candidates (& possibly the Navy candidates) were admitted & passed too together, the true sense of the School would appear -

The fact is that you must make the school, you must constitute the school, you must govern the
School yourself. The Army & the Director General must have nothing to do with it - And the blind must not be put to teach the blind - Alexander has been boasting that he has got five prizes for the Army in the 5 Professorships. Now his arguments are so easily replied to.

1. “Parkes has had no experience of campaigning - his men have” - But what have they made of it? There is not one who has made himself capable to teach Sanitary campaigning or indeed has learnt it.

2. Look at all your experience of Barracks & Hospitals. Why there is not an Army Medical man concerned with them who ought not to have been brought to a Court-martial for having them in
a state which, - bad
as the Civil Hospitals
are, - represents what
they/Civil Hospitals were 150 years
back. There is not
one of these men who
has known what ventilation
is. Is not this a
disgraceful fact?

But about the E.
Indians
I think you will
find a general
conviction among
scientific men that

Army Medical men
occupy (except in
Surgery) a rank in
the profession equal
to that of the bassi
chirurgi of Rome &
Naples - that the
E. Indian men occupy
the very highest
rank in the profession.
higher than the Civilians.

Bird, a man at
the E.I. Ho: (whom I
have mentioned to
you) is by no means
one of their best men,
but he would fill
the Chair of Medicine
with about 6 times the
efficiency of any of
Alexander’s men –
[He is now in London
& lecturing gratis
at St. Mary’s Hospital]
But, if you should
think of having an
E. Indian Professor,
let us, please, inquire
for you whether there
are not better men
than Bird –
You see it would
be a great thing to
have a man
conversant with
Indian diseases –
as we are always
talking about our
poor “sequels” – &
to have a man
practised in teaching.
And the E. Indians
never would send
their men to your
School without
such a man being
Medl Professor. He would also
teach a certain amount of Indian Hygiene
I have been
talking over the whole
matter with Sutherland
to see what the
fruit of his cogitations
(after reading at the
India Ho:) was - And
his/this is exactly his
opinion -

The E. Indian men
would just “envoyer
promener” the whole
boutique of Alexander
& Co.

Sutherland strongly
urges that the School
should be delayed
a year rather than
make the irretrievable

mistake at first of
choosing a teacher
among the men you
wish to teach.

Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

Excuse length.

We don’t care about the
Chemistry at all, if
you like to give that
to an Army man - Let
them burn their fingers
& blow themselves up.
So much the better

Martin is quite behind hand
compared to some of these E. Indians.
30 Old Burlington St
July 27/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

I have read thro’
all your Regulations &
Sutherland part – To=
morrow we shall go
through them line by
line –

The Revise is divine.
It is just putting back
every thing “as you were”.
It is, as far as in it
lies, re-establishing
what has so often all

but lost a British
Army.

All the discoveries
& conclusions which
Sir J. Graham’s
Committee will make
will not display the
nature of the W.O.
half so well as these
Minutes & alterations
do –

You say Job was
not in the War Office.
No: nor Hercules either
What were his Labours?
Nothing at all.
The two most important points struck out, viz. 1. the appointment of a Governor to General Hospitals by the S. of S. & 2. the recommendations in writing by the Medical Officer will have, however, to be decided by you, with reference to the new changes, before we can do anything. And I enclose a Memo on these points - to say why

otherwise I should not have troubled you till we had done the whole -

Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

{in another hand: 29 July/59 {illeg} 1859 Miss Nightingale on the regulations as revised by the WO Comee}

unsigned memorandum, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/68

Memo on the Regulations
The Regulations, as amended by the Committee, are as good a representation of the state of the W.O. as one would wish to have -
We have gone over the alterations cursorily & will do so in detail -
So far as we can judge, with the exception of a few alterations, the Regulations will have to be restored nearly to their original form -
The chief point of importance they have raised is about the Governorship of a General Hospital. And their difficulty is in bringing together the two jurisdictions, viz. the Military & that of the War Office.
The necessity of a direct connection between the Governor & the War Office
is clearly shewn at P. VI of your own letter prefixed to the Regulations & which they have left entire. They, on the other hand, conceive that the seniority of a Military Officer on a Station gives him a thorough knowledge of Hospital organization - 
If their plan be carried out, it puts the Military Hospitals back to what they were at the beginning of Scutari - 

At all events, the Governor must be appointed by the S. of S. for War. & hold his office during the pleasure of the S. of S. The only point is to prevent any jarring in the jurisdiction of the S. of S. over the Hospital & of the Commander of the Forces over military discipline.

This we must ask you about - Because, will it not depend very much on the conclusions you come to as to the relations between the Horse Guards & the W.O.?

II. They object to the Medical Officer reporting in writing in all cases. The number of recommendations will depend materially upon the course taken in re = organizing the Barrack Dep. The Barrack Commission has arrived at the conclusion that the Barrack Dep. should be charged directly - in any Barrack Regulations, - with keeping all Barracks & Hospitals in a good Sanitary state - Were this done, the interference of the Medical Officer would be seldom called for - except as regards diet,
dress & duties -
    Medical Officers’ representations
would then be complaints against the
Barrack master, to be redressed
thro’ the agency of the Commanding Officer,
who, of course, will be willing to see
his Barracks placed in a good condition,
& will refer the complaint to the
Barrack master - A good Barrack
system will save reporting - to a
very large extent -
July 27/59

Regulations
{in another hand: July 27.59}
signed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: qualifications for candidates}
2057/F4/68

30 Old Burln St.
Aug 3/59
Dear Mr. Herbert
    We have read thro’
your documents on the
Army Medl School.
    They are the most
extraordinary documents
that ever were issued
on the subject -
shewing such a total
ignorance as they do
of the state of Medical
education at this day,
and in such direct opposition to the views of the Commission on the Army Medl School & to what they require.

In a day or two, we will send you a paper with the objections to it - and a plan for your own consideration, with the form of a letter to Alexander -

What Alexander has done is this: he has not only required a License & Diploma, but he has dictated to the Schools & Colleges upon what conditions such certificates should be granted.

The printed paper, dated 1859, is a reprint of Dr. Smith’s paper, given into the R. Commission of 1857. - and which Dr. Smith, as a member of the Medl School Commission practically set aside.

- And the M.S. memoranda are merely aggravations of the original sin. They should all be sent, according to their own arrangement

“to a ______ Hospital
“for Mental Derangement
“for ______ months.”

Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale
Dear Mr. Herbert

We have made a List of Stations in the three Presidencies to which to send copies of the Indian questions - We submitted this List to Col. Baker at the India Ho: And we have just received it back as correct - [Col Baker was informed what was the object] There are no fewer than 166 !!! of which there is accommodation for Queen's troops at 82 for Company's European troops at 97 & for native at 148 About 6 are occupied by Queen's troops alone.

Will you tell us how we should send out the 82 copies for Queen's troops? We would rather they should go out thro' the War Office by your [illeg] orders to the Queen's Commanders in the Presidencies. Or must they go
with the others through the India Ho:

yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

{in another hand: 10 August 1859 Miss Nightingale has made list of stations in India to wh. to send queries -}

Montague Grove
Hampstead
Sept 2/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

1. we think that it would be adviseable to print & bind up Alexander’s “bouquet” - But, before it is done, we should like to collate the “Queen’s Regulations” with the new Regulations - in case that there should be any deficiencies or discrepancies. Could you tell them to send us a proof of each? The great Pan told us, you know, to oversee the “Queen’s Regulations” -

2. Sir C. Wood must “pay the Doctor.” because the R.C. has power to call for any information or documents. And if they can’t give them, they must get them. & pay the cost.
3. Ld Stanley is quite as troublesome in/as Achilles in more matters than “sulking”. But his declining is very serious - We want a man not only of great weight of position (this/which is quite essential) but a hard worker & he must have some practical knowledge of the subject. It is such an opportunity of doing a great work -

greater, I think. than the other - We will think & think & send you word -

4. I don’t remember any Purveyor at Scutari who was madder than the average - I remember two or three who were rather less mad than the rest - Tucker & Toller are the only Purveyors I remember who were in the East, of names at all like “Turner” -

[There is an Asst. Deputy Commissary=Genl named
“Turner”] On the whole, I incline to think that your correspondent is romancing. Jenner, I rather think, was the best Purveyor out there - But he was in the Crimea - and nothing very extraordinary. I can’t at all remember the man in question. I think he must only have been a super= numerary clerk -

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

{in another hand: 1859 Sep. 2. Miss Nightingale wishes to compare the “Queen’s” with the new Regulations & asks for a Copy}

signed letter, 3ff, pen 2057/F4/68

Hampstead
Sept 15/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

The old original “cow & snuffers” represented in the Mapleton’s Netley Committee has re=appeared with Mapleton in the D.G.’s Board - [I recognise his hand in all these papers.] They shift & shift. They can’t read recognise an Act when they see it. And they
stick to old A. Smith’s predilection for a little bit of power & try to dictate from the A.M.D. to Bodies far before them. They have not the most elementary knowledge of what is going on in Medical Education now -

At the same time, Alexander is right in quoting against us the first two pages of the “Organization School” Report. They/That does the same thing. It are is wrong & ought not to be there at all. A. Smith put it in and Sir J. Clark modified it. Had the new Medical Act been in force then, you would never have allowed it. It is a handle for Alexander against us & the only principle now is compromise - But he fancies he is progressing & he is retrogradining. He sees exactly where he “has” us -

The last page of Alexander’s reply is all
one muddle in his head -
He thinks himself a
Licensing Body.

The real proof of a
man’s competence is
not in the “School” he has
been at, not in his
“certificates of attendance”
&c at all but in what you are
going to exact, in his
examination -

The most provoking
part of it is the time
wasted by you in reading
our Explanations & by
us in writing them -
because there is really
no principle involved.

It is only a controversy.

To prevent further
muddle, whenever any
thing like a written
agreement is come to,
we should be glad to
go over the Scheme -

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

If you send what we
have now written to
the “cow & snuffers”, it
will only lead to further
controversy. The elements
for coming to an agreement
are in the last two pages,
from “To sum up.” The only

other thing to be done
would be to re-summon
the Organization Commn
with Alexander instead
of A. Smith -

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale 15 Sep. 1859}
Montague Grove  
Hampstead N W  
Sept 22/59

Dear Mr. Herbert,

We have gone over the “Regulations”, with reference to the various alterations that have been proposed by the D.G. and Dr. Balfour -

The D.G. has made a few verbal changes which we have adopted. He has also sent two additional Forms and five Lists, which we have also put in.

We have consulted Dr. Farr about Dr. Balfour’s proposed alterations. The most important of these is the substitution of a Weekly Return of Sick to be abstracted in his Office, instead of a series of Returns, on which the Regimental Officer virtually made the Abstract before sending it to the Army Medical Dept. Balfour’s plan diminishes the work of the Regimental Surgeon, while it increases the work of the Statistical Office. On this substitution, Dr. Farr remarks: “Dr. Balfour proposes to give all the required information and it is quite fair to let him do his own work in his own way for the reasons he assigns. Reg It was found however at the trial that the method of working by slips proposed by us was the most expeditious - Does not Dr. Balfour think that his method will involve more work & create delay?
If this should prove to be the case, he had better give the method suggested by the Statistical Commission a fair trial."

Under these circumstance, we have taken out these particular Forms (of the Commission) & put in Dr. Balfour's.

2. Next, as to the Registration of Deaths. The Commission proposed a Quarterly Register to be sent by the Regimental Surgeon to the Regr Genl. Dr. Balfour adopts the same Form but suggests that the D.G. should make up the Quarterly Return & send it to the Registrar-General. On this Dr. Farr makes the remark: "The Registrar General adopts this suggestion & will be glad to receive the Returns on the proposed Form.

The D.G. will have the goodness to write to the Registrar General on the subject officially."

The Statistical difficulty is therefore arranged.

We have farther made a few verbal alterations - But the most of our work has been in changing the references & pages, on account of the above alterations -

The proof is so mauled that we do not think you can possibly consider these revisions & changes till it has been in the printer’s hands - And we have only sent it to you for duty’s sake. Perhaps you will be so good as to order the Printer to send us the Revise as soon as possible; we should like to go over it before it goes into any other person’s hands.
Hampstead N W
Sept 22/59
Dear Mr. Herbert

We send you a corrected Proof of the Medical School plan - with the Sections arranged in proper order. At the latter end of it are the Rules for Examination before Promotion; and following these are three Classes under which Candidates for Admission are to be arranged after their first examination. The proof contains too much or too little: to make it what it ought to be, it ought to include the D.G.'s requirements for admission to the Service. We have not yet seen the final adjustment of these.

The Requirements should stand first - next, the Constitution of the Examining Board - then should follow the three Classes (on the last page of the Proof) - after these, should come the Medical School: & last of all should follow the Rules for Examination for Promotion - This would
make it a complete
document, if you
think it adviseable
to do this. But, before
this is done, we should
know 1. what the
requirements are to be
2. what the Examining
Board is to be -
3. whether the India
Govt will send their
Candidates - As soon
as we get this information,
we could complete the
thing, if you think fit.
Yours sincerely
F.N.

signed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W
Sept 23/59

Dear Mr. Herbert
A copy of a “work”
issued by the War Office,
in July of this year,(!)
containing “Instructions
to Military Hospital
Cooks” has been put
into my hands -
It purports to teach
cooks how to dispose of
the materials of the
new Hospital Diets
(in the “Regulations”).
it just puts back the Hospital Cooking to where it was at the beginning of Scutari & the Crimean War - It seems to rest upon the old exploded principle that all the cooking for the worst class of cases is to be done at three several times a day or at (exclusive of the two “teas”) at one time. This was exactly the system at Scutari - where all the “Extras” were issued to the Patient at once. And if he could not eat them, they stood by him cold.

This is actually laid down as Regulation in the “work” in question (which is said to be Genl Peel’s own composition) where a mixture called Arrowroot, but which is Starch, is to be made all at once & “to be eaten cold.”!!

A few of Soyer’s receipts are thrust in by way of contrast.
Would it not be better, instead of allowing this horrible Pot pourri to go forth, to get the best advice on the subject, and to submit the “work” - plus Soyer’s scheme of Receipts, - plus the new Scheme of Hospital Diets in the “Regulations”, to Mr. Warriner, - not for him to alter the Diets but to tell us what to do with them? We should be very glad to aim help Warriner about the Cooking for Weak Patients

Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

[possibly here for fragment]
Hampstead N W
Sept 26/59
Dear Mr. Herbert
We hope this matter
(of the D.G.) may be considered
now as finally settled.
The D.G. has conceded,
but in such a way as
to leave a doubt regarding
the Schedule unsolved.
The arrangement of the
Articles is not logical.
And, by placing the
Schedule at the beginning
instead of the end,
there is still an opening for something like a special Course of study. Fortunately, by a little arrangement & a few verbal alterations, we have been able to adopt almost the words of the D.G.

Now that this is arranged, another very important subject presents itself - There is no reference in the Schedule to the Army Medical School - And

if it be issued in its present form, the Public will be left in the dark on this matter

We have therefore interwoven with the Qualifications the School attendance - the second Examination and also the Examination for Promotion - so that, in the state the Document is now sent to you, it contains everything the Candidate requires to know, except his daily pay allowed at
Derbyshire Co Record Office 404

If you approve of the Document as it now stands, and would return it to us, we should have it made up with the Proof of the Medical School Organization & sent to the Press, in order that you might consider the whole together -

[Our No 4 gets over the inconvenience of the Schedule by using it simply as a List of certificates of attendance required by Licensing Bodies.]

Your Minute wisely leaves the No of Labours to be determined by the Medical Council - Alexander says 12, which was the compromise agreed to.

He has left out the specification of 100 beds for the Studying Hospital. And he has “recommended” five Certificates on subjects of General Education, to which we have agreed.

{in another hand: 1859 Sep. 26. Miss Nightingale on the Qualifications for Candidates for the Army Medical School}
Taken in connection with the Medical School scheme, the Requirements, as we have rearranged them, & the Schedule for the use to which we have put it, will answer the intended purpose -

Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

signed letter, 7ff, pen {in another hand: Oct/59 Miss Nightingale urges Mr. Herbert to insist upon the India House furnishing the information it possesses.}

2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W
October 7/59 [9:96-98]

In re India House.

Dear Mr. Herbert

If you would write a short and tempestuous note to Sir C. Wood, after the manner of the D. of Wellington in Spain to Mr. Filder, and say that our supplies must come, (whether there be any or not,) or he would/will be hung, - our supplies would come.

The thing is after this wise: If the India House puts its washing out, every thing is well & punctually done - What washing it does at home is not done at all.

Mr. Prinsep has sent back our last Form, with much absurd
and ignorant Commentary of his own upon it - and has written a note to Dr. Farr, which I have, as also the Form, saying that the Indian Commission must seek for its information in India.

Now we know that this is not true. The information is in the India Ho: And the only question is how to get it out.

The Office throws all kinds of obstacles in the way - And for the sake of saving a few clerks at a few pounds a week, (for a limited time) - the results of the Returns made for years with great labor & at great cost are not to be given to the Commission.

Mr. Hornidge (of the India Ho:)

is entirely on our side.

The information is in the India House - in Col. Baker’s Department. Dr. Farr has seen the Rolls there himself - And it would be a mere waste of time & labor to send to India for them. Our Forms ask merely for information, which the Rolls supply. To say they do not - is merely a “put=off.”

The India Ho: has not answered your letter - which they have had in the Mily Dep. for 3 months - so I am informed.

The only course is for you to write again, I am afraid, & ask them to supply the information which the Commission requires.
Two or three “writers”, (or more if necessary), must be employed to do the work, under the supervision of Mr. Hornidge; with whom Dr. Farr would consult.

I should consider it an honor, if I might be allowed to pay (thro’ you) these “writers”.

The India Dep. will not do our work as Establishment work, for they have as much as they can do of their ordinary routine work.

But a note from you to Sir C. Wood will bring Mr. Prinsep to his senses.

Surely it is of some importance to get at the results of their past experience; and to put them in the way of profiting by future observations in India.

The whole “fencing” is a mere matter of work & of a few good clerks for a short time; to pay whom, if you would allow me to put £100 in your hands, I should be delighted.

Sir C. Wood is as sharp as a needle. But he does not know anything at all about our work. And the comments of Prinsep & Co: pass muster with him, & dispose fatally of questions of the utmost importance, by simply putting them on the shelf.

Mr Prinsep was happily (for us) married this week; and is now out of the way, which is happier still. [end 9:98]

Mr. Hornidge (our friend) is at the India Ho: now -

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale
signed letter, 1f, pen (in another hand: 1859 Oct 7 Miss Nightingale Suggests putting the Adjutant General & a first-rate Barrack Master on the "Regulations" Commission when re=appointed) 2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W
Oct 7/59
Dear Mr. Herbert
The "Regulations"
Commission, on its re=appointment, will have to take into consideration changes in two sets of Regulations at least - the "Queen’s" & the "Barrack". Would you not think well to put on the Adjutant=Genl, and a first=rate Barrack Master?

Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale
It would save, do you not think, much contest with the Horse Gds.

signed letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W
Oct 8/59
Dear Mr. Herbert
To “do hommage to the unusual "excitement in the War Office", we hereby return not only what you have asked for but more than you asked for.

We return a Corrected Proof of the "Qualifications", in the form to be issued to Candidates.

2. we send you a corrected Proof of the "Medical School" plan with the "Qualifications" prefixed: as we think the whole procedure from candidature to promotion
was what you wished to be in one
document.

3. we see no objection to
printing the Qualification in the
“Regulations”, should you think fit.
But, at the same time, the Rules
for Examination on Promotion,
P. 3, of the “Qualifications” are the only portion of the
Document which interest a
man acting under the “Regulations”
& who may be supposed to have
passed all the dangers of Pages
1 and 2. The Rules for Promotion,
however, might very well be printed
as an Appendix to the “Regulations”.

4. Would it not be advisable
to print the “Warrant” in the
“Regulations”

Appendix? If so, would you send
us a copy?

We shall be able to return
you the “Regulations”, finally completed,
on Monday.

We should like to have Proofs
of the “Organization Medical School”
& also of the “Requirements.”

I have put your name
where I think it ought to be.
But I can take it out. [It is
on the last page of the “Organization”;
which is a kind of Warrant. The
“Qualifications” are a mere Office Form.]

Please to read over I, P. 1, in the

“Organization”, with reference to the
Indian Medical Officers & Engineers.
May this go?

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

(in another hand: 1859 ) Oct 8 Miss Nightingale sends a corrected Proof of
Qualifications & of Medical School. suggests the printing of the “Warrant” in the
Regulations Appendix & asks for a Copy.)
Hampstead N W
Oct 19/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

I find from Circular No 464 that “J.R. Godley”, “in accordance with the recommendation of the R. Commission,” which appoints Governors to organize all General Hospitals & be responsible for all their stores, appoints & buildings therefore “directs” that “the charge of all buildings, grounds & stores” in “General Hospitals” sh “be transferred” to the “Purveyor of the District.”

[Are the Governors gone to bed? without even putting the “Principal Medical Officers”, in charge?]

Practically the Purveyors seem to have gained a great step by being raised into skeleton Governors by “J.R. Godley”.

Circular No 464 contains only 23 Purveyor’s Regulations, by which the functions of Purveyor & Barrack-master, (two co-ordinate authorities in General Hospitals now) are all transferred to Purveyor - which is certainly better
than having the two at open war, or the one extinct, as the Barrack master was at Scutari.

"Trifling repairs of a pressing or urgent nature" are also provided for. [What is a “trifling” repair of an “urgent” nature?]

Capt. Belfield, in his Minute on the Corfu case, treated this Circular as one for converting Garrison into General Hospitals. And at first sight it bears this construction. But, inasmuch as it is not so, it is questionable whether Beatson, Principal Medical Officer at Corfu, would have any power of distributing the sick, irrespective of Regiments, throughout all the wards, in order to equalize the cubic space - a thing so urgently required that Col. Lefroy tried to force it upon Dr. Beatson of his own authority - and all the Minutes make mention of its necessity.

It appears to me that Beatson was right; & that Lefroy & Belfield are wrong. For the forthcoming Regulations
Derbyshire Co Record Office

(only) provide that the
discipline which such
intermingling of the sick
requires shall be
executed by the Governor.
And at Corfu there
is no Governor.
yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

The Minute of Beatson
& the “Board of Officers”
at Corfu is in fact a petition
for erecting Corfu
Garrison Hospital
into a “General Hospital”
{in another hand: Miss Nightingale Oct 19. 59. on Purveyors’ Duties & the state of Corfu Hospital}
signed letter, 4ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale Oct 27 1859 Drs Rutherford Cooper-Anderson fit for China as Sanitary Officers.} 2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W
Oct 27/59
Dear Mr. Herbert
I knew Dr. Rutherford
well in the Crimea &
liked him much. He
is an honest man, of
good ordinary intelligence,
& considerable honour;
(an article little known
in the Army but
much prized in Civil
Life). He is a very
good Surgeon - As for Sanitary knowledge, Alexander might just as well appoint Mapleton or any other Surgeon; or any N.C. Officer, for that matter -

I have asked Sutherland about him, but he does not remember him at all -

[Rutherford was a 2nd Cl. Staff Surgeon when I knew him, not a Regimental Officer at all.]

The only man in the Army who is unmistakeably possessed of great Sanitary talents is Cooper. He is master of his art - both in practice & in theory. The only caution he wants is, not to set other people against his good things. But as to knowledge, there is no one in the Army fit to hold a candle to him -

In this we S. & I, both agree & we are quite disinterested, because he went against us about Netley -
After Cooper, but a long way after him, comes Anderson, (Arthur) once P.M.O. at Balaclava, a D.I.G. now I believe. He is in China too or was - perhaps in India now - He is a very conciliatory man; a man of considerable power, but with just the contrary fault to Cooper, who is too violent, while Anderson is too humble.

Had I been Alexander, I should have named Cooper to be Sanitary Officer to China & Anderson as his remplaçant. These/Those ought to be very serious reasons which make Alexander set aside these two men on such a hazardous public duty as this—Dr. Sutherland & I both agree in this =

II. Moorhead, the Indian Medical Professor, is come home & is at Scarbro'; to be heard of at the India Ho:

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale
Hampstead N W
Oct 29/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

The Queries for the Queen’s troops in India have arrived (after a very difficult voyage through the Strand) at the W.O. in Whitehall Gardens.

Dr. Sutherland will go there, make them up into packets & send them to the W.O. in Pall Mall, as soon as you have given the necessary instructions for their being forwarded to India, filled up & returned to you - Shall we write you a Circular something like the enclosed for the three Officers Commanding in the three Presidencies?

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

{notes in another hand. upside down}
Hampstead N W
2 Nov/59

Thanks very much for
Sir Gomm, who is very
interesting. We have
kept his Statistics but
return his letter, with
a comment upon it,
suggested by Lawson’s
pamphlet & by poor
old Burrell, who has
sent us a very long
& interesting letter
upon it/Lawson, which I am
afraid you would not
read. So I only send
you the juice.

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale
Hampstead N W
5 Nov/59
Dear Mr. Herbert

No orders have come from Pallmall to Whitehall yet anent the Indian Queries — tho’ Whitehall has sent to Pallmall every day for them/same.

If the utmost dispatch is made, I believe there is

reason to hope, with a continuance of the present favourable weather, that the Queries may reach Pallmall in two months from Whitehall.

They have only been five months in passing through the India House — not much more than they would have required to go to India and back — a circumstance which inspires me with the most cheerful anticipations.

I have made out a List of some 16 W. Indian Stations, but do not send it, for fear of overpowering the W.O.’s administrative abilities, till the E. Indian ones are gone — yours sincerely

F. Nightingale
Hampstead N W  
8 Nov/59
Dear Mr. Herbert
Both the Medical papers have got hold of your Army Medl Sch. Scheme & reproduced it in extenso this week, save the Programmes; the one paper without comment, the other with the most unqualified praise; "admirable"
&c "it would be difficult to suggest any improvement" &c & threatening a longer Article of praise "next week" -
It is very regrettable that they should have got hold of it before it was issued in a final "authorized" form by you; because, while laying particular (laudatory) stress upon its "having a distinct & independent existence"
"under" you, they both omit the clause about the Indian Medical Service & both reproduce the clause about the Senate being composed of the Professors & the D.G.
Now, if you think you are likely to decide upon making Martin a "Senator", in order to drag the Indians into the "Qualifi
cations”, as well as the School, would it not be very desirable not to let the Medical papers discuss it without so very important an addition being known? They are queer tempers & don’t like to turn/come back upon themselves - I have had so much to do with this confounded profession that I am “particular” glad that these papers (which had made some very stupid remarks upon this School) are now come to their senses -

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

I am told that the article in the U.S. Gazette, “whose” dulness “is shocking to me”, is by Mouat - who was termed, not elegantly but truly, in the Crimea, Hall’s “lick=spittle”.

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale 8th Novr 1859 on the opinions of the Medical Press on the Army Medical School.}
Dear Mr. Herbert

I have a “melancholy [9:99]
satisfaction” in congrating you on the fact that there is an Office in this Govt worse organized than that which you have undertaken to reform. And this is the great India House -

The great house has a head, (so they say,) but no hands -
And Sir C. Wood had much better have accepted our proposal than have done what he has done, which is nothing.

We asked for no work from the over-worked magnates, which we knew we should not get, but the appointment of two good clerks, selected by Mr. Hornidge (the Head of the Statistical Dept) & paid by us -

The men should have been set to work the next day & the work would have been done by this time -

As it is, nothing has been done & nothing ever will be done - as there is no organization of labor in that House,
such as Sir C. Wood might see any day in Yorkshire.

The fault lies with Sir G. Clerk, not with Sir C. Wood. That worthy Scot has no capacity for business, as I believe Sir C. Wood knows full well. And the inaction presided over by that man is general.

What we want now is for Sir C. Wood to give prompt & peremptory orders - i.e. orders that shall be obeyed for carrying out our work.

Or - let him say that they cannot (or will not) do it. And we are quite ready with a plan of operations of our own. - independent of them - & Clerks of our own -

It is a cruel waste of time - And we might have been half through the business of the Commission by now -

Mr Hornidge was to speak yesterday to Sir C. Wood’s Secy about it. But I despair of anything being done -
II - (This is another matter - the materials for which Mr. Prinsep also said did not exist at the India Ho: - but they do)

The Forms for the STATIONAL Returns are now ready & will be sent to Mr. Hornidge to be filled up -

[end 9:99]

Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

If Ld Stanley declined the [end 9:99]
Commission, because he knew of this state of things & it bothered him, I rather admire

the man’s canniness
One mystery I will tell fr/gratis - The Queen’s Minister, responsible to the H. of C., is not master at the E.I. Ho. - Sir G. Clerk is the Minister for India - Let the wise man profit by this notice. [end 9:99]

(in another hand: Miss Nightingale Nov 10. 59. on the state of the India House)

signed letter, 2ff, pen (in another hand: Miss Nightingale Nov. 10. 1859. on Dr. Rutherford’s appointment) (in another hand: Docket) 2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W
Nov 10/59

Dear Mr. Herbert
There is no help for Dr. Rutherford! that is clear - Neither I nor Sutherland know Dr. Thomson, of the 58th, except by reputation - Unless the 58th is going out, we neither of us think it worth while to send him - only for
Alexander to appoint, as second, somebody who is out or is going out - For Thomson is said not to be a notable luminary, any more than Rutherford.

NB. I should exactly re-echo the words of Alexander about the one I know; viz. that he is “an excellent Officer, with tact & judgment” - But all that does not make a Sanitary Officer - However he is a man of good general ability - and we could name no one better.

Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

The amended Queen’s & Barrack Regulations are gone to the Printer’s.

signed letter, 1f, pen (in another hand: Miss Nightingale 14th Novr 1859 on the Queries for the Indian Troops & Dr. Moorhead’s address) 2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W
14 Nov/59

Dear Mr. Herbert
Morehead’s the Indian Professor’s, address is:
Dr. Morehead
at Dr. McLennan’s
53 Upper Harley St.
Martin’s title is “Physician to the Council of India”.
The India House accepts [9:100]

with transport your clerks & your paying them - [end 9:100]

Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale
Hampstead N W
18 Nov/59
Dear Mr. Herbert

Even the offer of 12/ a day (the price of the two clerks) has failed to move the great house of India to any exertion.

On Monday Dr. Sutherland went there & made the above handsome proposal viva voce - It was accepted viva voce - And he was requested to write it down (the Indians could not believe in the magnificent sum of 12/) & address it to Sir G. Clerk, which he did.

Farr went there himself yesterday to set his two clerks to work, who are ready & waiting - but was told that Sir G. Clerk had given no authority.

These people must be ordered
forthwith to supply
the information -
in their own way,
if not in ours.

Our two men
were to be employed
exclusively on the
Military Returns
(otherwise called
Muster=Rolls)

Other two Clerks
will be required
exclusively for the
Medical Returns.

Let them supply
all or two or none -
We will supply
none or two or all
& pay for all, just
as they like.

But such
stiff necked Israelites
were never to be
found in the
wilderness as in
the India Ho: [end 9:102]
sincerely yours
F. Nightingale
{in another hand: Miss Nightingale 18 Novbr. 59 on the Clerks at the India House}
signed letter, 4ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale 29th Novbr 59. on my
Army Memo:} 2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W
29 Nov/59
Thank you very much
for letting me see
it.

It is a most
statesman=like paper
& shews what you
are -

It is monstrous
that, in times of trouble,
the foreigner, who is
not allowed to recruit men in England should be able to recruit machines of war, which are now of so much more importance -

This is the cleverest charlatan the world has ever seen -

A man of the "Institut", (which always calls him "the rascal,";) writes to me about him which/whereof the enclosed is a scrap -

F. Nightingale

{enclosed letter from Paris about conditions there}

signed letter, 4ff, pen 2057/F4/68

Hampstead N W
Dec 28/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

In order to carry out the new Regulation that soldiers' sick wives & children are to be treated & dieted in Hospital, where there is Hospital accommodation for them, I have been collecting the numbers of "constantly sick" from who will require accommodation
from
the different Stations
thro' the Barrack
Commission -
As you will see
the results in their
General Report, and
as you will be “strongly
advised” to give the
order to put up huts
for the women’s temporary
accommodation, till
permanent Hospital
accommodation can
be provided, I am

not going to trouble you
about that now -
But at Devonport
the numbers are so
startling that - do
you think you would
at once give the order,
which is all that is
required, to put up
two ordinary Barrack
huts (or at least one)
- they hold twelve -
in the enceinte, i.e.
within discipline; where
there is said to be plenty of room for two huts & more. It would be simply the cost of labor in putting them up - the huts mates being there - and the "wives" are then brought within the Regulation.

Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

The case is so pressing that the Devonport Army Surgeon wrote to me for private relief for them, without in the least knowing that the thing was going to be done generally.

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale Decbr 28.59. Urges the immediate Erection of 2. Huts for the wives of the Soldiers at Devonport where the sickness & mortality are too terrible to "wait".}

Dearest
I am overjoyed to hear that you are going to Wilton for Sunday - and I shall stay & celebrate the occasion here.

Will you say to him

1. that Alexander is obviously quite wrong about the "Serjeant Major at Fort Pitt"
tho’ the tone of Taylor’s letter is very unbecoming - but, confidentially, had I been Taylor, I should have been just as furious - The idea of preferring the stores to the Lunatics - when, too, it is better not to say how many are the (unprevented) suicides in our Army Hospitals.
   I am afraid the transaction also shews how hugger=mugger are the ways of going on still at that D.G.’s Office - these matters of administration Mr. Herbert specially put into a special branch - And now, here is Logan, as Senior in rank merely, administering them during Alexander’s absence, when they are not in his branch at all!
2. that in a letter I have just had from Paget (the Surgeon & E.I. Co. Examiner) (about Civil Hospital Statistics,) he establishes, as to the Army, two important points 
(1) that he is well satisfied with the class of men who now come forward to be examined for Medical (Army) Commissions

(2) that they very much want farther schooling & (3) he concludes with saying that, when the Army Medical School is established, there will not be such another Public Service in the world for efficiency as our Army Medical Service.

This is the more important as coming from Paget, as he is a "St. Bartholomew's" man. ever yours

F.N.

I was so ashamed not to be able to come & get up on Sunday to see Mr. Herbert - But I let him come for the ride's sake [end 15:288]
30 Burln St.
London W
April 14/60

no answer

Dear Mr. Herbert

You are going to have a Sanitarium at the Cape for the “sick & wounded” from China & India of from 600 to 1000 beds - with a regular transport service from India & China to the Cape.

About half will be serious cases - And the D.G. says it will be “a second Scutari” (he does not mean in disorder but in importance.)

The D.G. intends to bring forward the proposal at a W.O. Meeting on Monday, (?) - present the C. in C. - for organizing this General
Hospital (or Sanitarium) upon the new "Regulations", qua Governor, qua Nurses &c &c

Of all this, you will say, you need not inform me.

My point is this: the D.G. does not seem to clearly to understand, (even with his "Regulations" before him,) that the appointment of the Governor is in the hands of the S. of S., (vide Page 40,) - also of the Sup. Genl of Nurses, (vide P. 47.)

He says that, since the promulgation of the "Regulations", the C. in C. has appointed a Governor to the Yarmouth Hospital,

-2-

"who has done exceedingly ill."

The D.G. is anxious for the introduction of Female Nurses & is looking about for them/some, as if he were Matron, as well as D.G. [Mrs. Shaw Stewart is now in England, serving at King’s College Hospital. I
have no doubt she would accept a temporary appointment at the Cape - And I think her much better suited for such foreign service than for home. It would also not compromise you to anything further]

But this is a point of minor importance -

P.S. -3-

Hospital Huts for 600 are to be sent out from home to the Cape - And I should be rather glad, (Mr. Herbert volente) to have my “finger in the pie” of their structural arrangements.

Galton is in France till Tuesday.

All my information comes through Sir G. Grey (Cape)

We have put up the D.G. to reading his own “Regulations”.

My object in now troubling you (among so many greater troubles) is that the Cape is a place where it is essential, in Sir G. Grey’s estimation, to organize a really efficient General Hospital, because
1. It is so far from home that constant reference cannot be made to home.
   2. Everything has to be organized there.
   3. It is likely to be a large & permanent establishment, from the fineness of the climate & other reasons.

[How I should like to be going out to have the doing of the female part of it!]

Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

signed letter, 4ff, pen (in another hand; Miss Nightingale April 30. 60. on the case of Dr. Becher) 2057/F4/68

30 O. B. St.
April 30/60

Dear Mr. Herbert

You wished to have some Memo of Alexander’s intentions with regard to Dr. Becher –

I enclose a letter of Lord Belper’s (with his permission) to the governess of his children, who is Dr. Becher’s sister.

It contains a clear statement of Becher’s case –

The only question is as to the Diploma. He will be registered & will therefore comply with the Act which requires Army Doctors to be registered. His Tübingen qualifications are sufficient for all practical purposes.
Alexander intended to date his services 6 years back, which is 6 years of life - This should be done - If it cannot be done without a Diploma, Becher would get one at once. But it is quite unnecessary to exact it, so far as the security of the Service is concerned.

Would you be good enough to let me have Lord Belper’s letter back, as I mean to make use of it with the Medical Council?

yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

The Bechers are a family of extraordinary talent from Württemberg. And Miss B., the governess, is an instance of my theory, contrary to all the “Women’s Rights” folk, that a really educated woman can command any salary.

{the letter mentioned follows}
P.S. Sir James Clark says there will be no difficulty in “registering” Becher. But there may be some delay till the next Council sits.

He earnestly hopes Becher may be sent out by next mail - & the Commission be sent after him - which must wait for the Registration.
Dr. Emil Becher
Pathologist at Scutari
& in China -
(whose maps of
Hong Kong & Sanitary
Report of Victoria
Mr. Herbert saw
here -)

On going to the A.Ml. Dep.
to learn Mr. Herbert’s
decision on his case,
he was told by one of
the Junior Officers that
Mr. Herbert had decided
that he was to be
admitted to the Service,

provided the Director=Genl
were satisfied with his
qualifications - viz. a
degree, diploma and
examination.

Believing that J.-M
that Mr. Herbert’s
decision has been
mis=interpreted to
mean that, after five
years’ of great services
to this country, (in
Acting Assistant Surgeon’s
rank,) during which
he shewed talents
which were profited
by ☞ in the whole
Department, in which it is acknowledged that there is not a single man to match him - (no Army Medl Officer has/having produced either any Sanitary report to compare with his on Hong Kong) - I can hardly suppose that it can be meant that Dr. Becher is merely to receive permission to enter the Dept., as one of the common public, by the same door that any other of the common public may enter (without permission) who have neither served the country nor proved their talent in long service.

Dr. Becher would rather go out at once to China in his original capacity as Acting Asst Surgeon than remain here till July & have all his service counted for nothing.

Can anything further be done in his case?
The conclusion of Dr. Becher’s whole matter is this:

he would wish, either way, i.e. whether he is to go to China or to Chatham, some written security that his past service will be counted.

Otherwise he doubts about entering our Service.

May 8/60

signed letter, 8 ff, pen 2057/F4/68

30 Old Burlington St
London W
Sept 3/60

Dear Mr. Herbert

On the 1st I had a letter from the Professors of the A.M. School - quite desperate.

The authority for the “Instrument Money” had not (then) come.

Ten of the Students had arrived. They stared at the bare walls & at the absence of all arrangements for their work (in the new buildings) & concluded “the School was a hoax.”

It is most unfortunate for the first impression must have a serious effect upon the
future of the School.

Were a letter to appear in the “Lancet” from one of these young men, stating the simple facts of the case, it would do more to damage the School, & to turn public opinion against it, than would take years to redeem.

Whatever haste is now made, the beginning must be under great disadvantages.

You will observe the information applies, not merely to the absence of the Instruments, but to/of the fittings.

It is really too much.

Altho’ this School is but a small matter, it is just a type & a climax of the working of the whole Office. And it is well it has happened - For “dirty rags shew which way the wind blows”.

Unless something is done, the School will be (what the “Dy News” truly says Sir Jas: Graham’s Report is) a “disgraceful failure”.

The estimates for the fittings of the “practical rooms” & for the “Instruments” were sent in early in April. [The whole sum was a mere trifle]-

1. Sir J. Burgoyne’s minute, that the “authority of the Treasury had been received” for the former was dated August 17!!!

Col. Williams says it will take two months to put them up. Capt. Galton says he can do it in one - And
the School must open on Oct. 2.
2. After you had left London, on August 21, I found that nothing at all had been done about the “authority for the Instrument Money” – that it had been sent to the Tower(!), where the answer was that they had no “instruments”, - to Woolwich (!! where the answer was that they had only guns, -- to the D.G.’s Office, where it had lain for months &c &c &c

I asked Capt. Galton to hunt it up & to take it to Mr. Drewry (Sir B. Hawes’s absence is a God=send - at least Mr. Drewry does something) & authorize it upon the “Sanitary vote”. which Mr. Drewry did, stipulating that you were to know nothing about it. (what a way of doing things!!!) A week then elapsed, which was the time it took for it to go to Sir E. Lugard’s Office, (as I understood) -

Certain it is that, yesterday the Professors had not yet received the “authority”, altho’ they twice went to Mr. Milton about it, learning what was going on - at Mr. Drewry’s.

The School must open on October 2. (for the whole number of young men.)

People talk of my “terrible & unprecedented experience of the inefficiency” in the Crimea -I say my “terrible &
extraordinary experience of the inefficiency” in the W. Office during the last 4/four years - No one would believe it who had not seen it. The intentions of the Secretary of State are no more carried out than if he were at Timbuctoo - 1. slowness 2. inefficiency 3. extravagance in administration 4. want of unity are beyond all belief. ever yours sincerely F. Nightingale

Private I have been thinking a great deal about Hawes’s successor - But, as Asst Under Secy, I do believe that Galton is your man: In an Office like the W.O., which has to deal with innumerable practical scientific questions, it is essential that there should be some one to hold in check the Departmental opinions. The S. of S. cannot, in many cases, even hear an opposite opinion. Galton is a soldier, a first-rate R.E., and has, above all things, had more than three years’ training in these matters. The Under Secretary
is (and probably must be) personally unacquainted with these matters, and his decision, however good a business man he might be, would be mere hap-hazard.

If Galton would accept such a tiresome & laborious office, he would do it/the Assistant=Under=Secyship well -

And the only man fit to succeed him is Major Gordon, now at Constantinople)

2. You told me that you were thinking of having Col: Simmons home - I have always heard that he was the only man fit for Col: St. George’s place at/on the Select Committee, if you put St. G. elsewhere.

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale Sep.3.1860 on the delays in the Medical School}

signed letter, black-edged paper, 2 ff, pen 2057/F4/68

      30 Old Burlington St
      May 26/60

Dear Mr. Herbert

      This is only to say [9:103]

that I had a message from Lord Stanley (we are not on “speaking terms”!) to the effect that he would be very glad to know if you had time
to attend to the Indian Sanitary Commission - whether you had Meetings now & how it was going on - & that he would be very glad to offer himself as Chairman (!) if you found you had no time to do it yourself - I have not answered this - Perhaps it was only a compli- mentary message, in the same way as “the weather” & “your health” - Don’t trouble yourself to answer this - But I thought it my duty to tell you that that queer individual had laid himself open to an offer - [end 9:103]

Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale May 26.1860 on Ld Stanley’s having at last volunteered to take the Chairmanship of the Indian Sanitary Commission}
I have enquired into
Dr. Becher’s alleged
neglect of his patients
on board the “Caduceus”
coming home from Hong=
Kong.

He was put in
charge of 93 sick, of
whom 40 severe &
9 dying cases. [These
died before they reached
Singapore-]

He was unable to
stand from Fever &

was the only Medical
Officer on board.

He had, besides,
soldiers’ wives &
children under his
care - Accusation {in a box}
1. The nine dead
were not reported
officially, as they
ought to have been,
by him.

2. Also, the soldiers’
wives complained to
the Captain’s wife,
that they were
neglected -

This seems the
sum of the accusation.
If Becher was to blame for accepting “charge”, some one was much more to blame for putting a sick man in charge, & in such a charge.

Dr. Taylor of Chatham, said “they packed off all their sick & dying with Dr. Becher.”

Three Orderlies were all he had for 93 sick.

No preserved vegetables were sent, tho’ they were entered on the List, as having been sent on board.

Dr. Becher’s earnest wish is still “to be sent back to China”, “his service to be counted.”

But, if this should be contrary to the Commander-in-Chiefs wish (C. in C. be hanged!) this is me, not Becher ______

Dr. Becher is perfectly willing to go to Chatham to
serve there, as a
Probationer, till
next Examination
(July.)

We, your petitioners,
only humbly pray
that he should be
gazetted, ante-dating
his Commission five
years back - if he
passes.

This is but just
to one to whose great
services we can all
bear witness.

And, without

some reliable
assurance of this sort,
he would not wish
to enter the Service.

For, certainly, if
there came a new
Secretary of State,
who “knew not Joseph”,
“Joseph” would not
get his five years
of life accounted
to him.
May 8/60
Dr. Becher earnestly hopes that, if the story of the voyage is to weigh against him, (altho’ merely as an unfavourable impression,) that the accusation may be brought against him openly & officially, so that he may be able to bring forward evidence on the other side & defend himself - 

This, I think, would be but fair.

No “Confidential Reports!”

Private

Capt. Galton says that there is a man in the Office (I suppose he means Mapleton) who maligns Becher out of pure opposition - and that the story abe/against him/Becher was collected by him. 

Certainly I never saw a man whose attention to his Patients was more widely known and acknowledged. At Scutari he used to do the work of half the other “fellows” as they said for them.
Dear Mr. Herbert

You will wonder what all this is about. There is “insurrection in the Camp.” And 15 old “fogies”, with families, Surgeons= Major & Surgeons of the R.A., are in open revolt about their stupid costly instruments.

They wrote to Mr. Headlam, who is out of England, I believe.

These papers were sent to me - And, to save you trouble, I have made an Abstract of the real rules of the case - I think it is a grievance - The tone of their
letter to Mr. Headlam

is ugly, but you
will not mind
that - If you think
right to interfere,
you will of course,
write to the D.G.
(or other Official)
direct & not
through me - or
with any reference
to me

yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

I am sorry you must come
back so soon.

initialed letter, 2ff, pen (in another hand: Miss Nightingale Decber 5.60
mentions Ld Stanley’s wish to serve on the Indian Sanitary Commission)
2057/F4/68; another letter, different content, of same date to EH 43396 f89

Dec 5/60

Dearest [9:104]

Lord Stanley
volunteers to say
that his University
Comm. work is done,
and, if asked by
Mr. Herbert to
take the Presidency
of the Indian
Sanitary Commn,
concerning the

progress of which
he has been making
enquiry, he would,
(I suppose) “think
about it.”

Lord Stanley
is quite beyond
my comprehension.
And I would
not even have
conveyed this
message (which
is the “third
time of asking”
from Ld S.) to
Mr. Herbert - had
it not been that
the present
necessity to
relieve him
from as much
work as possible
makes any
loop=hole right
to speak about,
at least - [end 9:104]
ever your F.

signed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: May/59 Miss Nightingale Sir R. Vivian’s opinion of Col David Russell - Indian Commission} 2057/F4/68

West Hill Lodge
Highgate Rise N
May 13/59

Dear Mr. Herbert
I wish that Sir John [9:86]
Lawrence would answer,
which he was to do
today, but he has
not yet -
Thro’ Sir R. Vivian
who, whatever his
prejudices, is as honest
& anti jobbing as
Lawrence himself,
I have tried to get

opinions on the general
merits of some of the
Queen’s Officers (who
have been named) from
some of the old Indian
Officers at the India
Ho. One & all agree
that Greathed is fit
for nothing - I tell
this for what it is
worth - I know not -
[I have heard Lord
W. Paulet & other
Officers of high standing in the Crimea, without as much judgement as your little Mary, say the same thing of Storks, & others who certainly had some (i.e. judgment)]

—The man most highly spoken of by Sir Rob. Vivian & Co: others is Col. David Russell CB. Inspecting Field Officer Recruiting Dept. Horse Guards

long in India - in command of a Regt; & a very good (Queen’s) Officer - [It may be that his name will turn up on Airey’s or some body else’s recommendat.] [end 9:86]

The Scotch Inspections began yesterday.

Sincerely yours
F. Nightingale

Please thank Mrs. Herbert very much for her letter.
Gt Malvern
1/1/59

Dear Mr. Herbert,

I think, with you, that you must use Lord Stanley’s proposal; when it comes, as a lever to get the Regulations & the Council. But there will be much preliminary work to do in preparing the ground for your Indian enquiry. I should, if I were you, accept first, when Lord Stanley writes, & then put in the lever. If Ld S. understands that you must & will have the Army matters settled before you move, he will then give Genl. Peel a little shove -

But, as the
Regulations & Council will go on moving thro' the War Office, till they have a Corporal of Sappers & Miners, a Hospital Serjeant, & a Purveyor’s Clerk sitting upon you, with an Apothecary’s boy in the chair, - - I bet you a penny that the Indian enquiry is all done, which will take at least three years (interim Reports, & interim action having been set a going in the mean time) before the other - Genl Peel can’t manage his subordinates & Lord Stanley can -

2. With regard to the Commissioners - Lord Stanley asked whether the former Commission, minus Andrew Smith, would do. I left it to you to answer that question - My impression being that, except Alexander & Sutherland, you found them heavy in hand.

What would you think of having those two again - (Alexander for his own instruction -)

3. Martin, who is
necessary for his
Indian knowledge -
4. Farr, without whom
the Statistics would
be with difficulty
done - as he has
Clerks - & Tulloch
& Balfour have not
an idea of doing
figures, except with
their own pens -
Does it not seem
to you essential to
have one Indian
Military Engineer?

& one Indian Military
Officer? If desirable
to have members
of the Indian Council,
Sir Proby Cautley
might do for the
first & Sir Richard
Vivian for the second.
But, Ld Stanley
volunteered to say
that there was not
one member on the
Council who knew
anything about
Sanitary things or
how to spell the word,
& specially instanced
Sir P. Cautley as
prominent in ignorance.
In this, Ld S. differs
from Mr. Martin,
who gives them rather
a good character.
   I did not press,
for I did not feel
sure of what you
might think about
having a member of the Council on.
   Col. Goodwyn,
Bengal Engineers, now
at home, bears a
very high character.
Lt. Col Waugh, Bengal
Engineers, Surveyor=

General of India,
now in India, is
I suppose, the first
Topographer in Europe
[That is Irish] Would
you think it well
to make enquiries
about these men?
[It might be as
impossible to let
Col. Waugh as Lord
Canning come home - That
I don't know]-
   With regard to
Balfour as Secretary.
It might be difficult
   
3
to find a better man.
To have a man who
knows much/more of India
would have advantages
& also disadvantages.
He would be prejudiced.
Balfour is not a little
in that line too, however.
His great value lay
in having materials
in his possession of
so much value, of
which he did not
know the value before.
[There would not
be this for India.]

I think it would be
worth while to see
what they have got
at the India House
that would do as a
Secretary, tho’ very
likely to return to
Balfour -

I should like to
know whether you
decide for or against
a man of the Indian
Council to be on
the Commission.

NB Lord Stanley
Derbyshire Co Record Office

told me that Lord Canning insisted upon large masses of troops as necessary at Allahabad - and objected to having them at Dagshai, Kupowlie, &c, our hill stations - Now it so happens that Allahabad stands highest but one of all our Stations in Mortality - 125/115 per 1000 - To decide what can be done to make unhealthy stations healthy will be the aim of your Commission. It does not require Tulloch to tell us that troops will be healthy, if removed to healthy Stations - But, if it be necessary for our holding of India to have numbers at a place with a loss of 11-1/2 per cent - can you conceive our holding India at such a price?

3. Lord Tweeddale’s tables are interesting - But that is all - they give the clue to a case to be enquired into. His own note, as shewing the advance in good principles of Military economy is far more interesting - Tho’ he did the thing, I don’t believe he would have written that note a year ago. You have not laboured in vain.
I have an old note from Lord Rokeby, using, in the matter of day=rooms, exactly the self=same words Lord Tweeddale reproaches the Governor General & C. in Chief with using - qua Barracks. sincerely yours F. Nightingale

Do you know John Stuart Mill? a most intelligent
but very odd man, now at liberty. He did the foreign relations at the India House - Sir Geo. Clark the others. Perhaps this would prevent his being useful as a Commissioner in the way you want - What the Times said of him was quite unfair.

Wiltshire 2057/F4/68 signed letter, 6ff, pen

Gt Malvern
Jan 4/59 [15:277-78]

Dear Mr. Herbert Hawes is really too bad about the Medical Council - & what is worse, I am afraid that Alexander is giving way. He is so good an administrator that he does not see the value of organization - or has forgotten it - As there are striking & original views now of English history now to be found only in the Prayer book, in Burke’s Peerage & in Mrs. Shaw Stewart - so there are striking & original ways of doing business, now
only to be found in
the War Office -

   To strike a blow
at these ways of
doing business in
one direction was
quite as much the
object of your
“Instructions” to the
Med. Council, as to
organize the Medl
Dir. Genl’s Office.
   This I am not
surprised at

Alexander not
seeing.
   For the R. Commn,
after attaching so
much value to the
Sanitary & Statistical
elements, to allow
them to be put second,
would be literally
for its right hand
not to know what
its left hand doeth.
The Medical Councillor
I would gladly leave

   -2-
to work his own way,
were it not that
there is a “Professional
Assistant” now &
must be - And he
may as well be
organized too -
   That the War Office
does not like the
“Instruction” I can
well believe. They
are in opposition
to all its ways -
   I hear that
Mapleton is virtually
now “Professional Assistant”. This will not do.

Without your “Instructions” to the Council there had better be no Council. And without the quinquennial appointments, there can be no independence -

As, after all the ransacking, only one Sanitary & one Statistical man has been found - but five or six Medical members have been named, it will not do to give the former lower pay than the latter.

If Hawes likes to call it a board, that does not signify. But without the Instructions, the Department would have no strength, nor the D.G. any aid in specialties. Rather than Hawes’s plan, let Alexander go on as he is, don’t/do not however you think so? The “Westminster” Article reads very well - don’t you think so? There are two or three
misprints - In
describing the 8
Depts of Genl Hospls,
you had put “and
none to nurse” - It
is printed “and
one to nurse.” I
think there is no
other which signifies.
But the Revise (in
which these/ey all are),
should have been
corrected -

I see you have nailed
your colors to the
mast in the Initials.
_____ It is gratifying to
see Mr. Gladstone
has been snubbing
the Church in Zante.
As Milton’s devil
laughed & made
faces to himself,
as soon as out of
Eden, so I think
Mr. Gladstone must

have done - May he
come home with
the 7 Islands in a
neat bracelet on
his wrist for
Britannia!

The “Morning Star”,
a penny paper, has
being going against
us. This is too bad.
I believe its circula-
tion is very large -
I must go out
with the hounds
again. Have you seen one in green? I sent one to Belgrave Sq. in that coat. I was not at all the worse for the journey, thank you. But I have not been up since I came - [end 15:278] So you may hear I was -

Did you think of a Queen’s Officer for the Indian Commission? sincerely yours F. Nightingale.

signed letter, 4ff, pen

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale Jan. 29 1859 Statistical Commission suggests Sanitary Engineering Lectures for Cadets & that Galton be the future head of the Barrack Depart.}

Gt Malvern
Jan 29/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

I can hear nothing about the Indian Organization Commissn, except that it is to have two contending Reports, (as you anticipated), i.e. as far as regards the description of troops to be employed - Probably you may know more -

The great Actuaries
have taken us up, which is the more pleasing, as the Great Actuary, had put us down, which was distressing. Here is their “Post Magazine” [The Article was not, I know, written by Farr] I invite Mrs. Herbert’s attention to the a new view of the object of the Institution of Infancy; vide next Article -

“the life duration of “tender babies (such a word!) is the most “delicate test” - Saturn as an Analytical Chemist with two “tender babies” in a glass tube! Sutherland told me, you wished to know “whether the Daily News Sanitary articles came from Malvern” - I did not write them - but I supplied the materials,
& wrote the heads, on condition the writer should not mention it to the Editor - The name of the writer I hardly dare mention in your presence - You will see by some blunders, innocent & non-innocent, that the subject is a new one - There are to be three more - (not blunders but) Articles - The Medical times has two Articles, one on your Article, one on your Commission -

Since the Gunpowder plot is come out of the Prayerbook, I feel ready to put it under the War Office. I hear that Alexander is dispirited & irritable & is writing to you - One used to think that good might be done to the War Office from without - But now it seems evident that it is all bureau, corrupt to the core - that your Commission raised only a morsel of its shroud - & that it must have its own Minister to reform it root & branch - & make the dry bones live. Nothing short of this, it seems, will do it any good - Certainly Genl Peel will not.

I wish there could be some system set on foot to have
Sanitary Engineering lectures for the Engineer Cadets. And I wish that Galton might be future Head of the Barrack Department, vice Laffan.

Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

Farr & I are doing a system of uniform Hospital Statistics for the world, to be proposed at the Statistical Congress.
next time, after
which we mean
to introduce it in
the Universe, Saturn
excluded, because
I don’t approve his
system about babies.

F.N.

signed letter, 2ff, pen {in another hand: Miss Nightingale Feb 10. 1859 “Where are the Regulations?“} 2057/F4/68

Gt Malvern
Feb 10/59
Dear Mr. Herbert
Would you not
think well to ask
Genl Peel where the
“Regulations” are?
It is said they have
passed the Purveyor’s
Clerks’ Committee at
the War Office (wonderful celerity
if they have!) They
must then be nearly
ready by this time -
And you ought to
see what has
been doing on them
by the Purveyors’ Clerks
& Co.

Alexander says
that, on his appoint=
ment as D.G., Sir
H. Storks said to
him, “No Council,
remember!” Considering
Storks signed the Report, if this is not dishonest, what is it? - Perhaps then Storks' departure may lessen the opposition - But, whatever they choose to call (or not call) the Council, we must have the Instructions.

Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

signed letter, 2ff, pen

{in another hand: 12 April 1859 F. Nightingale Indian matters 1859} 2057/F4/68

30 Old Burlington St
London W
April 12/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

I am afraid you will think me over busy. But you cannot think how that Indian business has lain at my heart - After you were gone, I wrote to Lord Stanley (quite tame, believe me: but I repeated what he had said last Dec.ber
And this is his answer:
the oddest thing of all,
I think - Don’t destroy
it, please. J’y tiens - et
pour cause. [end 9:78]

I understand
Balfour has accepted
the Statistical with
£300 a year plus the
Asylum - which he
keeps - But I only
heard this secondhand -

Will you be so good [8:660]
as to tell your Nurse,
or whomsoever you may
please, to write to me,
when Mrs. Herbert’s
seventh is arrived? [end 8:660]

Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

I hope “the clergy” will
forgive you - You have
a great deal of
“Xtianity” to fall back
upon.

unsigned letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/68

April 18/59
30 O. Burlington St

Dear Mr. Herbert
I cannot think
how I could be so
careless, if I did
not tell you that
your packet of
Army Medical School
was received here
on Friday last -
that I looked it
all through - & sent
it by a messenger within
three hours to the
War Office - having
added the three
copies - addressed
to Genl Peel -
    Unless his private
Secretaries minute
each other in descending
gradation down to
the porter’s boy,
before he sees any
thing, I cannot
conceive how he has
not seen it.
    I have heard
nothing from Lord
Stanley - whom however
I gratified (not with
the sight but) with
the substance of
your note. I was
rather in hopes
that he would have
written to you. I did
not expect to hear
from him. Because,
I think, he is angry
(notwithstanding his
mansuetude) - which
doesn’t signify, as, if
he will but do this
one thing, I am very
sure never to want
anything from him
again - Lord Stanley
is a kind of Robinson
Crusoe of humanity
{upside down} Dear Sir John Would
He has no fellow=
creatures. He never
communicated with
anybody, nor anybody
with him on any
subject that I ever
heard of. He is a
species in himself -
& will be described,
as such, by any
future Cuvier.
    Genus...Homo
    Species - Lord Stanley
Dear Mr. Herbert

Enclosed I send,

I the List of Commissioners,

II Heads for the
   Instructions, to
   which I hope
   you will add
   a great deal -
   And pray don’t
   let him settle

   the Instructions
   finally, without
   referring them
   again back to
   you -

III A List of a few
   of the “documents
   “which we want,
   “if they can be
   “obtained from
   “the India Ho:"

IV A List of good
   witnesses, which
   you don’t want
now - Only perhaps
Ld S. will say
there are none
to be had -  

I will write
tomorrow, if anything
more occurs to me -
And for this I
keep Ld S.'s letter
till tomorrow, when
I will send it you.
[You could not
make use of this
Commission, could you?]

to get anything more
out of Peel about/towards
our Army Medical
Council, or Regulations
getting out the
Regulations, of which
we have heard nothing.]

With regard to
these Instructions,
I am sure a great
deal more will
occur to you - So let
them be as ample
as possible - pray -
yrs sincerely
F. Nightingale

It occurred to me,
[9:79]
what should you
think of Col. Sir W.
Russell, M.P., for the
"Queen’s man"? Probably
you know him - But,
if not, he is a man
of about poor
Stafford’s calibre -
with zeal & generosity,
without sense or
judgment, but
without Stafford’s
tendency to gross
exaggeration - He
has enthusiasm,
a quality something
scarce on your
Commissn. He would
follow you & not
be obstinate. He
has Indian experience now.
And I suppose it
is rather a good thing
to have a M.P., is
it not? He is a
Cavalry Officer, which
is a bad thing.
I knew him in
the Crimea. For an
Army man, he is
wonderfully “go ahead”,
& would astonish
the old Indians out
of their ruts. [end 9:79]
F. Nightingale
April 28/59 Turn Over

Brigadier Greathed, [9:80]
the man of the won=
derful march from
Delhi to Agra (?)
is come home - He
is a first-rate soldier
& a good Indian
name - Would he
do? It is sometimes
better to begin on a
“table rase”, like
this Russell or
Greathed. They have
no prejudices. [end 9:80]
nothing to do with it, (considering the men who have been selected for his Councillors,) farther than finding Medical Officers for the service]

III. There will be four sources of evidence
   1. existing documents & maps
   2. witnesses
   3. inquiries by forms of questions to be filled up & returned with $ skeleton maps & plans
   4. evidence taken on the spot.

The Report, drawn up from these, will be complete in itself and a book of reference for all future Military Engineering & Medical operations. Forms, tables, diagrams, maps, (especially disease maps & physical geography maps) recommendations, plans for improving old & constructing new stations will make it

(what it should be) a practical Manual for our occupation of India.

{in another hand: Ap./59 Miss Nightingale Indian Commission - Preliminary work - & Commission work -}
West Hill Lodge
Highgate Rise
N.
April 28/59

Dear Mr. Herbert

For a “Queen’s Officer” on the Indian Sanitary Commn it is much easier to say whom not to have than whom to have - But:

1. Sir E. Lugard - to educate? able & honest - not independent - (but what Army man is?) with Indian experience.

2. Sir J. Burgoyne - a faithful friend of the Sanitary cause, his rank would help - not a wise man - no Indian experience

3. Col. Kennedy. Ass. Q.M.G. at Aldershot - very highly thought of by all good Army men - has Indian experience.

It is true the man ought to be an Engineer But no Queen’s Engineer has been in India till the War -
And all these men know just this of India to recommend & no more. "If you want to make the soldier healthy in India, take him out of it."

Therefore you will have to educate your man any how, & I had rather educate Sir E. Lugard. [end 9:80]

I am sorry the Military part of the team musters so strong. But you will drive it.

If you could look over the Queen’s Officers who gave evidence before the “Indian Colonization Committee” & the “Army Indian Re-Organization” Commissn (if the last be out) there might be one with common sense - Major=Genl Tremenheere’s evidence was good. He has great experience - But he is E.I.C. I think
If you thought well
to write to Airey for
a List of Officers
who knew the Stations
well in India, we
could get this list
sifted for you (privately)
in London - But
the fact is the men
are all alike.

Do you know old
Gough? I like him.
His name would be
unexceptionable - he
is a rough creature
but good -

[I wish we had Sir
Colin. He is such a
shrewd man of sense.]

This is all I have
to suggest. Sir J. Mc
Neill’s opinion of
Lugard is high.

I have a great
deal to say about
the preliminaries -
anent the questions
to be sent out to
the Indian Stations,
as you suggested -

which I will do
tomorrow please -

Thank you so much
for your news about
Mrs. Herbert & the
little thing. It
was like you to
write yourself &
so much -

yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

The Irish inspection
is begun. They come
back on Saturday
week -
Highgate
April 29/59
Dear Mr. Herbert
If your mind has inclined to have Sir E. Lugard, I conceive it will be the best. After making every enquiry, I don’t see anyone who will do as well -
He has been 24 years in India - an Adj. Gen. there - has great local knowledge - is unenergetic - honest & fair. In what little official intercourse Galton has had with him about your Barrack matters - he has been sensible. That he is a Horse Guards “organ” there is no doubt. But the Commission will always be called “one-sided” by its enemies, if there is no such “organ” - Your first Sanitary Commissn would not have [end 9:80]
been one-half so
effective, if A. Smith
had not been holding
forth on it -

If Lugard is unfair,
which however he will
not be, it will set
public opinion against
his side.

He has great
experience both in
& off the field - And
if he can be made
to concur, his concur=
rence will be more
valuable than that

of any man like Sir
W. Russell &c -

I have ascertained [9:81]
that no Royal Engineer
or Artillery Officer
ever went to India
before the war &
that none has as
yet returned -  [end 9:81]

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

(in another hand: Ap/59 Miss Nightingale Indian Commission Sir E. Lugard
no Royal Artillery or Engineer officer was
in India before the War.)
Chairman  Mr. Herbert
1. Medical Member  Mr. Alexander
2. Statistical "  Dr. Farr
3. Sanitary (Indian  Mr. Martin
   General  Dr. Sutherland
4. (Queen’s) & Indian  Sir R. Vivian
   Councillor
5. Military Indian
   (Queen’s) & Indian  Sir R. Vivian
   Councillor
6. Engineer Indian  Sir Proby Cautley
   Indian Council OR Col. Waugh
   Surveyor General
   OR Col. Baker
   Mily Secy
   (India Ho:
   [Last said to be the
   best - Could you find out?]

NB

John Stuart Mill
   you thought of once.
   But I think you
   considered him too
   much identified
   with the “old” for a
   Commissioner.
Bengal Army

ENGINEERS -

In India  Col. Boileau
Lt. Col. Waugh Surv. Genl
Major Ommanny
Capt. C.B. Young
Lieut. J.M. Innes
" R. De Bourbel

At Home  Col. H. Goodwyn
" G.T. Greene

MEDICAL

In India  Surgeon Grant
A.S. Norman Chevers
Surg. John McClelland
" H.M. McPherson
A.S. Macnamara
" Marcus Hill

At Home  Surgeon Dempster
" K. Mackinnon
Dr. Julius Jeffreys

Madras Army

ENGINEERS

In India  Col. Cotton
Major Lawford
Capt. Collyer
Lt. Col. Atkinson

At Home  Capt. Ouchterlony
" Harsley
" Hitchins

MEDICAL

In India  Duncan McPherson
Director General
Surgeon E.G. Balfour
" Maclean
A.S. Waring
" Francis Day

At Home  Surgeon Key
" Geddes
" R. Wight
Derbyshire Co Record Office 482

Bombay Army

ENGINEERS

In India  Col. Scott
        Major Crawford
        Capt. Marriott
              " Ballard
At Home  Lt. Col. C.N. Grant
              " H.B. Turner
        Major Wingate
              " John Hill

MEDICAL

In India  Surgeon Gibson
              " Collier
              " Morehead
              " Arnott
At Home  " McLennan
              " Glen
              " Stovell

{in another hand: Mr. Neison Col. Sykes}

Manner of Enquiry

1. Examination of Documents in possession of the India Ho: regarding the health of troops & Stations

2. Parole evidence from persons on leave in England, acquainted with Stations

3. Obtaining all Maps plans &c which throw light on the subject

4. Issuing printed lists of questions to all Stations in India
These Documents will be wanted from the India House:
1. The best India Ho. map of India.
2. Trigonometrical Survey, as far as completed.
3. List of all Military Stations to be marked also on the maps.
4. Copies of all published periodical reports of Medical Boards in Presidencies.
5. Copies of all published Army Indian Statistical tables.
   Same, Queen’s troops.
6. Lists of all places where are permanent Barracks & Hospitals {in another hand: including sanatoria.}
7. Access to catalogue of documents at India Ho: & to all documents there bearing on the enquiry.
   {in another hand: [I] documents wanted from India Ho}
To ask Lord Stanley for a general power of examining all documents respecting health of Army in India Ho:

Should Sir John McNeill be on the Commission?

Don’t be limited to any time for finishing the Enquiry.

{in another hand: Ap/59 Miss Nightingale Indian Commission

1. List of Commissioners
2. Heads for Instructions
3. Documents wanted
4. List of Witnesses}

signed letter, 2ff, pen 2057/F4/68

Hampstead NW [15:383-84]
Oct 18/60

Dear Mr. Herbert

The recalcitrant Artillery Surgeons are still raging about their instruments.

I think I have heard you say that it was an error of administration.

Would it do to put it right in this way? -

As
As a certain number of Medical Officers of the R.A. have already given up the Government Surgical instruments and purchased others, it would not do to return the instruments in any form - But you might retain the instruments given back, and purchase for Government use those which have been bought by the R.A. Officers to replace these - the Officers retaining them as long as they are in the Service & surrendering them to the Government when they retire -

As regards the men who have not yet given up their instruments, may these not retain them till they retire?

All new comers to comply with the new Regulations and purchase their own instruments.

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

(in another hand: Miss Nightingale Oct 18 1860 on the case of the Artillery Surgeons)
In re Surgical Instruments
1. The Army Med. Reg., both old & new, take it for granted that Assistt Surgeons except those of Cavalry, have no need of instruments. The old Ordnance Reg., on the contrary supplied instruments to Assist. Surgeons, to be afterwards kept up by themselves. Thus there was a difference in the services.
2. The Army Med. Reg., both old & new, require every Surgeon of whatever designation to provide a set of instruments, according to scale. But both state that certain instruments are to be given to the Surgeon by the W.O.
The number so given is greater under the new than under the old Reg.

In the Ordnance, on the contrary, there was no such rule. The instruments once given to the Ass. Surgeon were only to be kept up by the Surgeon, as above said.

3. Since the amalgamation of the two Services, the Ordnance has unquestionably come under the new Med. Reg.

4. The only point is one of Office administration. Should the Ordnance men have been
called on to deliver up & purchase cases engraved by authority with their own names, & purchase, as they have been, at the cost of £15 or £20 per man?

5. Undoubtedly the new law is better than the old. Because it ensures uniformity in the instruments. But it would have been better to let the old "fogies" retire out with their old instruments, rather than have raised all this opposition.

6. There is no hardship in applying the law to the Line. But there is a hardship in applying it to the Ordnance. It is tantamount to a fine. If the W.O. makes similar requirements in other branches of the Service, again, there is no hardship. But if this is an exceptional case, it might be well to limit the new law to new comers into the Artillery. The D.G.'s answer that there are greater advantages under the Warrant is no answer. Because all Depts. benefit by these advantages. The Artillery men only are fined.
Hampstead NW
Oct 24/60
Dear Mr. Herbert
There are rats in the W.O. - also a cat -
There are 17 months' minutes to apply for 6d a week for her -
40 minutes say that she ought to live on rats -
Other minutes that she ought to have milk - but that 6d a week is too much -
Others again ask what she is to live upon in the mean time -
I am very anxious to know what is your decision - whether you have given any, as yet -
whether you think five pence, three farthings would be too much?
I incline to five pence, halfpenny.
Yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

This is fact - not fiction.
But I would not be a W.O. cat, even for a very great deal.
Hampstead NW
Nov 3/60

Dear Mr. Herbert

With regard to
General Hospitals.

Certainly, it is of
the utmost importance,
as you say, to organize
these in the Camps.

I only mentioned
Woolwich Cape of G.H.
Portsmouth Fermoy
Plymouth Dublin
&c

because these could

be done at once -
And every day's
delay is so much
in the balance against
the success of the
scheme, because,
for it to work, it
should be two years
at least begun, before
you go out of office.

But Aldershot
is undoubtedly the
best place of all
for a General Hospital.
Because it would give
the additional practice
of carrying out General
Hospital arrangements
during field Operations
- of collecting and
removing sick in
Ambulances - &c seeing
the whole machinery
of Field General Hospls.
Aldershot is the only
camp large enough
to do this properly.
And the constant
succession of Officers
through it is an
additional advantage.

But there is no
Hospital at present

there which will do.

The one planned
(but not executed)
would do with a few
improvements. Or
a Hut Hospital
might be put up
which would answer
temporarily or for
a beginning.

Sooner or later
Aldershot must be
the great General Hospl.

Shorncliffe would
do much less well.
The Hospital is very
inconvenient - ought to be removed altogether - has no administrative rooms & no place to build any.

If one model General Hospital is to be tried, certainly Shorncliffe is not the place -

But poor Alexander wanted Genl Peel to try thirteen, and gave in the names.

And I believe he was right - i.e. as to organizing several immediately.

If you determined upon Shorncliffe as one, it ought to be examined with special reference to the required additions and organization.

The wards are very small - for 7 only, I think.

Your "Regulations" regard all agglomerated Hospitals as to be organized as "General Hospitals" - but not all under a Governor.

If the expence of having a Colonel to each General Hospital as Governor is feared, let the P.M.O. be Governor in such a Hospital as Shorncliffe with/which has from 200 to 250 Patients only.

He is so, in fact,
at present, as to all administrative & directing functions, but not as to any of the supply functions. The Pr. Med. Off. and Purveyor are in fact twin Governors now.

[There would be an average of 1500 Patients at Aldershot]

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

I understand that Dr. Gibson is so convinced of the impossibility of going on as we are now, that he is anxious that you should appoint “Capts. of Orderlies” over districts, even where there are no General Hospls.

And I should think that the discharged (good) Serjeants-Majors (Stewards) of the late Medl Staff Corps, (I could give you names of such) would make the best Capts of Orderlies, (if a Commission were given them) whether F.N. for districts or Genl Hospitals.

F.N.

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale Nov. 3. 1860. General Hospitals}
Dear Mr. Herbert

I think the Treasury papers, in re Female Hospitals, are very easily answered.

Would you be so good as to get for us, from the Purveyor in Chief, the enclosed information? He, I know, possesses it. And it would enable us to give the answer to the Treasury, in case you wished to urge the thing.

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

N.B. Gentlemen of the Treasury don’t seem to know that, altho’
you may take a bed
in a Civil Hospital
by the year, (vide
papers,) you must
not send “Lying=
in” cases to it ("promiscuous")
which constitute
half the whole
of the cases, at
least, in Soldiers’
Wives Hospitals -
And there are very
few of those murderous
Institutions, called
“Lying=in Hospitals”,
in England, thank God!

initialled letter, 6ff, pen

(in another hand: Miss Nightingale Dec 8.60. on Major Gordon’s capabilities -
Sidney’s Health.

Hampstead NW
Dec 8/60

Dear Mr. Herbert

Major Gordon’s leave
extends for one month
more. He has £1200
to £1600 a year at
Constantinople - And
I believe there is some
doubt as to whether
he would accept an lower paid
appointment at home.
But I think he would

I hope you will
not judge too hardly
of yourself from
these Doctors’ opinions.
Doctors get to consider
diseases as accidents
(to organs). Nothing
can be more false -
It is true that you
cannot mend your
broken leg by rest only
or by fresh air, absence
of anxiety &c. But
it is not true that
you cannot, (sometimes) absolutely mend a broken damaged organ, almost always keep it comfortably going for many, many years by giving Nature fair play - The presence of a large amount of albumen is no test in itself of anything but that Nature is getting rid of something which ought not to be there. Help her by trying not to make any more - I know a very active intellectual London man, off now 65, whose albuminous symptoms were accompanied by one, the most advanced of all, which you have never had, but who by sleeping in the country &c &c &c has given himself -

-2-
15 years’ good life & may have 15 more - I am not going to bore you with a Medical lecture - But I do hope you won’t have any vain ideas that you can be spared out of the W.O. You said yourself that there was no one to take your place - And
you must know
that as well as
every body else -
It is quite absurd
to think that Lord
De Grey can do it.
He is a very good
little man. I wish
he would take
Hawes’s place -
That would be a
good act on his part.
But I suppose that
is contrary to the
British Lion.

You cannot be the
only person who does
not know that you
are necessary to the
re=organizing of the
W.O. It is more
important to originate
good measures than
to defend them in
the Ho: of C.

As for “sacrificing
yourself” to the “good
of the Cabinet” or
to Lord De Grey or to
any one by going out,
it is not sacrificing
yourself but hundreds
of thousands of men.
I hope you don’t
think of this -
Faithfully & from
the bottom of my heart
I do believe that
it is much more
depressing to the
physical health to
give up entirely a
life’s interest, & to
change completely
a life’s habits, than
to carry such on
reasonably & modifying
them

-3-
according to common
sense.
I don’t believe there is anything in your Constitution which makes it evident that disease is getting the upper hand. On the contrary. It would be well worth your while if you could give yourself a month’s complete rest now - Also no rushing about.

If you could be relieved of a great deal of the detail of the W.O. But/and the re=organization ought to do this - it would be well. Did you ever think of Robt. Lowe for your Parly Under Secy? Greatly as he is disliked, I never heard anything but praise of him from his own subordinates, (i.e. the best of them) both at the Bd of Trade
& Privy Council. I have heard them speak of his fearless administrative ability with admiration.

For myself, I once applied to him to remove a great & long standing abuse at the Chelsea Hosp;,
which I was able to prove - And he removed it - And that is more than can be said of any body at the W.O.

It would be an ill wind, this, which had blown some good, if, among the changes could be that of ousting Hawes -
Forgive anything which seems like impertinence-

ever yours sincerely F.N.

I am not sorry that B. Jones & Williams agreed - in order to determine on a line of action - but not in order to believe the case hopeless.

Note

French Returns

One must read such papers as these (about the French Army) to know what you have done for the British. In the last two years we have shot some two hundred years ahead of them.

I wish Lord Derby (or somebody) would say so in Parliament.

March 7/61 F.N.
Hampstead N.W.
Sept 26/64
Dear Mr. Rathbone
    I must plead my usual excuse for not having thanked you before for your beautiful ferns & flowers & grasses.
    I do not think you need be troubled about not having all the accommo: dation x Miss Jones thinks desirable. She herself informed me of it: but her chief trouble was X Workhouse Infy=

that she was giving you "annoyance & trouble," & lest you should not understand that there was really no item in the Memo: which the Governor had not settled with her, none which she had proposed-
As for the Probationers, they will be better off than the Nurses (not Head Nurses) in the large majority of London
Hospitals were in my time; or I daresay are still.

You are very good to relieve my mind as to: the expenditure you are undertaking. I assure you it weighed upon me very heavily: because I thought we had led you into a higher sum than you had at first proposed - I could not help telling Sir John Lawrence (in my letter of today's mail)

of what was going to be done at Liverpool Workhouse. I am sure it would give him so much pleasure - He deplores the state of the destitute Hindoos at Calcutta - But really the state of London Workhouse Sick, as I remember them, was such that it is not for us to raise our hands against Calcutta. Now Liverpool is going to raise her hands against us all -

[end 6:247]

typed copy May 26/65 f3
35 South Street, {printed address:}
   Park Lane,
   London. W.
{top left corner; diagonally:} Private
   July 42/66
Dear Mr. Rathbone
   I reproach myself
that, in the hurry of the
last few days, I have
not answered yours
of June 28.
   The Committee (of 3)
have taken a step
in the right direction -
in placing themselves
directly in communication
with both Governor
& Supt=
   But they must not
cease to attempt the
obtaining of a
separate position for
the Supt=
   Until this is done,
nothing real has
been done.
   All the London
Workhouse enquiries
have centred on
two points: --
   1. bad Nurses
   2. worse Governors.
The Nurses did not
know how to nurse - the Governors did
made bad nursing worse by their interference.
Substitute good Nurses, & leave the worse
Governors over the good Nurses And there will only be added a new element of failure & discord.
We do not have the Medical officers' medicines & treatment
under the Masters of Workhouses.
The far more important, delicate & constant element of Nursing should still less be left under the Masters of Workhouses.

ever yours sincerely
Florence Nightingale
Dear Mr. Rathbone

Please consider this as part of my letter of yesterday, which I was obliged to send off in an unfinished state (in reply to yours of the 28th).

Indeed you can't think what a crisis I feel this to be in the Liverpool Workhouse Nursing - nor how anxiously I wish to put shortly & seriously what I want to say - as the result of all my experience viz.--that it is quite impossible to have a Training School, (to have Probationers,) under the present system or where any interference whatever of the Governor is possible -- that it is merely running to certain failure.

If the Governor chooses, or thinks it right, to interfere with the Probationers - or with the Supt= about them she
should have the power
of saying to him: - You
must bring this before
the Committee (of three) -
And they, if they think
well, must bring it
before me -

It is absolute destruction
for the Governor to be
"intriguing" among the
Probationers, as he
does. [I can use no
other word but
"intriguing". Of course
I don't mean it in
an immoral sense.]

It is absolute, (not destruction,

but making the whole
thing a) profane burlesque
for the Governor to
govern by a mixture
of cajolery, flattery &
insult addressed to
the Supt=. about her
Nursing & Probationers.
He has nothing to do
with them, or it, in that
sense.

It is absolutely impossible
to go on in that way.
The Supt= is not their
Supt=. The Probationers
are not her Probationers.
It is all confusion &
ruin. How she can get on for a single day passes my comprehension.
It is a government divided against itself.
It is pure destruction against any training or moral discipline the Probationers can get - & which is the sole object of their being there.

If the Governor is the Training=Matron, let it be said so. And let her resign.
The Supt= should, on her part, if diets are ill-cooked, if she can't get the Patients' clothes, or hot water, if &c &c &c, complain to the Committee, not to the Governor-
in short, unless the Supt= can be the Committee's officer & not the Governor's-
I wish to say, as strongly as I can put the words, it is quite impossible to have a Nursing Staff or a Training School at Liverpool Workhouse at all.

[I would go farther & say]
that, suppose two or three
Head Nurses, of high,
vicious tempers, were
to come in, they might
upset the Supt's whole
authority in a week.
They have nothing to
do but to go to the
Governor. She has
no authority, no
position. She
not their Supt=.
And then what
becomes of the Nursing?

I feel that this involves
the whole future not
only of Nursing in
Liverpool Workhouse,
but in all other
Workhouses.
I have entered more
into coarse detail in
this letter than in any
previous one. Because
I feel that none but
a woman, & a woman
who has gone through
the same kind of thing,
(for herself & for others), as I have,
for many years x-x [&c Miss Jones has not

3

{top left corner; diagonally:) Private
the least idea of it--
she thinks she can
go on as it is]
----------------------
can tell men:-- the
absolute necessity
of giving a proper
position to the
Matron, on the
obvious ground that,
unless this is done,
it is impossible for
you to do anything
really important.
You have progressed
gradually to obtaining
a better position for
the "nursing idea"--
But no position, so far as I know, has been gained for the Matron & Nurses.

Even since the Committee was appointed, the Governor has gone on "training" [underlined 3 times] the Probationers, just the same as before in the way described.

[Indeed I don't know that he is to be blamed. It has been left to be supposed that it is his duty. And that is his way of fulfilling his duty.]
But under these circumstances, I have no hesitation in saying that, judging from my life's experience, I feel defeat so certain that, in order to save the cause elsewhere, I should, if my opinion were asked, advise the adoption of one of two final alternatives: --

1. To place Miss Jones in direct communication with the Committee for the remainder of the time she is to be in charge - or, like the Medical Officers, in direct communication with the Poor Law Board - So that the Governor should have no power to interfere with her.

Or 2.
2. that Miss Jones should resign, stating the reasons.

I write as strongly as I can - because the evils which we have both of us known of from the beginning are happening every day.

And now is the time, once for all, to put an end to them.

[If they can't be put an end to, I can only say: - the position is an impossible one. And, as for training, it is out of the question.]

Personally, I am living in constant fear of the result. Because, if allowed to go on, the present system is certain to involve the whole Nursing reform in the greatest difficulties.
Altho' Mr. Villiers is "out", (which is a great loss to us,) something might still be done in London to bring the matter to an issue. I would do anything I can in this way - But I do not like to interfere, unless we can act in concert. You may believe how strongly I feel that it is now or never, by my making time to write at this moment. (When I have more to do than ever I had in all my life.)

N.B. Whether the training of ex-paupers Nurses could have succeeded anyhow, I am not competent to say. I only know that it must have failed in the way it was tried. Their Supt= was not their Supt=. She had no real power, no real authority over them. The Governor was their Supt=. And now, they are
doing just the same
thing about the
Probationers. And
it is as certain to
fail, (unless you get
a class of angels, x)
not th as the ex=pauper
trial was certain to
fail.
It can't be otherwise
It is an impossible
position.
The Committee can make
no real improvement,
while the Governor is
able to interfere with the
{"interfere with" written over something illeg.}
Probationers as he does.
--------------------------------
X not the most "superior" class of women
would do

Dear Mr. Rathbone
I have no time to re=
write this letter, which
yet I feel I must
send. Because I feel
it is now or never.
It is strictly confidential [und 3 times]
& must be for yourself
alone.
I need scarcely tell
you that Miss Jones
would disapprove it
very much -
that she wishes to go on
any way --
that she never thinks
of resigning -
that she never "tells me
everything" - or indeed
much of any kind -
& that she does not
wish me to "speak for
her."

But My letter is much longer
than I could have
wished. But I have
felt that, while I
kept to generalia, I
failed to impress you
with my strong conviction
of certain failure, if things go on thus.
And, tho’ I feel the
incautiousness & imprudence
of this letter (which
would horrify Miss
Jones) - & I would not
write it to any one but
you - it must go.
The whole tendency of the project of Workhouse reform goes now to this: to separate the paupers from the sick poor. The better a man for the Governor of a Workhouse, the worse for the Governor of an Infirmary. And the Workhouse Governor must have nothing to do with the Workhouse Infirmary.

The waste - the deceits which pauper Nurses & pauper Patients practise upon a Workhouse & its Governor, are such that, even from the side of economy, what is said above is true. The really sick do not recover, the Malingers return again & again to the Workhouse.

Ever, dear Mr. Rathbone,
Yours most truly & gratefully
Florence Nightingale

I have written this quite early in the morning before London was awake.
Sunday Night
April 14/67
35 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W.
Dear Mr. Rathbone
I have read over
your first 4 sheets – &
think it perfectly good
& admirable. I hope &
believe it will do good.
The subject is an enormous
one & one most urgent.
And you will deserve
the world’s gratitude if
you can bring attention
to bear upon it.
I hear from all
sides of the great change
to which you refer – viz.
that the great Millowners
no longer know their men.

About 35 years since, a cousin of my father's in Derbyshire, since dead, was apparently intimate with all his Mill men & women.

Now Waller, Cubitt's successor, does not know, even by name, his Head Bricklayer - who had been with Cubitt 20 years - I think your comments most wise & fruitful of suggestion.

2. I forwarded your letter to Hy Bonham Carter, to whom I had already written (& spoken to Sir H Verney) about your generous scheme for our taking the Liverpool Workh: Infy= (as we do King's Coll Hospl & St. Thomas') - only for training at your expence for 3 years for Workhouse Infies= in Lancashire.

Hy Bonham Carter seems inclined to wish Mrs Wardroper to pay a visit to Miss A. Jones on this subject - to consider together the possibilities. I have not mentioned
it to either yet. Indeed, I do not know what view Miss A. Jones takes about the matter. I will, please, write to you more at length about this.

3. I have also written, (quite confidentially), to Mrs. Wardroper, to know what she would think of Miss Florence Lees - who is a gentlewoman & has been 7 months in training with us - as a temporary Assistant to Miss Agnes Jones, in case the latter would take her.

[added April 2004] I have not written to Miss A. Jones yet, not quite knowing how to break ground at present-or what you may have mentioned to her.

1000 thanks for your gorgeous ferns-
Believe me ever yours truly & gratefully Florence Nightingale

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Monday. [add date] Since I wrote this, I have received the rest of your valuable pamphlet. I will read it & let you know. Indeed I cannot tell you how much to the purpose I think it. or how thankful we ought to be to you, I feel, for it.

F.N.
April 17/67
35 South Street, {printed address:}
   Park Lane,
   London. W.
Dear Mr. Rathbone
   I have read over the
   rest of your little book
   And I can't tell you
   how much I like it.
   I only hope & believe
   that people will
   glean many principles
   out of it.
   It does not appear
   to me to want "flesh &
   blood" as you say
   Macmillan puts it.

Perhaps I am inclined
   to think, from experience,
   that it is always better
   to present to people, -
   whether it is to
   Government, to an
   Institution or an
   individual, - not a
   scheme but a principle.
   Because they can find
   objections to any
   scheme whatsoever -
   But there is a chance
that, if you present to
them a principle,
they may think - not
what objections there
are to this? but - how
can it be worked out? -

[It is always easy
to do the fuller thing
afterwards.]
Now, I think you have
done this.
And it will be always
easy to re-publish
with fuller illustrations,
details, notes.

[Perhaps I might even be
able to help you to do
this.]
But as far as my
experience goes, I
think it is better to
begin with an
anatomy, as the
great painters did,
& clothe it afterwards.
In the same day arrived
by the Australian mail
for me from the
April 67
35 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W.
Dear Mr. Rathbone
After carefully re-reading your "Social Duties", it seems to me that it is the first broaching of an enormous subject, which you will have to extend.
I don't think, as Macmillan says, it "wants "flesh & blood". And I don't think, as I thought at first, that to re-publish it with Notes & Illustrations is all that is wanted.
It is like a First Chapter on Geology -
It is complete in itself - But, to give the whole Treatise on Geology, it will require - not Notes & Illustrations to the First (Introductory) Chapter - but a Second, Third, Fourth, &c. &c. Chapter. You will have to develop each of the immense subjects you have touched upon - but from your own point of view- not from ours
As for illustrations, an enquiry into the Jews' charities would form a very interesting one —
A poor Jew is a (real) brother to a rich Jew —
A poor Christian is an offence to a rich Christian.
That is the difference.
Dr. Cumming's system & organization of Charity in London would form another illustration. There, everybody knows everybody, thus preventing the mutual ignorance of disunited charities (written over charity) which you describe so well. But,
of course, in so very small a sphere as Dr. Cumming's Scotch Church, this is comparatively easy. Practically, the Poor Law question has half the maze & fog which it has been wrapped in taken away from it by separating entirely from it the (Workhouse) SICKNESS. And you were quite right in making that (viz. sickness) a central question, which indeed it is, or rather almost a solution— of the Poor Law difficulty in your practical works in Liverpool.
This might be made into a Chapter in itself. The Sanitary or Preventive question might be made into another. There are sick streets as well as sick people - & to an experienced eye the expression of Countenance of a sick street is much the same everywhere, whether in Bombay, Valetta London or Sydney. One would have thought that, in a new country, like Australia, people might have had food which ought to be the nucleus of it, however.) I hope that your "Social Duties" may lead the way to this as well as to other reforms.

Believe me ever yours sincerely
F. Nightingale
May 15/67

35 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W.
{top left corner; diagonally:} Private

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I fully enter into your difficulties - (& also into those of Miss Jones).

The enclosed letter I think greatly improved by the modification at the end.

As you know, I think the {pencil:} only solution of this question (which I acknowledge with you, is the greatest difficulty you have had yet) is only: --

temporizing &
an arrangement {pencil to end of insertion:) (as you have proposed) one I feared that the your letter (at least the first part of it) {pencil:} might otherwise will {struck out in pencil} only lead Miss A. Jones to commit herself - She will say: if she can't conscientiously admit R.C.s, she can't conscientiously admit R.C.s....And then something about idol=worshippers-----
The question has not yet arisen. Whenever the question does arise, she will commit herself & resign, I fear. If you press her now, she will commit herself & resign now, I fear.
As you know, I think, in the great work she is doing now in the Liverpool Workhouse, (thanks to you), the Nursing point, tho' a very important, is only a subsidiary point. She has to organize the whole thing. {emphasis may be in pencil}

This being the case, I dread, beyond anything, weakening her hands - which is what bringing the question now to a point would do.

I dread beyond anything making her resign now by compelling her to think she ought conscientiously to answer your letter (which I fear may bring her to bay,) instead of letting her carry the reform as far as she can.

[In the Crimean War, I felt that the Nursing point, tho' a most important one, was only a subsidiary one. I had to organize the whole thing. The War Hospitals were only Workhouse Hospitals in an exaggerated form. Therefore I enter so]
much both into your work & Miss A. Jones's]
You know I can't but enter into her view in one way - No permanent Training
{insertion and emphasis in pencil}
Staff could be a mixed one. But Probationers {pencil:} to be trained (for other staffs) might be mixed. St. John's House could not (& would not) take R.C. Sisters & Nurses. But they take R. C. Probationers (Midwives) for us. So does St. Thomas'.
I don't quite agree with you that the difficulty lies--just whether you shall send R.C. Probationers, like school-children, into another room, while giving religious instruction. The difficulty lies - for I myself have had R.C. Nurses (& even Nuns) under me - is this: -- priests will tell them to do some= thing you have told them not to do - you will never find it out except by your own personal vigilance
and then {emphasis in pencil} you hardly know what to do.

[It has happened to me to find a ward momentarily abandoned by its R.C. Nurse - to hunt her up - & to find her in an officers's room -

"What are you doing there?"-- Oh! the priest made me come to be present while he was administering the Sacraments to the sick officers.

This particular thing would not happen to you - but similar things might.

The same woman went & converted one of the St. John's House Nurses.

The same difficulty did not occur to me with the Nuns {emphasis may be in pencil} - who were perfectly faithful to me. And perhaps no one has done so much as I in improving Nun=nursing.

But what those Nuns went through in their fidelity to me, no one knows but God & myself. The priests refused one the Sacraments when she was dying. I dragged them thro' by main force & by
resuming always
perfect amity with
the priests.]
All this I have never
told to any one. And
it is sacred between
you & me.
To resume what I feel: --
the longer you can put
off mooting the
question of R. C.
probationers, the better.
I see no difficulty
in training such, --
and we do train
them. But Miss A.
Jones has done (&

is doing) so great a
work (under you) --
and her views are so
decided that we
must, I fear,
contemplate the
possibility that she
may resign, if
pressed to decide
the point.
If it is possible to
temporize till the
question is absolutely
raised, & then to
deal with it, it
would be better.

[Whenever I see her,
I will talk it over.]
To temporize, if possible, would be all the best policy.

E.g. in the event of any R.C. probationers presenting themselves, could it be stated that, in the present phase of the Workhouse Nursing question, & until it is firmly established, it would be better not to introduce any new element at all -- for fear of the whole movement being imperilled, if not wrecked.

The experience of myself & of many wiser than myself, has been that the priestly influence if introduced once into any compound body of Nurses, must end in one of two things, either in eliminating the R.C. element on account of interference of the priests - or in breaking up the whole system on account of the impracticability of
the two elements working together.
The head of a body of secular Nurses requires to be as supreme in all Nursing matters as is the religious head of a R. C. {pencil:} or Anglican order. We are never sure that our secular R.C. nurses may not be taken away from express duties of one kind to duties of another kind (for which the Superintendt= is never asked her consent).

[I would add that the anecdotes I have related above never happened in the Hospitals where I had my Head Quarters. They happened where the priests were not so much afraid of my Assistant Superintendts as they were of me. And they were discovered only by my unexpected visits.
I feel as Miss A. Jones says: -- if only the Govnor=
is (correction in pencil) as afraid of my Assistant as he is of me?]
It is not so much the mixture of religious elements we have to fear -
   It is: - the Constant tendency of priests to interfere on religious grounds with purely secular work which every Supt= who has acted, as I have, over mixed bodies, will tell you is what we have to fear.

I entirely believe that a way will be found out of the difficulty in ("in" written over another illeg. word) the end. But it will be found by temporization & arrangement. And if it is only possible to temporize till the question is forced upon you, so much the better.
[I am always anxious to take the side of the R.C. rate-payers. Still you & I know that, for
every £ they pay, they receive back £2 from the Rates. However, that is not the Question] (pencil:) with them ever yours sincerely F. Nightingale {added in pencil} You know best whether the question is upon you already. All I can say is:— if it can be put off, put it off — if you can avoid raising it, do so. If you can't, then I think your letter to Miss Jones is as good as it can be.

June 22/67 35 South Street, Park Lane, London. W. {top left corner; diagonally:) Private Dear Mr. Rathbone I had not a moment yesterday to thank you for so kindly sending me your "Social Duties." I had been anxiously looking out for them & had even ordered Macmillan's Magazine to give away (for I am no great Magazine reader) — but found, to my great disgust, in the June No=, no Social Duties. I believe that this
Derbyshire Co Record Office 532
volume combined with
your practical work, will make
an era in English
Charities. and I am
sure I care, more than
for anything that I do
care for, that your
example may be followed
in London & all over
Great Britain.
In London, charity is an
amusement, just like
horse=racing.
There is no feeling of duty, no
idea of business about it.
Good people often abstain
from it, because they

think it increases the
evil it is meant to cure.
people of business, because
they think the money
does not reach the objects
it is intended to benefit.
Otherwise, money, by itself
money, would never be
wanting in London.
If you could make, by your
example & precept, people
give their work, their
systematized work & habits
of business, as well as
their money, - the large
unpenetrated masses of
vice & misery which
now disgrace London
& our great towns would
at least be broken up,
if not swept away entirely.
What extraordinary powers
of organization (for a bad purpose) have lately been revealed by the disclosures of the Trades' Unions' & Sheffield Unions' Commissions? The power of organization seems all to have descended into the artizan class.

Why cannot Englishmen of the upper, the educated, the business class, shew the same power of organization in their "social duties"? -- Ritualism is an amusement, just like charity, just like horse=racing. And why can't people, (a man like Mr. Hubbard, for instance,) do like you, instead of spending sums untold in founding Ritualistic churches? --

The mass of children, growing up to crime, in London -- to take only one instance -- is hitherto quite untouched -- tho' a few hundreds are rescued here & there.

I was amused by the observation of a very enlightened man, a Frenchman, (which he has since put in print,) on a point which struck him with astonishment, but which we are too much used to for it to surprise us. He said: -- how is it that you allow yourselves to be taxed
for these Workhouses for the people to go into, while you organize private Charities to save the people from going into these Workhouses? - Had I had your book then, I should have put it into his hand. In reply to your question, I am quite sure I could distribute 20 copies of your Essay (off-hand) with advantage - not only in England, but in our Colonies. I grieve to see the same state of things, as with us arising for instance, in N. South Wales.

If you will kindly send me, as you propose, say a dozen copies, I think I ought to find the rest myself.

{the next 11 lines are enclosed by a square bracket on the left)

I rejoice to hear that your District Nursing is likely to be imitated in the East of London. You know I never shall think that we have done any thing in London, till we have nursed not only all the Hospitals & all the Workhouses, but have divided London into convenient districts for Nursing the sick poor at home, including Midwifery Nursing,-- including the supply of
Derbyshire Co Record Office

Sick Comforts - & taking the
Convalescent into the country
to recover - as you have
done at Liverpool.
I rejoice to think that there
is likely to be asserted at
Liverpool a principle
which will work so
immensely for good as
that you mention about
a Country Hospital.
I sincerely hope & trust
that, even beyond the sphere
of the our Christian religion,
your example will spread
& take root. Lately
I have had from
Parsee merchants in Bombay

{same printed address upside down in bottom left corner}

a desire expressed that
I should found a
Training School for Nurses
there. As the Government
has been in correspondence
with me for founding
such Training Schools in
India, I must of course,
be careful, that such
efforts should work into
one another, not clash
with each other - also,
not to speak of them
prematurely. I only
mention this (privately),
because I do think
a better era in Charity
may be inaugurated by
your book & most of all by
your work - Believe me
ever yours sincerely
F. Nightingale
July 9/67
35 South Street, {printed address}
Park Lane,
London. W.
Dear Mr. Rathbone

As you positively desire it I write to say that I could distribute nearly as many copies of your "Social Duties" as there are people who are, or who think themselves, gifted with a power of organization.

I have received one or two very encouraging answers from people who had already done a good deal & who are glad to be taught to "look up" what they have done.

[I take for granted that you have sent a copy to Sir John McNeill]

I have also sent a few copies to America & Australia. & to London clergy who have done anything in the way of organizing.

I should like to bring it before the Bishop of London, who has some (& thinks he has much more than his,) share of the power of organization.
In the copies that you were so kind as to send me from Macmillan, there was not your little printed letter. in haste Believe me ever yours sincerely, Florence Nightingale

If you are so good as to send me more copies, do not send me more than a dozen or twenty - Because I think people ought to buy for themselves. And indeed one of the people who answers me says that he shall make as many as possible get the book.

Jan 22/68
35 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone I have felt so very much for you & for Mrs. Rathbone at the loss of your dear child. It is hard to say at such times: The Lord gave & the Lord hath taken away --blessed be the name of the Lord. The Lord hath need of this floweret wild - as the German hymn says - Do you know the other German
hymn telling the story of a little, precocious
darling child,
like yours, said to
have really happened,
that, when it was ill,
at night, it said, what
music was that? - And
the mother said, there
was none. And it
whispered:
The angels call me with their
songs
good night, my mother dear -
--and so died.

But I will not take up
your time. Pity those
who have no children to
lose! or to mourn -

I am glad you think
there must be a "clean
sweep" of the Workhouse
officials.

I hope, after all that
Liverpool Workhouse
will come out a Model
Workhouse by degrees.
It is far more likely
to do so by the laying
bare of abuses than
by whiting the sepulchre.

ever yours affectely &
gratefully
F. Nightingale

I trust that Mrs. Rathbone is

pretty well - And you too-
And your children - But
the dear little place
which is for ever empty
is not filled up by these -
Tho' these are not less dear
but more so. -

FN.
Feb 8/68
35 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I know how heavy has been your loss - a loss heavy not only for his family & friends & his own immense circle of duties but for England & the world.

And yet I am not going to write to you about this but about our dear Agnes Jones. Three or four days ago, I had a note from her (rather a long one for her) saying that she was "resting in bed" but that "Dr. Gee said she "only wanted rest", that I was "not to be anxious" about her, as she "was not ill"

[I put off answering her letter partly because I thought it better to leave her a few days' peace, as my letters# to her must always be full of her troubles.]-

I heard nothing more till last night, when I was told (in a round=about way) that she had "Fever" - that she "had a day and a night nurse"- that you & Dr. Gee had been with her, I supposed for the purpose of removing her if that had been possible -
I should have telegraphed to you for news, but that I did not like troubling you, with such a heavy burden on your own heart & shoulders.

I know that you will do everything for her that is most kind & of the greatest service – & that, if she can recover, she will have the best chance in your hands.

I write merely to ask you opinion of her state.

I think I will write a line to Dr. Gee too.

But, if you could spare me a word, I shall be truly grateful to you.

I shall not write to Agnes Jones herself, till I know whether she is in a condition to receive letters without injury.

ever yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

I will send to Mrs. Wardroper (who is ill herself) for news of Agnes Jones – every day – in order to save Miss Jones' attendants useless writing.

F.N.
Feb 20/68
35 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W.
{top left corner; diagonally:} Private
Dear Mr. Rathbone
   For her, it is well. For us, it is terrible.
   But our darling had
   a very happy life. Though
   no one knows but God &
   myself what she went
   through.
   Both things are possible.
   I regret nothing, believe me. She thanked me
over & over again for
having persuaded her to
go to Liverpool Workhouse.
I am sure she was
happier there than
ever she was in her life.

She has all along told me
   of your great
   kindness, of Dr. Gee's, of every one's.
Her last years made
her only the more fit
for God.
It has been a noble
life - & she has had
a death to be envied.
   I regret nothing, except
that I reproach myself -
I think I ought to have
said this last year that,
if she would not go away
for 2 or 3 weeks, I would
come down myself to
fetch her. You know
what she always said -
that the new Governor must come - that the Assistant must come - that she must take over the Female Hospital - before she could have a holiday. All things were settled from the first, we know, by God, of His good pleasure & not of His "wrath."

I know that you have done everything for her that love & skill & money could do - that you made created her work & did everything for it. And that is what she cared about.

Let us say: - All is well.

I am sure, if she could speak, she would say: - you have been her greatest benefactor on earth.

But the thing is now, how to continue her work.

I am in full consultation with Mrs. Wardroper & Mr. Whitfield as to your questions - & will let you know the moment we come to any opinion. Of course our opinion will be for you alone.

Most unfortunately Mrs. Wardroper, who has been ill for weeks, has had a relapse since Monday.
[It is not dangerous, I trust & believe. But it is very tedious & painful.] It was a miserable comfort to me, during Agnes Jones' illness, to hear one of these dry London officials here say: that hers was one of the most valuable lives in England. I feel for the Nurses, so very much - I don't think they are unreasonable. I never knew any one, like Agnes Jones - & never shall again. I never knew any one who had the same power as she had to carry them with her under difficult circumstances. We must all of us do all in our power to calm & encourage them. I trust & hope in God who will take care of His own work that they will all stay & do their best for His sake & for her sake who lived & died for Him & for this His work. In many important ways, the work is now easier, owing to the new Governor, owing to the Sub=Committee &c &c. I will write to the Nurses, as you desire, in a day or two.
About your Obituary Notices,
I think, with you, that She would not have liked it.
She was very humble -
But I dare say, with you, that it would please & encourage her poorer followers -

I therefore took counsel.
We sent, as I telegraphed to you, your Notice in your own words - (and in your own words I think it should appear in the Liverpool papers -) for the Daily Telegraph, the paper most read by the best lower classes --
& slightly altered, for the Times & Daily News -
& a little more altered for the Pall Mall Gazette

(which makes a mock at every thing)
the whole - not to be put in the Obituary - but inserted without being headed as "Advertisements" -
the whole sent to your London house.
I hope that you will not think I have exceeded my instructions.
We have done our best. [I did not much like the mention of my name -]
In case I should not be able to give you Mrs. Wardroper's opinion before post time,
I write this letter. But I will write farther -

God bless you -
ever yours, in sorrow but in gratitude & hope

F. Nightingale

{same printed address upside down in lower left corner.}
March 27/68
35 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W.
{at left; not FN's hand: *see page 2}

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I do not feel that I can
do what you ask me about
obtaining a consent to the
Tenerani statue being put up
to her memory.

When I try, the whole
thing rises before me - the
awful character of the
sacrifice they have made
to God's work.

They can only say:
we gave her for God's work.
God keeps her memory. She
is with God.

If you say; - we
want a statue to keep
her memory for us -
y they could not but answer,

that is for you to decide -
not for her mother & sister-
don't ask us.

People who can make
such a sacrifice in
such a heavenly way as
they have are not
those who will care for
Memorials.

If it is to be done, it
must be done without
asking their leave.

If they had been people
to have given it, they
would not have been
people capable of making
that awful sacrifice.
They ought not to have been asked. They have refused; and rightly. Their refusal is final, so far as they are concerned unless the Bp of Derry could make them think otherwise. But their refusal still leaves you to act in the matter, exactly as you may generously think fit.

The Statue need not be in memory of her but in memory of her services. In this case the family would have nothing to do with it.

Suppose, for instance, you were to put up the statue:-  
"To commemorate the services & early death (or: the public service & early death) of Agnes E. Jones first Lady Supt. of the N. Nurses in Liverpool Workhouse Hospitals this statue is placed"  
"Feb. 19 1868." they could no more forbid it than I could.

ever yours Florence Nightingale

{written across main text in centre third of back sheet: The proposed Monument's inscription may be FN later in life; in another hand}
some other Hospital before coming to Liverpool, -) I feel, [6:309] now & always, that, with a view to her due authority with her Nurses, it is desirable that she should stay long enough at St. Thomas' to learn the reason of the routine as well as the routine itself. For this purpose, if the Miss Smyths could be induced to stay so long, it would be very desirable that Miss Freeman should stay from 2 to 3 months at least at St. Thomas' - (as was done by Miss Merryweather &c &c) 

About Miss Freeman; not FN's hand

Unfortunately, as you know, Miss Freeman cannot be released from her present employment till 7 May.

I am sure that all will agree that it is very important for her health & prospect of usefulness that there should be no undue hurry in her course previous to coming to Liverpool.

Pray believe me dear Mr. Rathbone ever your faithful friend & servt Florence Nightingale

typed copy May 13/69 f37, no handwritten
Dear Mr. Rathbone

Miss Jones' Memoir

I will remind you of one or two little things which you might, if you thought fit, urge on the Bishop of Derry. & which he cannot know, except thro' you-

One is: that much of the Memoir is false, as representing what Agnes Jones did- & in direct contradiction to letters written by her in confidence to me a day or two after the same dates in her Diary. Much of that Diary was written under feelings of oppressive ill health, of morbid discouragement, of misunderstanding thro' her deafness- & also of momentary petulance of which she would have been the first to accuse herself. A day or two after, she writes to me in quite a different (& practical) tone.

Is it fair to her to represent her thus? The other is: the total ignorance of her family of anything but a very small clique which in their opinion the world moves round.
The Bishop can hardly recognize to what a degree this falsifies the Memoir.

[E.g. a comparatively small thing - & which I give only as an illustration, because of course this identical matter does not come into the Memoir. One of them wrote to me that it was what she said of me to her friends in Dublin which made the Govt= send me to the Crimea.]

It is Mrs. Higinbotham's dreadful ignorance of the way the real great world's affairs are managed which makes the Memoir so offensive. & so little of a true representation of Agnes -

{The following 4 lines written interlineally in small script}
She wrote to me, if you remember, that every body (!) knew what Agnes had done - & that therefore the absence of any account of this in the Memoir was of no consequence!! This is exactly an illustration of what we mean.

I will also remind you of a very curious passage in Mrs. H.'s letters to me, throwing all the responsibility for making the Memoir decent for the public on the Bishop of Derry. She stated, almost in so many words, that she did not think it incumbent upon herself to avoid that which might be offensive to sensible people or indiscreet, because the Bp of Derry would see it & take it out -

From all the circumstances, you will see that the materials do not exist for a life of Agnes Jones, other than a sketch - I do not say like my sketch of her in "Una", because that is a most imperfect sketch - but still, if there are not the materials from her letters or diary to make a good religious memoir, like that of, e.g. Hedley Vicars, if there are not the materials in her family's knowledge (of her life), to make a real Memoir of what she did, such as that of Pastor Fliedner' of Kaiserswerth or of Mrs. Fry - a truer idea of her would be put before the world by a Sketch done by a hand like the Bp of Derry's than by all that wishy-washy morbid tawdry stuff I read saw in M. S.; gossippy twaddle or indiscreet.
I should not have recognized Agnes Jones from it.

But perhaps even the Bishop of Derry hardly knows how different all that is from the real work of an Institution, from the real work of such a woman as Agnes Jones did.

[To my mind, it was little less twaddle than all that which came out on the unfortunate Laurin v. Starr nunnery case. And by this she will be judged!]

A year's delay would certainly be a clear gain, if nothing more can be obtained [Has Mrs. Higinbotham been home to consult the papers which she said she could not remove from thence in order to fill up her Memoir?]

I feel that I can only remind you of what we have both thought & leave it for your consideration whether you can urge it plainly on the Bishop -

ever yours most truly

F. Nightingale

I was so worn out with business that I hid myself (from my Creditors) during Easter. This the cause of my delay.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

Possibly you may be expecting to hear from me about Miss Lees with regard to the vacancy at Lpool Workh:-

I am so very sorry to hear of your difficulty there. It is always on my mind - If there is any body we ought to help with any resources we have, it is you. And it is a grievous affliction to me that we can do nothing to help-
About Miss Lees:

She has completely set her heart
upon a certain Department
of Nursing (which must be
a secret for the present)— &
ever left me any rest till
I got her admission to live
& learn in the Military &
Civil Hospitals of France— a
very difficult thing to do, &
she is the first English Protestant
but one who has done what
she is doing— To the best of
my knowledge, she is in these now.
But where at this moment I
do not know— as she is a
most irregular correspondent
— and I am a worse.
I doubt her leaving her training
to come over for the Workhouse.
I doubt her accepting it,
either temporarily or altogether—
I doubt her mother consenting—
But there is even a stronger
doubt in my mind—.
I do not feel that I could
conscientiously take the responsibility
of recommending a person — however
high an opinion I had of her—,
to the Sup=cy "of such a large &
"complicated machine as
"the Liverpool Workhouse," who
had had no previous experience
in superintending— unless she
Derbyshire Co Record Office 552

went, as Agnes Jones did, (& as Miss Torrance has gone to the St. Pancras' Highgate Infirmary) with a considerable body of Nurses, known to her, trained with her, almost chosen by her. [And Miss Torrance reminds me that I said to her when discussing "St.:P.'s" for her, "ah "my dear soul, if the Infirmary "were IN the Workhouse, as "elsewhere, I never could "have had the courage to "recommend you to take it".]

I feel therefore that all that I could do, with regard to Miss Lees would be, if you wish it, 1. to find out where she is- 2. to put you in communication with her- ever yours truly

F. Nightingale

{signature is horizontally cut so bottom half missing}

610 RAT 1/17 signed letter, 3ff, pencil, typed copy ff43-44

{printed address:}

35 South Street, May 26/70 [13:615-16]
Park Lane, W. {top left corner; diagonally:} Private

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I will not repeat what you know--how grieved I am for the Lpool Workh difficulties --but answer your question about Miss Lees:

I think I told you that she was, to the best of my knowledge, in the French Military Hospitals. She came over to see me at Christmas - She has written to me once since - I should
direct to her
   {Miss Florence Lees
    {à l'Hôpital Militaire
    {du Val de Grâce
    { Paris
    & ask for it to be forwarded.
 = If you write to an old
Crimean friend of mine
 { A Monsieur
 { Monsieur Michel Lévy
 {Directeur du Val de Grâce
 { Val de Grâce
   { Paris

It might be safer, (asking
him - what you as a man
of business - think best,--
whether to forward a letter,
to her, or to tell you
where she is-)
 = There is one other way - to
write to
   Mrs. Lees
   { The Lindens
   { St. Leonard's on Sea
& ask her to forward a letter
to her daughter, or tell you where
she is -
To this last there is the objection
that Mrs. Lees disapproves
of the whole concern - of
Liverpool Workhouse in
particular - & of me in
General - (tho' she rather
softened towards me, when
she saw how much pains
I took to lodge her
daughter respectably at Paris)-
I wish I could give you
more certain hints - But
I do not even feel sure
whether Mrs. Lees always
knows where her daughter is.
[There was some idea of Miss
Lees going to the Naval
Hospitals at Brest. But
I do not think she is there yet.]
You must not tell Miss Lees that I urge her to take the Lpool Workh:- For indeed I cannot. But I will not weary you with repeating what I have said before.

God bless you - ever yours most truly
F. Nightingale

God save the Lpool Workh:-

610 RAT 1/18 pencil, signed letter, 2ff, pencil, typed copy ff45-47 [6:320]
most fervently hope & trust
that present arrangements
will succeed - & be permanent
[I entirely concur with Mr. Cropper in this: that
Workhouse Nursing is
somewhat different from
Hospital Nursing - Agnes
Jones always said that a
great deal devolved upon
her which in a Hospital
is settled by House Surgeon,
Dresser or Clinical Clerk
in charge - as the case may be

& not by the Matron or
Superintendent or "Sister"
in charge-

God bless you & prosper
all your ways-
ever yours sincerely
Florence Nightingale

35 South St.
Park Lane W.
March 31/74
Dear Mr. Rathbone
You must not think that
it is not always my
greatest pleasure to be
called upon to do ever
so little for you who
have done ever so much
for us {written over "me"}.
And I am much more
troubled than you can be
to think that yours of the
14th= has been unanswered
so long:       It enclosed the
letter of the

Boston people

wh: I return: & your request for a list of Books on Nursing.

The books mentioned in the note to the Report of the
"Nightingale Fund", sent herewith, are those bearing on the subject.

[Could you tell me: this is for me, F.N.;-- where to get copies of your

"Organization of Nursing in a large Town"?

Longmans declare it to be out of print-

I have long since given away my last copy--

& I am continually asked for it.

How valuable would it be if you would now reprint it with your present experience of its Liverpool Working for 9 years!]

I would add to the Boston List

Handbook for Nurses by Z. Veitch

Manual for Hospital Nurses by Domville

(both published by Churchill New Burlington St. London

2/6 each)

Also:

Miss F. Lees' Handbook for Hospital Sisters publd by Isbister: Ludgate Hill London 5/.
Mr. Hy Bonham Carter will send you some of the back Reports of the "N.F." & also a Reprint of my paper in the Blue Book (Report on Metropolitan Workhouses) "on Method of training Nurses for the Sick Poor."

He will also send "Notes on Hospitals" & "Notes on Lying-in Institutions" as a gift from the Council of the "N. Fund".

Miss Stephen's "Service of the Poor"—Macmillan 1871—might be also mentioned.

Now: I must apologize indeed for my delay in answering:
Yours was put into my hand just as I was coming down here. Embley—Romsey—to my poor mother—[We have to remove her from her home of 56 years—]
I lost 2 homes in 3 weeks by death: my dear Father's & Mrs. Bracebridge's. Added to this, business: India business: Nurse= business: has pressed upon me more heavily than usual lately—

And I am sure your kindness will excuse me. Let me not close this without thanking you again for the ever-recurring proof of your kindness, and {written over illeg.} subject of my gratitude: the beautiful flowering Plants—And pray believe me dear Mr. Rathbone ever yours gratefully & sincerely Florence Nightingale

[I date from London: where I have to return almost immediately].

F.N.
Dear Mr. Rathbone,

I have just received a letter from Miss Florence Lees -
She gives her address care of Messrs. Brown, Brothers & Co.
59 Wall Street
------------------------------
New York
U.S.
& asks me "for work" in "September next".

[I refer you to my last to you about her.]

A thousand thanks for 12 copies of your "Organization of Nursing" &c received:
(in haste to catch the morning post)

Yours ever sincerely
& gratefully
Florence Nightingale
Dear Mr. Rathbone: In compliance with your desire:

[Do we not all most earnestly wish that
something should come out of all this for
London District Nursing?
But, to do anything, we must first know what we are about, what has been done, what we wish to do, what can be done: & the best means of doing it: & the best practicable

As far as can be seen from the Society's printed papers, the simplest data for all these enquiries are not yet in their possession:

And the most practical step that I have heard of them taking was: their consulting {illeg. FN? me?}

But of the results of this {illeg./struck out for 2 lines}

1. Your own conclusion is not only the wisest but as appears to me the sole course that they can pursue.

Namely: that the only practical way of bringing this question before the Public is: a. carefully to put together a concise statement of what has already been done in this line:
b. then to invite various representatives of the
various workers in this direction to confer as to the best means of bringing their experience to bear upon the common object:
c. possibly of uniting several existing bodies in one Association:
So far from not thinking this a grand enough object, you & I at least shall agree that, if they never got farther than a. they would have done London a great, an

2

inestimable service.

The densest ignorance prevails as to the amount of District Nursing: ["Nursing for the Sick Poor", as they call "at home" no doubt they mean:] in London

Some say it is nil: they themselves appear to believe it so: [tho' they give us not the slightest information on the subject: if they have any themselves:] Some say there is too much: some, too little.

You yourself have been told that "London"

[6 in another hand]

is over District nursed. Other experienced men have said that except where some Sisterhoods work and several Benevolent Societies (some Nonconformists xx) who employ one or two or three untrained nurses, there is no District Nursing in London, worthy of the name.

Let us make a guess. Should you not be surprised to find that there were a score employed (in all the Metropolis) of really trained, qualified women,

xx This is mentioned, because, of course, these would not conform to "ecclesiastical boundaries".
in really nursing the sick poor at home? But is not the very first thing to do to
clear up this point for any Society with the proposed object of this one?
There are no doubt Nurses employed by District Visiting Societies and
Sisterhoods. You, I am certain, would suggest

suggest /make them do it; that the Charity
Organization Society be invited to
obtain information
as to the Number of Trained Nurses
employed
and by whom and of untrained Nurses
in every parish.
Let them give us the result of such information
(as referred to in a.)
Therefore they propose "Relationship" to us?

Let one or two of these associate themselves
to provide a Record of information.
Might not the "Health Association help?
2. With respect to farther steps:
-are there not very great difficulties in London
as regards local jealousies - the clergy, the
Medical men, the existing District Societies?
Would not their opposition be at once aroused
in many parts by a central ex cathedra
The Charity Organization does good in affording means of inter communication among districts: & also has promoted more united work within districts. This is available: Would another Central Association be useful for the particular purpose? Might it not do harm?

It is however premature to discuss this:

And as far as informing us {illeg.}

the Committee appears to have taken no means of knowing their ground: previous to rushing before London {illeg. in? with?} a Public Meeting

It is impossible to exaggerate the need there is of District Nursing for the sick poor in London

It is far more important than any Hospital Nursing:

I have been penetrated with this all my life:

but if possible 14 years of experience have only confirmed my conviction of the way in which alone it can be done:

Namely by putting each Hospital (Where alone Nurses can be trained) into a state fit to become a Training School: and our main object at St. Thomas' has been to train Nurses to undertake Hospitals with this view:

that local organizations should then be formed who should either from a Hospital a centre of their own train Nurses for the sick poor at home: or take them ready trained from such a Hospital: such organisation giving that local superintendence which Nurses nursing the sick poor at home most of all local & which to be effectual must be local

What possible Superintendence could be given from a Centre in such a place as London?
Are not the essentials of Superintendence to know the needs, & the means of supplying them, better than the people to be superintended do themselves?

to keep the Local Superint rents up to their work, these do the Nurses?

And if Superintendence were given from a Centre in such a place as London in such a work as this would it not be as likely as not to drag down the local work? instead of raising it? What can a Centre know of the needs of Local Districts in such a metropolis as London?

Will not the danger always be that Nursing will degenerate into mere giving? too.

5a And will not this danger be much increased by a General Society as a Centre: especially if the men whom [illeg] I see I know a case where half the District Nurses have degenerated into mere givers: Givers of money, wine, food & bedding: never put a hand to the Nursing. And -- the poor like it better And this in spite of a very efficient Central Superintendence.

Will not the thing to be aimed at be: that by degrees (as we did with our Midwifery Nurses) the poor shall pay or almost pay their District Nurse?

Will not this again be hindered rather than aided by a Central Power?

I only mention these things as a few data out of many: to be judged

[10]

No institution in its sane mind would profess to train Nurses for the poor at their own homes Without giving the Probationers under training, (in addition to the Hospital course,) several months of teaching by the sick bed-sides of the poor at home: under proper Superintendence. This is quite essential, both as a matter of experience for the nurse, & as a means of testing

N.B. For the above plan it is probable that the Association would be able to procure 1 Trained Supt- and 2 or 3 Head Nurses if needed in remodelling the Hospital selected to make it a Training Institution.
But if they have the promise, from any Institution or
Institutions, of a number of "qualified Nurses" to
begin District Nursing at once, do not you & I know that
these women will be untrained, unskilled, useless &
ignorant: adventuresses who come for the pay: NOT
trained women who sell good work for good pay.

[Note. Is it not probable that a greater benefit would be
conferred on the poor by providing, in the first
instance, trained Midwifery Nurses?]

{illeg. 9?} If Lady Augusta Stanley had not {illeg.}
objected, one would have thought that the poor
Committee had better first have combined with
the new plan for a Nurses' Home in connection with
Westminster Hospital.

scheme for that part of Westminster which is adjacent
& this without the aid of any Central Association

{10}. It seems premature to touch upon the relation of
Nurses for the Rich Sick & Nurses for the poor sick.

- Sir R. Alcock calls the proposed Nursing scheme in
connection with Westminster Hospital: only nursing "in private fam

{text missing on right}

Many Institutions have found it one great difficulty
of retaining trained Nurses in any Association or
specified line of work: it is the temptation which the more profitable & more independent employment
Nursing the Rich affords -

It is believed that Liverpool & St. Thomas' have not
met with this difficulty-

But I have been told expressly by one of the largest
Nursing Institutions, & one mentioned in the 'St. John of
Jerusalem' Report: & by very many smaller ones
country & town: that all their Nurses were virtually
taken up in nursing the Rich: & that practically they did little or no Nursing among the poor at all.
Is there not always a difficulty, most felt by the best Supts, in combining the two objects of providing Nurse(s) for the Rich & for the Poor: a different character woman & a (to some extent) different preparation being required?

At Liverpool they select divide, after training & after testing those for the Rich, those for the poor, & those for Hospitals, into 3 classes sets, I believe - And this seems a sensible way.

But it is necessary sometimes to re-temper Nurses for Rich by passing them thro' the Hospital again

[We at St. Thomas' &c are Solely for the poor: i.e. {for?} Hospitals & Infirmaries]

[We intend before undertaking to train for Home Nursing among the poor to provide the essential ingredient of adding a course of teaching Nursing at the home bedside] {Have?} the 'St. John of J.' Commee= any idea of the necessity of providing this? 

{illeg.} The question of providing a system of Registration & certificates & THE ESSENTIAL OBJECTIONS to it has been fully discussed by me with Dr. Acland

The Memo= speaks of such a "Register" for trained Nurses" - [trained WHERE? by WHOM CERTIFIED?] but entirely omits mention of any means by which it can be done. We earnestly deprecate any (GENERAL) plan of the kind xx It may be added that whereas it is an essential part of good Hospital Nursing not to waste the Nurses' strength & hands in cleaning, scouring, washing &c; it is an essential part of Home Poor Nursing that she should be able to do (or help with in) all of these things.

12. The defective condition of Workhouse Infirmarys is altogether ignored as well as the field afforded by them for a basis of operations.

13. May we not state that there is at present very considerable difficulty in obtaining properly qualified Candidates willing to be trained as Nurses?

Would not women qualified to become Nurses among the poor at their own homes be in some respects more difficult to find than those intended to work in Hospitals?

They would require more SUPERVISION: & be under far less: they would be exposed to temptations of a different kind:

[19 in another hand] --the means of testing their capability & trustworthiness for such work while under training would be less

How could any Central Association of the kind proposed
afford the proper machinery for "selecting" women for their "aptitude".--- except, as you say, as Agents to hear of women, & let women hear or the means of training?

[12]
14. Should they not begin by an Example of what can be done in one locality?
   -Will it not spread itself by degrees?
   -ought not A Central Society, later be of some use for assisting poorer districts?
   When an evil has arisen, it will be time enough to devise means for the cure?
   -Should not local effort precede Central Inspection?
   Must not the right person for a Lady General first prove herself fitted by a small beginning
   [another hand 21]
   -for which is a grand Association wanted?
   And, when largely extended, will it not probably be?
   far too much for one person?
   {A}t any rate begin at the bottom - would not you & not at the top.
   Otherwise: will not all tumble down?

16. Supervision of Home Nursing among the poor is so desperately needed because the poor themselves are their own enemies.
   Instances have been known of frightful Surgical disease where the District Nurse has neither dressed the case nor changed the bed linen herself and the poor have liked her all the better: She bringing all sorts of gifts: including sheets.

17. Lastly: please let me repeat most emphatically (in answer to your kind proposal that I CANNOT accept any kind of Office, actual or nominal in connection with this Association) {w}ould be wrong: it would be a fraud on my part.
   {I} have a little more to do each day than can be done in the 24 hours -
   {A}nd I am wholly unfitted by imprisonment to one floor from illness- from doing locally what of all th(ings)
   requires local knowledge & presence & enquiry - most -or from anything but wishing well -- which I do with my whole heart, mind & soul -- to any such object as ?
   Pray believe me, dear Mr. Rathbone, ever yours faithfully & gratefully Florence Nightingale
Dear Mr. Rathbone

I am extremely concerned about your trouble in this matter. I enclose a letter of hers to me. If I were you, I would take her at her word viz. "formally request her to act as Secy=." I would not say that you do so upon seeing a letter from her: that would not be wise: but should she again decline, I will quote her own letter to her - for which purpose please return it.

I think it of even more importance to herself than to the work that she should do this thing. And in my letter to her I told her so: & a good deal besides. If ever her great cleverness is to be turned into solid sense & work, It must be now.

ever yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

I agree with Miss Lees that the District Nurse needs a higher training than the Hospital Nurse: the Distt. Nurse has to stand much more alone

F.N.

She was to return to St. Leonard's yesterday.
Dear Mr. Rathbone

I make haste to thank you for telling me what is going on: (upon which I will not send you any lucubrations of mine today): & to answer your two questions: Don't take "Mrs. Shaw Stewart": (as a Lady Member): yes: I "know" her. She was with me in the Crimea: She was afterwards Supt= of the Army Nurses: She has extraordinary good work in her: but a perfect incapacity of working with any one: she was compelled to resign by the W.O.

But I feel almost certain that it is not she who is meant: but "Mrs. Stuart Wortley": Whom I know only by reputation: & if Mr. Wigram answers for her, I should think her a safe person enough: I mean, as to backing him up & his views: 2.// I think an "Executive Commee= of 12 (say)," provided you name 2 & Mr. Wigram 2, & these 4 are 4 "of 6" to name the "remaining the members", tolerably safe.

But for work is not an "Exec: Comm": better of 7 than of "12": & of 5 than of 7?
I always think that, in a SMALL Commee-, he who knows & works 'carries it' but in a LARGER Commee, he who talks & does not know 'carries it':

may we not lessons from the London School Board? the Board, including the 2 ladies, of 30 members, did nothing but talk - & drive poor Lord Lawrence mad: the ladies contributing a great deal more than one fifteenth to that result.

but the small Exec: Commees= of 3 & 5 & 7,--consisting of the very same people,--including the ladies,--for the Several branches, did most valuable work on these, especially the ladies.

I think your "Ex. Comm: of 12" will throw out thus constitute its small Commees= for different branches of the work: & certainly 'ladies' have as much to do with Nursing as with the Education of girls: & if they know any thing, might do valuable work on some Branch Commees= [There are, however, Ladies on the Council who would utterly wreck any Exec: Commees=]

This is my view: but I would much rather trust yours.

After all, so much depends upon the Secretary- If you can find a Secretary who would really master the thing & have time to work it, he is the most important Exec Comm: [What I have found in my
35 South St. Park Lane
July 6/75 W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I think it better, after consideration, to send you this rather odd note of Lady Burdett Coutts: & to ask you whether you would wish to proceed further: & what, if anything, you would wish me to reply to her: Please return me her note:

& believe me most sincerely yours
Florence Nightingale

typed copy Jan 24/77 f64

35 South St.
Park Lane W.
Jan 28/78

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I come to trouble the patron of Nursing:

May I venture to apply to you for leave to nominate you as one of the Trustees of the so-called 'Nightingale Fund'?

Its original Trustees were: Sidney Herbert, Lord Ellesmere, Mr. Bracebridge, Ld Monteagle, & Ld Houghton— I have survived them all, except Ld Houghton: & Mr. Edward Marjoribanks, subsequently appointed, is about to resign.

It becomes necessary to appoint three new Trustees to act with Lord Houghton.

It would give me such great pleasure if you, as the tutelary spirit, would act: tho', knowing how far too busy you are already, I should scarcely have presumed upon your kindness to propose to you to undertake the office were the duties likely to bring any serious call upon your much occupied time: but these (the Trustees’ duties) do not go beyond the holding & investment
of the Trust funds: & no change in the latter is to be called for in all probability unless it be occasional sales of Stock which may hereafter by required by the Council to meet the objects of the Trust. The Trustees are a distinct body from the Council, in whom the administration of the Trust is vested: And the Council have full powers of dealing with both capital & income of the Fund for the objects of the Trust. Should you desire further information as to the nature of the Trust, the Secretary, (my cousin, Henry Bonham Carter,) will be glad to call upon you, and would, if you wish it, send you copies of the Deeds of Trust for perusal.

I should feel a good deal ashamed of myself for troubling you, dear Mr. Rathbone, but that it seems as if trespassing upon such kindness as yours does not constitute a trespass & pray believe me ever yours sincerely & gratefully Florence Nightingale

Wm Rathbone, M.P.

"Lady" to take charge "for 18} Lea Hurst Months" of part of the Liverpool} Cromford: Derby "District Nursing:" } Sept. 12/78 Dear Mr. Rathbone We owe you too much for us to make not the best possible effort to supply your wants. But I cannot find any lady of our own training worth recommending to you for the above who is now at liberty. But a Miss Williams who is now staying here has mentioned to me a Miss Darcy who might suit the purpose. [Miss Williams
I have known intimately for 7 years: she was trained by us:- was Assistant Supt. at Edinburgh Infy= for some years: -then Matron at St. Mary's Hospl=, London, where she is now. She is certainly one of the ablest of our people: & I have always kept up a more than usually close acquaintance with her.]

Miss Williams had, for a short time, at St. Mary's- to fill a vacancy as 'Sister'- this Miss Darcy who has been 5 years 'Sister' at Winchester Hospital (& trained there) - Miss W. says that Miss Darcy is one of the most thorough 'Sisters' she ever knew: with health & energy à toute épreuve: & a peculiar talent for making Nurses work & making them loyal to her: With great power of order & management. [Miss Darcy spends her holidays!! in taking Situations to fill temporary Sisters' vacancies at different Hospitals in order to learn different systems!]. She leaves Winchester this month permanently. Miss Williams would take her herself immediately as Night Supt=. if she had that post to offer her now. And I should snatch at her for either that or a Hospital 'Sistership' from what Miss Williams has told me of her. Of course we neither of us know what she would be in DISTRICT Nursing: But I thought you might like to hear of her; She is, I think, 42 years of age.

ever yours sincerely & gratefully

Florence Nightingale [end]
Pray excuse delay & this pencil scrawl.
I trust you have had a Good & refreshing holiday
& with my poor blessings & prayers unexpressed
believe me ever yours gratefully & faithfully

Florence Nightingale

{note on back; not FN's hand, Oct. 1881}

typed copy Sept 5 1881 f69
Univ of Wales Bangor 37616, typed copy Sept 21/82 f70
Univ of Wales Bangor 37617, typed copy Sept 22/82 f71-72
Univ of Wales Bangor 37618, typed copy Oct 2/82 ff73-75
Univ of Wales Bangor 37619, typed copy Oct 13/82 ff76-77
Univ of Wales Bangor 37620, May 7/83 ff78-79

10 South St.
Park Lane W.
April 24/84
Dear Mr. Rathbone
How much do I always give you joy of your unfailing springs of good-
As far as I understand Mrs. Hobson's letter (returned), they at Constantinople want ? "two" Nurses for Nursing of paying Patients, tho' she does not exactly say so, with Some District
Nursing, if

I think, as you say, these Nurses must be "ladies", & that "£30 a year" is scarcely enough, or "12/6 a week "when not employed", for board. Can they be "directly "under the orders of the "Committee", who probably know nothing about the conditions of Nursing, without Stipulations being made for them? At all events must not one of them be head, with a somewhat higher salary [top of text cut off to end of line] than the other?

I think Mrs. Craven, as you say, would be the right person to apply to- & she would also advise about conditions.

But how to keep up efficiency without supervision? I earnestly hope that Mrs. Rathbone has been restored by the Riviera - & that you are
Sir Harry Verney has had a hard fight—thank you for asking. On Monday again the Doctors were desponding. But yesterday & this morning he was making real progress—

I can never thank you enough for the beautiful flowering plants which continue coming— which I enjoy with the warmest gratitude but with much scruple - God bless you.

ever yours faithfully & gratefully
Florence Nightingale
{most of signature cut off}

Oct. 13/85
10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}
PARK LANE. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I had again to thank you for your great goodness in sending me beautiful flowering plants another year, added to the many on which I have enjoyed your gracious kindness.

On July 25 I stopped the plants, for I was going out of London to my Sister who is now, alas!, a great Invalid. It was not for want of gratitude that I did not write to express such poor thanks as I could offer for
such great & continuous kindness
which I feel I have taxed
too much - but from
illness & over-pressure-
And then it came too near
the time of my return last
month. Since I returned,
the man has called twice;
but I would not take in his
plants. For indeed,
dear Mr. Rathbone, it is
too much. I have disappointed
all the Doctors by living;
and I could not take
advantage of your goodness
by preying upon you for
life.
My gratitude - but - what do I
say? - God's blessing is
yours for ever for what
you have done for Hospital
Nursing, Workhouse Nursing,
District Nursing. No one
has given it such an
impulse as you. When
I think of what these were
30 years ago, & what they
are now - - - what progress
God has given during these
30 years! Much, much
remains to be done; but I
believe that, tho' I shall
not see it, far greater
progress will be given
during the next 30 years,
especially perhaps in
Workhouse Nursing - and,
I trust, in Military Nursing,
which is now the lowest,
instead of the best.
May God bless & prosper you
I do not say, for He has
& He will

typed copy March 26/87 f82
10 South St. Park Lane W.
May 7/87
Dear Mr. Rathbone

How can we thank you enough for your Address at the Meeting of the Ne. Home at St. Thomas'?

How can we thank you at all for all your labours for the Nursing cause?

They are beyond thanks-

God bless you-

ever yours gratefully & sincerely

Florence Nightingale

June 4/87
{printed address:} 10, SOUTH STREET,
PARK LANE. W.
Thank you, dear Mr. Rathbone, for your kind note about "Woman"—I find that such a communication as Miss Rosalind Paget asks for involves me in so much correspondence from other people that, with even more than the reluctance I always feel in declining the least request from you to whom we are so immensely indebted, I am obliged to decline—

Yes, indeed, I am [13:86]

[13:86]
grieved to the heart that St. Bartholomew's did not take Miss Gibson. They have made a strange mistake, which will do much harm to the Nursing cause, in their choice—

Fare you very well.

God bless you [end]

yours ever gratefully

F. Nightingale
Aug. 7/87

{on printed paper; "gothic" print;
on angle at left top: Telegraph,
"Steeple" Claydon, Bucks.;
address at right: Claydon House,
    Winslow,
    Bucks.}

Dear Mr. Rathbone
I received your kind note
    by 2nd post yesterday
(Saturday) afternoon - &
am very sorry for the
inconvenience which I fear
I have caused you by
detaining your paper so
long. I hope to return
it to you with the
smallest possible delay
    Pray forgive me & believe
me ever sincerely yours
    Florence Nightingale
Dear Mr Rathbone

I recd a visit from Sir J Paget yesty afternoon [I did not know till he told me that the comtee of Advice consisted solely of him, Sir R Alcock & the D of Wesmr I am very glad of this) The scheme of which they decided the bare outline on Thursday has gone in to the Queen!! Thro the D of W to Sir H Ponsonby) She is to decide & then remit it back to the Com of Advice if approved in its outline, for them to work it out in its parts. Sir J. Paget told me (you will kindly observe that I, being sup posed to know nothing of the matter must not be quoted) that the outline consisted merely of a plan for dis nurses to be spread all over the country to affiliate any of the existing Dis Nurses Associations that chose to from L’pool, Bloomsbury &c &c & including midwifery nurses. Sir J Paget entirely repudiated the idea of “1000 nurse” of beginning otherwise then slowly & thoroughly
Dear Mr. Rathbone

Your letter just received—Many thanks. I hasten to obey—But in doing so, I shall echo your words.

No doubt about accepting; But the D. of W. who is at once their Chairman & yours would of course wish for conditions, on both sides, of acceptance. These cannot be laid down at an hour's notice. He should wish to be consulted on those conditions, at least as important to the Queen's Fund as to you.

The words "take over & work" he would scarcely accept as your Chairman without asking some questions—[opposite views have been entertained by the other two members of his Committee] on what this should mean.] of advice)

These he can answer as Chairman of the Committee of Advice

1. Are you to retain your local self-Government?

They can scarcely suppose themselves better able to "work" the Association than the (now experienced) "Association" is.

What is the Governing body to be? i.e. their Executive Committee?

[You will remember that one of the "three" (Comme= of Advice) strongly insisted upon local self-government being preserved.]

2. Whether the Queen's money & influence will increase, not supersede, your Subscriptions will depend on the 'careful work' done, & on enlisting the public, & the localities, in interest in the local District Institutions: which will be your branches.
3. Is the offer to "take over & work" meant to include other District Associations everywhere which are "disposed to accept the offer"?

How then is the standard of work of Bloomsbury to be kept up?

The danger is, of course, levelling down instead of levelling up to the highest standard-

Or is it intended that a sort of centralization should take place, with Bloomsbury as the centre, inspecting all other Institutions (Consenting to incorporation), & re-training Nurses who fall short of the standard?

How is a friendly rivalry & co-operation then to be 'kept up'? & local publics to be interested in local Institutions? And how again is the standard of work of Bloomsbury to be kept up?

These questions are in the essence of the "offer" you have to "accept or otherwise", & could not be supposed to be asked out of curiosity, but because you should know what the "offer" is.

"Approval" is all that can to day be given, Subject to suggested arrangement. i.e. accept generally in outline with general conditions in outline, & fill up details afterwards, in concert with your Chairman, the Duke F.N.

God speed the work!

I do not know what the "outline of the proposal" was, "talked over" by "you" & 'Mr. Craven' "Last August".

(see p. 2)
Throw Throw upon them, the Committee of Advice, to "suggest" "Arrangements" to 'keep up the 'standard' &c &c Which you can "approve".
rather than you 'make conditions'
which they are to approve

FN
Might I hear from you?

{envelope}
{top left corner; diagonally:} Private & Confidential
{across top:} to be kept till Mr. Rathbone's arrival
W. Rathbone Esq M.P.
23 Bloomsbury Square
F.N.
30/11/87

610 RAT 1/35 incomplete letter, 7ff, pen & pencil. [fixed at Liverpool 2004], typed copy ff102-07

10 South St. W. Private & Confidential Dec 3/87 [13:803-05]

Dear Mr. Rathbone
I am as it were knocked down by this letter of Sir R.A.’s to which your own is the only answer. viz. that it is "not possible to attempt all this at once"- that you must "establish first the M & N. as a Centre" "perhaps employ Liverpool to train &c" & "step by step "work out an organisation".

You are not men to sell your philanthropies for a slice of the "Queen's Bounty"- You might negotiate a sale in a few days. It will take weeks even to give make him a scheme- then years to work it out. Otherwise the only result will be the ruin of the best of the existing organisations
Sir R. Alcock's letter does not give you information enough to answer-

Disencumbered of phrases, it must is a proposal only to make District Nursing good & universal under the Queen's name-

And you are to propose at a day's notice a ready cut & dried scheme to do this vast work

-----

You would perhaps wish to notice in the few details that are given some omissions:

"1" Would you not put in: -first a month's test before the "Hospital training" or before engaging whether the Probationer would take at all to District Nursing- This would help him to realize that you cannot get 'a thousand District Nurses' out of the Hospital 'unemployed' in a year-

[Sir Jas Paget apprehended this at once]

3 mos in a Maternity Hospital to make them competent to take charge of poor women after the confinement." This is just what most if not all Maternity" Hosps= do not teach.

Mrs. Craven taught it.

"2/" - "4/" - top of sheet 2

? all entire co-operation! & united action! of all existing Associations & Institutions throughout &c ? all "linking together" top of sheet 2.

E London Probably they must - they cannot help themselves since the Queen's daughter is President, "incorporate" or "affiliate" or whatever it is called, E. London

How can E. London & Bloomsbury be "linked together"?

Either one must rise or the other must fall; & I am afraid the latter is more likely

If you "link together" a butterfly & a mole, you do not make a bird-

Is E. London to "train Nurses" for the "Queen's bounty?" "Edinburgh"

Sir J.P. spoke to me about this- And I made enquiries at the fountainhead.

[Chapter "on Snakes in Iceland". There are no snakes in Iceland. There is no District Nursing Association in Edinburgh. Some of the Churches have a District Nurse or two. Tho' some of the Nurses furnished have been excellent, they have resigned, probably for want of such an organization as Bloomsbury or Lpool. And it has not been successful.
I have not seen Mr. Craven's letter or your "Resolution," & am writing somewhat in the dark.
I do not understand now whether Bloomsbury is to be the Central Institution, with inspecting & re-training powers-
Or whether they are going to make "similar enquiries", as would seem by top of p. 2 (2), separate offers & proffers to "all" the different Nursing District Assns as to you & to Bloomsbury.
As Dean Stanley once said in Convocation, "you cannot make out of 50 white rabbits one black horse"
Pray make your terms about Liverpool & make them strong.

"3/" "voluntary superintendence" "medical comforts & nourishment"
You, I believe hold fast to the District Homes- When there were only isolated Nurses of the "servant" "class", living in lodgings or at home, local Lady Supts= were absolutely essential.
I think I have understood you that you would not recommend them now to other large towns where each District Home has its own trained Supt. - Where there are too many local charities already, & you do not want another charity, another agent, but that the trained Supt= should know to what agency (e.g. parish, under Doctor's order, clergy, Socy District Visitors &c &c) to apply for necessary things-
Also: perhaps you would think it doubtful that the District Nurses now should not be a separate body, as it makes them restless to be interchangeable to be able to ask to be sent back to Hospital.

Training. Mrs. Craven presses that some Nurses of the lower or Middle class should be trained at Bloomsbury, taking perhaps another house - thinking it bad that all Supts- should be trained at one Institution, all Nurses (of a lower class) at another
Still "3/" "moderate salaries:" improvement on "bare maintenance plus decorations."
Otherwise there is a vast deal of Sir R. Alcock in Sir R. Alcock's letter -
"Central Institution undertaking to provide them"

You They the Central Instn- Bloomsbury have too few already - They are quite unable to provide all that their your branches ask for.
The "Queen's Bounty" will not create District Nurses by a cheque.
This is not by any means to represent the thing as desperate. It is merely to say how wise your letter is - slow beginning - working out.

"5/" There come the "3 millions" of qy pence?

[I cannot help feeling a little surprised that his two colleagues should have let Sir R. A. write this letter. which does not give you information enough to answer. A Prusso-German friend of ours, formerly Private Secretary to an Imperial person, then First Secretary to a great Embassy, has been had over to Japan without other instructions apparently than that he is to 'do Court' there in Japan, & teach them to 'do Court'.

Without instructions, without information, on the vaguest of outlines, Sir R. A. is asking you to 'do' District Nursing all over England &c & teach them him to do District Nursing all over England &c
I was exceedingly sorry that Bonham Carter was not at home for the Bloomsbury Special Committee and exceedingly rejoiced that you were—

He will be back from America, please God, on Monday week, Dec 12—

They cannot buy Bloomsbury between this & then, Will he not be in time to help support you with the negotiations?

Rocks ahead

I do feel a feminine dread: if Sir R. A. is to be Chairman of the new "Central Administration Comnnee" will not you the experienced administrators of this work who ought to be the ones put on the Committee find it very difficult to work with him? You have worked out first principles out of your experience — he has only diplomatic phrases & a great desire to make a show.

But he is very fearful of making a failure—

And herein lies safety. He is more likely to listen to "working out step by step an organisation" as you say.

I feel how useless & little to the point is this letter except as corroborating & illustrating your answer, which [to consult your "colleagues confidentially as to its questions concerning" yourselves] "not possible to attempt all this (in Sir R. A.'s letter) at once
Mr. Rathbone

Your four valuable documents I have most carefully read & pondered, namely

--Sir R. Alcock's "Note" on "Dublin Nursing Assocns=
--Your Memo= on this "Note"
--Mr. Bonham Carter's letter to you of May 1
--your Memo= on that letter

As you are so good as to wish me to say something, I can only say what you do not wish me to say that your boundless generosity is...
so deeply felt in regard to this
your scheme, including meaning the
District Nursing plan of
Superintendent & Nurses
drawn from the three
Institutions--
& it is so well understood how
desirable it is for the sake
of Ireland now to
take advantage of it
that one can only bid you
God speed amidst difficulties
which are enormous, but
which, as you so justly say,
are opportunities for who
knows how to profit by them
Under the circumstances
it may well be that there
is no alternative- And I
need hardly assure you that
our best wishes are yours
that it may succeed in the
highest sense- Let every
one concerned endeavour to
work out your proposals in
the same spirit as yourself;
And that will be success.
I would say: we pray God
that it may succeed. But we
know already that He wishes
wishes the greatest good to
this Nursing of His sick poor,
even more than we can.
In Him therefore who inspires
you we put our trust.
May He give many more years
of you to this kingdom

ever yours gratefully & truly
Florence Nightingale
I always send you my gratitude
in my heart for all your
kindness to me. May I add
this now in ink?
F.N.  
[end]
{top left corner; diagonally:} Private

August 6/89

10, South Street, {printed address:}

Grosvenor Square, W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I thank you very much for letting me see these beautiful documents, for beautiful they are to my mind. And I only trust that you will be able to carry through the Queen's imitation of your work, notwithstanding provoking delays & some indifference.

I hope too that you will be able to get away soon, for you have indeed had a harassing year. But you have accomplished much -

Miss Jennings seems likely to be a great help to me. I like her so much. Thank you a thousand times. But you will answer what I asked -

I too shall be going out of London shortly.

Let me thank you too once more for what I am always thanking you for in my heart among your innumerable benefits - the beautiful Flowering plants.

May God's choicest blessings be yours -

ever yours sincerely & gratefully

Florence Nightingale
It was really distressing not to get the post of Warden for Mr. Craven. It would have simplified & made easy so many things - And the loss of it endangers our possession both of Mr. & Mrs. Craven, I fear? But we can only thank God that we have you.

Aug 14/89
10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}
PARK LANE. W.
Dear Mr. Rathbone
How can I thank you for your generous kindness? I feel myself preying upon you - I do not like to prey - And you will not let me decline.
My deepest gratitude is yours- Not only for Miss Jennings who seems a most capable person- but for all that you are doing every day for the Nursing cause. And also for the beautiful flowering plants, which I have now stopped, as I am going away so soon- I feel compunction as I well may, as well as gratitude, for your continued kindness in this delightful item.
May all your goodness & wise schemes prosper, & the blessings you give to others return tenfold upon yourself, 'full
Dear Mr. Rathbone,

How can I ever delay an hour answering your great kindness? But I never delay a minute saying & wishing God speed to all your good works.

Yes, please; be so good as to send me "the papers showing" your "progress so far, after the "first Meeting of the Council "of the Institution on Monday "Tuesday": as you kindly propose

I am ashamed to tell you in what a dilapidated condition I am: my head will not bear being read to - & my eyes will not bear to read to myself - & of course as age increases, so does work. But I am ashamed to say such a thing to yourself busy with the good works, alike public & private, which God so blesses-

I hope to answer your further question, tho' very imperfectly; in a day or two.

I am so sorry for the death of that "good young fellow"-
I know not how to thank you for the beautiful flowering plants which your goodness still anew supplies me with. Your "charity never faileth"

With shame & sorrow I confess that I have been able to do so little for you, while you do everything for us.

ever yours gratefully

F. Nightingale

22/2/90
& ask me to criticize it,
may I say that the feeling
I have about it is: that
the writer ignores that
Lying-in Institutions do NOT
train in Maternity practice.
- that there is much in
the "Addition" that is good,
without any reference in it
to the absence of the
proper means of instruction,
which is touched upon
but only in a few sentences
in my Introduction.
Is there no danger that
more harm than good will
be done by the Addition
if going forth in its
present shape?
I may possibly add a few
words (confidential) to these
when I send my revised
Proof.
But I have too many
delays to apologize for
to delay these few lines,
asked for by your kindness.
Success to all your work-
I am afraid you have had
tiresome doings in Ireland.
Your beautiful flowering
plants are the light of my
room - ever gratefully yours
F. Nightingale
Maternity "Additions

Confidentially to you I
will mention, (tho' I do not find
much to add to my yesterday's
note), that, in getting Probationers
of our own into what are
called the best of the Lying-in
Training Hospitals, I have done
what this "Addition" suggests;
p. 4, viz. written "Stating
"the points of training", they
should "pay special attention
"to". And most kindly
were they attended to.

At the same time, as we
Nurses have a common
language & a common feeling
(or ought to have it,) they
expressly told me, that afterwards they

[2 folios added April 2004 at Liverpool]
Derbyshire Co Record Office

could not make their
Midwives in training do it
in Hospital; much less in
the Lying-in Patient’s OWN
HOME, after training.
I feel myself but too sadly
justified in saying that the
writer ignores that Lying-in
Institutions do not train in
Maternity practice.

P. 6 “Three midwifery months” the
writer thinks “devoted to
“Midwifery alone” makes
a trained Midwife!!

The only “abnormal” case
a 3 month’s Trained Midwife
at one of the very best
Lying-in Institutions, certified
& going abroad where
there was no Doctor within
miles & miles, was in the
Obstetric Ward of a General
London Hospital. [pencil] How
can it be in many cases
otherwise?

610 RAT 1/41 signed letter, 2ff, pencil typed copy f115

March/99
10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}
PARK LANE. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

It seems to me that
I have not written to
you for a long while
-you, our greatest
benefactor- How many
owe their lives to you!
How many bless the
day that gave you
to the world!
Some indeed are
falling around us now "Like leaves in "wintry weather"-
   But, thank God,
nothing can be less like leaves. Every one is taken up by God for
a splendid future of work in His Service.
   We have lost Sir Douglas Galton. He is a great loss. But there were none like you- And God has given you to us for eighty years-
   And pray God, He may give us you yet for years. I was so sorry not to be able to see you when you were so good as to call when you were last in London-
   ever yours gratefully
Florence Nightingale
Thank you again & again for the beautiful flowering plants that come from you every week
F.N.
typed copy 26 March 1900 f116
3 August 1864

I suppose one will get over the prison-like feeling of having to obtain leave for every going out of the building and having a register kept of the hours of one’s departure and return. How childish it seems to mind this....Have I not again and again asked myself, should I ever be able to meet the dreariness, the loneliness, the difficulties, the jealousies, the restraints, the disappointments, the isolation. In my own strength--no never. Yet when I look back and see how God has helped me, how in the darkest moment, something has come sent by a most loving Father, a little word, a letter, flowers, a something which has cheered me and told me not only of the human love but of that bountiful, heavenly Friend who knew this weak child’s need and answered....May no fear of man hinder me in His work.

I am so glad I have been to the workhouse. In every way I can now more realize my future position and the difficulties of it. But I have as never before a kind of consciousness of power to bring a little sunshine to those poor creatures, as if I could, with God’s blessing, be an instrument of making a little ray of hope and comfort sometimes enter....

Dear Mr. Rathbone

It seems to me that I have not written to you for a long while
you for a long while
-you, our greatest
benefactor- How many
owe their lives to you?
How many bless the
day that gave you
to the world?
Some indeed are falling around us
now "Like leaves in
"wintry weather"
-But, thank God,
nothing can be less like
leaves. Every one is
taken up by God for
a splendid future of
work in His Service.

We have lost Sir
Douglas Galton. He
is a great loss. But
there were none
like you- And God
has given you to us
for eighty years-
And pray God, He
may give us you
yet for years.
I was so sorry not
to be able to see you
when you were so
good as to call
when you were last
in London-
ever yours gratefully
Florence Nightingale
Thank you again &
again for the
beautiful flowering
plants that come
from you every week
F.N.

April 30/1900
10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}
PARK LANE. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone
It is quite impossible [13:575]
for me to thank you
enough for the paper
--no, not if I were to
write it a hundred
thousand times- you
have been so kind as
to send me- of which
I have read every
word- or rather had
every word read to me
that pertained to our
subject- & shall have
it all read over again
to me to-morrow--
It is admirable &
surpassing in interest.
    I shall write again
to-morrow, if I may
Who shall say that
our times are not as
exciting & full of
interest as the best
times of the Republic
of Rome.
    ever yours
 Florence Nightingale
W. Rathbone Esq

610 RAT 1/43 signed fragment of letter, 1f, pen

    I trust to see you soon
    some afternoon. As you
so kindly offer it. I am
rather full this week, &
you I dare say are fuller.
    Your beautiful flower-
plants have resumed
their benevolent course.
    Pray believe me
    ever gratefully yours
  F. Nightingale
June 13th

about organising District nursing for the sick poor in London: as you have done in Liverpool:

Is there any advantage in a Central Society beyond a certain power of getting money-in so vast a place as London?

Is there any administrative advantage?

& are there not very serious objections-which are avoided by local organisation

Is it not “putting the cart before the horse”? Presenting to the public a map of the work to be done “yes: most useful: if as a sermon as it were: but not as a plan to be worked out. Would not that be doing the very reverse of what you so wisely did at Liverpool? At such a place as Liverpool the advantage is: that there is an “esprit de corps” or rather “de ville”: the leading men know each other: or perhaps rather one man can lead; the place is not too large for a general superintendence.

My dear Miss Merryweather

I hope that my answer about Mrs. Rhodes told what was wanted.

Now I am venturing to trouble you again:

We are asked to send a Canadian lady, whom we have had with us since last spring, to Canada with 4 Trained Nurses (who probably will be ladies) to undertake a Hospital &
We are obliged to answer immediately about Salaries, which we are desired to propose.

Could you be so very good as to tell me what the salaries were of
Lady Supt=
Head Nurses
Whom Mr. Rathbone sent to
New York &
Albany-
& what the other money=stipula=tions?

I am so afraid that I am giving you unnecessary trouble by this:
for I seem to think that one at least of these Nursing parties went not from you but from the Workhouse Hospital.
If so, would you be so very kind as to pass on this note to Mr. Rathbone, or Mr. Cropper, or the Lady Supt= of the Workhouse Hospital: & ask the proper authority to be so good as to answer my troublesome question?

With many apologies & in great haste
pray believe me dear Miss Merryweather
yours sincerely & gratefully
Florence Nightingale
Dear Miss Nightingale,

I am very sorry to have missed you but it is not detailed information that I want but your judgment, and suggestions, on anything I might write either to my friend to whom I alluded in my letter of Saturday or to the duke of Westminster, who, I now find, is one of the Trustees and who, I am rather surprised, did not mention the matter to me-

I am rather inclined to give my friend some memorandum and also to write more fully perhaps to the Duke of Westminster.

(2)
I fancy they will want it to be some central Institution, probably under charter of Incorporation for promoting a centre Nursing the Poor in different parts of the country-

Now I cannot but think that they could not do better than absorb and carry out the original idea of the Metropolitan and National Nursing Association. The work done by that

(3)
Association is thoroughly good of its kind; and it is spreading steadily and holding its ground wherever it spreads. The cause of that success I believe to be the high ideal of nursing and of the qualifications required by nurses for the Poor with which the Association set out
FN:
Has the success of the M. & N. Asscn been
uniform? has it always held its ground?
E.g. it failed at Greenwich & Portsmouth (so far)-
Nevertheless the principles of its action proved
to be sound by experience and it Would it not be
a great mistake to attempt to establish any
new organisation for the purpose of promoting
Nursing among the poor & not to make use
of the Association with such modifications
as may be found expedient
The cases where it has not been successful
have been, it is believed, owing to the want of
efficient Nurses to act as Pioneers-Nurses
having some of the qualifications requisite
for Superintendence, viz.

- tact & discretion in dealing with the Doctors
  & supporters
- & the Nurses under them
- business habits
- & of course & essentially thoroughness in
  Nursing so as to keep up the standard*
Must not a high standard grow up by
the influence of individuals whom
alas! We scarcely know how to attract?
[pencil] * These qualifications will not be acquired by being
  assistant supts in a Hospital-will they?-
[pen resumes same page]

P. (4)
Is a larger house required at present
for the M. & N. Assn? Was not one mistake
to begin with, the attempt to do too much at
first-to hold out prospects which could not
be carried out
(1) for want of trained & qualified Nurses
(2) for want of local support from the Public.
The first want exists in full force so far as
District Nursing is concerned.
The second has outrun the supply of trained
Nurses, & especially of Superintendents or Pioneer
Nurses. But temporary aid is required
in starting the District nursing locally.
It seems to me that possibly the best suggestion would be a “Queen’s College for Nursing Incorporated by Royal Charter”, building, or still better, purchasing, in London a larger house than we have to serve as a Central Home and for other purposes of the institution.

FN: It is most important to obtain a grant of money for District Nursing. But one hardly sees how “incorporating” the Central Home (whether a good house is “built” or “purchased”) by “Royal Charter”, & calling it a “Queen’s College” will increase the number quantity of good candidates, or improve the quality the bad, so making it a real “Central” Training School & supply for the whole kingdom. What really prevents its growth is a want of suitable candidates, (besides want of money) Might not the quality of these still further deteriorate with the éclat of a Royal Charter?
Should we ever forget that the moral training of Nurses—unlike that of “Queen’s College” in general—especially of Nurses who lead so independent a life as that among the poor—is of all things the most important— the keeping up a high ideal of their being moral (missionary) Nurses among the poor homes & families as well as among the poor Patients.

Will the R. Charter provide for this in any way?

The great peculiarity of these trained Nurses is that of substituting, for alms-giving, the putting the home in good healthy order—the teaching the family how to keep it in such good order—how to help nurse/nursing the home: the family/ -the knowing how to reach sanitary authorities to do what individuals cannot do for themselves [ & if help & comforts & necessaries are really wanting the going to local charities for them] but above all the de-pauperizing of the family by teaching them self help & healthy ways & habits—besides of course the very best-skilled Sick Nursing at the poor people’s own homes.

[Has this deteriorated?
Have the Supts kept up the standard?]
How are these things to be maintained or developed by the R Charter or Queen’s College?

WR: (5)
Training from that institution as a centre first in London Hospitals for at least a year, and, afterwards, for three months, six months, a year, or more from the College in District nursing taking nothing but ladies: because, not only do ladies do District Nursing in an exceptionally good manner, but, trained as they would thus be, they would naturally spread themselves over the country as superintendents of nursing in local hospitals and among the Poor throughout the Kingdom.

[FN pencil:] Would you not suggest merely to assist the objects of the M & N N Assn in providing Nurses for the poor at their own Homes?
I consider (and of this I think we have some experience now) that it is a very valuable addition for Hospital Superintendents to the training of a London Hospital to go (under the Metropolitan and National Nursing Association) in the Homes of the Poor to nurse with less perfect appliances.

Again I think it would be very valuable if the Queen’s College maintained in two or more hospitals, of which at least one should be a Workhouse Hospital, Assistant Superintendents each for 2 years as I have done, in order to train them to take the position of Superintendents when wanted; and I should choose our very best lady nurses for this work and insist upon the most thorough training and superior qualifications as the best mode of keeping up the standard of Nursing throughout the Kingdom from the queen’s College as the centre.

Is it not extraordinarily difficult to adjudge pensions for “exceptionally superior services”? And does it not lead to Nurses clamouring for War Service, & seeking éclat? [The St Katharine’s Pensions have apparently done no good & some harm. do War Medals. The St. K.’s scheme has been altogether futile so far as promoting good Nursing—that is practically “pensions for superior services.” And it has done harm by its invidious application] Yet might not the money be turned to account in connection with pensions? be a nucleus for a large scheme, receiving the contributions of Nurses themselves?

But this is a different idea from that already taken up—viz. Nursing the poor. As a practical objection would not the expence be too great of granting pensions, in addition to the difficulty of selecting, for “superior services”?
I think it would be well also that they should appropriate a certain small portion of income for pensions for long, devoted, and exceptionally superior services in nursing.

These were the general ideas which occurred to me; and I have written them on one side only of the sheets of folio paper, leaving also space at the bottoms of each page written on, in order that you may, with less trouble, put your notes on the other side or at the foot, with any suggestions and remarks you may have to make—

Do not hesitate to condemn the whole or any part of these ideas if you think them injudicious. It seems to me on this, or some similar plan, the Queen’s College of Nursing might be the Mother House of District Nursing as your School at St Thomas’s is of Hospital Nursing. Pray excuse my thus troubling you

Of course the Queen’s money would not do all this but our Insts & their money a “Royal Scheme” like this would draw-ought to do this.

Yr fully
W. Rathbone

FN: We cordially agree with Mr Rathbone that the money would be well bestowed in promoting the objects of the M. & N. N. Assocn especially in aiding to supply its defects

P.T.O.

No doubt objections will be made to this scheme (first part) on the ground that it puts too much into the hands of the M. & N. Assoc & does not mark the fund in its application as coming distinctly from the Jubilee Fund.

[end 13:787]

[also a doc Sir Rutherford Alcock. Came Oct 20/87

typed not in yet:

Rat 2/3 notes Oct 20/87 re Sir R. Alcock [not input but probably FN’s]

Rat 2/4 not FN hand, note
To the Memory of Agnes E. Jones, daughter of Colonel Jones of Fahan &c, who was the first to found Trained Nursing in Workhouses. She died at her post in Liverpool Workhouse on Feb 19 (?) 1868, aged 34 (?) While nursing the sick, she fought the good fight against sin & wretchedness with the prayer that when the Master came He might be able to say “She hath done what she could” - This monument, the type of her hope to come, is erected by William Rathbone

3/11 is almost the same:
To the Memory of Agnes E. Jones, daughter of Colonel Jones of Fahan &c, the first to found Trained Nursing in Workhouses. She died at her post in Liverpool Workhouse on Feb 19 (?) 1868, aged 34 (?) While nursing the sick, she fought the good fight, praying that when the Master came He might be able to say “She hath done what she could” - This monument, the type of her hope to come, is erected by William Rathbone
35 South Street, Oct 23/68
   Park Lane, {printed address:}
   W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I have received Mr. Worthington’s plans & report, will carefully examine them & write to you in a day or two.

At present, as I see from your note that you are to have your conversation with Miss Freeman on Saturday or Sunday, I write merely about that:-the Workhouse Nursing.

[Nothing will induce Mrs. Wardroper to give her leave to your letting Miss Freeman know that I have sent you Miss Freeman’s letter to Mrs. Wardroper. And I think Mrs. Wardroper is right. The same objection applies to myself. But I don’t see that it is necessary for you to do so in order to open the Conversation. Miss Freeman represents herself as bursting to speak to you. She is a perfectly straightforward & outspoken person- And, more than all, as the original idea]
of organizing a Workhouse Infirmary
Nursing constitution was entirely your
own - & the working it out much
more your own than ours, I think
it would be simply prejudicial to the
work if foreign oars, like Mrs.
Wardroper’s & mine, were now to
appear to be thrust in, because Miss
Freeman & the Workhouse authorities
seem now not to be carrying out
your original idea.]

What strikes me as the way in which
things are tending is this: -
and I feel how very necessary it is
to proceed with caution:-
Miss Freeman says that a Workhouse Hospital or
Infirmary is entirely different in its
organization to a General Hospital or Infirmary-
mainly, according to her, from its
dependence upon Workhouse Officers,-
from these Workhouse Officers doing
the work- from the Sick part of the
Workhouse being merely an integral part,
or a dependency of the Workhouse.

Now this is the very thing which
it was sought to prevent-to entirely
alter.

[Miss Freeman draws among other
conclusions, this: - that an
Assistant Supt= is unnecessary.
Her reasoning really leads much
more to the conclusion that a
Superintendent- is unnecessary -
indeed, if what she says were
logically carried out, a Supt- would
be not only unnecessary but
impossible - for the interference
from the Workhouse side would
be such that her situation would
become impracticable- & all
your benevolent scheme would
fall to the ground.]
It is from this point of view that matters have to be considered - And I do not see at all that it is a matter which Mrs. Wardroper or I are competent to decide; it is a matter solely for you. All we can do is to offer suggestions & experience - if asked.

You must determine whether your Workhouse Hospital is to be organized on the plan of the best Civil Hospitals, mutatis mutandis, - or whether the old Workhouse idea, which you have sacrificed so much to convert into a totally different one, is to be reverted to under an improved form & a better Governor.

In the latter case, there is certainly an advantage in having no Supt- of Nurses, but only a Matron.

Things are marching very quickly in London now. The largest parishes are all building /or planning Infirmaries in the country- on the best Pavilion principles- and the worst of them,
(So far as at present appears,) will have a building on such healthy principles as that no London Hospital, except new St. Thomas’, can compare with it. In all such the administration, totally separated from the Workhouse administration, is to be reformed in accordance to the best principles—There is to be a Steward’s Department, a Medical Department, a Nursing Department, directly responsible to the Head or Governing Committee. To have Nurses responsible to a Matron, to a Supt= of Nurses, to a Governor, all at once, appears to be subversive of all discipline. Whenever you separate your Hospital from the Workhouse something of the same kind will have to be done. If the administration is to be improved, it must be made special—i.e. special as regards no interference from the Workhouse,
which has really nothing to do with the Hospital— Special as regards the Nurse, who is Now placed under 3 heads in place of one — [Under the present Regulations really efficient Hospital Nursing appears impracticable i.e. the interference will be such that all permanent independent organization, so it seems, will be impracticable—]

Under so very able & excellent a man as the present Governor, things may appear to, may really work very well— better far than they did under dear Agnes & the old Governor. But the Hospital is not a Hospital— it is merely a branch of a very ably conducted Workhouse.

I come now to the last, tho’ by no means the least, error which they appear on the brink of committing— And this is: — the total ignoring of what was one of the main objects of your original scheme, viz. The founding a School for sending out Nursing Staffs to other Workhouses. How a Staff is to be sent out without a Supt= at its head we cannot conceive. This which was the worst feature of Workhouse Nursing, viz. the having one or two or three paid Nurses, without any head or organization of their own to support & govern them, is now not even thought of, not even in London— in all the reformed schemes — actual or prospective.

I look upon the decision that Miss Freeman presses for as to an Assistant Supt= being necessary or not, tho’ important, as one of quite minor importance to the fundamental question: — is the Hospital administration to be a dependency of the Workhouse or not?—
I think I had perhaps better send you a letter I have received this morning from Miss Freeman, in order that you may judge whether I judge the situation rightly or not. I can only judge from a distance. Enquiry on the spot is necessary. I alas enclose the Regulations she encloses to me—Please look, e.g.

At para: 10, page 15.

I shall not answer Miss Freeman till after your interview with her & nor till after your opinion has been received by me. For indeed it is useless—

Please not to let her know that you have seen any of her letters. Indeed, believe me, it is much better that the verdict should come from you alone, whichever way it is. Were it to come as the {the balance of page in very tiny script} result of an /assumed appeal, real or apparent, from Mrs. Wardroper or me, it would be very disastrous.

ever yours sincerely,

Florence Nightingale

Any information that I have about what London Workhouses are going to do shall be at your service—But this too it is better to keep PRIVATE at present— as one Vestry has protested against its own Bd. Of Guardians, the best in {written up right margin:} London, already. F.N.
Dear Mr. Rathbone,

I will only just say now, -in answer to your kind note,- that I doubt the possibility of the Highgate Infirmary taking in “20 Nurses as Probationers” at present & that I should be very sorry for Miss Torrance who, after all, has been there but 18 months & who has only completed her Nursing Staff & her full number of Patients in October last, (when the Infirmary first passed under the “Central London”)

being burdened with such an additional number at once -

We consented last month to try a tiny Training - School for Workhouse Nurses under her - only 6 - (there was no more accommodation but for 6) - we paying certain expenses - the “Board” the rest. Do not think I am trying to be discouraging - quite the reverse. Mr. Wyatt is the very best person in the whole world for you to discuss it with.

And he appreciates Miss
Torrance, as she deserves.

But let me write to you again.

I have not a moment now to think of your proposal—
I have only just received your note—

Let me accept your kind proposal “not to send in the suggestion” till we have had time to consider & make “suggestions.”

You cannot think how strong is my love & admiration for Miss Torrance - who is almost a second Agnes Jones-

Overworked already, she must not be hurried.

But it is not from her that any objection to undertaking more training will come.

With your plan I have of course the warmest sympathy

In great haste

ever yours sincerely

Florence Nightingale
Dear Mr. Rathbone,

I think that, in my hurry of yesterday, I may have led you to believe that the “Central London Sick Asylum District” had already consented to bear their share of the expenses of training a very small number of Workhouse Nurses (for London Workhouses) at the Highgate Infy=, under Miss Torrance. This is not the case - All that has yet passed is: that we have proposed terms to assist in maintaining 6 Probationers which Mr. Wyatt pronounces reasonable. But there are difficulties -

Mr. Wyatt

88 Regent’s Park Road N.W.
Is the person to discuss best the whole matter with you - [He was the excellent Chairman of the St. Pancras Board.]

This is only a P. S. to my yesterday’s note- not an answer to you -

ever yours faithfully

F. Nightingale
Private

Workhouse Nurse=Training

As to establishing a Govt. Training Sch: for Workh: Nurses

35 South Street, May 30/71
Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I am glad indeed that you have seen Mr. Wyatt, & that he will put down something in black & white about his views.

Of course I look upon the subject question as a most important one, involving the whole future of Pauper Sick welfare: -- whether you can induce the P. L. Board to take up the subject of Nurse=training.

I have just received one, with a Report, from the Medical Officer of a large Union Workhouse. I return you Mr. Cropper's & Mr. Hagger's letters, both able & suggestive.

And I will just dot down a few notes now--from the Nurse=training side, not from the P. L. side on these letters -- not at all as being final Notes - which I reserve to myself yet but merely as comments on these letters.
(1). As to the *advantage* of Govt= doing it at all.

[[The example would as coming from authority
do good. Recommendations from the P. L. Board
to employ trained Nurses or to raise salaries
with a view to obtaining trained Nurses would
of course come with more effect.
The position & *status* of the Nurses socially might
be improved, as Mr. Hagger says, by the indirect
caracter of importance acquired by connection
with the Govt=*

Means might be obtained for building accommodation
for Probationers & for improving the salary &
therefore qualifications of Matron (Supt=) & Doctor.]]

*Disadvantages*

{note vertically in left margin: {illeg. Mrs? to leave latitude}
Difficulty of altering all Govt= regulations
to meet changes of circumstance & times -
alterations which wd. be likely to be frequent
in a new system-
Dependence for success on the matron--
& incompetency of any Governt= Departmt= as a
{note vertically in left margin: {must be left free}
Court of Appeal from her - especially with
regard to *dismissals* & to some extent admissions.}

(2.) As to *Liverpool Workho*: Infirmary

Does it afford proper means of training? -

As to *Highgate*

May not the N. Fund do more easily at *first*
what is required?

(3.) Assuming that it is desirable to apply to
the P. L. Board, then I think our experience
shews that

a. Boards of Guardians will not pay for
the training

b. that the Probationers *must not* be
selected by the Boards of Guardians,
*but solely by the Principal of the*
*Training School*

c. that objections are not as a rule

{3 lines in left margin beside this point}
made by Employers to this course,--
they being ready to appoint Nurses who
are recommended to them
d. As to the expence: -

Govt= ought to provide additional accommodation for & maintain & pay as many Probationers as cannot be usefully employed in the actual work of the wards -

e.g. at Highgate there are about

20 Nurses &

20 Assistant Nurses.

Probably it would be worth while for the Board to be at the expence of the keep of say 6 to 8 supernumeraries for their own purposes- (according in fact to the arrangement we proposed to them & to that wh. Mr. Cropper mentions as in force at Liverpool)

If the No= of Pupils is to be increased, the whole expence of the additional number would fall on the Govt=, as the whole does on us at St. Thomas'.

[Undoubtedly at St. Thomas' the number of the Hospital staff is diminished in consequence of the use they make of our Probationers -- & hence their willingness to build Quarters for us.]

[2]

At present I doubt whether Highgate is capable of training "20 Probationers" having regard to the No= of Patients in the Wards-

Certainly it is not, having regard to the capabilities of the Staff.

We agreed that 6 was quite enough for Miss Torrance to begin with- And there is every reason to adhere to this, which was /determined not only by that being the extent of available accommodation.]

There are certain points on which we must consult Miss Torrance farther before expressing any opinion - especially as to how far the duties of "Ward Assistants" (at Highgate) are compatible with the position of Probationer learning to become a full-blown Nurse.

[Men, especially Poor Law men, often think you have nothing to do but to promote the best of your Assistant Nurses - which is much as if you were to choose your butler among your stable-boys - or your housekeeper among your kitchen maids]

The "Assistants" at Highgate do scrubbing &
cleaning & fetching to a considerable extent, I believe.

[Our Probationers do not at St. Thomas'.]

If they do not, or if this work can be made not incompatible with learning the duties of Nurse, the "Ward Assistants" might be treated as Probationers (or a portion of them) -- & by arrangement the numbers available for drafting off be largely increased...

It wd. not answer to the Training Institution to allow this, except on receiving a quid pro quo, such as aid in wages, &c

[Miss Torrance has already promoted one or two "Ward Assistants" - But it scarcely follows that, as a system, it would be right to treat all, or many, of this class as Probationers.

But we must have farther information.]
Miss N opinion is The object of the Schools should be limited to supplying those larger Infirmaries which require a complete Staff, (Supt= & Nurses.) This is quite enough for the Schools to undertake.

The smaller Infirmaries which are nursed by only one, two, three or four Nurses will gradually be supplied by women who have acquired their training & longer experience in the larger Workhouses - & who wish for "a change".]

[Many women prefer a smaller Hospital & the greater importance in some cases which their position in it gives them. And the smaller Infirmaries can afford to give & do I believe often give higher wages. Women so placed are subject to but little supervision & ought to be of more standing & experience than Probationers who have had a year or even two years' training as assistant Nurses - To send out the latter, except as part of a Staff under a competent head, is simply throwing away the cost incurred by the school-

P. S. No doubt, so far as expense is the difficulty with Bds of Guardians, this is in favour of a Govt= plan-

No definite conclusions or direct answer are given here- I reserve these - as you see.
Small notes on Mr. Hagger's & Mr. Cropper's notes

1. There is no occasion to have a "Staff of Nurses ready at any time". That is impossible. Hospitals are not taken ill like private Patients at a moment's notice. They must give a year's notice that they want a Staff of Nurses - as they do to us.

2. Boards of Guardians must give up practically "right of selection"— tho' not in name - Or the whole thing will fail - But we do not find them unwilling.

3. Mr. Cropper is perfectly right in saying that no Nurses could "take charge without a really "good Supt=." But they must look to training Supts= as well as Nurses -

   I should make this a sine qua non with the P. L. Board.

4. I cannot think that Workhouses which require only one or at most 2 Supg= Nurses should ever take Probationers of only one or even 2 years' training -

   Just the persons who have least experience are thereby placed where they have least supervision & most responsibility.
This will never succeed, as a general rule -

Persons of tried experience & capacity from
in a Workhouse nursed by trained Staff under a trained
Supt= -- & who deserve promotion -- should be
the persons selected for these (single) posts.

[The case is so different from that of training
School Masters & Mistresses -
These are to go out alone -
But One can undertake a School. but
not an Infirmary, unless she has proved
capacity -

In the school, children only are undertaken
& generally only day=schooling -

In the Infirmary, adult men & women
Patients come under the Supg= Nurse for
all day & night - She the only person to maintain
current discipline.

Masters & mistresses are generally the
pets of the clergyman /& his wife= probably also of
the Parish "Lady" & daughters - & have
seldom to contend with a hostile or
indifferent or conceited & domineering or
ignorant Board -

All these things are reversed in the
case of the Supg= Nurse - solitary &
without the advantages probably of
position & education as she is.
5. I feel entirely with Messrs Cropper & Hagger that Boards of Guardians will, in general, prefer "advertising"—
   And, if they "advertise", they always prefer the Nurse not above the "average"—
6. [[Practically, the difficulty will be immense of letting Boards of Guardians send their own women to be trained at the P.L.'s cost
   a. Women so chosen will seldom or never be "above the average"—
   b. They will generally be persons whom Boards of Guardians wish to make a "provision" for —e.g. their own widows.
   c. There will be a constant well of dissatisfaction boiling up against the unfortunate Training Matron for dismissing (for incompetency or worse) such Probationers —
   And the P. L. Board has no Department the least competent to deal, as a Court of Appeal, with such cases —
   [Unless we steadily upheld our Training Matrons in such matters, they would be 'nowhere'.]]]

You must not take the Liverpool Board as a criterion— They are gentlemen—.
So are the Highgate Board — ("Central London Asylum" Bd=)
These are the exceptions— not the rule — Both these
   Boards are {in printing not writing:} reformers —
Especially I should deprecate receiving Nurses already appointed in Workhouse Infirmaries "to give them a training"—Such undertakings abound in almost insuperable difficulties—You will understand this.

[Would that "the fundamental qualification "looked for in a candidate for a" Nurse’s "office" were that she shd- have been trained", I say with Mr. Hagger Whose letter is very important.]

Dear Mr. Rathbone
I think I had better submit these unsatisfactory jottings to you just as they are reserving some more considered conclusions both from Mr. H. Bonham Carter & from me—
Yrs ever gratefully & sincerely
F Nightingale

Your kind note received about Agnes Jones
I will answer it.

6/5 signed letter, 7 ff, pen [6:458-60]

{top left corner; diagonally:) Private
Govt= School for
WORK: Hospl= Nurses
35 South Street, June 15/71
Park Lane, {printed address:}
W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone
I am very sorry to have been so long in answering finally yours on this subject—the more so as I am afraid you will think my answer when it comes little satisfactory.
I have consulted with upon our possibilities at the Highgate Infy= & with our Secretary, Mr. H. Bonham Carter —& taken the utmost pains to arrive at a right conclusion.
You kindly tell me "not to trouble" myself "to comment." And indeed I have no time or strength for argument (which, besides, never convinces any one)—I will therefore ask you to have the goodness to take for granted that I have used every means to ascertain our means, together with the experience & convictions of those who must work the plan, if at all.
You know me well enough & my intense anxiety for the success of your Nurse=training schemes — & especially for the extension of Trained Nursing in the Workhouse Hospitals
of the large towns of England — & throughout
the country — — to know that I should
put no spoke in the wheel of your sending
your letter to Mr. Stansfeld— even if I
could. But this is: -- provided you
do not quote me as the authority for your
plan—
I should prefer that you should refer only
to my printed & published paper in the small
Blue Book /"Report on Cubic Space of Metropolitan Workhouses". 1867. (paper by
F.N. on "providing, training & organizing Nurses for Sick poor" in it p. 64)
(which was of course written "by order")
if you refer to me at all as evidence
of my views—
I am sure that you will understand this —
if it were only for the following reason:—
if when your letter is gone in, the P.L.B.
apply for our opinion,— on having applied
to the Highgate Board, Sir S. Waterlow or Mr.
Wyatt applies for our opinion,— we can only
repeat the conclusions we have arrived
at— And we shall appear to be
opposing your first move. Now there is
scarcely anything which could now happen
in my painful life that would give me
more pain than this would do.
I am afraid that I must therefore beg you to strike out
the passages in your Draft which seem
to give the impress of my being the "backer"
of the letter— [They are crossed thro' in pencil—]
That at p. 11 does not moreover convey the
meaning I intended to convey. And that at
p. 12 implies what is not exactly the fact,
as far as we are concerned— [I think I
mentioned to you what we are doing ourselves
at Highgate, & that we were satisfied
that it would be unwise to attempt any thing
on a larger scale at first.
Probably you will say (with truth) that any
action of the P. L. B. would hardly be
matured for another year — but then
the words "letting slip" & "which now exists"
become scarcely of literal accuracy do they?]

At p. 2, if you wish to retain the quotation from
me, which I should prefer omitted, the word
"constantly" must at all events be left out.
Some of these letters are "Confidential" — [I think
I marked mine to you as "Private".] And I
could not undertake either to put names or
letters into the P.L.B.'s hands, if called for—
except one or two printed ones — still less
Derbyshire Co Record Office

to be the correspondent between the P.L.B.
& Union Medl= Officers-

The Para:, crossed thro', top of P. 9, is not exactly, either
correct. [Not the "Nurses", but the "Ward Assistants"
do "part of the scrubbing"-] - And when I mentioned
this to you, I did not mean it to be brought
before the P.L.B.

Last Para:- bottom of page 10, is
contrary to all our experience which
strengthens every year.
i.e. selection & dismissal must rest virtually
with the female chief, whatever she is called.
And the Local Committee, whatever it is called,
must, in these matters, be only the "backer" of the
female chief, if she is worthy of her post at all.

[2]

{printed address:} 35 South Street,
Park Lane,
W.
The Supt. must, of course, herself be responsible to the
constituted Hospital authorities - But no good ever
came of the constituted authorities placing themselves in
the office which they have sanctioned or appointed
her to fill. It is fatal to discipline among the
Nurses-
II. Query - as far as London is concerned? --
is there not danger of the plan failing under
Government unless as part of a larger scheme
under a Superintendt = Genl=, as "suggested" (in the Blue Book paper)
It might go on for a time, e.g. so long at Highgate
as Miss Torrance was there with Mr. Wyatt to back her
But what does Mr. Wyatt, even Sir S. Waterlow, say
as to their Board? -- that they neither know nor
care anything about the Nursing -- Hence the
difficulty anticipated to our small scheme.
Supposing Miss Torrance fall, when as Agnes
Jones did, where will they find any one else
at present? - The time may come when there
will be a larger number of competent women,
but so long as success must depend upon one or two
persons, failure is imminent - And failure
would only throw back the general progress of
improvement which exists.
This is not however to discourage you. I would
not discourage you if I could. But I must state
what comes within my own knowledge, as the P. L. B.
might call upon us later to state it -- & we cd= then only repeat the above

III.
If the P. L. B. take the matter up, we
shall be able to discuss with them
how far the plan is feasible as regards
Highgate; & if at all feasible, be able to
enter into details.
We cannot agree as to these with the
(Lpool) Authorities whose letters you enclose-
And, though details, they embody principles
on which success depends.

IV. May I repeat that I think, if you wish to
quote me, it would be on the whole more to
the point if you simply say in your letter
to Mr. Stansfeld that you presume (or something
to that effect) that Mr. S. had read my "Suggestions"
&c.

I will return your /other letter this evening-
ever yours sincerely
Florence Nightingale
Do these letters appear convincing to you?

1. does this agree with is former opinion (in which we all concurred) that Guardians prefer advertising — & in doing so always take the woman not above the average?

2. !! argument that "they can put them at once into Office
is not the whole question hinged on getting assistance from P. L. B. by having Nurses trained?
He probably means that if they wished to job, they, have the means of doing so by 'putting into office'— but they don't--
they won't job by nominating Probationers' -
Is not the whole experience we have of Guardians in London against thus 'begging the question'?-
[Is not /"ALL" the risk of disgrace & failure" absolutely a nothing?— 1. it is the "risk of inefficiency, of those qualities or want of qualities which are so difficult to define except under the head of "general "unsuitableness" which constitute the real "risk"— not "disgrace"— But 2. I am sorry to say that we have experience (where there was real "disgrace") where the persons who sent the Candidate not only upheld her but got up a most painful "Confidential" & wholly illegitimate enquiry against the Training Matron — actually using "PRIVATE" false accusations against her —
And in this our evidence varies toto caelo from Mr. Hagger's —
The one thing our experience leads us to deprecate is this: — taking women previously appointed to train— It is almost impossible to alledge anything short of "disgrace" to cause their appointments to be cancelled — And even with "disgrace", the appointers will often uphold their Candidate against the Training-Matron—
   So both fall into 'Condemnation'.
3. x x
   Does Mr. Hagger know "what" London "Boards of "Guardians" are?—
   Would not Mr. Wyatt retort on Mr. Hagger the self-same words— that he has no "intimate knowledge" of them?
Derbyshire Co Record Office

- - - is it needful for us to give our experience, our "intimate knowledge", when, for the last 6 years, Reports, Parliamentary enquiries, even the daily press, have revealed a state of jobbery & corruption & inefficiency - which no instances I could give would much heighten or worsen? --

{printed address; on side at left:} 35 South Street, Park Lane, W.

Only recall the whole history of St. Pancras' - which, Mr. Wyatt being driven out, is almost as bad now as before - But there are, alas!, other as flagrant instances.

II. Mr. Cropper

!! "District Nurses" - Do you concur in Mr. C.'s reason - viz. that the inferior ones may be used "as D. Nurses"? - The very best women - ought not they? - ought {illeg.} to be allotted for "District" Nursing when the supervision is & cannot but be of the smallest - A woman who will do very well in a Hospital where proper female authority keeps her in order or in private Nursing where people accustomed to have their own

[2]
way, keep her in more than order
often does very badly or fails completely "As District Nurse" where there is no one really to look after her -

BUT THEN NOBODY KNOWS IT!

"There's the rub" - that there is no "rub" -

{printed address; on side at right:} 35 South Street, Park Lane, W.
35 South Street, June 16/71
Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I was interrupted about
3 times in every page of my letter to you yesterday-
Still I thought it better to send my letter & your Draft rather than keep you waiting another day - as the my defect was in writing a bad letter not in previous thought & enquiry-
I joyfully avail myself of your kind thought for me in sparing myself "comment" & argument -
I return your letters - & have
put down a few pencil queries
for yourself - on matters of fact
which I, as a woman, should
hardly be justified to women,
in not calling your own attention
to.

But these are for your own eye
alone.

I think-like you-one should
always have the 'courage of one's
opinions- Still, had I known

/that my letter to you, (which I think
I marked "Private"),) was to be
shown or quoted to Vestry officials,
or P. L. B. officers, I should have
put things, which to you I spoke

baldly out, in a very
different manner-

I scarcely know that I have
anything to add to my
yesterday's letter-

[In the small Blue Book, p. 68,
(paper by me referred to, yesterday)
I have mentioned the "Supt=" at
"King's Coll: Hosp:" as a proper
person "to undertake Workhouse Nurse=Training".
Since then the Nursing has
changed hands- And a 'not'
wd= better describe the state of
the case- [-another melancholy
proof, by the way,-were any wanted,-
how entirely these schemes
depend on the competency of
one or two persons at present
for success.]

God bless you & speed
you in this way -
ever yrs sincerely

Florence Nightingale

notes 16 June 1874 re hospitals and workhouses
6/19h is a note by Eliza Crudy with a FN comment on it “what is “taking notice of”? Is she a Consulting Surgeon? And more
6/4 is FN to Rathbone May 30/71
6/4a letter of Cropper to Rathbone, re PLB and contd Wednesday
6/4b copy of letter of J.W. Cropper 22 May 1871 from Dingle Bank in response to his and
6/4c also from Cropper
6/4d 22 May 1871 to Rathbone from Wilkie
6/4e 23 May 1871 Hagger to Rathbone
6/4f 23 May 1871 copy of Hagger to Rathbone presumably

6/32 undated
letter Whit Sunday 1871 from illeg 88 Regent’s Park Road re sick poor

6/33 copy of letter of Thomas Worthington to FN from Manchester, Rathbone has sent him her letter to him of 27th Oct and his reply, re her remarks on pen and ink sketches; results of inspection of Vincennes and Bournemouth convol insts
54 John Dalton St., Manchester Nov 2nd 1868
Dear Madam; detailed discussion, re not passing through wards to day room, and reducing number of beds in each room to not more than 6, the max number suggested in your previous letter; re site. Re superintendence and maintaining proper discipline in the day rooms of first importance, (evidently FN gave detailed advice) re her objection to the baths... “I feel a more than ordinary responsibility in this work and am anxious that it should be so arranged as to meet as completely as possible one of the great deficiencies of our social organization.”

As you kindly took a warm interest in the Chorlton Hospital I shall venture in the course of a day or two to send you a tracing of our wards at the Prestwich Workhouse now nearly completed and which in some respects I think an improvement on Chorlton.

6/34 Florence Lees letter to Rathbone from Verdon House, Blackheath SE July 3rd 1874, to breakfast on Tuesday and meet the gentlemen, re National Nursing Assoc, secretary

6/35 F Lees to Rathbone July 8 1874, not to accept hon sec of the N N Assoc, does not reside in London

6/36 copy of Rathbone letter to Lee dismay at her note
30 Old Burlington St  
London W  
Sept 13/59   

[16:76]

Dear Sir 

I was happy to accede 

to the request conveyed 
to me by Lord Shaftesbury 

that the MS to which 
you refer in your 

most kind letter of 
August 22, should be 

placed at the disposal 
of the Council. If any 

value attaches to the 
written copy, I shall 
be very glad that it 
shall remain in the 
Free Library of 
Liverpool—a town 
to which I, of all 
others, owe the most 
grateful admiration, 
as out of her has 
come, as I have always 
considered, Sanitary 
salvation to the Army 
of the Crimea & to all
England, more or less-

I venture to send
the published copy
of the same M S.
and two others on
the same subject,
hoping that you
will do me the honor
to add them to the
same Free Library.

I regret that my
increasing ill health
has delayed so long
my grateful reply
to your kind letter

And I remain

dear Sir

your obliged & obedt

Florence Nightingale

Wm Preston Esq
Mayor

Liverpool Record Office, paper copy

LRO 353 Sel 17/3 signed letter, 16ff, pen

34 South St
Park Lane
London W
August 28/65

Dear Sir

Before replying to your kind
letter of August 18, I waited till
I should have seen, as you desired,
your reply to Mr. Rathbone.

But I should certainly have
acknowledged your of the 18th before,
if I had not been in considerable
suffering & very much occupied.

Let me first say that I never
would have forwarded Mr. Rathbone’s
letter to you, had I thought it would
have given you one moment’s pain.
I, of all others, who have had to
encounter the same difficulties which
you have, should be about the last
person to do such a thing.

But we are all of us in a state of

G. Carr Esq
anxiety for the success of your great 
experiment - for upon its success or 
failure depend greater results than 
upon any other social reform at 
present on trial - And perhaps we 
are fidgetty.

At first I regretted extremely having 
been the means of forwarding Mr. 
Rathbone’s letter to you but on 
consideration I believe it was perhaps 
better that all those who are so much 
interested in your work should have 
heard your own view stated fully & completely, as you have stated it.

Let me also say how truly I 
rejoice & how heartily I congratulate 
you that you are able to say (of your 
experiment) “completely successful so far.” [Scarcely anything on this side the grave could have given me so much pleasure - And I have to thank you for it.]

Will you kindly bear with me while I allude to a few points which have suggested themselves from your letters - more especially as you mention our experience in Civil & Military Hospitals.

[N.B. There is more similarity between a Workhouse and a Military Hospital than at first appears - Each is under a Governor - With two exceptions, recently made for two large General Hospitals, the Military Governor has hitherto been the Commanding Officer of the Station, so that he has had under his charge both sick & well - But, in all instances whatsoever, a Military Hospital, whether in peace or in war,
is under a Commandant, [by whatever name called.]

Also, a soldier cannot be turned out of Hospital - and he knows he cannot. In this the Patient more closely resembles the pauper than the inmate of a Civil Hospital. He knows perfectly well that he is there, as it were, upon his own right, & not on charity.

Also, there is a much closer relation between the Nursing Staff of a Military Hospital - (Nurses & Orderlies it consists of -) & your own at the Liverpool Workhouse Infirmary than between the Nursing Staff of a Military and of that of a Civil Hospital.

I might multiply instances.]

-2-

You have so to speak three separate works going on at once: -
1. Nursing under a Superintendent of trained Nurses
2. The training of Probationer Nurses under a Superintendent
3. Training of paupers to act as Nurses, under a Superintendent.

May I try to keep these various objects distinctly in view in dealing with the question?

It is quite certain that, as all of these works are being carried out within the walls of the vast establishment, over which you are placed as Head & for which you are responsible, the Governing authority must rest with you.

This I have always stated, - as in your case, so in that of the Military Hospitals, both in war
and at peace - and always most
strongly. Nothing has occurred
to alter that opinion. And indeed
your authority has not once been
called in question.
The only difficulty is one which has
constantly occurred elsewhere -
and that is, in what manner to
allow the Superintendent to exercise
the power of superintendence
inferred in her name & office,
without infringing the Governor’s
authority.
The question, in as far as regards
your Workhouse experiment in
Liverpool, is really not the least
of those important questions which
you have to solve. It is a question
which will raise itself in every
workhouse before long - (though
we shall have few or no Governors like
yourself - & few Superintendents like
Miss Jones) - and it must be faced -
if good is to be lasting. And it can
only be solved by experience.
Before going farther, allow me to
recur to the fact that, in the few
months you have been engaged in
laying the foundations of your work,
it has been “successful, so far.”
It is developing itself. You are
working a quiet but effectual
change in Ward=nursing under
your Superintendent & Nurses.
The least satisfactory result hitherto
has apparently been that obtained
from training Probationers, and
especially paupers, as Ward Nurses.
[We have great difficulties in obtaining
sufficiently good material out of
which to form Nurses - Your
problem is greater than ours, and your difficulties are greater than ours in Civil Hospitals. They more resemble those of Military Hospitals. During war, it is well known that the very scum of the earth, those best known to the Police, enlist as Hospital Orderlies. It is better now, owing to the immense pains taken by the authorities in forming the new Hospital Orderly Corps - But it is not this which is so much our subject just now, as the relative positions of Governor & Superintendent, & the training of Nurses.]

Perhaps the best way of shewing you what we have been doing, or rather aiming at doing, will be to send you a copy of a private document drawn up by me at the request of the Government of India, which request was: - to shew them what, in our opinion, should be the steps taken for providing Nurses over their vast Empire. I scarcely expect that you will have leisure to look at it - but, if you even glance at it, you will see that difficulties similar to yours require to be met in India.

Please return me the paper, as it is private & not official.

In Appendix II, you will find the Regulations under which we have introduced trained Female Nursing into the Army. You will see how we have endeavoured to solve the difficulty of leaving the Superintendent sufficient power over her Nurses without interfering with the Governor.
Her power, you will see, is not absolute
    neither is the power of the Governor
    absolute. In either case, there is
    an appeal against dismissal to the
    Superintendent-General of Nurses -
and in the case of Superintendents to the Secretary of State for War -
There could be no such Officer in
Workhouses as "Supt=Genl; and the real point
at issue is, how to find a similar
check in Workhouses, so that the
service may be rendered systematic
and efficient - and yet that no
injustice should be done either
to Nurse or Service, either by
Superintendent or Governor.
    This, as I have said, is a problem
which you will have to solve -
and no one who knows you can
have anything but the strongest
confidence that your great practical
experience & your determination to
succeed will enable you to solve
the difficulty for us.
As regards the selection & discipline of Probationers: - the/our regulations are in the paper I send - We have found them answer in our Training Institutions in London. They may not do with you; but I have no doubt you will be able to arrive at the same result by some equally appropriate method.

[I might add that the/your Nursing Staff is not at present, tho’ we hope it may ultimately be, “supported by a compulsory tax” with you, but “by a voluntary subscription” - so to speak - in this approximating more nearly to a Civil Hospital than our Military Hospitals do - Our soldiers know perfectly well that their Institutions are supported by the country - And they consider even more than paupers do, that they have a right to them - for a “Hospital stoppage”, as it is called, is stopped out of their pay.]

With regard to the Training of Pauper Nurses: - this is the point of greatest difficulty; & yet it must be met & solved if we are to succeed.

[The Poor Law authorities, with whom I have communicated much lately on the general subject, appear to consider that the most hopeful material for training is to be found among the elder girls in Union Schools. At the same time, they admit the/our great difficulty: - that these girls can be placed out in situations at a much earlier age than they could possibly be taken on trial in Hospitals, (& apprenticed, if found suitable). In London, I made some enquiry, at the request of the Poor Law authorities - And I found that a charitable Institution was willing to take a limited number & train them in such Nursing duties]
as their age admitted of, until they were old enough to be admitted as Probationer Nurses into the Hospital, nursed by the said Institution.

Of course, the difficulty was: - will the Guardians pay? - (as this Institution was unable to saddle itself with a fresh charge, & do it entirely gratuitously)

It is certain that, if such a scheme could be successfully carried out, a large number of women would be trained to a good bread-winning life.]

As regards training of pauper-women there will, of course, be greater difficulty. I feel, as strongly as you can put it, their low moral qualifications. I know that you think even more keenly than we do that women of known, bad, dirty, drunken, dishonest or general immoral habits should never be selected for training. Indeed, even if such women could be trained, they could never be recommended for employment by you, as you could never be sure of them. Hence the importance of knowing the character & antecedents of such women before training them.

Old women or women in the decline of life are also unfit subjects for training. [We have limited ourselves to certain ages, as you will see.]

Might I ask you, if you ever have a moment’s leisure, kindly to consider the whole subject, now that it has been raised - and perhaps, if you have time, to communicate with me about it?

Our objects are the same, viz. to provide safe & suitable attendance for the sick poor, whether in Hospital
Derbyshire Co Record Office 645

in the Workhouse, or at home. And I have no fears but that, with singleness of aim & the accumulation of practical experience, we shall succeed in our work -

In any case, - however much I may desire to help in any way I can, even however the humblest, - I am the last person ever to wish to see a Governor’s authority undermined in the very least degree - But I do not see how it can be so -

Pray believe me, dear Sir, (with many apologies for this long letter)
Your very faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

Would you kindly shew this letter to Mr. Rathbone, as I have (perhaps unfortunately) been mixed up in the discussion - and I am unable, from ill=health & business, to write so fully to all as I should wish.

F.N.

LRO Rathbone 610 LRO Rathbone 610 6/8 signed letter, 2ff, pencil

35 South St. July 2/73

Park Lane w.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I am deeply grateful that your work is extending itself to America with so much prospect of success.

I entirely concur in all that you recommend in your letter to Mr. Moore.

That the two Institutions, (“Charity” & “Bellevue”) must be independent of each other -

- that the Female Head must have charge of all Female
We may safely affirm to be a sine qua non. They sent me and I have read the printed Reports of the State Charities Aid Association of the Visiting Commee for Bellevue Hospl of the Commee on Hospitals. I was surprised to see my ‘private’ letter to Dr. Gull Wylie printed in the last in extenso, containing as it did references to personal matters.

(not £68) for “Bellevue” with the accessories – [And I have taken a note of these.] Or is it for “Bellevue” £68? - I return the whole of your corresponde. I wish you God speed with all my might & am ever sincerely yours Florence Nightingale [Let me thank you & not in a Postscript of my heart your continued kindness anent the beautiful flowering plants.]
But I would urge the importance of some general remarks I have made there (- & which I need not trouble you by repeating here -) on what is essential to the discipline of the Nursing Staff. And, having regard to the necessity for individual responsibility in the one female Head, I cannot but the more strongly feel that it would in no way answer to make “Charity” Staff in any sense dependent upon the Supt of “Bellevue”.

[About Dr. Gull Wylie’s Report
   I will only add, to you, that, as you well know, Dr. G.W.’s account of what has been & is being done here in the way of Nursing generally greatly magnifies the results.]
   I had a letter from Mrs. Hobson some time since about a Supt, which I did not answer – for it did not appear to call for any answer.

2.
   About the “2 Nurses” for “Bellevue”
   – I am afraid that Miss Mary Jones has no Nurses now – but I would by all means apply – for the chance –
   You know her new Address:
   39 Kensington Square W.
In answer to your question, I am afraid that we have none to spare -
We have had a great drain made on us by Edinburgh Infirmary -
And we can less & less spare women except as members of a complete Staff under our own Trained Supts.
The 2 "Bellevue" posts would be rather difficult to fill.
They must not be gentlewomen -
They must be real, skilled, experienced Training=Nurses.
Such will rarely go out to be under a Supt not their own.
Indeed I never would send out one year's Probationers except as forming part of a complete/compact Staff.
I consider that it takes a full year - after the year's training - for a Nurse to settle down into efficiency.
She has to learn to manage her Patients as well as her Nursing -
to learn neither to be bustling nor overwhelmed when there is a press of work -
nor careless when there is not -
[But indeed of this latter danger there is now little fear in Hospitals.]

LRO Rathbone 610 6/9 signed letter, 2ff, pencil black-edged

Boston: Supt of Nurses 35 South St. [13:509-10]
Park Lane W.
May 25/74

Dear Mr. Rathbone
I have delayed answering your kind letter of May 14 because I wished to ascertain what our St. Thomas' prospects were & to consult Mrs. Wardroper & Mr. Hy Bonham Carter
These would be quite willing to receive "two carefully selected ladies from Boston - into our
"Training School - upon the same conditions as
Derbyshire Co Record Office  650

“other special Probationers - it being clearly
understood that they would be prepared
to abide by all the Regulations - (barring
of course the Obligation)"

if it should be desired hereafter -
But at this moment there are an
unusual number of “Special Probationers waiting,
to whom Mrs. Wardroper has more or less
engaged us to admit: & who seem unusually
desirable. We are afraid to say that we
can admit 2 Boston ladies, should they
wish to come in during the next term:
because we shall be so full that some
one else must be disappointed, who besides
believes her Admission to be promised.
Of these Admissions we might possibly be able to
recommend one for Boston should they/Boston be
inclined to wait a year: or we have
even now a lady who has finished about
half her training, who might prove recommenda-
in another 6 months.
You see we have nothing definite to offer at
once: & I am rather ashamed of writing
so very ‘conditional’ an answer -
Let me thank you most unconditionally for
your great kindness: in sending me more lovely
flowering plants: & pray believe me (in haste)
-very definitely
ever yours gratefully & sincerely
Florence Nightingale
“Nurses for the Sick Poor”
35 South St.
Park Lane W.
June 13/74

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I will submit a few considerations to you, in answer to your kind note: sure that your greater administrative experience will tell me whether I am wrong -

And as I should be very sorry not to see you again, (even while feeling that I can be of little use,) - & thank you for many kindnesses, I could gladly, if you still wished it, see you for half an hour at 2.30 on Monday as you propose.

I think not only that you can be of the greatest use to these people: but that without you they will infallibly do harm & not good.

I agree with you as to their plan being too vague &c. but I think I am more penetrated than you are with their utter unbusiness-like=ness, with their ignorance of what has been done: including an absolute ignorance (Doctor & all) of what a “Trained” or “qualified” Nurse is: how to find her, how to make her, or how to manage her: but with a very competent knowledge of how not to find her: & generally with their want of practical capacity how to set about an object - [I have been deluged with their papers: & have had at different times voluminous corresponde with several of them - All, Doctor & all, have yet to learn what is a Nurse.]

Without you, there is no salvation for them - OF COURSE one wishes (not well but) the best, the very best to such an object - [[ I entirely agree with you that “in laying down from the first a carefully formed scheme & working it out step by step,” but from a SMALL BEGINNING, all “success”]
2. Yes: I know the Westr Hospl scheme - Sir R. Alcock wrote the letter in the “Times” signed by the Duke of Westminster: & did it merely because Christine Nilson had offered them a Concert - He knows nothing of any real plan, as the workers told me.

{When Westminster Hospl was/shall be organized so as to be fit for a Training School, (which it certainly is not at present,) under the two Miss Merryweathers, we had intended to pay for the training of District Sick Nurses as a part of their work & ours: (as we do at St. Thomas’ for Hospl nurses.)} Sir R. Alcock’s very vague letter merely/only speaks of “private” Nursing, as you will have observed - I merely mention this - because you allude to it.

3. About organizing District Nursing for the Sick poor in London: as you have so nobly done at Liverpool:

Is there any advantage in a Central Society beyond a certain power of getting money - in so vast a place as London?

Is there any administrative advantage? And are there not very serious objections - which are avoided by local organization?

Is it not “putting the cart before the horse”?

4. “Presenting to the public a map of the work to be done” Yes: most useful: if as a Sermon as it were: but not as a plan to be worked out - Would not that be doing the very reverse of what you so wisely did at Liverpool?

4a. At such a place as Liverpool the advantage is: that there is an ‘esprit de corps’, or rather ‘de ville’: the leading men know each other: or perhaps rather one man can lead: the place is not too large for a general superintendence
emanating from a centre: & influencing local superintendencies: & providing them with means

Is there anything of the sort in London? is there not the very reverse of these conditions?
is there any part of London of the size of Liverpool or indeed of any size where any common ‘esprit’ rules?
do the Clergy combine in their Schools for any X practical purpose except to prevent others from teaching better?
what fulcrum is there for any Organization to compare with your Nursing Organization at Liverpool?

{page missing?}
E.g.

5 c Imagine a Central Power - {illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg} controlling & directing our operations at St. Thomas': or those at Westminster? Is it not as certain as anything can be that they would drag down the standard of training instead of raising it? the inexperienced controlling & "superintending" the experienced?

5 d E.g. again: would not the only result of our furnishing {illeg} a Central Institution with Trained Nurses be: that they would be dragged down to the level of the rest? I have asked several experienced men this: & they were all of this opinion.

6. Suppose the Central Society started: I take for granted that they would get money I feel sure that many, who knew little or nothing of the difficulties of the subject, would give: they are started then with money and a plan:

[just what you have always so wisely said is: 'putting the cart before the horse':]

they have no Nurses: not one:

Soon they are obliged to show something in return for their money: by this time they have found the difficulty which experienced people like yourself could have told them before hand of getting Nurses: at the end of a year they have perhaps nothing to shew but e.g. the Westminster plan: they advertise for Nurses: they get together a quantity of useless ignorant women (as has always been done in time of War) - not one of the Society knowing
what a ‘trained’ or qualified Nurse is:
And so the last state is worse than the first
(for they have dragged down the whole standard of Nursing
Did not you, in your most successful
experiment, do the very reverse of all this?

6 a. (illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg Illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg illeg 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[The tremendous failure of the Johanniter in the Franco-Prussian War has much increased this feeling.]

These are the things which occur to me: & which I try to submit to you for your greater wisdom & experience: excuse my ragged criticism ragged in writing, not in thought -

If I had more time, I could have submitted it to you more connectedly
[I will return your printed paper on Monday.]

-6-

P.S.
I am overwhelmed with business -
Such a revolution in our favour (Indian Irrigation) as Lord Salisbury nailing his colours to the mast in the House of Lords on Tuesday I had never dared to hope
I trust that you mean to vote our “forty millions” in the Ho: of Commons -
Pray believe me dear Mr. Rathbone ever yours sincerely & gratefully Florence Nightingale
3. [It is a great strain upon the energy of people, so overworked as you & I are, & without an oz. of spare strength to fall back upon, as is my case but I hope not yours: to waste any part of it in (not doing our positive work, but) in the negative tho’ much more exhausting task of preventing as we believe a false step.

But if must be must: and I go on to try what you ask because you ask it:]

IS NOT THE FUNDAMENTAL DEFECT running through the whole of the Observations of the Printed Memda:, Reports, papers &c of this ‘St. John of Jerusalem’ Committee that they entirely ignore the difficulties of providing Trained Nurses?

Does not the ‘report’ of the committee shew an utter ignorance not only of what has been done hitherto to provide the means of training - but also - & yet more - of the organization &c necessary to establish a School &c to train skilled Nurses fitted for the object?

The N. Fund School has now been established 14 years: & has not yet found itself in a position to supply the demand for Trained Nurses for Hospitals & Infirmaries [The N.F. is solely, for the “Sick Poor”]

Besides St. Thomas’, –– there are King’s Coll: & Charing X (which afford training to St. John’s House): & University Coll: (to All Saints): & these Hospitals afford instruction & training of a more or less systematic, tho’ far from perfect kind.

Something has been done at Middlesex: & recently in connection with the Brit: Nursing Assn, at the Royal Free: a beginning is about to be made under difficult
circumstances at Westminster Hosp: under Miss Merryweather:

but can it be said that, at any of the 3 last mentioned, anything like an organized system of instruction & training is as yet afforded?

St. Bartholomew's, Guy's, the London - - - do these afford any real means of training at all?

[N.B. It has always been our idea, in the N. Fund, that it should eventually afford the means of training Nurses to be employed among the “Sick Poor” at their own Homes that this object was the final & paramount object to be attained.

-5-

but we considered - & certainly have been entirely borne out by all experience - that the way to attain this object was to begin at the fountain-head:

to reform the Nursing system of Hospitals where alone Nurses could be trained & that, until that end was sufficiently attained, so that every Hospital & Workhouse Infirmary or, at any rate, most large Hospitals, had brought themselves into the position of

(1) having a trained & Skilled Staff with proper organization for their own Nursing: & then

(2) of being able to train others:

it would be premature & almost useless to attempt the next step of training Nurses for service among the Poor at their own Homes.]

Are there not a considerable number of so called Training Institutions & Homes:

- a list of which is contained in the Committee’s Report - but the greater part of wh: have no pretence at all to the name of Training Institutions?

And does not the fact of a Series of Questions having been addressed to all without discrimination, - with a view to elicit facts & information usefully bearing on the subject - shew the Committee’s want of knowledge of the existing state of things? of the ground they have to know before they can lay it out?
The experience of the real Training Institutions already existing: what does it show?

Does it not show (1) that they do not afford the means of providing Nurses for the Sick poor in any considerable numbers, if at all in an efficient way: & that therefore on that ground alone the beginning ought to be made upon a small scale?

(2) that the proposal of the printed Memo to “select women, & get them trained at the various London Hospitals is quite impracticable: & will result in utter failure?

(3) that any Central authority or Committee would be quite incompetent to “select” the proper women for training: [they might be agents, as you suggested, especially in country towns, to make known the thing to illeg/good country young women, & to make them known to the London & other Training Institutions with great advantage]

(d/4) that the means of training are not to be found in this hap-hazard way proposed?

4. Should not the plan adopted in Liverpool be taken (with modifications) as a Model to begin upon? 
[No reference is made to this in the Memo or Report or any of the printed papers of the Socy. If they had lived in Noah’s time after the Deluge could they have begun more table rase?] Let the Committee give us a sketch of the Liverpool plan
[have they been even down to inspect it?] xx

- a Training Institution attached to a Hospital

which undertakes to provide Nurses especially for Service among the Sick poor at their own Homes

- the town mapped out into Nursing Districts

- ? a local Committee in each District, guaranteeing salary to Nurse?

Note

xx tho' the Liverpool Training School, is mentioned as one of the places to wh: the Comm: sent questions: actually no account of this the most successful experiment in Europe is given.]

- a Supt (Matron of Training Institution)? & Assistant selecting, training, supervising Nurses & inspecting their work

- a District Lady Visitor or Supt under her

  ? selecting cases & generally watching over District & assisting Nurses

to each District a Local Lady Supt responsible for finding Medical Comforts:

  ? selecting cases:

  in communication with ? District Committee, Medical Officers & persons locally interested assisting & directing Nurse

In Liverpool is not the sphere of work such that the Supt (with the General Visiting Lady) can know & supervise all the Nurses -

She has moreover herself had them all under her, while training

the Managers are all known to each other & to the inhabitants generally there is a certain community of action & mutual confidence

But with all this it is stated (by Managers themselves) is it not? that many/some of the Nurses are inefficient
...that they are insufficiently overlooked
- that every thing depends upon what the District Local Lady Supt is -
  that where she does not know what Nursing is: that
  the Nurse degenerates into a mere doler-out of the
  Charitable relief provided by the local Supt & others
that some Managers would in consequence prefer the
  Elberfeld system: where the Nurse is sent as one
  of the means of relief: not as giving the relief
that the General Supt sometimes does “more harm than good
  “by interfering”:
& sometimes “comes into collision” with the best Local
  Lady Supts.

Are not these difficulties
certain to be greatly
  aggravated the wider the sphere of action
  the more numerous the Nurses under one Head
  the greater the separation
  & the less intimate the knowledge between the
  Central Ctee & the District Workers?

[how many Local Lady Supts do you suppose we shall find
  in London who do “know what Nursing is”: who are
  capable of raising the Nursing above mere alms=giving?
  in a few Sisterhoods, yes:
  where there are men’s committees, no: except where one of
  the men happens to be Secretary of a real Training Institution]

5. Does a Central Association for London afford
  any advantages in an administrative point of view?
  does it not afford many grave sources of
  weakness?
  Is not the only useful purpose which a
  Central Association may eventually serve
  to collect money from a wider sphere?
  And would not this be a positive cause of danger
  at the outset? except as you propose they refusing/refuse
  to accept any money till they can provide the
  Nurses?
But - Even so, had they not better see FIRST whether & how soon they CAN provide the Nurses?

6. So far as the work is concerned, does any given District require aid from a Central source? is it not eminently a local work, requiring local effort & local supervision from beginning to end? Must not the work from the difficulty of obtaining Trained Nurses & Trained Supervision begin from small beginnings: & advance step by step even within any given district? much more among 3 millions of people? Having started a Central Association, is there not at once great pressure to do something that will make a show - to attempt much more than means exist of carrying on efficiently - to employ ill-selected, inefficient instruments ignorant & untried Nurses - inexperienced & unpractical Superintendts:-& the result - for a time bad work: & then failure?

7. May we not add that - given the organization & the Nurses - the proper application of the Nurse’s services for the real benefit of the sick poor is not so simple as the Commtee seem to think? Have they consulted you about this? To benefit the poor in the highest degree should not the calling of Nurse should be such that trained Nurses should be able eventually to gain an independent livelihood by working among the poor so that the demand may of itself create the supply? Will not charitable aid, unless judiciously applied, in the long run defeat this object as it has done to some extent with regard to Medical attendance? Should not the endeavour be - to provide Trained Nurses - to start them by sufficient aid in the first instance under such restrictions as will ensure their services to the poor: & at the same time draw from the poor who employ them something towards their support?
-gradually as the real value of the Nurses becomes known to lend to this: that the poor who employ them may contribute a considerable, if not wholly adequate amount of remuneration?

To arrive at anything like this result - would not much discretion & local knowledge & very careful supervision on the part of the Managers be required?

would not the sense of responsibility be much, in a huge place like London weakened by dependence upon a Central support -

& the tendency of the Nurse to rely upon the Association & not upon her own efforts be thereby greatly increased?

It would be like uniting 60 Liverpools under one Head or Governing Body: & saying:

we will manage these 60 by the Management which did for one?

8. If the promoters of a Central Association want to do something at once: would not by far the best thing they can do be: to convert some existing Hospital or Infirmary into an efficient Training Institution for Nurses to be employed among the sick poor at their own homes?
Are there not several *Hospitals* largely dependent upon voluntary contributions - and according to their own accounts in a chronic state of insolvency -
- say the London, or St. Mary's, or Westminster, or Middlesex -
[but or perhaps a *Workhouse Infirmary* would best afford the field: or one field:]
- could not an *Association* be found in conjunction with & part of the governing body of the Hospital -
[= i.e. widen the composition of the governing body & the objects of the Institution so as to include the Training Institution]

*introduce the reforms* necessary to establish a proper *Training Institution*: consulting of course the experience of others:
- appeal to the Public for funds to support the *Training Institution*: & thus add to the Funds of the Hospital a sufficient sum say to defray the whole or part of the cost of the *Nursing Staff*
- this to be the inducement to the Hospital Governors to join in the movement
  - but let there be but one Governing body for the whole.

-then after having established your *School & trained your Nurses* offer to provide Nurses for any *local Association*, that may establish itself with a proper organization, for supplying *District Nurses* for the poor at their own Homes:
  - beginning as an experiment with the *neighbourhood* of the Hospital itself under the direction of the Supt: and let this be the adjunct of the School for giving the absolutely essential experience *xx* in Home Nursing: & also a model for others to follow.

*xx N.B. It need scarcely be shown that no Institution*
Dear Mr. Rathbone

After I had sent you my far too long letter, it occurred to me that a point, which you & I equally think of importance, had not been made clear, altho’ (much too) lengthily mentioned by me.

*It is this:*

These people, while pointing out that there is

*No Institution* for nursing the sick poor, (at home they mean, I suppose:) depend upon Institutions for sending them at once a sufficient supply of Nurses for nursing the sick poor at home -

Was there ever such a non-sequitur?

-Even had we trained Nurses *ad libitum* to give, *away*, like bottles on a Druggist’s shelf, instead of just the reverse:

we should reply - (and I am sure all *honest* Institutions would:)

we must select among our best Nurses:

& give them a supplementary course of instructions & experience - & of testing - by the poor bed side at home:

{the following 3 lines have vertical lines drawn through them}

which you by your own shewing have shown *not* to exist:

& which we have at present *no organization* to give:

before we should dare to *recommend/supply* you with District Nurses for the poor at home (the para. enc los ed by dou ble lin es is ins ert ed
But things are worse than this: for we have to create Nurses. N.B. [F.N. for her part believes: as to moral qualities: that the highest class of woman - - higher than the women for Hospital Nursing - - much higher than women for Rich Nursing is required for District Nursing -] And some people hold this so strongly that
they say none but ‘Sisters’ {ladies } can do it.
(in which F.N. does not agree.)]

Forgive me this Codicil:
it was necessary to point out that these people
- affirm
  state a non-existence
- look to this non-existence for supply & suggest no other means of supply.

F.N./P. Turn over

P.S.
It is well known that large Institutions do not turn out fit servants for small & especially for poor families.
Why?
Because large Institutions have all sorts of mechanical contrivances to save personal labour:
- large cooking ranges
- washing by steam &c &c &c
  I know no place where this very obvious principle applies so much as in large Hospitals:
& even, tho’ to a lesser degree, in Workhouse Infirmaries:

where every kind of Surgical & Medical appliance is furnished ready to hand -
We always gave our Midwifery Nurses a course by the poor HOME lying-in woman’s bed side
We should do the same with the Hospital Nurse:
  to fit her for Home Nursing of the poor where no yrs sincerely kind of appliance F.N. is to be had.

N.B.
The Nurses for the sick poor at home do not exist:
  the ‘St. John of J.’ say they do not: but they suggest no way of causing them to exist: except a Public Meeting and a Committee
Dear Mr. Rathbone

I try to answer your letter, because you bid me answer, before Monday.

How I wish that I could offer you any more efficient suggestions!

1. With regard to Miss Lees:
   I can only say: have her if you can.
   I have scarcely one more eager wish on earth at this moment that that she should be settled; & very soon: as Head of a Hospital Training=School: practically to carry out what she advises & writes.

And I know of no one who has had such training & such gifts conferred upon her for such a post -

[If she puts off going into actual harness much longer, it may be too late to put it on at all.]

At the same time I think that her true calling would be: to found a Training School in the busiest London General Hospital where there are the most severe cases, accidents & operations: where there is a large Professional and Medical School: & where she can show us how to train nurses & “Training=Nurses” to the highest pitch of perfection.

[I think this would suit her better than a Workhouse Infirmary: (our London ‘Sick Asylums’ send the Operations to St. Thomas’:) - or than superintending District Nurses: the which requires, does it not? something of the Missionary superadded to the Matron:]

but, should St. John of J. employ her in the way
above mentioned, District Nurse=training &
District Nursing might most easily be & well
be attached to the same Hospital under her.]
2. After reading & re-reading your letter,
I cannot feel that we could recommend
Miss Pringle to do what you want. Her
peculiar & great qualifications are scarcely
suited to the work you describe.
But as you are aware she is engaged
till Christmas at Edinburgh:
and if by that time you have not
found such a lady as will suit your work,
the questions can again be reconsidered.
We will not offer her any engagement,
(& she will not take any but what we offer,)
without previously referring to you: or
without informing her of your Liverpool
proposal. [She is so truly sensible that I
should not hesitate to sound her at once
about Liverpool but that I believe it
would rather have the contrary effect to that of
forwarding your wishes.
3. I enclose a letter from Miss Myles: of course
you know these two ladies: a great deal
better than I: herself & sister.
Is it possible that with some months’
initiation from Miss Merryweather they
might undertake the post?
x Do you think that by far the
safest plan would be: to instal some
lady (having previously had some connection with
Liverpool Nursing Work) after the your
present Lady Supt had put herself into the way?
This has always been my idea.
4. And also: that one of the ladies now first
under consideration might drive better
than any one else: but might also
upset the coach - And that neither of those
first mentioned, tho’ of the most opposite
characters, is at all likely/certain to carry out a
plan, (while improving upon it,) laid down for them/her
(last line is cut off)
I hope that Thursday’s Meeting at Willis’, & Friday’s Meeting at your house, tho’ you do not mention them, did much good & no harm.

And pray believe me
dear Mr. Rathbone
ever yours sincerely
Florence Nightingale

Wm Rathbone Esq MP.

LRO Rathbone 610 6/14 initialed letter, 1f, pencil black-edged

in haste not to keep your 29/6/74

Messenger
Dear Mr. Rathbone
I had written the enclosed note before your kind note came.
I have no knowledge of the Miss Myles to say that they are not “dangerously inefficient” - I entirely agree with you about the “severe professional ideal” - yrs gratefully

F.N.

LRO Rathbone 610 6/15 unsigned letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

Private 35 South St Park Lane W
Miss Lees July 6/74 [13:733-34]

Dear Mr. Rathbone
I think that it would be the ‘making’ of Miss Lees if she could be the Secretary of the Sub-Comm: for this year: & then become Lady Supt to a Training Hospital &c in London for them/the Association.
In zeal, ability, thorough knowledge she would make a first rate Secretary:
We do not know how far she may have the tact necessary - especially with women on the Committee.

The very great advantage in having her services would be to conduct an enquiry into the present means of training:

the very great danger being, as you are aware, that such an enquiry will prove abortive, unless taken up by some one who understands the matter:

And she is the only person who does -

The enquiry must of course be made in the spirit of finding out capabilities & not only of criticizing & pointing out defects.

But no Medical men & hardly any ladies really know the essential necessity of organization & trained female Supe in training. [One great lady on the Assn evidently is going to urge the merely sending women to be trained at any Hospital, organized or not, which will take them in]

We entirely agree with you that the Sub Committee should endeavour to impress the need of a Training Hospital with requisite adjuncts - leaving the discussion of scheme for employment of Nurses - registration of Nurses - pensions &c to the future.

LRO Rathbone 610 6/16 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

Liverpool
Letter to Mr. Gibbon

35 South St
July 12/74

Dear Mr. Rathbone

It is so important not to commit you without a reasonable certainty that I took farther advice upon this.

We think that, if you write upon your own standing point, you can of course write what you think best, but that, if you
have it endorsed by us, we could not quite certify what you here write to Mr. Gibbon.

We are most gratefully anxious to do what we can for you & Liverpool: we think that you may arrange with Mr. Gibbon & your Committee: but we can only say that we will do our best, but can at present not ensure either Miss Pringle’s or Miss Williams’ acceptance.

That Miss Williams should take it I believe that I wish - (unless you can find something/body better with more connection with Liverpool) almost more than you do yourself.

But she has shown a strong desire to remain in company with Miss Pringle: And as to Miss Pringle the more I think of it the more I believe that she neither could not would run alone in your Liverpool post.

We are of course strongly bound to the Edinburgh Committee who have stood by us manfully in the what seemed at first almost insuperable difficulties.

In answer to a former question of yours: I do not think that it would further the cause your going to Edinbro’ & seeing Miss P. & Miss W.

You may depend upon me that I am as anxious as you are that your work at Liverpool should have the very best head that can be found -

in haste ever yrs gratefully

F. Nightingale
Dear Mr. Rathbone

I have received your long & kind letter: & since that Mr. Guyton’s Map & some valuable information from him.

Miss Lees had engaged herself to come here to-day to stay till Monday, when she goes to H. Bonham Carter’s: then perhaps to return here -

I can better answer your letter when I have had some talk with her.

I cannot express my feeling of the importance of the work you are doing.

I am quite sure that it is the first real knowledge that I or any one has had as to whether London is not nursed at all: or as some have said over-nursed.

Till people know the ABC of this question, no systematic work of any importance can be done.

With regard to Miss Lees, I have said for years to her what is the principle of your letter:

barring your munificent proposal which of course I did not know.

I said it again to her in writing at great length last week.

I still think that with her great abilities & thorough training no one would work like her if once started.

But I think her very much deteriorated by her platform=ing tour in America: (as I told her plainly she would be -)

And in another year I think it would be too late.

I will write more definitely as to your noble
Derbyshire Co Record Office 674

I am must pressed by Indian work which
they tell me must be ready by the New
Year.

A thousand thanks for the flowering plants -
I am quite ashamed of your continuing your
bounty. (in haste)

ever sincerely yours
F. Nightingale

I should think it an immense honour, if I
were Miss Lees, to initiate such a work as
you have laid the first real sleepers/machinery {in another hand} in

London.

-2-

May I add two things: perhaps better said
before I see Miss Lees -
is it not of the utmost importance that she
should herself see some of the District Nurses
at work? What they call a Trained Nurse
may be very different from what we call a Trained
Nurse. At all events, she should see. [And
if the Nursing is very bad, nothing is so likely to
raise her enthusiasm to make it better].

Please let me ask:

is it necessary at the present stage to decide that

she is to be the person to take charge of the Hospital

in nubibus? Let her show at least that she

can do this work (of enquiring & reporting thoroughly)
which she has undertaken.

is it not of the utmost importance that the
preliminary work should be patiently & thoroughly
done? i.e. by personal inspection which a man cannot do, & observation.

If she is fit for
the further work, it is more likely to arise out
of this than in any other way.

But come how it may, the opportunity will
have to be taken advantage of with tact &
discretion - opposition encountered - compromises
made for the sake of making a beginning.

And she has as yet done little or nothing
“in evidence” to prove her possession of the qualities requisite for such a position -

Is it possible to be yet discussing “an offer to the Committee” of the nature you mention, “either contingent upon her accepting the post” or otherwise?

But I see no harm in my speaking of your plan to her as an object to be attained & worked up to.

[I doubt whether any considerable London Hospital would be willing to put her in authority upon her present “testimonials’.

A poor one might, if she were backed by a large sum of money.

But then the money (if it is to be had) would be for the District Nursing & Training: & not for the Hospital].

This is how it strikes me at present.

F.N.

Liverpool District Nursing
35 South St.
April 5/75

Dear Mr. Rathbone
(1) I return with many thanks Miss Howarth’s letter which you were so good as to leave with me:
I ask permission to keep the District Nurses’ papers (which are very instructive) a little longer, as I meant to return them to you with a few deductions: which I have not yet had power to write out.

[Indeed I have been so ill that much of my corresponde remains even unopened: a thing which has
(2) I re-inclose the printed Statistical Table: it is the most important document I have seen at all relating to the subject of District Nursing. [Of course you put this into the hands of Miss Lees when she made her Liverpool visitings] It is also most important read in connection with the Distt Nurses’ papers. Its revelations are extraordinary; & by me quite unexpected. Please return me this Table: & as many more as you can send me - please send me I do not see that it can be of much use to Mr. Greg: this in answer to your question: except as showing 1. the extreme severity of the cases nursed by the District Nurses 2. the inevitable consequence: viz. that you might employ 10 times the number of Nursing

-2-

Nurses really to nurse - & that the cases would find almost more than that with full Nursing occupation (besides any other women you might employ for cooking & relieving - The Dist Nurses’ own papers show that while these women are most valuable & indispensable, they are far more of cooks, - relieving & other Officers for relief, - letter writers, District Visitors &c &c than Nurses: do you
I confess myself completely at a loss to understand a letter which I have seen of Miss Lees in which she says that she has become convinced that there is not enough to do for Distt Nurses, when cases have been removed to Hospital &c !!!

Your printed sheet shows exactly the contrary - it shows enough to do to employ fully a large Staff of Hospital trained Nurses - to nurse (& alone to nurse) in Districts, - a larger Staff than we had any conception of.

Only think what the cases must be when after weeding them into Hospital & Workhouse the Death-rate is 153 per 1000!

LRO Rathbone 610 6/19 signed letter, 6ff, pen & pencil [13:740-42]

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I think it better to send this whole packet to you, (instead of to Mr. Percy Greg: as I was desired).

You are the real founder & Pioneer of District Nursing: to you we owe an immense debt of gratitude for this. And nothing ought to go into the Draft Report but what you approve: altho’ you are generously & magnanimously desirous to stand aloof: as to passing judgment.
I send then the copy of Draft Report (which was sent me) with notes on margin, & 3 Riders in H. Bonham Carter’s hand, founded/to carry out 5½ sheets of Notes, (which perhaps I ought also to enclose:)

Perhaps you will return me these last some time.] I have no time to copy them]

H.B.C. will supply something additional

Please supply Dr. Trench’s Table: Report Lpool 1873 (mentioned in Rider A. p. 16) for insertion in Appendix if you approve -

I should also print in Appendix your New Form for Registering cases: registry is so very important.

Liverpool District Nurses

I also return in another Envelope

the whole of the Liverpool Dist Nurses’ papers

(‘states’) which you were so kind as to leave with me for remarks; with remarks as you desired. & 4 sheets of Abstract:

I am very sorry that I have not time to make a summary: but, if you will return me the whole, I will. I do not like now to keep them any longer; really interesting & instructive documents as they are -

The impression they leave upon one is

1. that of good women: = most valuable & essential
2. in some instances that they do everything except nurse: what they do being indis= =pensible -

[Please, look particularly at 13 & 17]

Forgive me this very rough scrawl:

& very rough remarks

You have your Meeting on Friday for the N.N. I must not delay any longer: in great haste

Believe me to be

Yours ever truly & gratefully

Florence Nightingale

I also return Mrs. Farrell’s letter with some remarks, as you desired
Nurse 1 B x 40 Cases
visits 24, 27, & 30 cases a day:
This must be the merest “visiting” indeed,
with smallest admixture of Nursing
but the “one Case dressed”
A “giver out of Meat”
& Relief Giver to all but two

Nurse 2 x 24 5 daily dressings
3 days a week “cooking days”
2 “general visiting days”
seeing to the “wants of the poor” sick
how much is flannel singlets & shirts to poor men going
Nurse’s work? into Hospl
baby clothes
Central Relief & Ladies’ Charity notes & notes for Dispensing Doctors
sees to Parish Relief for poor widows &
aged poor sick

Nurse 5 x
3 cooking days a week till 1 p.m.
4 Cases daily (2 poulticing
2 bedmaking

2 days sees ALL her Patients
“has to be where she can” gets Central Relief
“My “good Ladies give money”.
lends Bedding & sees that it is returned
Nurse 3 x 38 P. (12 Fever: 2 women to help:
all cooked for at Nurse’s house
[how much better to have a Home]
9 to Fever Hospl
1 died
8 recovered
20 left (11 nursed & dressed daily
(2 Fever
2 Ulcerated Legs
1 Abscess in hind Surgical Accident
1 Stroke
1 Bronchitis
1 Inflammation of Knee
1 Asthma
2 Childbed (one with a rupture

Some
Patients come to her own house & eat there
Sees & reports to & gets orders/information from Dispensary Doctors:
visits with things
“according to Doctors’ orders
“persons apply for Ladies Charity notes, Central Relief, various other
types of relief
removing Cases to Hospl: takes a great deal of time
often has to attend Parish Board or see Relieving Officer
send Reports for Disinfection
clean Beds attended to
gets destitute children into Schools & Shops

Nurse 9A & B x 46 Cases
Of which only one she appears to have nursed
Nurse 10 & 11 x 44
This woman “takes notice of” fractured legs & gives
“advice upon them”
& “sees Fever Cases”
& talks more like a Consulting Physician &
Surgeon than anything else
She has an “Assistant Nurse”
Nurse 13 x 34 Patients
" 17 x 42 (8 daily
twice a week 26 2 or 3 times a week
daily food given out 9-10 a.m.
cooks 3 days a week
13 “great part of her time taken up” in obtaining Parish relief
17 in procuring notes for Central R. Society “ ” Admission to
Hospitals
admissions into Convalescent Instns (providing linen for these
“ Dispensary
sending for Ministers writing letters for them
at Patient’s request acknowledging P.O. orders weekly from Charitable
Clients
“ finding employment for recovered
& for their friends
“not coming under head of Nursing”
{She may well say this]

Nurse 16 x 1 morning with Lady Supt
1 afternoon paying Bills & ordering things
lends & enters Linen
Sees Doctors about Patients to Infy or Workh: &c
& goes with the Patients
makes one Patient’s bed
visits & rejects unsuitable Patients

Nurse 14 x 22 Cases visits “nearly all” 3 days a week visits “all the others
how many cooks 3 days a week 1 baby to wash
can she nurse? goes to Supt one day
{1 day makes up accts withdls
{2 days sees Drs for worse

Nurse 4 x 21 cooks for all 3 days a week {cases & visits “all the others
“very bad confinement case with inflammation
? peritonitis
2 hours daily very bad Scarlet Fever case !!!!
has “to attend Parish Board”} 1 Paralysis makes bed for 2 Debility
takes up her time. } 1 very bad leg
1 Abscess sees Dr. for “very bad
Inflammation case”
Derbyshire Co Record Office 682
Nurse 7 x 58 Cases 10 cases daily
cooks for 56
{Wednesday
{Monday visits 26 nourishment to all 2 dressings
tues 10 daily
Thurs 20
Friday 10 milk to 46
B. Tea 10 or 40
Rice Milk 40
meets Parish Doctor
goes to Parish Office to get relief
supplies Air Pillow
prepares Patients for Convalescent Home
how is it possible to visit “10 worst cases daily”
“in edition to &c &c” & do any real Nursing to any of
the 10?

LRO Rathbone 610 6/20 signed letter, 2ff, pen [13:749]
35 South St.
Park Lane W.
Dear Mr. Rathbone
Feb 23/76
I am sure that you will be pleased to find what
a good start Miss Lees has made in initiating,
herself, into District work the Nurses.
[Our people (from St. Thomas’) say that 6
weeks with her is worth to them a year’s training -
she knows so exactly what to do in each wretched
case; & how to do it; & how to show them how to do it]
Miss Lees feels, as we all do - & who so much
as I? - that we owe this first-rate start
in a great undertaking entirely to you.
She is very far from well: overworked & worried
& needs a holiday very much, which she is
very unwilling to take

We want her to go for a few days next week
to the sea NOT to her home: & then to take a good fortnight’s
holiday (I prescribe Boulogne or Dieppe)
the first fortnight in April.

This last she is especially recalcitrant against:
because she believes that you wish to send a
lady to her at the end of March for a fortnight
to see the working of the District Nursing:
& she feels, as is indeed the case, that your
wishes ought to be sacred to her.

Could your lady come to her after Easter
instead of before? say April 17 or 18.

If you think well, this would give Miss Lees
her fortnight’s holiday: but I am sure
no one but you could persuade her -

Pray believe me, dear Mr. Rathbone
ever yours sincerely & gratefully

1000 thanks for the   } Florence Nightingale
flowering plants: you }
are too good to me     }

LRO Rathbone 610 6/21 signed letter, 2ff, pen

35 South St.
Park Lane. W

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I am ashamed both that you should
have had the trouble of writing to me:
& that I should have been so long in
answering you -

I wrote to you, knowing that it
was ‘bad’ of me to write, when you
must be just starting from Liverpool.

And I am very grateful to you for
the 50 copies of your Speech to the Working men=
which are most useful.

So far as I remember, the rest of my note was merely a deeply felt tribute to your honoured Father, called forth by the unveiling of his Statue.

& a short Abstract of Miss Lees’ work & of her Probationers with us at St. Thomas’.
& her one from our Highgate Infy: for I always look upon her work as your doing.

If I can be of any use to you about the new Manchester Workhouse Infirmary, I am, how gladly, at your service – But I think your advice much better than mine.

Is not your “Miss Baker” Matron of Leeds Infirmary? I have had a letter from a Mrs. Dawson, Lady Supt of “Leeds Trained Nurses’ Institution “, asking for advice about London training She had much better train at Leeds’ Infirmary.

The “diameter”, inside, of the zinc basin “where the flowers stand,” of the “basket flower stand” which you were so good as to give me is 16½ inches.

But I do really hope that you are not planning one of your too generous inventions.

Pray believe me ever yours sincerely & gratefully

Florence Nightingale
Dear Mr. Rathbone

In answer to your note, the results of this measure must be disastrous for Nurses must they not?  It does not reward long service in old Nurses: it does not promote training for young Nurses; It does not encourage real Nursing work. It may be said to do almost the reverse of all these things.

1. Had the reward of good service been the object might it not have given the annuity to a limited/selected number of "recommended" trained Nurses, who after 15 or 20 years good hard service (I could name one of 19 yrs.) at various posts abroad & at home are still in the work "recommended" by their respective authorities.

2. Or, had the promotion of good training been the object, might not such have been put within the reach of poor Institutions? There are such which have Nurses of excellent character but which are too poor to have them properly trained. They send them to some Hospital for 3 months to come into the Wards in the morning after everything is done.
& to leave the Wards in the afternoon before anything/evening treatment is begun, & where of course they learn nothing.

Could not something of the nature of 'Scholarships' be founded for such? [We have no room for more Probationers: it is not for want of money that we do not take such/more; more than at present.]

3.
Had the extension of trained Nursing among the poor sick at home - by far the most pressing want - been the object why could not Hospitals have been called upon to recommend suitable Nurses - & out of the number so recommended a certain number been allowed to volunteer for District Nursing for 3 years: in East London:

   each to receive £50 a year & the District Home £50 a year for her: from the St. Rathbone Fund -

Two or more District Homes in the East End might thus have received a most considerable contribution of the very best kind - (a system calling “for payment & effort,” as you say being promoted)

And the very best kind of hard Nursing work wd have been essentially promoted & honour done to it: by its being made a kind of reward. [This wd have been free from the objection you mention of being connected with the “M. & N. N. Assn”: because the Nurses would have come direct from the Hospitals.
But what is the present scheme? It gives a Nurse £50 a year on condition that she shall go to nurse “a poor or other person” at the Queen’s command at a moment’s notice.

Either this is nominal: that is, a sham: [and what a lesson to teach a Nurse, to give her £50 for a sham!]

Or it makes Hospital Nursing impossible.

For how can a Ward Head Nurse, Surgical or Medical, leave the Ward she is in charge of to go & nurse a “poor or other person” at any notice short of a month.

[Our Ward ‘Sisters’ must give 3 months’ notice to] leave

Either the Hospital authorities must “recommend” to St. Katherine only Nurses not fit for any of their responsible posts. Or they must pay the Queen £50 a year to let their Nurses alone.

I think the Lord Chancellor has paid St. Katherine a very poor compliment.

Should not I get out of my grave to prevent such a thing happening to St. Thomas?

Then the scheme of rewarding individuals while taking so very few individuals into account (only of two or three Hospitals) is: like giving a Doctor’s Diploma because he belongs to a particular Hospital.
It might be named an ‘Order for discouraging trained Hospital Nursing:
You are so good as to ask my opinion.
Excuse the haste of overwork:
& believe me
ever most truly & gratefully yours
Florence Nightingale
Wm Rathbone Esq M.P.

10 South St July 22/89
Private
Dear Mr. Rathbone
I should be so surprised if it were any one but you & I am so touched by your great & unceasing & wise kindness - & the trouble you take for poor old me - that I do not know how to put my gratitude into words - This morning I have had a lady whom my sister was very anxious that I should try writing in my room a very good hand to my dictation for a couple of hours - [as she cannot short-hand or type-write, I had her in my room, which is fatiguing - But she is a very pleasant person & well educated] & copies well in the British tongue - I came to no arrangement with her. & she did not ask it - but is to come again on Thursday & as long as you want your Miss Jennings.
It is truly kind of you to offer her - And I will gladly accept your kind offer to lend her to me for “Wednesday”, as you proposed, from 11 till 2, if that will suit you & her - bringing her type-writer & short-hand book - at any remuneration you please - I suppose she can also copy in English hand. You kindly enable me thus to judge - I am most earnestly anxious to save my eyes & right hand which is also failing. - anxious were it only out of gratitude to you - [I should perhaps say
Derbyshire Co Record Office 689
that I found, which is, I believe, not peculiar to me, my eyes so dazzled by reading & revising & interlining my last Secretary’s type-writing, & my head so tried, that it was really less fatigue sometimes to write my letters myself.

I will thankfully see Miss Jennings - I think that was the lady you kindly offered - on “Wednesday” at 11.

Believe me ever yours gratefully & sincerely
F. Nightingale

I hope I did not make you late on Saturday. You were so kind.

LRO Rathbone 610 6/24 signed letter, 2ff, pen

Private 10 South St. Park Lane W
August 1/89

I have again, as ever dear Mr. Rathbone, to thank you for your extreme kindness to me & my work -

So engaged am I to-day “Thursday” & “Saturday” when you so kindly offer me Miss Jennings that I am afraid I could not spare the strength to dictate.

But I shall be thankful to have her on Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday, next week, & on=

ward perhaps for some days, appointing these - from 11 till 1 - perhaps keeping her till 2.

But, dear & generous Mr. Rathbone, it would be impossible for me to ask for her, & thus prey upon you, unless you will kindly tell me what remuneration I ought to give her.

Preying upon you it is always, whatever happens.
You have done indeed a good year’s work for the Q.V.J. Inst. & are on the high road, I believe, to a greater success than any one could have conceived possible in so prickly a matter –

I will return your two printed Memas, which touch me to the heart, to-day or to-morrow –

ever yours truly & gratefully

F. Nightingale

A page would not hold

the apologies I owe you for sending this note only this morning.

F.N.

LRO Rathbone 610 6/25 signed letter, 4ff, pen & pencil black-edged

Registration of Nurses
Board of Trade
Feb. 24/91
10, South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

I am exceedingly obliged to you for your great kindness in writing to me about this troublesome business.

Mr. Bonham Carter will not be at the Meeting at St. Thomas’ on the 27th. He was to go yesterday to Eastbourne for his health.

We hope that your Parly duties will not prevent you from going
to this Meeting - And if you go & as you kindly wish it, I would ask you to say something like the following on the other page for me: you will put it so much better than I - 

Do you think you will be able to go to the Meeting?

I am interrupted

{written lengthwise on the page}

that you know generally that I, F.N., do not think that a system of Registration such as proposed is for the benefit of the Nurses

-2-

10, South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane. W.

I do feel like you that it is a sorry business & has taken en such a personal & party spirited aspect (this for Nursing of all things in the world!) as to be made to look like “rival schemes “quarrelling” -

Mr. Burdett who has not been taught to see the beauty of truth is as a friend our most dangerous enemy.

We do not like his scheme, nor any scheme to be authorized by the Hospitals e.g. the difficulty will remain how to take off the name of a Nurse proved unworthy - If it is only omitted, the Nurse will enquire why? &c
The danger is, as you say, that Princess Christian is said to be using pressure - that the Board of Trade may prefer Princesses to Training Schools - that we have Mr. Burdett on our side.

But you know all this & a great deal more better than I -

I was sorry to hear Miss Stains was ill.

But I will not take up your precious time -

ever yours sincerely & gratefully

Florence Nightingale

{seven lines scribbled over follow}
Dear Mr. Rathbone

Pray forgive me for writing again in answer to your kind letter. I understand that Mr. Burdett is bent upon bringing forward his scheme of a “Directory” for Nurses at the Meeting on Friday at St. Thomas’. Mr. Wainwright, the Treasurer, is wisely bent on restricting the Meeting to considering the proposed application to the Brit. Nurses’ Assocn to the Board of Trade.

The best that can be hoped from Mr. Burdett on Friday is, we are told, a “suggestion” that a “Committee of the representatives of the Training Schools should be formed to consider “this Directory proposal “on its merits”.

I trust that the Schools will be firm in maintaining their freedom - Otherwise what you prophesy will but too certainly happen. We shall want you very much at the Meeting -

ever sincerely yours

F. Nightingale
Feb. 26/91

Dear Mr. Rathbone

Good speed to the Meeting at S. Thomas’ - And may they all vigorously uphold the plain principles which you will advocate - and in which, as you know, I thoroughly concur with all my mind & experience, as essential to the progress of Nursing to good, to better, to best - And may every Nurse of us all feel: not exactly: “there’s “nothing gained while “aught remains” to be gained: but certainly: all is lost if we don’t make constant progress the key-note of (British Nurses) (or) trained Nursing.

- if we allow our present stage to be stereotyped

Pray accept the good wishes of the Nurses’ faithful servant & yours

Florence Nightingale
Dear Mr. Rathbone

You are more than kind in taking so much trouble.

In compliance with your desire, I would suggest, but something like the following, instead of Para. 2., p. 2, but subject of course entirely to your judgment.

2. You cannot select the good from the inferior Nurses by (any test or) system of examination (whatever, except indeed by the current tests, examinations & observations of their superintendents) Whatever brought them to consider their intellectual training as anything but a means to make their obedience more intelligent, their practical training more important, & their future progress in efficiency by the bedside more secure/certain “would only” down to “colleagues” 4. But most of all & first of all must their moral qualifications be made to stand per-eminent in estimation

& this even by any intellectual or theoretical qualifications

All this can only be secured by the current supervision, tests or examinations which they receive in their Training School or Hospital - not by an examination from a foreign body like this - Indeed those who came off best in such would probably be the ready minds/ & forward not the best Nurses
Meeting last Friday March 1/91
at S. Thomas’.
10 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

We are infinitely indebted
to you for the success of
Friday’s Meeting, including
the D. of Westminster’s protest
which answers some of the
objections to/against us of those
who think they must “stand
“by the daughter of the Sovereign”

[There is so much of
cross-purpose in this world:
it behoves us not to make them
cross-er, but to hold, with love
to each other, as you do, to the
one great purpose which I do

believe inspires us all.]

I have no doubt that we
shall be still more
indebted to you for your
conversation with Sir Michael
Hicks Beach tomorrow
night in the House – for
after all that is the
important thing to move
the Heads.

[We cannot expect to move
general public opinion much,
(other than Hospital public)
And I believe the “Times”
has had/given no notice of the
Friday’s Meeting, which is a
pity - the more so as on Friday morning it put in a laudatory notice of the Brit. Nurses’ Assn project of Register.

Sir Harry Verney is keenly interested against Registration & very anxious to be of use. He asks me whether he shall write a private note to Sir M. Hicks Beach, whom I suppose he knew in the House. I don’t like either preventing him or forwarding him in this (for fear the point should be missed) in this.

But, if you would & could add to your other great kindnesses & occupations, a brief note to me of what will have passed between you & Sir M.H. Beach tomorrow night - together with, if you think Sir Harry should write, what you think he should write - I should indeed be more grateful than ever -

ever yours most truly

F. Nightingale

Excuse scrawl
Dear Mr. Rathbone,

I send you what you ask.

But if you are going to give “copies” of it, would you not modify what you say about “ignorant female “Doctors” p.2 –

You will kindly remember that it was not I who said this - I was revising, as you told me, a passage for you to speak in your speech.

Also I think I would say, instead of “40 years hence,”

p. 2 –

30 years hence or 20 or 30. This too was not intended for me to say publicly.

Also: I think there is too much about me.

Confidential

We have not reached the great Doctors/“Medical opinions” (Doctors) whom Sir M. Hicks Beach wishes to pit against Acland, Paget & Dyce Duckworth.

Could you reach Sir Andrew Clark? He is not for the Brit Nurses’ Assocn -

ever yours gratefully

F. Nightingale
Monday June 13/98
10, South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane. W.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

You very kindly asked me yesterday whether I had anything to ask you. Yes, I have; but you were in a hurry then -

I wanted to ask you - You who are such an authority in these things - about your

District Nurses
or
Sanitary Missioners
[but we must not use the last word in London]

We are on the very threshold of training here e.g. in teaching mothers how to feed infants under two
Their general answer is:
“oh they have what we have” And it is but too true -

Doctors say that a digestion under two, if spoilt, never recovers itself thro’ life - And we have sad testimony to this -

Do your District Nurses teach (or your Midwifery Nurses)

how to feed young children?
It is incredible what is given to quite young children by the tenderest mothers -
I am afraid you are going away tomorrow -
And also I have an engagement - but if you are not going, I think I could put off mine.

Thanking you again & again for all the good you do us, ever yours

F. Nightingale

Dear Mr. Rathbone
I am obliged to write rather in haste -
I enclose a note to yourself as you wish it: for you to alter, as you please - I think “British Nurses” is personal - & should be left out/exchanged for “trained Nursing”

But I should infinitely prefer, if you must have a note, that this, or any part of it should come in as a sequitur to your quoting.
me at the end of your first Para:
My note, & my address are not to be given to any reporter, please - of any kind -
And I do so dread being the head or tail of any party, or a rival to any one -
Make me as innocent as you can -
It is against my judgment to write a note to be read out - & appear - perhaps separately - in a newspaper.

-3-

Private
I may add that I have had occasion to look over with one of our most experienced Matrons, the "Articles of Association" of the B.N.A. - and - I forget whom I am quoting - 'Sir, you do not know the strength of the expressions I am keeping back' -

F.N.

Forty years hence when so much progress has been made that this time is looked back upon as the time of bad Nursing, the Registration might do.
34 Regent Street,
Park Lane,
London. W.
May 26, 1865.

Dear Mr. Rathbone

God bless you for all your kindness to me. You have given me a most precious gift of help in need. Your beautiful flowers, so perfect a group, with this beautiful table and basket so complete, delight my eyes. And you must not judge of my delight by my delay in answering. After all, the good old words, “Thank you” but express what we mean when we say we don’t know how to thank and bid God bless you.

But, you must not, you must not indeed, trouble yourself, especially not the lady, whom I guess to be Mrs. Paget, to go on replenishing this beautiful thing. It is still quite fresh.

Ever yours gratefully,

F. Nightingale
My dear Sir,

I have read with intense interest your Hand-book. I regret that I have been so busy, and my strength so over taxed, that I have only now been able to do so. (Although as the whole country has been busy, this does not so much matter). But, once taken up, I could not lay it down till I had read it through in two sittings. And then I read it through again. I have studied all the rules and forms with the greatest profit and interest to myself; as indicating a master hand in securing that unity, yet independence of action, that personal responsibility and development of a great and wide charity like this.

I admire how its permanence is wisely provided for by giving as much local responsibility as possible in lieu of tying it up in the hands of the original founders or Central Society, by interesting as many persons as possible leaving them free to act in their own way, while keeping up all necessary uniformity.

You ask me to write a few remarks by way of preface. I have some difficulty in doing this because I am cited as authority for some part of the principles.

A report on such a subject as the “Training of Nurses” to supply “lack of service” towards the poor, afflicted and dying, should of itself command attention, simply on its own merits. But if any arguments were required on its behalf, surely in this practical age, the best argument is the success which has attended the efforts made in Liverpool. These most satisfactory
results, though not greater than you deserve, are greater than
even the most sanguine hopes could have foreseen. Nowhere, that
I know of, are the difficulties of organising a system for nursing
the sick in their own homes likely to be greater than have been
there encountered, and so far overcome. There is a dense and
rapidly increasing population drawn from all quarters, most of
them of that lower class which has to change its home in order to
be able to live. There have been hitherto strong Religious
partisanship, a very great amount of sickness; (as is testified
by the extent of local Medical charities), a lamentably high death-
rate, especially among children, always the readiest victims to want
of good nursing in sickness, and, together with all this, much
inevitable poverty, and ignorance among the poor as to the proper
management of their sick at home; (this we find everywhere, but
nowhere else perhaps so much) often want of every appliance and
nursing care which should surround the sick bed; and great though
remediable as a consequence. It is the old story, often told, but
this Report opens a new chapter of it. It gives us hope for a
better state of things.

An Institution for Training nurses in connection with the
Infirmary, has been built and organised. This is a matter of
necessity, because all who wish to nurse efficiently must learn
how to nurse in a Hospital. Nursing, especially that most
important of all its branches, nursing the sick poor at home is
no amateur work. To do it as it ought to be done requires
knowledge, self abnegation, and, as is so well said here, direct
obedience to and activity under the Highest of all Masters, and
from the highest of all motives. It is an essential part of the
daily service of the Christian Church. It has never been really otherwise. It has proved itself superior to all religious divisions, and is destined by God’s blessing, to supply an agency, the great value of which, in our densely populated towns, has been unaccountably overlooked until within these few years.

Nothing indeed can afford a stronger argument for the local support of the Liverpool agency than the simple fact of its past success, while at the same time, the example should be followed among other large populations, and will be. It is a comparatively indifferent matter under what organization a system of home nursing of the poor is carried out. It may be done, and well done, by districts, as in Liverpool; or by parishioners in parishes; or by members of Christian churches. The great thing is that it be done, and done well. And to those who want to know how such work can be successfully carried out, in conformity with our English feeling for freedom of action, I would urgently recommend a careful study of this Report.

I need scarcely say, therefore, how earnestly I press for the publishing of this account of the work, as being a pioneer rather than model for similar Institutions all over our country. The work in Liverpool requires greater extension and more support, before all the fruits of it ripen. But so far as it has gone, it has proved its own future possibility by its past success, and promises to be one of the most important agencies for coping with human misery which the present day has put forth. Let us all wish it Godspeed.

No words of mine are wanted to call attention to the subsidiary benefits to the poor involved in this great work.
They are not new. But they are not so widely put into practice in our country as they should be - e.g. D.2. p. b7/65 5. the sending of the convalescent poor to the sea-side is a kind of relief, of which it is impossible to calculate. the benefit, no more than its result in diminishing pauperism. Every large town in the kingdom ought to have its Convalescent Institution for the poor by the sea-side, or in the country. For the rich the good of a change of air, nay even its necessity, is never doubted. It is ten times more necessary for the poor.

Again, p.77. V - last paragraph: -

It is most essential to direct the attention of educated women, district visitors, even of Ministers of Religion - in all places - to this, viz. what power is given to them by local Acts to prevent disease by enforcing sanitary improvements. It is singular how lamentably ignorant educated persons are on this point. But many have often themselves deplored, as I can bear witness, this their ignorance.

V. also p. 84. Lines 8, 9 and 10 from the top.

These alone, if these were the only benefits, show the wisdom and efficiency of incorporating in an organisation the assistance of local authorities and securing the willing co-operation of charitable volunteers.

I don’t need to say these efforts are new and original. But I mean that it is most satisfactory to find the Lady Superintendents and nurses exercising certain powers and influence in sanitary matters, such as obtaining the cleansing - and lime-washing of
unhealthy houses and places. It is a wise addition to their
duties. It improves the domestic habits of the poor. It
protects their health. It prevents diseases. It gives the
nurses more time to attend the sick. Similar sanitary duties
should always be associated with nursing. (But, even now,,
"Sanitary" has become almost a cant word of which we are tired.
Few educated persons, even philanthropists, are practically
acquainted with our Health Acts, so as to call in their help in
time of need).

Again. p.86. - last two paragraphs.
What a merciful suggestion is that of supplying good food,
properly cooked from Workmen’s Dining Rooms, to poor patients
recovering from sickness. In preventing relapses, so often
incurred by returning too soon to work, put off too long, it is
a means only second to change of air, and to be employed after it
in most cases.

I have taken only a few instances out of your appendix of
collateral good arising from this work. I cannot better end my
letter (preface) than by quoting from your “Address to the Nurses”,
words which I would take to myself and address to all engaged in
this great work.

“ If you feel, . . . . that you are members of a
family, you will be ever desirous that the character of that
family should be as high as possible, that it should be a
credit to belong to it; that no act or word of yours should
bring shame upon it, but on the contrary, each of you will
strive by the gentleness, quietness modesty and truthfulness

of your conduct, by constantly increasing proficiency in
your profession, and by the thoroughness and conscientiousness
of your work, continually to raise the character of the School
and of all belong to it, higher and higher . . . .”

“ . . . There is no pride so mean, so contemptible as that
which makes a person above her work. There is nothing
really mean, or degrading, or unclean, which our duty calls us
to do, but if ever pride leads us to leave part of our duty
or work undone, then indeed, we are degraded.” 1.

P.S. Would you look at “From...to Patients” p. 80. (which is
admirable) and think whether something might not be added to
it?
Also at p. 84 “query"
If you make up your mind to publish any letter, or any part
of it, I should like to have both this your book back and my
M.S. letter if you please.

F.N.
1. Extract from address to Nurses on the New Year, 1864.
Dear Mr. Rathbone,

I was unwilling to trouble you till the time came, when, as I hope, you are leaving London for Whitsuntide.

I have now had all the statistical information, which seems available, about your District Nursing, and have had all the slips abstracted and reduced at the Registrar General’s Office. I send you a copy of the Aggregate sheet which may be kept at Liverpool, if you please, as I had it made on purpose for you. (I have another).

You will see that the Death rate is 14 per cent. And it does not appear (from the slips) that the highest mortality comes from aged infirmity, but from the productive period of life. This fact is alarming and ought not to be considered as final. If you think we can obtain any more light upon it, pray have it sent to me. It would be as well to obtain the corresponding facts from the Liverpool Dispensary books, (which could probably be furnished by the House Surgeons).

1. The total number of cases attended by the paid Medical Officers at the patients’ own homes for the two years, 1867 and 1868.
2. The deaths among these home cases for the same two years.

Mr. Langton has sent me a number of Liverpool Dispensary Reports, but they do not give the necessary information.

Ever yours sincerely,

F. Nightingale
Dear Mr. Rathbone,

I am shocked at myself for having been so long answering this question - We have no one to recommend. But one can always find time to write a "Yes" though not a "No". And if you know how I have been occupied! I did, however, consult with both Mrs. Wardroper and Mr. Henry Bonham Carter as to whether we had anyone to recommend. And we were all obliged to come to the conclusion that we had not. This arises chiefly from my insisting gradually more and more upon our carrying out what I have always considered as desirable - viz: that we should recommend no lady as Training Superintendent who has not had, not only her year’s training, but also experience as Assistant Supt. in one of our Hospitals.

The lady who Mrs. Wardroper had thought of for Boston is now going to gain such experience as Assistant to one of our Superintendents. I am very sorry that we cannot help you this year, owing to what you will think is my obstinacy.

I have again to thank you for your great kindness, which lend such a charm to my life, in sending me the flowering plants. I left London this day week to take charge of my poor widowed mother at Sir Harry Verney’s during the Verneys’ absence from home.

Pray believe me, dear Mr. Rathbone,

Ever yours sincerely and gratefully,

Florence Nightingale

Miss Lees

The Crown Princess of Germany, who has great influence over her,

is as strongly impressed as we are, with the vital importance to F. Lees herself of setting to work at once.
35, South Street,
Park Lane. W.
Jan. 24, 1877.

Dear Mr. Rathbone,

I was so delighted with your address to the working men at Liverpool on Jan. 9 that, though short of time and strength, I made an M.S. abstract of it for the men on my dear father’s place at Lea in Derbyshire. There there is no poverty but that of drink. I have seen nothing for a long time so calculated to do good. I venture to trouble you with the question Where is it to be had when published?. Perhaps you will kindly let someone tell me.

Your Miss Perssé is a splendid worker. She is doing great work with Miss Lees, and, I rejoice to think, will be in your Liverpool District work.

The new Holloway Nursing Home is open under Miss Less, whom I saw yesterday; she is nursing hard. (This is all owing to you).

Ever yours sincerely and gratefully,
Florence Nightingale.
September 5, 1881.

Dear Mr. Rathbone,

I have so many things to thank you for, I know not how to begin.

Your beautiful flowering plants I have enjoyed all the year, but with many regretful thoughts of what a burthen I am on your kindness. On August 20 I desired the nurseryman not to send any more, as I was leaving London the next week. I have rejoiced in your kindness and reverenced your generosity so many years that I would fain ask you - (not to cease your kindness or generosity, for that would be causing nursing progress to cease) - but to discontinue this particular token of it.

I have to thank you for your kind letter about Mrs. Wardroper and her “assistant”. I am afraid there are doubts whether she will take your most valuable advice. But no stone will be left unturned on our side, as far as we can do this “gingerly” and turn our “stones” smoothly. She, poor woman, has had a sharp attack of illness, and is now going away for a much needed rest. And she and I have not been able to have much conversation on any point which troubles her.

I am not sorry that Miss Hutchins, now at Manchester, has been wise enough to decline your splendid offer of putting her to be trained as District Home Supt. for which she has, in truth, no adaptability I know her, and I find in my private notes - “would be nowhere in District Nursing”.

I will not forget to obey your kind behest “before November” to give you my notes about the training and especially the lying-in training at Liverpool Parish Infirmary. (I have it all written down in pencil. so that what accuracy it has, it will keep).
Dear Mr. Rathbone,

I don’t know how to thank your for your kind letter. I am so glad to hear from you again. I trust that you and Mrs. Rathbone are well.

It would be presumptuous of me to “approve” and yet more to disapprove your letter on behalf of Miss Gibson. Would it not be much better that you should send it direct to Miss Gibson.? Any criticism of its contents would be unfair upon her, and perhaps, I may say, inappropriate, seeing that the testimonial is from you, who have the fullest right to give it, and not from me, who have little. I need scarcely say that I have the highest opinion of Miss Gibson, but I hardly feel that the circumstances of the case warrant my departing from the rule I have been obliged to follow not to write testimonials.

How deeply I wish success to your Parish Infirmary Nursing. I can never say; or how much I regret that Miss Gibson thinks herself compelled to seek a higher salary elsewhere. She has done great good in it. May your new Royal Infirmary reward all your labours too. I heard with delight that it was shortly to be begun. How immense is the improvement you have effected in Hospital, Infirmary, Nursing and District Nursing. May God bless you for it! And He will bless you.

Ever yours most gratefully and most truly
Florence Nightingale.

I return your letter to Miss Gibson.

ff93-95, 20 October, 1887, unsigned letter from Mr. Rathbone to FN, re Sir Rutherford Alcock’s plan about nurses and their remuneration, rewards etc.
10, South Street, Park Lane.  
26 March 1900.

Dear Mr. Rathbone,

I shall be delighted to see you on Tuesday at 5 - if convenient to you. I am sorry that this is the only time I have free this week.

I always hope for news of the Nursing Service from you. Liverpool is its stronghold. I cannot help regretting the present rage for certificates and badges. The certificate does not make the Nurse, nor does the badge distinguish her as to excellence.

Some of our best Nurses are without either. Some of our best could not pass an examination with credit, while some of our worst could gain the most creditable place.

Ever yours,
Florence Nightingale.
March 25/69.

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

Sir,

The Lying-Department at Liverpool Workhouse has achieved under your auspices a very enviable notoriety from its absence of Puerperal Diseases.

Miss Freeman has been so kind as to send me its Statistics for 1868.

She will ask you if it would be possible for you to give me - not detailed statistics but merely

Barnes Eq

1. the total Number of Deliveries for 1867.
2. the total Deaths among Puerperal women
   and the causes
   for the same year.

It would be most important if you could give me the same data for a few years farther back as e.g. for 1863

1864
1865
1866.

But I scarcely need say that if you could give them me for the last ten years, for which 10 years
I have procured them from many places, (most disastrous in their Statistics, unlike yours) that this would be more important still.

I beg to remain
Sir
Your faithful serv't
Florence Nightingale
- Barnes Esq.

Note, f212v, pencil (upside down)

f212v
There they worked me to death in January to write this on April Fool’s Day
Catch me doing their work again.
30 Old Burlington St
May 17/57
Dear Lord Stanley
I dare not venture to keep the Draft Report, which you so kindly sent me, longer, when it may be wanted by you this week -

It is a most able paper, comprising every point - More than it suggests could hardly be done at present - with safety, - I mean as regard abolition of Purchase for the lower ranks. But I hope the poor Majors will come in for selection -

I heard with dismay last night the résumé of Lord Grey’s evidence. It seemed to resolve itself into three principles
1. Selection is bad, because you can’t select
2. “As you were” -
3. Abuses must be immortal, because founded in the feeling of the nation
The first would put an end to all selection in any service, Civil or other. Besides, public opinion in the Army itself decides pretty correctly on the merits of Officers - If I, with my superficial knowledge of the Crimean Army, could give you a tolerably correct idea of the fitness of General & Commanding Officers there for command, is it credible that the Commander in Chief could not arrive at a just judgment, generally?

2. & 3. bear against all Reforms whatever. I agree as to the doubtful value of competitive examination - The qualities which you really want, viz. self-control, self-reliance, habits of accurate thought, integrity & what you generally call trustworthiness are not decided by competitive examination,
which test little else than the memory. And the tendency of the Civil Service examinations, as to consolidating the Govt in a Bureaucracy, to which it seems inclining, ought to be watched with some anxiety. A recruiting service is what we want.

Believe me
faithfully yours
Florence Nightingale
The Regimental System
touches so nearly all that concerns the Sanitary & Moral reform of the Army - its existence, as at present, would so materially prevent any measure to remedy our colossal calamity that I must be excused for taking a great interest in what does not strictly concern me.

F.N.  [end]
30 Old Burlington St  
May 28/60

Dear Lord Stanley

My sister told me that you had enquired after the "Indian Sanitary Commission."

It has had but four or five sittings in all - none since the Session began - Mr. Herbert has not had time.

Still time has not been lost - For pointed sets of Queries & Forms of Return have been sent out to every Presidency, to each Station, to Commanding, - Medical, & Engineer Officers, in each -

The reduction of the answers & of the (filled=up) Forms will take a considerable time, when all have been received - And, in this Sanitary Commission, the viva=voce Examinations are intended more as cross=examinations
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 720

upon the written
Returns, - in this
case, the most
important.

But when Mr.
Herbert will have
time to do anything
in this matter is
quite uncertain.

Pardon me if I
have taken your
enquiry “au pied de
la lettre”. It may
have been made merely
in the course of conversation.  [end 9:104]

Faithfully yrs F. Nightingale

incomplete letter, 2ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/3 black-edged
paper

Hampstead N. W.
Sept 4/62
Dear Lord Stanley

Possibly you may  [9:117]
remember more
possibly you have
forgotten than you,
as Chairman of the
“Indian Sanitary
Commission”, desired
me to do the enclosed.

As you have been
in India, I would
rather submit it
to you first, for any
corrections or suggestions
that you will kindly
make on the margin,
before sending in
it to the Commissn
It is only a Proof.
We have finished
the Abstracts of the
Stational Reports,
of the three
Presidencies - and
illustrated them
with wood cuts. [end 9:117]
Bengal & Bombay

incomplete letter, 3ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/4 black-edged paper

Private Hampstead NW
Sept 10, 1862
Dear Lord Stanley,
I am very glad
that you have time
to take the trouble
of looking over my
"evidence".
There is one
painful point, under
"Soldier's Wives", (about
Lock Hospls & "Police
Regulation",) which
I am very anxious
about.
I have the strongest
conviction, founded not upon sentimental theory but upon minute Statistical enquiry, abroad & at home, that these are useless, (even were they not immoral,) in preventing disease, their sole object.

Even in France, where they are most carried out with most stringency, there is absolutely no evidence that they do prevent disease.

Lately, a strong effort was made in our War Office, to introduce the "French System" among our camps & garrisons at home. And, at the request of the W.O., I drew up the enclosed paper. I am told (by Lord de Grey) that it produced some impression there in
the direction which I desired. And I venture to send it you, only begging that you will be so good as to return it to me.

With my late dear master, I had many discussions on this point, becoming as it is unfortunately too important. But it is obvious that I can scarcely hope to press it on any man as I could to/on him.

{page missing}

those terms.

It was then so improbable (perhaps the most improbable thing that could happen) that, of Sidney Herbert & me, I should be the survivor, that no record remains, as far as I am aware, of this transaction, which was done verbally through me, in the spring of 1859. (-immediately before Sidney Herbert, who
was then to be Chairman
of this Commission,
took office.)

This is my only
excuse for bringing
it before you, which
would otherwise
be a singular
interference on my
part. But a word
in your note makes
me think that you
are unacquainted
with it - altho’ I
know it was Sidney
Herbert’s intention
to communicate
it to you - [The
signed letter, 6ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/5 marked original
returned to Lord Derby, black-edged paper

Private
Hampstead, NW
Sept. 17, '62

Dear Lord Stanley
1. about Dr. Farr
no rate of remuneration
was mentioned. The
understanding was –
when Lord Herbert
proposed thro’ me
that Dr. Farr should
act on the Commission
that he should do
the actuarial work
& be paid a fee for
it.

[The same arrangement
was made when
Dr. Farr served on
Lord Herbert's Sub=
Commission for
reforming our Army
Statistical service
& he was paid for it]

Lord Herbert
told me that he had
communicated to you
the arrangement by
which Dr. Sutherland
was to act & be paid
as Secretary to the
Indian Sanitary
Commission - with

Mr. Baker as Assistant.

The work of both
Dr. Farr & Dr. Sutherland
is of course much more
arduous than that
performed by the
unpaid Commissioners.

Indeed I am aware
that the expense of
printing has already
been great. And not
to add my mite of
cost, I have arranged
with Mr. Baker for
myself to pay for the
wood cutting & printing
of my paper.

I may perhaps add
that I have myself
done the whole of
Dr. Sutherland's clerical
work, & a good deal
of the other for him.
As it would have
been absolutely
impossible for it to
be accomplished
without going to the
Treasury for clerical
assistance, of which
we have had none -
It is therefore the
less impertinent of me,
I hope, to measure
the work which the
Treasury must pay for.

2. I trust that a
great deal may be
done to prevent your
Report, when completed
from being "shelved".

Lord Herbert set
on foot four Sub-
Commissions, the moment
his Report was out,
- one for reforming
Barracks & Hospls,
which is still at
work - one for
organizing the Army
Medl School at Chatham
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i

- one for re-organizing the Statistics - one for reforming the Army Medl Dept & writing a Code of Regulations, the results of all of which, as you are aware, are now the active rules at the War Office.

Three other Commissions were subsequently formed - one for re-organizing the Purveyor's Dept, which it did - another the Hospital Staff Corps, which it did - another for reforming the system of Barrack Works, which is still sitting.

Many other Administrative reforms were made in consequence - also.

A great deal more/too was done in giving publicity to the Report, in the "Times" & other papers, & in the Reviews, (as you are aware. For you were kind
enough to offer to write an Article in the "Westminster" I believe, when you were yourself called to office.) Also we reprinted the Diagrams of Army Mortality, with their story attached, & these were sent to every Commanding & Medical Officers in the Army.

I am not in the least inferring that these are instances for the Indian Commission to follow. Probably your course of proceeding will have to be quite different. Probably a Consultative Board with an administrative head will have to be organized for each Presidency.

But in the matter of publicity, the mere sending a copy of the Abstracts of Stational Reports to each Station will stir them up to do something. They will be read with avidity there; however much or however little we may read about India in England.
I am glad you have faith in Sir. G. Lewis. For I have none. [And you probably see a different side of him from what I do.] He is the worst Sec. of S. I have ever seen. And I have served under five. His learning & his ignorance; his hurries & his delays are alike against us. In one short year he has let down the War Office to the same level from which Sidney Herbert was 5 years dragging it up. And this simply by letting the agencies work, against which Lord Herbert's official life was one continual struggle. He has not his equal for cramming a subject well for the House of C. on Monday. But then he has not his equal for forgetting it all on Tuesday, & acting quite differently in the War Office - & on Saturday, if there is a "third course" open, for adopting that course with the Horse Guards. As far as he is concerned, there is neither unity nor distinct responsibility (in each
Dept) nor direct communication with him, nor promptitude of action, nor economy in administration in the War Office now. He is not head of his own Office.

He will, it is true, "not be appalled by the length of a Report."

But he will not see his portée. And well if he is not correcting his "Astronomy", or his Latin "Hey diddle diddle," under the most important papers on the W.O. table.

Yet he is an honourable man.

You must excuse me for not answering your question about Dr. Farr immediately. There are days & days when I am unable to do anything, write at all. And now you will think I have written too much.

Yours faithfully
F. Nightingale
meant to profit by your kind exhortation not to print & to woodcut my paper at my own expense. If I choose to enliven my paper by an ornamental border of soldiers occupying their minds with catching vermin, you would not have me to that, at this country’s expense - Besides, figure woodcuts are dear.

F.N.

signed letter, 3ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/6 black-edged paper

32, South Street, {printed address:}
Grosvenor Square. W.
Nov 21/62
Dear Lord Stanley

My paper, which you have already seen, is done.

But it occurred to me that it would be more conformable to discipline, if I were to submit it to you, in its state of “final Revise”, (in case
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 732

you might have
something to object,)
before I have it
struck off & sent
to your Commission
officially
Your very faithfully
Florence Nightingale

The enclosed might
interest you as enumerating the
results which Lord
Herbert gave to his
1st Commission (Sanitary)
It was drawn up
at the request of one
of the present Govt.
Please put it in
the fire, when done
with.

[end 9:120]

signed letter, 4ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/7 black-edged paper

32, South Street, {printed address:}
Grosvenor Square. W.
Nov 26/62

Dear Lord Stanley
I sent this morning
my Indian paper to
you “officially”(!) And
I will send copies
to the members of the
Commission.
But, when the
Commission is closed,
its real work will
begin. (Is that Irish?)
You will not rest
the chance of Sanitary reform in India on the recommendations of a Report alone.

[The very last Indian document I have seen, viz. a Report from the “Sanitary Commission” of the Punjab, (just arrived here,) actually states that the best possible arrangement for India is one, to which we know, in this country, are due severe outbreaks of Cholera - one which killed poor Lord Raglan in the Crimea - one which we consider to be one of the greatest Sanitary defects in India]

This only confirms what all the Reports have grievously impressed upon me - viz. that, altho’ there is a certain out-cry against bad Sanitary conditions, nobody seems to know what
they are—still less
how to deal with
them.

This was clearly seen
when the Report of
the Royal Commission
on the Sanitary State
of the Indian/British Army
(by Sidney Herbert)
was under discussion.
And it was determined,
as you know, that
practical work
should succeed the
declarations of principles.

The result has

-2-
been that the Army
at home is now healthier
than the Civil
population, instead
of its mortality
being double.

[I venture to
inclose you two
Diagrams which I
had made to
illustrate this—(the
first was published
in the above Report)
I mean to publish
these now, with:—
This is how he found
the Army. This is how he left it.

I will therefore beg you to return me these Diagrams, as I have no other copies.

May you live to see the Indian Army restored in the same way by your exertions. Would it not be possible to select a Commission, consisting of experienced practical people, & let them guide the movement for a while, until it could go on itself. They could select agents in this country; & so enable the local Presidential Commissions to obtain men conversant with the details of works. And they could advice on all subjects connected with the welfare of the Army.
as well as with the sanitary improvement of towns.

I think a good working Commission might be got together without difficulty.

Believe me
faithfully yours
Florence Nightingale

A thing which is hardly worth mentioning but that Dr. Sutherland fancies you wrote to him {printed address, upside down:} 32, South Street,
Grosvenor Square. W.

about it. I never signed letter, 2ff, pen {on the left page, Nightingale Miss Nov/62 sent them back.}

Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/8 black-edged paper

32, South Street, {printed address:}
Grosvenor Square. W.
Nov 28/62

Dear Lord Stanley
I am sorry to be troublesome - Just 5 min. after I sent you those Diagrams on Army Mortality the day before yesterday, the printers sent me the proof of my paper on Lord Herbert’s Sanitary
Administration for which they (diagrams) are intended.

If you can lay your hands upon them, would you kindly send them me back? I would not have troubled you with them, had I known that the printers who have kept me waiting 5 months, would have been so quick at last.

Yours faithfully
F. Nightingale

undated letter, India Office Westminster from John Lawrence to FN about Barracks (illeg October? 15, 1862, about the just arrived Sanitary Report

Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/9 black-edged paper

signed letter, 2ff, pen
4 Cleveland Row
St. James St.
S.W.
March 3/63

Dear Lord Stanley

I am afraid you will be surprised tho' not so much surprised as I am at my asking to see you.

You will easily guess that it is on a point connected with your Indian Sanitary Report.

Could you find
Dear Lord Stanley

Forgive me for addressing you again about your Indian Sanitary Report.
Sir John Lawrence wrote to me a few days ago about these matters; among other things saying that there are now "Barracks in India "for full 25000 men "under consideration",

& that "many are urgently required" - He says hopefully, after wishing that I could "get to know" when your Report will be out, "so that "what changes are "necessary may be "at once adopted", that it, the Report, will have the greatest influence -

I was honestly
unwilling to put myself forward to urge & trouble you. But, when another letter comes from Sir J. Lawrence, I cannot do otherwise, can I? Should you think well to expedite the work by calling in all the copies of the Report sent to the members of the Commission, so that a Revise might be made, in which either all their views are represented, or their objections met?

     If you thought well to send the copies to me here, we would set about it at once -

If Lord de Grey could be Sir G. Lewis' successor, he, though not a very able man, would be the making of us in carrying out administrative (Sanitary) reforms for the men -

     Yours faithfully

Florence Nightingale
April 22/63

Dear Lord Stanley,

A remarkably stupid advertisement has been appearing in the "Times", asking everybody to send in plans for a Civil Hospital at Bombay, without giving any information, such as would enable any living being to make a plan - & "topping up" with stating that the local authorities, + the Railway authorities, were to be judges of excellence.

The whole thing was so absurd, & it was besides such a re-enacting in India of what we have given up here, that I made an effort to prevent mischief, as far as I could.
I am told that Sir Charles Wood will consult you about it, which I was very glad to hear.

Some time ago, we recommended Mr. T.W. Wyatt as architect for a Civil Hospital at Malta. And he produced, with our aid, one of the very best plans in existence.

Would you think well to put the matter into his hands? He has shewn great ability - Any help we could give him would be willingly given, for the good of helping.

Yours very faithfully

Florence Nightingale
Dear Lord Stanley

It is of great importance, as you say, to get out the Report as soon as possible. But we have never yet received the copies sent out, so as to put every thing into a consistent shape. As it was sent to you, the Report was an arrangement only of the matter, requiring very careful consideration to see that it was, after all, logically accurate. The references have also all to be revised, & fresh references (to facts) put in - There are two or three days' work
of mere editing
to do.
If you will send
all the papers, we
will return a copy
to you with the
corrections in M.S.,
together with all
the copies thus
returned from the
Members. You will
then be able to
judge of the whole.  
Yours very faithfully
Florence Nightingale

signed letter, 8ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/13 black-edged paper

4. Cleveland Row {printed address:}
S.W.
Private May 18/63
Dear Lord Stanley
   I was much
   distressed to hear
   the unpractical views,
taken by some of
the members of the
India Sanitary
Commission on Saturday
(at the Meeting).
   And I trust you
will excuse my re=
writing to you on
this score -
   I am afraid there
is great danger of the Indian enquiry arriving at no practical result.
I urged the necessity of using home experience in dealing with India Sanitary questions, because, from the evidence & from the reports (from Indian Stations), it was obvious that there was no hope of any practical reform springing up from India.
It is quite necessary that there should be local Commissions in India to carry out the works there. But it is as certain as experience can make it that those Commissions, constituted, as they must be, out of the best available material, will not, of themselves, arrive at a good practical solution of the
multifarious questions they will have to deal with.

Were it practicable to pick out a sufficient number of able men in England, & send them out to form these Commissions, there would be a fair hope of success. But we know well what the probabilities are of this being practicable. You would hardly be able to get men for money to undertake the work - i.e. men thoroughly up to the Sanitary question in all its bearings.

If then you stop with the recommendation of "India Presidency Commissions", your report will amount to this: -

"This is how bad the things are in India. They have grown up into their present state under the
guidance of such amount of practical ability & intelligence as was obtainable in that country. We recommend you to form Commissions out of the same material; & to go on as before. It is true that great practical advances have been made in Sanitary works at home. And the result has been a reduction of the Army Death rate to one half. But it is not necessary to make use of this practical experience in India."

Yet we are interfering in Ceylon at this moment. e.g. On what principle can be justified the introduction of home experience in Ceylon & keeping it out of India? Their diseases are the same - the causes the same -
the troops the same -
& the measures
required would be
the same.

The formation of
a Home Commission
was urged, because
you thought, (when
you were so good
as to see me on
this subject) that
the I.O. would not
like to have to do
with the W.O. But
if the I.O. does not
object, {printed address, upside down:) 4. Cleveland Row.
there is

S.W.

-3-

no other reason why
the W.O. should not
help with its own
Commission.

Unless some such
arrangement can be
come to, it really
matters very little
practically whether
the Report is issued
or not. It will
only be a nine
days' wonder, as
the first Army
Report was. That
Report did nothing
of itself. All the
real practical work
which has led to
the great reduction
of Army Mortality
has been done by
persons determined
to carry out the
principles laid down
in it, who would
not be turned aside
by any obstacles, &
who, from long
previous experience,
were competent for
the work.

Nothing can shew
more the imminent
importance of the work
that has to be done
in India than the
fact that the plague
is gradually surrounding
Calcutta.

Cholera came out
of the Sunderbunds
(epidemically) &
spread over the world.

Plague did the
same in the Nile
delta, & thence
spread over Europe
in the Middle Ages.

-Egyptian plague is now coming
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i

up from the Sunderbunds
& drawing slowly
and/round to hem in Calcutta.

It requires no great
length of vision to see
what is likely to
follow from this
Sunderbunds plague
in the present state
of Indian cities.

Believe me
yours apologetically
Florence Nightingale

{printed address, upside down:} 4. Cleveland Row.

S. W.

PRIVATE
N.B. I was quite
appalled to hear
what is the advice
that the I.O. do take
on these matters,
according to Sir Proby
Cautley. They apply
to Dr. Mapleton,
Member of the
Director General's
Office at the Army
Medical Department.

When Dr. Mapleton
was appointed,
under General Peel's
term of Office, Sidney
Herbert lay awake all night, thinking of the mischief this man's gross ignorance would do - & went the first thing the next morning to Genl Peel, before he was up, to try to have the appointment cancelled. And it was only on assurance that Dr. Mapleton should have nothing to do with Sanitary matters that he remitted his efforts.

This is the man whom the India Office, when "taking home experience," apply to.

[end 9:434]

signed letter, 2ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/14 black-edged paper

4. Cleveland Row. {printed address}

S.W.

Private June 25/63

Dear Lord Stanley

I have made some arrangements for having your India Sanitary Report reviewed by some papers & Reviews (I wish you would write one for the Westminster or quarterly yourself).

But I must send
early copies to the people who will take the trouble.

I have enquired of Mr. Spottiswoode what state the printing is in - All the letter press is printed off, Vol 2. is binding as fast as it can - So will Vol 1, as soon as the plans come, hourly expected.

Every thing will be ready in a day or two.

Do you think you would be so good as to write a line to Messrs Eyre & Spottiswoode, directing them to send twelve early copies to me, & enclose this note to me to forward?

It often makes all the difference (especially in the case of the "Times") in the good feeling of the writers whether one sends them a copy early & personally, or not. And I am particularly requested in this case to be early

Believe me yours very faithfully

F. Nightingale
4. Cleveland Row. {printed address}
S.W.
July 8/63

Dear Lord Stanley

I see, in the copies of your India Army Sanitary Report, which I have just received, that Mr. Baker signs himself "Secretary", p. LXXXIV. He never was Secretary. Had he your authority to append his name as such? If not, the page should be cancelled.

Believe me faithfully yours
Florence Nightingale

{ line going down to bottom of page in the same hand }

Ansd. He has always acted as Sec. & I believe is referred to as such in some of her letters. See no reason for taking away the title
Private July 10/63
Dear Lord Stanley

Perhaps I ought not to be sorry about Mr. Baker's peccadillo, since it compels me to lay the whole case before you. I begin by apologizing to you & to myself for the time & strength it will take - when you have all the facts of the case, you will know best how to do justice.

1. Mr. Baker knows perfectly well he is not "Secretary". Four years ago, when Lord Herbert first began this Commission after you had issued it, he wished to have the same Secy who served him in the first R. Army Sanitary Commn. But this man having just been made head of the Army
Statistical Branch, was too busy. As the real work of the Commission would fall upon Dr. Sutherland, Lord Herbert finally decided that he should act as Secretary & be paid as Secretary, but not be called "Secretary", because he was wanted as member of the Commission—but that he must have a Clerk to issue the letters to call the Meetings, to see the evidence through the press &c but not to correct the proofs, the whole of which, as well as the writing & sending out the printed questions, was to be done by Dr. Sutherland & by myself.

The Clerkship was offered to Mr. Baker at Dr. Sutherland's recommendation and accepted by him, on condition that he should be
not Clerk but called Assistant Secretary. [This he would not deny, if he were asked the question]

I am exceedingly sorry that I cannot furnish you with written proof of all this - All was the fault of my dear chief not to require such, because he thought all men as honourable as himself. But he told me himself, about the beginning of 1861,

that he had himself informed you of the whole of this & of the conditions under which Dr. Sutherland was acting.

2. If I have ever called Mr. Baker "Secretary" to you in any of my letters, I must have been dreaming. But I cannot believe it. For at that very time I was warning Dr. Sutherland that I had seen Mr. Baker's
signature as "Secretary".

[He would not believe it.] Mr. Spottiswoode could shew you letters of mine, in which I call Mr. Baker Asst Secretary.

3. As for Mr. Baker having "acted as Secretary", the only things he has done as Secretary have been calling the Meetings & arranging the printing with the printers, so far as my cognizance goes, which, of course, relates only to the domestic part of the Commission. You are probably cognizant of other things, relating to the public part of the Commission, in which he has acted as such. The things in which he has NOT acted as Secretary, but which were all done by the Secretary of the first R. Army Sanitary Commn, are as follows:

Vol. II. the whole of these Stational Reports were {printed address, upside down:} 4. Cleveland Row. S.W. not only corrected by Dr. Sutherland
& myself. But we began
copying them ourselves with
condensations from
the original Replies.
Finding this took up
too much time, a
good deal of the
copying was done
by Vacher's clerks -
But even the whole
of this work was
actually given out
from my house
to Vacher's. And I
have the whole of the
books at this moment
in my house "to
witness if I lie," as

Lord Macaulay sings.
The only thing that
Mr. Baker did, of
which I am cognizant,
was certifying the
work of Vacher's clerks.
The whole of these
(condensed) copies
was afterwards
compared with the
originals, & verified
by Dr. Sutherland &
me/by myself- the whole
of the proofs, were
corrected by Dr. S.
& by me. [And very
tough & dreary work
it was.]
The maps & plans were selected & corrected by Dr. S. & by me - And all that Mr. Baker did was to hinder us with McCulloch. Nay, the very diagrams (Vol. I) he pretended to have corrected - we found out the errors - he pretended to send our renewed corrections to Day's - & they were actually put up uncorrected in the bound Vols. which I have received. And I, after the Vols. were bound,

sent back the corrections, which were important, to Messrs Spottiswoode's to beg them to put them in (by hand) into those copies I have given away. I must beg you to remember that, had we intended to have a Secretary to do our work, a very different kind of Secretary would have {printed address, upside down:} 4. Cleveland Row. S.W. been selected from Mr. Baker -
And that it was only
on the express stipulation
that the Secretarial
work was to be done
by Dr. Sutherland &
by me, & that Mr. Baker
was only to act as
Clerk, that Lord Herbert
arranged the Commission
thus. You cannot pay
me. You must
therefore pay Dr.
Sutherland. And
certainly it was not
to spare Mr. Baker's
labour that I undertook
all this.
Vol. I. The whole of the
Abstracts of Stational
Reports, p.p. 371 to 528,
were done by Dr.
Sutherland & me,
written out in my
hand, (of which I
have fortunately proof,
as by some lucky
oversight the M.S.S.
have been preserved)
the whole of them
were proof=corrected
& revised by us two.
I have not these
proofs & revises -
For unfortunately
Mr. Baker said they
were to be destroyed.
But I conclude you
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i

will take this on my word.

The whole of the Report was written by Drs. Farr, Sutherland; a great deal of it in my hand. The whole of it was shaken together, revised & corrected by Dr. Sutherland & myself. Of this I have the Proofs - 

I have been accustomed to see these *revisings/correctings* done by the Secretary. If Mr. Baker were Secretary he should have done this.

Dr. Farr. The Mortality & Actuarial Tables were prepared by him; and it was understood for an actuarial fee. On Lord Herbert's Statistical Sub-

commission, Dr. Farr worked thus on a verbal understanding for an actuarial fee, & received it.

Mr. Glaisher. The Meteorological tables were done by him, on a similar understanding -

{printed address, upside down:} 4. Cleveland Row. S.W.

[And very bad they are]
In short, the only thing that I know of which Mr. Baker has done is the Précis before the Evidence, which he has chosen to put in in large letters, but which was so badly done that it had to be done again. The whole of the Queries sent out to Stations were written by Dr. Sutherland & myself, in my hand, revised & corrected by us, sent out through the W.O., received back by us, lists of them kept by us. Surely this is Secretary's work, if anything is. I beg Lord Stanley's pardon for being so lengthy about a matter which will seem to him of little importance. I do not wish to be sentimental. But it has been a most painful thing to me to go over - these 4 years' doings begun
with my dear master,
whose last words
were, It is unfinished.
I have done so
for the sake of justice
to Dr. Sutherland &
to Dr. Farr, whose
interests are, as it
were, laid in my hand
by him, from his
habit of not requiring
written proof - I being
now almost the only
witness left -
I trust you
will excuse me -

The words he used
were (his last) Poor
Florence - our work
unfinished -
Please burn
this last sheet. 

Believe me
dear Lord Stanley
yours faithfully
Florence Nightingale
{printed address, upside down:} 4. Cleveland Row.
S.W.
Dear Lord Stanley

I am deeply obliged to you for your very kind note. And indeed I have no fear but that justice will be done, now that you have taken the case in hand. I am afraid no "communication was made by Lord Herbert to the Treasury". It was not his habit. And I know, on a previous occasion, it was not done.

At the last, the years he had promised himself were shortened into hours. And claims much more important were left unrecorded & unfulfilled.

Pray "make it public" that "to Dr.
Sutherland, & pray do not make it public that “to me” is due the work of this Report. I do not wish that should be at all. Indeed I wish that that should not be. It is obvious what my only reason was in giving to you (privately) a full statement of the work.

I am greatly comforted by your assurance that the work of improving Sanitary administration is going on - But I wish it interested you more - Perhaps I do not know you enough to say that it does not. But, if you could forward your own Report by reviewing it &, by what is much more important, forcing it upon the W. O. & the I. O., both personally & in the
Ho: of C., then indeed
the progress thereof
would be safe -
Lord Herbert did
not think it beneath
him to work for &
upon an administration
of which he was not
Minister. Perhaps no
one (but I) knows
how much work he
did for Genl Peel in
the W. O. And you
know, when you
yourself were at the
I. O., he willingly &
earnestly entered
upon this India
Sanitary Commission.
And he would have
worked just as hard
at bringing out the
(working) Commissions
afterwards, as he
did, under Ld Panmure
& Genl Peel successively,
at organizing &
heading the four
Sub=Commissions,
which really carried
into effect the whole
of the first R. Sanitary
Liverpool Derby/Stanley 766

Commission’s recommendations.

Excuse me: I did not mean to be suggesting to you.

But I hear that Mr. Cuningham is going to take up your Report in the Ho: of C. Is that desirable?

And every day lost in appointing these three Presidency Commissions & in arranging the home I. O or W. O. Commission recommended by the Report is worth ten times its weight to India. Who will press these upon the I. & War Offices?

I have heard that you disapproved of the decision of the W. O. against the amalgamation scheme of the two Medical Services. I think I could submit to you what might modify that opinion. But I should not like to intrude my "turbulencies" upon you unasked. {printed address, upside down:} 4. Cleveland Row.

Believe me ever faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale
Confidential 4. Cleveland Row. {printed address:}
S.W.
July 11/63
Dear Lord Stanley,
Sir John Lawrence writes to me, in confidence, “One word from Lord Stanley” will “move Sir Charles Wood to action”, “as regards the Commission at home”. He says that Sir C. Wood “will not be backward in the matter”. Lord de Grey is also using his weight on our side.
Sir John Lawrence thinks that it would be better to attach the home Commission to the I. O. (tho; I believe Sir P. Cautley would rather graft it on the W. O. Commn) Either would do for us. In the former case, Sir Proby Cautley, Sir Ranald Martin,
Capt. Galton, Dr. Sutherland, & Mr. Rawlinson C. E. (of the Local Govt Act Officer) for the great drainage & water=supply questions which are after all the most pressing in India, should be the members.

Would that this home Commission could be arranged this month, before you all of you go out of London. For God knows what may happen in India if all these things are left unsettled!

“As regards the nomination” of the Presidency Commission, Sir John Lawrence thinks “that they should be nominated by the local Governments out there”. I am too ignorant of India administration to know whether the
best possible be the
best feasible. But
it/the question concerns nothing
less than the creation
of a Public Health
Department for India.
i.e. a department
of Government, with
consultative Commissions
of Health, each with
a responsible
administrative head.
I hope this will not
be left to the "local
Governments out
there" to do, or not to do,
or to do any how.

- No trouble as to comm. here. Diffly is as to those in India. Few persons on spot
qualified - jealousy
of others sent from home. }

Please not in any way to quote
Sir John Lawrence. He
always seems to me
like a great fish out
of water, where he is;
or like a great
Roman dictator
returned for Marylebone,
to serve as a M. P. [end 9:225]

Believe me
yours faithfully
Florence Nightingale
4. Cleveland Row. {printed address:}
S.W.

July 17/63

Dear Lord Stanley

I have just received the 8vo form of your India Sanitary Report & can scarcely recover from my surprise at seeing it.

Is this all the fruit of 4 years' labour, all the result of the India Commission, which is to be presented to Parliament? viz the Report - & a Précis of Evidence which is simply ludicrous, as being so incomplete & incorrect, that it weakens the Report, by not bearing it out. We speak with "connaissance de cause", for we found it entirely useless as any guide to the Evidence.
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 771

I understood from you that - the Abstract of Stational Returns, prepared with great care, in order to get into a short compass the whole of the valuable evidence of those Stational Returns, upon which the Report is based quite as much as upon the oral Evidence, and of which not a vestige of a trace appears - I understood from you that my own paper, prepared with the same view, & as short as anything could possibly be made; were to be presented to Parliament with the Report. Certainly it has not been worth our four years’ to give to the House of Commons this.

Yours faithfully
Florence Nightingale

I see the fatal error in the first Diagram, by which you are made to say that the Mortality in Bengal is 6.7, instead of 67 per 1000, is repeated everywhere -
Most Private July 22/63

Dear Lord Stanley

I understand from Lord de Grey that Sir C. Wood has consented to the home Commission in the following form. He but proposes to add two India members on to the W.O. Barrack & Hospital Commission (existing)

If this is your doing, as I have no doubt, receive the most fervent thanks of all your fellow workers in the India cause -

Yours very faithfully

F. Nightingale

It is the greatest work that a S. of S. could do for India.
Equal in importance to the decision itself are the men that may be appointed on the Commission. To carry out the recommendations of the first Army Sanitary Commission, it was wisely determined to have a large sprinkling of the men who had studied the subject on the R. Comm, upon the four Sub=Commissions appointed Sir P. Cautley & Sir R. Martin answer to this description being the only India men upon the R. C., & having had the unspeakable advantage of following the whole enquiry from first to last. If new men are put on, they will have all to learn.

Mr. Rawlinson, as our first water & drainage Engineer, is indispensable, as water supply & drainage are of paramount importance in India.
Dear Lord Stanley

I think we are on the brink of ruin if this home Commission does not pass. If India is to be left to work out its own Sanitary salvation, the R. Commission had better not have been - Nothing is of any importance compared with the (home) Commission.

I heard Capt. Galton the Assist U. Secretary of State at the W. O, say, “they will spend the money so as to do harm not good, if they are not advised by home experience”. I have tried to draw up shortly the reasons, which I venture to enclose -
Compared with this,
the question of the
presentation or non
presentation of parts
of the Report sinks
into nothing. Still
I cannot but repeat
my conviction that
the curious blunder
by which Sir C. Wood
presented the 8vo,
while he thought
he was presenting
the whole, is very
fatal to us; for
this reason: - not
one single soul has

as yet grasped our
main point, viz reform
your Stations first
& then look to the
hills - Your Stations
as to drainage,
water supply &c are
the main cause of
your Death rate.
not your climate.
Had we known that
the Report was all that
was to be presented,
we should certainly have
brought out this point
more strongly, so that
every ass might see it.
Yours very faithfully
F. Nightingale
The objection made to the Home Commission is that at present there is no direct reference of plans from India to England, such a reference as regards Sanitary works is what is required. It would work as follows:

suppose that the Madras Presidency Commission of Health were to draw up at the request of the Madras Government a plan for the Sanitary improvement of Secunderabad or of Madras itself. They would do this without any practical experience of how such cases had been dealt with at home. If such
a plan were carried out, it would be mere matter of choice whether the whole did not prove a failure. The only way to prevent this as far as practicable would be to refer the plan home without loss of time to the India Government here. It would then come before its special Commission, the details of the plan would be minutely canvassed by men of home experience; & after the best practicable decision had been arrived at, the plan would be sent back
with all needful
information as to
matters of detail in
water supply, drainage
latrines, construction &
improvement of buildings
&c. And then, after
the Madras Commission
had profited as much
as possible by the
criticisms & information,
the plan would be
put forwards for
sanction in the usual
way.

-2-

As to the proposition
to send out ready
formed Commissions
of practical men
to deal with the
India question, it is
quite certain that
for some time the
men will not be
forthcoming. There
are as yet very few
men practically
conversant with this class of works. And all we have are occupied on duties here. To send out inferior men would be to misspend money. The Medical School at Netley is now training young men in Sanitary knowledge, but it will be some years before any number will be available. Cadets of Engineers for Indian Service will, it is hoped, before long be trained in this branch of knowledge. But as yet nothing has been done -

As regards India, your latest Barrack (at Fort William) is
one of your worst. And Calcutta is being now drained, apparently without a water supply.

There is then no reasonable hope of progress, unless some arrangement be made, whereby you here in the I.O. may by good advice prevent such mistakes. All plans or proposals for Sanitary improvements should be sent voluntarily from India - direct & without circumlocution to the I.O. here - There need be no jealousy. For all wish to help India.

And there need be no interference with freedom of action. The interests, tho’ by no means the
sole interests at stake, are those of our Queen’s Regiments. And we cannot understand why, after the W. O. has had a Commission of practical men at work to improve our home & Mediterranean & Colonial Barracks & Hospitals, with a result of half the former Death rate at home (the latter stations have not been tried long enough) the troops which have had such care bestowed on them here should go to India & be there decimated & deteriorated, because there is no authority sufficiently informed
to deal with these
Health questions.

The I. O. plan
might be similar
to the W. O. plan.
At present all
Sanitary works are
sent from every station,
from the West Indies
to China, to the W. O.
The plans are carefully
examined & corrected
by the special
Commission & then
returned to the Station.
This is what is wanted
for India. And there
is no reason why
it should not work
as well. If not in
strict accordance
with existing system,
surely the system
should bend to the
greater necessity -
not the necessity
to the system.
P.S.  
Of course all the  
Sanitary work must  
be done in India. It  
cannot be done in  
England. All we  
can do or propose  
to do is to give to the  
Commissions in India  
the benefit of English  
experience, & to prevent  
the mishaps & failures  
quite certain to ensue  
if the Indian  
Commissions are left  
to gain their own  
experience. The report  
of the R. Commission  
only states the most  
general principles.  
But the question  
really lies in the  
application of these  
principles to suit  
specific cases.  

[end 9:229]
Hampstead N.W.  
Aug 20/63

Dear Lord Stanley

I had promised myself never again to mention a matter to you, about which I had already given you such lengthened explanations, as fully to lay the case matter before you -

But I understand that Mr. Baker has obtained £1000 from the India Office for his services. And also that Dr. Sutherland has been offered £1000 (one thousand pounds) and Dr. Farr £600 (six hundred)

What Mr. Baker’s services can have been to warrant the giving such a sum as a thousand pounds to a Clerk in the Home Office, at I believe £250 a year, I am totally at a loss to imagine. Yet I know
the circumstances of
the case from beginning
to end.
Mr. Baker is perfectly
aware that he was
engaged by Dr. Sutherland
four years ago, with
Lord Herbert’s sanction,
to do Clerk’s work at
Clerk’s pay - & because
he objected to Clerk’s
name, he was allowed
to style himself
“Secretarial Assistant”
He was to keep
the Minutes, attend
the Meetings, & pass

thro’ the press the
corrections, made by
others, of the printed
matter.
Whatever he has
done more than this,
has been on his own
authority to others’
great inconvenience,
& has all had to be
 undone by those
others as far as it
could be undone -
The Précis of
Evidence is simply
ludicrous from its
incompleteness and
inaccuracy (as I know
to my cost.)

The whole of the real Secretarial work was done at my house.

The very work to Vacher’s clerks was given out at my house —

And the whole of it compared with the originals & corrected in my house.

The whole of the corrections in the two folio Vols: were done, in my house, excepting those in the Evidence, which were done by

the witnesses themselves.

I was perfectly well aware that the bungling {illeg}/literal corrections (in names), put in so clumsily that they were not even uniform in any two pages — & producing inextricable confusion — were put in afterwards & without our knowledge, simply in order that Mr. Baker might say that he had “corrected” the work.
Now for Dr. Sutherland’s work.

It has been constant & daily for four years, with the exception of two months. The very least they could have offered him would have been £1.1 a day, (or Assistant Surgeon’s pay) for four years. And this merely as an acknowledgment. The whole work of Secretary, besides the whole creation of the Sanitary work, has been done by him.

It is very easy afterwards to say of a creation what was said of Columbus’ egg. Dr. Farr’s work was definite, tho’ I am not seeking to over undervalue it by any means.

Putting it at £600, as it has been put, Mr. Baker’s work would be overpaid at £250, and Dr. Sutherland’s underpaid at £1500.

But I am unwilling
-3-
to make this a mere
matter of £.s.d. -
the whole case is
so flagrant that
I cannot but hope
some enquiry will
be made -
 It is not that
my peace is affected
by Mr. Baker being
enabled to keep a
pony carriage, any
more than it was
by Sir John Hall
being allowed extra
retiring pay, because
he destroyed the
Hospitals in the Crimea.

But it is that I cannot
but feel it a matter
of public duty to try
once more to represent
it/the case to you -
 Believe me, it cannot
be more disagreeable
to you than it is to
me -
 I would fain write
about the consequences
to India, not those
to Mr. Baker - It has
taken the very heart
out of me -
 I hope I have
not said any ungentle
word, but I must
be quite firm in saying that I have never met with a parallel case in educated life. If the India Office is so liberal as to give such a sum to Mr. Baker for such work, then all I can say is that never was pay so disproportionate to service as that allotted to Dr. Sutherland & Dr. Farr. I cannot but believe that there is some great mistake, which a word from you would set right.

To interfere in this matter has been more repugnant to me than I can tell.

Believe me to be very faithfully yours.

Florence Nightingale

May I add, in answer to a former objection of yours, that the name of “Secl Assistant” was expressly conceded, because it would lead to the question “Who then did the Secretary’s work?”
Private Hampstead N.W.
Oct 2/63

Dear Lord Stanley

I have been so
“turbulent,” (vide Lord
Panmure on F.N.) when
there was anything to be
had by it, that it is
right I should be
thankful, when that
something is had.

On Tuesday we got
at last, thanks to you,
our home India (Sanitary)
advising Commission

- & carried our Instructions,
after a hard fight. But
they have not yet been before
Sir C. Wood. has/He
appointed Sir P. Cautley
& Sir R. Martin -
“unofficially,” at first
(I don’t quite know
what that means
but am afraid it
meant, ‘I give you my
two men, and now
I wash my hands of
you’ on the “Barrack
& Hospital Improvement
Commission” of the War
Office. Mr. Rawlinson
is, I believe, to be appointed by Lord de Grey.

We wrote the Instructions, at Lord de Grey's desire - And I trust these tie them up to real work, & that their decisions will be "official" & not to be "re-considered."

The India members are to attend - for all, not only Indian, purposes - the B. & H. (War Office) Commission.

This was not our doing. We should have felt safer, if the I.O. had constituted the Commission, so as to be more peculiarly its own.

But we have done our best. It is by no means the best theoretical plan possible.

Of course this is only one step. Till the Presidency Commissions of Health, (or Departments of Health,) are constituted in India, it is little we can do at this end. But all we have heard
as yet, is that they
are “very much
wanted” “out there.”
Perhaps you are
furthering the object
“out there.”
Perhaps you will
be glad to hear that
we are preparing,
by desire of the W.O.,
an 8vo Manual from
your big Indian Blue Books,
consisting of the Report,
an Abstract of the
Evidence, any useful
bits out of the Addenda,
an Abstract of the
Stational Returns &c,
to be sent by the W.O.
to all Commanding &
some other Officers,
with orders to them
to read & to understand
it (without which
orders they will not.)
Believe me
Yours very faithfully
Florence Nightingale
The next step for this
Commission, if the
instructions are approved,
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 793

will be for it to form itself into a sub-Committee, & make a scheme for the work of the Presidency Commissions.

Sir P. Cautley is so honourable a man that I have no fear but that he will press any decisions he comes to on our Commission - before the India Council.

Pray burn this note. And pray help us farther with Sir C. Wood, if you can & think right.

F.N.

signed letter, 10ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/22 black-edged paper

Confidential 32 South St
          Park Lane
          London W.
          Oct 27/63

Dear Lord Stanley

We have not yet got [9:248-51] our Instructions for the home India Sanitary Commission: and our affairs are not prosperous.

As you are aware, Sir C. Wood named Sir P. Cautley and Sir R. Martin on the W.O. Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission some weeks
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 794

ago - But the Instructions
(Which I wrote, by Lord
de Grey’s desire) which
were submitted to &
approved by the
Commissioners, have
not yet been approved
by Sir C. Wood: who
is, I understand, “most
“averse” to them. And
Lord de Grey proposes
to compromise the
matter, and to let
the Commission act
for India on the
same Instructions on
which it acts for home.

I remonstrated: &
shewed that it is on
quite a different state
of things we have to
work. E.g. In England
Sanitary improvement outside
by local & general Acts,
has been going on for
years - And not a
local administrative
body but has its
Sanitary powers - In
India no such progress
has been made - and
no such powers exist.
It was on this state
of progress outside in England
that we began our
Liverpool Derby/Stanley

Barrack & Hospital
Improvements - i.e. we had little to do outside though every thing inside.

In India every thing has to be done outside. And it will be little or no use to rebuild, ventilate &c inside the Barracks, if no powers are to be given to remedy the deplorable state of Stations, Bazaars, cities & towns: or rather, I should say, to plan, to propose a scheme for such remedies.

Our home Instructions are therefore totally inadequate to meet the case. They do not cover a tenth of the ground - Nothing can result but failure & disappointment - Failure, I mean, in improving Indian health - if it is supposed that, while outside drainage, sewerage & water supply are left in their present state, which is no state at all (or left for India authorities to do, or not to do, as they choose). - All that has to be done here
for India is to do what we have been doing at home, viz. reform the buildings.

I represented a good deal more of this kind, which I may spare you, because you know it better than I do. And I urged that Sidney Herbert had, in the case of the first R. Sanitary Commission, taken himself to & pressed upon Ld Panmure & Genl Peel (successively) the working plans/schemes of the four Sub=Commissions (which carried out his recommendations subsequently) - And that thus every thing was done that was done -

I was told that, "if Lord Stanley would have done this, the thing would have been carried", or words to that effect - that Sidney Herbert "had the power to say to the Minister, do this & he did it" - & that "Lord Stanley could
have done the same thing "that Lord de Grey" is in a different position & could not step in to advise Sir C. Wood how to carry into effect the report" that he "did say all he could".

Here the matter hangs now -

Of course this is for yourself alone - No human being has the least idea that I should state these things to you.

-3-

2. As you are aware, Sir C. Wood’s despatch to India on your Report (1) sent out a summary of your Commissn’s recommendns, (2) authorized the formation of the Presidency Commissions (3) pointed out that all plans for Sanitary improvements should, before being carried into execution, be sent to him for reference to the Sany Commission here. (4) directed
that the Calcutta, in communication with the Madras & Bombay, Commissions, be charged with the preparation of a draft code of Sanitary Regulations, such as is referred to in 37th Clause of your “recommendations” – that this draft code is to be transmitted to him for revision in this country – & the completed code will then be sent to India for promulgation –

There is enough to give one very great uneasiness in (2) and (4).

With regard to (2), I have a letter from Col. Strachey, the Head of the Public Works Dept. in India, as you know – proposing that these Presidency Commissions should consist of an “Officer of Health” – and – he does not know what.

Now, while fully sharing the “horror” of Col. Strachey “for deliberative Boards”, your Commission never
contemplated this -
Officers of Health &
Engineers. must be
in-the employed, to inspect & report, by/of the
Presidency Commissions.
But the Officer of Health
should do no more
than he does at home,
viz. report on causes of
disease. The Presidency
Commission will have
to decide on all sorts of
Sanitary Engineering works.
How can an "Officer of Health" do this?
It should have a
good Civilian administrator
as an administrative head.
And its consulting members

should represent
all the scientific
elements which have
to do with health.
There is no man living
who could be
recommended as an
"Officer of Health" to do
what Col. Strachey
imposes upon him.
I am sadly afraid
the Indians will
mismanage their
Presidency Commissions.
As to (4) - I ventured
to remonstrate: & to shew
that, had Sidney Herbert
left our “Codes” to the
Horse Guards “to draw
up” - we should have
been just where we
were before - It is a
very different thing
drawing up one’s own
code & having it
accepted by the Horse
Guards, - which was
our case - & letting
the Horse Guards draw
it up, to be “approved”
by the War Minister.
This point was
carried so far as this:

that we have been
instructed privately
by Sir C. Wood “to draw
up the a Memorandum
of the heads of a Code
to be submitted” to
him for transcription
to the Presidency
Commissions.
But this is not of such
immediate importance
as the instructions to
the home Commission.
It is very little use
making a Regulation
to prevent the chimney
from smoking, while
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i

nothing is being done
to cure smoky chimneys.
The very first thing is to
put the Stations to
rights. Afterwards
we may make a
“code” for them.
The very first thing for
the home Commission
to do is to report on,
& to draw up a
scheme for, the best
Sanitary arrangements
applicable to India,
merely to save time
& to keep the Presidency
Commissions in the
right path.

-5-

[We are not so wild
as to think that we are
to draw up their
administrative rules &
forms of procedure for them.]
I have often apologized
for troubling you
about things. But
I make no apology
now - For the very
existence is at stake,
as it seems to me,
of the practical good to be
derived from your
Report -
You were once so
good as to tell me
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i

that almost all the
I.O. measures passed
thro’ your hands -
Help us now -

Yours very faithfully,
Florence Nightingale.

I do not forget to
teach you for the
successful trouble
you have taken in
making the I.O.
give Dr. Sutherland
his due -

Please to burn this
letter out of the world
& out of your memory.
It is for yourself alone.
If you think well to act,
you will act as from
yourself, of course.

Sir C. Wood was with
Lord de Grey at Studley
Royal. Perhaps he is
not gone.

F.N.

[end 9:251]
Dear Lord Stanley

I beg to enclose to you the whole of a packet I have just received from Sir C. Trevelyan -

But the part I would particularly call your attention to is the two “Public Works Dept” sheets, Nos. 2919, 4007. They give an idea of the state of Calcutta which nothing, no Evidence in your Blue Books comes near -

The fact is, the ground of the Maidan is used up. And Calcutta, already nearly uninhabitable, is fast becoming quite so -

The only thing, in those papers, which equals the state of things they
reveal to an experienced
Sanitary eye, is the
utter helplessness
they betray.

And while this
is the state of things
out there, they are
chaffering here as
to the powers they
shall give us to
help them.

I would fain
ask you, if you have
half an hour to spare
when you come to
London “on the 10th or
12th,” to let me see
you in regard to
your interview with
Sir C. Wood any day,
any hour; only let
me know beforehand.

Yours faithfully
F. Nightingale

Will you have the
goodness to return
to me the whole of
Sir C. Trevelyan’s
packet, at your
convenience?
Dear Lord Stanley,

I saw yesterday the whole of Sir C. Wood’s correspondence relating to the India home Commission - And in a Despatch, to India, dated August 15, (& not communicated to the W.O. till the end of October,) regarding the recommendations of your R. Commission, he commits himself in a way that renders it hopeless to think of our obtaining the (home) Instructions we thought necessary. For we proposed that the (home) Commission should draw up a scheme for carrying out the recommendations in India; this Despatch has actually sent out such a
scheme, drawn up in its own way, on August 15.

They cannot stultify themselves by sending another.

And I have therefore given way, as far as I am concerned & written a short Instruction (at the W.O. desire) for the Barrack & Hospl Commn merely to enable them to be asked to prepare plans & descriptions of new Barracks & Hospls - methods for improving existing ditto - & to give their advice on all proposals of a Sanitary nature sent from India.

As we have been asked by Sir C. Wood (privately) to draw up the “heads” of a code, we may introduce such explanatory matter, by way of note, as
will cover a good deal of the ground which the Commn now can’t touch, in the absence of the specific Instruction which Sir C. Wood declines giving.

You will have seen (by the Calcutta Minutes I sent) that, tho’ Calcutta has a Municipal Council, they don’t know how to begin, & are actually sending their Engineer to England to learn. Now, of whom is he to learn? Would not the wisest thing be to put him into relation with the home (India) Commn? The very case has arisen. And yet they have no power whatever to deal with it at home.

2. Two of the points in the original Draft
Instructions for home relating to the training of officers of Health & of Cadets of Engineers in Sanitary principles for India, are now omitted in the present short Instruction - Yet they are of great importance. I have thought it but honest to tell you exactly how things stand now. Yet, if you still could do anything to help us, pray do not neglect us. An almost fatal step has been made at first starting. But much may still be retrieved. And I trust that you will still allow me to consult you personally about yours faithfully it, as you F. Nightingale were so good as to mention in your note of Oct 31, just received. Although the state of things is different from what we supposed it to be, & from what I stated to you. somewhat.  

[end 9:255]
32, South Street, {printed address:}
Grosvenor Square. W.
22/11/63

Dear Lord Stanley

I have been waiting patiently (or impatiently) to hear from you.
You were so good as to say that you would make an appointment with me “at the close of the week beginning Jan./Nov. 9.”
We are just where we were (as to the “Instructions”) 4 months ago.

Sir C. Wood will not approve any Instructions now for the home (India) Commission to act upon – And all that he will say is that your Report is “exaggerated”.
I think he must act or not act – thus from want of information.
And there is no one to press such information on him but you –
I received, by yesterday’s mail, printed documents from the Bengal Army Medl Dept approving of all the recommendations - & differing only on certain Engineering details, with which they are less familiar than we are - This printed letter, so far from stating that all the recommendations had been “anticipated”, states that one only had been anticipated. The India Office sent me the Cholera Commission’s Report of 1862, giving such an account of the Stations in Upper India, as we had no idea of, gave no idea of. I have seen a similar Report for the Punjab - All this does not look as if India thought your Report “exaggerated” But the strongest of all is the document (of Sir C. Trevelyan’s) about Calcutta - which you have still. Would you have the
kindness to return me that: & his Commissariat Minutes which you have? I have many subsequent documents of his, if you would like to see them - Some I have sent to the W.O. Meanwhile all our time is being wasted. The Calcutta Municipality have actually sent their Officer to England for information. And we have no means of entering into relation with him.

If you would like Dr. Sutherland to wait upon you, he would doubtless give the necessary information (as to the present state of things, with regard to the Instructions) better than I should. 

Yours faithfully
Florence Nightingale.
Dear Lord Stanley

I understand that "a paper has been "received" (by the I.O.) "from Col. Norman, "in which he positively "declares that the "grievances & abuses "complained of" (by "you in your Report) "have long been "remedied - & that "in fact the Report "attempts to slay the "slain."

[I presume that this Col. Norman is the Mil: Sec: of the Govt. of India]. Of course you, as the Chairman of that Commission, are the only person who can claim & answer Col: Norman’s "paper". I will only say that, of all things,
I desire to see it, & to assist in answering it.

I enclose an Ext: from the Cholera Commission Report, dated last year, received by the I.O. on Nov.2 only (this month); & lent me for 48 hours. [I must therefore beg that you will return me this Ext:, which I cannot reproduce].

I only remark that, to this very Col:

Norman, this Report is addressed - that your Report gives no idea of anything half so shocking as his: & that the account of the other Stations in N. India is, if possible, worse -

I add an Ext: from a private letter of Lady Elgin’s:

“People who know” - (how much mischief that phrase has authorized) "have
"detected serious
"mistakes in the Report
" - tending to exaggerate
"much the real rate
"of mortality. &c &c
Napoleon’s Pope
saw nothing more
wonderful in Paris
than to see himself
there. I see nothing
so wonderful in all
these letters as to see
how "people who know."
are shaken by them. [end 9:258]

Yours faithfully
Florence Nightingale
Dear Lord Stanley

Of course the papers, here sent by your permission, are for yourself alone - & to be returned to me please, without being mentioned to Sir C. Wood.

It occurred to me, would it not be well if you would take the trouble to see Lord de Grey before Sir C. Wood, as the home Commission is partly W.O.? Lord de Grey would then be acting in concert with you.

But, whether you think well to do this or not, do not let me be mentioned in it.

1. as to the “Inspections” in India - what I meant by Inspections was this: I did not mean that Inspectors must be sent from this country, but that:
in following out the principles laid down by your R. Commission, all duties of inspection should be carried out by Officers of the Presidency Commissions. They should be done by a Sanitary & an Engineering Officer, who should report defects & proposals for improvement to the Presidency Commissions.

In this work, all that the Home Commission could do would be to aid the Pres: Commns: by their advice as to points of detail - such as laying on of water &c. &c. &c.

2. The Calcutta people have themselves anticipated the supposed objection to interference by sending home an Officer on purpose to gain information about drainage. And yet we must not put ourselves in connection with him.

Yours faithfully

Florence Nightingale
Dear Lord Stanley

As to one of the three subjects of our conversation - Sir John Lawrence has "only just ascertained that the copies (of your Report) were sent round the Cape & not "overland - Hence the "delay. It was ordered "that a certain number "of copies were to go "overland also, but "by some mistake this "was not done. Some "have since been "ordered off."

["By mistake" also Sir C. Wood did not present to the Ho: of C. the/your whole Report & evidence.]

There remain the other two topics of our conversation (of much more importance) viz. 1. to get some kind of Instructions for
your home (advising) Commission - and
2. to get "Col. Norman's paper" denying the facts of your Report, for answer.

It seemed to me that your three principal objections to me were
1. the "impossibility of water drainage in a country with dry seasons"
   To this I now venture to enclose an answer
2. about "Inspections", to which I have sent you an answer, as to what I meant by "inspections" - as it is of incomparably more importance to know what to do with the old Barracks than to build new - which will be comparatively few in number -
3. about the "unwillingness" (& "uselessness") to "refer home such questions as those of drainage & water supply", to which I answered that they have done it. The Calcutta Municipality has actually sent home an Officer for this very purpose - And we have no powers to meet him.

Poor Lady Elgin! [end 9:260]

Yours faithfully,
Florence Nightingale
Confidential 32, South Street, {printed address}
Grosvenor Square. W.
Dec 1/63

Dear Lord Stanley

You were saying that the India Govt. at home & the India Govt. in India were jealous.

Now you have a Governor Genl in your hand.

He is not at all jealous. on the contrary.

He could settle all we want with Sir C. Wood in five

minutes - if you would tell him, as Chairman of the R. Sanitary Commn, what you want.

He is a man never too busy for business.

In these few last days, of pressure, he has actually found time to let me know several matters of detail in the I. O.

No doubt you have much hand in his appointment.
His is the greatest government now under God's. And he is the only man to fill it.

Here is an opportunity where what might take months of correspondence may be settled in a few minutes - such as

1. the constitution of the Presidency Commissions - to consist of: -
   (1) an able Civilian to be responsible administrative head - advised by
   (2) an Engineer of “Public Works Department”
       a Medical Sanitary Officer,
       a Military Officer,
       an Army Medical Officer.

This Board to proceed
   (a) to direct local enquiries, or "Inspections,"
   best carried out by an Engineering Officer & an Officer of Health in concert.
   (b) to receive reports prepare plans, direct & see to execution of works.
It is the opportunity:

2. to establish a proper connection between the Presidency Commissions & the home Commission, i.e. an entente cordiale.

3. to enable the home Commission to help the Presidency Commissions by a direct statement & description of the kind of Sanitary works, improvements & appliances applicable to Indian Stations, to meet the requirements described in the Indian Stational Reports.

Sir John Lawrence, Governor Genl could do what the S. of S. for India might feel a reluctance in doing. viz. he might desire the home Commission to send all the information & suggestions they can as to the best means of initiating & carrying out Sanitary improvements at the Stations, together with the most improved appliances for Barracks & Hospitals.
If something practical
of this kind is not
done, the four years’
labours of your R.
Commission are as
bad as lost -
The enclosed
statement anticipates
some objections.
Yours faithfully
Florence Nightingale

signed letter, 2ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/30 black-edged paper

Dear Lord Stanley
I will try & see
Sir John Lawrence -
But I never convinced
any one yet but Sidney
Herbert. And I could
have wished you had
done it.
I cannot leave
what you give “as
the substance of
their case” unanswered.
I could wish that
you would bring the
substance of my
answer before Sir
C. Wood.

As to the home
Commission, instead
of there being “nothing
for it to do,” there is
everything for it to
do.

But I let that
drop -

Would you have
the goodness to return
me

a M.S. of the heads

of a Sanitary code -
also two printed papers
of the Principal
Inspector Genl of
Bengal - & one or
two other papers, I
think, which you
have of mine.

The heads of Code
we were directed
to draw up by Sir C.
Wood. And I have
no other copy.

Yours faithfully

Florence Nightingale
Dear Lord Stanley

We are in tribulation about our reviews. The “Quarterly”, after having accepted a review by Dr. Acland (of your India Army Sanitary Report) has sneaked shabbily round to the enemy & is about to insert a review by the enemy with all the Norman (Col:)

& Crommelin & India military “information”, stating just what you told me was the “India military authorities” case -

Lady Herbert, when she left England, left in my hands a note from you to her, “saying that you would see the Editor of the “Westminster” about a review of the said Report. If you will
write one yourself, -  
so much the better  
for us - If not, will  
you ask the Editor  
of the “Westminster”  
whether he will have  
Dr. Acland’s (of  
Oxford)? for his  
next number?  

I have had a  
furious correspondence  
with the Editor of the  
“Edinburgh” - who was  
quite/altogether taken in by the  
“India military authorities”  
- in which I was not  
quite so uncivil (but  
nearly so) as these  
same “authorities”are  
- & which ended in  
my being engaged to  
write a review (in  
my own sense, of  
course) for the next  
number of the Edinburgh  

This is of course  
private, as I should  
not wish it to be  
known that the  
“turbulent fellow” - vide  
Ld Panmure - was “at  
it” again.  

Yours faithfully  

Florence Nightingale  

[end 9:273]
Dear Lord Stanley

The Editor of the Edinburgh Review has written to me to urge the performance of my promise to write an Article on your India Sanitary Report for his April Number – also to say that the M. S. must be in his hands by March 10 at latest –

But the promise was expressly made on condition that it was to be a fair discussion of the two sides. And for this it is necessary that the other side shall have spoken out. A discussion cannot be made with/ upon one side only.

May I ask whether you know, or whether you will ascertain, if Sir C. Wood has received the “defence”
of the India military authorities, for which he wrote to Lord Elgin, & which he intended to lay on the table of the Ho: of C.?

Or whether he would let you have any documents, which might be made public use of?

Of private ones I have seen plenty - (from India.) But, for the life of me, I cannot make out what their “defence” is - nor in what their contradictions (of the truth of your Report) consist.

On the contrary: as in “Rejected Addresses” the conspirators say, “Let us by a song conceal our purposes” - I am sure the conspirators (against our truth) most effectually conceal their “defence” by alledging facts ten times worse than yours.
I don’t feel in the least inclined to write a réchauffé of your Report - And, if you cannot furnish me with something to contradict or answer, I shall beg off from writing the said Article.

2. Have you heard whether the “Westminster Review” will take in Dr. Acland’s Article, as you were so good as to ask them?

3. We have nearly done what Sir John Lawrence bade us do - (1) the general scheme of Sanitary works for Stations in India, with plans & diagrams - to be sent in the name of the joint I. O. and W. O. Commission

(2) the draft of the letter from W. O. to I. O, embodying those recommendations of your Commission, which can only be carried out by W. O and I. O.
But this last has been most untowardly delayed, first by no body knowing what the respective jurisdictions were - second, by the discovery of a Committee which had been worked by Sir E. Lugard in the W. O., unknown to Lord de Grey, ever since August 1861, (i.e. the month of Sidney Herbert’s death,) on the Victualling of troops on board ship, going out to India - and which would infallibly end by consigning half the troops who land in India upon such diet to Scurvy -

As this was a very important item, delay has arisen till Lord de Grey can take steps to undo this mischief - And they say that the W. O. is re-organized !!!

We have also almost done a Manual (8vo) from your Report & Evidence, (the two folio
Vols.,) which the Horse Guards is to give a copy of, to every officer in the Service.

If I have told you anything about the W. O., which you have not heard from other sources, pray consider it really “confidential”

in haste
Yours faithfully
F. Nightingale

Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/34 black-edged paper

signed letter, 4ff, pen
Confidential 115 Park St. W.
Feb 20/64

Dear Lord Stanley

After much “speering” at the I.O., I find, as regards the correspondence about your Sanitary Report
1. that they “now expect a full report from Col: Norman”
2. that they are “pretty sure that Sir C. Wood will not present anything to
Parliament until that report has arrived & then been considered” – 3. that they “have not heard that any one is likely to move for papers.”

Would you not ask a question in the House? I wish you would.

However, you probably know more from Sir C. Wood than I do.

I wrote to Dr. Acland immediately to send his review to the Westminster. I have put off mine in the Edinburgh till July. It is no use entering the lists till the enemy has appeared.

Our Abstract in 8vo, or “Manual”, for the W. O., of your two folio Vols: is finished.

The Sanitary scheme, asked for by Sir John Lawrence, would be finished, (including the scheme for registration and a Weekly Table, as
for London,) if only the Engineering people would send us in their part. It is most vexatious to have to wait for this: for all is done but the Engineering part.

Much more vexatious is the delay brought to the drafting the letter from the W.O. to I.O., embodying some of your recommendations, by the vagueness about respective jurisdictions.

(1) M. General Pears has been applied to, & has answered - But little has come of it.

(2) A reference has been made from the W. O. Committee, of which Lord de Grey was not cognizant, by him, to the joint W. O and I. O Sanitary Committee, about the victualling of troops on their passage to India.

(3) The Horse Guards have managed so to discontent Medical
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 833

Officers, that we positively can’t get candidates to supply the Army Medl Dept, now that it has to furnish doctors to both British & Indian troops - the best thing that could have happened to us, as now the W. O. must go into the market & buy their doctors -

But all this has provokingly delayed the drafting of said letter to I. O. which we were asked to draft for the W. O. [end 9:277]

yrs faithfully
F. Nightingale

signed letter, 4ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/35 black-edged paper

Private 115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}
March 4/64

Dear Lord Stanley [9:277-78]

Probably you have forgotten a correspondence we had (in December) as to the difficulty of a proper system of sewerage & drainage in a country with dry seasons - I stated that we had established such at drier Stations than any in India - And I proposed to send you our Report on the Mediterranean
Stations - [It possesses a great interest for me, for it was the last request made by me & granted by Sidney Herbert before his death]

Of course you will have this Report in the regular manner - But you may not take notice of it. So I venture to send you my copy, which I get rather sooner than the Ho: of C. Will it be giving you too much trouble to ask you to return it?

If you have time, in the midst of your hard duties, to look at it, you will find the gist of the whole matter; both defects & remedies, in the first 22 pages. These, with the “pictures”, give a very fair idea of the Indian subject; except that all the improvements for India need to be on a greater scale, with more water, more cubic space in Barracks & Hospitals, more complete ventilating arrangements, more
constant attention to
Sanitary police.
[By the way, we hear
there is to be a debate
on the cession of the
Ionian Islands -
If England has done
so little for them, as
shewn by this Report,
I think the sooner we
give them up, the
better]
Pray let me take this
opportunity of saying,
with regard to your not
moving in the Ho: for our
Indian enemies - that

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}
I not only submit to
your judgment, but do
so with my head in the
dust, like a R. Catholic
before his Superior.
It is a matter upon
which I have (& can
have) absolutely no
opinion. And I was
almost sorry I expressed
a wish -
Also let me say I did
not mean to complain
of Lord de Grey, in the
matter desired by Sir
John Lawrence - Ld de
G. does everything he can
for us. It is not likely he should have the weight with Crown, Cabinet, Commander-in-Chief, & Parliament that S. Herbert had - But he is willing [Sir G. Lewis was not.]

It would be most ungrateful of me to complain of Ld de G., especially as this is such a new matter, that the respective jurisdictions are all uncertain & confused. But we are getting on Your faithful servt [end 9:278]

F. Nightingale

signed letter, 6ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/36 black-edged paper

Private 115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}
Confidential March 12/64

Dear Lord Stanley [9:281-83]

I heard from your great man & mine, Sir John Lawrence, by last mail. His letter was dated Feb 5.

He has done all you asked; & in your way, not in his.

He has appointed the Bengal Commission of Health - capital men - three of them I know - representing the five
different interests you recommended. He has made a Civilian the President, & the responsible executive - and this is to be his sole work - quite enough, one would think, for one man, (even were he Hercules with his twelve labours) He has also made a Secretary with this as his sole work. Nothing can be more in conformity with your recommendations that the whole proceeding,

as far as Sir John Lawrence is concerned.

He says that he would have created the Commission of Health for Bengal, immediately on his arrival - but that your two=folio=Report did not arrive till February. [You know he ascertained, before he left, that the copies had been sent round by the Cape “by mistake”]

The two=folio=copy seems to have taken the Indians aback, from the (two/too) intimate
knowledge it betrays
that you had as to the
state of their Stations.
At least I augur this
from the fact that
Mr. Strachey C. S., who
is the author of that
India Cholera Report, which
has been suppressed
in England, & from
which I sent you a
most astounding
Extract, containing
revelations as to the
state of the Stations
which I/we had no
idea of - [I have since
received a “confidential”

-2-

115 Park Street. W. printed address:}
copy from India, which
is much at your service
- but it is very nasty]
this Mr. Strachey, when
Sir J. Lawrence did
me the honor to discuss
with me the appointments
to your “Commission of
Health” in Bengal, I
suggested - And Sir J.
Lawrence answered that
nothing would induce
Mr. Strachey to accept
such an appointment
for any money, as he
had been worried out
of his life about his
Cholera Report.

I conclude, from his accepting the appointment, that the reception of the two-folio Report has considerably modified Indian opinion & quickened their wits as to the desirableness of doing something.

If the Governor General is for us, as you said, — I do not mind however, who is against us?¹/

But Sir John Lawrence is grievously disappointed that, whereas he has done all we asked, we have not yet done what he asked —

He implies that his Health Commission is quite ready to go the whole length of our “views”. And he asks why we don’t send our “views”. He asks this on Feb 5. On March 12 our “views” are not on the way — And I very much fear that his Commission may have been sitting six months waiting for our “views”, before they come.
[Poor man! he really expected dispatch! he really thought the W. O. could get ready a document in 3 months! he must be fitter for a Lunatic Asylum than for a Governor Generalship.]

This part of the matter is very distressing. Our part of the work was ready almost as soon as Sir J. Lawrence started. But the double nay treble jurisdiction there is in every thing concerning the Indian Army - also the delays of the plan= designers, & the printers, - I am fit for a Lunatic Asylum with them all.

the matter has turned out the very reverse of what we expected. India has done its part at the other end. And at our end it has not.

Sir J. Lawrence winds up with saying, "without "such a guide, (our "codes" & "rules" & "plans") "we shall often be "perhaps working in "direct opposition to "your views - Where we "differ, it will become "our duty to set forth
"the grounds for so
"doing, in sending our
"plans & reports home."
Sir John Lawrence
has certainly brought
in a new day for India,
as in Sanitary things,
so in others -
  Your faithful servt
    Florence Nightingale
Pray consider whatever
may come thro’ me
/about this) really
"confidential". Of course
Sir J. L. tells the I. O.
himself what he thinks

fit.
You have perhaps
forgotten that you gave
me a hint to give Sir
J. L. before he started,
as to conciliating the
"Millingtary". I did so -
F.N.

signed letter, 10ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/37 black-edged paper

Confidential March 15/64
Dear Lord Stanley
  In answer to your
very kind note of
March 12: -
  the "delay" I am sorry
to say, arises from Lord
de Grey’s inability, I
will not say unwilling=
ness, to be snubbed by
Sir C. Wood.
  the "exact thing waiting
to be done" is to make
the Horse Guards & the
India Office carry out
certain of your recommendations, which do not belong to the War Office to do -

Of this more presently.

March 17/64

The War Office mind appears to have been stirred up, like the Indian mind, during the last four days - And during this time, the proofs from the printers & the plans from the designers - for Barracks & Stations & Sanitary schemes - have been pouring in.

This was what Sir John Lawrence more particularly insisted upon - viz. the "delay" has/which the II joint W. O. and I. O. Commission, has been guilty of in sending out its plans to his (Bengal) Commission, when they were/are so good as to wish to be taught -

I am sorry to say we cannot have a Meeting of the said
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 843

(home) Commission till after the 26th owing to Sir Proby Cautley’s absence from the I. O.

Sir P. Cautley writes “it is most desirable that they (the papers) should reach India as soon as possible, so as to be in the hands of the (Bengal) Commission in their early sittings.”

But meanwhile he does not come back. However, I dare say we shall hardly

-2-

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}
be ready before the 26th, as we have had to correct both plans & papers - and I have only to day sent to Mr. Rawlinson, the “Local Govt Act Office Engineer, (who did the water-supply & drainage part,) his part to correct.

If we can send the plans & papers in to the I. O. soon after the 26th, (& they will forward the whole immediately to India,) altho’ this is too bad of us, still it
is better than I had
dared to expect -

But this is comparably
straight forward
- tho’ aggravating from
its blundering delays,
when Sir John Lawrence
had made such
virtuous haste on
his side.

The rest, (the “exact
things waiting to be
done”) is the real
difficulty.

Here please glance at
the enclosed Lists.

Here is the difficulty -
And, except that every
body has been using
the most violent
language to every body,
we are just where
we were 3 months ago -
And Sir J. Lawrence
complains that we
are so, while his part
is quite & completely
done, as far as Bengal.

Three months ago, Ld
de Grey asked me to
draft a letter for
him to Sir C. Wood,
embodying those of
your recommendations,
out of
Nos 1 to 13, which the I. O. must carry out.

“For he says, the Indian Army is under Sir C. Wood - & Sir C. W. must write out to Genl Officers in India, as the W. O. writes out to Genl Officers in Colonies. The W. O. has no direct communication with the Indian Army.

[This is not quite true. But that is not my business.]

Two months ago, a meek little letter was written by W. O. to Genl Pears, enquiring some preliminaries, in order

-3-

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}
to draft the great letter to Sir C. Wood,

A very terrible letter came back from Genl Pears, saying that Sir C. Wood HAD recommended what he thought fit - & did not want any interference from the W. O.

The poor W. O. shut up directly - or rather not directly, but went shilly-shallying on, doing nothing, till March 10 - Ld de Grey
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i

sounding Sir C. Wood,
Sir C. W. snubbing Ld
de Grey, & telling him
to mind his own
business.

[Ld de Grey is a
humble & a vain
man - & that makes
a man pedantic - &
that gives a man a
mortal fear/dislike of being
snubbed - & makes
him think a great
deal about his "influence".
Sidney Herbert had
influence, without ever
thinking about it. Lord
de Grey has none, by
thinking too much about
it. Besides, it is no doubt
difficult for a man to
act as colleague to a
Minister whose Under
Secretary he has been -

But, as I am not
making a psychological
study of Lord de Grey,
I had better go on to
facts] Therefore :-

We have besides
another difficulty -
which is that, whatever
the Commander in Chief
in England recommends
to the C. in C. in India,
he does all the less for
being recommended.

Also, it appears that when Her Majesty makes regulations for her troops, the Queen’s Regulations do not obtain when her troops are in India.

[I can hardly believe it.]

However, when I proposed three months ago (by Sir J. Lawrence’s desire) that the Lord de Grey should write to the Duke of Cambridge about those of your recommendations

-4-

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}

which are purely H. G. and W. O., Ld de Grey told me the above -

The reason I don’t quite believe it, is that this is the very act to which they now have determined themselves after 3 months’ delay.

I was to have received a copy of this letter to the Horse Guards, that I might communicate with Sir John Lawrence by this day’s mail.
And I also waited for this in order to shew it to you, before writing to you.

But as it was only three days ago since the W. O. made up its noble mind to this measure/manoeuvre, it is not to be supposed that the letter is/can be written in three days. And it is not.

I have now told you/written the exact state of things with regard to each one of your recommendations.

Pray excuse me that it is so long. I believe I could have told it so as to be less tiresome. But 1. I have been quite laid up. 2. I did not like to waste your kind offer of a visit, hoping to turn it to account soon, when we really see our way.

With regard to your kind offer of acting for us yourself: –

I see that Ld de Grey would rather you did not urge him –
would rather you did
urge Sir C. Wood.
Because he, Ld de Grey,
is willing, even anxious,
but not capable -
Sir C. Wood is capable
but not willing.
It is awkward for Lord
de G. to have to tell you he would,
but he can’t.
Of course I have
nothing to advise with
regard to your see/speaking
to Sir C. Wood, altho’
you are so kind as
to ask the question.
I am afraid he
will say, “I have done
all I can. We must
wait till we hear from
India.”

-5-
115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}
In that case, we are just
where we were, viz. to
act thro’ Sir John Lawrence
& to make him act
on Sir Hugh Rose -
[But there is no occasion
to make him act,
as I have incorrectly
said/put it.]
I saw him, however,
once, immediately after
he had seen the
Duke of Cambridge. And
he was eager in wishing
that the Horse Guards
should put down the
Canteen system, at least,
from here - & in saying
that no way else could
it be done -
Please to remember
that the whole of this
what is “confidential”.
If you act, you will
of course act from
yourself -
Sir J. Lawrence, of
course, writes to
I. O. himself what
he thinks fit.
Your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

Did I mention that
Sir J. Lawrence asks
us to write a sanitary
code for his Commissions,
as well as the work
we are doing for him?
I think we had
better write the duties,
& they codify.
He also asks for
all old Reports & Manuals
for his Commissions.
I have sent out
three sets, one for each
Presidency Commission,
of all Board of Health
Reports &c, & all W. O.

There is no Manual.
F.N.
I shall write again,
with your permission,
in a day or two -
Because your offer to
act for us is too
good to be wasted.
F.N.
Confidential March 19/64

Dear Lord Stanley

The W.O. have really [9:285-86] written a letter - not, of course, in [illeg] time for the Indian mail of yesterday. But it is really written, & sent to the Horse Guards - with “Immediate” over it, dated March 15/64 (when it ought to be August 15/63 - the date of Sir C. Wood’s Despatch)

This letter contains

the following points -
out of your recommendations
1. the discontinuance or limitation of the sale of spirits in Regimental Canteens, & the more extended use of beer, coffee &c
2. the suppression as far as possible of the sale of spirits in Bazaars
3. the superintendence of cooking by (European) Regimental cooks.

[Even the Regimental cooks, already gone out]
with their Regiments
to India, complain
that they are not employed
& have no control over
the cooking.]
4. making gymnastics
   a parade
5. employing men in
   trades where workshops
   have been provided, &
   promoting Soldiers’
gardens.

The letter proposes
that Sir Hugh Rose
be requested to consider
these various points
in conference with
the India Government,

& to report what
measures are most
applicable for meeting
the recommendations of
your Commission.

The letter treats of
those/Regimental points only, with
which the Military
authorities in India
must deal - by means of
the Commanding Officers -

I am to write to Sir
J. Lawrence on the 26th
& expound the doings
of the W. O. (very
difficult -) & send him
some very good practical
experience we have
just had on Trades -
He is very strong on the point.
It is a very odd thing that nobody knows even now who are responsible for Regimental reforms. - nor who are to carry out your Regimental recommendations.

We are going to try now how far the new Army Medical Regulations of 1859 (Sanitary & Statistical) can be introduced into India by the Director General here, before any other step is taken.

I am going to send you a Proof of the paper of “Suggestions”, which included the duties of the Officer of Health, - to be sent out by the (home) Commission to the Presidency Commissions by/at Sir J. Lawrence’s desire -

If the W. O. has not sent you one, it is because it is not ready - your faithful servt

Florence Nightingale
Dear Lord Stanley

I bear in mind that you said you could not look at any more of our papers after April 18. And I am very sorry for it, - for our sakes, not yours.

I think you will like to see the first Minute of our first Commission, as Sir John Lawrence calls it, sent me by him.

It has made a great disturbance at Calcutta. It is strictly private. Please return it to me, that I may answer it in/by the mail of the 18th Their great difficulty now is that the Police is under the Govt, the Officer of Health under the Municipality. We have
settled this difficulty satisfactorily in England. And Sir John Lawrence asks me to send him out all the information on the subject. There is no doubt that this Minute is an immense step - And the reform has begun. I shall venture to send you some other papers before the your "18th". Sir John Lawrence scarce lets a mail pass without sending me something. I have his Minute on the Commissariat Report. But as the India Office has not yet received the Commissariat Report, it is not of much use to us - India is now far a head of us in these carrying out your Sanitary things. It is we who are hanging back - not they - in forwarding your "recommendations."

Your faithful servt

Florence Nightingale
15 Park Street. W. {printed address:}

Private April 15/64 [9:288-89]

Dear Lord Stanley

I send you three documents all sent me by Sir J. Lawrence. Please be so good as to return them all to me, at your convenience

1. Sir J. Lawrence’s Minute about the Commissariat Report, which very likely you have, & about which I sent you Sir C. Trevelyan’s Minute of Sept 22/63. Please consider this really private, as (March 29, week at least) the India Council here had neither Commissariat Report nor Sir J. Lawrence’s nor Sir C. Trevelyan’s Minutes.

2. a pamphlet about Officer of Health’s duties.
3. a newspaper article by (as I understand) Sir J. Lawrence’s Private Secretary.
What comes out of all this is: --

1. that your Commission by no means overstated the case
2. that the Bengal Commission is beginning in the right direction & vigorously

Lord de Grey says that he is “in a right course” too.

He says that he “called” (April 4) “on the Director General to report on the best mode of applying the Medical Regulations to India”.

He referred the question of victualling on board ship to the joint I. O & W. O. (home) Commission.

[And they adopted the scale obediently, just as we told them.]

And he has sent in the letter for Sir Hugh Rose to the Horse Guards about the Regimental reforms -

The joint (home)
Commission passed
the building plans for
India last Monday.
But (unfortunately)
Garibaldi’s entry
distracted the attention
of our enthusiastic
chairman, Sir R. Airy.
And he rushed off,
without finishing the
business.
I shall not fail
to send you a copy,
when it is done — as
also, having your kind
permission, anything
Sir J. Lawrence sends
me.

As to the mistake
of the Calcutta spasmodic
effort about dead
bodies in the Hrogly:
- it first allowed the
law to remain in
abeyance, without
making any provision
for otherwise disposing
of the dead — then
it spasmodically puts
an end to the present
system — & that too
in the height of an
epidemic. What they
want is either a
public burning esta=
blishment, or else to carry
the dead to another
branch of the river.
The first the best - it
could be done by retorts,
(like gas=making,) without
nuisance - as was
done 1800 years ago
at Pompeii.

Your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

signed letter, 2ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/41 black-edged paper

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}
May 14/64

Dear Lord Stanley

You wished to see any papers sent by Sir John Lawrence, which shewed the practical working of your R. Commission.

One of the three I send I think you have seen before (in a different form) It shews that we have been abused, & I particularly for my little paper, – for telling in a very mild form the half of what they themselves tell in a very strong form.

The two others (discussion & Minute) – in as far as they relate to vice-disease, would be good, were the facts reliable - But in the absence of any correct nosology of the disease, & in
the absence of any statement of data on which the foreign facts rest, there is nothing, absolutely nothing, in the papers to alter the position of the question, as laid down in your Report. And much to regret in that they did not state your conclusion as to this matter, viz. that occupation & [illeg]/such like are the best remedy for vice -

If you could return me these papers by Monday, you would much oblige me, as Tuesday is the India mail.

Yours faithfully
F. Nightingale
I wrote some time ago to India all our methods in England as to connection between magistrates, police, municipalities & officers of Health in Sanitary matters. [end 9:291]
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 861

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}

Private  May 21/64
Dear Lord Stanley

With pardonable [9:292-93] exultation (as if a Patient escaped out of a Lunatic Asylum)
I send you the enclosed.

For 6 months Sir John Lawrence has been expecting in vain the scheme of Sanitary suggestions - which he asked for before his departure - & which was then all but ready.

Now, never weary in serving us against our will, he desires Mr. Strachey, the President of his Bengal Health Commission, to write us the enclosed.

Now we are all in activity.

I told Sir J. Lawrence that nothing but a blue foolscap printed Minute with a (very high) printed
No, in the left hand top corner, would “do it”. Poor man! he did not see the virtues of the blue Minute. But he does now.

The W. O. aggravates me, as usual, by telling me “that our delay has lost us nothing” – that “we now are asked for plans for India” – “which puts us in a good position.”

It is because “our delay” had lost us everything, that Sir J. Lawrence gives us another chance, by trying the blue Minute, & summoning us officially.

The W. O. might as well say, when the bailiffs are at the door, & an execution, - that they have “lost no time” by paying their debts.

However, all’s well that ends well.

We have lost 6 months of Sir J. Lawrence’s
two years (you know
he has only gone out
for two years) And
I had begun to think
that we had lost
the noblest game
ever W. O had to
play, - with a Governor
General, as it were,
delivered into its
hands. For it is not
every Governor General
who will say to/ask of a
W. O., What would
you have me to do?
Sir J. Lawrence
said as plainly as

so modest a man
could say it: “This is a
thing”, (viz. forcing
our Sanitary plans
upon India) “I must
do by my own personal
influence. Regimental
reforms you must
do from your Horse
Guards in England.”

He has repeated
this in nearly every
letter -
However, I will
not enter into a
detailed Panorama
of my grievances &
disappointments -
I write this only,
because you wished to
be kept “au courant”
of the workings of your
Commission.
Indeed you were
right when you said,
if Sir John Lawrence
were for us, no man
could be against us.
God bless him.
Please return me
the enclosed as soon
as possible. I ought
to return it to the
W. O. on Monday.

[Perhaps the concentrated
Essence of a blue
Minute evaporates.]
Your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

{printed address, upside down:} 115 Park Street. W.

signed letter, 2ff, pen Liverpool Record Office 920 Der 15/43 black-edged paper

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}
May 28/32 [yes, it says 32]
Dear Lord Stanley
The enclosed is from
the Secretary of the
Bengal Commission
of Health; you
perhaps may like
to see it. Pray
return it to me -
You will see how
great are the practical
consequences of your
R. Commission.
Of course we think
this man is wrong
in certain points.
But that can’t be
helped. And Sir J.
Lawrence has repeatedly
used this very argument
to induce us to hasten
that sanitary scheme &
plans which I should
believe a Fate was
against, if there were
Fate. But the strongest
power in the whole
world is want of
power - inertia - the
only thing which
cannot be overcome -

Your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

signed letter, 4ff, pen, black-edged paper

115 Park Street. W. {printed address:}
May 28/64
Dear Lord Stanley
I have not heard
one word from Sir
John Lawrence about
his health since he
left England.
It is clearly the
duty of Sir C. Wood
to act upon what
he hears from Sir
J. Lawrence alone -
& not upon anything
which comes to him
through a third &
a fourth person.
    I fancied I had
made a general
preface (to all my
letters to you) that
nothing in them
was to go farther
than yourself, unless
you found it was
otherwise known.
    But, in this case,
there is nothing to

know, i.e., since Sir J.
Lawrence left England.
    No one knows
better than Sir C. Wood
that he would be
the first to hear of
it from Sir J. Lawrence
himself, if a private
Estimate were to
become of public
importance.
    My reference, (to
what had passed
before Sir J. Lawrence
left England) was
simply made in
regard to the time
lost by the W. O. and I. O. Commission, in sending out what Sir J. Lawrence had asked for so urgently & repeatedly.

It would be black ingratitude on my part towards Sir J. Lawrence, who can, of course, communicate what he pleases to the I. O. directly, to make difficulties in his path.

Pray throw any blame you please upon me to Sir C. Wood. I do not feel in the least deprecatory. but, rather than bring any difficulty in Sir J. Lawrence’s way, you may call me gossip, or busy-body or anything else.

your faithful servt Florence Nightingale

/6 is undated memo

920 Der 15/31 incomplete, signed letter, 5ff, pen black-edged

So far as the main causes of disease are concerned, viz.

1. bad Barrack & bad Hospital construction
2. want of drainage
3. defective water supply
4. surface overcrowding from want of Barrack accommodation
5. want of means of occupation
6. intemperance
7. want of suitable Hospital conveniences
8. filthy Bazars & towns - - - it is difficult to see how India could have been freed from these causes of diseases in three short years,
which is about the average time at which/since the Stational Reports were signed.
that they may have done something in the way of cleansing, ventilation ablution arrangements is probable - seeing that they could hardly escape the consequences of the printed queries put to them, & the replies which they made. Besides which, they have had the General Report of
the Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission before them - [But the measures recommended in this Report are only applicable to cool climates, like England.]

But even on the subject of cleansing, we have, as you know, the Report of a Government Commission on the last Cholera, dated partly July 21, 1862, & partly in the last months of 1862, (an Extract of which I sent you -) which conclusively proves that, up to these dates, nothing whatever had been done in the country to which the report refers -

I also sent you two printed documents of the Public Works Department one dated Fort William, June 26, 1863 one " Sept 9, 1863 having reference to the Sanitary condition of Calcutta - & giving at these dates a worse account of the city than the Report sent {printed address, upside down:} 32, South Street, Grosvenor Square. W. to your R. Commission in June 1860.
There is also another document from the principal Inspector General of Bengal (which you still have in your possession) dated October 16, 1863 - in which the recommendations of the Commission are virtually accepted as necessary.

This is not the first time that I/we have been informed of this policy -

The danger will be that partial improvements will be put forwards in proof that a great deal has been done, & that little requires to be done. The recommendations of your R. Commission must be carried out entirely. The Indian Sanitary problem consists of many factors, and it will not do, in dealing with it, to leave out any one of the factors. India can be cured neither by Engineers, nor by Doctors, nor by Sanitary Officers, nor by Military authorities - but by a concurrence of all of these - And the end aimed at is: -
1. healthy Barrack & Hospital Accommodation
2. enough of good water, properly laid on
3. good drainage
4. a proper Sanitary police over Bazars & towns
5. abolishing spirit drinking
6. providing means of occupation & other things indicated in your Report

A moment's consideration will shew that no Engineer, & no Adjutant= General, & no Inspector= General can bring about this reform -

Your Report asserts this, in asking for the appointment of Presidency Commissions, to deal with the questions -

There is indeed no other way of reaching them - And the India Govt may rest assured that. They will never permanently lower the Army Death=rate by any other course of proceeding.

The Death=rate of the new soldiers, poured into the country since {printed address, upside down:}
32, South Street,
Grosvenor Square. W.
the Mutiny is, of course
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i

-3-
considerably lower
than past averages -
You will hardly
believe it. But I have
actually seen this
fact adduced by
Indian Engineering
Officers - in proof of
the statement that
the small improvements
they have carried out
at a few Stations have
made the Army healthy.
F. Nightingale
Dec. 3/63

[9:267]

Dear Lord Stanley
I had a letter from Sir John Lawrence by this Mail, dated "Simlah,
May 6"
He is extremely
indignant at the non=
arrival of our Sanitary schemes -
After graciously &
contemptuously accepting
(like a great man,
as he is) our
Mediterranean Report,
out of which he

920 Der 15/45 signed letter, 4ff, pen black-edged {archivist: Miss Nightingale June 64}

115, Park Street. W. {printed address:}
June 6/64

[9:293-94]
hopes to “gain some”
thing, but not much,
[you will perhaps
remember that in
Genl Pears’ letter,
enclosing the Minute
from Mr. Strachey,
President of the
Bengal Sany Commission,
“Sir C. Wood presumed
that we should use
[that/this as our scheme
for reforming India
in sanitary things] –
Sir John Lawrence
goes on to say “but
“our great want is
“your standard plans
“& rules, without
“which we are quite
“at sea, & so far
“from doing better
“than formerly, shall
“be in danger of doing
“worse. As it is now,
“the reconstruction of
“some of our worst
“Barracks is at a
“stand=still, until
“we get these documents”.

It would have been
a broad farce, if it
had not been so
deeply painful, to
hear Sir C. Wood’s,
Genl Pear’s, & Sir P.
Cautley’s re=iterations
that they could not
possibly send out
our Sanitary plans & schemes,
“for fear of irritating
the Govt in India,” -
when I was hearing
by nearly every mail
from the head of
that Govt (personally,
or by his people,) all
the permutations & combinations
that could be made out of these

phrases: -
that they were “at a
stand still” for
want of these plans
& suggestions, - that
they were “quite at
sea” in consequence
of our delay - that
they were “in danger
of doing worse”, & that
it was all our fault.

Are all official
assurances of the
nature of Sir C. Wood’s x
& Sir P. Cautley’s?
x “Let us by a song
conceal our purposes” -
(vide Canning.)
Sir John Lawrence goes on to describe his inspections of divers Stations & Barracks.

He also says/writes (of the Soldiers’ Libraries) that there is a great improvement – that Sir Hugh Rose has done much in re workshops – that he has “issued a G.O. reducing the “dram of spirits “which a soldier can “have, one-half.”

[You know he, Sir J. Lawrence, was very anxious that the sale of spirits in Regimental Canteens & Bazaars should be entirely discontinued. I hope this is a step.]

Private Sir J. Lawrence mentions casually, (& as an apology!! for not having inspected two Stations,) that he has had a “sudden attack of illness” But he writes as if he were well. And I
should not have mentioned this, if I did not know you wished to be kept au fait. It certainly is not my duty to keep the I.O. “au fait” - (nor my wish.) I cannot sing for joy loud enough at Sir J. Lawrence’s government - [illeg] for whose appointment we are in a great measure indebted to you -

your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/46 archivist: Miss Nightingale June 64 Ansd}

Private  
115, Park Street. W. {printed address:}
June 14/64

Dear Lord Stanley  
I had letters, by the last India mail, both from Calcutta & Simlah. You will perhaps like to see the printed contents, which you will be so good as to return to me. [I am told that, as this kind of papers is not forwarded to the India Office, I am to consider them private.}
But I expressly stated that I should consider you an/the exception.]

The Simlah letter is (briefly) this: -
that the papers sent to me, at different times, "will shew you "that nothing you have "ever written or conceived "of the horrible state & "practices pursued "at Calcutta comes up "to the reality" -
that a "counter blast "or reply to the Report

(of Lord Stanley) "has "been prepared by the "Mily Dept. & submitted. x "Without actually "denying that 6 per cent is the real mortality "when taken on the "average of past years, "they contend that it "is not a fair way "of stating the present "mortality - or rather "that the present "mortality (which was "as low as 2 per cent. "for 1863) should only

x I do not know whether the I.O. has noticed its receipt to you. F.N.
“have been given.”

[It is rather hard to withhold “the present Mortality” from your Commission, which repeatedly wrote for it, & delayed its proceedings for a year in consequence. & then to abuse it for not giving “the present Mortality.”]

However, the India Govt in India seems roused to the truth - for the next sentence is a complaint that the very same absurd objection has been made, to their (the Govt’s) own statistics of Jail (& other civil) Mortality - the “authorities” stipulating that “Cholera shall be left out” - that such & such years & such & such diseases “shall be left out” -

[It is very convenient indeed in estimating mortality to say: - that all the deaths which ought not to have happened, shall be left out,”]
as not having happened. And it is certainly a new way of preventing preventible Mortality to omit it altogether on a statement of Mortality.]

The next page/sentence states that nearly the whole of the Jail Mortality is “preventible” - that, in Bengal, the Jail Deaths are actually “10 per cent” - whereas “4 per cent” has been (in the Punjab) & can be achieved - that the present condition of the Jails “converts a sentence of brief imprisonment into one of capital punishment” “in many cases” -

I have a letter from Sir J. Lawrence’s Private Secy, in which he says that, tho’ Sir J. Lawrence has been ill “from excessive hard work”, he has not been ill at all from climate - & is very well now.

He says: speaking
on the subjects above: -
“it is indeed strange
“how such revolting,
“cruel & barbarous
“practices could have
“been pursued for
“years in the Metropolis
“of India by Government
“Officials (sic) under
“the very eyes of different
“Viceroys, living on the
“spot”.

[But, you will understand,
that is not a kind of remark
in which Sir J. Lawrence
himself at all indulges.]

{printed address, upside down:
115, Park Street. W.

-3-
The Calcutta (Bengal
Sanitary Commission)
letter merely says:
they will adopt our
“filter system” (in
the Mediterranean)
for their water - asks
for advice on “recording
of proceedings” - &c

I think you will
like to see the G.O.
& Balance sheet of
the Regimental
Workshops - which
please also return
to me - It is very
satisfactory - Sir H. Rose
You will be glad to hear that work from India is coming in to the W.O. Commission. The plan for a Subathoo Barracks, to be criticized here, arrived by last mail, “in compliance with the orders in Sir C. Wood’s Minute of August 15.”

[It is as bad as it can be. And ignorance only can excuse it. It tallies exactly with what Sir J. Lawrence said in his penultimate. F.N.]

Lastly, I am bitterly reminded that it is 6 months, plus a week, since Sir J. Lawrence begged for immediate sending out of plans & sanitary works= schemes - that it is 12 months all but 3 weeks, since your Report came out (July 8, 1863.)

I make no reply
since Govt used the
D. of Wellington, as they
did in the Peninsula,
I think there is no
instance like that of a Govr Genl
actually asking for
work from Govt at home
& not getting anything
but delays - or rather,
we are the Spanish
troops & the British
Govt combined (against
the D. of Wellington.)

Yours faithfully
F. Nightingale

115, Park Street. W.

Dear Lord Stanley
As you are engaged
in unmaking Ministries,
I am inopportune.
Here is the specification
of sanitary work
asked for, for India,
by Sir John Lawrence,
this day 7 months ago -
- upon the recommendations
of your Report, which
came out this day
12 months ago.

Accompanying this
specification are 27 lithographs, of which 7 only are original - the remaining 20 having been taken from our other “Local Govt Act Office” & “War Office” works -

To do 7 original plans has therefore taken the W.O. 7 months.

Up to May 20, the delay was occasioned principally by the India Off:; which persisted in repeating that we should offend the India Govt by sending out plans which the head of that Govt was asking for by the every mail - till at last he himself sent home a printed Minute (at my request).

But the W.O. is scarcely less to blame. For in fact, the whole of this work was nearly ready in December last, except the 7 plans, which ought to be the 7 wonders of the
world, but are not.

In short, I know
that what Sir John
Lawrence will say is:

-is that what I
have been kept
waiting for these 9
months? (which it
will be before he
receives them.)

Finally the Bengal
Presidency has not
as yet received its
copies of your 2 folio
Report: as we hear by
last mail.

-2-

I have had a
passage=at=arms
with the Horse Guards,

which it is as well to
tell you -

They volunteered to
tell me that they were
aware of Sir J. Lawrence’s
“application & of the
W.O. delay” - but that
“it was Sir J.L.’s only
interest” (sic) “whereas
the W.O. was pressed
by a thousand.”

To which I responded
- that the greatest
living administrator,
who rules over one
ten-tenth the human race
- who holds in his
hand the destinies,
territorial, communication=al,
international, judicial, of 120 millions — in
endeavouring to bring health & civilization, for the first time, to his 120 millions — has been foiled by the self-sufficiency of a petty peddling War Office, ruling over at most half a million — & that this x “cumbersome torpor” was poor Sidney Herbert’s own word for his own Office. It suffocated him — it ended by strangling him, like that horrible bronze colossus, in some legend, which throws its brazen arms round the wretched votary, & strangles him.

with the ease with which races/soldiers are ruled over compared with soldiers/races. — (or words to that effect)

There was a great deal more — And I was a little afraid of spoiling Sir John Lawrence’s affairs by too much vehemence. But, on the contrary, [you must just choke the colossus back again, if you want to breathe. And] I received an ample apology for Sir J. Lawrence.

I am about to send
you a copy of the
27 lithographs - also
of the enclosed Proof
corrected - with your leave.

I have to write
to Sir J. Lawrence
by the mail of the 10th.

Your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale
I hope you have seen
the account of our
Aldershot Industrial
Exh:. It does my heart
good to see the soldiers
& their wives beating
the Officers & their wives
at it.{printed address, upside down:}
115, Park Street. W.
But Sir H. Rose beats
Aldershot.

920 Der 15/48 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

115, Park Street. W. [printed address:]
July 9/64
Dear Lord Stanley
Accompanying this,
is the proof completed,
of which I sent you
the uncorrected Proof
on/last Thursday.

On July 15/3, the Horse
Guards, in the form
of and countenance of
Sir R. Airey, Chairman
of Barrack Improvement
Commission, “pass” this
valuable document –
a year’s growth
seeing that your Report
has been out just
one year.

It will then be
sent to the India
Off:, with three
documents by the
General Register Office
to illustrate Section
VI on the method
of introducing our
registration system
in India.

Owing to the impassable
nature of the roads
between Pall Mall &
Victoria St., a considerable
delay will necessarily
elapse before it can be
even forwarded to
Sir John Lawrence.

But, as I do not
live in that direction,
I forward all these
documents to him
by the first India
mail after completion.
And I shall forward
this to him as soon
as it has passed the
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 888

Commission next
Wednesday, 13.

I trust that you will take into consideration the unprecedented haste that we have made, in that we have really completed this document in one year. which is 12 months, which comprises 52 weeks.

I am dear Lord Stanley your faithful servt Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/49 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged {archivist: Miss Nightingale July 64 Ansd will call on Thursday if anything wants settling}

Private
115, Park Street. W. [printed address:]
July 23/64

Dear Lord Stanley

Here is the first (signed) copy of the first product of your parent Commission.

I send by book=post to Sir John Lawrence direct a number of copies on Tuesday.

It is understood that some time in the course of the present century the I.O. will send out copies officially.
By the document’s own shewing, it is 7½ months since it was asked for.
Of these, about 7½ days were occupied in real work;
We understand that the surplus time was occupied by the Military members learning to write their names.
But, as Sir J. Lawrence & I have profited by your good hint “not to offend the Military”, we are silent on this fact.

“Occasional papers” have now to be written & sent out, containing explanatory matter.
But, if it is expected that this can possibly be accomplished during Sir J. Lawrence’s Governorship, that expectation must be the offspring of a wild imagination.
The W.O. is utterly demoralized -
the I.O. does not speak the truth
the Horse Gds deserve a V.C. for their cool
intrepidity in the face of facts. But I conceal my opinion, as Sir J. Lawrence does his: that the native races are the recipients of civilization - but that the Indian military authorities are a savage tribe whom kindness cannot tame nor suavity conciliate. However, please burn this note. & believe me.

Your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

Of course copies of this document will be sent to you in regular course.

---

Private
& Confidential
115, Park Street. W. [printed address:]
July 28/64
Dear Lord Stanley
I have not profited by your kind offer to ask you to come here today; because there is nothing just now but the usual detail= work to do, it would have been only wasting your time as I have nothing/little to say but to thank you for your very kind note.
I have no doubt
that, at the close of this year, we shall require your master hand with Sir C. Wood.

I do not know whether you correspond with Sir John Lawrence - I sometimes think that he would be strengthened, if he knew that you & others capable of appreciating the greatness of his charge, did feel his difficulties

What a charge - what a government, great & glorious - I do not think the old Roman empire came near it in its greatness.

I sometimes fear, (but what follows is strictly for yourself alone,) that his fine heroic temper is rather worn by the constant jags & back thrusts it receives. In his last letter to me, dated June 12, Simlah, he says,"I am doing
“what I can to put "things I order out here, "but it is a very uphill "work, & many influences "have to be managed & "overcome. I often "think of the last visit "I paid you before "leaving England, & of "your conversation on "that Occasion. You "will recollect how "much I dwelt on "the difficulties which "met one on every side. "These have been "exemplified in a "way I could scarcely

“understand or "anticipate.” He then alludes to the “good folks "of England really "believing that I had "sanctioned an attack "on the religion of the "Hindoos, because I "desired to improve "the health of the "people in Calcutta.” " [Now this he over= rates to himself. They did not “believe” it. But] " I am sure it would do him good, if he knew that statesmen
appreciated the greatness of his administration & of its difficulties.

What a pity heroes are but flesh & blood, as we are -
You will see I ought scarcely to betray his confidence; even to you - But you know better than any one else what he has to do -

Pray burn this note

Ever your faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

Today your “Suggestions-Sanitary works” come before the Council at the I.O.
I consider this rather an epoch.

920 Der 15/51 signed letter, 3ff, pen

Private Hampstead
Aug 16/64

Dear Lord Stanley
I think you may like to see the accompanying letter from Sir Hugh Rose. I must sing an Ode to him now for he has carried out the recommendations of your Sanitary Commission - (of his own accord he says of course - not for any one else - so they are done, we do not care). we know very well that the questions sent out by your Commission prompted the four first, & Sir John Lawrence forced upon him the last. However, he has behaved a great deal better to us than our W.O. at home has - or our Horse Guards - And this is the greatest real step made yet.
You will perhaps have forgotten that
in conjunction with Sir John Lawrence
I drew up a kind of list by which
the recommendations which he was
to carry out himself, the recommenda{tions} (edge of page missing)
the W.O. was to carry out, & those,
viz. 5, which were Regimental reforms}
& which only the Military authorities
could carry out, were specified.

After the usual amount of delay,
the W.O. wrote to the Horse Guards, &
the Horse Guards wrote to Sir Hugh Rose.

And this is his answer to the 5
points.

It is a private document. And
I must ask you to return me this,
which is my copy.

Would it be desirable to move
for it in the Ho: of C.?
You will be glad to hear that the

authorities of an Invaliding Establishment
at Netley themselves attribute the
decrease of Indian invalids to the
measures carried out in India according
to your recommendations - they wrote
this of their own accord (in a letter I
had from the Governor today.)

I am rather sorry that, at
Bombay, the Presidency Sanitary Commission,
only lately appointed, has not been
filled up according to your intentions
exactly - There is no Civilian on it at
all. A Medical Officer is the President.
(Dr. Leith, a very able man) there are
only two Members & a Secretary -
And all, except the President, may
be ordered anywhere any day, when
they give up their duties on the Commission.  [end 9:373]

Believe me

Yours very faithfully

Florence Nightingale
Private
115, Park Street. W. [printed address:]
Aug 8/64
Dear Lord Stanley
In reply to your query: -

I knew Dr. Duncan Macpherson, of the Madras Army, well in the Crimea. He was Principal Medical Officer of our Turkish Contingent there. He is one of the best (Sanitary) Officers in our Service. He has large Indian experience. His was one of the best, if not the best, Sanitary Report received by your (R.) Commission - viz. one on the sanitary condition of Madras Presidency generally - see 2nd Vol, folio edition of your Report.

Of course I do not know what his “grievance’ is to you - He has made a “grievance’ - in not getting one of the Presidency Sanitary Commission appointments - to us -
The matter is after this wise: -

some of the members of your (R.) Commission told him that he might “make his own terms” in getting one of these appointments.

Now Sir John Lawrence did exactly what your R. Commission told him to do: -

he made a Civilian the head, the executive, the responsible member, well-paid, & having nothing else to do -

he constituted the Sanitary Engineering, Medical & Military elements as consultative members -

& in order to give the Sanitary member a position & an office he made him Secretary with a salary & nothing else to do -

This last, of course, viz. who was to be the Secretary, & what was to be the salary, I did not presume to determine, when Sir
-2-

John Lawrence was good enough to talk the matter over with me, as I limited myself strictly to the recommendations of your the R. Commission.

[I mentioned more than once, to Sir John Lawrence & other members of the/his Govt, Dr. D. Macpherson’s name as an able Sanitary man, in obedience to their request to name names.]

Dr. Macpherson is bitterly offended, because he has been offered the place of Sanitary Member & Secretary (of the Madras Sanitary Commission) at the salary, he says, of an Assist. Surgeon - it having now been given “to an Assist Surgeon, “who may be ordered away any day” - because he was not offered the place of President, which has been given to Mr. R.S.
Ellis, “who knows nothing about it,” “a Civilian”!
& some of the members
of your R. Commission,
he says, promised it him.

[It is really rather hard that any member of a Commission should abuse poor Sir John Lawrence for doing exactly what the \{illeg\} Commission recommended.]

Dr. Macpherson is one of the most active,
energetic men I ever knew. He has practical means & practical knowledge to carry out his Sanitary views, such as not one man in a hundred in the Army Medical profession has. He would be an immense loss to us, - [Long after he had left Kertch, - where our Turkish Contingent was - the fruits of his sanitary work were evident - & he found time, after putting all his camps &
hospitals were in the best possible (sanitary) order, to dig up antiquities & write a book about them.]

The Madras Government have behaved very ill to him. And I am afraid we shall lose one of our best tools. If the “Assist Surgeon” could be “ordered away” on duty & Dr. Macpherson given the sanitary member’s & secretary’s post at a salary according to his rank, he would make the best sanitary adviser in India. And there is not a man who knows the Madras Presidency so well. If, as is said, the India Off. at home mean to have an Officer, like Sir Ranald Martin, but to give them his whole time, (Sir R. Martin, who has a large practice, to resign) Dr. Macpherson would be the man for
the place -
   But undoubtedly
Madras Presidency wants
him most.
   Yours very faithfully
   Florence Nightingale
Dr. Macpherson being a
man of high medical
rank, it does not
appear as if it would
be invidious to give him
a higher salary as
Secretary than the
other "Presidency Sanitary
Commission" Secretaries

NB. He went out in/by the
same mail with Sir
John Lawrence. And
I mentioned him to
Sir John, who asked
him to write a programme
for the Presidency Sanitary
Commissions - His, rather
differing from that of
your R. Commission Report,
perhaps rather set
Sir J. Lawrence against
him. But this would
not affect his sanitary
work. I don’t think
he is a good administrator.
But he has not his equal
at the other.

F.N. [end 9:494]
Dear Lord Stanley

I have not troubled you with the printed (detail) Minutes which I receive very regularly from the Bengal Sanitary Commission, (but on condition that they shall not be shewn at the India Office).

But these for June I will send you, because they refer to subjects of (not only technical) interest - Lunatic Asylums & Jails. which are worse in India than in any country which me of course, of his masters.

Your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

Dear Lord Stanley

I had a whole batch of papers from Simla by last mail.

I enclose one to you - the “Gazette of India”. This is the first Governmental result of your R. Commission. It is a very startling one. It will revolutionize the whole of India, either for good or for bad, by creating a number of little separate Governments.
& lots of separate Officers.

My own feeling is, that it is a very glorious revolution - & entirely due to your Commission which, while aiming at one thing, has done (not only that but) a great municipal work, of which it is impossible to see the end, but of which you have certainly laid the beginning.

If you will read at page 12 (the blue marks are Sir C. Trevelyan’s) & then turn back to the first page, you will see a great deal better than I do what I mean.

It seems to me that you have hastened the political growth of India by half a century in self-government - [end 9:375]

I also send you Dr. X Leith’s Report on & objections to your Report. [You will find it on the first sheet of the Bombay “Times”.] Every paragraph of it can be answered. And, if you see fit to have it answered, we could X Dr. Leith is President of Bombay Presidency Sanitary Commission.
send the answer for your inspection.

It really is a matter of statesmanship to decide what is to be done. And I have no opinion.

The logical result of Dr. Leith’s conclusions would be - to do nothing for Bombay Presidency. This must not be left unanswered.

At the same time, I have had a most kind & cordial letter from Dr. Leith (whom I do not know) by the very same mail. And it is most important not to alienate the President of the Bombay Sanitary Commission from reform.

It is really a matter of very delicate management.

[I should add that yesterday, before a Meeting of your W.O. and I.O. Commission was brought a proposal from Bombay Presidency that, instead of draining, Bombay Presidency, it was to be laid down in Macdougall’s Disinfecting Fluid - one of those notable expedients.
by which people who like

to keep their dirt, instead

of removing it, try to

blind themselves into

thinking it safe -]

If, as is most probable,
you have all these
documents sent to you,
pray return these to
me - If with your own
remarks, we shall
deeply value them -

But, should you not
have the Gazette & Newspaper,
they will be of more

value in your hands than
mine.

In great haste,

Pray believe me

dear Lord Stanley

Your faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

I need hardly say that I
shall (basely) take
advantage of the
opportunity of Dr. Leith
writing to me to
answer -(to him & his
objections.    

[end 9:389]

920 Der 15/55 signed letter, 3ff, pen

Dampstead N.W.
Oct. 26/64

Dear Lord Stanley

As you are so good

as to ask my opinion

as to the best form of
answer to Dr. Leith
(Bombay Presy Sanitary Commn)
I cannot but say that I
think he want an
official answer & that
I believe the best way
would be, if you would
be so very good as to
induce Sir Charles Wood -
(Pilate) to refer the

[9:389-90]
Report of Dr. Leith to your own. (W.O. and I.O.)
“Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission” to answer - my reason being that several important points, indeed the really important points, are Engineering in character.

We would ourselves get an answer (to the Statistical matters) appended separately by Dr. Farr.

The real evil of Dr. Leith’s Report is that Dr. Leith had meddled with practical points which he is not acquainted with,

& that he contradicts the Engineering & Architectural “Suggestions,” drawn up by the “Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission,” apparently before having seen them.

Since receiving your note of yesterday, I have done over Dr. Leith’s Report with Dr. Sutherland - And he & I have jotted down some answers, which will be submitted to you - & which, if you think well to refer the matter to the “Barrack
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i

Commission”, will/might be incorporated into its answer. But Dr. Sutherland concurs with me in thinking that, as these answers are chiefly engineering, they ought to receive the authority of the said Commission, upon which are an Indian, an English Army, & a Civil Engineer.

With regard to the other matter, the Municipalities (in the “Gazette of India”) I take the liberty of sending you the notes I made for my answer, which is gone today, relatively to the application of Municipal powers to our Sanitary question.

And, as I have no other notes of my correspondence with Sir J. Lawrence, I should take it as a great favour if you would, at your convenience, return me themse -

In haste

yours faithfully

F. Nightingale
Dear Lord Stanley

Sir C. Wood has sent Dr. Leith's Report to the "Barrack Improvers" at the War Office, with a very proper(!) letter of "submission".

We (Dr. Sutherland & I) have already written our reply. I have already received, from Dr. Farr, his.

I understand the W.O. is to print it. And of course a proof will be submitted to you, before it goes any farther.

But a Meeting of the W.O. "Barrack Improvers", who are by no means so rapid as Yankee "Improvers", has to be held first - (who can tell when?)

We are getting on steadily in India. I
received a whole batch
of papers by last mail,
which perhaps I may
trouble you with.

    Had we but known
that such skill & energy
& wisdom were to be
found in Bengal, it
would have been well
to subordinate the
other Presidency Commissions
(Sanitary) to theirs.
Not one out of 100
bodies in England
could shew the
experienced zeal they
have.

    I wish we shewed
the same at home -
    I wish, e.g. Mr. Gladstone
could be brought to look
otherwise than as the
old schoolmaster looked
upon women : - as
"only the evils, that belong to
this state o’probation, which
it’s lawful for a man to
keep as clear of as he can
in this life, hoping to get
quit of ’em for ever in
another."

    The beginning that
has been made in India

is entirely due to your
R. Commission, & to
the hero whom I am
proud to call my
"noble friend", &
whom you have had
so great a share in
elevating, Sir John
Lawrence -

    Believe me
faithfully yours
Florence Nightingale
Dear Lord Stanley,

With our usual dispatch, we have succeeded in producing the first rough Proof, of a Reply to Dr. Leith’s Report, this very day.

Sir C. Wood, as you are aware, & in consequence of your recommendation, referred Dr. Leith’s Report to the “Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission”. After the necessary delay, these met, & referred it to a Sub-Committee, consisting of Dr. Sutherland, Sir P. Cautley & Sir Ranald Martin.

The two last have not yet seen this Proof, which is only just arrived.

It incorporates,
as you will see, Dr. Farr’s remarks, which we applied to him for, as a reply to Dr. Leith’s Statistical objections. Would you be so very good as to look over this first rough Proof, with Dr. Leith’s Report, (of which Sir C. Wood sent you a copy, - a thin green folio), & return it to me here with any remarks & criticisms, which you would be kind enough to make to help us? I would farther ask you a question: but this is only from myself.

Scarcely a mail elapses/passes that Sir John Lawrence, Sir C. Trevelyan (poor Sir C. Trevelyan - he has been so ill - & tho’ returned to Calcutta, he is in constant danger of a relapse, & in absolute certainty of one if he does not return home before the next hot season)

Mr. Strachey, President of Bengal Sanitary Commission, Mr. Ellis, of the Madras one, do not send me copies of Sanitary codes & those kinds of things. emanating from your Presidency Commissions. Mr. Ellis shows great administrative ability -
He is the only one who has apprehended the position you intended the Chairmen of these Commissions to hold, viz. the executive of the consultative. Mr. Strachey shews immense energy, practical ability & determination to proceed at once. But all these papers fail in the initiative. Nothing has really been done. No plan has yet been framed embracing how the thing is to begin. I am afraid of sending you even a selection of these papers - they are so voluminous. Otherwise you would see at once what I mean. What I thought was that, if we could, (in this compulsory reply to Dr. Leith,) introduce something
more specific than we ventured to do in the “Suggestions”, as to modes of initiative, of procedure, of administration, they/it would then come with official authority, - I would send copies privately to Sir John Lawrence, Mr. Strachey, Mr. Ellis, who are not only willing but eager to receive help. Do you think this possible or desirable? Park Lane. W.
yours very faithfully Florence Nightingale

P.S. I have received a very kind note from Sir C. Wood, but which is extremely aggravating. He, evidently quoting from Dr. Leith, alleges the last year’s Mortality (12) of Bombay as a proof that nothing more of progress is wanting. Now the fact is, Bombay has done nothing - less than Bengal or Madras - less than nothing, in

{other hand: Miss Nightingale Dec.’64 will send back paper revised in a few days.}

fact/truth And if they think that nothing wants doing, next epidemic year they will have a Cholera or something, which will sweep half of them off the face of the earth. [end 9:392] F.N.
Private
27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}
   Park Lane. W.
   Christmas Eve/64
Dear Lord Stanley
   I said that I would not trouble you with Indian papers. But I must. For we are in a great difficulty.
   Among those which have recently been sent me, is the enclosed. [It is by our former enemy, Col: Crommelin, but who is adopting all our principles.]

   It is just one of those papers which are of consequence, as involving Sanitary principles of permanent importance. And it should certainly be brought under revisal, before being issued for the guidance of Officers. A good paper of this kind is extraordinarily useful: but all depends, of course
on the principles laid down.

If these papers are sent to me privately, as they now are, I can do some good, but in a round-about way.

If they were sent officially to the (W.O. & I.O.) “Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission”, I should be able to have/give the same amount of criticism (for they send their papers to me) but in a much more direct & official manner, under their name -

[About a year ago, Sir C. Trevelyan sent me a similar paper of Col. Crommelin’s on the construction of Barracks - an uncorrected Proof (which I think you saw). They have never sent the finished Paper, as they should have done, for the official revisal of the home Commission.]

Would you think well to ask Sir C. Wood to refer this (the enclosed) & similar papers to the W.O. Commission? If he answers, “that he already does so,” what he has referred, (besides Dr. Leith’s Report) have been: – sanctioned
plans, which the W.O. Commission have been obliged to pronounce very bad. But as they were already “sanctioned”, it was rather too late.

If he says that what he receives from the Govt of India are not papers at all, but plans only – then we have still a recourse, for I might write direct to Sir J. Lawrence – Or I might write even (privately) to Col: Crommelin – whom however I do not know, but who knows me, thro’ Sirs Lawrence & Trevelyan, enough not to take amiss.

We should be glad of your advice in any & every case. And we should be very glad to find that you thought well to induce Sir C. Wood to do the thing officially. X

Mr. J. Strachey, the President of the Bengal Sanitary Commission, is at home on 3 months’ leave (for his health, I am sorry to say.) The next best thing to having a Viceroy at home &
invoke your discretion to judge what is best to say, as to how this paper reached you - I do not know if these papers are sent to the India Office at all. from India -
in one’s hand, is to have a President of Sanitary Commission at home & in one’s hand -
  He brought a good many papers for me. He has asked for help. And we might be able to put him in the way of many things. He does not need to be taught. He has shewn immense energy & ability in the Bengal matter - in haste

[end 9:380]

Yours very faithfully

Florence Nightingale
Of your recommendations: -

to be done by W.O. and H.G.

1. sending none but fully drilled recruits to India has to be done by W.O. and H.G.

Ld de Grey not only willing but anxious - some alteration of law required to carry it out

2. suppressing issue has to be done by W.O. and Admiralty - of spirits on board ship, except on recommendation of W.O. and Adty Commission.

Medl Officer - had been sitting on this introducing change in soldiers’ diet, (vegetables &c), during passage of its members sent me its papers - result would infallibly have been that half the men would have been landed in India with scurvy -

Ld de Grey then consented to refer the question to the joint I.O. and W.O. Commission - This will be discussed in the Meeting of the 26th.

That is safe.
3. regulation of Regimental canteens in India, with special reference to disappearance of spirits from these - & to extending use of malt liquor, tea, coffee, &c

(purely Horse Guards’ thro’ their Regimental authorities) Sir John Lawrence was especially strong upon this: he said, “the Govt supply the spirit on the requirement of the Regiment. A temperance Regt would not be obliged to take any spirit. On the contrary, the Govt has said it will give up the profit to what is called the Canteen fund. if the Regiment chooses to drink - - what is the use of my suppressing the sale of spirit in Bazars, if the Regimental authorities encourage the use of spirit in the Canteens?”

He was even annoyed at Col: Greathed’s evidence before you - when, as he says, it is all the Horse Guards’ own fault.
4. greater stringency - (Regimental with Regimental bazars - Indian with Suddhur Bazars, over which Bazars) the Military authority has control, with a brought the subject view to suppress the before the Gov. Genl. sale of spirits in them.

5. flannel under clothing yet undecided - in India - better boots (— business of W.O.) The clothing is now all from Pimlico, including boots

6. providing Regiments & Hospitals trained cooks postponed, till we have supplied all the home Regiments with trained Serjeant Cooks (W.O and H.G.)

7. Gymnastics as a parade (Horse Guards thro’ Regimental authorities) — yet undecided

8. Encouragement of trades by Commandg Officers (Horse Guards thro’ Regimental authorities) Sir John Lawrence entirely
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i

objected to this being made a parade, as proposed by Col: Strachey in India, who said he would not provide a workshop unless the Horse Guards would make it a parade

Sir J. Lawrence is perfectly right.

But the Horse Guards will/have not, as yet, directed their Commanding officers even to encourage & arrange for the men working at trades

9. fixing the period of service in India at ten years

this is said virtually to be the case - but it involves the relief question; and they have sent us papers about it -

(H.G. and W.O.)

10. applying the new Medical, (Sanitary & Statistical) Regulations of 1859 to India

(W.O.) yet undecided

11. immediate shipment (W.O. and Admiralty) yet undecided

12. Hospital Serjeants & Orderlies to go with Regiments to India (W.O. and H.G.) - said to be done but that they find/these are given nothing to do in India.

(W.O.)

13. all Cadets of Engineers to receive a course, of Sanitary instruction at Brompton doing -
Of your recommendations:
to be carried out by Government in India

1. Sanitary improvement of Stations & native towns
   Sir J. Lawrence has already appointed his Commission to do
2. construction of the first five, at healthy Barracks & Hospitals
3. water supply & drainage
4. improvement of existing Barracks
5. building Gymnasia, workshops, coffee rooms &c
6. question of Hill Stations under consideration
7. improved ration, with more vegetables, for India
   work of Commissariat in India -
   their report is ready -
   Sir J. Lawrence has sent me his Minute on it
   Sir C. Trevelyan’s we had already

We are getting on very well with the business which Sir John Lawrence wanted done, to be sent out to India - Nearly all is gone to press - including the Section for having a Registration & Weekly Table of Deaths at Calcutta, Madras & Bombay - the same as we have in London. Mr. Rawlinson, C.E. who has been placed on the (home) joint

920 Der 15/60 initialed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged paper

Confidential [9:380-81]
I.O. and W.O. Commission
by Lord de Grey, is writing
the drainage Section.
The Commission met for
the first time on
Tuesday week, &
passed a good deal
of the work, including
Barrack plans -
Sir Richard Airey,
who is its Chairman,
since Sidney Herbert,
has come out in the
light of a great
sanitary reformer
(new.)

By Sir John Lawrence’s
desire, I have seen Lord
de Grey to settle with
him under whose
respective jurisdictions
the different
recommendations of
your Report came -
And I made out a
list - in order that
the W.O. might draft
a letter to the I.O.
But this has hung fire.
For the respective
jurisdictions of
Governor General
Horse Guards
Commandeer in Chief in India
War Office
India Office
are as much chaos
(in this kind of thing)
as if India were the
Sandwich Islands -
And it appears to have
occurred to these
persons for the first
time that it would
be better, if their
respective powers &
duties were defined.
Sir John Lawrence would
act & not wait. But
these persons wait &
don’t act. However, the
thing is being
enquired into. F.N. [end 9:381]

920 Der 15/61 signed letter, 6ff, pen black-edged

Private
27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}
    Park Lane. W.
    10/1/65
Dear Lord Stanley
    Sir John Lawrence’s [9:507-08]
hands are so full, (&
yours will be so full,
if you become his
master) that it is at
the same time a
scruple & an inducement
with me, to bother
about the relation to
exist between the
Presidency & home
Sanitary Commissions.

But if people are to act, they must be alive. And the difficulty of being alive in India seems one of paramount importance.

May I ask whether you have had any answer from Sir C. Wood about those papers to be submitted to the home Commission?

I find that certain of them have been (or were on the point of being) sent home to the India Off:

But I had better copy for you exactly what has been told me, premising that the letter is marked confidential. [It is always as well to consider whether the importance of the thing justifies one in perjury. I think this does.]

Sir John Lawrence
asks his President (of Sanitary Commission) out there "if he sees any objection to copies of Proceedings being sent home officially for the information of the War Off. Commission."

The answer was that "far from seeing any objection, he thought it most desirable that this should be done - that the results would be in all respects good - that the more criticism the work gets the better, & if the Indian Commissions are worth anything, they will always be thankful for the advice & help of Sanitary authorities at home."

Sir John Lawrence says that "in these matters he is an advocate for the greatest possible publicity" - and that he "will order (if not done already) that copies of all
“Proceedings & all other papers of Sanitary interest shall be sent home officially. But there is a strong party in the Indian Government which takes a different view, and which desires to prevent all publication of facts which reflect discredit on our administration” (viz. out there) “It was with difficulty obtained “to circulate copies of Proceedings to all the local Governments and Administrations in India” – “the sanction for doing this was only given because” Sir John Lawrence “personally insisted upon it” x x “Col: Crommelin’s papers on construction of Barracks & Hospitals have either been actually sent officially to Sir C. Wood for the “opinion of the War Office Commission” (none such have been received. F.N.) “or are about to be sent, together with the opinions of the Sanitary Commission (Presidency) & of the other authorities consulted, and the conclusions of the Government of India on the subject” [Why not before these “conclusions”? F.N.] “We may hope that {printed address, upside down:} 27. Norfolk Street. Park Lane. W. –3– “before long, therefore, we shall see such orders issued as will render
it hardly possible
in future that Indian
barracks & hospitals
should be built except
according to proper
sanitary principles.

“There is no doubt
that such orders are
as necessary now as
they ever were. Within
the last two months
plans of Barracks
& Hospitals, as bad
"as the worst, upon
which Lord Stanley
had written,
have been highly
approved & sanctioned
by one of the best of
the local Governments."
[So we say. F.N.]
I shall have in another
day or two to trouble
you with another
part of this same
subject.                      [end 9:508]
Yours very faithfully
Florence Nightingale

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}
Park Lane. W.
18/1/65
Dear Lord Stanley
You will see by the
thin blue book, herewith
sent, that the “Barrack
Improvement Commission”
has adopted the reply
to Dr. Leith’s Report.
And I have this day
sent copies by book=post
to Sir John Lawrence.
The great thing now
is to have its recommendations
put to practical use in India. We are lucky perhaps in that Dr. Leith made the attack on your R. Commission, because it has enabled the War Office Commission to state more fully than it otherwise could have done (without, possibly, giving offence) the principles on which surveys of

Stations should be carried out (v. Para.22, p. 12)

At Calcutta & Madras (as for Bombay, she appears to be doing nothing-) the Sanitary Commissions have been engaged in drawing up draft Sanitary codes. But these codes have dealt only with questions of Police & cleansing. There is not a word about Sanitary works in them; and perhaps there could not be.

What is now required is that the Presidency Governments should, each, direct surveys of Stations to be made in the way pointed out in the “Remarks.”

One or two selected Stations in each Presidency would be enough to begin with.

If we only had a few of the larger Stations fully improved, the work would go on of itself afterwards; for
all would see the benefits of the new system.

It was in this that we were so very anxious to have your help: - in pressing for a few such surveys? - altho' we do not know whether the India Off: can order such - 

I have been told by the highest authority in India & since this year began - that there are not men in India (Sanitary Engineers x) competent to undertake the work. All that is wanted is a good Surveyor, generally acquainted with sanitary requirements, (and we have sent them a perfect library of books on the subject) - together with a Sanitary Medical Officer - The Sanitary medical member of each Commission might, in the mean time, do the work. [He of Bengal x We could send them such from England.
is quite equal to it.] What we want is a beginning.
Would it be possible, & if possible would it be desirable - in the present state of the question, to call for an Annual Report to be laid before Parliament, including Mortality Statistics, Civil & Military, - sanitary reports on Stations - proposed works sanctioned & executed works &c &c?
If the House would order these Reports from each Presidency, it appears to us that a great deal of good would be done -
Believe me Yours very faithfully Florence Nightingale
I am afraid I must have made some misunderstanding as to our meaning, about the kind of communication we want between the War Office Commission {printed address, upside down:}
27. Norfolk Street. & the Park Lane. W.
Presidency Commissions.
We never intended that the communication should be direct.

At present Sir C. Wood sends what papers he does send to the Secretary of the Commission - and the Secretary of the Commission writes direct to Genl Pears. The papers do not pass thro’ the War Office in transitu.

This answers quite well.
All we want is that all Sanitary papers should be sent to the W.O. Commission by the India Off: for opinion.

F.N.

920 Der 15/63 signed letter, 6ff, pen black-edged

Private
27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}
Park Lane. W.
19/1/65

Dear Lord Stanley
I see that you are good enough to say that when you come to London, we might discuss the Indian sanitary matter verbally.
I think good might come of our doing so, if before you become pressed with Ho: of C. business, you would be so kind as to make an
appointment.

I think Sir John Lawrence might be enabled to make the first step, which has not been made yet - which no Governor Genl but he ever will make - & after that, all will go of itself. And Indians will wonder how they could have lived so long as they are.

As to how far diminution in Mortality is due to Invaliding: -- in the British Army not in India.

if you care to turn to the system of Army Statistics, established by Sidney Herbert, & which now publishes its Annual Report, you will see, in these Army Reports, that the Mortality is given in two forms: --

1. by equalizing the ages in all the Arms - & then calculating the mortality on the numbers of men & numbers who have died in the Regiments - e.g. when Sidney Herbert’s R. (sanitary) Commission of 1857 made its Report, the mortality of the Infantry of the Line (up to the last returns) was 17.9. per 1000 per annum.

For the years 1859-60-61 the mortality of these regiments was 8.68. The last (published) year
1862, the mortality of these
Regiments was 6.48.
The mortality of civil populations
(soldiers’ ages) of England
& Wales is 8.91.
The comparison however
is faulty, because the
Infantry rate does not
give its Deaths among
Invalids, while the Civil
rate does.
2. To obviate this error,
the mortality is now
given, including the
Invalid Deaths. In the
years 1860-61, the

mortality of the Infantry
so counted was 9.94.
- and in 1862, 8.01.

[You will observe that
the measures originated
by Sidney Herbert have
still, produced such
a satisfactory diminution,
even taking in the
Invalids, as to be
evidence, amounting
to proof, of how
preventible mortality
is]

From inattention to
the above, the Household
Cavalry presented an unexplained discrepancy, which Sidney Herbert’s R.C. of 1857 laboured hard to account for on wrong principles. [We all tried our hands at it: and we all were wrong.] This Arm invalids men very rapidly. And the result to the Death-rate has only lately been fully known. Thus in 1862 their Death rate was 8.32, but the Invalid Deaths made it mount up to 14.47

14.47

Nature is always right. These gentlemen have very bad Barracks in town. And until new Barracks are built, they ought to die at the high rate they do.

I trust that ‘the Military’ my esteemed Patrons, will excuse me if I say, that they are like the children whom “Papa” is trying to stop from making themselves ill, or from “burning
their mouths” - they stoutly deny the fact. But when “Papa” desists, they say, Oh Papa, you don’t know how much (“illler”/worse) we were than you thought: Or, “we always burn our mouths in the nursery” [This I heard. F.N.] So the Army made a dreadful moan against our injustice & our mendacity, when Sidney Herbert’s Report came out. But afterwards they said: - Ho! you’re wrong. You don’t know how much worse we were than you said, AND ARE. And even now they cry: - you shan’t cure us - and we won’t be cured - and we’re not cured. But, for all that, they are half-cured. As regards India, the invaliding effect was of such a kind that,
after the mutiny, there
was a clearing out of
all the bad constitutions,
(indeed of all, it seems,
who had not a ‘good
life’ up to 100 years of age)
And the Death-rate
has been much lowered
in consequence.
But it is not safe to
take their figures any
way. Their ‘Strength’ apparently
does not tally with
the Muster-rolls -
their ‘Deaths’ do not apparently
tally with the Adjutant
Genl’s ‘Casualties’ nor
do they appear to include
all the Deaths in the
Mutiny.
They are now wading
& wandering thro’ all
the discrepancies of
ill-kept Statistics -
in which we were, for
two years, (1856-8) up
to our chins - And they
must struggle out of
these as we did, &
establish reliable
Statistics as we have
done -
yours very faithfully
{printed address, upside down:]
27. Norfolk Street.
Park Lane. W.
Florence Nightingale.
Private
27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}
     Park Lane. W.
     20/1/65
Dear Lord Stanley
     I heard, last night [9:396]
from a man, not in
the India Office but
in connection with
it, that “the answer
of the Government
of India to Lord
Stanley’s Sanitary
Report has now
arrived” - & that

“a competent judge
has pronounced
it admirable.”
Pray have it referred
to the (W.O. and I.O.)
“Barrack Improvement
Commission.”
     I really can hardly
keep from swearing;
not because I do not
believe that the very
worst state for action
is when every body
pronounces you right;
but because, when we
had only just finished
the Reply to Dr. Leith,
(we are so slow) -
there now is another
reply to do - it is too
bad.

Yours very faithfully
Florence Nightingale
I feel so violent that, if
I were to say what I
think, I should be put
into Dr. Pusey’s “Small
Debts Court", where he put Mr. Jowett. I feel like the Fury in Orestes, who wakes her sister Fury with a gripe on the back of her neck, & worries her, as a terrier does a rat, crying: Awake! arouse! rouse, her as I rouse thee! [end 9:396]

F.N.

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}
   Park Lane. W.
   23/1/65
Dear Lord Stanley
   As you are so good as to give me the choice between Friday and Saturday, here, Saturday at 3 P.M. will be quite convenient to me - [I have an engagement on Friday, which I cannot well put off -]
   Many thanks for your note. I accept the good augury with gratitude - from so powerful a divinity.
   Yours very faithfully
   Florence Nightingale
Dear Lord Stanley

A thousand thanks for your note.

1. The proposal to have Sanitary Engineers arose out of a positive statement (from India) that the requisite talent does not exist in India.
2. The functions of the Sanitary Commissions in India have been hitherto merely consultative - (they give opinions only when asked) they certainly have not hitherto done anything in the way of inspecting & reporting on Stations.

If the Government in India were to ask them to prepare plans for improving two or three Stations, it would be found at once whether they could do the work.

If not, they would apply for help from home, and that help should be granted.

All that we want is a beginning - plans of improvement in drainage & water-supply sent home. This has not hitherto been done.

The Bombay Civil Engineer who is doing the drainage of Bombay city, is in England at present, consulting about the works.
We want similar steps to be taken with the Stations.

3. If Sir C. Wood would look at para. 22, p. 12, of the “Remarks” (on Dr. Leith,) he would see all we want.

If he thought fit to press para. 22 by a Minute, as he did
your Report, he would do all we want.
I send the page, which contains all the things for Engineers to do.
4. There ought to be no danger of "disputes". The questions all regard correct principles.
We promise to advise Sir C. Wood as well as we can & as quietly as we can, & not to hurt his feelings
the least little bit, nor any one’s else - certainly not the Governor Genl’s.
We have not been aggressive - we have not been impertinent. Dr. Leith attacked us ignorantly & offensively. And we put him right quietly & inoffensively.
Indeed, I consider we have been models of lambs - [As for me,
I have been on all fours.]
5. A very important paper has reached our Barrack Commission from Sir C. Wood - the views of the Govt of India as to the principles of constructing Barracks - that is to say, Sir John Lawrence’s views on Col: Crommelin’s paper, (of which I sent you a private proof to look at)
[From India I hear
privately that 7 millions 
are to be spent on 
Barracks - And Sir 
John Lawrence says, 
it will be 10 millions. 
 Of course you know 
the truth of this.] 
 This Despatch from 
the Govt of India is 
coming up here, (I 
hope to day,) from our 
Commission. 
 When they have examined 
it, if you will allow 
me to claim your kind 
{printed address, upside down:} 
27. Norfolk Street. 
 Park Lane. W. 
offer of a “farther 
consultation,” (if you still 
have time then) there 
may be something to 
trouble you about. 
Yours very faithfully 
F. Nightingale 
We have heard nothing 
yet of Col: Norman’s 
paper.
Dear Lord Stanley

Col: Sykes has given notice of a question to Sir C. Wood, on Monday, as to the disinfectant for Bombay.

[About these abominable disinfectants, references have been continually made from the Bombay Govt, through the I.O., to the “Barrack Improvement Commission”.

The question is one, as I need not tell you, of primary importance. Is India to be laid down in disinfectants? or is she to be drained & water supplied, like other civilized countries? Are we to have sanitary works, or disinfectants, to cure India?

Col: Sykes’ question refers to Macdougall’s
powder -
Sir C. Wood’s best reply would simply be to lay the report of the “Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission” (on this subject) on the table of the House. In that report, they enter into the question of disinfectants, for India, in its length & breadth. They show to what extent disinfectants can be used. These can never be used as a substitute for works &/and for cleanliness. They point out that lime or charcoal answer the purpose of destroying smell temporarily, though not so completely as the powder - and they recommend that lime or charcoal be used, before the more expensive article is obtained from England.

The Disinfectors have, from the first, attempted to substitute their charlatanerie for your (R. Commission) Report.

I wonder that Col: Sykes should allow himself to be their agent.

If you thought well to see Sir C. Wood, & induce him to lay the said answer on Disinfectants before the Ho: of C., it might
be the most advantageous course for the progress of our works. [end 9:383]

Believe me
Yours very faithfully
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/68 signed letter, 4f, pen black-edged

Confidential
27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}
   Park Lane. W.
   March 12/65
Dear Lord Stanley
About India Sanitary papers being referred to the home Commission: -
Sir John Lawrence writes to me ("Barrackpoor February 6")
that he has done what we asked, that all the Sanitary papers are sent home: -
"but", he adds, "it

"must rest with the Secretary of State to say what should be sent on to the Sanitary Comm. I should be trenching on his prerogative, if I said more."
I merely send this extract for information.
I believe it was said (or supposed) that the obstacle, if any, lay "out there," not at home.
I do not send it as a complaint. For we have nothing very particular to complain of just now. I receive all the Sanitary papers from India. And therefore I feel sure that the most important are sent us from the India Office, tho’ after months of delay. The one upon Barracks, founded on Col: Crommelin’s paper, came to the home Commission two or three weeks ago; no doubt in consequence of what you said to Sir C. Wood. Our remarks on it are done & printed, (i.e. the rough draft); and I meant to have troubled you with a copy. But the worshipful Commission have not done their considerations upon the rough draft yet.

The papers on Hospitals will, I have no doubt follow these on Barracks. [I received them months back]
2. General Peel "is going to attack the Herbert & other Military Hospitals on Army Estimates," I hear. Now Genl Peel is as much more formidable an antagonist to us than Ld Panmure, as a gentleman is more efficient than a "snob". Besides, Genl Peel has always behaved most generously to Sidney Herbert's memory, Ld Panmure most ungenerously. [I do not mean to weary you with saying how.] My object is: would you think well to say a little word for our poor new Hospitals, if Genl Peel attacks them? - in the sense of advocating the (at present) received principles of Hospital construction, as set forth in your India Sanitary Report. [end]

3. To return to Sir John Lawrence: - he speaks eagerly but rather despondingly - of his wish to accomplish "real sanitary improvements" of the "difficulties with which we are surrounded," And he says; we shall "consider" him- "timid & even time-serving." [Certainly there is one thing great men don’t know, & that is, themselves. John Lawrence was undoubtedly the only
man who ever called
John Lawrence a
“time-server”, except
in the highest possible
sense. For he does
“serve” at the time
most wanted with
all his might.
[begin 9:514]

Pray burn this note;
You will see that Sir
J. Lawrence’s letter is
quite private. And
indeed I am always
afraid of misrepresenting
him.

yours very faithfully
Florence Nightingale
[end 9:514]

920 Der 15/68 {last} signed letter, 1f, pen black-edged

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}
Park Lane. W.
March 21/65

Dear Lord Stanley

I take the liberty
of sending you a copy
of the last “Builder”
& of asking you to read
the article on the
“Herbert Hospital,”
which is not by any
of us.

Ld Panmure’s
attack in the Ho: of Lords,
on the Pavilion Hospital
system in general & on
the Herbert Hospital in
particular
has damaged us with
people whose action,
not whose opinions,
we want.
And we can’t afford
to lose our Patrons.

Yours very faithfully
F. Nightingale
[end]
Dear Lord Stanley,

We appear to be “in for” another reply. But so far as can be judged of from the “Times" article of to-day, it will be mainly statistical. We should not like to do anything except under your advice. If you would kindly say - what ought to be done by us? --

Unless there is some Sanitary heterodoxy, perhaps the home ("Barrack & Hospital") Commission cannot interfere. But we have not seen the paper, & are in the darkness which Ld Panmure thinks so conducive to health. The difference in the Statistical estimates
we fear to be mainly
due to invaliding -
i.e. in the earlier
periods taken by Dr.
Farr for estimating
the Mortality, the men
were kept till they
died, while, of late
years, since the Mutiny,
sickly men have been
sent home either to
die or recover.

It may turn out
that Dr. Farr’s part
of the “reply to Dr. Leith”

will cover most of the
ground.

As we whistled, cried
& shouted to them for
their Statistics after
1856 - & could get no
answer - as we
tried alternately
threatening, intriguing,
“soaping”, & going on
all fours - & they
were as silent as if
they were dead - it
is truly hard upon us
to make an accusation

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}
Park Lane. W.

against us that we
have not put in the
Statistics which they
had not, or pretended
they had not.

Yours very faithfully
Florence Nightingale
27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}
   Park Lane. W.
   March 25/65

Dear Lord Stanley

   I have not seen the [9:398-99]
Parly paper containing
the Indian Govt’s reply
(sanitary), and should
be very glad if you
will be kind enough
to send it me.
   I am afraid it has
annoyed Sir J. Lawrence
very much.
   Dr. Farr has asked

Col: Sykes, I understand,
to move for the
“remarks on Dr. Leith,”
And he has also
sent a copy to Mr.
Delane. (“Times”)

If you decide on a
reply, another point
for you to say will
be, by whom the
reply is to be signed?
   Yours very faithfully
   Florence Nightingale

Dr. Farr says the Statistical
points raised are
the same as those
raised by Dr. Leith. [end 9:399]
Dear Lord Stanley

You, of course, saw the Calcutta papers (Copy of Report & Correspondence relative to the Sanitary state of Calcutta) in the form of a Parliamentary Paper 22 February 1865. The experience of the War Office Commission might possibly help in the satisfactory solution of some parts of the Calcutta problem, if Sir C. Wood would send them a copy, of which they could take official cognizance, & order them to make their remarks.

2. By the India mail which came in last night, I heard “that 36 square feet has (possibly) been fixed as the minimum of superficial area” (for Indian Jails) “& that new Jails are to be constructed accordingly.” - “Want of money - the cause.” This is so very much the less than the amount of area required for health even in England,
that it seems as if
it were the very thing
in which the English
Secretary of State
might exercise some
“control”. Because I
understand that
the authorities are
disposed to plead
want of experience
(of any larger area
being necessary)
Our Prison Inspectors
might be referred to.
But the War Office
commission would do it
much better, & would
of course consult our
Prison Department; (if
referred to.)
I do not know
whether you would
think it well to
interfere in these
two matters yourself —
by suggesting to Sir C. Wood
to refer to the W. O. Commn.
— It is hard enough.

God knows, for great
public men to do

their duty anywhere —
But, I do think it
is harder & worse
for them in India
than anywhere else.
And I know perfectly
well now what
Sir John Lawrence
meant, when he
said that we should
consider him “timid
& perhaps even time=
serving”

Yours very faithfully
Florence Nightingale
Private
27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}
   Park Lane. W.
   April 29/65
Dear Lord Stanley
   In returning you [9:515-16]
Sir C. Wood’s note,
for which I am
very much obliged -
may I say that the
case is this: a set
of papers are laid
before Parliament,
(22 Feb:) containing
certain statements

as to the sanitary
   condition of Calcutta,
   with certain engineering
   proposals for
   rectifying the evils.
Your R. Commission
dealt not only
   with the “Military”
   points in India -
   but with the state
   of towns, & amongst
   others of Calcutta.
   (inseparable from

the “Military” question
   unless Sir C. Wood
   believes in the
   exploded superstition
   of quarantine.)
   The War Office,=(or
   home Sanitary,=) Commission
was re=constituted
mainly by your own
instrumentality. And
Mr. Rawlinson was
added to it, expressly
for these civil matters

(chiefly by the same
influence—)

All that is required
is that Sir C. Wood
should send the
Parly paper to the
(W.O. and I.O.)Commission
for remarks.

We think it would
not be difficult to
find a way out of
the Calcutta difficulties;
and it is our duty
to help them.

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}
   Park Lane. W.

[I don’t know that
Sir C. Wood has any
business with what
Sir J. Lawrence or the “Sanitary Commission in Bengal”
writes to me about “wishing for advice.” These
papers were, it is
true, sent to me
confidentially. But
they are now Parly
papers. I think
I sent them to you
(in the spring of
last year.) I told

Sir J.L. that I
should — (i.e. submit
to you all the papers
he was so good as
to send me that
I thought worthy
your notice) I
think I sent you
an Ext. from his
letter saying: — that
he did wish all
these papers to be
referred to the “home
Sanitary” Commission—but that, having expressed that wish, it would be interfering with Sir C. Wood’s ‘prerogative’ to interfere farther—or words to that effect. I have not Sir J. Lawrence’s letter before me]

I trust that you will hear “about the Prisons”, after Sir C. Wood has “asked” about them.

The Colonial Office is putting its house in order about prisons. And it would not do for India to be left behind. The awful Epidemics in her prisons are beyond parallel.

Pray believe me your most faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

P.S. It appears to me that Sir J. Lawrence & Sir C. Wood are playing at cross purposes.

The former says: - I have asked.

The latter says: - if he will ask -

F.N.

in haste

Please burn -
Private
    34 South Street
    W.
    May 13/65
Dear Lord Stanley

I am afraid you will think me very troublesome - not only that but turbulent;
"a turbulent fellow - vide Lord Panmure.
And I am afraid you will also think me over-eager, which is true - & unreasonable & sometimes contradictory, which I don’t think is true, but apparently so -

So I had better proceed at once to business.

1. I beg leave to send you a Proof copy of the remarks of the Army Sanitary Commission (here), on the conclusions of the Government of India, in regard to the building of
Barracks - which
“conclusions” we
received from Sir
C. Wood, owing to
your intervention,
as perhaps you will
remember, some
weeks, not to say
months ago.
[We have accomplished
our part with all
our usual celerity -
seeing we might
have done it in
as many days.]
The whole subject

has evidently been well
considered in India;
and the only points
in which the (home)
Commission has
suggested improvements
are those necessary
for more completely
embodying the views
of the/your R. Commission.
The India Govt has
evidently profited
by the “Suggestions”
formerly sent out
by the (home) “Army

-2-
Sanitary Commission.”
[That is the way they
choose to style
themselves now.]
2.
Nothing has yet been
heard from Sir C.
Wood about the
sanitary state of
Calcutta.
I venture to send you
(& to ask the return
of) a Report 25
years old, on the
same subject exposing
a state of things
the father of that
denounced by Mr.
John Strachey. But
the enclosed Report
is nearer the truth -
on the subject of
sanitary works -
than the document
laid before Parliament.
(22 February 1865)
I send my/this old Report
in order that you
may see what our

-3-
case is - and how old
the evils are they
have to deal with.
From these two Reports
you will easily see
how needful it is that the (home) Army
Sanitary Commission
could/should point out the
great leading
principles applicable
to the improvement
of Calcutta, if only
they had the
opportunity of so doing
afforded them by
Sir C. Wood.

All that he would
have to do would be
to send the Parly
paper to them for
“remarks” in the
usual way - and
they will send as
much information
as they can. Sir
C. Wood, if he saw
fit, might then
send it to India.

He is aware that
Sir J. Lawrence
wishes it. (generally.)
You have probably received by this time Dr. Farr's Reply to the statements made by the Govt of India about the Mortality. He sent it here. And we asked him to add a little summing up. I need hardly say that, if you would wish us to add any thing, we are more than ready.

It was thought that, as the Army Sanitary Commission had signed the reply to Dr. Leith, it would be better if this reply to the Govt of India should be independent, & signed only by yourself, (if you approved it at least) - But this is of course a matter for yourself alone to decide. We will try to alter & improve it, if not approved, as often as you think well.
4. Nothing further has been heard about the Indian Jails, & their 36 square feet per person/prisoner which it is proposed to give.

To shew in what a condition the intelligence of India officials is on this subject, may I say (what I dare say I have troubled you with before,)

that our R. Engineer, who has been engaged in Turkey upon improving the Turkish prisons, says that the superficial area there to be allowed is 72 square feet per prisoner - or just double what Indian want of sense considers sufficient for India.

The fact is: that India has set up
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 963

her new housekeeping
with not a house
over her head. She
wants new Jails,
new Hospitals, new
buildings of all kinds.
And she wants to be
helped. God help her!
and you too, I hope.
I would renew my
excuses to you. But
I think it more
respectful not to
take up any more
of your time with

my “sornettes”. So I
will only say that
they are doing a
good deal, “Deo
gratias” & also to
you - in India -

Your very faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/74 signed letter, 7ff, pen black-edged

Confidential
34 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W.
May 17/65
Dear Lord Stanley
I hope you will not think me profane if I say that God and Lord Stanley & Sir John Lawrence being on our side - we have nothing to fear. And indeed your very kind note encouraged me more than I can say. But Sir John Lawrence is in very low spirits.
My immediate reason for troubling you again, (in consequence of the kind encouragement you have given) is the enclosed Extract from one of the Calcutta papers, sent me by Sir J. Lawrence, which shows the backward state of opinion, and also of practical Engineering ability in Calcutta.

I forwarded the Article to Mr. Rawlinson, C.E. (Local Govt Act Office) for his opinion. And he has sent me the accompanying paper. I intend writing to Sir J. Lawrence & shall enclose the Rawlinson reply. [Tomorrow is next Indian mail, by Bombay. But it is of less consequence for me to catch that mail than to communicate with you.]

The whole matter shows the need of giving them the benefit of home experience - & pointing out to them how to meet difficulties which were at one time the same here.

It was partly to meet these civil cases that we wished the W.O. Commission to be put in communication with India, & Mr. Rawlinson to be put upon it - which you brought about.

So far as the troops are concerned, you have well said (in your Report) that the sanitary state
of the Civil population is so intimately connected with that of the troops that they cannot be separated. So long, e.g. as the smell of Calcutta reaches Fort William — and it will cease to do so (and thank God that it does do so) only when the city is improved — so long will the troops suffer in health.

The same principle holds good in all large groups of population where there are troops stationed. They may build Barracks — & spend their seven £££/and their ten millions — as Mr. Massey told me, just before he went out, they should — but, till they improve the water-supply & drainage of the Stations — they will not save their men.

2. As to Sir J. Lawrence: his letter is dated Calcutta 7 April. Of course he touches sadly upon the Finance question. But, as I know nothing about Indian Finance,
& you know everything, it is
no use my troubling you -
[I hope that the discredit
of this will not recoil
upon Sir J. Lawrence’s
administration. We feel
rather as if India were
holding down his head.
- and we cannot be too
thankful for your powerful
words in time of trouble]
Sir J. Lawrence says:
“our difficulties are
very great - very much
beyond your conception.”
[Yes: I can conceive - But
you can conceive better.]
also: -
“Every body (English) is
a bird of passage;

“none look to India
as a home; all are
anxious to get away
as soon as may be
practicable. This
evil tendency has
greatly increased
of late years. The
general idea is that
’sufficient for the day
is the evil thereof’
in the worst sense.
Few take any real
interest in
improvements. The
natives themselves

34 South Street,
Park Lane, are ignorant, apathetic
London. W. or even opposed
“to sanitary improvements. They will not expend money on such matters. We have no easy job in raising the necessary income to meet the public demands. Then the very reforms in themselves are difficult of execution, & are very expensive.”

He then goes into some details about Calcutta water supply & says: -

“though Calcutta is the richest place in India, the inhabitants grudge the expence,

“and I doubt much if they will consent to incur it. The city is under municipal management, which is defective & feeble in its character, but, if one abolished it & put in a Dictator, ten to one but we put every body against the Govt. Then would commence vituperation & lamentations which re-echo in England.”

However, Sir J. Lawrence does not succumb. On
the contrary, he goes on to say that he is going to "see what can be done."

I need hardly say that I do not communicate Sir J. Lawrence’s letters to any one but yourself. [I/Sir told/Sir John Lawrence/ illeg illeg wrong]

With regard to Sanitary & Statistical matters, you know Sir J. Lawrence is no Statistician & only an amateur Sanitarian. It would be very odd if he were otherwise. He does not see, either,

the defects of the enclosed newspaper Article. But he is always willing to do more, instead of less, than he says. And of all men he should have help -

Would you please return me the newspaper article & Mr. Rawlinson’s paper - with your remarks, if you will be so good as to make any.

3. We have seen the copy of Dr. Farr’s reply, with your alterations (printed address, upside down:)

34 South Street,

Park Lane, inserted. It is London. W. very greatly
improved – if I may say
so. Dr. Sutherland
will be glad to sign it;
and Dr. Farr agrees to this. [end 9:385]
in haste

Your very faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

Sir J. Lawrence says he
shall be at Simlah
“before long”, where he
has had to “send” his
Bengal Sanitary Commission,
- “they were so ill” - &
where he will set to
work with them upon
our sanitary matters.

920 Der 15/75 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

34 South Street, {printed address:}
     Park Lane,
     London. W.
     May 20/65
Dear Lord Stanley
     Drs. Farr & Sutherland [9:400]
signed the Reply to the
Govt of India yesterday
- and you probably
received it last night,
with a request (which
nevertheless I take the
liberty of seconding- )
that, if you saw no
objection, you might
think well to move for it on Monday.
Also, that, as the Reply to Dr. Leith is referred to in the reply to the Govt. of India, and as it completes the case, we should be very glad if you thought well that both documents should be moved for together - on two separate notice-
papers, so that each might be separately printed.
[Col: Sykes promised Dr. Farr some time ago to move for the reply to Dr. Leith, but has not done so.]
The titles are:
1. Copy of letter addressed to Sir C. Wood in reply to Despatch of Government of India on Report of the R. Sanitary Commission for India - and
2. Copy of Remarks of Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission on a Report by Dr. Leith on the General Sanitary Condition of the Bombay Army.

I am extremely grateful to you for your kind letter about Sir J. Lawrence & am always Yours most faithfully
F. Nightingale
Private
34 South Street, {printed address:}
   Park Lane,
   London. W.
   May 23/65

Dear Lord Stanley

If you saw fit, I think the true way of putting the case to Sir C. Wood is: -
that it is not whether the 'Calcutta people' desire to be improved or to ask advice - It is this: -
Sir C. Wood, having granted to the Ho: of Commons certain papers exposing a state of things in Calcutta,

which has brought out severe public criticism - and these things being the very things most important for the "Army Sanitary Commission" (this is the name by which they are to be called) to advise the India people about - would it not be desirable to have the sanitary (not administrative)
questions simply therein
raised, brought
officially to the cognizance
of the Commission, in
order that it may
give its best advice
as to the methods
most likely to remove
the acknowledged causes
of disease - especially
as the plans proposed
are obviously by no
means pose the best
possible?
[I need not tell you that

Sir John Lawrence does
wish to be informed
& to ask advice - &
that he has informed
me that he has told
Sir C. Wood so - because
I think I have
uniformly sent you
extracts of his letters,
& because you probably
know it by much more
direct means -
But it is impossible for
me to quote his letters,
or those of the Bengal
Sanitary Commission,
except to yourself - or
of course to ask you to
quote them.]
There may be reasons
of which I know
nothing, to prevent you
from thinking it well
to urge Sir C. Wood
upon the general grounds
stated above -
I have done what I
could in sending privately
to Sir J. Lawrence
Mr. Rawlinson’s opinions.
But what I feel - &
what I am sure you
must feel much more
strongly - is that it
does not do to leave
these vital questions
at the mercy of
private or accidental
agency.
God bless you for taking
them up -
I have kept the enclosure
back, because I had
a question to ask of
the W.O. But I need
scarcely say that I have
not shewn it, nor
your letter. In haste,

Believe me
very faithfully yours
F. Nightingale
Sanitary Commission MADRAS Presidency

June 2/65

“have now been nearly 14 months in Office and during the whole of that time have had to combat with the most determined opposition from the Govt. The public is kept in entire ignorance of their labours and Reports and Letters are disposed of summarily & seldom acted on.”

“What is really required is that the suggestions of these Commissions should be dealt with by Govt on their own merits, and not referred to the Quarter Master General or the Commander in Chief for their observations”

“In example of the mode of dealing with Reports: - shortly after submitting the Bangalore Report a reference was made to Govt regarding the site for certain buildings on the “Race Course” at that Station. A Committee was ordered by Govt to decide the points at issue and of this Comtee Dr. Macpherson (as President Sany Com:) was nominated (officiating)

during Mr. Ellis’ absence.”
“a member. Dr. Macpherson &c
proceeded to Bangalore where
H.E. the Commander in Chief then
was, and the Comtee ordered by Govt
was not held. But Sir Hope Grant
did order a Comtee of 4 military
and 3 medl officers to report on
the recommendations of the Sany
Comm regarding Hospitals & Barracks
occupied by Europeans at Bangalore.

[For 4 days (for from 3 to 4 hours
daily) the whole business was to
defend this/the Comm from the
repeated attacks & inuendos of
the Qr Mr Genl’s Dept]
Finally the Comtee adopted every
suggestion of the Sany Commission,
with the exception of one or two
minor points - (and it (their Report) is now
before Govt)”

“Our only remedy must come
from England”

“The high officials here consider
that the Sany Commissions are not authorized to do more than suggest & that it is not necessary to do more than record the Commission’s views.”

{note in margin}

This refers exclusively to the Madras Commission - The Bombay does not want to do anything, but writes only. The Bengal has Sir J. Lawrence - But it is to be regretted that he does not make it a Govt Office or Dept. Perhaps he can’t.

"If such a state of matters is to continue, then the sooner these Commissions are abolished, the better. The most carefully considered suggestions are set aside for insufficient reasons or for no reasons at all. “Our Army enjoys, as a rule, good health, but of the carelessness of the Military authorities the sad misfortunes of the 74th Highlanders at Madras, and of the Artillery marching from Mhow are abundant & most painful examples.”

{note in margin}

This paper was sent Sany Commn first addressed Govt me. a capital paper. for Europeans if attacked with Cholera at Stations and it is little more than so many days
“since anything has been actually done on the subject.

An enquiry into the character of the drinking water in Madras was instituted 11 months ago - at the request of the San. Comm. and they are now told that it cannot be completed until the end of this year.

The Bengal Commn wrote to me to get them the best methods of water analysis. And after much that was insufficient had been sent me by English savans, Dr. Angus Smith sent me a full & sufficient paper, now in the press, for them. 7 months ago, they submitted a scheme for a Public Health Service to include registration of Births and Deaths: on this nothing has been done.

For 12 months certain suggestions of rules for the {illeg control{?} of public women were forwarded to Govt and have only just been adopted after the preliminary process of a Comtee who only interfered in minor details.

“To detail all the many instances of impassiveness on the part of this Govt would only weary.”
“Here are some of the good results of the Madras Sanitary Commission.

“At a native town some 30 to 40 miles from Madras, the annual assemblage of pilgrims was followed almost invariably by the appearance of Cholera which speedily found its way to Madras.

“On their own responsibility & by Mr. Ellis’ influence, suitable measures were adopted for the Conservancy of the town during the Festival and for the provision of ‘places of convenience’, the removal of cattle and the cleansing of the streets &c.

“20,000 pilgrims attended and not a single case of Cholera occurred.

“Similar measures were, at their (San. Comm. suggestion, again adopted this year and with similar success.

“Although this was brought to the notice of the authorities, no similar measures were adopted elsewhere & Cholera is now raging in Bellay, Sangor & other districts where disease has been introduced by large bodies of Pilgrims.
“Without a well-planned, and active Public Health Department these unhappy occurrences can scarcely be prevented.

“The subject of the marching of troops has engaged the Commn’s attention, and certain recommendations offered on the point, but opposed by the Military authorities.

“These latter caused by their neglect the march of the 4th M.N.I. Regt to be made in Feb'y through the most unhealthy district of the Presidency (the hot bed of Cholera and Fever) and when the Regt reached Scomderabad some considerable number of the whole Regt had been attacked. One European Officer died.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attacked</th>
<th>Died</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non=Comd, Rank &amp; File</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Followers</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female “</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Deaths</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

plus the Officers

“in the hope that, before long, the Commn may be placed in its proper position as the advisers of Govt &c &c

This, the following, is by a totally different hand.

June 12/65 “The Commission, in their early instructions were directed by Government to do their best towards introducing a more wholesome system of Conservance into the city of Madras, the filthy state of which is equal to that of Calcutta. The Municipal Commissioners have a large sum for conservancy & scavengerage expended annually. Conceiving that much of this was misapplied, the Sanitary Commission desired in friendly communion with them to give advice. But they decline
“and on goes the old system of making drains with brick & mortar of an ill-constructed shape and so directed that the sewage sticks in it instead of flowing through - scraping up the solid contents of these drains & placing it to bake in heaps in the sun - and so forth. - fish & vegetable markets, throughout the city which are never cleaned - And now with this furious hot weather, & with sporadic Cholera around, these Solons of Commissioners are doing just what invites it on.

"Independent of a large civil community, there is a considerable European and native Garrison at this place - Madras. The same absence of properly applied conservancy exists every where. Hedge rows - 20 to 30 ft that Lord high - and dense underwood impede Stanley’s the free flow of sea-breeze - contents Report is of latrines, private house filth exaggerated. pitched beneath. All this, with the funds at the disposal of the Municipal Commissioners, would have been rectified by the Sanitary Commn - for the Mun: Comm: have no Health Officer of their own. [It would have been no use going up to Government with a long scheme for they Commission (Sanitary) would be at once stumped by "no funds" - "highly approve "action postponed" &c &c. And so it is in all they recommend.

Character of "The Governor has, like all Sir W. Denison others who can do so, taken flight from Madras - the spot of heat & stink.

“The entire purport of his replies to the Sanitary Commission have/has been: - ‘Do as I do: keep out of the way of stinks. When subjects are referred to you for an opinion, reply. But don’t go & be knocking
“‘your heads in all other men’s work.’

“In vain it was argued that it was as much their business to search out ‘stinks’ as it was the Police man’s duty to put down crime.

“‘All bosh’ was his reply.

“He was told they were only acting on the orders of his own Govt.

“On which he Sir W. Denison said, ‘Gammon the Government of Bengal; those fools there, knowing nothing of our wants, lay down rules which they think are as applicable to us as they are to them. And the people at home are still greater fools.’

“As matters now stand, it is a perfect farce. And the Sanitary Commissions are a laughing stock to every one.”
Private & Confidential June 7/65
34 South Street, Park Lane, London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

Here I come troubling you again.

But the Madras Govt is betraying us (this time). And we want you, if you thought well, to interfere, as no one else can, to bring them to their senses.

A Mr. Ellis, a (kind of) cousin to Lord de Grey, was appointed President of the Sanitary Commission for Madras, (one of the three Presidency Commission inaugurated by your R. Commission.)

He was an ignorant amateur. But And his appointment made a great “row”. But he set his shoulder to the wheel, & worked like a man - but found he could really effect nothing, & is now coming home to see if he cannot move the home Govt to do
something, thro’ Lord de Grey.
[Cousin or no cousin, I don’t think Lord de Grey will do much for him. But I am “a dirty bird, who fou’s its own nest.”]

Dr. Macpherson, a man whom perhaps you will remember as writing to you “with a grievance”, - but quite the ablest man in India in Sanitary administration, - has been appointed, mainly by Sir J. Lawrence’s personal interference, locum tenens to Mr. Ellis for 6 months, as President of the Madras Sanitary Commission. Whatever energy & ability can do, Dr. Macpherson will do. I think I can best tell you the difficulty by making some extracts from my/various letters, received by last mail. After a summary of “all that is being done, “I should say written "by the Madras “Sanitary Commission. “They are allowed to “write as much as “they please, but “they are not allowed “to do anything.”
Another letter says: -

“Mr. Ellis, the President, has spared no pains to get up the subject, & to put matters in train for action.”

[Mr. Ellis, whom I do not know, has been kind enough to send me all his papers, which are masterly. But you see, he could not quite tell me what a fine fellow he was. So I prefer to quote from other letters about him]

“But not a single rupee is granted by the Governor, who, with Colonel Herbert Marshall,
“Military Secretary to Govt., & Colonel Scott, the Quarter Master General make no secret of their opinion ‘that the whole thing is bosh from top to bottom.’”

In another letter, I see/read, that

“the Madras Govt is doing
‘worse than nothing –
‘for it is laughing.’

‘Mr. Ellis’ chief object in coming home is to endeavour to get some pressure put on the local authorities. If he fails, he intends to resign in disgust, & return to his old duties.’

“Dr. Macpherson has gone over with Mr. Ellis all that has been written & recommended, which substantially is what we have urged on the Government for the last ten years.”

But “nothing has been done,
‘because not a rupee is available, & nothing will be done, until public indignation at home is aroused & directed against the obstructions.’
“Mr. Ellis has done much good work. He is an able man & has thrown himself with all zeal into his duties. He is fully alive to their importance but, having had much passive & not a little direct resistance - little or no good has, as yet, resulted from his recommendations. One great object he has in going home now is to get power placed in the hands of the Commission.

{printed address, upside down:}
34 South Street, to carry out at once Park Lane, such points as are London. W. of urgent necessity.”

[This is from another letter.]

-3-

[I will only just add that Mr. Ellis’ appointment was a direct result of the recommendation of the (your) R. Commission, viz. that the heads of the Presidency Sanitary Commissions should be Civilians & administrators, and not Doctors - that the signal failure of Dr. Leith, as President of the Bombay Sanitary Commission, has only justified your recommendation - & that “we” have always done our little all to support Mr. Ellis.]
A suggestion made to me
is: -
“either that Lord Stanley
should prevail upon
“Sir C. Wood to write at
“once to Madras on the
“subject, in order to
“bring the Madras Govt
“to its senses -
“or that Lord Stanley
“should move in the
“Ho: of C. for a Return
“of the sanitary work done
“& the money spent in
“sanitary improvements
“in the Madras Presidency
“since the Sanitary
“Commission was appointed.”

You will alone be able to
decide what is best to be
done. I need hardly
say, that it is a point on
which I have no judgment
at all - nor/or that I have
not, in my replies, said
a single word to imply
that you grant me the
liberty of bringing these
things before you -

I know perfectly well what
Sidney Herbert would
have done, if he had
been now S. of S. for War.
He would have called
upon the Army Sanitary
(W.O. and I.O.) Commission
to furnish such queries & forms of Returns as, when sent out to the Madras Govt & replied to, would have brought out the whole subject & facts of the case, as they now stand. But this is past praying for. And I should have a “predestinate scratched face” for so much as suggesting it.

Believe me dear Lord Stanley
Your very faithful servt Florence Nightingale

34 South Street,
Park Lane,
London. W.

920 Der 15/80 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

June 14/65
34 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley
I take the liberty of sending a copy of the remarks of the Army Sanitary Commission, - in case it has not reached you, - on the Barrack plans which you persuaded Sir C. Wood to send to them for criticism. [I think you had a proof.]
You will see that the requirements of your R. Commission are now
fully provided for, i.e. if the India Govt adopt the few changes proposed. And then the Indian Army will have the best Barracks in the world. But indeed the original plans, the devices of Col: Crommelin, our original enemy - the Minutes of the Govt of India upon them, including Sir J. Lawrence’s own, & Col: Strachey’s (the Secretary) shew how they are a hundred years ahead of what they were but 18 months ago. I wish Sir C. Wood & the India Govt did but know how a single Epidemic costs the country more than all the works necessary to prevent epidemics. It is like a poor savant, who denies himself food & fire to finish his education - & ruins his constitution or dies - and then what is the good of his education? Men must live, first.

Yours very faithfully
F. Nightingale
Private  
June 17/65  
34 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
London. W.  

Dear Lord Stanley  
The man whom I mentioned to you, President of the Madras Sanitary Commission (R.S. Ellis - he was Member of Council at Calcutta as I dare say you know) is comMe is much the best I have {illeg}/known of the India Sanitary Presidents.  
He devotes his 6 months’ leave to seeing practical Sanitary works in England. But that is not his main object. The most important thing he has to do: is to induce the home Govt to settle the question of the position which the Madras Sanitary Commission should occupy with regard to the Madras Government.
At Madras the Sanitary Commission has no direct relation to the Govt. It writes only to the Mil. Sec. And this is dead against all progress.

As the holding of India depends so much on the health of troops, the authority vested with the duty looking after this, should certainly be in direct communication with the Govt.

When you desired me to see Sir J. Lawrence before he went out as Gov. Genl, in order to urge upon him the recommendations of your R. Commission, I wrote a paper for him, at his request, - a kind of Sermon on the texts of your recommendations - in which it was proposed that the President of the Commission should be Minister of Health for the Presidency.

At present his position is less influential than that of an Officer of a London Vestry.

Mr. Ellis proposes that the San: Comm: President x I mention this now, in order to shew that Mr. Ellis’ object is entirely in accordance with the views of your R. Commission.
should be in the position of a Secretary to Govt, so as to communicate directly with members of Govt - to have the title of Inspector Genl of Public Health (which word as he says, would involve no expence)

At present the progress of Sanitary works in Madras Presy is nil. tho’ they have a man, in Mr. Ellis, at the head of their Sanitary Commission, who, of all men, answers to your recommendation to put an administration & a Civilian as President (of these Commissions)

Mr. Ellis has carried
1. a Military Cantonments Act to give power over these, which was absolutely necessary
2. [which is not yet carried, but on the point of being so,] a Towns Municipal Improvement Bill - of which he has left me the Draft - if you would care to see it.
He is anxious to carry: -
an organization of the Public health Service for Madras Presidency - of which he has also left me the Draft - if you would care to see it - which would cost only £10,000 or £12,000 a year. 2. that, in the Madras Budget, from £10,000 to £15,000 a year should be devoted to Sanitary works. It is evident that the crisis is come which will decide whether the Sanitary Service is to be something like spirit-rapping or table- turning - or whether it is to be a real Service - I do not offer any suggestions to you, simply because the way of using pressure on Sir C. Wood is a sealed book to me - Mr. Ellis was to see Lord de Grey, (whose cousin he is) today. I do not know whether you would think well to see Mr. Ellis, whose address is: 4 York Street St. James' Square ever your faithful servt {printed address, upside down:}

34 South Street, Park Lane, London. W. Florence Nightingale
June 19/65
34 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W.
Dear Lord Stanley

In case Dr. Farr has not [9:401] sent you your Parly Return, with the rates calculated by himself, I send you my copy. But, if he has, I think I will trouble you to return me mine. You will see how, alas!, the rates of Invaliding increase with the diminution of the rates of Mortality - [Still there is an improvement during the last 5 years.]

[This is the first Return we have had of the years '57, '58, '59.]

your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

The Return for the E.I.C.'s troops, which you called for, is not yet come. Probably it will, in 5 or 6 months. [end 9:401]
June 23/65
34 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W.
Dear Lord Stanley

    Knowing how extraordinarily heavy the work is now, I feel like a culprit in even forwarding a request to you to do more.
    Perhaps I ought not to have undertaken to do so. But you will pardon me, even if you refuse.

    The Committee for the establishment of a Museum in the South of London

    (something after the manner of the S. Kensington) propose having a Meeting of the principal inhabitants of S. London on or about July 5, at 2 p.m. at the “Horns Assembly Rooms, Kensington Park”, for the purpose of ascertaining what amount of support may be expected from them towards such an object.

    These good people have
set their hearts upon having you for a Chairman; and, at their last Meeting, I was deputed by them to ascertain if you would kindly promise to preside at their Meeting of July 5, which would be very much to their advantage (& very little to yours) of course.
This Committee is for the establishment of a Museum with educational classes &c &c
It is a very strong Committee - their names are not yet printed - but will be printed on the back of the Circular, convening the Meeting, as soon as they know if you will favour them.

Perhaps it will take up less of your time to answer me with a simple “Yes” or “No” than if these gentlemen were to come & take you by storm: - or I should scarcely have ventured to trouble you.

Pray believe me
Your very faithful servt
Florence Nightingale
Private

June 23/65

34 South Street, Park Lane,
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

I am ashamed to worry your life out. But this is a question which concerns our very existence.

I hear (from the War Office) that “Colonel Percy Herbert” is going to attack the “whole system of sanitary improvement” of the Army, in his “speech on the question” he has given notice “of tonight (about Dr. Sutherland)”. There is no one in the House who understands the Sanitary question, as you do. There is no one in the House who would be listened to, as you would be - Also, you know Dr. Sutherland’s peculiar merits (though he does think the world moves round himself.)
- none of these Royal or permanent Sanitary Commissions could have been accomplished without him, as you know -

Could you defend us? to night?

There is no time to prime any M.P. who did not know the subject. And if there were, he would be of no use. No one but you would have any weight - Unless Genl Peel would do it, who has always been most generous to Sidney Herbert’s memory. But he is not sound on the Sanitary point. And it would be of no avail for any one but you to ask him, even if he were -

In haste

Your very fervent suppliant

Florence Nightingale

Capt. Galton, Assistant Under Secretary at the War Office, would, I have no doubt, be in the House to-night, if you wished any information on detail points.

[end 9:528]
Private

July 26/65
34 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

I have refrained from worrying you till after the Elections. But your kindness obliges me to report progress, or rather no progress, a little, now.

Mr. Ellis, the President of the Madras Sanitary Commission, has not as yet any satisfaction out of Sir C. Wood, with regard to establishing him as a kind of Minister of Public Health & Secy to Govt at Madras.

I have had a number of letters from India from quite different hands - all describing the unsatisfactory condition the Madras Commission is in - Of these I venture to send you some Extracts. You will see that they are entirely "Private & Confidential," - especially those referring to Sir W. Denison's 'views' - as when he tells his Commissioners for the purpose of removing 'stinks': - 'Do as I do - keep away from stinks.'

Though I am sure that it
was intended that this 
information should reach 
you, I can/must not even tell you 
the names of the writers. 
The object is, I believe, to 
induce you to induce Sir C. 
Wood to write to Sir W. 
Denison that it would 
be desirable to place the 
Sanitary Commission on 
a proper footing as 
advisers of the Govt. 
Of course, I do not presume 
to urge you to do any such 
thing. But it is quite 
evident that this Madras 
Commission must be 
put in some better 
position. The men know 
their work. The Military 
people are ignorant and 
prejudiced. They should 
certainly adopt the principle 
of taking the advice of those 
who know the subject, & 
not submit to be guided 
by those who don’t know - 
I think you will be glad to 
hear that your Bengal Commission 
wrote to me to get them the 
latest methods of Water 
Analysis - & that, after some 
delay, your protégé, Dr. 
Angus Smith, has given an 
invaluable paper, which 
shews for the first time 
the results of the labours 
of his whole life on this 
vital point: (of testing water, as 
he did air, for organic matter.) 
Believe me 
Yours most faithfully 
Florence Nightingale
Mr. J.S. Mill, since being returned, has sent us a message to the effect that he would like to serve us in India Sanitary matters in the Ho: of C., previously, of course, communicating with Sir C. Wood.

I was rather pleased at this, as I always thought he considered the whole Sanitary thing a humbug.

We shall not, of course, begin “intriguing” with him, without the concurrence of our head.

F.N.

Dear Lord Stanley

I think the enclosed batch of Minutes from Madras is rather comforting.

Please to look at page 111. I recognise your hand there - You will see that Sir C. Wood has done exactly what you asked him.

Please also to look at p. 115 (19)
It is an agreeable variety (to abuse) to find that the Engineers have taken kindly to the “Suggestions” & declared them generally to be practically applicable to Indian Stations. Such a vast deal of nonsense had been talked as to the impossibility of draining India.

You will find also at p.p.5,7,123, that they are making progress in their ideas as to the possibility of making sick native soldiers comfortable. But this is a matter in which we can, of course, interfere with them but little.

But what is aggravating & distressing is the manner in which all good seems to stick fast when they come to Jail Construction. Please look at p.136, (38) It will never be better until you have the subject referred to the W.O. and I.O. Commission at home with the view of their preparing model plans. [They would
of course consult the Inspector of Jails Office here.]
I have done what I could with Sir J. Lawrence privately. But of course what is wanted is that Sir C. Wood should refer the matter officially. Then he will say that the W.O. & I.O. Comm: have nothing to do with Civil lives. But this is the very thing which they do not say in India. They do refer Civil cases to the Presidency Commissions, vide this very case: Please look also at p.12 No.23. How those Quarter Masters Genl do hang back from all common sense.

You will see that the practical backwardness of the Executive authorities continues. India would have been cured by this time, if every thing said by the Presidency Commissions had only been done by the Executive govt. However, we have great cause for thankfulness to you & Sir C. Wood. [He
has been quite in a “coming=on” disposition.
This Madras Commission has practical nous
to a remarkable degree - more so, I think, than the Bengal one. But the Bengal Comm: are backed by Sir John Lawrence; & therefore do more.
I am obliged to trouble you to let me have back these Madras Minutes; as they have desired me to reply to them.
They are now engaged in reporting on Madras itself; its impure water, bad surface drainage &c
Every well in Madras averages 5½ gr. organic and 41 gr. inorganic matter. And they have nothing else to drink. The only wonder is how they live at all.
I hope we shall get
Dr. Angus Smith’s method of analysis, when he sends it me complete, used throughout India. But they may analyse all day long, & do no earthly good, of course, unless the authorities will do their part. If these will not, one would rather not know that one is drinking 46½ grains. Pray believe me Yours very faithfully Florence Nightingale

P.T.O.

I think we may encourage us by the great progress in Soldiers’ Workshops in all 3 Presidencies - At Belgaum they have had a Bazaar, all the articles produced by the men & their wives - & all sold. The result was most profitable, as the articles could be obtained in no other market - & both buyers & sellers were equally benefited. What a reply this is to all the objections that have been made, such as to “no market” for Soldiers’ produce.

F.N.
Dear Lord Stanley

I have received in the most “Confidential” manner from the I.O. (and I am to swear that I have never seen it) the enclosed Reply of Dr. Leith, President of Bombay Sanitary Commn, to the “Remarks” of our home Commission.

The reason of the “Confidential” is: that the Govt means to smuggle Dr. Leith’s Reply, & to close the controversy.

I must say I think Dr. Leith has written this in a very nice spirit (he was obliged to say something) - and that the gist of it is that he had no business to make any answer to your Report before - & that the time is come now, to make practical progress &
not to quarrel -
[He and I have had, in a most “coming-on disposition” in a private correspondence -]

Please return me this document by return of post - and, whether they have the grace to send you a copy or not, please to say that you have never had one from me -

[I am completely callous about telling lies - the I.O. tell so many. So do we.]

I believe I am going to assault you again about the positions of the Presidents of (Indian) Sanitary Commission, with regard to Govt.

[Mr. Ellis, Prest of Madras Sanitary Commn, is still in England - working at this, & at gaining practical knowledge. He is one of the ablest men they have.]

We think that, unless they are made Secretaries
to Govt, as it were, they will do nothing -
I have a private letter from Sir John Lawrence on the subject - dated July 24 - saying that he cannot make them so without Sir C. Wood -
[He says that his "Prest" does very well - because he has constant access to him, Sir J.L. That is all very well for the Bengal Prest - but not so well for the Madras & Bombay ones.]
I see that Lord de Grey means to do nothing. with Sir C. Wood - tho’ he says he does -
And I believe I shall have to worry you again upon the matter.
Pray believe me
Your very faithful servt
Florence Nightingale
Private
Oct 22/65
34 South Street, Park Lane,
London, W.

Dear Lord Stanley

I thank you very much for your note of yesterday.
I send you a “D. News” article, which came out while you were away.
Also, a rough proof (or rather a sixth revise) of Dr. Angus Smith’s paper as to how to find out how much dirt there is in water, which, at Sir J. Lawrence’s desire, I have had on hand – and these five mortal months too. I think Dr. Angus Smith is as difficult to manage as the whole India Govt. He writes one thing - then he writes the reverse - then he listens to what his “nephews & nieces in Argyleshire” say - (sic) & tears up the paper. [But I had it in type.]
And there is now scarcely a single word in this, the 6th Revise, of what there was in the first. But he is the only man in Europe who can do it. And this is well worth all the trouble. When it has reached the 60th revise, I shall make the India & War Offices circulate it.
But this is not what I wanted to write to you about. - which is: our great matter of making the Presidents of Sanitary Commissions, Secies to Govt & Ministers of Public Health. Sir J. Lawrence has written to me that it must be done at this end. - at least that his "master, Sir C. Wood," must tell him to do it. There will be no real action on the part of the Sany Commns till it is done. Mr. Ellis, who is the ablest of their Sany Prests, is in England with this object. A paper has been drawn up (Indians are so fond of paper, as you once said) of which I hoped to send you a copy today. None of our great masters have seen it yet. 

If you think well to take it in hand, it will be done. If not, not. 

[Ld de Grey is no use with Sir C. Wood, who treats him as I treat my infant kitten. It must be playful but not troublesome -]

I mean to do myself the honour to be troublesome to you at greater length
when I send this paper,
if you will allow me -
& also to tell you at
greater length what Sir
J. Lawrence said.

Pray believe me
Your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

Lord Palmerston is a
great loss to our Sanitar{y} {edge of page missing}
(& Poor law) things genera{lly}
I never asked him
to do a thing for the
last nine years (You
may be sure I did no{t}
ask him often) but h{e}
did it. He made a
joke - but he did it.                [end 9:534]
F.N.

920 Der 15/89 signed letter, 5ff, pen black-edged

Private   Oct 24/65
  34 South Street, {printed address:}
       Park Lane,
           London. W.
Dear Lord Stanley    [9:535-36]
May I send you Mr. Ellis’
papers? [Mr. Ellis,
President of Madras Sanitary
Commission - now at home,
partly for this - viz. to obtain
a more definite position
& responsibility for these
Presidents - partly to
make himself personally
acquainted with the
working of Sanitary acts
in this country.]
    When you first proposed
these Commissions in the
Report of the R. Commission,
you made their position
as general as possible,
because, without experience
you could not have done
otherwise. You however
indicated clearly that
their duties were not
to be wholly consultative-
(You said: mainly consultative.)
They have had a year’s trial.
And their work, from
apathy or neglect of other
departments, has been
wholly consultative, leading
in some cases to the
most absurd delay and
loss of time.
Mr. Ellis & his Commission
(his Secretary is now in
England) are unanimously
of opinion that the time
has arrived to change
the position of the President,
so that he may have a
distinct personal
responsibility & direct
communication with
the Government.
In order to further this
object, Mr. Ellis has
drawn up the paper I
venture to send you. [It
is “Confidential”, and has
not been yet shown to
the I.O.] If his proposal
is acceded to, he will
become a Secy to Government, & will be assisted in all Sanitary questions by his Commission. In this way, progress will be more rapid & certain - and we shall escape the present danger of having the whole future of Indian civilization placed at the beck of an ignorant or indisposed Governor & his departmental heads.

N.B. As to Sir J. Lawrence’s last communication to me on this subject, the gist of it is: -

that it must be done at this end -

-2- [i.e. if Sir C. Wood would say to Sir J. Lawrence, “if you (Sir J.L.) see no objection, I, (Sir C. Wood) see no objection,” it would be done]

Sir J.L. adds that his own (Bengal) President of Sany Commn has constant access to him - & that this answers.

We say: that is all very well for Bengal, and while Sir J.L. is G.G. - it is not so well for the other Presidencies also there is an unfortunate fact that Sir J.L. is not immortal.
[What would become of us in England, if all our Public Works had depended on the life, personal humour, & Premiership of (say) Lord Palmerston?]

Then Sir J. Lawrence thinks all men are like himself. He does not take into account what a “devil” of a life (excuse me) Sir W. Denison, e.g. has led us.

Farther, Sir J. Lawrence asks: - ‘what will become of the Commission, if its head is made Secretary to Government?’ We think there would be no difficulty - no more than there was in arranging the duties of the Head of the “Board of Supervision” in Scotland.

But you will tell us whether this question - Sir J. Lawrence puts it as no more than a question - is answered in the paper.

Lastly, in the interview which you desired me to have with Sir John Lawrence before he left
England - & when he did me the honour to ask me to put in writing the views of your R. Commission, & to take the M.S. with him, it was expressly stated that the ultimate position of the Presidents of Sanitary Commissions would necessarily prove to be: - Ministers of Public Health -

The present question I do {printed address, upside down:}
34 South Street, not pre-judge Park Lane, but only leave it London. W. to you.

-3-

[2nd N.B.] Mr. Ellis is very anxious to meet you for half an hour - if you can spare the time - not only to speak to you about this Sanitary matter - but about one or two other Indian subjects, in which your aid is much required.

He is an able man & a Supreme Council man - I have not, of course, led him to suppose that I should tell you this. He can quite well seek Lord de Grey’s
introduction to you -
I rather mention it, because I am anxious for it myself - (he would explain things better than I, who am too eager) - & because, at the same time, you can quite well refuse it to me -

Pray believe me
Your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/90 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

Private Oct 28/65
34 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley
I received some little time ago from India the enclosed M.S. about 51 Jails in Bengal Lower Provinces.
The facts are so very startling that I feel inclined to trouble you with it.
It is true that we rely upon no Statistics which we receive, even from Head Quarters in
India - they continually contain blunders. It is true that they are themselves so aware of this, that quite lately I received a request to get them a Method of computing Jail Mortality Statistics from our General Register Office, which I have done - [not yet received in India.]
But, even if you put a pound of salt into this paper, it is sufficiently appalling. It is not that cubic space is the only sinner. It is that the whole management & laws of Indian Jails require to be entirely raked up & set to rights. Could not Indian Prison Returns be moved for in Parliament?
I must please, ask you to make no use of this identical paper - but to return it to me -

This kind of paper does not, I believe, reach Sir C. Wood- And I once erred in this matter - for which I repent in sack-cloth, (but as I am luckily a "female criminal", I shall have “1097 cubic feet” to repent in.)

ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale
Private 12/11/65
34 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W.
Dear Lord Stanley
I particularly dislike worrying you about things which do not (& perhaps cannot) advance just at present.
This is: the matter of the Presidents of Sanitary Commissions in India & their position.
I wrote to Sir John Lawrence (mail before last) in the sense you indicated - The/A letter, of which I now send you an Extract, arrived one hour too late for me to send him by last mail. But it will go to him by the next.
I have not heard the result of Mr. Ellis’ visit to Sir C. Wood with your letter. Or rather I believe Mr. Ellis did not see Sir C. Wood before he left London, [and had his accident, poor man.]
I am rather afraid you will be indisposed towards us by the tone of the Extract I now venture to send you. But Indians, I think, always express themselves more like Irish than English.

The matter is this: - Sir W. Denison’s proceedings at Madras justify all we fear as to the impossibility of the Sanitary Commissions doing any good without a fixed position, independent of the mood of the Governor (or G.G.)

Some time ago, the Madras Commission, as

was its duty to do, made an examination of part of Madras with the view of reporting on its sanitary condition, and of suggesting improvements. [I have a copy of their Report, if you would like to see it.]

It is signed, in name of the Commission, by Inspector=Genl Macpherson, Acting President in absence of Mr. Ellis.

The Madras Govt had, it appears, taken some steps of its own in the matter, & proposed extensive
& costly works, which would have required years to complete. The Sanitary Commission made certain interim proposals for improvements which, in their opinion, would do interim good.

Without, of course, offering our any opinion as to Engineering merits, I think that (you will agree) the subject was one which ought to be fairly discussed & considered.

The course taken was that detailed in the enclosed (private) letter - (from Madras, received here by last home mail.) of which we have other confirmation.

This course & similar steps taken by the Madras Govt will, it is feared, end in the resignation of the Commission, unless it can have its position strengthened. They feel the proceeding as a "deliberate insult" - (I am afraid of being Fenian)- put upon zealous public servants by men who know little or nothing on the subject.

But the end will be good, if it leads to the Presidents becoming Secretaries to Government, or having
some other equally authoritative position conferred on them
I worry you now, merely for the sake of information as to how we are going on.
The Extract is emphatically private, as I need not say. And neither writer nor receiver have any knowledge of how I meant to use it.

Believe me
dear Lord Stanley
Yours very faithfully
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/92 signed letter, 5ff, pen black-edged

Private Dec 28/65
35 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley
I don’t like to let anything go on in the India Sanitary Departmt without your being cognizant.
Sir John Lawrence has written a Despatch home (this was before he received Mr. Ellis’s paper) — proposing to modify the constitution of the India Presidency Sanitary Commissions,
as follows: -

that, as the opinions
of the Insp. Genl of Hospls,
Quarter Mr Genl, & Insp.
Genl of Works can
always be obtained by
the Commission or by the
 Govt, in future there
shall only be a Sanitary
Commissioner and a Secretary
- the latter to be a
Medical Officer - the
present “President” to
become the Sanitary
Commissioner.

Whenever it may be
necessary to assemble
Committees for any particular
object, those officers, Civil,
Military or Medical, who
are best up to the subject,
to be associated with the
Sanitary Commissioner.

Sir John Lawrence
gives three reasons
for modifying the constitution
of these Commissions: -
1. that it is unnecessarily
   expensive
2. that the several
   members who have
   other duties to
   perform are
practically of little use.

3. that, constituted as it is, there is risk of disagreement between the Commission, & Head of Medical Department or of other Departments.

[To this 3rd reason, the India Office says: “the fact of the Depy Insp. Genl being on the Commission when his Chief is not: and the chance of there being differences of opinion between the Inspector General & the Commission renders it inconvenient

-2-

“that the subordinate should in any way be likely to clash with his Superior”.

Sir John Lawrence says farther: - “independently of pecuniary saving, there will be positive advantage to the cause of Sanitary improvement.”

This, in a few words, is the substance of the Despatch, which farther proposes: -

on the occurrence of a Vacancy in the President-ship, it is proposed to
reduce his Salary from 3500 to 2500 p month in Bengal, and to 2000 Rs pr. m. in Madras & Bombay.

The Secretaries to be carefully selected Medical Officers, & to receive 600 pr. m. in Bengal & 500 in Madras & Bombay, in addition to new scale of pay. [At present they only have 600 & 500 in addition to old rates of pay.]

Wonderful to say, the I.O. wished the salaries of Presidents had been let alone."

No action has been taken at present on this Despatch. And I have obtained that the papers shall be officially referred to the War Office Sanitary Commission. They are already there by this time.

Upon what they say, & upon what you say, will virtually depend what determination
the I.O. takes.

What I strongly feel
is this: - we must go
on the “give & take”
principle -

If they will give us
the principle, as set forth
in Mr. Ellis’ paper,
of putting the Sanitary
Commissioner in some
way in connection
with the Finance
Dept - let us take
the modification now
{printed address, upside down:}
35 South Street, Proposed - it
Park Lane, is not so bad.
London. W.

-3-

But don’t let us accept
it without.
[I send Mr. Ellis’ paper,
in case you should not
have a copy by you.]

We have not yet seen
the papers - and we
cannot judge till we
know the details - as
to how the proposed
modification will
work. [It appears
that the “Sanitary
Commissioner” is to be
simply an advising
Officer-]
I cannot make out
that Sir C. Wood has
ever seen Mr. Ellis -
or ever read his paper
-or ever received your
letter - given to Mr. Ellis.
But then he has been
ill.

in haste
ever your faithful servt
   Florence Nightingale

[9:538]

920 Der 15/93 signed letter, 4ff, pen black-edged

Private
   1/2/66
   35 South Street, {printed address:}
   Park Lane,
   London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley
   I am very grateful for
your note of Jan. 29.
   I only wish we did
"want" your help.
   There is no condition
so desperate as that
which does not "want"
help.
   The I.O. is dead. We
are abominably dead at
the War Off. - But at least
we are not buried. At
least we can find a
paper in 6 weeks - At least we know whether we have one or not. The Despatch of Sir John Lawrence concerning the modifying of the Presidency Commissions - an Abstract of which was sent to me (with this I troubled you) - and which the I.O. told me was sent to the W.O. Commission for reference - hangs fire. The fact is, I believe, they (the India Off.) have lost it. Any how, it has not reached the W.O.

On the other hand, we are always doing the most spasmodic things. They have sent as a Commission to stare at the French troops in Algeria - (they might just as well have sent them to stare at Astley’s-) Dr. Sutherland, Mr. Ellis, the Madras Sanitary Commn President, whom you were so good as to see, & others - They have been gone a month & may be gone another month. And this just at the most important time of our year. I should not make my moan so loud but that
soon people will be so busy
in politics - & you will be
turning out Ministries &
upsetting power & principalities
- and you will be too busy
to think of us when I come
to claim your help -

But what I write about
now is to ask you, if you
would not think fit to
talk to Lord Napier (he
came in / was expected in town on Wednesday (yesterday)
& sails at the end of
this month or beginning
of March) about our
affair of the Presidency
Sanitary Commissions.

-2-
[I do not mean as to Sir J.
Lawrence’s proposed
modification but as to the
general principle]
What we want is: to
have it ordered from home
that Public health in
India is entitled to a
place in the Budget -
& that the I.O. (illeg)/should be in
earnest in wishing
that the Public health
Dept, civil & military,
should have a recognized
position as a branch
of the administration -
that the head of it should
be in direct communication
with the Government - &
not be impeded by
passing thro’ the offices
of half-a-dozen Secretaries.
I believe this is, generally,
your own view. Would
you not think well to
impress it on Lord
Napier?
Sir J. Lawrence has not
the least idea how
the Governors of the
minor Presidencies thwart
& insult the Sanitary
principle. If he had,
I think it would in

some degree modify his view -
But he thinks every man
like himself -
However, he has never said
one word - at least not to
me, or so far as I know -
against the above
principle - Only his own
virtues, as I think, prevent
his seeing the necessity &
force of it as we do. What
he has said has been, generally in its favour.
But I wish he would press it on the Secretary of State.
[Lord Dufferin, I was told,
declined Madras except
with the reversion of the
G.G.ship. It seems an odd
bargain for a man to make -
It is said that Lord Napier
expects this same reversion.
You know about all this
much better than I. Anyhow, 
Lord Napier would be a 
most valuable convert 
for us, if you would 
undertake him. 
I only wish I could 
accept your most kind 
offer of calling upon me. 
But just at this time I 
am entirely a prisoner - 
even to one position - from 
illness. 

[End 9:545]

ever your most faithful servt 
Florence Nightingale 
{printed address, upside down:} 
35 South Street, 
Park Lane, 
London. W. 

920 Der 15/94 signed letter, 2ff, pen black-edged

Private 
Feb 18/66 
35 South Street, {printed address:} 
Park Lane, 
London. W. 

Dear Lord Stanley 

Lord Napier is to go 

on the 23rd. 
He is at 24 Prince’s Gate. 
There has been some 
correspondence between 
him & me - & I hope 
to be able to see him 
for a minute before 
he starts. 
But all this would 
be nothing compared 
to your seeing him - 
And of course I shall 
not know from him
whether he has seen you
or not.
He is clever & able but
false. [I had had a
previous acquaintance
with him at Constantinople
- you know he was
Secretary of Embassy there
during the Crimean War.]
I shall be sorry if he
becomes G.G. - tho’ it
is not deliberate false-
ness, but half of it the
falseness of genius.
[He did a thing by me

which is so common it is
hardly worth mentioning -
warned me against
his Chief, & then took
his Chief’s word against
me - & threw me over-
board in the midst of
my greatest difficulties -
But of course he is too
much of a man of the
world to remember this.
We are very civil together.]
Please burn this note -
the object of which
merely is to tell you
of Lord Napier’s move-
ments.
He is reading your India Report.  
[end 9:546]

ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale
Private

April 8/66
35 South Street, {printed address:}
   Park Lane,
   London. W.
Dear Lord Stanley

At the risk of being a [9:547-50] nuisance to you, I always like to let you know what is going on about your India Sanitary Commissions.

And I think I had better tell my story, thro’ Sir John Lawrence’s mouth.

I have had letters from him of January 19 and February 22 marked Private, but of which I shall venture to give you the substance.

[Both of these letters are written after he had received Mr. x Ellis’ paper, of which you have a copy.]

Sir J. Lawrence says: -

“As regards the reconstruction of our Sanitary organization: - we are sending home to the S. of S.” a Despatch “proposing a further change,” x x x x

“I have no doubt that you will see the Despatch & therefore I had better not send it you.”

[This Despatch has never arrived. I have had a sharp look-out kept for it - (for which I have the means now which I had not under Sir C. Wood.] It is certain

x Mr. Ellis, the President of the Madras Sany Commn
it is not arrived: thus I say. I waited impatiently for its arrival, before communicating with you. But now the Easter recess is all but over. And I am afraid to wait any longer, lest I should not catch you at all.] F.N.

Sir John Lawrence says: - "We propose that, as regards the Army, the President of the Committee shall be a Sanitary Commr, with a Secretary, working through the Military Department, & that in all Civil matters, he shall be a Deputy Secretary in the Home Department."

"Department. I incline to think that this scheme will answer very well - but, after all, the main point is the motive power, which guides & impels the whole concern. If this prove defective, no system, which can be devised, will work satisfactorily."

"A separate Department of Health, unconnected with any other, would not I think answer. All they do, whether in procuring funds, or
“in spending such funds, must go through other Departments. And as regards the troops, unless, at the outset, the Sanitary chief can carry the heads of the Military with him, nothing can be done.

“We propose that in each province the Inspectors Genl of Jails should be the Deputy Secretaries to Lt Govrs & Chief Commrs on Sanitary matters, & that in Districts the Civil Surgeons

“should be the Health Officers. In this way we shall be able to organize a regular system all over India at a moderate cost. At any rate, we shall make a beginning - I hope therefore that you will be satisfied with the scheme.”

[In all Sir J. Lawrence’s letters, there is a tone of discouragement & sorrow. In this very letter, speaking of another thing, he says: how people “in utter ignorance or in defiance of circumstances, urge” him - “while they will be the first to break out in reproaches.
“so much for the happiness of holding a high position and trying to do one’s duty.”
He scarcely ever writes to me without some expression of this kind. And indeed our Cabinet & Governors of Presidencies are full of prejudice against him. But I don’t betray him, except to you - People might think him disappointed. F.N.]
The letter of February 22 enters much more into detail: -
still speaking of the Despatch as gone
[but it is not come - F.N.]
After speaking of “propositions” “lately sent to the S. of S.” “which will, I hope, lead to the establishment of working sanitary bodies throughout India” - - - -
“The great difficulty hitherto with which we have had to contend on this side of India has arisen from the fact that the Govt of India, to which the Sany Commission is attached, does not itself directly administer the Government. In all
{printed address, upside down:}
35 South Street,
Park Lane, matters of detail,
London. W. it has no more
"means of interfering - (so far at least as Civil administration is concerned) - in Bengal, in the North Western provinces or in the Punjab, than it has in Madras or Bombay. When any thing has to be done, it must be done by the local Governments & not by the Govt of India, and the local Governments are always jealous of interference. No Sanitary advisers have been given "

"to the Lt Governors & Chief Commissioners in this Presidency, although some of our Provinces are, in everything but nominal dignity, more important than the presidencies of Madras & Bombay, each of which has its separate Sanitary Commission.

According to the proposed scheme, there will be a Health Officer in every important District & Station, and a Principal Officer of
Health at the head quarters of each of the local Govts & administrations in this Presidency - Under the Govt of India itself, it is proposed to have, instead of a Sanitary commission as at present, a Sanitary Commissioner, with a Medical Officer as a Secretary for the Army. This Sany Commissioner will also be a Deputy Secretary to the Govt of India in the Home Department. In the former capacity he will act just

"as the President of the Sany Commn does now. The only difference will be that there will not be any paid members of the Commission except the Secretary. These members have been found to be almost useless in all three Presidencies. If the President of the Commn requires more help than the Secretary can give him, he has practically to get it

{printed address, upside down:}
35 South Street, from outsiders and Park Lane, not from the London. W.
members of the Commission.
“in the great majority of cases. As Deputy Secretary to the Govt of India in the Home Department, the Sanitary Commissioner will have the means of keeping up a constant supervision of the proceedings of all the sanitary officers under the local Governments. According to this plan, the primary responsibility will rest with the local Govts & Administrations, with whom is all the power of action - In need not now trouble you with more details, but

“I believe that, if the Home Govt approve the scheme, sent to the Secy of State, we shall have a really practical system of Sanitary administration.

x x x x

“In the Minute sent in which the propositions were sent to the Home Govt [this has not yet come]

F.N.

“it was shewn that x

x x x x

“Mr. Ellis ignored the fact that, in the “Presidency of Bengal, “which comprises three fourths of India, the Govt of India has (as I have said above)
“no direct control over the
details of the Civil
Administration. Consequently
plans which may
answer for a Government
like that of Madras
are quite inapplicable
here - x x x

“Another defect was
that he (Mr. Ellis)
misunderstood the
position of our Indian
Secretary to Government.
In India this Officer
is not an Executive
Minister, as he is in
England. If he be a
man of talent, he will
doubtless practically
have much influence,
but he can never be

“the nominal head of
a Department. The
theory of the Indian
Secretariat is that the
Secretary is a mere
clerk. According to
the arrangements
proposed for Bengal,
the Sany Commissioner
will belong to the
Secretariat, but this
will be proper because
the executive work
will rest with the
local Governments &
Administrations.”

[Sir John Lawrence’s propositions
{printed address, upside down:}
35 South Street,
Park Lane, have been sent
London. W. home in the shape
of a very full minute of his own, concurred in by the whole Council, and I hope that they may be sanctioned, for they will, I am sure, produce excellent results."

The last Paras are not, as you will see, from Sir J. Lawrence’s letter, but from Mr. Strachey’s, the late President of the Bengal Sany Commn, & now Chief Commissioner in Oudh.

F.N.

My letter will grow out to such an immense length that I must only say/add that Lord de Grey is well disposed towards us. [But he has no fight in him. And he is little.] I know that, if you thought well to shew him a strong interest about these Sanitary matters, it would do us a great deal of good.

Ld de G. has, as yet, (in our matter) merely written a private letter to Sir J.L., telling him how much interested he is in the Sanitary Commns, enumerating the works they have to do, & hoping Sir J.L. will give them importance & will send him home a scheme for the development
of the Organization of a Public Health Service &c &c &c

[I think I mentioned to you that Lord de G. had sent Mr. Ellis, Dr. Sutherland & others to Algeria to see what the French have been doing there in our matters. Their Report which is not yet out, bears closely on the Indian question - It shews that it is no use improving Barracks, Military administration &c, without improving Stations & country round Stations, so far as health is concerned. Mr. Ellis sailed yesterday for India]

The India Office swears by all his Gods, if he has any, that Sir J. Lawrence’s Despatch or Minute is not yet arrived. And Lord de G. empowered Mr. Ellis to ascertain this for himself with Mr. Oliphant who keeps the Register of Despatches. [It’s my belief it is there all the while. F.N.]

Finding this & finding that Mr. Ellis would not see the Despatch, in which his paper was mentioned &

35 South Street,
Park Lane, mentioned &
London. W. answered by
Sir J.L., I told Mr. Ellis, without of course shewing him Sir J.L.’s letters, the substance of them. And he has written the four Mema enclosed - copies of which have been sent to Lord de Grey. [I must ask you to consider all this as “private”, & to return me Mr. Ellis’ papers.]

If when the Despatch comes, I write to Sir J. Lawrence, as he has been so good as to write to me, I think I must not criticize his scheme, or Indian administration or anything of that kind, which we know nothing about - but simply go into the work to be done & the means of doing it, which we know more about in England than they do in India. I think I might go into the subject of Mr. Ellis’ note (enclosed) on “Sanitary Commns to be retained” - but not into that of the note (enclosed) on “Initiative of the supreme Govt” or “Functions of Secretaries to Govt” - And {illeg}/which it would be a simple impertinence for me to go into with the Governor General - I have put off & off troubling
you about all this, till the Despatch had arrived & till we knew Lord de Grey’s view about it. But, as I say, the Despatch being invisible & the political fight imminent, I am afraid to put it off any longer - I think Lord de G. will answer in that sense - viz.- enumerating the objects of Sanitary work, does Sir J. Lawrence think that his scheme will still answer to carry out these? If not, will he propose some further scheme? I have made my letter of such a hideous length that I will only just mention, with regard to Irrigation, that the idea has been propounded, both at home & by Lord Napier, that a clause might be put into any Irrigation Act (or whatever you call it) making certain sanitary restrictions - e.g. such & such conditions to be submitted to Govt.

Believe me dear Lord Stanley ever your faithful servt, Florence Nightingale {printed address, upside down:}
35 South Street,
Park Lane,
London. W.
Private

May 24/66

35 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W.

Dear Lord Stanley

Again I trouble you 
for no better reason than 
this: - that you may not perhaps 
have time to attend to us 
when our affairs are 
further advanced.

Since I wrote to you 
last, I became so certain 
from letters from India 
that Sir John Lawrence’s 
Minute on the Public 
Health Service had 
arrived that I assaulted 
Lord de Grey again, driving 
the poor man to the verge of desperation 
- which was attended 
with this excellent effect 
that he found the Minute, 
[I believe with his own 
hands,] on the 5th of May, 
which had been despatched 
from India on January 
19th.

[As the India Office is, 
I understand, very much 
ashamed at not at 
having left a Despatch 
unopened for 3 months, 
but at having been 
detected in it, - all this 
is quite private.]
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1045

Here is the Minute (enclosed)
I have written to Lord
de Grey, as he desired,
on it, & also to Sir John
Lawrence, as he desired.
We do not think Sir J.
Lawrence’s proposals will
meet the necessities which
he point out himself.
P.10, Para.11 of Minute

(1)
To fulfil these functions,
we think the I.G. of
Prisons would require to
be a very different man.
He would need to have
years of practical training
at home to be fit for
such duty. It is true that
the I.G.’s are Medical
Officers. But the duties

are far from being medical.
To do the work properly, a
man should have a
thorough knowledge of what
sanitary works are -
Otherwise, he would be in
no position to judge as to
whether certain proposed
measures would be useful
or injurious. The best
Indian Medl Officers could
advise on epidemic questions.
- but on questions involving
sanitary works & expenditures.
certainly not. Use them by
all means to keep a
general superintendence
over the Public Health.
But we must have
some other Officer to say
And, as regards health questions he is assisted by a special permanent Council, the Comité d’Hygiène, which contains the best men in France in their several departments of Medicine, physiology, hygiene, chemistry, applied arts, mechanics, architecture, engineering &c. The office is one of high honour, besides being paid. Their reports are always acted on, altho’ their position is simply consultative. And when the Minister gives his decision on any papers involving health questions the health element is provided for in the reply & not separately.

Of course all this is not new to you. I only recapitulate, in order to compare Sir J. Lawrence’s Inspector of Jails & Medical Secretary, acting without advisers.

I have not touched the Army question, for it is really subsidiary to the other.

And the point would be: whether Sir J. Lawrence should not be asked to re-consider the whole question, with special reference not so much to inspection (the necessity for which always involves somebody’s neglect) as to providing an
administrative machinery
  capable of dealing
  practically with the
questions.
I believe I am to hear from
Lord de Grey further, before
he replies to Sir J. Lawrence’s
Minute. [He had already
written a private letter
to him/Sir J. Lawrence urging the
multiplicity & importance
of the Sanitary objects.]
I am not uneasy at not
having heard yet from
Lord de Grey in reply to
my answer to his of
May 5. Of course, if it
takes 3 months to find
a Minute, it must
take 3 years to answer
it.
Would you have the
goodness to return me
the copies & letters (which
I enclose) as soon as
possible, as I shall not
mention to any one that
I have sent them to you -
  [And I have to answer
the Ind. Off. in 3 hours,
if they write to me, tho’
they can’t answer in 3
months.]
I come now to my
practical object in
troubling you - You were
so good as to say that,
{printed address, upside down:}
35 South Street,
  Park Lane, tho’ you did not
  London. W. see fit to interfere
with Lord de Grey, you would not object to seeing me - which I interpreted to mean that you would not object to giving me your advice viva voce, altho’ not formally to the India Off.

If you would kindly, after reading the Minute, tell me whether you would not advise us in this matter of life & death for India, I should be deeply grateful -

I am afraid I could not see any one this week - [For I am very ill-] even if you were so good as to propose it. But I should like to hold myself at your disposition as much as is possible, knowing well how busy you are, if you will kindly think whether you could not advise us -

Pray believe me
dear Lord Stanley
ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

You will see that I write in much confusion & with many interruptions - But I hope you will put the meaning into it which is not there. [end 9:557]

F.N.
PRIVATE

June 10/66
35 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W.
Dear Lord Stanley

This is only to ask whether you would like to look over the accompanying Report of Dr. Macpherson, of Madras.

It shews how true your Sanitary principles were. & what results (unlooked for by Indians) have followed even the very partial application of those principles.

Our conviction is strong that the 10 per 1000 which your R. Commission estimated as the possible mortality of a distant future in India will be arrived at by the time the Station improvements are carried out.

Pray be so good as to return me Dr. Macpherson’s Report & Surgeon Macbeth’s fly
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1050

I hope to be able to say next week what Lord de Grey’s reply to Sir John Lawrence’s Public health Service proposals will be - [end 9:558]

Pray believe me dear Lord Stanley ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

920 Der 15/98 signed letter, 6ff, pen

Private
35 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W.
July 4/66

Dear Lord Stanley
I write to you about India, merely because I am desperate.
I know quite well that you have no time to attend to us.
In the universal crush, it is no use my crying over my share of it, tho’ it comprises 150 millions of H.M.’s subjects.
Had you been going to the India Office, & left Europe to take care of herself, (tho’ we knew it could not be so,) it would have been nothing but joy.
As it is, I do think Sir John Lawrence will break his heart.
And what will become of the 150 millions?
But to my work: - you may perhaps remember that Sir John
Lawrence wrote a Minute on January 9, organizing a Public Health Service for India - that this was not found at the India Office till May 5. With the business-like promptitude which so characterizes us - the Minute, which should reply to Sir J. Lawrence's, was not determined upon till June 18 - the very day Ministers resigned - Lord de Grey then thought he could not pledge his Council to any course & postponed to submit his Minute (replying to Sir J. Lawrence) to a special Committee of five of the Council - ensuring thus that, at all events, it would be brought before his Successor. [Of these five, only one would be for us - Or rather, only one knows anything about it.]
The purport of the Minute was: -
to point out: what was the work to be done in India in the way of Public Health.
- what were the intentions of the original R. Commission (yours) -
- how these could only be fulfilled by a competent executive Department - to prepare schemes of works & to make provision, financial & otherwise for the execution of improvements [of which an outline was given.]
After shewing that there should be an able administrative Officer as the head of the Health Department - with certain permanent sanitary & engineering advisers - & others temporarily attached, to answer questions - the head of the Health Department having a responsibility towards the Government distinct from that of the Commissions.
- the Governor-General was then requested to re= consider his scheme, with a view rather to the execution of works.
than to inspection.

[And he was asked to
shew how he proposed the
Inspectors of Prisons to
carry out the duties
enumerated.]

I have a letter from you
dated May 24, in which
you say that you
“agree in thinking
“that prison-inspectors
“are not the men
“wanted for the places
“in which Sir J.L.
“proposes to put them.
“you require a higher
“class of administrators.

“In the main I
“go with your
“letter.”

You most kindly offer to
“try & be at” my “disposal”.

I am not now, of course,
even dreaming of
claiming such a promise.
What I thought of
was: - that if - India
being your child - you
could & would give
the moment’s pressure
necessary to influence
the fate of this
unfortunate Minute,
the thing would be done.
-3-

Scarcely expecting that you will have time to read this note, I have merely indicated the purport of Lord de Grey’s minute.

But I would send you a very brief analysis of it — together with Sir J. Lawrence’s original Minute, (which you have seen before) — & some details on the special (India Council) Committee of five which is to consider it — if you could & would take the subject up.

If not, pray don’t trouble yourself to answer this letter. I shall know, by receiving no answer, that you cannot “undertake for us”. And, tho’ I shall be bitterly grieved, I could not, I feel, have expected it. Perhaps, at some future time.

Please burn this letter, at all events.

Pray believe me
dear Lord Stanley

ever your faithful servt

Florence Nightingale
Private
35 South Street W.
July 6/66

Dear Lord Stanley,

I cannot tell you how extremely grateful to you I am for your truly kind note, promising that you will speak to Lord Cranborne on the Sanitary question. & inferring that you will keep up some degree of supervision over poor India.

Lord de Grey has left on record at the India Officer the Minute in reply to Sir J. Lawrence’s of January 9, on the organization of a Public Health Service in India,

- the purport of Lord de Grey’s minute being to ask Sir J. Lawrence to re-consider his proposals, with a view to execution rather than to inspection. the immense amount of works to be done in India being shewn - the original intentions of the R. Commission recalled - & the probable inadequacy of Prison Inspectors to the task.

I must not trouble you with the detail I will only mention that Lord de Grey did not name the special Committee, which he at one time thought of appointing, to take this Minute in charge & bring it before his successor - because, as he could not have followed the proceedings of the Committee, he had doubts whether it would not have been wrecking the Minute - Sir Proby Cautley being the
only one positively friendly to the sanitary question & to the public having health, in general. I feel quite hopeful, with your assurance that you will help on the matter. We have no cause to complain of the India Government; they have the very strongest desire to do what is best. But the subject is still new, (even tho’ people are tired of the very word) - is no one’s special business - and things are apt to slip into the wrong groove. I do not know whether you would think well to suggest to Lord Cranborne to refer questions, as usual, to the Army Sanitary Commission (at the War Office) consisting, as you know, of India Office & War Office members. We have been doing a good deal of work there for India lately.

tho’ not so much as we could have wished. [There was an idea of referring the reply (to the above= mentioned Minute) to it. But, as the Minute must have done before the regular/≠ India Council Committee, after all,- ≠≠/this idea was not carried out.] With regard to your great kindness in offering to put me ‘in direct communication with Lord Cranborne’, [I have not the slightest acquaintance with him] - if you think I can be of the least use, I shall be only too glad. If you have been so good as to tell him who I am, I might then write to him, without impertinence, - should any special case come up especially from Sir John Lawrence - Please burn. Believe me dear Lord Stanley ever yours faithfully & gratefully Florence Nightingale [end 9:461]
30 Old Burlington St.
July 21/58

[9:52-53]

Dear Lord Stanley

Pray excuse me,
in the first place for
this note -

It has occurred
to me, (although probably
it has occurred to you,
if feasible, long ago)
that, as the new Govt
for India will soon
be initiated, the
Sanitary state of stations

& cantonments, to be
henceforth occupied
by British troops, is
one of the very first
subjects for attention.

I suppose it is
not questioned that
our Indian Empire
must now be held
by British troops.

And a great point
to be considered will
be where these troops
can best be placed

for the two-fold
purpose of preserving
their health &
retaining possession
of the country.

without attention
to the first, the drain
upon us may prevent
us from accomplishing
the second.

Perhaps an enquiry
into the whole subject
of the Sanitary state
of the Indian Army,
the positions it has hitherto occupied, & the more healthy positions where it may be possible to place it, without risking its military efficiency, might be entrusted to competent people, who should also point out the special precautions required as to Barrack, Hospitals, Encampments & the selection of "Sanatoria", to which invalids might be sent for recovery within a reasonable distance of their Corps -

There would be many kindred subjects of enquiry.

I will not weary you with excuses, but remain, as shortly as I can, which is the best excuse,

Yours faithfully, Florence Nightingale.

[in other hands: 1858 Jy 21 Nightingale Miss Sanatoria & Barracks for Troops in India (Ansd by Ld S.) July 22]
Dear Lord Stanley,

I ought to apologize for writing again—

but that I take a much more hopeful view of the Indian sanitary case than you do—

I know that you have been in India & understand it much better than I do. On the other hand, the greatest Sanitary remedies are those discovered within the last 5 or 8 years. The difficulties are, as you say, very great. But what is really wanted, in the first instance, is intelligent enquiry.

Formerly the loss in India was much greater than it is now. It has been
reduced by various Sanitary measures, and there is no reason to doubt that it can be much further reduced.

Formerly the West Indian Stations were far more unhealthy than any in India. The losses were considered inevitable, until, after careful enquiry, it appeared that the chief causes were quite removable & they were removed accordingly.

I believe there is no reason to fear but that India may be held quite safely by Englishmen - All the accounts I have received from these stations shew that they are in what we should consider, even in England, a detestable Sanitary state; I mean what would produce a dreadful Sanitary destruction even here; & that they may be greatly improved.

The difficulties you mention about the stations are precisely those which modern science has coped with & has overcome; & may cope with & overcome again, in order to render the military tenure of the country compatible with the safety of the Army.

When you have time to consider this subject more fully, I need not say that any help you
thought we could
give would be most
eagerly given.

Much information
already exists in
this country. Should
you be willing to
grant us permission
& afford us facilities
for obtaining it, I

think the first
thing we could do
would be to reduce
it into a tangible
shape for you -

Yours very faithfully
F. Nightingale

Pray forgive me,

once for all, the
impertinence necessary
for writing such a
letter in answer to
your note of July 27.
And take for granted
the “I think”s & “in
my opinion” s & “I
humbly suggest”s, which
I perhaps feel in
more sincerity than
if I were to write them, 
ought to begin every 
sentence of mine to you.  
I entirely see the 
difficulty but I see 
no impossibility in an 
efficient Sanitary 
enquiry for India. 
1. It must be 
conducted in England, 
because in India 
there are not the 
men for it - 
2. There are 
very few men in 

England who can do it. 
The Netley enquiry, of 
which you may have 
heard, shews this. 
It is alarming, - not 
because we have lost 
a good Army Model 
Hospital by it, though 
that is a great loss - 
but because it shews 
what an amount 
of error in opinion 
& information is 
always at the 
command of Government. 

What should be now 
obtained from India 
are facts, not opinions. 
The opinions should 
deduced f at home 
by competent people. 
3. I can see no 
way of doing this but by 
some a course something 
similar to that 
adopted by the R. 
Commission on the 
Sanitary State of the 
Army. Had the India 
Bill passed before that 
Commission sate, would 
it not have had to
include an Indian enquiry? If so, this is only an extension & a continuation of that Commission.

4. There is a great deal of documentary evidence at the India House—
   There are a great many Indians who might be examined at home by a Commission.
   Lastly, the most important information would be obtained by Form of Returns & printed questions to be constructed & sent out to India by & returned to the Commission, filled up.
   This is always a much safer plan than that of asking/sending for opinions, instead of facts, provided there is some one capable of reading these Sanitary Statistics & shewing what they indicate.
Therefore I think that
1. this enquiry must be
   instituted in England.
2. by a Commission of
   a few men of great
   experience, or it
   will fail
3. that the course taken
   by the R. Sanitary
   Commission gives
   good hints for it -
4. that it must have
   power to institute
   enquiries in India
   & to issue Circulars
   of printed questions
   to be filled up
   in India.

Sanitary matters are
such a speciality &
so new & the subject
is so enormous & of
such immense
importance, when
applied to India,
that I know no man,
except yourself, who
could preside over
such a Commission
but Mr. Herbert -
I have not the least
idea whether he
would - & venture
to mention him only
with the proviso
that I know nothing at all about it. Should you have time to preside over such a Commission, I conclude that it is always best & shortest for the Minister to do his work himself - I venture to enclose a kind of sketch of
(1.) what the Commission would have to do
(2) what papers will be wanted for the very outset.
Should you think well to ask me to suggest names of Commissioners or plan a proceeding for your consideration, I need not say I should be too glad.
I could fancy something like the following Commission working well.

Chairman - Lord Stanley
or Mr. Herbert
Sanitary  } Dr. Sutherland
Members  & Mr. Martin
Medical  Mr. Alexander
{Director General
Engineering & Topographical Indians
Military Indians
Statistical Dr. Farr
1. Altho’ the subject of 
enquiry is in India, the 
enquiry itself would be 
best conducted in 
England & extended 
to India, if necessary.  

2. The best means of 
conducting such an 
enquiry would be by 
constituting a special 
Commission, composed of 
persons conversant 
with the various matters 
connected with the 
Enquiry. viz.  
Sanitary  
Medical  
Engineering & 
Topographical  
Military  
Statistical  

3. The Commission should 
have ample powers of 
obtaining information & 
documents. It should 
have access to all 
documents in the India 
House, relating to 
Topography, Diseases, & 
Mortality among the 
troops, Supplies &c 
of every district in India 
where Military Stations 
have been or are likely 
to be placed.  
Likewise, to all documents 
relating to Hospitals.  

4. It should examine
It should enquire into the Sanitary condition of existing stations, with a view of recommending improvements. It should recommend improvements in existing Stations, Barracks & Hospitals & in the diet, drink, dress, duties & exercises of soldiers.

5. It should point out the best positions for Sanatoria & the method of using them so as to be most conducive to the health & efficiency of the troops.

6. It should enquire into the whole question of Hill Stations & recommend the best positions available for troops in a Military & Sanitary point of view.

7. It should further indicate the special
provisions necessary
for Field Hospital=
& Field Sanitary
service, suitable to
the different Presidencies.
8. Also, Any specialties in
the organization of
General & Field
Hospitals, to make
them more suitable
for Indian service
9. Also, The organization of
Medical Boards for
regulating the Medical
& Sanitary service
in the Presidencies

10. The Commission to
have power to extend its
enquiries to India & to
appoint persons for the
purpose, subject to
the approval of the
Minister.

(2) Wanted.
1. The best India House
map of India
2. The trigonometrical
survey, as far as
completed.
3. List of all Military
stations, to be
marked also on
the maps -
4. Copies of all periodical
reports of Medical
Boards in Presidencies
which have been
published.
5. Copies of all published
Army (Indian)
Statistical tables -
Same - Queen’s troops
6. Lists of all places
where there are
permanent Barracks & Hospitals.

7. Access to catalogue of documents at India House & to all documents there, bearing on the enquiry.
Note. Upon the above data might be constructed Forms of Returns or printed questions to be sent out to India & returned, filled up for the Commission to work upon -

920 Der 7/146/4 unsigned letter, 4ff, pen

Great Malvern

Dear Lord Stanley,

Thank you very much for your note of Aug. 5 & for your promise of consideration. From you to whom the subject is not new, from you who have already given so much attention to it, the promise of consideration is equivalent to the greatest benefits accruing to it for India.

The history of all our wars & of all our possessions has clearly shewn how much it may cost the mother country, unnecessarily, in valuable life, to keep possession of even a few square miles, unless we master the conditions on which the soil of
a country can be held by foreigners. Over & over again our troops have been actually destroyed without an effort to save them; & it has never (hitherto) been until public attention has been called to the subject that very ordinary & very well-known precautions adapted to the climate have been put in force,

when our mortality has immediately diminished.

In India, the same problems are presented in another way. They must be carefully examined & studied by themselves. In this way will be found what are those natural laws which must be obeyed, before the White man can hold this vast Empire with the least risk to himself.

These laws will vary edge of paper missing) of course, (within limits) in such an extent of country - of such different degrees of elevation & occupying such very different zones -

Your Commission will have to determine what these laws are. The subject, as a Government enquiry is a special one
probably, except to yourself, almost a new one—

But there is no doubt that, by bringing European experience to bear upon it, many of the problems affecting the health of the/this White man in our Eastern empire, will be speedily solved, & the military occupation of the country rendered much more easy in time to come.

I need not say that, whatever experience we have is at your disposal a month hence, or any time you may choose to call for it, if you think it will be of any good.

I have hesitated even to write thus much, in your present press of business.

You have doubtless heard of a discovery which seems likely to afford the/a test you were enquiring after - Angus Smith has clearly proved the possibility of testing the quantity of organic matter in any given air. He has not yet determined the scale - But he has shewn that the scale is determinable - he finds that blood, when shaken together
PRIVATE

...The Remarks which you have been so good as to send (enclosed) contain the substance of the objections generally raised against India. They are founded on the assumption that there is something deadly, inherent in all tropical climates - And that, somehow or other, disease & death are to be the penalty of “subduing the earth.”

The discovery of the reasons for local unhealthiness is often difficult. And, when people unaccustomed to such enquiries come in contact with these problems, they are apt to overlook them/such reasons, & take refuge in fatalism.

Ague prevailed in temperate climates, until draining was discovered, & the fevers mentioned (in the enclosed) as growing in gardens will grow there, until man has learnt how to use water in tropical climates.

This, in fact, is the main problem to be solved by your Committee.

The very last Report which proceeded from the defunct Board of Health, but a few days ago, lays the blame of the excess of infantile mortality (which, since the first Board was broken up, it has taken no pains to present,) on infection & contagion. It adduces that sanitary measures are not of much use, a scheme which every one, conversant with statistical enquiries, knows to be simply nonsense.

If this be done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry?

So far from blaming the “old Indians” if/let science & experience be brought to bear on the Indian question, there is no doubt it can be solved.

The enclosed is the case against us. Let us give the case for. F.N. Aug 12/58
There are few things more painful to have to do than to discredit a professional man, and one would only do it for the sake of numbers.

Mr. Simon’s work has always been what may fairly be called “scampish”, in the language of the trades: his writings must always be considered as the result of a “prospecting” expedition, as they call it in the gold countries.

The last Report of the Board of Health, to which I have alluded, and the Report on Netley Hospital are indications of this.

‘All Sanitary precautions are to be undervalued,’ because they have become unpopular: ‘epidemics to be declared inevitable,’ & ‘quarantine to be substituted for Sanitary improvement’ - Quarantine
which it was well nigh hoped had become an extinct superstition. This last Report of the Board of Health has all the error of what Dr. Farr’s forthcoming Report will have all the truth.

F.N.
Aug 15/58

920 Der 7/146/7 signed letter, 9ff, pen

Great Malvern
Private Aug 15/58
Dear Lord Stanley

I will lose no time in answering your note.
From the experience of similar Committees, it may be gathered:

1. that to collect evidence merely in England will not fulfill the object. Sir G. Clerk’s Memo is an example of this. For altho’ it states facts, it grounds opinions, now considered untenable, upon them. Present knowledge leads us to believe that the very unhealthiness, of which he complains, might be prevented.

Similar statements would be repeated before the Committee without end. And the practical result would
be 'voted to be this,' viz. that India is essentially an unhealthy country, a result upheld by every "old Indian" till now. Hence

2. the Committee might have to make personally, or to direct to be made by practised persons enquiries on the spot, in order to test the truth of such allegations.

Considering the supreme importance of the subject, it would be necessary to give the Committee or Commission as wide a scope as possible.

II. As to the Constitution

1. It would not answer the object to exclude every element from the enquiry except the Medical. The subjects of enquiry, Engineering, Military, Sanitary & Medical must be exhausted before it can

drawing up its Report. Persons acquainted with only one of these Departments would never be able to draw up either Report, Regulations or Instructions, involving necessarily the duties of Engineers, Military & Sanitary Officers.

Whether Committee or Commission, it should consist of
1. Indian Military Officers of high rank
2. Indian Military Engineer & topographer
   2. Gol Goodwyn: Bengal Army
   [Col. Waugh? I suppose one might as soon ask for Sir C. Campbell]
3. Indian Medical Officer conversant with Sanitary subjects
   3 Mr. Martin
4. Civil Sanitarian conversant with Army arrangements, Barracks, camps &c
   4. Dr. Sutherland
5. Civil Engineer conversant with Sanitary practice
   5. Mr. Rawlinson C.E. by far our best Water Engineer
6. Statistician
   6. Dr. Farr
   The Statistics could not be “read” without him.

2. & MOST IMPORTANT
I cannot conceive any practical result coming out of a Committee without a Chairman, who, from his position, as well as from his knowledge, can keep them in order. There will otherwise be no consistency in the whole enquiry, and there will be infinite difference of opinion. Co.s never do anything very well or very ill.
They come to a compromise; Who is to reconcile jarring opinions? The Chairman must be conversant with such subjects, in order to direct the enquiry in a proper channel: and must be selected with special reference to his experience & to his capacity for good principle. [I only know of two such.]

3. The enquiry cannot be a hurried one - And those who undertake it would have to devote themselves to it for such time & in such manner as may be (& will be) found to be indispensable for success.

III. The result of forming a committee of the three persons you have named, & of making the enquiry in the manner proposed would be this: viz - to arrive at nothing more than an Abstract of existing opinions: valuable in itself - But it could be nothing more than an aide-mémoire.

[One of the persons named (Mr. Simon) has no practical opinion at all - & no experience of Army or topographical questions - Of him more anon.]

To sum up: The object of the enquiry is, undoubtedly, to obtain the practical results you mention - But, to do so, there
must be competent engineering assistance & evidence. Because the result of the enquiry ought not to be only to point out positions for cantonments, but also the precautions to take, in order to make sites more healthy -

-4-

Such precautions being for the most part engineering works, it is necessary that such works should be recommended by capable Engineers, & the proposed "manual" stamped with engineering authority. Such a manual would be useful. But proper regulations to be always followed would be far more useful. The Committee or Commission should draft these for
consideration. And such Regulations will involve Military, Engineering & Medical points. The Committee must, therefore, contain all these elements.

Also, it must speak "as one having authority" Its Report must command attention with the country. A Report from the three men alone, mentioned by you, would not. If you were to be Minister for India for the next quarter of a century, this would, comparatively! not signify. but, with an India Council, to be composed probably generally of "old Indians", what would the Report of such a Commission do with/as to them/influencing them without you? It would simply carry no weight.
Believe me to be
very faithfully yours
Florence Nightingale
If you think a Royal Commn
unadviseable, at all events
it will be as much more
“distingué” (as Lord Castlereagh
was without orders) to be
without one -

The only points to be
secured are
1. that the men are
specially suited for all
Departments of the work
2. that the Committee
have power enough
3. that the Chairman
be au fait of the subject
4. that there be power
to extend the enquiry to India,
if necessary.

If you see fit, I would write
down a few heads for the Instructions.
F.N.

P.S.

Out of the following
list of names of Indian
Engineering Officers, now
in England, I believe
a really good man
might be chosen to
serve on the Committee.
Col. Henry Goodwyn } Bengal
   “ G. T. Greene } Army
Capt. J. Ouchterlony } Madras
   Army
Lt. Col. C.N. Grant } Bombay
   Army

[end 9:63]
Gt Malvern
Aug 31/58
Dear Lord Stanley
Do you think that
you would be so
good as to let me
see a copy of your
Instructions, under
which the Royal
Commission on the
re=organization of
the Indian Army is
acting? if not illegitimate
the asking.
Yours very faithfully
Florence Nightingale

30 Old Burlington St
Sept 5/58
Dear Lord Stanley
I have no doubt
that the amount of
amateur advice you
receive is to you the
“intolerable deal of
sack” to the “ha’porth
of bread” - which last
you don’t get.
Nevertheless I
remembered what you
said, that you wished
to turn your attention
to the Sanitary subject, after you were crowned king of the Indian Council.

And, seeing that event had taken place, I came to town.

Since I wrote to you, I have received farther information & made more enquiries. The farther I go, the deeper in importance to the interests of the Empire does the subject appear.

I also wrote to Mr. Herbert who is (or was) in Austria; he fully sees the immense importance of the question - and its connection with the general Army Sanitary question (which came before his own Commission), as well as with the spécialités of the Indian Army. And he will give every aid, I know, in any proceedings you may wish to take in the matter, if you wished it.

faithfully yours
    F. Nightingale
Dear Lord Stanley

Thank you for your note, received from Malvern.

I expected that the “Organization” Commission would not touch the Sanitary question - And I am glad it does not - As the subject is special, & will require very careful & full investigation by persons competent. The experience of the R. Sanitary Commission is important & will afford much assistance. The report gives the results simply; but it does not shew the immense care required in dealing with the question. There was hardly anything to begin with. The thing, in fact, from the Statistical enquiry with which we began, up to the final recommendations, (with the important practical proceedings now flowing from them,) had all to be worked quietly & with the utmost care. And the result was that we laid the basis of a Military Sanitary system for the first time in Europe, & which promises to bear fruit.
The same course will have to be taken with the Indian Enquiry. Those who touch it must devote themselves to it. And I have no doubt, if you fairly launch it & select the proper working men, similar results will follow -

What we found of most use was practical Sanitary experience - Mere figures & Scientific talk did very little for us - I am sure that the men who did the practical work of the R. Sanitary Commission will be willing in the public interest to do the Indian work also.

I did not expect that, with the immense interests now in your hand, you could attend immediately to the Sanitary question, however important - And I should apologize for having written to you, had you not named the period of the Meeting of the Council for the time you would wish to attend to this -

very faithfully yours

F. Nightingale
Oct 9/58

Dear Lord Stanley

I am glad you received the Vols: which I sent to you. You will see that they are strictly “confidential”. I thought you would like to see them - And indeed I felt bound to send them, as they have so direct a bearing on the subject of our correspondence about the Sanitary State of the Indian Army.

You will find at Page VIII, Preface to Section X, P.234, the Statistics of the present state of that Army; - and I am persuaded that four fifths, if not five sixths, of that dire loss may be saved to the country. The Indian enquiry which one would be glad to see begun is a necessary pendant to that regarding the Army at home. Its Hospital questions must be gone into. They are identical. Indeed the whole Hospital question as regards India require reorganization as much as our own home & War Hospitals. The Barrack arrangements also require to be considered. I constantly receive evidence
to shew that removable defects are destroying & have destroyed (in times past) the lives of multitudes who might have lived to serve their country - And there is no doubt that many lives are annually sacrificed by the state of the Hospitals - The subject is of far too great importance to the interest of the Empire & of humanity to be left in abeyance -

faithfully yours

F. Nightingale

920 Der 7/146/12 signed letter, 3ff, pen

30 Old Burlington St
London W.

Private Oct 16/58

Dear Lord Stanley

A more painful case in point could (illeg) hardly have occurred than the one I feel bound to enclose to you, altho’ you may have seen it - It illustrates all that has been said, all our administrative defects. It is as bad on a small scale as any thing which happened in the Crimea on a large one -

Observe - Commanding Officers, Medical Officers, Government Officers - all doing the same thing - All ought to have been brought to a Court Martial -
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i

What was Shah Sorja & his Black
Hole to this?
And all within 5 miles of
Calcutta -

Observe the want of any military
organization - of the most ordinary
Sanitary knowledge -
And then the man drives back
to Calcutta & makes a minute -
meanwhile the women are dead.
Yet I know the people existing
now who will say - “the ordinary
“& inevitable effect of the Indian
“climate! what could you expect?
“women & children will die in
“India”!

I understand that Sir A.
Tulloch & Mr. Martin are to be

examined on the 23rd before your
Organization Commission - Sir A.
Tulloch on Sanitary points.
After what you told me that
there was not a man on that
Commission fit to touch these points,
it is perhaps an excess of caution
to tell you that Sir A. Tulloch is
quite unfit to be examined upon
them - His figures are unimpeach-
able. He & Sir J. McNeill were
the saving of the Crimean Army
as to supply - But as to Sanitary
things, Tulloch has never turned
his attention to them & will only
mislead -
The subject is a special one
& demands a special enquiry, as
you say -

With many apologies for again
troubling you, believe me to be
faithfully yours

F. Nightingale
Dear Lord Stanley

Might I ask a very few minutes’ conversation with you, as I am going out of town for some time in a few days - I am quite aware of the presumption of this proposition. Please refuse it, if it is very inconvenient.

Yours faithfully
F. Nightingale

Dear Lord Stanley

I have just been put in possession of the general tenor of the Report of your Commission on the organization of the Indian Army. I find, as you yourself were good enough to write to me once

Yours faithfully
F. Nightingale
would be the case, that it enters little into that which most interests us all, viz. the best way of preserving the soldier’s health & employing his energies in a country & climate, like that of India.

The number of European troops which you have proposed (in that Report) to place permanently in India is, I believe, 80,000, & the period of service 12 years. Yet nothing has been considered as to how the waste of life (70 per 1000) on such a service is to be prevented or diminished.

The problem before the country is how to keep up an Army of 80,000 men under such conditions - And not one consideration seems to have presented itself on this subject, except that possibly the Mother country will be able to supply this great annual loss inevitably following (at present) from evitable disease.
Men may flock to our colours when there is to be fighting - but will they come when there is to be dying - especially from disease which they will very soon learn can be prevented or diminished.

I believe they will not - And now seems to be the time to institute enquiry, to be followed by active measures,

having for their object how to hold India with 80000 British troops; every man of whom, who does not dies in the interim, will be exposed for 12 years to the climate & - what is far worse - to the Sanitary neglects abounding in every Station in India. This is a question which will very soon be raised by the country unless taken up by Ministers.

Believe me to be, dear Lord Stanley,
your faithful servant
Florence Nightingale

{920 Der 7/146/15 is not here}
April 14/59

Dear Lord Stanley

In relation to your wish that Mr. Herbert should act as chairman to your proposed Indian Sanitary enquiry, he says this morning: "I am ready to begin. I have no contest & could run up to town twice a week."

"without difficulty. "If a contest should arise, I can but adjourn for a few days. There must too, I should think, be some preliminary work in getting at documents, maps &c &c"

Pray consider this & forgive me
yours faithfully
Florence Nightingale

Source: From a letter to Lord Stanley, Liverpool Record Office 15/11

22 April 1863

A remarkably stupid advertisement has been appearing in the Times, asking everybody to send in plans for a civil hospital at Bombay, without giving any information, such as would enable any living being to make a plan, and "topping up" with stating that the local authorities and the railway authorities were to be judges of excellence.

The whole thing was so absurd, and it was besides such a re-enacting in India of what we have given up here, that I made an effort to prevent mischief, as far as I could.

I am told that Sir Charles Wood will consult you about it, which I was very glad to hear.

Some time ago, we recommended Mr T.W. Wyatt as architect for a civil hospital at Malta. And he produced, with our aid, one of the very best plans in existence. Would you think well to put the matter into his hands? He has shown great ability. Any help we could give him would be willingly given, for the good of helping.
Lea Hurst
Oct 20/76
6. a.m.

My dear Sir.

Your poor (Typhoid) Patient, Mrs. Swindell, has promised to go to Cromford to her Sister's to-morrow, Saturday, or Sunday. She says she has more relish or less disrelish for the food sent her. But her feet & ankles have begun to swell: & she does not seem to gather strength.

Yr faithful servt
F. Nightingale
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1093

signed letter, f1, pen  {copy of letter above?}

f1

Would you not have luncheon } 27/10/76
here? {bracket encloses both lines}

My dear Sir
   Could you see Mrs. Swindell who is still
at her own home with you usual kindness?
   And could you also kindly see Widow
Henstock, who is said to have vomited
blood a few days ago?
   [I am very sorry not to be able to see you today
but I am due with my Mother at this hour.]
Perhaps you will kindly write me word how
Mrs. Swindell, Widow Henstock, & the girl Holmes are?
   yrs v. ffully F. Nightingale

Yrs v. ffully F. Nightingale

Derby, signed letter, 1f, pen

f3

My dear Sir
   Do you wish your Patient's hair to be shaved or
cut short?

   Would you say whether he must not leave off
the cotton Jersey next his skin? for if he must
not I must get him some more to change?

   I think the new Nurse is a capable woman.
Perhaps you would suggest to her what you
think best about who is to sit up.

   Please write me your opinion about the Patient
-& tell me what hour you will come tomorrow.
   yrs v. ffully F. Nightingale

July 12/77
Dear Sir

1. I understand that Adelaide Peach, the girl with Pericarditis, has bed sores. If this be so, you probably know it. Would you wish her to be put on a Water bed or water pillow: and if so where could either be had?

2. It is said that poor Hitchcock, the man with heart disease, is worse: could you see him to-morrow? - and would you kindly tell him to make his mind easy; for I wish to undertake all that part of his debt to you which can be repaid with money?

in haste          Sincerely yours [end 6:632]

F. Nightingale

C.B.N Dunn Esq

3. I am told that there is the most abominable drainage smell at 'Mount Pleasant' - If the "Nuisance man" would put that to rights, & say the Small Fox arose there, I would gladly be the Scape-goat.

F.N.
My dear Sir

Ad Peach: Could you tell me, besides your opinion of the poor girl, where to get the "powders for the bed sore," which I understand you ordered: & also what to do about getting her a water pillow or bed, if you order the use of one? & generally what to do?

Hitchcock: Is there anything to be done for him? - Is he sinking?

Disinfection: I was told (only yesterday) that a wooden bedstead, feather bed, feather pillow & bolster & straw mattress (FN's spelling) were removed out of the lad's room the day or the day after the lad took to his bed with smallpox.
The bedstead is out of doors: the bedding in an empty room behind the Stables. I am always for being on the safe side, & should have destroyed them, had I known What would you recommend doing Now?

Widow Brown was not gone to Cromford this morning.

Please give me your opinion (tho' I know you will laugh) of all the Invalids in all the departments of this house.

Alice: Please also see my Alice Mundy: here I am sure you will laugh:
[she has become so stout since she has been with me: is not this a sign of weak health in a girl of 22?]

Please send me your Acct, including poor Hitchcock's: I know that we shall never cease troubling you all the time we are here: So it is no use waiting for the end.

F.N.
Lea Hurst
Cromford
Sept. 12/77

My dear Sir
Would you be so good as to see Widow Limb, I believe a former Patient of yours for Rheumatism? If you recommend Buxton for her, I would gladly send her, if there be room for her. [Her husband worked many years for my Father.] When may we see you again here? ever yrs ffually F. Nightingale C.B.N. Dunn Esq

My dear Sir
Andrew Lee's child will go up to St. Thomas' on Friday. The 'board' for it is come: & I will send it to Andrew Lee's to-night. Could you be so very kind as to see the child tomorrow, Thursday, -look at 'board' & child, & tell me whether both will 'do'?
2. Is there much the matter with Hitchcock's wife?

in much haste yrs sincerely F. Nightingale

C.B.N Dunn Esq
Andrew Lee's child          Oct 7/77
My dear Sir
Many thanks: very many [12:326]
Could you kindly give directions to some one
as to the "small padded board" for the child: -
& charge it to me?
I am ashamed to trouble you: but the parents
are too stupid: & I have no one here that is
clever about these things. [end 12:326]

Anent Mr. Bismark:     Is there a Mrs. Johnson? &
if so is she at home, & would she receive him, the
cat? And what is the name of the place?      F.N.

Lea Hurst
Cromford: Derby
Oct. 12/77
My dear Sir
It is good news indeed that
Widow Limb may be able to go to
Buxton this year.
I should be prepared to send her
as soon as you recommend it.
2.    This morning I started off `board'
& child & Andrew Lee. And I wrote
yesterday to the Surgeon of St. Thomas'
under whose care it is to be:
in haste       yours sincerely
[12:327]                        [end 12:327]
C.B.N. Dunn Esq           F. Nightingale
Lea Hurst
Oct 14/77

My dear Sir
I shall be very glad to see you "tomorrow afternoon".
Old Thomas Alison, whom you know, has a sort of redness or breaking out all over his head. I trust it is not Erysipelas. Would you kindly see him tomorrow?
yrs sincerely in haste
F. Nightingale

CBN. Dunn Esq

Rose Wren} {large bracket} Private Lea Hurst
Oct 14/77

My dear Sir
A very painful matter to me has arisen:
Rose Wren (whose father is, wonderful to say, recovering) is unable to remain in her situation "on account of her arm."
1. She states that "Mrs. Horton told me that Mr. Dunn said that I had scrofula (sic) 
   "& that it was infectious."
2. She has seen "the Doctor that was attending father: and he said that nothing "would do it any good but absolute rest: &

"he put a blister on it, & he said it was no "use him doing anything to it unless I "could rest it, & he said it would take "a month if not longer, and I told "her & she said a month was a long time "but (sic) I am going as soon as she gets "suited".
I will not disguise from you my opinion that, as long as that figure-head remains, no girl can stay with any safety to her health.
And the "Doctor's" opinion very much tallies
with your own.
But I should be very much obliged to you
if you could now kindly give me an
opinion that I could quote to Mr. & Mrs.
Shore Smith: [I did five copies of yours
as to 2. written on Oct 1]
to the figure-head & to my Mother's maids.)
& also if you could kindly remember what
you did say to that figure-head: vide 1.
in haste yours very sincerely

F Nightingale
The Lee child is safely & happily housed at St. Thomas'
Hospital.
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1100

Derby, signed letter, 2ff, pen

f12

Lea Hurst  
Oct 16/77

My dear Sir

For any real good that can be done
while that figure-head is there, you

& I might have spared our pains, & I

my anxiety.

Poor Emma Collins is so ill again that,

having no home, she has been sent off to

the Hospital.

I expected it: but not so soon.

This is the second:

We have executed what you kindly ordered

about Peter Cotterill’s wife, poor thing —

& are awaiting fresh orders.

Mrs. Swan dined here & went off to her Patient

Have you any orders with regard to

Widow Fern & the poor little Duke?

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

CBN Dunn Esq
My dear Sir

I was very sorry not to see you when you so kindly called yesterday: with the Buxton Admn I had the mother of your former Patient, Elizth Holmes, with me. I conclude that you recommend us to accept "October 31" for Widow Limb's admission to Buxton Hospital. And I have already sent her up word of it. Possibly however you kindly saw her yourself.

I will write to the Secretary unless I hear from you to the contrary accepting.

I ascertained from Mrs. Holmes what was the difficulty in her daughter's case. The Secretary having mislaid your Medical certificate, owing to the time which had elapsed between its date & that of Admission, they would actually have turned the Patient away, had her Mother not taken her to the Medical Officer's residence & there obtained a fresh Examination & a fresh Order from him. This would be impossible in poor crippled Widow Limb's case:

Would you therefore be so very kind as to send a separate Medical Certificate or 'Recommendation' by her as the Bearer of it? addressed, as I understand, to the Medical Office.

She complains of feeling so very weak: she has her dinner every other day, & pudding the alternate days: (also milk: also Cocoatine) from here:

is there anything more we could do? I conclude that you would have ordered any stimulants from here, had you wished it.
Widow Fern is very nervous & declares her lungs are fatally affected: I believe this is not at all your opinion. Have the two poor little 'Dukes' hooping cough?

I wish she could be cheered up a bit.

Mrs. Cottrell seems progressing very well.

Old Thomas Alison {Allison?} says "his head is bad:

I could not learn whether you had kindly seen him again:

Any "orders" you give me are "thankfully received & promptly attended to". (as Wine-men advertise)

Yrs very fffully

C.B.N. Dunn Esq        F.Nightingale
Lea Hurst
Oct. 25/77
My dear Sir
I am sorry to say that I have a Patient here for you kindly to come see. It is my 'Fanny', She seems to have strained something in her heel.
yrs mo. ff fully
F. Nightingale

Lea Hurst
Nov 24/77
My dear Sir
Would you be so very good as to send some more pills (Aperient, I suppose) for my "Fanny"? - Such as you gave her last: she says she was 'bilious': she has & could not take }
the Cod Liver Oil }
taken all the pills: & lost the box: yrs sincerely (in haste)

F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq
My dear Sir,

I heard that Samuel Hitchcock had not lived out the Old Year: One cannot regret that he has another New Year than ours. I am sure that I owe you many thanks for your kind care of him. I should like to have known whether he was sensible quite to the last: & whether he was ever able to be up.

I was very sorry to hear that good old Allison was failing. I should be very much obliged to you kindly to do all that can be done for him. He is a very old friend of ours: & it was quite pathetic to see him with his grandchildren. I will tell Mr. Yeomans not to spare the money for his diet:

Also: I hope that you will be so good as to attend to Widow Limb: & send her back to Buxton if you think well. Do you think that she ought to have staid there longer?

Elizth Holmes has written to me that she is very grateful for your kind care.

Did the Carbonate of Soda treatment answer with the burn of Wheeldon's child?

My maid Fanny is much the better for your
last prescription. thank you. I have enquired as you desired for Stained Glass Manufacturers anent a Window for Crich Church in memory of Mr. Chawner Morris Queen Sq. Bloomsbury is the one recommended. If you would like to send subject required size of window & about the sum to be expended Mrs. Shore Smith would gladly go to Messrs. Morris, & see what could be done both as to beauty & economy. I ought to mention little Lee at St. Thomas Hospital. We have sent to see him & several times & sent him toys, of which however there is no lack. They say he looks 2 years bigger, better, stronger & solider than when they saw him, before he went 3 months ago. He is perfectly happy & contented. The whole ward was dressed up at Christmas: & a musical box, an elephant which would wind up & walk about, a Rocking horse which would hold four children, & various other wonders bestowed on the Ward, delight the little Patients daily. All have scarlet cloaks: Little Lee is always good & never cries. He is kept lying in his cot: May all New Year's blessings be showered upon you & yours ever yours faithfully Florence Nightingale Please give my kind regards to Mrs. Swan, if you see her: & ask her to remember her promise to see Mrs. Cottrell & let me know how she is: I hope Mrs. Swan is well herself. F.N.

C.B.N. Dunn Esq.
My dear Sir
Thank you very much for your letter about
the poor lad, Edwin Bunting, to whom you
have been so kind. I hope he will quite recover.
Would you kindly pay a visit to your old
Patient, Widow Limb, & if you would think
well for her to go to Buxton while the weather
is warm & she can be admitted, & you
would be so good as to take the trouble to
arrange it, I would thankfully pay.
Would you be so good as to send me my Quarter's
Acct: & believe me ever yrs ffully
C.B.N. Dunn Esq                      F. Nightingale

My dear Sir
I am extremely indebted to you for your kind
account of 'the Patients': & most thankful that
the boy Bunting will recover entirely, & that Mrs. Bratby
is so much better. I hope that you will be able
to get Widow Limb into Buxton Hospital again.
You have another Patient who is much better &
able, I hope, to go out every day. And that is
My Aunt at Lea Hurst.
I send a Cheque with many thanks. pray
continue your kindness to my Patients.
I am sorry, for her sake, that I have Rose

Wren (with the strain & swelling on her
arm) back on my hands for Medical advice.
I found her an out Patient of St George's
Hospital, & have taken her away & given
her good Medical advice.
in haste ever yours faithfully
Florence Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq
Lea Hurst
Cromford, Derby
Aug 13/78

My dear Sir,

I have more patients for your kindness:

Old Lyddy Prince complains of her head:
I hope she is not about to have Erysipelas again.

Lizzie Holmes complains of rheumatic pains again.

A poor woman, Mrs. Bromhead, (must mean Broomhead) who has an, I fear, incurable goitre, is suffering so much that I thought I would ask you kindly to try & alleviate her pain.

Young Widow Prince is much the better for your care:

in haste ever yrs faithfully
F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq
My dear Sir

If, after having seen Mr. Shore Smith's uncle, you think he ought not to go to-morrow, would you kindly tell me as well as him?

2. Jane Alison is a second time in a state of religious mania. She is with her Sister (Mrs. Stone) in Gregory Tunnel. She is very 'bad' at times. Will you be so good as to see her? When you come, she knows that you are watching her & she keeps quiet while you are there. But there is no doubt that she has terrible fits of religious despondency. The first thing is: if you could certify that she is a fit subject for an Asylum - where she has been once before. Out of respect to her father, Thomas Alison, I would gladly pay for her for a few months. Wherever you thought she had a good chance of cure, whether at Mickleover or elsewhere

3. I hope that you will think well of your Patient, Arthur Cottie. yrs sincerely F. Nightingale

CB.N. Dunn Esq
My dear Sir

Many thanks for calling on poor Miss Shardlowe - She says she is better already: I hope you will kindly see her again. But it is so difficult to know what to do for her. I sent her yesterday a bottle of Port Wine: If you could suggest her anything else? One can hardly send her things as one does to old Widow Gregory: Does the Sister eat them?

Would you be so very kind as to call upon the Sister of Adelaide Peach - who died last year: I am told she is very ill.

Do you think there is any chance of Widow Dolly Prince recovering her eye-sight. She has been ill again with 'flooding': but you have done her much good.

Miss Mochler I am sorry to say is out. She wanted much to see you about some of the Patients: You would not be in this neighbourhood again at 2 to-day to take luncheon with her - or tomorrow - would you? I hope you will take something at all events now - I am just going to my Mother.

Is old Lyddy Prince recovering at all?

Would you be so good as to write me a note & believe me (in haste yrs sincerely
F. Nightingale
My dear Sir

I am so very sorry that Arthur Cottie is gone to Chapel.

His medicine has been finished since Saturday.

If you are making any calls in the village, would you not come back here & have luncheon at 2 o'clock? Miss Irby is here: & Mr. Jowett. & see your Patient too?

Could you tell me what Adelaide Peach's sister ought to have?

& what Martha Sheldon's brother, (formerly a Patient of yours) ought to have? He is unable to work - I shall have a long story to tell you about little (spine) Lee whenever I have the pleasure of seeing you.

Yrs sincerely

How is Miss Shardlowe? F. Nightingale

& does she want more wine or &c?
My dear Sir

I have to apologize for not answering your kind note before: I have been so exceedingly overworked.

Widow Gregory: I have long urged that she should have her bed down-stairs & remain in it: & offered to provide a Nurse. I have succeeded in providing a Mrs. Dayban to remain with her: but I do not even know whether she stays all night: & I am pretty sure that Widow Gregory's bed is not moved: & that they have not sent for the bed stead (from the Co-ope Store) which I told them they might order on my Acct for the Nurse.

And I have no Miss Mochler to enquire for me for she is gone with my Mother. Widow Gregory eats well still: do you know that she takes "Gentian Tea for her appetite"?

2. Widow Limb's daughter with the Quinsy?
   Is there any different diet you would wish her to have now that it is burst?
   She has now only Beef Tea twice a day from us:

3. Should you think it possible that Widow Broomhead might undergo an Operation in London?
   If not, how long is she likely to live, & what, poor woman, will be her end?

4. Widow Peach's daughter is said to be MUCH better under your care:
   My Mother & all her belongings have left us:
   I stay on for about a fortnight: & shall hope to see you before I leave:

yrs ever faithfully

CBN Dunn Esq

F. Nightingale
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1112

Derby, signed letter, 3ff, pencil

Lea Hurst
Cromford Derby
Oct 10/78

My dear Sir

Would you be so good as to come & see Lizzie Brooks? I don't suppose there is much the matter: but she complains of pain in the back & chest. & Menstruation should have been a day or two ago & was not. You will smile. I should not be uneasy about her but that she had an extremely sharp fit of Indigestion in London, owing, I am ashamed to say to over-eating & over-drinking & too little work. The Physician who attended her said he had never seen so foul a tongue. And this, the fetid breath & the fetid odour in her bed makes her a rather anxious inmate for me.

He strictly forbad Beer, heavy breakfasts & suppers, butter, Pork &c - in short, all that the Kitchen most loves: & put her on a mild nourishing diet with milk &c & Lime Water. And I look after this as much as I can. & by this means keep the enemy, the dreadful smell, in abeyance.

She always struck me: like an animal which has been starved & feeds voraciously.

And I am rather glad to bring her under good Medical care again. [I was obliged to have a Dentist to her in London & put her mouth entirely to rights.]

Excuse haste. & believe me yrs sincerely

CB.N. Dunn Esq F. Nightingale

Widow Limb's daughter with the Quinsy says she has caught cold again: I suppose it is only trifling. Poor Mrs. Bromhead [Broomhead] seems sadly suffering: she can hardly lie down, she says, in bed - Widow Gregory I have moved downstairs: according to you
£25
My dear Sir
Is this admission for Elizth Holmes for Oct 16?
& may I trouble you with the Medl Certificate
to be filled up?
Please return me the Card. [It is a pity that the P.O. stamp is
I enclose the Form for Medl Certe. always over the date
of admission.

Could you tell me what you think of Lizzie
Brooks? And shall you be coming to see her again?

May I ask you what you think of Mrs. Broomhead
You will see that I have moved Widow Gregory
down stairs

Could you fix any day & hour this next week after
Monday that you will be coming this way
about 4 or 5 o'clock or 6 that I might
have the pleasure of seeing you?
11/10/78
F.N.

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1113

initialed letter, 1ff, pen

Lea Hurst
Oct. 11/78

My dear Sir
In sending for Lizzie Brooks' medicine, might
I ask you if she may go, as she has asked, on
Sunday afternoon to her Mother's "for the Wakes".
I have no reason against it except a
profoundly bad opinion of her Mother:
but I own I should not be sorry if you
thought that she had better not go (medically)

yrs sincerely
F. Nightingale

CBN Dunn Esq
Lea Hurst  
Oct 13/78  

My dear Sir,

Your old Patient, Mrs. Bratby, is looking very ill: she & her husband are thinking of going to Ramsgate for 2 or 3 weeks, if you approve: & if you recommend warm sea water baths for her. Could you kindly see her within the next day or two? - And would you, among other things, tell me whether she ought to have stimulants? & if so what?

2. Do you sometimes see the boy Bunting who recovered so wonderfully under your care from that accident? I have an idea sometimes that he is allowed to work too much: & that he wants looking to medically: If you could make a friendly call & charge it to my Acct I should be very grateful. Thanking you for your kind note & hoping to see you on Tuesday about 4.30, as you were so good as to propose, believe me yrs sincerely  
F. Nightingale  

C.B.N. Dunn Esq
Cromford, Derby
Oct 22/78

My dear Sir

Old Lyddy Prince: I saw her last night: & she expressed the greatest gratitude for your kindness to her. There is some magic medicine of yours (for "palpitations," she says) which she wants to have another "bottle" of: she prays.

It would be extremely desirable if she were not to put off any longer applying for parish relief. The Guardians would then compel her 3 sons who can well afford it to do something for her.

Widow Limb: would you kindly tell me what is your opinion of her, p

Since I began this, I have had your kind note.: do you think that her state is owing to any want of Night Nursing at Buxton Hospital, or to neglect there?

Miss Shardlowe: I have my "Forms of recommendation" for the Derby Infirmary: sent me: & only await your orders to fill up one for her:

Mrs. Deebank: Would you be so good as to prescribe for her, if you think she requires Medical advice

& oblige yours very sincerely
F. Nightingale

CBN Dunn Esq
Miss Shardlow
Lea Hurst
Cromford: Derby
Oct 25/78

My dear Sir
Would you be so good as to fill in the "Disease" on the enclosed form, & return it to me?
The Patient is going on Monday early

Mrs. Holmes:
What will happen if she will not submit to an Operation to the leg?
What will be the Operation? What its magnitude?
Are there any palliative measures which it is any use trying? for present ease.
I think possibly she might be persuaded to submit to an Operation if I knew more:
Is there any risk of her losing her leg?

The Sisters Allen:
Could you be so good as to call upon them? the eldest, Hannah, is suffering from rheumatism & is generally feeble.
She is an excellent old body but not very amenable to Medical influences.
in haste
yrs sincerely
F. Nightingale
Lea Hurst  
Nov 3/78

My dear Sir  
Would you be kind enough to look at the boy Herbert Crooks who brings this? He suffers frequently from sick head-aches, & as he is growing very fast, I thought a little of your "magic" might do him good:

Elizth Holmes has only just begun to take baths at Buxton: & wishes for another 3 weeks: which with your sanction I will give her?

I have failed in my attempt to find a lady Derby, signed letter, 2ff, pen and pencil

Lea Hurst  
Nov. 13/78

My dear Sir  
I am due in London on Friday: but I have a troublesome little inflammation in one eye (& for some weeks the other side of my face has been swollen.) I wanted to have some of your excellent advice. & to know whether I ought to make the journey the day after tomorrow, on account of this eye. You will be amused at my sending to you for this trifle. Could you make it convenient to call to-day & if so at what time?

Herbert Crooks is quite almost laid up with his chilblains. I had meant to have sent my contribution to the Church Choir at Crich, to which Mrs. Dunn is so kind: Might I trouble you with this contribution (enclosed)? yrs sincerely  
F. Nightingale  
CBN Dunn Esq
10 South St  
Park Lane W.  
2/1/79

My dear Sir  
I hope you will be good enough to send me my  
Acct for the Quarter: & allow me to thank you  
for all your goodness to our Patients.  
I was very sorry to hear of your severe strain  
but hope that you have quite recovered it: as  
I have heard from some of the Patients of your  
presence among them.  
Will you be so good as to look after Lizzie Holmes?  
I am afraid she is none the better for Buxton.  

Confidentially & between ourselves, I have set on  
foot an enquiry into that abominable place. The  
master & mistress are leaving (drunk:) And I hope  
the Nursing will be looked into now.  
I hope to hear of good Mrs. Bromhead, (Broomhead) & poor  
old Gregory (?), & the Allens & all our other friends.  
Little (spine) Lee has been making great progress  
at St. Thomas’ – & is now gone back to the Ascot  
Convalescent Home. He is growing quite big.

Our (trained) Miss Machin entered from here on her  
duties as Matron to grand old St. Bartholomew's  
on New Year's Day: [& we had placed 2 of our `Sisters'  

there already] – She has been most graciously received  
& please God there will be a reform in the Nursing there. But  
I have warned them to hold their tongues & not to  
be quoting St. Thomas'–  
I have heard the most pathetic accounts of our  
Princess Alice from the German lady, trained here with us.  
Who, with 6 nurses, nursed her to the last: & all  
the family in ye Diphtheria - Princess Alice was always  
the first in our Hospital Work. [Our Nurses sent a  
wreath of & Cross of flowers for the grave].  
I have been so overworked & ill since I came back
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1119

f32av

[Christmas time is no sinecure in seeing of Matrons & Nurses &c &c] that I must beg you to excuse this scrawl.

And with heartiest good wishes for the best of New Years to you & Mrs. Dunn & all the old friends & the dear old place

ever sincerely yours

F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Derby, signed letter, 8ff, pen

f33

(printed address:) 10, SOUTH STREET, PARK LANE.W.

Jan 21/79

My dear Sir
I have to ask your pardon for not having written before. The truth is: I came back so much worn out to my usual hard winter's work & pressure of business that I am ashamed to think how much I am in arrear. And the hardest work is that which one does not do - You have, I hope, quite recovered your strain.
I was very much obliged to you for writing to me about Lizzie Brooks' mother. I have placed Lizzie in a very good situation at
Bath, not out of my reach, but I hope out of reach of her mother who harassed her continually. Yet I feel sorry for her little sister & brother at home. And I do not think it right for the girl to break off entirely with her home. She must try to be of use to the little sister. 

Pray remember me kindly to Mrs. Swann: I was sorry not to see her before I left Lea Hurst: and pray ask her what is become of the little girl Cottrell she had a year ago a place for: & of the Mother whom you so kindly attended.

Good old Lyddy Prince - one of the best women I know & a sort of Saint - I am afraid she is very uncomfortable with her sons - they not assisting her as they ought. Please be so good as to keep your eye upon her health. I shall be very glad to give Dolly Prince the benefit of the Nottingham spectacles: I left the money with Mr. Yeomans.

As for Sister Allen, who always reminds me of a prophetess of the Old Testament, - it is quite remarkable to hear her talk Scripture - I am overjoyed that she is so much better under your kind care. Please continue it & tell her to write to me & say whether she has had what I said from Mr. Yeomans. And is there any particular
f33av  {D25462\330})

diet she ought further to have? As for Widow Gregory, poor old Soul, if the others are a {illeg} Saint & a prophetess, or something like it, she is an animal or something like it, thinking of her 'creature comforts' & of Philip's (the lad ought to be in the Workhouse: he is dangerous). I am glad her nurse, Deebank, is so much better: she sees well. I suppose after the old body. Poor Mrs. Broomhead: how patient she is: it is quite beautiful. I should like to have seen her as she wished to see me: but I scarcely can wish her to live another year. Please tell her I always remember her: & continue your kind care. Is there anything else she should have?
Is Miss Shardlowe returned from the Infirmary? She wrote to me from there. But I have not heard from her since. How is she? I am very glad to hear good news of the boy Bunting: & glad that poor old James Foulds is at rest.

Mrs Bratby, your Patient, is still at Ramsgate: & doing well.

Your little Patient, the spine-child, Lee, is very much better, & gone back to the Ascot Convalescent Home.

Please be so good as to look after Lizzie Holmes still:

I hope we shall clear out that abominable place at Buxton. But we must do it with quietness & caution.

I am afraid Mrs. Holmes has not submitted to you yet.

I trust that you will also be so good as to look in from time to time upon poor Widow Peach's daughter & tell me whether she wants for anything more. She has such a hereditary weight of sickness in her. She became wonderfully better under your care.

Poor Mrs. Limb: she is such a good woman: so un murmuring. I am very sorry to hear of these heart symptoms: but I hope she may still get better under your care. Please remember me to her.
I hear often from Miss Irby. She has a hard battle to fight. Almost all her fugitives are gone back into Bosnia, without homes, without seed, implements or cattle: food so dear that the Austria money allowance is insufficient quite: dying of hunger & exposure.

The Famine Mortality figures are coming in from India: they are heart-sickening: rather more than 2 millions Deaths in Madras Presidency alone: altogether it will not be short of 3 1/4 millions ascertained Deaths in Mysore & Madras alone: & Bombay & Hyderabad figures yet to come in: perhaps 2 millions more.

But we have distress at home, Leeds & Sheffield & Manchester. Excuse this scrambling letter. I hope that you & Mrs. Dunn are well: pray believe me ever yours fully Florence Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq.
My dear Sir

I am extremely obliged to you for your kind letter, containing news of so many in whom I am so much interested & to whom you are so good.

For Jane Allison's recovery, even tho' only temporary, I am truly grateful to you & to God. That is a case one has unmitigated satisfaction in helping. Thro' no fault of her own, (that I have ever heard of,) she is subject to "special infirmity." And "special infirmity, physical or mental," I think one may help without danger of pauperizing.

But on these & similar points I have often wished to consult you. "Miss Allen" again is a case I commend to you: & do most sincerely thank you for doing her good. They are two Sisters doing their best to keep their home together (notwithstanding infirmity & defective sight) for each other by needlework whilst they can. They are the very reverse of paupers: & they are educated much above the average & have higher tastes than mere drinking & eating.

Mrs. Henstock is an industrious woman, an active
mismanaging Mother &
not very truthful. Are
"spiritualists" people who
believe in those disgraceful
'raping' impostures? I did
not know this mean & incredible
superstition had reached
Holloway: but, if it has, am
not surprised that the
Henstocks are of it. She
is a person whom I am too
glad to help 1st to your valued
Medical advice: also to go to a Convalescence
att to the sea, & to a Sewing
Machine,- to enable her to
help herself. But giving
little doles to her & others
is a thing which has much
troubled my conscience &
which I have often wished
to consult you about.
I fear I have made some
beggars at Holloway, while

conscientiously desirous
to avoid it. [13:285]

Lizzie Holmes: I am so
thankful to hear is better:
There is no danger of
making the Holmes beggars.
They not only do not beg,
they give.
Besides, I always feel I
owe Lizzie Holmes something
- for I am afraid I only
made her worse by that
abominable place Buxton,
- did I not?
Restoration to health is a
thing, I hope, one need never
feel afraid of being made
into a pauperizing agent. [end]

note
14/3 I should say, with regard to
the `Spiritualists,' that I have
enquired, & I find they hold forth,
in the name of a "deceased Doctor,"
against intemperance!! They might
(this line is cut off. Her signature might be under it as well since she has gone
across to bottom of f34 for CBN Dunn Esq)
April 12/79
{printed address:} 10, SOUTH STREET,
   PARK LANE.W.

My dear Sir
   I hasten to send you a
   Cheque for your Qy Acct for
the people to whom you are
so kind & to thank you for
your kindness.
   I venture to ask you to be
so good as to give £2.2
(which I have added to the
Cheque) to Mr. Acraman for
his School subscription, for
which he wrote to me. I
must apologize both to you
& to him for this unceremonious
way of doing it. It is only the
severe stress of overwork & illness

which compels me to economize
every line I have to write.
Poor Widow Limb & Broomhead
- I feel so very sorry for
them. Will you when you
see Mrs. Broomhead again
thank her for her letter:
And will you kindly tell
Mrs. Limb how much I
should like to hear from
her thro' Rose, who ought
to be able to write now?
   I am thankful that widow
Merchant's daughter is so
much better thro' your kindness.
And will you kindly tell her
to write too & say how she is?
   And the same as to Widow
Peach's daughter.
You ask me about Buxton & Confidential Hospital Nursing. I have tried various ways to have it cleared up & cleared out, chiefly thro' ladies who I was astonished to find knew of its abominations before - did nothing then & as far as I know have done nothing now. Except that in December I believe the Master & Mistress were dismissed for drinking.

I have now appealed to the Duke of Devonshire: & I hope that something may be done. but this is of course strictly between ourselves.

The D. of Devonshire had much better appear to be acting from himself: without mentioning me. But I really pray that the enquiry may be rightly conducted, & not made a blunder of.

I am such an old 'hand' & I know what blunders may be made by the best intentions not practically acquainted with Hospital Nursing.
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1128

Derby, unsigned letter, 8ff, pen

f36

May 24/79

{printed address:} 10, SOUTH STREET,
  PARK LANE.W.

My dear Sir
You are so occupied, & I am
so occupied that I scarcely
like to say:-how little intercourse
we have now about our poor
Patients!
But I venture to trouble you
now with some questions about
some of them: for whom I am anxious.
I have also this reason that
Mrs. Yeomans has most
kindly done the cooking for
poor good widow Broomhead
& for poor old widow Gregory
ever since I left Lea Hurst
And she cannot be expected
to go on cooking for them always.
She has never complained of the
trouble But Mr. Yeomans & I have

f36v

both suggested that she should
stop. And had I not been
cast down & overwhelmed with
work, I should have written
to you before to take your wishes
with regard to these poor people.
My aunt, Miss Julia Smith,
is now, as you know, at Lea Hurst.
And she is very kind to some of
them. And spring is come at last.
She & Mr. Yeomans thought
that it was time now "to stop"
altogether with poor old Gregory:
except what she will have from
Lea Hurst, where we shall too
probably, if it please God, succeed
my Aunt.
Do you approve of this?
And would you wish her (Gregory)
still to have her allowance of Brandy from Mr. Yeomans (which has been continued ever since a year or last autumn)? People are strongly of opinion that this should be discontinued. What do you say?

Widow Broomhead
I am afraid she is a great sufferer & so good & patient. Is she near her end? I feel that I cannot longer ask Mrs. Yeomans to cook for her. But I should be truly obliged to you to tell me what she really requires: occasionally or regularly if necessary. And this she shall have. She has also an allowance of Brandy: & shall continue to have it, if you order it. [Indeed, as you know, I never give Brandy without your orders] I am sure you continue your kind care of this poor woman. She is on cocoatina. So is old Gregory:

Widow Limb
how is she? I am afraid you think very badly of her prospects: she is a good & most patient sufferer. Would you kindly also tell me what she really requires? And she shall have it. She is on 2 lbs. Meat weekly: Cocoatina, Milk &c. Her sons are very good to her. Widow Peach's daughter: how is she? She has 2 lbs of meat weekly: milk &c would you kindly tell me what you wish for her?

Martha Sheldon
I understand is very ill: If she requires something occasionally, would you kindly tell me what would be best
without further ‘order.’
But if she requires another
‘letter of admission’
from me, I will send you
one for her.
Poor soul: it is a painful
case in many respects.

Jane Allison

Mr. Yeomans has written about her to
me, & your opinion of her: &
that he thinks she should
go back to Mickleover.
I have written to him that
this is a thing for you to
determine.
But one trembles to think
what she might do at home.
And it is very bad for the
little grand-child, the eldest,
to see her.
I had a great respect for

the old man, her Father.
And I have told Mr. Yeomans
that I would tell you that, if
you thought it would give her
a better chance to try her at
home say for a month with
a Nurse, & if you could
recommend a proper Nurse,
I would pay her.
But it must remain with
you; [I cannot say I have
ever made an arrangement
of that kind to compare
with the care of a good Asylum.]
I am most truly sorry for
the case. The old man was
a sort of patient humble hero
in his way: at once independent
minded & tender hearted.

Lydia Prince

I have told Mr Yeomans to
allow her the 2 oz Brandy a day.
Lydia Prince is one of the most difficult cases one has to deal with (I do not mean in your kind Medical attendance which I hope will never fail her: & would you order her Brandy of Mr. Yeomans, if she needs it)

Her sons were so good as to inform me, thro' Mr. Yeomans, when I was at Lea Hurst, that they `did not do anything' for her, because I did'. And it is true: I put money into Adam Prince's mouth to drink by helping his mother. Yet the old lady will not apply for parish relief: which is the only way, I suppose, of summoning the sons? I am trying to make some arrangement for her with Mr. Yeomans. She is a case constantly on my mind. She is a splendid old lady: and I cannot bear that she should want. While to spend money in making that vagabond Adam more of a vagabond is a sin.

Please continue, if you will be so good, as to attend Old Lyddy.

Thank you for your kindness to that poor old creature Gregory.

Mrs. Bratby is come back from Ramsgate. Would you kindly look in upon her sometime?
My dear Sir
Thank you very much for your kind letter. I have written to Mr. Yeomans your orders about the sick. These Deaths from Typhoid are shocking beyond measure. Because Typhoid means bad drainage. I trust that you will be successful in your War: & I hope that Mr. Yeomans will help you. You say that poor Mary Shardlow "hopes to go to the Infirmary." I enclose an Order, which please fill up. If there is any difficulty in paying for her going, Yeomans will pay. Excuse haste: ever yrs ffually F. Nightingale

CBN Dunn Esq
My dear Sir

Very many thanks for your very kind note.
I am writing in haste to say if you could do anything for poor Mary Shardlow on my account, I should be very much obliged to you. [I do not know on whose account you are attending her] And if you wish to order her Port Wine or anything of that sort for me, please do so. If you will kindly let Miss Mochler know, she will provide it. I am writing to her by this post to say so. Poor woman - no one can wish for her life. But I am sure that anything to spare her suffering, you will do.

I rejoice to hear that the little girl Peach is making such progress.
I am shocked that there should be Typhoid in "the Cottage".
Cannot you make them close the Wingfield School? in great haste

yrs sincerely
F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq
My Diphtheria case went convalescent into the country on Saturday. Nobody else had it, thank God. But it is a long story which I must tell you later.

Derby, signed letter without salutation, 2ff, pencil

1. I am very sorry that I could not see you to-day. I have been so ill since I came down: & I have 3 interviews for to-day.

1. You know that Harriet Limb has Typhoid Fever. Is there anything more that we should do for her? She has Soda Water from us.

2. Could you also kindly see Widow Broomhead & say whether there is anything we should send her? - she does not much like her present medicine, I hear. And do you wish her to have any more Brandy? She has only 4 oz. every 4th day now. And is she in a condition to come & see me, if I sent the fly for her?

3. Also: What do you think of little Platt, Alison's grand-child? What do you think this new case of Typhoid due to? I hope to see you soon

F. Nightingale

24/8/79
C.B.N. Dunn Esq
Lea Hurst
Aug 31/79

My dear Sir

Might I ask you to come
& see my sister's lady's maid
who has sprained & hurt
her foot? above where the toes spring
& underneath the foot - She is a Swiss.

I hope you will be able
kindly to have luncheon here
Some day while she Lady Verney, is here
perhaps to-day:

2. I hope that you think
Harriet Limb going on quite
well: & may she have any
thing else besides soda water
& milk?
And how is the poor mother?
How I wish you could find out
the exact whereabouts of the
bad water & bad drainage,
which are in fault.

Can you ascertain what
was the water which
Harriet Limb had been
drinking?

3. Dolly Prince, I believe, has
been suffering much from
'flooding'.
Could anything be done for
her? by Medical advice -

4. The boy Bunting, - whom
you brought through so
serious an accident last
year - What do you
think of him?
Is he likely to be strong
ever to do a man's
usual work?
Or should he be a Pupil
Teacher, or something of the
sort? & afterwards a Schoolmaster?
5. A Mrs. Rawson
   of Higham near Alfreton
   -Aunt to my Lizzie Brooks-
   has been 7 years ill with
   "bad knees": She "can't stand"
   except on crutches: the
   description L.B. gave me of
   her is: "her knee-caps are
   under her knees:" She has
   been at the Lea Water (cure?)
   place, which "did her no good."
   She is extremely anxious,
   L.B. tells me, to go to
   some London Hospital.
   She is said to have been a
   Patient of yours.
   Could you kindly tell me
   whether you recommend any
   thing of this kind to be done?
   I mean, sending her anywhere for
   treatment?

6. Poor Widow Broomhead:
   She thinks you have ordered
   her 2 oz. Brandy a day,
   whereas you told me 1 oz.
   Please say which:
   Also: whether you think
   her able to come & see me,
   if I send the fly for her.
   - She does not seem to know
   what to decide.

7. Also: Martha Sheldon wants
   her brother to have an admission as Out
   Patient to the Derby Infy.
   What do you think of this?

8. Lastly: does the little Platt
   (Alison's grandchild) want
Lea Hurst
Sept. 7/79

My dear Sir

Thank you for your kind note very much.

As to the Limbs:
I am most thankful that they are going on well under your kind care.
But do you not think it very bad for the two sisters, - one convalescent & one very ill of Typhoid, - to lie in the same bed: & both in the same room with the mother?
We had provided a bed at Widow Brown's, where Mrs. Swann could have undisturbed sleep.

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

in the afternoon: While
Mrs. Brown could waited on her Patients.
But we find that the three Patients are all in the same room: the two Fever cases in the same bed: While Mrs. Swann occupies the smaller room which used to be occupied by husband & wife -
Would you kindly remedy this in the way you think best?
We are sending Clear Soup without vegetables (what we make for my Mother) to Harriet Limb, according to your orders: & milk & soda water to the married Sister.
Would you be so very kind as to write to me any orders about these poor bodies' diets? We send only 2 lbs Meat weekly, Milk & Cocoatine to Widow Limb, & Beef Tea: Should she have any thing else? & should Harriet Limb have Mutton Broth? I am glad that Mr. Wildgoose undertakes the Medical advice for Harriet Limb. But you must allow me to undertake the rest. x Harriet Limb has been given to understand from the Mill that she would be allowed half pay during her illness: I hope this was not done without Mr. Wildgoose's knowledge. You see he says he did not [cut off]
I feel so uneasy about the Holloway drainage that I lie thinking of what we ought to do. It has been suggested to me from London: "have you no District Medical Officer of Health to apply to?" But he is Dr. Gaylor: is he not? Then I am advised to "write & invoke the aid of Mr. Sclater Booth, & ask him to send an Inspector to look at our village." "The Local Govt Board always delight to interfere if they can get a chance."

What do you think?

And what was the drinking water which Harriet Limb & her Sister were using?

10, SOUTH STREET,

PARK LANE. W. {D25462/242}
PRIVATE
Lea Hurst
{written across the corner Cromford
with 4 underlines} Sept. 14/79

My dear Sir

Pray let me thank you
for your two kind notes.
And first about the

Limbs:

I am very thankful that the
married Sister's attack you
consider a slight one:
& I heard yesterday that
both were downstairs but
that you considered Harriet
the stronger of the two.
I am sure that you will
tell me what Diet you
wish for them. Hitherto
neither Sister has had
anything from here but
Clear Soup or Beef Tea.

Shall you wish either of
them to go by & bye to
a Convalescent Hospital?
About the water in their
well which I believe you
& I are anxious to have
analysed: You mention
Dr. Gaylor's having undertaken
to do so (from this well):
What I understood was
- that Dr. Gaylor, having emptied
(?) washed out) a quart
bottle, which had
contained beer or wine,
& filled it with water
from Mr. Yeomans' pump
- that he took it home &
forgot it - that his
servant or Assistant
found it & said: `Here
is something, Sir, which
Stinks Awful': & threw
it away.
That Dr. G. thereupon went
to Mr. Yeomans, & told
him that his water was
`unfit for human consumption.'
The terror spread thro' the
village: & Mrs. Bratby
wrote to me (in London)
a terror-struck letter.
that Dr. G. was afterwards
pressed upon this point,
& retracted: (to Mr. Yeomans),
- still maintaining however
that the water was not
good, which I dare say is

quite
true.
Now what we want is, is
it not? to have the water
properly analysed.
Upon receiving your last note,
I wrote to Mr. Shore Smith
in London about this -
I have not yet heard
from him. And I rather
regret not having written
to the Army Sanitary
Commission in London
(With which I have to do)
about analysing the water.
What do you recommend?

xI have just heard from Mr. Shore Smith.
He says: does "Dr. Dunn know of any
one `handy', who would do it roughly, to
see if there is enough to cause anything
like the Typhoid?"
Something must be done, I suppose.
Private Lea Hurst
(across corner) Sept 20/79
My dear Sir

First of all, let me thank you very much for your Analysis of the Limbs' Well water: I wrote without losing a moment by the same mornings' post to Mr. Shore Smith giving him your information & asking what was to be done. He answered that he would write to Mr. Yeomans, & if the well belonged to the estate, it should be cleaned & the top made so that no dirty water could run into it. He fancies that the excess of Chlorides is from dirty water coming into it: but, he says, "a dirty pail or pan will poison the best water more than a good deal trickling into a well." But may not there be percolation from some privy or cesspool into the well? That is the commonest cause. As Mr. S.S. says: "if this is the cause it is satisfactory to have found it out & I should not anticipate any difficulty in making it right." But I am afraid the Limbs' cottage does not belong to the estate: I think it belongs to Buxton.
What is to be done? What is the regular course to pursue in such matters? Perhaps you have had it done already.

2. How soon do you think we may let Miss Mochler or any one from here go with safety to the Limbs? or let Nurse Swann (I presume she is still there Nursing) come to speak to us here? And should the 2 Sisters go to some Convalescent Home? They have had meat & eggs every day from here: May they have puddings & the like? & do you wish any thing more for them? Port Wine or any stimulant?

3. I saw the little Allison or rather Platts today. She still looks very delicate. Should you object to her going to School say 3 afternoons in the week? now - I think you have quite made a cure of her aunt, Jane Allison.

4. I have to ask you about a thing which I have not spoken of to any of our household for fear of alarming them: we are obliged to have Fish 3 or 4 times a week from Belper, for my Mother, because she
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1144

2

does not always like the
Matlock fish. Last week
it missed & the next day
the son of the Fishmonger, Mee,
came over himself bringing
fish & rabbits & saying
that his father had died
the day before of "Brain
fever." Pitying the poor
widow who wrote to ask
for our custom, I have
gone on having fish & fowls
from her. But Mr. Yeomans
has now to-day informed me that
it was not "Brain Fever"
but "Scarlet Fever."
As the harm was done,
I said nothing to any body.
Do you think there are
any precautions we could
take now? Or do you think

I should have nothing
more from them at present?
We have fish in the house
& fowls & rabbits at this
moment from them. But
we I should create such an
alarm if I had these
destroyed. And the
Son was talking in the
house a considerable time
the day after the father's
death with the cook &
my Fanny.
It is every little detail
falling upon me which
keeps me so prostrate.
5. I have had a letter from the Rawsons of Higham speaking with great hope of what you are doing for her knee -
6. There is a poor young man named Walker whom you attend (haemorrhage from the lungs,?) - Miss Mochler met him walking out again yesterday. Should you like to send him to the Infirmary in order to compel him to keep quiet?

Pray believe me
Yours very sincerely
F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq.
Lea Hurst
Sept 27/79

My dear Sir
I am extremely obliged to you for obtaining that nice support for poor Mrs. Broomhead, which is a great relief to her, & a great success. Might it be included in your Michaelmas Acct, which please send me at your earliest convenience?

2. The discovery of possible percolation of pigs' filth into the Limbs' well fills me with pleasure: Because that can at least be stopped. I have said nothing about Mrs. Swann leaving them. You will kindly say when you think her services can be dispensed with. Can nothing more be done for the poor Mother, who appears to be in a most distressing state? I am most thankful that the daughters are making such a good recovery. I wrote what you said about the well & the pigs to Mr. Shore Smith.
3. Mr. Yeomans had a "severe bilious attack" last Sunday tho' he was out again in a day or two.
[I was quite frightened, thinking it was Fever.]
Do you think that may have been a result of his pump?

4. Have you heard anything more of Scarlet Fever in poor Mee's family at Belper?
I kept my own counsel, but quietly dropt having anything more from his shop: according to your advice.
Do you think I should be safe now in dealing with them,
or had I better just drop it?
We cannot get any rabbits for Mrs. Nightingale at Matlock. But she will be going at the end of this week back to London.
I am interrupted every moment, so must just close this disjointed note & ask you to believe me
Yrs sincerely
F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq
I have no very good account of poor little Lee's deformity to give you when I have the pleasure of seeing you:
F.N.
My dear Sir
I saw Nurse Swann
yesterday (Friday) & she
described poor Mrs. Limb
as in such a state that
I told her to stay with
her till tomorrow or Monday.
Doubtless you saw her,
Mrs. Limb, today.
Do you think that a
Water bed or Water cushion
would be of any use to
her?
And do you not think
the Stove in her room
might be lighted with
advantage?

Mrs. Swann says that
she is so in want of air &
the stove so near the bed
that she is afraid to light
it.  But surely a
fire & an open window
produce the best air:
& perhaps her bed could be
moved.  Half the battle
is in arranging or 'nursing'
the Sick room by the
District Nurse so as to
give the poor Patient a
chance.
What are these spasmodic
fits of gasping for breath?
And are they dangerous to life?
Poor woman:  She is so terrible
a sufferer that she puts us all
to shame by her patience.
James (or Henry) Foulds:
the son of the old man
whom you kindly attended till
his death last year
has sent in a very piteous
claim for assistance.
He says he has been 10 months
in bed: that he wants
nourishment: that you
will tell all about him as
his kind Doctor:
that you ordered him
beef tea & lamb
and a sea voyage.
that he cannot get any of these
things.
that if his strength could be got
up by nourishment, he would
like to go to Liverpool as
being `sea' air.
I should be very much
obliged to you if you would
tell me what you
recommend.
And do you know whether
he used to work at the
mill? & whether he has
an allowance from there?
[I must not get into disgrace
with Mr. Wildgoose, as
I did about the father,
James Foulds, last year.]
Thank you for your account
of Sarah Allison. I have
sent her the diet you
desired & some Cocoatine.
It appears she is very fond
of Coffee: but Coffee is
not usually fond of persons
with weak digestions.
Lea Hurst  
Cromford  
Oct 16/79

My dear Sir  
Could you be so very good  
as to have a Water-bed hired  
or ordered at once for Mrs.  
Limb, & send me the Acct?  
I am giving you this trouble,  
but I hardly know where  
one is to be had.

You will judge how exceedingly  
concerned I am at Mrs.  
Britland's death from such a  
cause. It is not the 'visitation  
of God.' I wrote at once to  
Mr. Yeomans: he lays the  
blame on the husband, for  
whom "to send word when the  
new drain was ready" they  
were waiting. He says he  
"cannot see how there could

"be any stench from the new  
drain."  "there might be a  
stench from the cess. pool."

I think I understood you to say  
that it was from a "sink-stone."

I wish there were inquests  
upon Deaths from these causes.  
Is the other abomination  
of a pig removed from the  
Limbs' well?

in greatest haste  
Yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

CBN Dunn Esq
Lea Hurst  
Oct 25/79

My dear Sir
Would you be so good as to look at my maid Fanny, who appears to be suffering severely from Indigestion? It is not her fault in this case: but when I am in charge of 3 households, as I have been here every year, & especially this year, I am obliged in some measure to "do at Rome as Rome does" - And these London servants insist upon meat 3 times a day: a hurried meal of heavy meat at one: & a heavy meal of meat & pudding at nine p.m.

But what was her fault is: that she has been allowing her bowels to be irregular: that she has being very sick: & that yesterday she took without telling me the medicine of another maid who had been suffering from some thing else, & to whom I had given Medical attendance from another gentleman in London.
I really should have thought my Fanny had had more sense.
She asked me to let her have your Magic medicine, of which you kindly sent me the Prescription for her in London.
I believe it was Steel with effervescence. But I was & always am unwilling to have old Prescriptions used without the Prescriber seeing the Patient again. [I should not be sorry if it were made `illegal' to "make up" a Prescription say six weeks after date, unless directions for so doing were entered upon the Prescription.] Would you be so very good as to lay down directions for Fanny: as to meat & drink: as to what aperients & what medicines you would prescribe for her under what circumstances — & to allow me to have the Prescriptions when we return to London? And if she may have the Medicine she wishes for, so much the better.
26/10/79

My dear Sir
I am sorry that I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you today, as you are so good as to come. For I have 'company'! the Sisters Allen.

2. I have been applied to to assist a family, named Wall, the Wheelwright's. The poor woman, it seems, has been under your care, & has had a wonderful operation (I can't exactly make out what) performed at the Nottingham Women's Hospl, where

she had to pay 10/a week. Perhaps you would kindly tell me what is the 'case': whether this payment is true so: & whether they want money-help (which one does not like much giving in that form.) [The two Nottingham Infies are have Matrons of our training.]

3. It occurs to me to ask: has your kind attendance on Lady Verney's maid been acknowledged? If not, please send in the Acct to me:
4. Do you remember a Nurse Charrier, from the Derby Nurses' Home, who nursed that poor fellow who died here of Smallpox? She has written to me (to ask for a 'Testimonial') from some place in Devonshire. She does not say whether she has left the Derby Institution. I never do give 'Testimonials:' She ought to ask it one of the Instn - But could you advise me?

Kindly tell me what you think of Fanny:

yrs fully F. Nightingale

Derby, signed letter, 4ff, pen

My dear Sir

Very many thanks for your kind trouble in the matter of the Buxton Hospital. I am not a "subscriber": & have positively declined to be so, until the Nursing arrangements (which have been unparalleled in England for badness) are put into permanent good order. The way I managed for Mrs. Limb & Lizzie Holmes was by paying 10/6 a week for each, which became last year 12/ a week. & I am
not quite sure that it has
not been farther raised
to 14/: but believe it is 12/.
These are the ordinary terms
for non-subscribers.
I beg to enclose a Cheque
for {pound sign} 4.4:    Which
will be 3 weeks each
for Elizth Bunting &
  Mrs. Gladwin
at 14/ if that is the
amount.       If not
the 6/ each I dare say
will be acceptable for
the journey.
I do not know whether
Mrs. Gladwin is bed-ridden.
I conclude that you are

satisfied that the Nursing
for HELPLESS Patients is now
what it ought to be.
For, if you remember, persons
who were able to shift for
themselves were very
well satisfied with their
treatment,    even while
the bed-ridden ones were
suffering the abominations
we know of. [And the
person who gives his name
to the Hospital told me
distinctly this when I
appealed to him in London.]
do you not think that
if Elizth Bunting has relatives
in Buxton, she had better
reside with them, & be an
Out:Patient?  
[end 13:286]
I should be glad to hear what you have kindly done for poor old Mrs. Joseph Smith (of Lea): & whether it was a case of Paralysis & difficulty about the Urine. My Fanny is much better. She fancies there was much Stronger Acid in your last Medicine. I shall be very glad if you will kindly direct What she is to do in London. She is hoping for the Effervescing Steel.

Pray believe me ever yours sincerely
Florence Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Derby, signed letter, 3ff, pen {probably pencil}

My dear Sir
I am so very sorry that all the birds are flown. My Fanny is at Church with a note from me to you: Mrs. Francis with her, with Francis’ empty bottle - Francis is, I take it, at chapel. He is somewhat better. But I should like you to have seen both Francis & Fanny. You will find my note when you go home. To it I would add: Harriet Limb has promised
me to 'put into' the "Women's Club:" I presume she must be "passed" by you - Could you kindly, when you call upon her mother, keep Harriet up to the mark, & do about "passing" her whatever you judge right? Could you kindly tell me what you think about the old lady, Joseph Smith's wife?

These last days rather knock me up:
  yrs sincerely
  F. Nightingale

My dear Sir
I present my Fanny to you - her appetite & strength seem to me very variable. What do you wish her to do next?

2. I am trying hard to get these village people here, whose money all goes in dress & drink, to SAVE. I hope my "Converts" may be "enthusiasts." Last night Mrs. Shardlow (the widow, a most industrious woman, whose daughters are making a comfortable weekly income at the Mill) promised me that her eldest,

CBN Dunn Esq
Sarah Ellen, should become a member of the Women's Club, if you will "pass" her. The mother told me that the father, having died of Asthma (?), she did not think you would admit the daughter into the Club, & that "it would "hurt her feelings so," if you were "to examine her & not "pass her."
This was, I suppose, a mere excuse. But I only congratulated her on her willingness, & said that I would ask you for her.
Lizzy & Lyddy (who is almost a dwarf) were Shardlow
were, at School, little friends of mine - And I would give a great deal if they could be brought up with other notions than dress.
Pray help me.

3. Francis, the Gardener, is better: he wants more medicine. He will go away on Friday for a week when we are gone.
When you said he was "just the man to have Epilepsy,"- would you kindly tell me what are the symptoms of a susceptibility to those attacks?

4. About the supposed drain under Vincent Greatorex' floor: Mr. Yeomans tells me
that the "drain goes quite the other way"
& "never went under the floor" -- & that Greatorex himself "always said that "he got the Typhoid Fever at the mill."
As for this latter assertion, it means nothing: I knew a gentleman who, with a cess pool under his Drawing room, & 3 children dying of Typhoid, declared they got it in the Park!
But do you think I ought to try & insist that 2 or 3 paving-stones should be taken up to see IF there is any foulness under Greatorex' floor?
in haste ever faithfully yrs
F. Nightingale
Lea Hurst
Nov 14/79
5. am. 10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address}
PARK LANE. W

My dear Sir
In bidding you farewell for the present, I have some circumstances to mention about our common protégés. Alfred Peach was drunk on Saturday. Adam Prince was ill in bed on Wednesday: I have no reason to think that there was any drinking. Walker is spitting blood. Mrs. Bromhead's daughter at home I am persuading to put into the Women's Club. Please add her to those whom you will "pass" if you can.

Do you know that Mrs. Limb's son is to be married at Christmas, & that then the newly married wife will take charge of her mother in law, Widow Limb, & that Elizth Sims will leave? I have induced Lizzie Holmes not to go to work till next Friday.
I shall follow your directions about my Fanny:
She says she "has no indigestion except when she eats:" that is rather a bad state of affairs. I think you were kind enough to propose sending me the prescription for her Pills, if you wish her to continue them.
With every best wish for your highest success pray believe me in great haste ever yrs faithfully
F. Nightingale
C.B.N. Dunn Esq

10 South St.
Park Lane W.
10/1/80

My dear Sir
I am very much obliged to you for your report of our Patients.
1. I am thankful to hear that Mrs. Limb is so well attended to under the new régime & so much less suffering.
I know you will be so kind as to enquire after Rose Limb (morally not physically) when you visit the mother. This child, for I think she is only 12, declared that if she did not like her new sister-in-law, she should leave the house & set up
for herself elsewhere. [This is the harm the Mill does - girls of 13 think they owe no allegiance, if they can earn their own bread]
If this fit of rebellion has, as I earnestly trust, passed away, I would not revive the possibility of her doing such a thing.
Rose Limb is frightfully spoiled. Tho' she is put to school at no expence to them, she is allowed to go or not as she pleases.
I know you will kindly ask what she is doing.
[The girls at Holloway are a heavy anxiety: so much dress: so little putting by money: or even mending their own clothes.
Many a girl who begs of me spends more money on herself not only relatively, but and in a few instances absolutely, than I do.]
I hope Harriet Limb has entered the Women's Club: & is paying besides a monthly sum into Mr. Yeomans' hands for the P.O. Savings Bank (which I double.)

2. Widow Broomhead. I am grateful for your care of her. It is, I suppose, wonderful how she lasts on amid such suffering. Pray order her anything you think right.
The day before I came away she asked me for some flannel. It was impossible for me to send for it then: but I
f53av
took the opportunity of
telling her that she
might order it for herself
& send the bill to Mr.
Yeomans, on condition that '
her daughter entered the
Women's Club & that her son
(who earns 22/ a week)
would put money into Mr.
Yeomans' hands, which I
would double.
I have heard since that
she did not get the flannel,
because it was not to be
had at the Co-ope Stores.
Surely this is very helpless.
Could not a neighbour get
it for her at Cromford or
Matlock?
Pardon my troubling you
with these details.

f53b
3. Hannah Allen: I am very
sorry that my old friend,
the Prophetess, is so ill again.
She has 2 lbs of meat a week
from me: besides milk & cocoatine, some money
& other things. And I obtained for her from the Mill a
pension of 3/ a week.
But if you think other things
requisite, please let me know.
And please tell me if the
damp in the house is really remedied.
I am very glad Ann is so
much better, thanks to you.
4. Lizzie Holmes: I suppose,
will never be strong again.
I am thankful she is better.
Her mother is one of the
very best women I know
of any where.
Most glad am I to hear of the improvement in Buxton Nursing. Could you tell me who is the present Matron & where from? I trust that the Water Supply will be obtained. Is the pig extinct near Mrs. Limb's well? Would you kindly remember me to Mrs. Swann & tell her I have not succeeded (I hardly expected it) in finding Patty Cottrell a suitable place - I hope she has - for Mr. Wildgoose has promised in that prospect not to take her on at the Mill. I am giving you much trouble I have been so ill & overworked since I returned to London that I must ask you kindly to take this too true apology for my not writing. I hope Mrs. Bratby is better for the removal of the abominable cess pit overflow. Is she thinking of Ramsgate? Pray believe me my dear Sir with kind regards to Mrs. Dunn, if I may be allowed
f53cv
to send them
ever yours faithfully
Florence Nightingale
Like a woman, I have two or
3 P.S.S.:
poor old Widow Gregory: I suppose
she is not gone to the Union?
Adam Prince: is he keeping
sober?
Alfred Peach I am afraid
to ask after:
F.N.
C.B.N. Dunn Esq
I cannot say my Fanny is much better.
She has taken your 'Nux Vomica' pills & your
Bismuth (Granular) & Iron when I reminded her
Her digestion, if she is very careful of what she
eats, is better. But she is weak, especially
in the back: & complains of pain in the back
when she stoops. F.N.

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 8ff, pen and pencil

f54
Little Lee: 10 South St.
Park Lane W.  [12:328-29]
Feb 21/80

My dear Sir
I have been & am very
anxious about little Lee,
who, as you know, has been
vibrating between St. Thomas'
Hospital, & Ascot Convalescent
Home, according as his
Medical advisers thought
it best for his health.
I truly believe that, if
he had been the heir to
£80000 a year, he
could not have had
greater advantages than
he has had for health -
poor little man -
perhaps not so great.
I saw the "Mother Superior" of Ascot (she served under me throughout the Crimean War) a short time ago. She described the boy as much stronger, happier, very intelligent & a great pet: but she wished him to return for a time to St. Thomas', as she thought he must need Surgical attendance. The deformity was not decreasing but increasing. He was accordingly re-admitted under Mr. Croft, who has been his 'Visiting Surgeon' from the first at St. Thomas'.

At St. Thomas' he was described by the Sister as much better & brighter: & as "chatting away": But at my request Mr. Croft has sent me his case: in the following words are his: "You will be sorry to learn that little Lee has now a very large abscess connected with the disease of the spine. This makes the case much more serious. The parents ought to know that the chances of recovery are less than they were. This must have been
"collecting for months &
his fretfulness & wan looks
must be attributable to
it." Signed J. Croft.
"Feb 18."
When you are going Lea=
way, could you be so
very kind as to inform
the parents of little Lee,
because you will be able
to answer their questions
as a Medical Authority:
& neither unduly to
frighten them nor to
flatter their hopes. The
last time the poor child
was at St. Thomas', Mr.
Croft told me, (& I think
I mentioned this to you),
at Lea Hurst last year,

that, while he considered
the child much stronger,
he thought abscesses likely
to form. I believe he
thought him incurably
scrofulous: but Ascot
has been for him the very
best air he could have.
I think the "fretfulness"
to which Mr. Croft alludes
must have been very
temporary. For I have
cross-questioned the `Sisters'
in charge: & all describe
him as a peculiarly happy
child. He is quite `master'
at Ascot: & he objects to
another little Patient being
called "little man." "He is only
a little boy: I am the little man."
Mrs. Limb & Mrs. Broomhead, wonderful women, I am thankful to hear are improving rather than the reverse: This must be due to your kind care.

Please remember me to them when you see them & to the Sisters Allen, good women, who I hope will remain pretty well.

There is no one I have a greater regard for than Hannah Allen. I am going to send her a remembrance of my dear Mother.

I am glad that Mrs. Jos. Smith, thanks to you, is so much less suffering: that the pig is still extinct:

& no more scarlatina:
& good hopes of water-supply & that Mrs. Bratby is the better of the Cess.pool.

Thank you very much for your care of Patty Cottrell.

-I WISH she had your place in lieu of the present.

-I wish the father, a preacher!!, instead of stealing his child's wages, could be made to pay towards a Reformatory, by all accounts much needed for another girl.

[did you ever read "The Gaol Cradle: & who rocks it"?]

I would gladly give the child the boots: but it would all go into the father's pocket.

Far better Mrs. Swann's plan
that the Mistress, if to be trusted, should spend the child's wages on her before they become due: I am so glad to hear of that.

My dear Sir   I should not have waited for your more than kind note to write to you about my dear Mother's blessed going home. But oh what a gap to me. She sank to rest with a smile on her face as if she saw God. But I have been so broken down with seeing people & business - I mean however to give myself the pleasure of writing about her to you: but will not delay this note about poor little Lee.
Pray believe me sincerely yrs F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

My dear Sir
Thank you for your kind letter. I am sorry to say the accounts of poor little Lee are far from good again.
Mr. Croft writes to me:
in answer to my enquiries:
"I wish I could give a more hopeful account of little Harry Lee.
"The new jacket had to be taken off.
"The abscess is discharging freely still.
"He is very thin & weak, & is not in a state in which we could think of
"moving him." (this is with reference to Ascot.)

"Supposing the case goes on favourably, he must remain a long time yet in the Hospital." before, that is, he goes to Ascot.

I am very sorry; but Mr. Croft's first account showed how very seriously he thought of the case.

[only the intermediate account was so good.]

Poor little man! but few well-to-do children could be so carefully nursed & attended.

I am glad good Hannah Allen is better: & that Lizzie Holmes is not worse.

Pray excuse this brief note & believe me most faithfully yours

F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq. 20/4/80

I should be glad if you would kindly tell me any thing about Rebecca Buxton's last illness & death.

Poor prisoner - {something was written under the struck-out now she is free.}

F.N.
My dear Sir

I am very much obliged to you for your welcome note.

Pray be so good as to send me my Quarterly Acct.

1. You do not mention Jane Allison. Thank you very much for having written to me before about her. I let Mr. Shore Smith know at once about the unfortunate separation with Platts, which you did so much to prevent: & that you, who had done so much for her, thought it "very wrong that she should live alone."

I also wrote to Mr. Yeomans & Mrs. Bratby.

I am afraid that the matter is irreparable.

But would you kindly look in upon her (medically) from time to time? & let me know how she is going on:

[I have been told the neighbours are not too kind to her.]

And if you could kindly let me know, also how the children (Platts') are going on, I should be very grateful.
2. Mrs. Limb: poor woman, what a sufferer she is. I have very bad accounts from herself - uterine discharge - loss of appetite - she says she cannot now take her cocoaatine, which she used to be so fond of. Could anything else be recommended? She is full of gratitude, & indeed, it is a wonder that she lives so long. I have had much anxiety about Rose Limb. She wrote to me that she wished to leave School, & go to the Mill: & have "her books" at home. On enquiry I found, not from herself, that

she had already been dismissed from School, because she had often not been there when she was supposed at home to be there: & that she was already at a little place, "Peach's" [I am afraid she does not know what truth is.] I am told that "Peach's" is a good service, & that she will soon be ready for another place. If she goes to a good place, I would gladly give £1 for her outfit, but if she goes to the Mill, which it will probably end in, of course, I should not. But do not trouble yourself about this
I find that Rose Limb has already applied at the Mill, & have also alas! a confirmation that "she is not so good as she "might be." She will not take a place in service, but she is only to be "employed at the Mill "upon the Conditions" I "name"- viz. Women's Club & 1/ a month P.O. S. Bank.
I have also received a hint that I "run some "risk of imposition," from this & other families.
I pray God that this child may be saved. Hitherto her short life has been one career of deceit.
I pray you keep your eye upon her.

1. Thank you very much for the letter from Geo. Allison, Jane Allison's brother. He was here on Saturday (came up to London as Guard with a train) & confirmed the good account as to Jane being happy & well. She was still with him.
I shall be very much obliged to you to see her when she returns.
2. I hope you have been able to pass Boden's daughter for the Women's Club.
3. Thank you for your good account of Mrs. Brocklehurst We have been able to prevent Mrs. Bratby from leaving Ramsgate at present. I told her what you had kindly said.

F.N.
My dear Sir

I have been so sorry not to answer your kind note at once. Please continue attending Jane Allison on my account: & I have also written to Mr. Yeomans about her. I do not wish Thomas Allison's daughter to be receiving parish relief at all: but I do not think there was any intention of sending her to the Workhouse.

Please continue your kind care of her. I have had a terrible fright about my Fanny who came home alone & quite delirious at the beginning of the week - owing to their having kept her sitting up for 96 hours with her dying brother (for whom I had sent her)
& then sent her up to London alone without an hour's rest & fainting, "to buy their mourning," after his death!!! She has had Medical attendance 4 times in the 24 hours & a trained Nurse night & day.

What with overwork &c. I have rarely spent such an anxious week.

I will write again:

Yours most faithfully
F. Nightingale
C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 3ff, pen

Lea Hurst
Sept 26/80

My dear Sir
1. Thank you for your bulletins & your kindness to the poor little Platts'. If you think Mrs. Swann desirable for their recovery, & she would come, pray have the kindness to send for her.

2. Could you kindly tell me anything about this Mrs. "Machent" who wants a "double truss." I have promised her a letter to the Derby Infirmary if you approve

3. Jane Allison was very much the better for your
kind conversation with her. [I saw her the next day.] My Fanny understood you to say that you would send her Jane some medicine: but she, Jane Allison, did not seem to have known of it.

Perhaps, unless Fanny misunderstood you, you would send the Medicine by Bearer. Since I wrote this I hear that Jane has had her medicine.

4. I am waiting for Mr. Shore Smith's return to urge forward the Whatstandwell Coffee-house affair, if possible; which

you have so kindly set on foot: (in haste)

Yours most faithfully
F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq
My dear Sir

Do you know Mrs. Thompson, a widow with 8 children, living just above Mrs. Holmes? she is our Charwoman: & when she came to-day, said that her eldest daughter, who works at the Mill, was attacked with Erysipelas. I sent her home; & left a message in the village to ask you to be so kind as to attend the daughter. I have learnt since that you were not in the Village today. Would you be so kind as to call on the girl Thompson: & also to let me know if there is anything we ought to send her: also: whether you think the mother had better stay at home with her girl, or whether she might still come here?

They are very poor, I believe. And I understand the girl has had before a very severe attack of Erysipelas -

In haste

Pray believe me
sincerely yours

F. Nightingale
Perhaps, if you are coming or sending into Holloway tomorrow, you would kindly send the Medicines for my two maids & myself
F.N.
C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1178

f60a

My dear Sir
After you left me yesterday & after Fanny had come back from her walk, I had much & rather alarming conversation with her. She said she "feels as if she were going mad" - that she "wishes to die" - that she 'feels as if she wished to run straight out to walk as far as she can by herself to GET REST': that 'sometimes she cannot bear that any one should speak to her': that she "cannot think" - "cannot read" - that she sometimes "wakes finding herself sitting up in bed" - that "if anything goes wrong
she "cannot bear it" -
that she "feels as if something
were going round & round
inside her head": that
she 'feels as if some one were
pulling at her at the top of
her head": (that sounds like Hysteria)
that 'last Sunday at church
she could not sit still'.
[Yet she brought me a very
good report of the Sermon.]
She cried very much, which
relieved her.
Some time ago, she told me
she 'had no soul': then that
her 'soul was a very little one'.
She said she 'could not settle
to anything.'
I was obliged to accede to her
sleeping in the room she
wished: She said "Tell me
don't gentlefolks have fires?"

but I insisted on the fire
being let out.
You may easily conceive, or
perhaps you can hardly
conceive how alarmed I
was.
Do you think there is any
danger of her "walking
"straight out" & going away
in the night?
or of her going in to Miss
Shore Smith (to whom I
have told nothing) in the
night?
[If I were alone in the house
with my own servants
it would be nothing.] I
lay listening last night
for every sound - indeed I
could not sleep for the severe
pain at the heart - once
I thought I heard her door
open, & got up. But it was
nothing.
This morning she is much better than I am: says that she slept well: partly, she says, "because the room was warmer": partly because she "had kept herself quiet": owning that she could "keep herself quiet". "The least thing excites me," she says, which is perfectly true. [It is inconceivable the way she speaks to me: Sometimes she is aware of it, & says she "can't help it."] I think she got chilled on Sunday driving to Crich in the Waggonette: & that her bowels did not act on that day. Indeed they never do

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 1f, pencil

Lea Hurst
Nov 9/80

My dear Sir
Ann Allen had a fall some days ago, & I am told, hurt her knees. It was said to be baddish a day or two ago. Would you be so very kind as, when you are coming into Holloway, give her a visit & oblige yrs sincerely
F. Nightingale
C.B.N. Dunn Esq
Lea Hurst
Nov 23/80

My dear Sir
Cecilia Linford has had the folly to tell neither you nor me that she has had no Pills since Thursday - Her bowels never act every day without them. And today she is suffering much from headache. The monthly period has not come on. And she looks as heavy as lead.
Could you kindly if you are sending this way tomorrow, send her her Pills & me my Medicine?
every faithfully yours
F. Nightingale

{added probably in pencil}
Lizzie Holmes was not so well yesterday.
Mr. & Mrs. Shore Smith desire me to say: would you kindly come here to luncheon tomorrow (Wednesday) at one to talk over with them the proposed Coffee-room at Whatstandwell? Or could you be so good as to come any time after 11.30, if not to luncheon tomorrow (Wednesday)?

I am in great hopes that it may be settled now with your kind help.        F.N.

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 7ff, pen  [1:510]

Mr. Shore Smith informed me of the conversation which you & he had had this afternoon on the proposed Coffee-room at Whatstandwell, & showed me Miss Hurt's kind letter.

Mr. Shore Smith & I agree, I am afraid, that the buying up of the "Wheatsheaf" scarcely
offers enough inducement to balance the cost. To buy the license would probably take money enough to build three Coffee-rooms: would it not? And who is to secure us against another license being obtained & another 'public' being set up in the "Wheatsheaf's" place?
To start with the smallest in place of the largest outlay would seem wise in an undertaking

of which we cannot guarantee the Success.
You mentioned to Mr. Shore Smith a small piece of land belonging to Mr. Hurt & let? to a Cottage on the left-of the spot where the Quarry road comes out upon the Crich Carr road just above the steep descent to Whatstandwell, & below the "Wheatsheaf." Would you kindly enquire, after looking at this piece of ground.- if you think it suitable,
whether, if it is not
?let on lease, Mr. Hurt
might possibly let it
for such a purpose
as this - the trying the
experiment of a
Coffee-room & Pay Office
for the Quarry men?
Perhaps you would
be so good as to mention
it to Miss Hurt.
Mr. Shore Smith thinks
that we might get a
Corrugated Iron building,
such as are made for

School-rooms &c -
containing possibly a
bed room for a Manager,
to put up on this ground. And this would be
trying under the best
circumstances in our
power what can be
at first but an
experiment without
a large & discouraging
outlay.
What do you think?
We bid you 'God speed'
on your high errand
& wait anxiously for the

result, which we
hope to hear perhaps
in a day or two.
Pray believe me
every yours faithfully
Florence Nightingale
C.B.N. Dunn Esq

I return Miss Hurt's
letter with thanks:
Lea Hurst

Dec 1/80

My dear Sir

Thank you for your kind note about the Coffee-room.

Could you come over here this afternoon to talk to Mr. Shore Smith about it - And - he has expressed a wish to consult you professionally.

Pray come: if possible.

most fully yours

F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

Lea Hurst

Dec 2/80

My dear Sir

I have so much to apologize to you for in bringing you out such a wet afternoon - not in vain, because the proposed Coffee-room was advanced by it - but in vain for your Patient, as I heard with dismay this morning.

It cannot be accounted for, except perhaps indeed thro' "nervousness," as he says himself.

The one page which I
conveyed to you by letter, was conveyed to me by his wife herself. Will you excuse it? I hope to see you soon: & also to hear more about the Whatstandwell project from you. Perhaps you will kindly appoint a time & believe me yours very excuse=fully F. Nightingale

Derby, signed letter with black-edged paper, 1f, pen

Lea Hurst Dec 7/80
My dear Sir Would you kindly see Bratby who is ill & Saml Crooks who has sprained his ancle, if you have not seen them today:
Yours sincerely F. Nightingale Would you also, please, see Mrs. Broomhead, who has been very ill since Saturday. She was to have come & seen me tomorrow, but is hardly able. F.N.

C.B.N. Dunn Esq
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1187

Derby, signed note on small, black-edged paper, 1f, pen

£68

C.B.N. Dunn Esq
Crich

Medicine for F. Bowding
Nisbet C. Linford
and Jane Allison
for F. Nightingale
And please send the
Prescription for Nisbet.
F. Nightingale

Dec 5/80
12/12/80

Derby, signed page without salutation, 1f, pencil, black-edged paper

£69

I am afraid poor Mrs. Limb is kept in a very dirty state, by her daughter-in-law's own account. But the said d.in law is so perfectly self-satisfied that it is difficult to say anything. [How I wish I had one of our District Nursing ladies here to show her.] Mrs. Limb is complaining of a sore knee. I fear she will have bed sores.

Poor Mrs. Broomhead seems in a very suffering state: so much pain which she calls rheumatic between her shoulders.

I should be very sorry not to see you again. To-day, Thursday & Friday I am overwhelmed. I could see you on Wednesday or Sunday at 3.30 for a few minutes, IF that would suit you.

yrs sincerely   F. Nightingale
Lea Hurst  
Dec 18 1880  
My dear Sir  
I commend to your kind care Mrs. Thompson,  
if she sends for you:  
& her 2nd son, if she sends to you on account of his eyes. He has been under Mr. Taylor at Nottingham.  
Her 2nd daughter will enter the Women's Club, if you can pass her:  
she is just 14;  
as well as  
Louie Peach  
& Anthony Boden's daughter  
if you can pass them.  
C.B.N. Dunn Esq  

He is making enquiries as to a wooden building in London. Mr. Yeomans is coming to me this evening with estimates both of Corrugated Iron & wooden buildings.  
Perhaps you will think it hardly necessary for us to advertise for a second hand room till this information comes in.  
But I will tell Mr. Shore Smith what Miss Hurt & you say, and doubtless Mrs. Hurt's further enquiries are worth waiting for, as you suggest with regard to "letting out" a room.
2. I was sorry to send to you so unceremoniously for Nisbet's prescription. She is gone today: & I have given it her. Are there any precautions to be observed, such as not going on with it for more than a certain time?

3. Mrs. Thompson's daughter complains of swelled legs. Would you be so good as to see her some time? I am obliged to return to London on Monday, I fear. Do you think badly of poor Bratby?

Martha Sheldon asks me to ask you to tell me what you reported of her brother to Mr. Wildgoose. If he comes to you for more medicine without a note from Mr. We, would you kindly charge it to me? How do you find old Lyddy Prince? I commend all our pensioners to your kind care.
Will you be kind enough to let me have your Acct at the end of the Quarter, including of course John Bratby & Mrs. Holmes. Lizzie Holmes has been suffering severely from her cough. Could any thing more be done for her? Wonderful to state, I have, I believe, persuaded Jane Allison to go to Manchester, if her nephew, to whom I have written, will have her. She gives up her house. Pray let me thank you again for all your considerate & skilful care: & wish you Goodbye & Godspeed with all my heart: & in great haste believe me ever sincerely yrs F. Nightingale Might I trouble you to give the enclosed £2.2 to Mr. Acraman with my best wishes for his Curates' Fund?
10 South St.
Park Lane W.
1/1/81

My dear Sir
Thank you for your kind note about the stone building for the proposed Whatstandwell Coffee-room, & for the answers to your Advt, - all of which I have transmitted to Mr. Shore Smith. I am very sorry indeed to hear your account of poor John Bratby. I have written to his wife, proposing Mrs. Swann to help nurse him: at C.B.N. Dunn Esq

my expense, of course.
Would you kindly further this, if you think it desirable?
Might I ask you what is the medicine instead of Colchicum, which you give for gout? to Bratby? I hope to hear from you in a day or two:
I am glad you saw Mr. Yeomans. He gladly accepts the office of Treasurer to the Whatstandwell Coffee-room -and proposes that young Mr. Sims should be added to the Committee. Have you said anything to him about the sewage outlet in Holloway, & his field? I find the
field of his he proposes for it is not the field we thought - but a field farther from Ashmore's than the present outlet.
That all the highest blessings of the New Year & of many New Years may rest on you & yours & all our poor Patients is the fervent wish of yours ever sincerely
F. Nightingale

Might I trouble you to give the enclosed to Mrs. Swann?

Fanny Dowding is quite laid up with a very severe attack of congested (& slightly enlarged) Liver: which, the Medical attendant thinks, must have been coming on some time
F.N.
I trust you will soon see Mr. Yeomans about the field to receive the Holloway sewage, & the proposal of a "tank"- if it is desirable.
F.N.
I hope poor old Lyddy Prince is tolerably well: & Mrs. Limb & Mrs. Broomhead not suffering too much from the cold. Would
you be so very good as to see
that Mrs. Broomhead (she
is so helpless) uses the warm
bottles & warm things &c
that she has - I desired
Martha Sheldon to make
her a pair of warm stockings
to wear at night - Are
they come?
I hope too that dear Mrs.
Bratby is not worse:
& her husband improving.
Please remember me to
them all.
F.N.

Derby, signed letter, 7ff, pencil

My dear Sir
  I think I must ask
you kindly to take
Lizzie Holmes on your
List on my account
because the "Club" will
not "allow," as I am told,
even if the Patient even
goes out for a walk:
One cannot quarrel with
this rule: And yet
it annoy Mrs. Holmes
excessively. And they
are the very reverse of
"imposing."
2. Have you been able to cure Adam Prince of his 'tic'?
3. Some time ago the younger of the two old Sisters Allen had blood in her urine, as she describes it. It is not going on now. But they too are the very reverse of "imposing"-And I should be thankful if you would kindly see after them occasionally.

4. You have already done my Fanny much good in haste not to take up your time yrs fflly F. Nightingale
The Bratby's cesspool overflow is to be piped off tomorrow.

I am very glad the idea of a Company is given up & very glad that you can recommend a suitable Workman's Committee. I don't think the Savings Bank should be given up on account of its being too much trouble. What I fear is that its publicity may ruin it. Workmen will not put by, will they?, in view of each other, & in view of their employers. They will not save except in secret.
However, Peach would be the man to manage it; because he knows them well.
I beg to give you joy & the [pencil begins] Miss Hurts of the good prospect of the Whatstandwell Coffee-room - And I look forward to the day that is near when Adam Prince will be found sitting there instead of being fished out of a Crich public house by his poor old mother after 3 days' drinking - as he was last winter.

I will not delay this scrappy note - else I fear it will never go at all.
Many thanks for your report of the Patients - & believe me ever faithfully yrs F. Nightingale C.B.N. Dunn Esq
If you should see Peach

again will you give him a kind message from me, thank him for sending me the Memoir of his wife, & tell him if it is not premature how much I like to think of his eagerness about this Coffee-room? [end 6:648] F.N.
Excuse pencil
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1196

Derby, signed letter (small paper), 2ff, pen

f73

{printed address}  10, SOUTH STREET,
     PARK LANE. W.
          Feb 28/84

My dear Sir
Would you be so very good
as to see old Mrs. Brown for me?
I am told she is very ill.
Many thanks for what you
have done for Francis & Jane
Allison. I am afraid her
relatives threaten her with the

f73v or f73a

"Lunatic Asylum again." They do
not second our efforts, or try
to help her - I am afraid she
has no companion yet.
in haste
every sincerely yrs
F. Nightingale
C.B.N. Dunn Esq
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1197

Derby, unsigned letter, small stationery, 2ff, pen

f74
Francis: Feb. 19/84
(printed address) 10, SOUTH STREET,
My dear Sir PARK LANE. W.
You are so good as to attend
Francis, the gardener at Lea Hurst,
& his wife, on my account. Might
I ask you to have the great kindness
to give me your opinion of Francis'
state? Mr. Shore Smith has received
notice to leave from {them} & asking too
for a small grass farm at Lea, on the
ground of your Medical opinion. It
is added that you tell him he has Diabetes

f74v or f74a

2
We were naturally rather surprised at the notice, as I
had not heard a word of it from you,
who were kindly attending him for me.
This sudden notice could scarcely
have happened at a more inconvenient
time, as I am glad to say Mr. & Mrs.
Shore Smith have left for Algiers
this very day for 6 or 8 weeks, I
am sorry to say for health.
I hope the matter concerning Francis
is not so very pressing, as you have
not mentioned it to me. Mr. Shore
Smith trusts it may be put off, & that
Mr. S.S. may not be troubled just now.
My dear Sir
We are always glad to hear of the Whatstandwell Coffee-room. But if you think the "men do not like our wares," could you suggest any thing else, any other foods, drinks, or amusements, that they would like better, with which they could be supplied?
We used to think the receipts very satisfactory: - are they less so? I am afraid you think them less so.

The thing perhaps is - not so much to "keep men out of the public-house" - ("swept & garnished" & "7 devils, worse than before" occurs to one) but as to give them the means to keep out of the public-house.
Are the quarry & labouring men "corrupt"? - not so much as Londoners - - not so much as mill people - are they?
Poor old Mrs. Brown - I trust she will pull through under your kind care. She is an industrious old woman. Pray tell her how much I feel for her.

Also = Anthony Boden, & old Betty Broom - & more particularly the Allens - also Mrs. Marsh.

Thank you for all your kind care.

I have been so engaged attending Sir Harry Verney who for the past 4 weeks has been in extreme danger from Pneumonia in both lungs - exhausting rigors - tempe down to 95° & up to 105° that I have been able to do hardly anything else. But the day before yesterday, he was declared out of danger, tho' mending very slowly.

I have also had two of Mrs. & Mrs. Shore Smith's children staying with me Mr. & Mrs. S.S. are now returned from Algiers.
But I am sorry to say that he is far from well. Mrs. Bonham Carter is dead of Bronchitis. She did not survive her sister, Miss Julia Smith, 4 months. She is the last of that vigorous generation.

I have been a good deal pulled down in every way. My sister is still in a painful, crippled condition from Arthritis but very brave. Sir Harry's mind was perfectly clear & calm throughout: he knew there was a small chance of recovery:

You kindly ask after Fanny: She has been 7 months a Patient under Medical care & nothing but a Patient - the last 3 at Bournemouth Sanatorium. She is now in good health & the lung quite "quiescent" - But the Doctors entirely forbid my taking her back. One of them said to me: "I fear her brain giving way before her lungs."

You saw her at Lea Hurst in something of the same strange state: wayward. I have of course told no one. This is quite private.
f75e
For the present I have
arranged for her to stay
with a widowed sister
in the country.
Pray believe me
ever yours faithfully
F. Nightingale
C.B.N. Dunn Esq

My dear Sir
Thanks for all your kindness
to the Village people & for your
account of them.
Jane Allison I feel rather
alarmed about when I hear
of her asking neighbours to
let her sleep with them
which looks as if she were
afraid of herself. Does the
child sleep out too when
she does?
Widow Brown & old Lyddy
Prince I am sorry to hear
are suffering from Bronchitis.
I am myself quite in bed
with it.
Adam Prince I wish the Coffee-room would catch.
Martha Sheldon will scarcely, I fear you think, be ever quite herself again.
And old Betty Broom I fear too you think will have another attack.
Mrs. Francis tells me she is recovering nicely under your kind care.
It is astonishing how Mrs. Broomhead lives -
And Anthony Boden too.
I shall be anxious to hear about the Allens.

Would it be too much to trouble you kindly to ask all of these to write to me?
They are nearly all of them glib with their pens.
And might I ask you after Widow Barton - a great friend of mine?
It is some time since Bratby has written to me - I was afraid he was laid up again.
Pray believe me ever yours faithfully
F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq
Dec 11/84

10, SOUTH STREET,
My dear Sir PARK LANE.W.

I am so very sorry to have been compelled to make such long delay in writing to you - And now another Acct is nearly due.

About the Stove for Anthony Boden's bed-room, I wrote immediately to Mr. Yeomans to have it done. But he says A. Boden could not bear the noise. Should you think otherwise, pray have it done. I will go halves with the house landlord in the cost.

We are so rejoiced that the Whatstandwell Coffee-room prospers.

I am about to write you a better letter but have had many drawbacks - among them, an inflammn in my eyes -

every your faithful servt
F. Nightingale

C.B.N. Dunn Esq
I have now (this morning) received your kind letter. And I will trouble you about Milk & Meat & such things as you kindly order for our charges. On Meat are Sisters Allen
Louisa Peach
{Widow Barton
{ " Brown
Of the two last, Widow Barton's was only to be for the winter months. Widow Brown's only for her illness. Both would stop on March 31. I observe from your letter that good Widow Barton has been ill. Would you like her Meat to continue a month longer? I conclude that you would wish L. Peach's meat to continue.
You kindly tell me how each of these 5 or rather 6 Patients are:
I will ask you to say when, if ever, any are no longer in need of the Meat.
3. I am sorry to hear so poor an account of Lizzie Holmes' winter, & very thankful to you for your care of her.
4. The following are on Milk: Mrs. Broomhead: (Meat " Lyddy Prince:
" Holmes
{Widow Marsh
{ " Barton: (Meat 4 { L. Peach: (Meat {Ant. Boden Sisters Allen: 2 (Meat Mrs. Brown: (Meat
Betty Broom

The 4 I have marked had Milk conditionally till March 31 only.
But I should not like to take them all off: & would propose that each of the two twos should have it quarter & quarter about, subject of course to your advice.
Should it be {Widow Barton, supposing her Meat taken off {Anthony Boden March 31-June 30?
{L. Peach, supposing her Meat not taken off {Widow Marsh June 30 - Sept. 30.
or how?
-the whole subject to your advice if you will be so very kind as to give it.
& nobody to be taken off
without your advice
(tho' I admit I have done
wrong in making 'pensioners')
& no one to be kept on
who you think needs it
no longer.
I would propose that all
those who are kept on
should understand that it
is to be re-considered every
3 months: your kind advice
to be always taken.
5 I should be glad to hear
how you think Lyddy Prince
(does Adam keep sober?)
Widow Marsh: Anty Boden.
{upside down printed address: 10 South Street etc}
{below in pencil}
Pray excuse all the trouble I
am giving you.

5
Mrs. Broomhead I have
heard little of for months,
except, alas!, of her
daughter's "misfortune"
which has been a heavy
"trial" to her. I am afraid
her daughter's "misfortune"
means but one thing.?
{below in pencil}
The Sisters Allen I am always
so glad to hear of.
    F.N.
May 16/87

10, SOUTH STREET,

My dear Sir,

PARK LANE, W.

I cannot say how much obliged to you I am for keeping us informed about poor Bratby & for your great attention to him. I am afraid you are not satisfied with his progress. Has his consciousness been defective? I trust you will have Dr. Webb in consultation as often as you think desirable & that if there is anything I could send him, you will tell me.

With many thanks, pray believe me, most faithfully yours,

F. Nightingale

I wrote on Saturday to thank you for your kind Telegram. But somebody's carelessness did not post the letter in time.

C.B.N. Dunn Esq

I am very, very sorry about Adam Prince. I wrote to him on Miss Mochler's death. He answered - & sent some little sum to his mother - at the same time saying to me how much had been spent in drink!!! I think there may still be hopes of him. Poor Lyddy Prince has been helped this winter - it is a difficulty about this, knowing that what helps her goes to supply Adam with drink.

She is now on the parish.
£80v?

with a claim to Medical
relief - I know you
will not let her suffer
for this - And if you
order her Cod Liver Oil
or any such expensive
medicines, will
kindly let me pay for
this.

3. I am very glad that
Bratby has sought your
aid which I have always been urging him
to do on my Acct -
I am sure he will find the benefit of it.

4. Mrs. Brown is also on parish & Medical relief. And I can only say the same as of Lyddy Prince & I am sure you will not let her suffer.

5. Mrs. Barton also - They are all good industrious women: anything but paupers. Could I do anything more for Mrs. Barton?

6. Jane Allison was at Manchester this Xmas - I never like her to be alone in Holloway - without any one living with her - I am glad she went to you.

7. Whatstandwell Coffee-rooms - It rejoices me that you think they prosper. I am sending them some more books for their Lending Library.

8. The Allens: Yes, please, be so good as to call upon them. Ann is always suffering. But I am so glad you think her improved.
Thanks for attending to Martha Sheldon & for giving her some of your invaluable moral control. I believe it is not unusual, is it? for brother & sister, or sisters, living in the wilful prison they do, to have like delusions. She is almost unmanageable - but I hope much from your management. [I desired her to send for you.]

My sister is greatly improved in health (you kindly ask) but this terrible Arthritis makes sad progress. Sir Harry has to take much care on account of his chest. I cannot say much for myself, (you ask), but, with repeated thanks for your kind care of our people, & hopes that Mrs. Dunn is well & will accept
My kind regards
pray believe me
ever yours faithfully
F. Nightingale
C.B.N. Dunn Esq
Would you be so very kind
as, whenever you see my
people, to give them a
kind message from me,
& say I asked after them;
& would they write to
me?
F.N.
Please excuse pencil

Derby, unsigned last pages of letter, 3ff, pen

Do you know a Mrs. Sims, of Crich,
- married daughter of that
good woman, your old Patient,
Mrs. Limb, who died at
Holloway? If she
comes in your way, would
you be so very kind as to
ask her to write to me
about her youngest Sister,
Rose Limb, - now married,
I am afraid not very well,
in Derby,- & whose
confinement she, Mrs. Sims, has
been attending - & to tell
me how Rose Limb is, & all
about her,
& give me her married
name & address?
Would it be troubling you
too much to ask you what sort of woman Mrs. Sims is? My recollection of her is that she nursed her Mother, Mrs. Limb, once - not very well - & was rather 'ramshackle' & dirty slovenly. But I am not sure. I was very sorry not to see you when you were so good as to call here in August. I was just gone to my Sister, who is now a confirmed Invalid from Rheumatic Arthritis, at Claydon. But I returned a month ago.

_Private_ In the strictest confidence I will tell you that at the Pendlebury, the Lady Supt has not sufficient authority in the Wards - that there are reported to be flirtations & "givings in marriage," (one has not heard of anything worse) between the Students or young Doctors & young ladies who are very young. I merely give you this hint.
My dear Sir

Thank you for your kind note about Adam Prince.

What I hear of him is that he can now take neither "milk" nor "eggs" - If it is the fault of my "supply", I am very, very sorry -

He has They have 2 pints of milk, & 2 eggs daily & I believe "regularly" from Mr. Yeomans.

It is some time since

I have sent Panada & Calves foot Jelly "from London." For I understood that he must not have these things. He sometimes wishes for "a little bit of "nice Roast Meat." But I did not dare to furnish this without your orders. Otherwise I am sure Mrs. Yeomans would.

If Dr. Macdonald would kindly order any thing that was right, I would either immediately from Mr. Yeomans for
me or from he me,
Adam Prince should
have it. I will send
him "Port Wine" from
London.
Excuse this scrawl -
I have difficulty in
writing. And there is
so much to do here,
I will write again
Yours most faithfully
F. Nightingale
C.B.N. Dunn Esq
I am penitent about
Adam Prince - for not having
written to you before

[Last line is written up along the side of the page]
Hot Water laid on for Hospitals

Hotwater Pipes Sept 17/61

No “bath” can be given “by the bed=side” without detriment to the whole ward; from the steam & mess -

Consequently, no bath should ever be given by the bed=side, unless it is absolutely necessary - for the Patient’s health to move him no farther.

In all large well=regulated Hospitals, this principle is so entirely acknowledged that no Patient is allowed to bathe even in the little Bath=room attached to each Ward, if he is able to go to the General Bath=room.

Hot and cold water laid on to every part of a Hospital is a sine quâ non. This & the use of lifts saves the expense of one attendant to every 30 Patients.

Cold water is of little use without the hot,

This principle is recognised even in Schools. How much more so in Hospitals!

It is little known, except by those who have spent their lives in Hospitals, how constant is the use of hot water all day long in a well-managed English Hospital.

If this is not laid on, you must have an extra attendant to every 30 Patients to carry it. Or your Patients will suffer.

How can you use cold water for the thousand=and=one uses of Water about the sick?

Soft water is equally important - for every thing about the sick. And it is useless to expect the Nurses to carry it, if hard water is that which is laid on -

Any enquiry made at St. Thomas’s Hospital or at the new Woolwich Hospital=works will prove how much water & how much hot water & how much soft water per Patient was there thought necessary. F. Nightingale

Trees

It is impossible to give a general rule in answer to this question. So much depends upon the height of the building, the height of the trees, the aspect of the windows, the direction of the prevailing
winds, the nature of the soil etc. -
   I should prefer having nothing of the same
height as the building within the distance
of twice the height of the building.
   That the trees are to the North is in
favour of their standing - both because
they impede no sun & because North winds
are generally cold winds.
   A room is notoriously unhealthy where
the trees stand just between the windows &
the principal sun=shine they get.

   That "the soil is damp" is against the
trees standing. It is certainly unhealthy
to have always a sodden surface close
to your Hospital walls.
   But trees make a place a great deal
more attractive to the sick.
A place surrounded with trees except to the S.E. was healthy because
the prevailing wind was S.E.
   One thing is certain: you can always cut down
trees, you cannot build them up. They
will be least unhealthy during the winter,
supposing them to be unhealthy. -
   If the Committee wish it, I will send
ask Dr Sutherland to go down & look
at the place some time this winter or
next spring. And he and I can then
report to the Committee our opinion about
these poor trees, as to which it is
impossible to me to judge from the present
data. Dr S. is now abroad.
   F. Nightingale
   Sept 17/61
Bucks Infirmary

It is a very good scheme, with the exception of certain small faults of detail. The following points appear to require reconsideration:

1. Have the Medical staff consented to put Surgical & Medical cases together?
   There are only two, (1 Male & one Female)
   Wards, besides the two small ones.
   Do they not desire at least an Accident ward for men?
   Do they not desire it on the ground floor?
   Or are there too few Accident cases to make this necessary?
   Do they not want
Two very minute criticisms I have to make -

There appears to be no window into the closet off the Scullery (men's side) nor over the W.C.

2. A window would sink either side. A dark place in a Hospital is always a dirty place, a skulking place, & a receptacle of foul air.

3. There should only be a foot between I do not much the top of the windows like a closet at & the top of the wards. all in a Scullery. A press is a much better thing, coal-box &c But however these places must have windows, or

4. The Lavatories &c should not be placed at the centre of the length but at the end. But, in the present not be there at all.
How is the “Store” “end” arrangement, off the Stair=case, the Patients in five beds would be disturbed by the passing in & out of the Lavatories &c

The two corner beds are inadmissible for other reasons -

There never should be more than one bed in each corner - and then a window between it & the next bed.
{a small sketch follows, showing W. C. Lobby Lobby Lavatory & Bath Room}

If a large end window is desired it might be done thus: with a Lavatory & lobby on one side, & a W. C. with Lobby on the other

It is of great importance not to disturb the end-Patients with the passing in & out.

II

1. It is decidedly objectionable to have Kitchen & Scullery under sick wards - [In the Army Hospitals we are trying to get ride of kitchens in such situations]

   I will make enquiries whether a ward 75 x 25 & 15 ft high cannot be warmed by one of our improved Hospital grates, instead of there being two, as in the plan.

2. Is the accommodation for the rest of the expence to have two Nurses in the top Lifts & two Linen Shafts? For so small we have not the a Hospital, one plan? Lift & one Linen Shaft would do.
It is always desirable where practicable, to put Men & Women Patients on different floors.

As both sexes are on the same floor the Women’s Pavilion should be cut off from the stair-case by a swing door, with lock & key - always to be locked at night.

One such door is better than two.

The best place for it is at the head of the stair at + on the Women’s side.

This gives all
the isolation both obtainable & practicable

Certainly not longitudinal but cross ventilation is the intention of all good Hospital plans. The staircase up to the roof is intended to cut off the atmosphere of one Pavilion from the other - & by an up current to prevent as far as practicable the air of one ward from passing into the other.
The partition between
the large wards (1 men’s
& 1 women’s apparently)
should be thick
enough to prevent
any sound from
passing.

Provincial Hosps
are very commonly
nursed by one
Night Nurse. It
is a very objectionable
practise, if only
because the men’s
& women’s side
ought to be (especially
at night,) entirely separate.
[But there are
other grave reasons
against that practise]
One Night Nurse
there
should be **amply** sufficient for the women’s side & one for the men’s. Having answered the questions asked, may my protest the women’s side I once more enter & one for the men’s. And “occasional” 1. against the double Night Nurses, corner beds, One ought (women “had in” certainly to be removed by the night) from each end corner. ought thus to And certainly there be entirely ought to be a screen, unnecessary: even if there be only which does away one bed, to screen it with a great evil. from the Ward Offices - & the Patients going in & out. 2. One Lift & one Linen Shaft is enough for so small a Hospital, if it saves expence not to have two of each. With proper discipline, there can be no difficulty, by day, when alone they are used. The remaining 32 South St space might be made London W into a store closet tho’ rather too dark for it Nov 25/61 F. N.
Sept 30/59
In building or extending a Hospital, it is to be taken for granted that the object in view is to benefit & not injure the sick. To have wards with only windows on one side is to injure the sick. They had better be left at home -
Every sick ward
must have windows on opposite sides. Whatever plan of extension is adopted, this must be a sine qua non. The plans you have sent me to look at fulfil this essential condition tolerably well - in so far as regards the two 16=bed wards & the 8=bed ward. But there are three smaller wards with windows on one side only. And one of these happens to be the Operating Ward. There appears to be plenty of space for these 3 wards in a position where they could have windows on two sides. And this change could be effected by a little re-arrangement.

2. The position of the Water=closets is not very good. But, as if they are in a portion of the building not yet
erected, they might easily be so arranged as to have a lobby separately ventilated between them & the Sick Wards.

3. I am afraid you will find the central Corridor rather dark.

4. There appears to be no window to the Scullery.

5. By the plan the large Wards are 73 ft long & 17½ ft wide This is very narrow. To give even 1200 cubic ft per bed only, they will require to be 15 ft high. If the wards could be made 1 or 2 ft wider, it would be a great advantage, even at the cost of a little of their length.

6. Would it not be cheaper to devote the whole of your “villa”, as it is now, to the Offices & Officers; & to put all your sick into
the new wings? 

I should put my Matron into the two small wards on the first Floor. And put the six beds thereby done away-with, where the Matron is now; or better, still, at the other end of the Accident Ward Pavilion, where the Surgeon’s Room is; bringing the Nurse’s room a little lower down the Accident Ward,

which would not too short, even if shortened, but leaving it (the Nurse’s room,) with 2400 cubic ft space, between the two wards -

If however there is some reason why a 4=bed & a 2=bed ward are preferable to a 6-bed ward, it might still be managed; the Servants’ Bed Room is almost the best room in the house & has room for 8 or 10. Why not take
that end for sick?  
They ought always to  
have the best.  

Bear in mind  
however (1.) that the less  
small wards are  
multiplied, the better.  
All foreign & English  
experience confirms this.  
Noisy, offensive or  
operation cases ought  
alone to be put into  
small wards. Even  
the last is now considered doubtful.  
(2) that it is absolutely  
necessary that every  

ward should be  
commanded by its  
Nurse’s room, with  
a window looking into  
her ward. This alone  
is a sufficient reason  
against multiplying  
small wards - And  
the plan of attaching  
a small ward to a  
larger one is not  
found to answer, as  
at Lariboisière. The  
small wards ought  
to have a separate  
nurse or nurses.
7. Two staircases are not necessary for a Hospital. I presume they are already there.

Note to 2. Could not the Water closets be put out at the ends of the large wards, if there are no Patients in the central buildings?

Note to 1. The Operation Ward if it must be left where it is, viz. next the operating Theatre, should have a window broken out on a second side, which I see could be done.

At the same time, it is not a good place to have the operation case & his nurse so far out of the reach of all surveillance - But possibly this cannot be helped -

NOTE. I don’t think that either management or health can be secured, if the large wards are without a Lavatory each and a Scullery each.
I should even prefer
taking it off the
length of the long
wards, as they are
now, - & putting
Water Closet & Lavatory
in the end - [Scullery
should not be abso=
lutely contiguous to these because
it must have a
fire-place. -] It should properly
be wh opposite
the Nurse’s room

where the Scullery
I suppose the
Kitchens are in the
Basement

Florence Nightingale

signed letter, 4ff, pen, typed copy 9029 [16:641-42]

Hampstead NW
Oct 2/59

After the reply received
from Lady Verney, ±/we
would strongly advise
as follows:
1. find all the
accommodation you
require for Sick in
the proposed Pavilions.
2. place nothing
in the Centre building
except the Administration
There is no room in it
fit for sick.
3. The wards should be at least 20 feet wide & 15 feet high – with 1200 cubic feet per bed AT LEAST –

4. Each large Ward should have three Water closets (in one) built out from it at the end. There should be a small separately lighted & ventilated Lobby between the Water closet & the Ward. The same outbuilding should contain

a fixed Bath, with hot & cold water laid on, and an Ablution table with a few sunk Basins, with hot & cold water laid on.

5. Room might be found for the Operating Theatre & Operating Ward in one of the Pavilions – perhaps at the other end of the Accident Ward Pavilion. In the country, direct light can quite well be obtained enough for an Operating Theatre without having it lighted.
from the roof. It is
very important that
the Accident Nurse’s
room should be so
situated as to look in
(through windows) into
both Accident &
Operating Ward. It
should, if possible, be
between - But I would
fain do away with
Operating Wards altogether
& let the Patient be
taken straight back
into the large Ward,
which ought, however,
certainly
to be on the same flat
as the Operating Theatre.
There should be as few
small wards as possible.
  6. The Accident Ward
should have Water Closet
& Lavatory, which might
be built out like those
of the other wards -
  7. The Pavilions
should be ventilated
with shafts & inlets
(& warmed with Capt.
Galton’s stoves, if these
are to be had) The
Centre building should be ventilated with Arnolt’s valves - But, when the plan is decided upon, we will give our best advice upon the manner of ventilating.

8. All that is said in my previous Memo stands.

9. The Pavilion plan requires only widening of its pavilions, rearrangement of some of its distribution & building out of Water closets to be very good. - nearly perfect, in fact.

10. I need hardly say that, in mentioning the desirableness of putting all the 3 small wards into the Pavilions, it is necessary that all the Female Wards should be in one Pavilion & all the Male Wards in the other -

Florence Nightingale
The Post Mortem room

& Dead house should be altogether out of the building. And no postmortems should ever be made in the Operating Theatre -

F.N.
Hampstead N W  
5 Nov/59

My dear Sir Harry  
I will first answer your questions -

1. Should the *amended* plan be adopted, it will be quite necessary to raise the flooring of the two existing (1st floor) ends, so that the Ground Floor wards should be at least {written in the left margin:}

I hope you have good news of Admiral Hope -

13 ft high - the first floor wards ascending by two steps from the central passage - & preserving also their height of 13 ft. This will necessitate some contrivance about the Nurses’ rooms & Sculleries.

2. I think it very probable that it will be most economical in the end to build a new Hospital - It is true estimates are almost always exceeded.
But, in repeating this, which every body knows, I think people don’t sufficiently remember that you never know when you will have done in adding to altering or repairing an old house - The excess is oftener/even more frequent and greater, & the result less satisfactory than in building new -

3 I should like to look over the plans you mention very much. [I sent to Burlington St last night for them but they were not come. I shall send again.]

I should like to see these plans before I try, if I do try, an entirely new one. And also I should like, when I have seen them, if they are approveable, to have some kind of estimate from Mr. Brandon as to what your plan will (of the amendments) will
Liverpool Derby/Stanley i 1237

cost & what the
new plan will cost.

It must be, also,
Mr. Brandon or a Builder, after all,
who will make
the estimate for
my plan, if I make
one. Because so
much depends on
the value of labor
& materials on the
spot -

It would also be
necessary, if I make one a plan, that I should
have the contour of the ground
you speak of - Yours affecty [end]

F.N.

signed letter, 2ff, pen, typed copy 9029 [16:644]

30 Old Burlington St
April 25/60

My dear Sir Harry
1. As to the method
of warming your Bucks
Infirmary:
I have made enquiries
and I find:
if two common grates
would warm the ward
you mention, viz.
75 x 25 x 15 ft,
which I doubt,
one of our improved
Military Hospital grates would do so. But the ward contains 28125 cub. ft.
I should put in two of our improved Hospital grates, medium size – 1 ft. 5 inch opening. They would enormously economize coal

Of the grates Capt. Galton, R.E., deserves all the credit.

2. I find, upon calculation, that in your plan, you allot little more than 1200 cub. ft. per Patient. I have laid it down that there should nowhere be less than 1500 cub. ft. per bed.
In the country it signifies so much less than in town, (& with country than with town=worn constitutions) that I only mention the circumstance for your consideration.

ever yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

To allow 1500 cub. ft. per bed would make the ward 93 ft 6 inch ft long instead of 75 ft. [end 16:644]

signed letter, 4ff, pen, typed copy 9029 [16:644-45]

30 Old Burlington St
April 28/60
My dear Sir Harry

1. The ceiling of the wards might be coved to give the height required. And a plain moulding carried round the upper edge of the coving all the way. It must be an astragal, not to harbour dust. In case the coving be adopted, the windows should come as high up the ward as possible,
Three of McKinnell’s ventilators should be placed, as you propose, along the centre line of the building: thus: These should each have an outlet (not into the roof but) through the roof:

(a sketch of the proposed ceiling follows, continued on the next page)

2. If Capt. Galton’s grates be decided upon, he must be applied to as soon as possible, for the flues must be built into the wall - They are easily done enough but they must be done before/while the wall is being built. There is a cold air flue &c &c

3. Our criticism was simply on the block plan of the Hospital. When this is decided upon by the Committee, we shall have plenty to say as to detail -

4. I cannot conceive end=windows being objected to. They
may be seen at Guy’s & many other Hospitals & are never complained of on account of the cold - They give a nice long sweeping light to the ward - I would not put a glazed door across them, any more than I would put a glazed door across the side windows, which are close to the Patients’ heads. The doors of the lobbies should be placed diagonally, thus: and every opening, A. B, & C. C. C. should be door=ed. {sketch follows} The Lavatory will probably have a fire=place of its own.

With Capt. Galton’s grates, there will not be three weeks in the year when there will be the least danger of cold. There will not be many months in the year when both need to be lighted. [end 16:645]

ever yours sincerely
F. Nightingale.
30 Old Burlington St
April 28/60
My dear Sir Harry,
    I will answer your note only generally today, because I only had it last night.
    Generally then, we disapprove of all ceilings, which have a dark space of more than one foot above the top of the windows. whether ventilated or not. Cubic space
ought always to be
taken out in the
length, no or breadth,
not in the height -
at least not above
the windows.

2. Capt. Galton’s
grates have hitherto
been made only by
& for the Govt. But
as I am the Govt,
(!) I mean to get
you some, if you
wish for them.

3. If I had a

Report of the Bucks
Infirmary for one
or two years, so as
to give me a fair
average guess at
the relative
proportions of
Medical & Surgical
cases, I could give
a better opinion
as to what the
number of wards
should be -

4 Will you kindly
tell Miss Burdett Coutts, who was a very kind friend of ours in the Crimea, how much I liked her plants at Highgate, that I am now (not at Hampstead but) in London & it seems cruel to send beautiful blossoming plants into London where they seem to suffer so soon.

yours affectely

F.N.

signed letter, 2ff, pen, typed copy 9029 [16:645]

A. Jackson’s Esq
Upper Terrace
Hampstead N. W.
Sept 21/60

My dear Sir Harry
Thank you very much for the Prospectus of the Infirmary. I rejoice to see that you are so far advanced in the matter of money.

But I protest against “my authority” being used for a
plan, against several
features of which
I have entered an
objection.
E. g. The three beds
at the end of each of the
two large wards
have no windows & no direct
ventilation whatever,
except from the
W. C. lobby.
    If you tell me
that there is any
time yet for sending
you a criticism of the plan, I will do so with pleasure. But my last paper to you included all my objections. To make the plan a perfectly healthy one would involve very little, if any, more expenditure. It would also involve no deception of those to whom the Prospectus may have been sent, as people are much too ignorant on the subject to know the difference - ever believe me dear Sir Harry affectly yours F. Nightingale

We have to thank you for a beautiful basket of game &c
4. I cannot help working away at the Bucks Infirmary plans - in spite of Sir Harry’s prohibition. I could suggest some important alterations, which I believe would actually lessen the cost - But - three questions I have asked have never been answered. And without these
answers, you are working in the dark -

The printed paper Sir Harry sent me (Annual Sheets) gave no answers. Perhaps they have no Statistics. But they must make out these things or they may be planning without knowing their own wants -

The questions are:  

1. what is the average proportion of men to women Patients?
   It is supposed by the plan that they will be equal. If so, it is against all County Hospital experience -
2. do the Medical Officers agree to having only Medical & Surgical cases together? i.e. only one large female & one large men’s
ward?
what kind of proportion do Medical bear to Surgical cases, on an average?
what is the actual number of female Surgical cases ever?
3. what is the annual number of Operations?
and what the proportion of male to female?
are there ever any female Capital operations?

If you do not know these things you are indeed working in the dark.
E.g. a common case in County Hospitals is this: that the men=Patients are always two=thirds of the whole number - that half of the men=Patients are surgical cases - & that there is never (or hardly ever) a Capital Operation on a woman. [end]
So that the accommodation wanted would be:

1 male Surgical ward
1 " Medical "
1 female General ward

and one or two single wards.

Also, a Hospital would never work, if the Medical men decidedly objected to mixing the Surgical & Medical cases - e.g. it would never be right to put amputation and Fever cases together -

should these form the average cases of the Hospital -

Please preserve these questions, all of which I have written before, and don’t build your Hospital without having them answered.
Hampstead NW  
Nov 24/60

My dear Sir Harry

1. As to Medical & Surgical wards. This is purely a Doctors’ point. If they are satisfied, so am I. I will venture to say that I could keep a properly=constructed ward so safe as to put Medical & Surgical cases safely together in it.

But Doctors are generally very strong against this. And I received illeg}/one letter of remonstrance from an eminent London Doctor who had accidentally seen your plans - But London cases are very different from provincial ones - And I had much rather mix Surgical & Medical cases in two good wards
(male & female) than have them unmixed in four bad ones. — I have done.

2. Your male & female cases are nearly equal. That is well.

3. You have scarcely one female Capital Operation Case in fourteen months. Therefore it is absurd to provide a Surgical ward for her.

4. I was not a little surprised to find Mr. Carrington asserting that the plans were constructed upon my printed opinions, when the six beds at the two ends of the wards, are placed there in defiance of every opinion I have ever printed or written.

5. I adhere to my opinion of a window at the end of the ward.

6. I think Mr. Brandon’s
7. I was (again) not a little surprised to find Mr. Carrington advocating the present arrangement of beds upon the difficulty of arranging the windows. All one can say is if there is difficulty in arranging the windows then arrange the windows. We have done it in all the new Military Hospitals - And it is curious indeed to see them taking the start of the Civil ones.

8. I send you a plan, arranged for a Hospital of similar proportions & numbers, male & female, to yours. Please return it to me - I am assured that it will be cheaper than yours. The Elevation may nearly
be the same -
   The details are not
all properly worked out.
   Its principal merit
is - the doing away
with the upper story
of the centre - the
pushing out the
kitchen from the
basement to the
back of the Hospital
 - the putting the
Operation Theatre
(so seldom used)
over the kitchen -
from which the
cases may be safely
carried to the wards.
   I am sure that
Mr. Ceely will agree
with me in the
propriety of this.
   An Operating Theatre
ought always to be
on the same floor as
the wards -
   The same Architect
who does our new
Military Hospitals
did this plan for
me, which is for a
Civil one, & which
is going to be worked
out, detail by detail.
   ever affectly yours
   F. Nightingale
9. It is certainly a great improvement (in the silver paper plan) not having the Washhouse in the Basement nor the Kitchen under the wards - But you had much better have neither Kitchen nor Washhouse in the building at all. We don’t – in the new Military Hospitals, which leave you completely behind.

10. To add another story to this Hospital in order to double the accommodation, would be to be guilty of the grossest extravagance (This is Mr. Carrington’s plan) because for £500 more you could probably double the accommodation in/ convert the present proposed plan, minus two beds. For the receiving Offices are much
too large & expens{ive} {corner of page is missing} for the size of the Hospital - And if you required two stories of wards, might be built outside at a very cheap rate.

11. An impression seems to run thro’ Mr. C.’s letter that it is necessary, in order to secure the greatest Sanitary & administrative advantages, to incur great cost. Whereas the truth is that it is always cheaper to build a good Hospital than a bad one -

F.N.

signed letter, 3 ff, pen, typed copy 9029 [16:649-50]

Hampstead NW
Dec 15/60
My dear Sir Harry
I am glad indeed to hear that you have carried the end windows of the Bucks wards & removed the beds. I hope that in removing these, you have left room for only one in each corner. Else, they will be put back again. Also, that you have widened the stair - We could give you a plan for the
ventilation of the kitchen which would make it nearly innocuous, where it is.

[No plan could have made the Wash-house harmless there.]

I should like very much to see the plans when thus revised - And I will then write you as “handsome” a letter as I can, enclosing my £25.

We have carried the polished Parian cement, plate glass windows, & oak floors for our new Woolwich Hospital (650 beds) as being the cheapest in the end -

Yours affectely

F. Nightingale

{on a separate page}

and is done by women & girls

Florence Nightingale

Dec. 15/60
31 Dover St
Feb 14/62

My dear Sir Harry

When I was an Irish boy, I should have replied to this question about chaff, Is it chaffing you are? x that I would supply an unlimited quantity of it, without contract.

Hair is the only material yet discovered, fit for the sick to lie upon

And it can be washed & cleansed without limit.

Cocoanut fibre is good. But, like all vegetable substances, when it becomes damp, it tends to decompose -

Now hair is free from all these objections.

It is now every where being introduced even in the worst Hospitals in the world, those of the
British Army. And I never rested till I made this matter of Secretary of State’s Regulation (in 1859)

There should be one or two fracture beds, according to their average number of fractures at Aylesbury.

There are cases, but which I never saw in Provincial Hospitals, cases of inveterate infirmity,

chiefly among old men & women, as at Greenwich, Chelsea & the/in Workhouse wards, where the funds of the Institution will not admit of hair being supplied. For these I prefer straw, not stuffed but quilted in. But as the Aylesbury Infy are accustomed to chaff, let them have chaff. It is more elastic but it allows
the Patient to slip
down uncomfortably.
But I repeat, it is
only for these cases
that chaff is admissible.
And I never saw
these cases in Hospitals
- A little ingenuity
& great care on the
part of the Nurse
is all that is necessary
to save the mattrass
of hair in cases of
casual infirmity
Yours ever affectely
Florence Nightingale

Let me add that I
never use a blanket
under any of my own
Patients - that I
never saw one used
under a Patient
without great injury
to the same - that
it is one of the
main causes of
bed-sores - that
I never knew a
good Hospital
Nurse who did
not lift up her
hands in horror
at the use of one under
a Hospital Patient -
It may be necessary
where you use chaff
or straw. But I
would use neither -
Lay your sheet on
the hair matrass &
your Patient on the
Sheet. And with
the most ordinary
care, you will never
have bed sores, even
with the most
prolonged cases of
compound fracture

F.N.

Letter, Abbey East, March 26, 1862, to Sir Harry Verney from G. Carrington requesting
an answer from FN to a paper
surgeons
in ordinary on the most ordinary Hospital Furniture
What is bad is dear.
What is good is cheap in the end. All Hospitals, even the French Military, who are actually going to have rheocline beds, have found out that good hair/beds are the cheapest.
I have written to our Purveyor-in-Chief at the War Office to know the annual cost per bed of hair. I believe it is about 12/. If you like to wait for the answer, I will send it directly it comes. but I repeat there is no question that what is bad is always dear. [end 16:655]
Cost of Hair Mattresses  
in our Military Hospitals  
per bed per annum

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>£</th>
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<tr>
<td>Interest on original cost at 5 per cent</td>
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<td>Cleaning &amp; remaking</td>
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<td>Loss of Hair</td>
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"Cost of washing the cases a mere trifle."

Signed by the Purveyor in Chief

War Office  
April 11/62
Bucks Infirmary 1) Walls A.

I have no hesitation in saying that “common plaster & lime-washing is better than unpolished cement. Polished cement is very expensive, but it saves its cost in lime-wash (or ought to do so) in a few years - People never think of this - Plaster hospital walls ought to be lime-washed twice a year at least - & are so now in Military Hosps (by a Queen’s Regulations of 1859). The unpolished Parian cement of Netley Hospital retains dirt &
completes the failure of that luckless concern. It costs 2/6 a yard, and will require lime-washing (or ought to do so)

Polished Cement requires only simple washing. It costs 10d. a foot.

A very pale pink is “better/warmer” than pure white. The colouring is inexpensive.

[At Guy’s & King’s College Hospitals may be seen the unpolished Cement. Its only impression on the eye is that of dirt.]
Floors

Oak is preferable for the white floor.

If the Hospital provided the crutches, as it ought, and these are properly tipped with cloth, they will not slip.

French Hospitals which frotter, make however no complaint of slipping -

And we shall never get the amount of polish which their frottage obtains - consequently not the same amount of slipperiness -

I recommend the mode of cleaning at P. 217 of the book which I send -
It is no experiment or crotchet of mine. It actually exists.

[end]
2 Cleveland Row [6:197-98]
S.W.
July 28/63
Dear Duke of Newcastle
I have the pleasure of sending you a copy of my paper, or rather yours, (since you were so good as to supply the materials) on Colonial School Returns. Should you have occasion for any more copies, I shall be very glad to furnish them.

You were so kind as to write that you would wish to send out copies to the Colonies. If you will give orders to have them received at the Colonial Office I will send them tomorrow, put up separately, & the name of each colony put on the packet, with different numbers to the different Colonies, according to their size & population.
If you thought well, I would venture to suggest that the principal, if not the only, usefulness of this paper, would be given by your desiring some kind of circular to be written with it, to the effect that, as you called for the Returns, you wish now to lead the way to more correct Statistics & to direct the attention of the Governor to the fact that, after every care has been exercised in obtaining the Statistical data, but a few Colonies only were able to send any - & even those Returns which were made were very incomplete (indeed if you take the trouble to look at the Tables, A and H, pp 20 and 30, you will see that the information received from Ceylon is the only information which
has any pretension to completeness.

Also would you think well to direct the attention of every Governor to the great advantage of Schools, Hospitals & other Institutions keeping more complete data.

I intend with your permission to send some copies of my paper to the Missionary Societies here, who may be

stirred up by some facts in it to adopt practically in their Schools the proposals as to physical education.

I greatly regret that New Zealand has sent no facts whatever, bearing on the subject, as N. Zealand might make more progress in that way than almost any other colony.
May I venture to send you a copy of a paper I wrote for the Indian Sanitary Commission? It may interest you and it shows faithfully the present state of things in the Indian stations to which those in Ceylon bear a close resemblance - It enables one to judge of the extent to which British soldiers & British people ignore the laws of nature in warm climates, & then blame every thing & every body but themselves for the result.

Believe me,
Your Grace’s faithful servt

Florence Nightingale
Fragment of a Letter from
Florence Nightingale

"My own effigies & praises wh
you sent me by the last
mail were less welcome.
I do not affect indifference
towards real sympathy, but
I have felt painfully, the more
painfully since I have had
time to hear of it, the Éclat
wh has been given to this
adventure of mine, an every
day one in another Church.
The small still beginning, the simple hardship, the silent & gradual struggle upwards, these are the Climate in which an Enterprise really thrives & grows. Time has not altered our Saviour’s Lesson on that point, which has been learnt successively by all reformers from their own Experience. The Vanity & frivolity which the Éclat thrown upon this affair has called forth, has done us unmitigated harm & brought mischief on perhaps the most promising enterprise that ever set sail from England. Our own old Party which began it’s work in hardship, toil, struggle & obscurity has done better than any other. & I, like a Tory, am now trying to get back to all my old regulations. yours whatever betide F.N. Scutari July 1855
Hampstead NW
Aug 17/61
My dear Harry
In A.H. Clough’s absence, I am obliged
to trouble you with
every thing concerning
the N. fund.
The enclosed relates
to my scheme for
utilizing the remainder
of its income for
training Midwife=nurses
at King’s Coll. Hosp.

which I was anxious
should begin in
October. The K.C.H.
is willing -
I wrote all the
particulars to Col.
Jebb, my Chairman,
& enclose his answer.
Please return it
to me & tell me
what you think
ever yours gratefully
F.N.
I have also written to
Mr. Marjoribanks
about it: but have
no answer.
My dear Harry

I am anxious to save you what trouble I can about the King's College scheme - Accordingly I enclose a letter from Mr. Marjoribanks about the funds - in answer to one of mine, saying that I had made the money calculations with Miss Jones, the Superintendt, & had advised her to begin nothing without a guarantee of £500 per ann. for 2 years - & that, if there were any difficulty, I should wish (privately) to make up that sum. But, as you see, he will make none.

I also enclose a Memo. of Miss Jones (She is Supt. of St. John's
House & of the Nursing of King’s Coll. Hosp. which is what she refers to when she speaks of the different Committees)

This was the Memo I sent to Sir J. Jebb & he returned to me. I shall see Miss Jones on Wednesday & if anything new arises, will report it.

It is important to begin on Oct 1, the beginning of the Medical year - So I told Miss Jones to lay in the requisite furniture &c - And I would pay the bills. And the worst that could happen would be that I should be minus £100, & the Hospital plus some furniture - & that both of us should have wasted some precious time.

I am afraid that what the Committee will say will be:
1. that the money goes to the beds & Patients & not to the Nurses for their training - minus the salary for a Training Midwife
2. that the Probationers will with difficulty be found who will pay for themselves during training or be paid for.

I think the second objection has more weight in it, than the first.

At St. Thomas’ we found a Hospital & beds ready. But we pay the Matron & Officers. And we pay (enormously) for the Board of Probationers - The Hospital must be making a profit of us, by my own housekeeping experience, a large one - We also pay interest on furniture. At King’s Coll. Hosp. we find Supt & Officers willing to give training for love - besides other advantages -

Miss Jones & I both think that
after the 2nd year, a training Midwife may have been educated to be one of St. John’s House own Nurses - in which case the N. fund would not have to pay her salary.

The second objection I think is just what will be felt most during the first two years - & not afterwards -

In almost all countries but England, there is a Government School for educating Midwife=nurses for country parishes. That of Paris is the most famous -

The want is immensely felt in England. And I have not the least doubt that, if any private Institution were to turn out for a few years women properly trained for this profession, country parishes, whether led by clergymen, ladies Bountiful, or Boards of Guardians would be found in plenty, who would send up candidates from their own parishes (paying for them) to be trained & sent back.

But then in this country the experiment must be tried & succeed first. And then the Candidates will come -

But for any experiment my Committee must more or less take my word.

And I can only give them my word that, though there has been no lack of negotiations between me and Hospitals, this is the only experiment I can recommend to them - And not only is it the only one - But I have strong hopes that it may become a boon to the whole country.

Miss Jones herself is not an
experiment - On the contrary she has been the most successful trainer of Christian nurses we have -

And Dr. A. Farre’s reputation stands with his profession nearly the highest in England for his particular subject -

I can find nothing that we could do so hopefully or so cheaply with the remainder of the Fund -

But then I think the Committee must be prepared to see hardly any result at all for some years, & not be disappointed -

I earnestly wish that something more could be done in the first two years to pay for some of the Probationers. And I hope that, at all events, the Committee will consent to let the spare £100 (the second year) go for this purpose -

The cost charged them for their board will be the lowest possible - Indeed, both Miss Jones and I made it for board, including tea, sugar, beer, washing &c only 8/ per week.

But St. John’s House must be farther consulted about this -

If the Committee say, why should you not try this experiment at a Lying-in Hospital, where all the materials are already, & where a few Midwives or Monthly Nurses are already taught, I answer: I am absolutely
incapable of recommending any for the purpose - And Dr. Rigby’s death (he was well inclined to the matter though we never entered into it far enough to come to any practical negotiation) puts an end to any idea I may ever have had of the kind. but I had not practically -

I am right glad to hear of your new office - if, as I suppose, it is a more certain & more sufficient provision in life than 99 out of a 100 at the bar achieve.

Dear Harry affectely yours
F. Nightingale

Hampshire, signed letter, 94M72/F582/3, ffp, pen

My dear Harry
I think this is very good.

( ) Perhaps it would be safer to put:
- not less than 8/ or more than 9/ a week: - as Miss Jones told me she had not yet asked St. John’s Ho: about this - (She herself is perfectly satisfied that the 8/ will do)
Would you put in that the after: Candidates are to be trained – for a period of not less than 6 months? Or do you think it not necessary here?
I think it a very clever “dodge”
of yours
to take the £100 for board at
once
( ) Have you this on my authority?
Guy’s has (or had) Lying-in beds —
the only London Hospital I know that had. But
if you have it on Miss Jones’
authority, you are quite safe.
And the general assertion is
quite true — viz. that the London
Hospitals won’t take in these cases;
& that it was entirely Miss
Jones’ doing that this was
negotiated here
   Miss Jones told me of your
visit to her — Thank you very
much for the trouble you are
taking.
   ever affectely yours
   F. Nightingale

I kept this Paper back to shew to Mrs.
Bracebridge — who will probably
be the Lady Visitor on our part,
consented to by Miss Jones.
   But she sees no fault in
it.
Regulations as to the Training of Midwifery Nurses at King’s College Hospital (??)

1. The Committee of the “Nightingale Fund” have made arrangements with the Council of St. John’s House for training annually in King’s College Hospital a limited number of women in the duties of Midwifery Nurses, with a view to the employment of the so-trained nurses in country Parishes or Districts (for the benefit of the poor) under the direction of the Clergy & Medical men.

2. The instruction will be gratuitous — the Nightingale Fund engaging to provide for the maintenance of a certain number of beds for the reception of poor married women during their confinement, in wards set apart by the authorities of King’s College Hospital for this.
special purpose of instruction: –
St. John’s House undertaking the conduct
of the requisite training under the direction
of the Physician=Accoucheur of the
Hospital (Dr. Arthur Farre) and his
Assistants, who kindly undertake to/give their aid
aid the education /assist to educate the Probationers,
by Lectures & practical instruction,
for their peculiar vocation.

An experienced midwife will also
be in immediate charge of the Ward to train the Probationers who/be always in attendance. They
as Head Nurse. The Pupil Nurses will, while under instruction
be allowed also to attend certain cases of Lying
in Women at their own homes,

3. Probationers will be received for a
period of not less than 6 months,
and on the distinct understanding
that they remain for at least that
time.

4. The cost of board, lodging & washing
to each Probationer during the six
months’ training will be 8/per week,
or a payment in one sum of £10...paid
in advance.

5. The age considered desirable for
these Pupil-nurses is from 26 to 34. A certificate of health, with name & address of Medical attendant; and testimonial of character will be required.

6. Probationers will be received on October 31 and April 30 in each year - Application should be made, a fortnight before each term, to the Lady Superintendent of St. John’s House, at King’s College Hospital, London.

subject (illeg)

7. A record will be kept of the conduct & qualifications of each Pupil-nurse - And Those who have passed satisfactorily through the course of instruction, will be entered in the Register as certificated Midwifery Nurses & A copy of such certificate will/entry will being/be sent to those who have selected the Nurse for the required training =

8. The Pupil-nurses will be under the authority of the Lady Superintendent.

and in all respects subject to the same rules as other & permanent inmates of the Institution. They will be liable to dismissal in case of misconduct, or negligence of duties: if any one is considered inefficient, notice, in order to removal, will be at once sent to those who recommended her.

October 1.
1861

[at right angle on side] Midwifery Nurses
Draft Regulations
Hampstead NW
Oct 2/61
Dear Harry,

Would you be so good, as to look over the enclosed, drawn up by Miss Jones & me, shorten it, if you can, correct it & have it printed.

Will it require a signature?

I send you the St. Thomas’ paper, as a specimen

Harrisons’, 45 St. Martin’s Lane, I believe, did this –

Perhaps 500 had better be printed.

Miss Jones will want 100. A I shall want 100.

And, as she says she cannot receive applications after the middle of this month, the sooner they are done, the better – As we want to send them out, by way of Advertisement.
If you like to send Bratby on with it to the Printers, do — ever yours truly & gratefully
F. Nightingale
? Should the heading be “at King’s College Hospital” — or similar to the printed one I enclose?

Hampshire, signed letter, f582/6, 4 ff, pen

Hampstead N.W. [8:166-67]
Novr 2nd
My dear Harry
I have looked over the agreement which you kindly sent me yesterday with Miss Jones — and we are quite satisfied with it, always excepting Clause 14 — Their feelings are evidently excessively hurt by this. If it is to stand, I think it had better stand as it is, — and I confess I should not have minded it, because
it is so certain never
to come into action -
But I do wish it could
be dropped altogether
for this reason -

To say that “the
maintenance covers
repairs” vide opposite
note, - is to add
insult to injury, as
the parrot said when
he was made to learn
English - For the

Hospital has already
laid in linen & hair=
mattresses, which it
would not have done -
if it had not been
for this ward.

Our £100 will
nothing like cover
the furniture of the
ward: e. g. we
supply one iron
bedstead & one
hair mattress - to
each bed - the Hospl
supplies 3 other
hair-mattresses, so
that there may be
say four, to each bed - Again, the “maintenance” does not cover the baking & re-covering of these hair-mattresses - nor the renewal of the linen - of which there requires a much larger quantity for this ward, than for any other - of our linen, there will be nothing left at the end of the two years -

Indeed, taking example by the Ehrenbreitstein - rats, I am quite sure that the tails left to us - at the end of the two years will be only the 10 iron bedsteads - cost 15 s. each - It is not worth while to anger the other contracting parties who have behaved so liberally to us, for this -
For King’s Coll: Hospl will certainly be put to a great expense for our ward: and our £100 was only in order to save Miss Jones from having to go to the Hospital for “a lot of things more” than were wanted for any other Ward.

At the same time I must say that to me the clause seems very innocuous - but as it does not amuse them, - and does us no good - contrariwise to the man who let his wife beat him - I wish it could be dropped.

You must observe that King’s Coll: Hospl has shown great condescension in setting aside the whole of that floor for us for two years -

Ever dear Harry

your affecte F. Nightingale
9 C St
April 3/62

Dear Harry,

I cannot tell you how happy I am to hear of your happiness. Long may you wear it & well.

To me, from whom not only every earthly comfort but every earthly support seems with drawn, it is a great joy to hear of some one, who deserves it, going to be happy.

I don’t know whether you care to know it, but our dear lost friend, Clough, thought very much & very highly of you & your future.

ever dear Harry
your affecte cousin
F.N.

{cover} {archivist: congrats on marriage and on {illeg} birth}
Private letter
H. Bonham Carter Esq
F.N.
Dear Harry

Let me send you my blessing on your wedding day, whenever that is to be. And let me (very unsentimentally) send you a wedding garment of paper, to be cut into what form you like best yourself.

My love to your Sibella, if she will accept it. And thanks to her for making you so happy.

If I dared, I would write to her that I think her too a happy woman.

Ever your affecte coz

F. Nightingale
4, Cleveland Row.  [8:872]
S. W. (printed address:)
April 24/63
My dear Harry
God bless the little
man & the young mother.
ever yours
F.N.
I send you the enclosed
Acct (paid) only that
Harrison may not
send it in to you again.
v. Art. “Sept 1.” I believe
I ordered those “Regulations”
myself, at Miss Jones’
request, while you were
away abroad

Hampshire, signed letter, 94M/F582/10, 1 f, pencil

Dr. Johnson’s
Great Malvern
Jan 7/67
My dear Harry
The enclosed gossip about
the Sydney Nurses - a month
after date - is certainly
not worth sending - But
I send it - It replies to
one or two things &
acknowledges one or two
others - You need not
read it -
ever yours
F. Nightingale

with envelope, also black-edged H. Bonham Carter Eq
F.N.
Mrs Wardroper x x  June 1877 [12:320-21]

My dear Hy B. C.

This is only to report, especially as Mrs. W. told me that she had not told you some of these things: I see no immediate action to propose, but I am, right or wrong, strongly impressed that we are again on our trial, as it were, after 20 years: & that we shall have, in the course of the next 2 years, to make up our minds on many things, not only details but principles of action: suited to other action not under our control: altho’ our own principles as to what is best may remain unchanged: especially do I think we shall be put on our trial in two things:

1. as to the principle of what power will be granted to female Nursing heads: as regards the Medical Officers: “ ” the administration:

2. as to the details of “obligation”, time of training, theoretical & practical advantages to be given especially to Lady P.s, weighed against their work, &c &c &c as regards Training Schools:

   as to 1. we ask a great deal, & justly, for of power for our Trained female heads, both Matrons & Sisters:
   do we give them the training & experience necessary to wield/exercise this power aright?
   do we fit them morally to exercise it with dignity, & gentleness & disinterestedness, so as to have the least number of ‘rows’, & never to be in the wrong?

as to 2. St. Bartholomew’s & the Edinburgh & a multitude of other Training Schools starting or to start will force us not merely to consider these questions but to take action upon them: within the next year probably:
Mrs. Wardroper tells me that during April she had
?? 90 applications, & of a class much superior
to what she usually has: (Nurse: Candidates I
understood her to say:)
Of these 90, only one has adhered to her application
[She of course says that it was the 3 years’
obligation which frightened the 89: & that many June 1877?
are gone to St. Bartholomew’s:
by the way she says Miss Neligan is gone
to Westminster:
I just sounded her about having 3 classes of
Obligations: she said she would like
to have it optional on the ground that
many of our ‘ladies’, e. g. Miss Wright, are so bad:
& that we might admit good ones we should
like to keep on in a one year class:
[I did not say: but the bad ones are just
those who will make it not ‘optional’ with us
to stick to our ‘obligation’ with them to find them
places] & afterwards to promote them
Still I think that the fact, if it is a fact, of [end 12:321]

Hampshire, initialed letter, ff582/12/1-4, 8 ff, pen & pencil

Sub. Comm: St. Thomas’ Hospl
PRIVATE Lea Hurst
Treasurer & Treasurer’s Clerk: Sept 21/77
5 a.m. [12:323-25]

PRIVATE

My dear Hy B. C.
You ask me to “suggest” upon this subject,
the most important of all (upon which you
may be sure I have thought a great deal).
I feel sure that it is useless to give them a
cut & dry ‘Constitution’, because, as you
would truly say, everything depends on
the men to work it.
A Treasurer & ‘Clerk’ as Secretary (whether
‘Treasurer’s’ or ‘Hospital’ Clerk) would do
as well as any, provided you chose good
men.
If you had a good man as Treasurer, it would of course be better to have the ‘Treasurer’s’ Clerk rather than the ‘Hospital’ Clerk as Treasurer’s ‘Secretary’: because there would otherwise be more danger of the divided authority working one against the other.

But every thing depends on the men being trustworthy: And we are obliged to trust Treasurers without training them to be trustworthy.

[We train or we profess to train our Supts to superintend. We cannot train our Treasurers to treasure.]

I think I had better rather tell you what I have so strongly observed in St. Thomas’, than as calling for government, than “suggest” a form of government.

I suppose the business, financial & other, was done (under Sir F.H.) but all that is, I know nothing about it:

but all that constitutes a Hospital proper, that is a place for curing the Sick, was left undone as far as the male civil Government was concerned. 1. Sanitary

The Sanitary Commee consisting at first of Mr. Simon, Mr. Croft & I think Dr. Bristowe did nothing. partly because Mr. Simon
was old & idle & would not: & others were afraid of the Treasurer & could not:
It was vain under Sir F.H. to appoint a Sanitary Officer from among the young men: because possibly he will not peril his future practice by making himself disagreeable in doing what he knows: possibly he does not know: or knows less than the Nurses. (Sisters)
A Sanitary authority must be strongly supported by the Governing body or Treasurer to be of the least good: & the Treasurer must know something also see Note p. 6
I may here mention that from reports which I have every reason to trust, I believe the Wards of St. T’s to be infamous, from Pyaemia,

£582/12/2

Erysipelas &c &c. At this moment, there being no really good Male Surgical Sister the 3 M. S. Wards particularly so. I know that Sir F.H. thought of nothing but hushing it up: he never thought anything else his duty - & Mr. Simon was too old.
Enquire about the drain smells from the river. Enquire about the smells in our Nurses’ dormitories. Enquire about the W. C.’s in basement.
The only Sanitary Officers at St. T.’s were: (both gone): Miss Stains & Mr. Simon: Miss Stains dragging the old man about by main force.
Enquire about all the arrangements for removing dust, refuse, foul linen, soiled dressings &c &c &c &c [You must know something of this
from my 'Ward Surgical Cleanliness' notes for Article.
The 'Sisters' are still the only Sanitary Officers at St. T.'s.
Some of these things have been improved.
Some are said to be improved, many are the reverse of improved.
[I may mention here that about 2 months ago Capt. D.G. was called in with another whom I know to inspect University Coll. Hosp.
I saw (confidentially) the materials for the Report. I could not have believed it, if I could not have matched some things, by no means all, at St. T.'s]
2. There is no discipline no superintendence whatever over the Basement - the vast much too large, Offices, - Kitchen, Furnace &c &c Offices not Ward Office or over the staff of men employed there. [You know by the way that the shoots are never used, never intended to be used, because there is no arrangement!!! at the bottom The nuisances in the basement have been abominable There ought to be some official (commonly called an 'Engineer'?) over these things. Properly I suppose he ought to be under the Steward: but the Steward is non:
It appears to me it ought to be under the 'Treasurer’s Clerk’ or ‘Secretary’: in the same way as the Assistant Matron is supposed to be or ought to be over Inspectress of Nurses’ Dormitories, Nurses’ habits &c &c [At St. T.’s no one is Assistant Matron in this sense.]
But then the Treasurer’s Secretary must be a man trustworthy in these things.
3. About periodical cleansing, of Hospital, frotteur’s work: periodical cleansing of Ward floors & walls &c &c &c &c there is no one who really superintends: there is a general/well-known outbreak of Erysipelas, after every Surgical=Ward cleansing, in the said ward, et pour cause: the floors I am told are a disgrace to St. T.’s.

[2 or 3 years ago I was asked by Treasurer thro’ Matron to find an Army Hospital frotteur I did so – the very natural question was asked – what the pay? – & from that day to the day of his death I never got an answer from poor Treasurer.]

This is only one of the innumerable things (I will not degrade myself by calling them ‘little’ things) of vital or mortal importance to a Hospital left undone. [Matron bestirred herself much & effected little or nothing in most of them.]

If it were not for our Sisters, I believe St. T.’s would be one of the most unhealthy Hospitals in London.

And even among our Sisters there are waves.

At the opening of the Hospital, & alas! now again, the Sisters were & are almost nil in these matters.

Miss Aston is now the best.
I scarcely know whether you can do any thing but I could not rest \textit{whether} without drawing your attention to these things.

Far more important than settling ‘Treasurer’s Clerk’, ‘Hospital Clerk’, ‘Secretary’, is: settling that some one, be he who you will, should have authority in these vital matters, should know how to exercise that authority: & should be a man chosen for & responsible to/for exercising that authority.

And that it should not be a matter of grace or discretion to make or to remedy such complaints.

\textbf{f582/12/4}

4

but that it should be the charge of some one to make, the charge of some other one to redress/fulfil, listen to, or redress such complaints or reports or responsibilities.

[It is vain waiting for the Steward. They must either change their Steward: or put this work distinctly in the ‘Treasurer’s Secretary’s’ hands – or some one’s.]

F.N.

4. With regard to the Nursing: as none of the Hospital Governments have effected any thorough reform in the Nursing, & London Hospl least of all: – & as (I believe) we might must do it, & he might be so much more than a match for them, when a year hence our Agreement comes to an end, I think in our individual case we shall be the better for a not so very strong Hospital Government.

F.N.  

[end 12:325]
My dear Hy B. C.
I have always observed the antagonism between
Hospital/the Treasurer & the Medical Staff.
[In our case, the Med: Staff despised the man:  
the elder men, who were just going off the stage,  
did not care to force or persuade him: the  
others feared & 'cut' him whenever possible:
But this antagonism prevails, I understand,  
every where:]  
How would it do, if it were possible,  
1. for the (Full) Physicians & Surgeons to  
elect - I believe in these cases people  
generally elect one better than themselves -  
a M. (illeg Comm?) a man whose business it should be to  
confer with the Treasurer on stated days  
on defined matters: besides having  
a ready access to him at any time:  
2. for the whole (qualified) Medical Staff,  
'Full', 'Resident' & 'House' - ? not 'Retired' -  
to elect, in combination with the Treasurer,  
a Sanitary Officer.  
I can see no other way of  
(1) enabling the Sanitary officer to do his work  
they would surely support & help their own  
man: & not render him useless by  
their discordant opinions:  
(2) of getting a good man - & giving him  
authority  
[You cannot get a Sanitary man/Officer of great standing &  
authority for a Hospital: he must be  
a young man.  
And if you did, you had Simon, the Officer  
of Health for all England, actually to your  
hand at St. T.'s. And he did nothing!]  
Something must be done:  
I merely throw out “suggestions”: as you ask
3. I would also “suggest” that say once a week Treasurer, ‘member’ representing Medical Staff, Sanitary Officer, Treasurer’s Secretary should meet for the discharge of business:

A great deal of business which now hangs for years - [& people wait to drain & to cleanse - but people do not wait to die -]

would be thus worked off week by week.

The death of this poor man, if it paves the way for a better system, might prove an incalculable boon to poor St. Thomas’. [end 12:326]

F.N.
Probationers List: x 35 S. St
                Jan 4/78

My dear Hy B. C.
I return the Book: x
Our last 10 years (since Agnes Jones’ death)
    have been momentous ones:
our present/next 10 years will be in all probability
    yet more so:
Especially this year when we have to re-settle
    the whole of our income: not to speak of
    capital.
Last year we lost so much.
I do think we want a little more enthusiasm, hope & sympathy.
    consideration is much but it is not all.
2. I enclose my printed List of some defects
    in St. Thomas’. [Please return it me at
    your leisure: for it is never to be found when wanted.]
    I look upon the 3 first Paras: about shoots &c
    & upon the last about Night Nurses’ meals &c
    as the most important:
        The opportunity of correcting these while
        you are on the House Committee is an
        unlooked for & immense hope to me.
3. [There would be such a career for an Assistant
    to Mrs. Wardroper, if Miss Fisher were worth anything
    - there is? no superintendence of Nurses, night or day, or of Wardmaids &c but
    what the Sister
    gives
    - & that is now? nothing.] ever yours F.N. [end 12:335]
x Is it not a pity that this “Book” is not made up? there are whole
    histories, e.g. Miss Cameron’s, untouched & yet she has our Nurses at Soho
Council & Committee  }  IMMEDIATE  35 S. St
April 7/78

My dear Hy B.C.

I have not written to Mr. Rathbone as you desired: partly because I asked him to be Trustee, on the express ground suggested by you in your Draft letter that he should not be troubled to be Co & Co. - partly because you told me that the Meeting was not to be a Council Meeting: & there is no time now for you & me to discuss deliberately the very essential question as to who is to be on the Council & the yet more important question as to who is to be on the Committee.

[I only had your letter this morning.]

I shall therefore only write to Sir Harry, (who will not be at home till tomorrow,) only about your being on the Council: and not till Tuesday: There will be still time however, if you think it urgent, to write to any body after you receive this:

My view is: & it is one which has been strongly urged/indented upon me by the circumstances of the past year: that we must enlist into our Members other interests; the Military, - the Workhouse Infirmary, - the other great Hospitals: & also, of course some one to take your place ultimately in the duties of Secretary under you: as you said.

1. Military: I naturally, - considering the origin of the Fund, considering that I was looked to & still am to form in the Military Hospitals
a Staff of Nurses who might be used for War Nursing - considering too that Germany, Russia, America have done this since the Crimean War: that France is always ready: & that we alone have done nothing: -tho’ to us particularly was attention drawn during the Crimean War:

I naturally feel this a good deal more acutely than you do - the non-organization of Nursing in Military Hospitals.

[I feel it still more, because our Chairman, quite coolly, shows me a letter he has written for public purposes, urging the return to the Regimental Medical system in time of war, which was the cause of the Hospital disasters in the Crimean War, which makes Female Nursing impossible, & undoes all that Sidney Herbert & I did in that direction]

I propose that Sir Wm Muir (with a view of interesting him in our work)

should be a Member of our Council.

He expressed a wish to see me & to “profit” by my “experience”. (I presume in case of a War)
in his last letter.

[Sir John McNeill will never be of any more use to us. He is now at Cannes.
We shall have to provide a successor.]
2. You know how strongly I feel about the loss of Workhouse Infirmary Nursing.
   at Highgate
   I need not dilate upon it.
   I think we should most certainly have some man, if only to interest him in us, connected with “Asylums”, upon the Council.
   I thought of Mr. (now Sir William) Wyatt or - - - - - - - - - - - -
   or even Dr. Brydges.
[If Mr. Stansfeld had been in Office, I should have proposed him: or if Mr. C. Villiers, him. Both called upon me: & I saw them, Mr. Villiers frequently.]
I would make it a matter of duty to see these men/any such men on our Council - including Sir Sydney Waterlow, (all of whom profess themselves my friends - except Dr. Brydges whom I do not know)
2 or 3 times a year: if you wished to enlist them -'outing', in fact.
[Navy: You know we had Sir J. Liddell who is dead & who wanted me to nurse Haslar on this account]
but I do not propose this now.

3. St. Bartholomew’s -
   I cannot tell you what importance
[I attach to our responding to Sir S. Waterlow’s overture -]
[We shall, if we do not take care, get shut up in St. Thomas’ -]
   I would propose
   Sir Sydney Waterlow
   on the Council:
   (about St. B.’s see p. 2.)

4. The sooner some one is appointed who may ultimately be your successor, the better: as you say.
   You have yet thought of no one but F. Verney, (or possibly Douglas Galton)
   Shall I have a talk with F. Verney or will you?  
[end 12:138]
St. Bartholomew’s 2

I look upon it as almost a vital thing
for our work that we should fill the post,
- so unexpectedly volunteered by Sir S. Waterlow,
of Matron.

I cannot think that Miss Spencer would
ever do for such a post: but, if one could
ever be sure of anything, I should be sure that
she would reject it with terror. She has
no self-confidence & no power of resistance:
She would be an angel for a smaller Hospital
with a Staff of her (our) own women: she would do
Lincoln well.

I am almost glad that Miss Williams is
out of the ‘running’: She has such great qualities
but loses so much thro’ ‘impertinence’. Yet I think
she would do St. Bartholomew’s best.

Miss Vincent has much is the person, I believe
be She has far more strength than Miss Spencer
will ever have; & more dignity & reticence
than Miss Williams: but oh how I regret
her want of experience as head. You know she is
of a higher & more devoted tone of character than Miss Williams.

Miss Machin might do; better than
any one Sir S. Waterlow is likely to get -

Miss Machin as head with
Miss Vincent as Assistant
for 2 or 3 years
might do very well.

But of course Miss Machin is right
that her (so called) failure at Montreal
will tell against her - except in war- Nursing
[Miss Machin & Miss Williams would not do together.]
II

I think I must let Sir S. Waterlow know, & that soon whether I am thinking of his commission to find him a Matron.

And I must see Miss Vincent: & that before the 11th, (which is next Thursday.) Have I your leave to talk it over with her?

If she could have 6 months or a year at Lincoln first? [A year is not possible if she is to have St. B.’s]

I write to Miss Vincent to come to me on Wednesday 10th. Let me hear from you first.

[Miss Hunter: I cannot bear to let her slip thro’ our fingers. Do you know that, tho’ I quite believe Miss Lees’ account of her, she had, in some respects, more character than any, except our very best?

I should like her to be in Miss Vincent’s place at Marylebone, or to be a Sister best. (there is not one of them fit to hold a candle to her, except Miss Rye, at St. T.’s now:) & then see what could be made of her, if she will re-enter the Service.
To sum up: you will see that abstractedly
I think Miss Williams: best for St. Bartholomew’s
  " Vincent  " Mary’s
  " Spencer  " Lincoln
  " Hunter   " some small post
(Marylebone Road?)
but better a Sister

practically
Miss Vincent: St. Bartholomew’s
(if possible, some
smaller post first)
  " Spencer  " Lincoln

After thinking it well over, I feel I could
not propose Miss Spencer as fit for St.
Bartholomew’s. I should never have thought
of her.

  You see, if Lincoln is to be proposed “on or
soon after the 11th, (which I did not know
till your note) there is not a day to lose:
- I must have some communication with
  Miss Vincent before Thursday:

  What “Candidate of ours” (“better prepared”)
do you expect to have “in 6 months” or a year
“for St. Bartholomew’s”?
re Notice to determine Agreement with St. Thomas’.}

III 2. “the basis to be a reduction” &c &c &c x x x x
“bargain should be in favour of Hospital” x x x:
“bargain to be “decidedly “ in favour of Hospital”,
“determinable upon 6 or 12 months’ notice” x x x
agreed, agreed, agreed with the utmost heart
“bargain to be “decidedly” in favour of Hospital,”
because it may cut both ways: they may say
at any time, ‘we had rather get rid of you than
“attend to your requirement” & we can
‘afford to let you go’.
[Sir F. Hicks once did say this!! – he said we
saved him nothing in “Extra Nurses”!!!]
I need not say that if they put in a
Matron we do not like, we must go.
And where are we then?
III.3 [Please let me see this part of my letter again–]
I come now to what is, in my mind,
the most essential thing of all the Training:
which I will state briefly, – without
at all prejudging the question whether
anything can be done, except indirectly.
As long as our Probationers are put into
the Wards, 2 or even 3 in each Ward,
without any regard to the training they
will there receive,
& as long as the Sister of each Ward
knows that she shall have 2 or even
3 Probationers as Assistants, with no
regard whatever to what she does for
them, but only to what they do for her,
– so long we shall be at the mercy
of accident as to what our Training is.
There is not one real Training Sister in the Surgical & Medical Hospital/Wards now. There are two half ones. There are two, if not three, utterly bad Sisters. All the real Training now is given by Miss Crossland.

Of the above I have overwhelming evidence. [You do not, of course, & cannot see the interior of things as I do.]

At Edinburgh Miss Pringle gives & withdraws Probationers according to how/the way the Head Nurse’s training power & character deserves to have them. This seems to me the only ‘rationale’ of the thing. [How, practically, we are to do it, I do not yet say.]

[N.B. That woman, Warman, (Sister Leopold) has nearly cost Miss Wilson both her arm & her life. She is quarrelling with all the Doctors.

As to Sister Adelaide (Nurse Ann) the Probationers do her work. And much better it is they should, if she would only keep out of the Ward.]

Our last year’s Nurses do not know what Ward Training is: the Standard is so utterly lowered: these who had the fag end, of Miss Vincent, Miss Stains & Miss Spencer speak almost with despair of their loss.

I have of course much more to say as to the modifications necessary in the Training St. Thomas’ must give us, at any new start. (whether to be included in Agreement or not) And also we must have some arrangement for a year’s training for an Assistant Superintendt.
Miss Crossland

You remember I told you that she told me she should “not stay beyond October”,
- she has not mentioned it to Mrs. Wardroper, & she promised me earnestly that she would give no notice till she had talked it fully over with me.

If she goes, for any work of real Training we are ‘functi officio.’

She gave as her reason that certain things which she specified prevented her from doing her duty by the Probationers & the Training School.

I would certainly “give her £25 a year more, raising to £100” as you say -

Mr. Croft says: the whole weight of the School rests upon her: & that she is breaking down, principally from late hours with Mrs. Wardroper.

& I have told you the above as to the training

[Mrs. Wardroper first finds fault because I say that Miss Crossland does the training: & then says the Sisters have “no time to (can’t) train,” as an explanation]

You know Miss Crossland is gone to Ireland for a rest.

I am sure the £25 more can’t make Miss Crossland more devoted: But could £20 or so more be given to Mrs. Wardroper? too - It would obviate jealousy on Mrs. Wardroper’s part.
4 {archivist: April 8th}

Reports: Mr. Croft: & Matron’s: & Agenda Book accompanying

I have only 3 remarks:

1. why no notice of Miss Lees’ work?
   it looks like an omission when we have
   had more Probationers for her than for
   any one: & these are put down: it is true she
   has kept but few.
   I think in general you have enclosed
   short reports from Miss Pringle, Miss Hill i.e.
   to Matron:
   I think you told me that Mrs. Carroll was
   to have the gratuity: then they are to be considered
   still our People.
   Miss Lees; yes, I would certainly “ask the second
   £100" a year for her:
   if she goes in July, there is absolutely
   no one to succeed her but Miss Persse:
   & she must not be unfaithful to Mr. Rathbone,
   if she can help it: [Mr. Rathbone did, in
   answer to my letter, insist upon the reforms mentioned]
Miss Lees is ill & going away for 3 weeks. She comes here to morrow Tuesday at 5.

F.N. April 8/78

2. I noticed, as you do: no account of
   change of Visiting hours: a very serious
   change to us.
   And must we not remodel our “Probationers’
   “Time-Table” (printed)? It does not do to send that about
   as it is.
   You know that already Miss Crossland only
   gives one class a week to Senior & Junior Probrs each
   Over

3. I see Milne on our Edinburgh List
   Was that furnished by Miss Pringle? {in another hand Yes}
   Miss Pringle furnished me with a List of
   our (Edinburgh) people - for me to give them
   books, (which I have done): & Milne
   was not on it.
4. There are some slight errors in Mr. Croft’s Report,
calling Nurse ____ MISS ______ & so on.
Lectures [Please let me see this sheet again]
I have no objection, I am sure, to "Dr. Bristowe having a £25," if he likes it.
But I meant to give you at length the result of my very close enquiry into the Lecturing as Training. (Dr. Bristowe’s)

(& others)

The first lecture (Protoplasms) was absurd for us: (Dr. Bristowe’s)
The second (Contagions) was mischievous
The other four not very à propos.

He did not correct the notes: but sent a foolish absurd eulogistic note to Matron.

But here is a remark I want to make
- I have been quite appalled to see who succeeds best in the marks & examinations:
  & I think these most indicative & characteristic of the value of the Lectures.
  [I am writing at 6 in the morning: & I cannot get up to look for my notes:
  but I had all the papers &c to examine.]
The person or persons who succeed best
- are the utterly surface women: the women who are ‘nowhere’ in the Nursing:
  the women who are all talk:
  such as Miss Jarvis Shaw:
    (I know her:)

& Miss Boole: I do not know her but hear that she is a poor Nurse & ill-behaved

Over
If you know the people & the Lectures
who succeeds best is either a good Criterion
not of the value of the people
(except in inverse ratio)
but of the value of the Lectures –
or, it is no indication at all of the value of the Nursing powers.
Dr. Bernays’ Lectures are infinitely
better than Dr. Bristowe’s: but even here
small indication is given by who succeeds best in the marks of who succeeds best
as a Nurse.

Mr. Croft’s Clinical Lectures are
excellent: & should be multiplied.
Certainly one every week
(as at Edinburgh) th
The more so now because of the wretchedly low ebb of
wretched/Training sisters:
[I think I told you what Mr. Croft said to me:
about these Sisters.] His Clinical Lectures are real Training:
I earnestly hope you are better.
yrs ever
F.N.
You know that Miss Lees is ill: Ap 8
& goes away on Wednesday for 3 weeks. 6 a.m.
She comes here on Tuesday (I suppose “to resign”?)
at 5. [end 12:343]
Rules for Probationers

35 S. St.

against poisoning fingers. 19/7/78

My dear Harry B. C.

1.a. After a great deal of to-ing & fro-ing
between Mr. Croft & me, we have at last
agreed upon the enclosed Rules, which
if you approve please have put in type
& send me 2 proofs to Lea Hurst
Cromford
Derby
(with the M.S. enclosed) as soon as possible
There has been too much delay.
[I send to-day to St. Thomas’ 36
soap tins & 36 bars Carbolic Soap
(with some Permanganate of Potash)
for Probationers.
And Mr. Croft promises to see
about Fontaines of 1 to 80 Carbolic
Solutions being fitted up for Probationers.
At present they have no Soap, no
Towel, no Condy, no nothing provided for
them.]
I have much more to tell you, but at present
I can only say that I do not think it is
far from the truth that “St. Thomas’ is
the nastiest place known.”

1.b. When I press Printed Rules for Sisters,
& you pooh pooh them, it must not be??
forgotten that it is for the Matron
they are wanted, rather than for the
Sisters; - & that the person who
knows least in the building probably
about Ward duties is: the Matron.
Her inspection in these, even if she gave
it, would be useless: but she could
see that Printed Rules which
she believed her own were adhered to.

2. It is true that forceps, scissors,
dissectors, &c have to be paid for
not only by Probrs, Special & other,
but by every Nurse & Sister throughout
the building.

   The consequence is of course that Nurses &
Nurse Probationers are generally, if
not always, without them; & borrowing
other people’s: or scratching off every dressing
with their fingers: which is the most common.

   I have promised Mrs. Wardroper
that, as we make ‘forceps’ obligatory in
these Rules, you will authorize a store
of forceps, scissors, dissectors &c to be obtained at the Dispensary/Surgery, & to
be placed at her disposal to distribute
to Probrs: as she thinks fit.
I would gladly pay for this.
3. She would be thankful if you would put at her disposal £10, £15 or £20 a year for necessary petty furnitures or repairs to furniture (in/or such things as zinc pails, coarse rubbers &c &c &c &c) for ‘Home’.

I would gladly pay for this.

4. I have a long letter to write to you about Mrs. Wardroper’s & my conversation on Monday 15th over what you & I wrote & said on Sunday 14th

At present I can only say: please, next time you see her, say to her what you said to me about your giving her, qy? £50 a year more: & Hospital giving to her office assistance For the first time she said to me she wanted a Secretary.

She was very good, poor woman, on the whole: 

yrs ever

F. Nightingale

[end 12:349]
York Road
Lying in Hospital
{printed address:} 10, South Street,
     Park Lane. W.
     28/1/79
My dear Hy Bonham Carter
   We ought to have nothing
to do with that Lying in Hospl.
   I have thought the matter
over scores of times since I
saw the plans: & have never
thought differently.
   [I tried to say this as
definitely as I could when
we met by appointment (in
the last week of December?)
more than a month ago.
   And if I did not explain
my conviction as strongly
as I ought, it was because
I understood that I should
be informed of the result of
your sending in to the
Chairman Capt. Galton’s
[illeg] Report, which you
then proposed doing:
Since then as you know, I
have heard nothing. And,
hearing nothing, I concluded
the matter was at an end.
What you tell me in your
yesterday’s note, & on the
previous day, is, as you are
aware, news to me.]
As we agreed, the question
is not : - what is the best
that can be made of ‘York
Road’ building? but is it/ whether
the improved ‘York Road’ answers to what, -
a place where with our
considered convictions, acquired
at such cost of life - & of
labour & experience in
collecting information, - we
could conscientiously form/think the
only fit building for us to undertake Lying in cases in
& a Training School for
   Midwifery Nurses -
I understood Capt. Galton
that he thought: decidedly
not.
I wrote to Miss Spencer before
   I had seen the plans: -- --
  having seen the plans, I
   should write to any lady
to deter her from accepting
who asked my advice.
  After a most laborious
enquiry, I gave, (in my “Notes”)
the minimum of acreage a
Lying-in Hospl should have
  - York Road has no acre age
at all, has no "open air site". So far
from “standing in its own grounds," it is unusually hemmed
in. I gave as a rule that a
Lying-in Hospital should
have two stories at the utmost
Leicestershire Record Office

- & the rooms of the pupils shd not be over the Patients.
On a good airy site, & with a good construction, it is possible that a third story for Staff might be added without inconvenience. At York Road without any open site at all it would be fraught with danger.

An 'isolated' room for outside in the grounds for Fever Small Pox or Erysipelas is a sine qua non. Th At York Road there is no space or place, inside or out, where you could have anything like real 'isolation' for Puerperal Fever or anything else.

I mention these few things: but I could mention many more. The place, the
site, the building are each hopelessly bad, - hopelessly unfitted for a Lying in Patients. [Q. Charlotte’s is sanitary in comparison to ‘York Road’]. I can only say - have ye nothing to do with that ‘unjust’ place. I would not.

===== 2

2 I am always glad to see Capt. Galton as you propose. But this week it is, I am sorry to say, impossible - x almost impossible for the next fortnight: that

=====

x I am more & more subject to attacks of entire prostration - the result of never having had one day’s rest of for 5 years. I have a slight attack of Erysipelas I have been obliged to put off appointments on urgent business: one, a man who returns to India next week - I am overworked & shall be till the meeting of Parlt with Indian
is to say nothing is impossible
if it is a matter of life or death.
But I do not see w/that it is
- Capt. Galton expressed his opinion very plainly.
- Unless he has altered that opinion (when perhaps he will be so good as to write me one word) I cannot think differently from what I did when I saw the plans & read the/his Report.
  [I could have seen him before this: but now I am almost unable.]
3. You may lay all the blame upon me, if there is a scape-goat wanted: & say to the Committee that I was so impressed with the loss of life in our own experience
& in the most laborious investigation which I undertook in consequence, with/including a correspondence with most of the Lying in Hospitals & Workhouse Infirmaries in England & the Continent that I could not recommend a Lying in Hospital at all except under certain conditions which York Road can never be made to fulfil -

At the same time, (& without in the least entering on the merits), the resignation & non election of the Medl Officers forms another argument for you to withdraw. You would never enter on a scheme of this kind without knowing your Medical Officers.
To enter more fully on this subject would be to re-write my book.
I will return yr Draft Copy:

ever yrs sincerely
Florence Nightingale
Hy Bonham Carter Esq

Hampshire, signed letter, f582/18, 2 ff, pencil

10 South St April 2/89
British Nurses’ Assocn

My dear Harry
I have read all the letters (Miss Lückes, Stains, Vincent &c &c) which you were so good as to leave with me; & fully concur in them & with what you say - Miss Pyne writes me the enclosed - I am very much afraid of Miss Pyne - She is so impulsive - & in spite of all I can/shall say, she will tell the other Matrons that she now has my “guidance” -
I think if I see her I ought
to see Miss Lückes first.
& ought to write asking Miss Lückes if she can come this week, Thursday, Friday or Saturday, (tho’ this week is already fuller than I can well do -) & then see Miss Pyne -
Can you suggest? & would you say what answer/caution I should give Miss Pyne? & have I anything to say to Miss Lückes, (after hearing what she has to say,) but to recommend what you say:
1. the enlargement of your Pamphlet from the side of the Nurses for free distribution.
2. the awaiting the appearance of the R. Charter - & then your calling up a Meeting in opposition.
   Could you kindly give me a few of your valuable headings to preach to these ladies, as you did for Miss Wood?
   ever yours

   F. Nightingale

Miss Machin (Mrs. Redpath) in S. Africa and Miss Loch & all her Nurses in India have joined the Brit. Nurses

Hampshire, signed letter, 94M72 f582/19, 2 ff, pencil

10 South St Private April 11/89

   Miss Luckes & B.N.A.

   My dear Harry
   I am very glad you are going to refresh at Woodside.
   I have been so hindered by dark mornings & other things that I have not yet been able to write out my notes of Miss Luckes.
   But I am anxious to catch you before you go -
   I therefore send a little preliminary stuff - embodying Miss Luckes’ promise.
   If you will return it/all to me, I will fill it up - For I have more (illegible) notes -
   I have no copy of anything I now send.
You ordered me to like Miss Lückes -
So I do -
you know she is not attractive -
And I had heard a good deal
about her flattering ways - &c -
But as we went on & had
a great deal of conversation
about her own Hospl &
er her methods, she seemed a
woman of enormous energy,
great good sense, & great
devotion to the cause - but
consciously overpowered by
the immense organisation she
wields. [They have 90 Probrs
always going -
150 Probrs on the books -
- Private Nurses &c &c

She says she hardly knows
some of the Probrs by sight -
And I very much doubt whether
there is another woman/matron who
could do all she does.
She has sent me since a
great many papers of her
Training-school. Some we
should disapprove -
I must say she impressed me very
much -
I return you all our papers -
Miss Vincent’s, Miss Stains’ are
particularly valuable -
[I am to see Miss Pyne at Easter.]
I should like to see them, the papers,
all again, please -
in haste
ever yours
F. Nightingale P.T.O.
I wish I had another copy for myself of this truly abominable little pamphlet.

Is your address Woodside
   Hayes Common
   Beckenham
   Kent

Age makes me stupider.

====

I think - this is by the way - Miss Lückes undervalues St. Bartholomew’s influence.

By the money test, St. B.’s & St. Thomas’ are the only ones (not the London) from which the Nurses - in Private Institutions command 2 guineas a week instead of one

Hampshire, initialed letter, ff582/20, 4 ff, pen, black-edged paper

To-day at St. Thomas’
   July 27/92

My dear Harry
   You are so good as to say that you will talk matters over with Miss Gordon to-day.

   There is, as you say,

1. Miss “Ripon” & her year’s training (for Missionary work) at St. Thomas’ -

2. Through Miss Maude Stanley proposal made * that the large Genl Hospls of London should send their Probationers for 3 mo: training in Scarlet, Enteric Fever & Diphtheria at Homerton, where is now

* which I was to answer & advise upon
(Miss Vincent’s) Miss Mackenzie
with Matron’s powers &
duties, housekeeper under
her, - an excellent Medical
Supt from Guy’s, - all
sorts of improvements in
accommodation, table &c &c
- Nursing under direct
supervision of trained Matron -

They say that Medical
students are now sent from
London Hosps. Why should not Nurses? But the
cases are not parallel. The
medical students are sent
from e.g. Bartholomew’s
two or three times a week
& cases are shown to them.

The Nurses would have to
reside. We can’t send Nurses.
They must volunteer.

I have talked the matter
over with Miss Lückes &
Miss Gordon - Miss Lückes
objects entirely - & says they
have quite enough Enteric
& Diphtheria in the “London”
for experience:

It is a matter of great
concern if, as Miss Gordon
says, the St. Thomas’ Doctors
send all Enterics now to the
Metropolitan Asylums. Enterics
are much better off in the
General Wards of St. T.’s -
And the wildest Doctor who
makes Medicine now consist of Infection: Antiseptics & Microbes does not consider Enteric “infectious”. Also: they are excellent practice - Diphtheria we have - No. 8 Block
But I will ask you to talk the plan of Miss Stanley over with Miss Gordon.
[I did talk it over with Miss Crossland who is entirely against it, till after the Nurse has done with us - Indeed It would seem as if such training were more needed for those who are to be Private Nurses.
Our “Extra Nurses” are sent into No 8 Block. They do not volunteer.
Homerton
3. Miss Stanley also asked for Charge Nurses from us. Their position, wages &c are greatly improved. I have the data. Miss Gordon spoke to me about Miss Baines, Asst Night Supt, whom, as you know, she wants to get rid of. Would Miss Baines go to Homerton? She is conscientious & good. [Miss Stanley has repeatedly asked me to see Miss Mackenzie - But I really have not been able.]

4. Would you talk over “Register” with Miss Gordon?

Miss Gordon was here for several hours last night Of that anon - not referring to Miss Gordon,

4.a. Sir W. Bowman’s & Mr. Power [12:446] Thank you for the documents. But they contain such extraordinary statements of success, that they only let one into a mine of darkness. Their success being what we consider total failure, EXCEPT during Miss Jones’ too short reign, who was
excellent as a Nurse, an administrator, a teacher - And their praise of Bishop Blomfield !!! It takes one back to the dark Ages - I have done nothing for Mr. Power; I don’t know what to do. All my recollections are exactly the reverse of their documents. What am I to do?

5. I think, if you could kindly make time to see me before you go to Woodside, it would be as well - I will keep myself open There are many things to talk about ever yours F.N.

6. You say we & the B.N.A.(R. Charter) are put off by the “President “of the Council” till after the Long Vacation - Does the “President of the Council” change with Ministers? F.N.

7. You spoke of my seeing Mr. Finlay; & Treasurer. 8. {upside down and stroked out} London May 26/92

To the Secretaries
Miss Mansel -2- Private 30/7/92
2 I saw her yesterday - She is full of information, tho’ always so emotional [I was very glad to read her reports which you sent me before seeing her] She told me exactly what I wanted to know about Monthly Nursing (or no Monthly Nursing.)
   Do you know that Miss R. Paget set up that Miss Webster who is now a certificated Midwife as teacher of Monthly Nursing to Q.V.I. Nurses? [R. Avenue, Chelsea, I think she lives]
   P. Turn over

3 It is rather melancholy, is it not? that after 35 years of work, the 4 great Hospitals of London should only have such 4 Matrons as they have. Miss Lückes is the best. But she has no discipline compared with Miss Crossland’s
4 I saw young Dr. Ord yesterday. [He comes every day to galvanize me.] He told me exactly what you did about Baltimore Hospls - told me of another St. Thomas’ Nurse, Venables, who is Matron of another Hospl at Baltimore. He says there is no Nursing worth having in the
States but what is an Englishwoman is at the head of it. &c &c &c -

He is going to marry Dr. Billings’ daughter -
told me what Dr. Billing’s position is -

5. I am sure that you must stick tight to your House Committee being an established thing - Treasurer getting too arbitrary - I feel it to in our Nursing - And he is trying to make the Resident Doctors against their own judgment send the Typhoids (Enterics) to the Metropolitan Asylums. This is wrong in every sense - But he will succeed. Ignorance always succeeds. F.N. [end]

Hampshire, initialed letter, ff582/22, 4 ff, pen

10 South St Aug 8/92
Sir D. Duckworth
Objections to R. Charter
My dear Harry
   Thanks for your Telegram
& for sending me Mr. Rathbone’s note which I return -
      I read the note somewhat differently from you -
top of p 2. 2nd line after “Hospital” -
   Is not what you read “in” an - meant to be ans, because I think that “Hospital classes” make the Nurse, but “3 years’””training” and Hospital classes and “Examns”
Dr. Moore called here last evening (wishing kindly to tell me about Shore, whose Doctor he now is)

Naturally he was eager to talk about the R. Charter & the B.N.A.

And I had better put/abridge a long conversation under headings:

Objections to R. Charter

1. Danger of making the Registered Nurses an inferior class of Medical Practitioners (felt by many Doctors, he says.
2. Impossibility of defining what a competent Nurse is
3. Absolute impossibility of getting an incompetent Nurse off the Register - And (3a) of

Finding any Matron or Medical man who would move in doing it.

Flagrant case, just happened at St. Bartw’s, a B.N.A. Nurse

had to be/(for taking morphia) dismissed from

Hospl, not from Register - Matron would do nothing -

A Doctor would say: “I did not make the Register - I detest it. What obligation is there upon me to get myself into trouble to get her/an erring Nurse off the Register?” Only a conviction in a Court of Law would do it.

4. Question. Do they mean to declare an unregistered Nurse unfit to practise Nursing?
5. So far from the Register being a protection to Medical men, a Registered Nurse might defy a Medical man who thought her incompetent.

But no number of certificates would ever convince a Physician or Surgeon that a Nurse was competent whom he found not so.

6. No Hospital could bear the expence of having none but Nurses of 3 years’ training. Yet, otherwise, a cry would be raised that we leave the poor to
the nursing by a majority of untrained Nurses. At St. T.’s the Probationers are in a minority. At the “London” &c &c in a considerable majority.

Define what you mean by one year’s training
two “
three “
Miss Lückes says she “means” Probrs for two years because otherwise they would go away after one year.

7. Great distinction between Doctors & Nurses -
It is true that Doctor students are publicly examined for Doctors -
But this does not now determine the man’s place so much as his certificates as Dresser or Clinical Clerk, as House Surgeon or Ho. Physician &c &c -
St. Bartholomew’s itself would
not give or refuse a Nurse a place as Sister according to her examn.
The educated governess, not the competent Nurse will be at the head of an Examn
Lectures & Examns are not to make a Nurse but to interest a Nurse.

I think this is worth sending you, because it shows you what many Doctors feel & some even at St. Bartw’s. But I think I should like to see it again.
I will answer your Saturday’s letter directly ever yours
F.N.
New Scheme: St. Thomas’ -
5 Probationers: Victoria Ward
My dear Harry
   I entirely agree with what
you say to Treasurer - strengthened
too by female considerations.
   To put in
5 Probationers = 5 Nurse-maids
   is much the same as
5 Nurses = 5 House maids.
   Our proposal (my eager wish)
was, as you say, 2 Probationers
which I think might well be
increased to THREE, provided
one were capable of - if required -
undertaking Night duty
under the Staff Night Nurse
[no new necessity.† But
none but those who have
done night duty themselves
are aware of its stringency.]
   Three Probationers are the
outside of what even the best Victoria Sister & Staff Nurse could properly instruct - or of what the little Patients could properly supply Nursing=proper for. As it is now, the want of these is crying, in two senses. The Staff Nurse goes to the door with one Physician or Surgeon (we must remember that the whole Medical & Surgical Staff, may be employed there - not the case in any other Ward) receiving his instructions - the Sister may be equally properly employed, or she may be off duty - and 7 or 8 wretched babies may be left piteously 'crying'. [It is said that the number
of Patients under two or
indeed under one year is greatly
increased - harelips operations
on quite infants, &c. these & others require
hand feeding - not bottles) &c &c

On the other hand, you know
we once had a complaint when
we had a long ago Probr there that she
had nothing to do but emptying
bed-pans - & the like - a thing
which is important but not
all - It was I believe, a just
complaint.

The difficulty is immensely
increased by our present Sister
Victoria (Miss Elkington from
Miss Perssè) which again is a
Nemesis upon us for not
having Lady Probationers in the Ward

S. Victoria (whom I know) is
devoted to the little Patients - cares
bed pan
difficulty Nemesis
present Probrs
not how hard she works -
most conscientious -
- either will not or cannot
instruct - extremely desirous
of Matron’s help - but, just
as might be expected, thinks
her whole duty lies with the
Patient - cannot remember old
cases - does not know what
Night Supt. does - &c &c &c
just like a District Nurse -

[A great deal of this I
derive from herself]
The first (one) Probr we sent this
year was a failure. The Sister
did not know how to teach
her - did not try - & she did
not know how to learn - the
next Probr was a very nice woman,
and I hope did well better

It remains that there is, I
believe, room for 3 Probationers
in Victoria Ward - but not
room in the Sister’s mind for
their good instruction. [This is also
the fault of one & more of our new Sisters
(2) I entirely follow suit as to the undesirableness of Probationers sleeping in the former Nurse Maids’ Quarters - Miss Crossland has greatly objected to Probrs being taken from the Nurse maids, on account of their indiscipline.

Tho’ we do not regret the new Dormitory arrangements, they certainly have increased gossip.

Both the gossip & indiscipline of Wardmaids’ Quarters would heavily handicap our N. Home.

I omitted to add that, if any thing, Probationers in Victoria actually want more, instead of less instruction than in other Wards - Nice-minded Patients more instruction required by Probrs about babies.
I feel that I have only backed up what you have said much better - I from the woman’s side - I don’t think you ought to put Probationer Nurses to do Nurse-maids’ work any more than you would put a Probr to take a Ward-maid’s place as part of her Probation - The question is a much larger one than the expence of “washing” - Could there be two Nurse-maids - “putting out” “their washing” as the Nurses’ washing? + 3 Probationers?

Hampshire, initialed letter, f582/25, 6ff, pen

16/10/92

New Scheme: St. Thomas’ Victoria (Nursemaids) 5 Probrs

It is proposed to put 4 Probationers Day 1 “ (or rather Extra Nurse) Night
There is a Ward-maid to the Ward It is proposed that the 4 Day Probationers shall be Probrs in their latter months - steady - carefully selected [They will change about every 2 months, not all together, it is said] Accommodation
It is proposed that the 4 Probationers shall sleep in No 4 Block [?Victoria is in No 4 Block]
Dormitory - which is occupied
accommodation continued
by Staff Nurses, as I understand
- that they should have the two
large rooms opposite each other.
that two should be in each room
separated by screens -
The rooms cannot be separated
by compartments - because each
room has only one door & one
window.
[These two rooms were those
occupied by the 5 Nurse-maids
But the Probrs, as above said
are supposed to be Probrs
several months old: selected
for steadiness - to be there
at most only 2 months -
- no new Probrs to be employed -
Miss Gordon will impress
upon them that they are to
have no association with the
Staff Nurses in the Dormitory.
- never to go into the Dormitory
Sitting-room - but to be (except
or sleeping) entirely under Miss Crossland.
Accommodation continued
[F.N. does not quite see how
this can be. I suppose they must
go up into their Dormitory to
dress at say 10 a.m.]

1. Night “Extra Nurse” - Victoria - a junior
   (not a Probr at all)
   will sleep in Extra Nurses’
   Dormitory -
   [For sometime the arrangement
   in Adelaide has been -
   because we could
not give two Probationers -
   that one (junior) “Extra” is
put on, besides the one
Probr; and this Extra Nurse
always slept in the “Extra
“Nurses’” Dormitory.
   It was a good arrangement
for giving (young) “Extra”s
Obstetric experience-]
And, with regard to Victoria

Night “Extra”, any thing
that ensures Night Service
as Assistant to Staff Night Nurse,
- which will be a sort of
conclusion to year’s Probation
- is good]
Meals: Time Table
   It is true that there will
be some little difficulty here.
The 4 Day Probationers cannot
be all “off duty” at once at
the N. Home dinner - But
this will be got over by one
Probr (not the same always dining at
Miss Gordon’s Nurses’ Table -
sending in word, of course to
Miss Crossland who is not coming.
Work These (4 Day) Probrs
will have nothing to do

{printed address upside down:) Claydon House that is not Telegraph
Steeple Claydon, Bucks. Bucks.
Victoria Nurse Maids (5 Probationers continued or rather 4)

will have nothing to do
that is not Nursing proper
- feeding & washing babies
is - Nursing proper.

[N.B. The want of knowledge
in these necessities in even
good Midwives & even good
District Nurses could hardly
be greater if no baby
had ever been born into the
world - It seriously affects
the National health, as
Dr. Farr used to say.]
The Nurse-maids did do
dressings - but were not
taught, except by the
Students. The Nurse-maids
did go round with/attending the

Doctors & Students - like Probationers
(And afterwards gave
themselves out as “trained
“at St. Thomas’)

Instruction: Yes: Miss
Elkington (Sister Victoria)
will give instruction
and there is a very
good Staff Nurse there
now.

There are two Probationers
in Victoria now -
ever yours F. N.

[For further remarks, see
p. 3]
I think this is the best bargain, while not overlooking the want of proper instruction & uncertainty of moral discipline - that could be made - seeing that they are not to be raw Probationers -

Our side is of course this:
The indiscipline in Victoria is notorious - the light behaviour of the Nurse maids - with the Doctors & the Students - nothing less can be said of the Nurse x who had been there for some years - and is now gone (married)
x Roden

we could not have had Probrs under her is admitted by Matron -

[the want of power or indeed [ of intention of Sister Victoria [ to teach or to govern [It is said she now intends to teach - the Nurse-maids without any training doing dressings & attending Doctors Some months ago one of the full Doctors x said to Matron “We cannot go on with that Sister”. [Please remember Miss Elkington is an admirable woman & devoted Nurse] “What are we to do?” said Matron. “I can’t discharge S. Victoria. We x Clutton
“must put in a good Nurse.”
And in April Nurse Ward
who has been in Children’s
Hospitals since she was 16 &
is now only 38 but quite
worn out was put in.
She tells Matron she can’t
stay - & next month Miss Gordon
is going to look out another
& place her under Nurse Ward till
Xmas to learn to do the Staff
work. Nurse Ward has been excellent.
Miss Gordon says that Sister
is “much interested” in the
Problems & anxious to make it a
success.

Nurse Ward wants to go into
District Nursing.
Miss Gordon has evidently taken
the greatest pains about the
arrangements (Material) for the
new scheme in Victoria
She has consulted Miss Crossland who, she says, approves. [This is very different from her former tone about Miss Crossland.]

If you ask me who told me all this? it was Miss Gordon herself - but some of it had been told me before by Miss Elkington herself.

We had Miss Gordon here for a whole day.

It was/is my duty to tell you the “All round”, is it not?

I should like to see all this again, please, if not too much trouble.

F.N.

Hampshire, unsigned letter, f582/26, 2 ff, pen

Claydon Ho: Nov 1/92  
  
  Scheme for Victoria Ward

My dear Harry

  Thank you very much

  for your letter, received this morning, of Oct 30.

  Yes: I think the best bargain that we could make

  was as I gave it in

  my letter of the 16th

  Miss Gordon told me

  that she had discussed every point with Miss Crossland - & that Mis C. agreed & thought it all feasible -

  In note sheet 3, (I think of my letter,) marked Private

  I gave what I considered
the arguments against it,

but only between you &
me - and I don’t see
how ≠/we could or
ought to use them
viz. principally the
character of S. Victoria

I think that saying she
will now instruct
Probationers well is
very like saying that,
having found a lady
who plays very well
on the organ, we will
employ her to instruct
a class on the harp.

For the Hospital it is
undoubtedly a great gain
to have 5 advanced Probrs
or as you say 4 advanced
Probrs & an junior extra Nurse instead of 5 Nurse maids in that Ward.

Yes: Miss Gordon undoubtedly said meant the Night Nurse (Assistant) to be an Extra Nurse i.e. a Probr who has completed her year’s training [Miss Gordon not seldom puts on an Extra Nurse in this way to do Probationer’s work.

And as in my view this is a very good thing I did not discuss this point with her in the Treasurer’s view.]

I hope Miss Crossland does approve all these arrangements about Probationers as the best that can be made under the circumstances - really approves, I mean - [Miss Gordon was quite respectful towards her in tone.]

I return Treasurer’s letter with thanks - I ought to have done so before - but I have been expecting to return every day. I also return the copy of your own letter to him, which I should like to have kept, but thought you might not have another.
My dear Harry

What is the “Nursing Directory”? It is not Mr. Burdett’s, is it? Or is it the R.B.N.A.?

I presume you have had a copy - And has a copy been sent to St. Thomas’ to answer?

Mine comes to me from Miss Lückes -

I should have thought the “slip” at the top 'given in this “publication” would be liable for prosecution for libel.

And I should think 100 years in Dante’s Inferno a small punishment for the animus of it.

And the sort of threat which compels us sinners to answer or be expelled from heaven.

However, as you know, all this appears to me nothing compared to the confusion as to what 1, 2, 3 years’ training means.

I saw Dr. Bedford Fenwick - & he did not know.

I saw Dr. Moore of St. Bart’s - & he did not know.

I don’t believe our Treasurer knows

I told you what our Matron said.
O the "Power of Words"! O the Power of Words! O that we had some great Enchanter now like Dickens or Cervantes or Pope to substitute meaning for words.

The main thing/meaning that I have been able to extract is:
that Probationer 2nd year = Staff Nurse
but is to be paid as Probr.
& Probationers 1st year is to be paid lower still or not at all & that those who give like Miss Pyne’s certificates give them at the end of the 2nd year 6 months in a Surgical & 6 in a Medical Ward.

But she has nothing at all to correspond with the regular steady system of moral training & technical classes under Miss Crossland.

What our Matron calls 2 years’ training I have written to you already

II
With regard to the other attack -slip at top - Probrs sent out to as Private Nurses, Miss Pyne, as I wrote to you in a little statement, declares as I think justly one year’s training quite enough - & from one to two years are the outside for a Private Nurse.
III. I will also send to mull on a small printed paper - also sent me by Miss Lückes - Miss Glover might give us the same cuff in the face. It seems as if all getting rid of unsuitable Probrs Or Nurses will become impossible unless they have murdered somebody. Truly this is a curious crisis.

Will you kindly return me the two printed papers for Miss Lückes in course of time? I want very much to know your views on these subjects. [end 12:552]

ever yours

F.N.
My dear Harry

I am “coming” the troublesome again -

In spite of failing eyes,
I read the “Times” leading Article yesterday - & also to-day?
? Troutbeck’s pithy little enquiry from Western Training School.

Could the D. of Westminster, always favourable, write a letter to the “Times”, prompted by you & Mr. Rathbone?

Also; would Dr.? Wace, of King’s C.H.? x

And St. Thomas’ by you & the Treasurer?

Perhaps the “London” is re-habilitated enough to do the same -

You know Sir. H. Davey has a daughter in training at King’s:
At all events the “Times” must put in the D. of Westminster if he writes. And should Mr. Rathbone ask a question in the Ho: of C.? Our object being now only to show that the “opposition” are respectable people with “public ground” & a sense of “public” duty - I think we are fallen very low for the “Times” - (to use its own language this morning about another thing) to give its “petulant & ignorant “criticisms” “upon a system of” training “of which it understands ‘nothing, save that it does not “allow” a Princess “to do as “she pleases. There could be “no more striking evidence “that they are utterly unfit “to take over the direction “of” (Training) “affairs & quite “incompetent to grasp the “conditions of” good Nursing “by which they benefit” ever yours F.N.
Pss Xtian’s

speech May 27/93

{printed address:} 10, South Street, [12:555-56]
Park Lane. W.

My dear Harry

I had not read the speech
of the President of the R.B.N.A.
in the “Times” of the 25th
when I wrote to you, because
of the small print.

But others than ourselves
feel that it is impossible
on “grounds of public duty”
to leave it unanswered.

It has been pointed out
to me that her own words
convict her of knowing nothing
of the subject

that she exults in upwards
of/nearly 2000 Nurses “having
enrolled themselves “voluntarily” (for
10/6 each) “on the Register.”

that, had she said: we
have carefully looked into
the precedents of every one
of these Nurses, & we are
unable at present to place
more than 100 Nurses who
can be authoritatively placed/certified
on a Register of this importance
as morally & technically
trustworthy. Then we
could have placed some
confidence in that she speaks of “certificates”[see odd]
“doubtfully secured”. Here
people hold up their hands
& ask: what else are
her “certificates”? of Hospital
“testimonials of which they have subsequently
“proved themselves unworthy” This is her danger.
She says that they have “power
“to remove names” - HOW?
This is more easily said than done.
& for 2000 Nurses.

What does she mean by
a “term of training for 3 years”,
She knows not what she
says means.
To this might be added
that it is strange when a
“Queen’s daughter”, with a
Queen’s Charter in her
hand, makes a speech
she can find nobody but
St. Bartholomew’s people to
support her - (& one of them
that wretched Miss Stewart) x
except Sir Jos. Fayrer whose
knowledge of Nurses is
conspicuous by its absence.
x Do you see that they have put her in as of
St. Thomas’ Hospl? This at all events must be corrected.
& Sir R. Quain who does not believe in them -

But what is of more consequence her discovery of “co-operative "offices" as a panacea is directly opposed to all experience in favour of "homes"

Then "a system which has "worked well in other "professions" - those words are more clap-trap without a reality. are they not?

It goes without saying that whatever is done in answering this unfortunate speech must be done most gingerly & loyally. But surely

we cannot leave the Public to swallow this all in unanswered. Otherwise we shall have answers from the low Radical people which will do us as much harm as the ignorance of the high Royal people -

A letter in the "Times" most courteously worded from the D. of Westminster would seem the best.

One is really sorry that for her/this good natured hysterical Princess to have been drawn into this "Registration "Muddle " - which seems to have been from a laudable desire to find her something to do -
Perhaps I must trouble you to let me see this letter again, as my eyes are so bad for reading the small print of Pss Xtain’s speech.

ever yours
F. Nightingale

Hampshire, initialed letter, f582/31, 2 ff, pen

St. Thomas’ Meeting
June 24/93

{printed address:} 10, South Street, Park Lane. W.

“They have the Charter”
My dear Harry: This is the motto of every body, except such reflective people as Miss Spencer, and a few others of ourselves.

I enclose Sir H. Acland’s letter -

I do feel most anxious to know the pith of your Meeting on Thursday; if you would kindly give me a line -

And could you kindly come & see me tomorrow (Sunday)?

Of course I do not wish
to say or write one hair’s breadth beyond what you & St. Thomas go — nor to fall one hair’s breadth short of it.

I have had a letter written to Miss Spencer since Sunday last. I did write to Miss Lückes & Miss Masson: (& Miss Vincent, because she was going abroad)

What you think I wish to communicate to our Matrons — And ought it not to be communicated to Chicago?

I feel as if we were in the fight of Jansenists & the Jesuits. The Jesuits got the ear of the King — Our Jesuits get the ear of H. R. H. The Jesuits destroyed the Jansenists: but they destroyed themselves in doing so.

I think this persecution, is for it is a persecution, is better for us than fashion.

Sir H. Acland’s letter is a good type from a kindly man of the time.

Never I think in my day was there such a blind
respect for mere rank
as now (I don’t mean
Debrett’s rank)
Look at Sir H. A.’s List.
There is only one man,
Duckworth, who knows
anything at all about the
subject - Paget calls himself
an “irresponsible dummy” -
&c &c &c H.R.H. knows
nothing -
“They have the Charter” is
the cry - even Miss Vincent’s,
 tho’ she writes: ‘I am so glad
‘I joined the Nursing Service
‘before Nursing became a trade.’
ever yours F. N.
Miss Gordon comes to me this
afternoon.
My dear Harry

You will have seen the long letter in yesterday’s “Times” p. 7, from the Secretaries of the R.B.N.A. in answer to ours.

They are not fortunate in their style, “nonsense”, “absurd” “absolutely untrue”, “untrue” “without any shadow of excuse”, are their accusations against us.

I have not been able to read the whole, on account of the small print.

But the last/penultimate (long) Para. ought possibly to be noticed:

Of the 6 Hospitals mentioned which “make or endeavour to make profits by sending out private
"26" out of the "33 signatures" are it quite out of Court, the R.B.N.A. says in its yesterday’s letter. "Nurses".
1. St. Thomas has never sent out private Nurses at all & I trust never will
2. The Westminster sends out Private Nurses & derives no profit from them.
Their training is never "only one year," but between "18 months" & two years.
3-4 Guy’s & the London do derive profits from their private Nurses. But the London has been unfairly attacked about it. I hope our Treasurer won’t bring us into like trouble.
5. Charing X: I did not know that it sent out Private Nurses
6. K.C.H. I know nothing about. I thought their system was quite different.
No one has ever explained what they/people mean by "3 years’ "training". If in the same Hospital, no Hospital, (one of the St. Bartholomew’s Doctors says) could bear the expence of it.
We at St. Thomas’ could not have 3 years’ Probrs in the Home. And it is the discipline of the Home that makes our training.
But As you so justly say to improve training is the great thing.
What we want is not 3 years’ training in the Home/As Probationers. It is to train the Sisters as Sisters after they have
become Sisters - & not leave
their training to be done by the old Nurses.

2. to give such instruction
to the Nurses after they
have become Nurses or extra Nurses as
will enable them too to give
Ward-training to Probrs
They do give it, but are left to their own idiosyncracies how to do it.

We should recognise this
as we have never yet done,
that the Ward Sisters
(with the Home Sister) are
the key to the whole situation
- in their influence over
Nurses, Probrs, extra Nurses, Ward Maids,
Patients, and (between ourselves) over the Junior
Medical Staff. Except
during Miss Pringle’s brief

-2-
reign, we never gave the
Ward Sisters any help in
their work -
The Matron tried & tries to
do it/the work herself - The 6 baby
Ward Sisters that we had
all together were left to
their own sweet way.
They received no training
as Sisters. What the
“Lords” & the R.B.N.A.
mean by 3 years’ training,
if they mean anything,
does not touch this want.
Is the 3 years’ training for Probationers?
Also: the second year’s
training must be given
to the new Nurse in the
Ward by the Sister to
enable her, the Nurse, to teach/train
the Probationer - which the Nurse
was herself perhaps a month ago.
Miss Ferguson & Miss Masson
did do this - The advantage
to us of the old Sisters is
enormous. But they teach
themselves to do this. No one trains
them.
We do nothing directly for our
Sisters - But an old Sister
of good stuff does a
great deal for the new
Nurses. Then there are the Extra Nurses
To have been an Extra Nurse
does not really make a Sister not
Much value is not
to be attached, I think, to
Professors' Lectures in the
2nd & 3rd year as practical
training - tho' I would by
no means discourage them.
It rubs up a Sister & Nurse

- makes them see that they
are not left to themselves
And if it makes a pedant
use fine words, that is nothing
compared to the mischief
of leaving her alone to find her
own way. There are those who never find it.
Miss Ferguson says
that Dr. Sharkey IS a
second year's training -
not so much in his direct
Lectures as in hearing him
& seeing him in the Ward -
The Home Sister at the
London does absolutely
nothing in training the Probrs]
Forgive me. The R.B.N.A’s
yesterday's letter makes
me think: is Hospital
training, as you say, desire, improving?
   And oh! there cannot be any real unity in improvement in training unless the female Heads (Matron, 1st Assistant (Home Sister) 2nd Assistant &c meet each other to discuss things informally constantly. This is one great secret of the Edinburgh success. The want of this has always been our bane - Matron & "Home" Sister have always been not one, but very decidedly two.

{printed address, upside down:} 10, South Street, Park Lane. W.

Now, these things will press heavily on us.
   ever yours F.N.

signed letter, ff582/33/1-3, 5 ff, pencil [there are two letters, a pencil draft and pen]

**£582/33/1**

To H. Bonham Carter. Feb 15
My dear Harry
   I did not know or did not remember, more abominable me! that your birth day - a day we must all bless - was on Feb 15. And don’t say "alas’ " when you say it completes my 67th year - Your sun is still in its meridian, thank God - Mr. Jowett always said that the last years of his life were & ought to be
the best - & of himself he said, tho’ he had I fear plenty of suffering in the last 2 years & some ingratitude in/among those at least one of those whom he had really created that they were his happiest - his energy never flagged

   Sir Harry, an extraordinarily different man, & whose last 4 years were nothing but blow upon blow, has often told me that the last 2 or 3 were the happiest And his energy fitful as it was always never flagged -

   Sidney Herbert worked till his last fortnight -

   And

   Now haven’t we cause to rejoice in your life ever more & more - every year & to thank you more & more & to sing not the Dies Irae but the Te Deum - for your life And a great many more besides us -

   Hoot, hoot, laddie - You are one of those who open the Kingdom of heaven - that which is within & here - to all believers.
& not one of those who
leap from a pinnacle of
the temple knowing
nothing - but just
trusting that the angels
will carry/hold them up like some
I could name but refrain
- And at least one of the
“angels” is probably a
vulgar flatterer - And the
real “angels” who are
working hard & in detail
entirely repudiate the
holding up of the leaper
from the pinnacle.

F582/33/2
A quite poor woman, a
great sufferer, & one of our
friends from Lea Hurst,
who cannot spell, wished
me this year that it
should be the ‘holiest,
“happiest & most blessed
“year” I had ever lived.
So wish I that this may be
not the least fruitful,
in blessings to others - which
is saying a great deal -
& to you & yours - of all
your 67 years -
And believe me
ever yours gratefully
& affectionately
Florence Nightingale

£582/33/2
Burn March 4/94
{printed address,) 10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.
{repeats f582/33/1, but includes after “and” at the end of the second page:}
March 4/94

Burn
My dear Harry
F.N. did not know or
did not remember, more
abominable me! that
your birth day - a day we
must all bless - was on Feb 15.
And don’t say “alas’”
when you say it completes
my 67th year - Your sun
is still in its meridian,
thank God - Mr. Jowett
always said that the
last years of life were & ought
to be the best - & of himself
he said, (tho’ he had I fear plenty of
suffering in the lest 2 years
& some ingratitude among those

whom he had really created)
that they these years were his happiest
-his energy never flagged.
Sir Harry, an extraordinarily
different man, & whose
last 4 years were only
blow upon blow, has often
told me that the last 2
or 3 were the happiest.
And his energy, fitful as it
always was, never flagged
till the very last week
of his life.
Sidney Herbert worked
till his last fortnight.
And Mr. Gladstone-
for this is like his death-
will be lamented not because
he worked at Home Rule to
his last moment, but because to his last moment he maintained the Ho: of C. to what it was in the years I so well remember, its palmy days under the School of Sir Robert Peel, of whom he is the last.

Now haven’t we cause to rejoice in your life ever more & more every year- & to thank you more & more - & to sing not the Dies Irae but the Te Deum for your life. And a great many more besides us.

Hoot, hoot, laddie! You are one of those who “open the kingdom of heaven” that which is “within” & here- “to all believers”- & not one of those who leap from a pinnacle of the temple, knowing nothing-but just thinking that the ‘angels will bear them up’ like some I could name but refrain. And one at least of the “angels” is always a vulgar wretch. And the real “angels” who are working hard & in detail entirely repudiate the ‘bearing up’ of the leaper from the pinnacle.
And Mr. Gladstone - for this is like his death - will be lamented not because he worked at Home Rule to his last moment - but because to his last moment he maintained the Ho: of C. to what it was in the years I so well remember, its palmy days under the School of Sir Robert Peel, of whom he is the last.

Now haven’t we cause {f582/33/1 continues}

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Hampshire, initialed letter, f582/34, 2 ff, pencil

Dec 28/95
{printed address,:} 10, South Street, Park Lane. W.
You oaf, you lubber, you lazy loon, as that excellent woman said to King Alfred, when he let her cakes burn, you never told me of a Christmas box for Ivan

Yes: I should be very glad to see you on Saturday.
Monday I am afraid wd be too early for me - and our other days clash -
Xmas love to Sibella F.N.

Hampshire, initialed letter, f582/35, 2 ff, pencil

Oct 12/98
10, South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane. W
My dear Harry As you have applied the other Cheque to felonious purposes, I am constrained to send this one - It is all due to you that I have it to send.
If you are naughty,
I shall bite you - And the
Dentist tells me I have
one of the strongest
bites he knows - So
beware

   Good bye & good luck.
So glad you go on to
Italy
     ever yours
          F. N.

{notation on the same page}

Hampshire, signed letter, ff582/36, 2 ff, pencil

                March 12/1900 [12:507]
{printed address:} 10, South Street, Park Lane. W
My dear Harry
I send you back
your “Third Section”
“Nurses employed &c”
with a great deal of
repentance for not
having sent it before,
which, I suppose you
will say, will be as
efficacious as “repentances”
usually are
The “II Reports
“Nursing School” &c”
are included (“First
”Section - Second Section
“1898” are included.)
I shall hope some
day to see them again
They are very
interesting - very
credible, I think

ever yours
with grateful love
F. Nightingale [end 12:507]

Hampshire, incomplete letter, f582/37, 2ff, pencil

2 Private
B.N.A. Dr Moore thinks [12:552]
even more seriously than
we do of the harm they
are doing - He says: good
Nursing will be destroyed.
The “3 years”, he says,
are of course to be in one
Hospital -
If we are not “destroyed”,
is it not Macaulay who
says: “A little persecution
is worth more for purification
than the best internal discipline” -
- I think this of the most
“Christian” Princess’ is
“persecution” - & will brush
us up. It certainly has Miss
Lückes.
Chicago in reply -

It is a Royal Commission, as you know - & Pss Xtian is the President -

I asked your two questions: Mrs. B. Fenwick & Miss? Close 1. of whom are they the Delegates?

& 2. who appointed them? -

And the answer was:

1."of the B.N.A. I suppose:

2. "Mrs. B. Fenwick appointed herself - But I suppose Pss Xtian confirmed "it"

I don’t think there are to be "addresses" - Ly B. Coutts was quite modest in what she said to me "I want, she said, short accounts of any successful Woman’s work by the Woman herself - just to show the American women how to avoid mistakes - not, to give them a cut & dried Lecture, address or plan" -

I have got her e. g. a very remarkable short paper by a friend of mine Miss B. Hunt of Gloucester off/on a Young Man’s Club she created & carries on without money She, Ly B. C. asked me for a "short" paper on our work - not a history or report - or Statistics -
What would I not give to be on such terms with the R.B.N.A. as to be able to ask their Secretaries who have written this letter in the “Times” what their “3 years’ “training” means - I might learn a deal from such a discussion.

But Dr. Bedford Fenwick when I saw him did not know, I am sure, what he meant.

Could I have the reprint of the letter we signed, as soon as possible? I want several copies - please - and would it be well to answer in a few words what in that penultimate Para: of their answer they have put “untrue without a “shadow of excuse” as they say F. N.

f582/40/1, 18 Princes Gardens, London, S.W. July 11, 1891, from Wm Rathbone to FN re some proofs & Mr. Montague’s statement
Mr. Rathbone’s memorandum

Registration of Nurses

My dear Harry July 13/91

You have of course received the Proofs of this, as I have

I send you his letter.

If it is right to do what he asks, of course it must be done -

It is most difficult to me, (& wears my eyes too.)

And I must ask your advice at every turn -

-2-

I think Mr. Montague is rather confused between Private & Hospital Nurses - & where he says “her Training School & her employer” this is rather confusing to the Public -

Also: “Training School” should not include Hospital - B.N.A. considers any Hospital a Training School - Mr.
Montague does not know
that all bonafide
Private Nurses, do not
they? pass thro’
Hospital experience
after Training School.

But I should have to
refer to you about these
& many other things -
I think there are some things
which I could show you:
that the adversary might
use to our detriment.

II
My “Article”, if it is ever
written, will refer only
incidentally to Registration
& B.N.A. - & would
seek to be a sketch of
the history of the Reform
of Nursing, with no
controversy -
I have a good deal
written, hardly perhaps
any of which will do -
but I should like to have
your opinion - Latterly I
have not been able to
touch it.

[You know perhaps that
every bit of my strength is
now taken up by two great extra
calls]
The short sentences are very attractive - Do you think it will convince others than us who are already convinced?

The addition at end of which has been tacked on is, I think, convincing.

But there are several things which I think are not only mischievous but inconsistent - e.g.

p. 9 et passim too much value given to the "certificate" & "documentary" evidence"
p. 18 Will not this set people upon a voluntary Association of Hospitals for Registration (such as has been pressed upon me over & over again) when we have just said that Hospitals & Training Schools vary so much in standard that we must examine, certify & guarantee the Hospls & Schools, which of course is impossible - & wd send us all under Govt.

N.B. It is very curious that the adversary says at once /the same time: both - (of Private Nurses) "Of course we shall take references besides the Register -" and "How can you (we) be such fools as to suppose there is time to do so?"
Leicestershire Record Office 1381

About the Proof (Mr. Montague) [black-edged]
When you are so good
as to answer, please
return this -
    ever yours
   F.N.
{printed address, upside down:} 10, South Street,
   Park Lane. W.

Hampshire, initialed letter, f582/41, 2 ff, pen & pencil black-edged paper

Mr. Montague’s work -
Mr. Rathbone 17/7/91
{printed address} 10, South Street,
   Park Lane. W.
I must eagerly & desperately
wish to consider it
“crushing”.
I have done nothing to
it, but what I sent you.
The/My criticisms on it are
by a lawyer on our
side, to whom I showed
it, who considered it
excellent, conclusive in many things, but that there
these/ were the things I wrote you which the Adversary
would lay hold of -
I send you the Proof
marked to save you
trouble - [But please
return it] - reading it
with my notes.
You must decide
as to probable effect
of the Proof - & please tell me

“What are 'my views',
“when I have them!?”
Also: “Had nothing better be
done at present?”
    or “till November”?
    see Mr. Rathbone’s letter
[Mr. Rathbone told me
before, he was going {illeg}
“abroad on 31st!! He is
quite knocked up]
So we have no time to
lose.

VERY glad of Mr.
Rathbone’s evidence -
- hope it will have
great effect
    But (privately) Lord
Sandhurst is as great an
enemy as Ld Kimberley.
    & really quite as
“supremely ignorant.”
    F.N.
Mr. Rathbone
Mr. Montague’s Memo –
13/11/91
{printed address:} 10, South Street,
   No 2 Park Lane. W.
My dear Harry
   This is the sequel to what I
wrote this morning
   I am told there are many
   things/points the Adversary might
perhaps make against what
is printed
p. 2 Are those the Adversary’s
own words? “Registration in
the Medl profession “contributes
“to the maintenance of a high
“standard of knowledge & skill”
Nobody ever does say that, it
is said, but only that it
preserves the public from being
at the mercy of perilous inefficiency
or bare faced fraud
p. 6 Admission to a Register can never “equalize the “professional status” of those who are on it. The status of Medical men is not so equalized. Their professional status depends on their individual reputations, not on the fact of registration.

p.7 (a) Registration could not put “all nurses on a par”.
(b) Training School or Hospl would be entered on the Register
(c) Public wd have same facilities as now, plus the information in the Register

p.9 - Same answer as to (c)
Also: Public never can have the “power of discrimination”

p.10 “Authoritative register”
Quite true: but alternative is no register & no information.

p. 12 “So far as the register is concerned, one Hospl as good as another” - This Is this so, if name of Hospl where Nurse trained is put on Register?
Difficulty Impossibility of removal from Register very serious matter indeed.
I am more against Register than ever - But I am told that this Memo gives many handles to the Adversary, as I believe you think
F.N.
Headings (for Mr. Rathbone) B.N.A.
1. General Register not adapted to the profession of a Nurse.
2. Why? because General Register is only for the technical qualifications which can be tested by examination. If Medical men cared only for Medical Science, & not for the care/comfort & cure of the Patients, they would care only for technical knowledge & dexterity in their Nurses. But they do care for all that contributes to the comfort & cure of the Patients by the unregistrable personal & moral characteristics & practical experience of the Nurse.

A nurse cannot be registered like a (Medical/Doctor Student) - the conditions as testable or not by examination are essentially different. And it is this confusion of ideas which has produced all the difficulty. Nor can the Nurse who has to do with life & death be registered like "members of other (men's) callings" see B. N. A (e.g. a carpenter or plumber, a Lawyer, Surveyor or Accountant).

Note A Hospital or Infirmary Nurse is besides the only woman who is really in charge of men. which requires a high stamp of character.
3. As Moral qualifications are so essential, any Register or Public List of Nurses which contains only the public technical qualifications or only bare facts as to previous employment must be misleading & untrustworthy.

Nurses with defects in moral characteristics will not be excluded, though of course Nurses possessing them will be found there.

Trustworthy information as to such defects will not as a rule be supplied, even confidentially, to the authorities conducting a Public Register.

If the impossible thing were to happen that Nurses/Hospitals are to lay open their private Registers, it would only end in their/there being no Hospital Registers, or at least none of any use.
In order to appreciate this distinction, the principle must be considered upon which the reforms in the education of Nurses have been based - not merely technical knowledge but everything affecting the life of the Nurses:

a. the Hospital organization & ward administration
b. supervision in the Ward where they are
c. & discipline training & in the “Home” where they are living
d. physical comforts & proper accommodation

A Home with motherly care - Nurses have not been raised from their low estate of 30 years ago by registration or examinations.

but by making Nursing a profession into which good mothers of all classes could not object to their daughters entering: moral & physical care & superintendence/conditions - a nurse has quite other things to do than looking after herself - training not only in technical things/ Ward practical Nursing under Doctors & “Charge Nurse” but in all good habits - a good nurse must be a good woman - in short, all that makes a good home, with all that makes a good Hospital, with all that makes a good handmaid to the Doctors, that is, intelligent obedience & careful trustworthiness - no colleague, no equal to the Doctors

or “Sister”

{the last two lines have a diagonal line drawn through them}

Difference between the teaching University with College Life & the Examining University -
It follows that the case of the Nurse is not analogous & cannot be compared, as is so frequently alleged, to those callings of men in which a system of Public Registration has been found to confer certain benefits. Moreover, the general education & station in life of Nurses as a class, & especially of those employed in private Nursing introduces another element which precludes any just comparison.

is concerned, the Register applies only to Private Nurses. Therefore it is with the means it will afford in ensuring good Nurses to the Public that they are concerned. But the other question is an most important one as bearing upon the development of Nursing & the position of Nurses. Although this object has for the moment not been put forward, yet it cannot be separated from the question of Registration as a “protection to the Public.” And there can be scarcely any doubt that in the Nurses’ point of view, it is the most important & affords the principal inducement to Nurses to enter their names on the Register. It is therefore idle to speak of the objects of the B.N.A. as being merely confined to publishing a List of Nurses “for the protection of the Public”, & of the opposition to their so doing being based on merely selfish ends & offering obstacles to a measure of great public advantage.
In which way will a General Register work?

(a) assuming that only trained Nurses are put upon it, it makes no discrimination as to qualifications superior & inferior - between qualification sufficient for particular cases & not for all. Hence the stamp of authority is conferred upon all alike - misleading to the public, injurious to the Nurse of both grades - degrades the one & throws undue responsibility on the other - lowers the standard -

The higher the qualifications of the Nurse, the less can these be registered - the more she loses by a General Register - Only Mediocrity can be recognised. The Nurses whom the Register will help the most are those who least deserve. Such a careless Register is a libel on good Nurses & a libel on those whose names & position are used to stamp as genuine what is not. {the preceding paragraph is repeated on the 5th page}

registration of a public nature, there is to be - and possibly of some kind there might be usefully AT A FUTURE TIME, the only body who are to be entrusted with the selection should be largely composed of those persons who have been responsible for the Nurses’ training post 6a
6.b Who is to decide as to efficiency of the training or of the Hospital where trained? who is to guarantee our guarantors?

The history of Nursing shows how slow & gradual has been the progress made in the improvement of the organisation of Hospital administration on which the quality of the Nursing depends - great differences between even large Hospitals with Training Schools - very many Hospitals still in the same condition as 20 years ago -

What of the Hospital which have the lower standard? & who do not appreciate themselves the key-stones of a Nurse’s character? the important points?

Is the General Register to enquire into the Hospital’s character too?

And who is to train the several members of the Registration Board to enquire into the training of the several applicants?

Registration not a matter of right but of selection.

To produce a trustworthy Register you must be able to go carefully not only into the career & qualifications of every applicant for registration but into those of every Training School, so great is the difference in these of qualifications required. 6a (the last section is repeated on p.7)
(c) Removal from Register – practical difficulties arising out of –
(d) Depreciation of qualifications especially moral – & impossibility of providing for continuous trustworthiness of Register.

Nurses are not like the Pyramids, steadfast, immoveable – If they are not going forward, they are going back.

Are the Nurses to present themselves to the Registration Board every year, two years, 3 years, to be re-registered? If they don’t, are they to be struck off? But, if names are omitted from next Register, the mischief is not cured.

If there is to be but one registration, this Register will be as untrustworthy a document as was ever submitted to the public, which does not understand the matter.

A Registration Board which has neither the time nor the ability to do the work of Registration as experts can do it who alone can make it of the slightest value – such a Board as this supported by persons of the very highest rank who we know have neither the time, not the ability for such work, is practically the creation of an unintentional but gigantic fraud practised on a too confiding public in a matter where trustworthiness and truth are literally of vital importance – vital that is in its true sense – as involving life &/or death. No one is so confiding as a sick man – except a sick woman And no public is so confiding as a sick public.

best intentioned
mismanagement
With regard to the List published by the B.N.A. without going into {the following 8 lines seem to have been copied over FN’s original pencil}
[a proportion of those on the List have never been trained in the Hospital against their names.]
a proportion have for various reasons never completed their training
a large proportion could not be called trained at all technically or otherwise -
Some have neither training, qualifications or character
A careless Register encourages a bad Nurse]
The B.N.A. now assert that they have not attempted to guarantee the qualifications of those Nurses on the List, but have only stated facts as to their previous training, & that THESE FACTS WILL AFFORD “PROTECTION TO THE “PUBLIC”!!!
Without going into details, it may be stated that the List contains many names who have not been trained in the proper sense at all - - who have merely been employed in a Hospital without pretence of training - some who have been discharged either as inefficient or for misconduct

How are these errors to be corrected? Are the “facts” concerning inefficiency, want of training, or dismissal to be stated? If, as already said, the names are simply omitted from next Register, the harm done is not cancelled.
8. There is not a great outcry as to the dangers which the public are liable to from "ignorant nurses, calling "themselves trained -"
   Is this a new discovery?
   Or is it to be met by providing an imperfect remedy fraught with grave evils to the continued progress of Nursing?
   A greatly improved service of Nurses diminishes - it does not enhance - the dangers which are incurred in employing incompetent women.
   It is the old story of ignorant interference by legislative measures with what is best left alone.

9. Alternative
   Is it not quite premature to attempt any cut & dried system? You cannot register what is not there.
   Hospital organization & education of Nurses are still imperfect - even in the best Hospitals - indifferent in a large number - But both of these classes are in process of development.
   Nursing experience & history tend to the conclusion that Homes for Private Nurses properly organised must be looked to, to afford what the Public requires, and not a supply of Nurses acting independently without supervision, carrying a certificate in their pocket perhaps many years old, or a printed Register of the same or a less trustworthy character.
   It is truly said that the people in England have got the CERTIFICATE DISEASE (or Register disease) - for they attach a meaning to such a piece of paper which it has not, even in the most bureaucratic countries which have
certificates for almost everything. But to attach a meaning to such a Register as the B.N.A.’s shows the disease at a fatal point.

Who is to certify the B.N.A. certificates? Who is to guarantee our guarantors?

Result.

(a) The evils above mentioned - from no discrimination either as to Nurses’ qualifications or as to character of training.

(b) The public will not & are not competent to discriminate. The best Certificate can only mean that the Nurse at that date was a respectable woman & had been trained somehow. Many Certificates do not mean even that. Did the Public know the value of the bit of paper, no harm would be done - But it does not. And this is proposed to us “for the protection “of the Public”!

(c) If the Register is backed by any “authority”, the Public will accept it blindly.

(d) The published evidence List of Trained Nurses affords patent evidence of its seriously misleading & untrustworthy character. And it cannot be otherwise.

(e) the body to carry out any Public Register (if & when required) must necessarily have
large powers of regulating the selection of those who are to be placed on it — & hence of controlling either directly or indirectly the education & training of the Nurses — And this is what the B.N.A. by their Articles seek to acquire. But they are not a body properly constituted for such an object.

(f) In the present undeveloped state of the education of Nurses & of Hospital organization as well as of the supply of women to be trained, it is altogether premature to attempt a scheme of General Registration.

(g) The extension of Private Nurses' "Homes" on sound lines aided by the Nurse Training Schools & Hospitals affords at present the best prospect of meeting the requirements of the Public.

X X (in another hand) the effect of such an attempt to seriously impede the development of nursing and to nullify the valuable work which is being carried on by the Training Schools

No 7 Part stereotypes
Petition mediocrity
Note - One disadvantage of a Public Register (only casually referred to) is: the necessity of allowing existing Nurses to be placed on the Register, if of an authoritative character. No such obligation rests on a private Register i.e. a system of registration of a really confidential character by voluntary bodies. It cuts both ways. The voluntary Register can safely admit trustworthy Nurses, good up to a certain point but not so thoroughly trained as to be qualified for a Public Register. It lies under no obligation to admit all practising Nurses at the outset. And it does no harm to them by the omission -

The B.N.A. arrogating to itself the position of a Public Register finds itself in the position of being compelled to admit all practising Nurses

{in different hands}
British Nurses Association
    Notes by F. N.
    sent to M. Rathbone
    in 1889
Mr. Montague’s Pamphlet

by Saturday 9th
f582/44/1, 18 Princes Gardens, London, S.W., July 29, 1891 from Wm. Rathbone re comments made on Mr. Montague’s paper

f582/44/2 the Memorandum mentioned in f582/44/1 regarding Registration Hampshire, unsigned note, f582/44/3, 1 f, pencil

The value of registering Medical men resides not in the Register but in the previous examinations rising from difficulty to difficulty in a well thought out system. It is idle to say that investigation into moral qualities cannot be made in the case of Nurses if people are true (if Hospls would act together)
March 27/96

{printed address:} 10, South Street, Park Lane. W.

Dear Sibella
  St George
  sitting on Dragon
Joan sitting on Music Stool
is not £5 cheap
  for this?
  your affectionate
  F.N.

Hampshire, initialed letter, f583/2, 1f, pencil

10 S. St.  April 12/96
My dear Sibella
  I think the Sabbath is
a proper day to remind you
that Miss Joan has not
sent me in her Bill yet
for Charlie -
As to Charlie: the “temptation”
to a “young man” starting
on a “Soldier’s life” are
indeed very great - But do you
know what is the only
safeguard? Early
training.
Charlie was quite angry with me, because I said that we could not expect such frequent communication from all boys as writing home once a year - He said: 'I write home once a week - And Mother taught us all when we were children to write letters, & what to say & how to say it - And I do - And she does to me -'

Alas! I know boys, rather young men, now, (not of our family,) with many kind qualities, who get into all sorts of scrapes - Why? Because they have had no home training - And the School training & the training of the Play-ground, tho' good, are worth little without the home training -

In a long life I seem to learn this more & more every year -

With our Nurses, the home training is invaluable And Miss Crossland partly
supplied the want of it
in some cases in her
(individual) training at the
N. Home - Now we shall
have none - It is
individuality that makes
the difference - You
can’t train human beings
like monkeys & dancing
dogs, or muzzled dogs,
as now, poor things.
Why have all Missionary
efforts failed hitherto,
more or less - especially
in Chi/India - Because you

-2-
can never obliterate the
early life - You may
plaster over the Hindoo,
but the early associations
always show through -
I remember Sir John
Lawrence saying: It
takes two generations to
make a Christian.
And had he lived to see
the results of the Govt
education, he would have
said: It will take ten -
Now they have neither
Hindoo nor Xtian religion -
The only religious Orientals I have ever seen are the Mahometans who lived for 3 months in Dorchester House, opposite us - But then they were Afghans, who, tho’ they murder a little, & are would have liked, I dare say, to kill us all in South St. in a night after prayers, [I heard them practising with pistols] are delightful with their boys & their Prince - unlike the Hindu Babu, who is odious, as far as I have seen him. So I bet on Charlie & his early training - And I shan’t lose my bet - ever your affectionate F. N. Please remember the Bill. Charlie is in a good Barrack There are two bad Barracks & one, a Cavalry Barrack, which
is, thank God, no more -
The horses said: if we are
not moved, we shall mutiny
And man & horse were
removed to the Curragh -
And the Barrack either has
been or is being demolished.
- Military horses are quite
capable of organizing move=
ments. Did you ever
hear of Jack? Jack was a
riderless horse (his Master
having been killed) at the
Charge of Balaclava. And
he was seen collecting about 30
riderless horses, & at the
head of his troop, leading
them back to, I suppose,
Cavalry Head Quarters.

I have failed to discover
whether “Jack” allowed
some horseless men to
mount some of his horses -
but these men certainly
returned on horseback
- but when they found that
a comrade or an Officer
was missing, there/they rode
back, one & another,
mounted the wounded
man & fought their
way out of the Russian
mêlée, but many died
in the attempt - a
glorious death.

And when I see in
the Hansom Cabs in
Park Lane horses who
by their beautiful legs
must have been hunters
or even racers - galloping
up Park Lane as long
as they can stand, I say
too - “a glorious death” -
and horses should teach
us, not we them, duty.
- do you think?
Now I’m talking
nonsense - you will say.

Hampshire, initialed letter, f583/3, 2ff, pencil [8:875]

10 South St April 26/96
My dear Sibella
Very many thanks
for your very kind letter -
I stick by Parents’
early training & Charlie -
Parents must of course
have wisdom, like you:
& not be werriting the
children - And the father
be a father, as the mother
a mother - like yours -
There seem to be odd
exceptions - but you

generally find when
you look that there has
been some friend, perhaps
only an old Nurse, who
has captured the child’s
attention - But that’s an
immoral doctrine - And
you are not to listen -
I don’t know whether you mean to come up for the May 2 Concert in aid of St. Thomas’ - I was sending down two tickets for Joan (the Great Singing Mistress) & a brother - But I can’t get the Tickets till tomorrow, Monday, when they shall come -
Thanks so many for the Bill & all the trouble you have taken so kindly But was not there a Blotting-book (Writing book) to be got for Charlie besides the Despatch box? However, here’s the present state at the Bank of England

<table>
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<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Music Seat</td>
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<tr>
<td>Despatch Box</td>
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<td></td>
<td>£9.6</td>
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Paid March 27 by Cheque

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 25</td>
<td>£9.6</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

But where’s the Writing Book? ever your affectionate F.N.
Oct 13/96
{printed address:} 10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.
My dear Sibella
    I cannot thank you
enough for your great
kindness in thinking of
me & wishing to lend
me your charming house
on Hayes Common -
    Alas for me! I fear
there is no earthly chance
of my being able to avail
myself of your kindness.
    I have not been out
of my own room but five
or six times since before & then only to into the
Xmas - And I was told Drawing room
only the other day again
that I must on no account
go out
    It sounds only too
delightful -
    But please not to
dis-order any “dismantling” for me
- for I am quite sure no
Doctor would let me
come -
    1000 thanks - love to Joan - Do you hear
ever your affectionate “every week” from Charlie?
    F. Nightingale He told me he wrote & you
to him “every week”
Private  July 28/99

{printed address:} 10, South Street,
  Park Lane. W.

Dearest Sibella
I hope you will be kind
  & let me send you
this small sum -
Harry saves me ten
times that sum every
year -
I am glad he is going into
  the country - tho’ I miss
him so very much when
you go -
It is not ‘genteel’ when
  a wife tells her husband
these trifles - And if
  you do it, I will
bite you, which is
very genteel -
God bless you both
  ever yours
    F. Nightingale
I will get this Cheque
  cashed for you at the
Bank if it will
save you trouble.
    F.N.

{archivist: (cover)}
Mrs. Hy Bonham Carter
  5 Hyde Park Square
28/7/99
Tuesday 29th Jan 21, 1901
10, South Street, Park Lane. W.

Dearest Sibella

Many, many thanks for your most kind letter. But I am sorry (for myself) that I am engaged to-day & all the week up to to-day week. Could I ask for tomorrow week? or any day after, if you would kindly say what would suit you best - at 5 (five) p.m.

And also I should so like to see Gerard one day next week, if you would kindly say what would suit him best at the same hour.

With much love,
your affectionate
Florence
January 23, 1901

10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.

Dearest Sibella

I shall be so glad to see you next Tuesday at 5 - Would it be convenient for Gerard to come on Thursday instead of Wednesday at 5? May I ask; is it necessary to give my maids mourning? as I feel undecided whether to do so or not? So I thought I might ask your advice. I should like to do some-thing to show that one cares. and this is the only thing that it seem one can do.

[It would of course be only a simple black gown, not expensive]

Or a cheaper thing to do would be: to give what they had not got: a black hat to any one who had got a black gown

With much love
your affectionate
Flo
Feb 18 1901
{printed address:} 10, South Street,
  Park Lane. W.
Dearest
  I am not very well this
morning - but my chief concern is
that I am not able to see
you -
  Could you kindly come this
day week?
    ever your
    old Flo
{archivist: (cover)}
  Mrs. Henry Bonham Carter
    5 Hyde Park Square
18/2/1901
Oct 16/1901
10, South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane. W.
Dearest Sibella
   I am sorry to
trouble you, but
may I ask you: do
you think it necessary
for my servants to
be vaccinated? One
does not want one’s
servants to be the
only ones unvaccinated,
if there is necessity
But if there is no
necessity, why do it?
   With very best love
   yours
   Flo
{archivist: (cover)} {stamped} EXPRESS
   wait for answer
Mrs. Henry Bonham Carter
   5 Hyde Park Square
16/10/1901
Hampstead N W

Private Aug 15/61

My dear Sir Joshua Jebb

You know that my dear master is dead - an irreparable loss to the nation but oh! how much more so to the troops & to me - & that Mr. Clough is banished abroad for the winter by his health.

I am obliged therefore to trouble you to lay before the Committee of the N. fund a scheme for utilizing the remainder of its income, supposing, that is, that it meets with your own approval & that you will urge it, as from yourself - Otherwise it will appear, as all experiments must do, so unformed that I doubt its recommending itself to them. It is not however really unformed X X X It has been a matter of anxious consideration & consultation between me & the Lady Supt of King’s College Hospital for months. And I once mentioned it to you before -

It is that of training Midwife=nurses for the country. It was necessary to have/find for this purpose, not only Midwifery wards in a great London Hospl, but eminent practitioners who would be willing to take the trouble of instruction - and also, which could not be found in any of the Lying-in Hospitals in London, a tried & religious Supt who would undertake the labour
of training for the love of her fellow-creatures.

I believe that I have found all this at King’s Coll. Hosp.

It is true that the Hospl is so poor that it would not even entertain the proposition of having Midwifery Wards at all - unless freed from expense for itself - The N. fund will therefore apparently pay for the Patients, instead of for the Nurses, which I am afraid the Committee will not like - But, on the other hand, it pays at St. Thomas’ for that which it will not have to pay for here. The real expense will be pretty much the same in both cases.

The great point of difference will be that the Probationers in the present case, will, at least
for the first year of the experiment, have to pay for their own board - 
[I believe that there are many country ladies & clergymen who will be glad to send up a woman of their own parish & pay for her - to be trained & sent back.

For it is not proposed that these Probationers should enter afterwards the Society of St. John’s House: but should be set entirely free, as in the case of St. Thomas; Probationers - only, as in their case, they are supposed to follow up the service for which they are trained]

I myself have advised Miss Jones, the Supt of St. John’s House & King’s Coll: Hosp. who is kindly anxious to undertake this, not to
do so, unless
1. the N. Committee will guarantee to her £500 per ann. for two years.
2. that it will not require a more exact scheme than this for 2 years: because it is an experiment - much more, so than in the case of St. Thomas’, for here the wards have to be formed.

I have however been, of course, anxiously considering and enquiring all this time, how to make the best (national) use of the remainder of the N. fund income - And believe me when I say that, after enquiry everywhere, I cannot find any Hospital or any scheme which promises (it can be but a promise) nearly the same amount of good for the same amount of money

You must remember that Miss Jones and I have both won our spurs for economical management in large & important concerns - & therefore that we must be somewhat trusted when we humbly say that we believe this experiment promises good -

The way I propose to lay out the £500 per ann. is

£100 .................. furnishing 10 beds
£350............... annual maintenance at £35 per bed
£50 .................. Midwife as chief Nurse

The second year, the first £100 would be available towards the board of some of the Probationers
After two years, the experiment may either be given up - or, if it has somewhat succeeded, a more exact Prospectus be given to the Committee, I am aware that the surplus income of the N. fund does not amount to £500 per ann. I do not know whether Mr. Marjoribanks would consider it sound (financially) to make it up to £500 per ann. for two years with/by means of the (unspent) surplus income of this last year. If not, I should like to make it up myself (privately without saying anything to Miss Jones) for two years to the required £500 per ann.

I can assert, without any doubt that I know nowhere where the Probationers will receive such
Christian & motherly training as from the Supt of St. John’s House in England.

I think I had better send you Miss Jones’s own statement - only adding that both this letter & the enclosed are “private” & for you alone - & that, till I know your own opinion, I would rather they should not be copied, or handed about, among my Committee, but that the enclosed should be returned to me - & farther worked out.

For many reasons, I should be glad that the experiment, if sanctioned by my Committee, should begin at the next Medical term (October -

Ever, dear Sir Joshua, yours sincerely & gratefully
Florence Nightingale
July 25/67
35 South Street, {printed address:}
   Park Lane,
   London, W.

Dear Alice

Only this word to say that your account of my mother’s feebleness rather makes me anxious to say to you — wherever she stays or goes, I shall come to her. I am most fearful lest the idea of me should modify her wishes as to going or staying.

Sir Harry writes to you today that 32 will be empty on Saturday —

But, if she does not feel equal to come or to go on to Lea Hurst, I am anxious that no idea of me should urge her —

N.B. I shall certainly not be free till middle of August.

I am very glad you are with her — (in haste).

ever yours
F. Nightingale
Dearest Alice
   I can’t thank you
too much for your
account of my mother -
I must write myself
to say so -
    Will you give my
kindest love to Miss
Kingdon? -
    Legg called here some
days ago - very anxious
to get a place -
    I can’t tell you how

grateful we all are to
you for bringing my
mother up so
comfortably -
    ever yours
F.N.
August 2 1867
    To-day, 6 years ago,
Sidney Herbert died.
    I am overwhelmed
with business -
10 Nov./67

35 South Street,
Park Lane,
London, W.

Dear Alice

I must thank you for the beautiful stuffs for screens -

The Indian embroidery on a dark ground, which I suppose belonged to dear Hilary, I think you would hardly like to see returned to you after my time is out, tarnished & spoiled.

The very pretty gold & red stripe, which I suppose is the one Elinor brought from Cannes, fits my wretched old screen exactly & makes it look quite sublime. I idle for the sake of looking at it.

I have still dear Hilary’s beautiful Lioness, which I look at hourly.

I am so glad that Elinor is able to go to Liverpool to work with Miss Clough -

ever, dear Alice
your affectionate
Flo-
Dear Alice

I do not “dislike” the “Western rooms” - or any rooms in the house - indeed - I only said what I did because I thought Aunt Joanna probably had the S. room -

I hope my mother would not “leave the Music room” for me 

I should probably not leave my room at first at all - except just to pay her a visit in her bed-room -

I propose to come by the 3.10 train on Saturday & have ordered the Railway Saloon Carriage But you know how uncertain I cannot help being -

ever yours 

F.N.

I propose to send with many thanks the beautiful Auguste Bonheur & dear Hilary’s Oil sketch which you have so kindly lent me to Beatrice’s to await your pleasure. 

F.N.

July 8/69
Romsey Aug 15/72

My dearest Alice

I am so stifled in dirty anxious cares and sordid defensive business that I know not how fittingly to approach her who, I hope, is all happy now & with the best kind of all happiness.

I feel - in spirit - don’t you know? - like the maid of all work who has to wipe her dirty hands on her dirtier apron before she can shake hands with the radiant bride, whereas I should like to feather my pen out of the wing of the dove & dip it in the brightest Thessalian spring to give her joy.

Seriously, my dear child, my joy has been pouring forth all this time ever since I heard it - and I knew not how to present it to her. And you must
do it, not because I am not too dirty to touch you but because you are the dear sister who is almost as glad of her joy as she is herself — & who can give her joy for me much better than I can.

How joyful is this time compared to what it was last year for her when all were so anxious about her — & when you went to Paris to settle about her going to Cannes - That was so very dreary. Now I hope it is all right -- and that, after a somewhat trying life, she is established, not in the mere pleasure of holiday makers & love-makers — but in the really highest happiness, "solid, substantial, never failing bliss."

But I am afraid of her wicked little tongue — so I shall not be sentimental but merely ask you to give her joy for me from the bottom of my heart, aye & from the top, too, with all my soul & with all my strength.
Do you know that there is hardly any man whom I should like to know so much as her chosen? And therefore I think I may wish him joy too.

I do not forget, dear Alice, that your life will be in some things more poor for her being a little farther away, but it will also be more rich - And I know that you feel it to be all joy in your unselfishness - almost as much as if you were her sister in heaven -

And now, my dear child, my thrifty soul is thinking of furniture. I wish I could afford to give her a good piece, but I can't. And I don't know what she would like. What do you think? Shall I send you £25 & ask you to choose? Or shall I be quite prosaic & send her the £25 & ask her to put it in her pocket? If that is not enough to buy a piece, there is more to come. Advise me, do. Shall it be 2 stools for the ancient Briton to sit on? God bless them both - And He will bless them - And believe me, ever yours & hers lovingly & joyfully poor old Flo
My mother has doubtless sent her congratulations to yours & to Elinor. She is quite sympathetic & tenderly glad (when one talks to her about it) with intelligent interest [& would send a message if she knew I was writing] - often has more affectionate insight than ever in all F.N. her life.

And I too feel thankful that I have lived to see this joy, dear Alice.

Dearest Alice

I open my letter - because I have just received Elinor’s dear letter by afternoon post. Tell her I think it is beautiful - that is real love - & I believe/am sure true to the least-est little letter. And I do so delight in seeing people really in love- that is, you know, with real people -love which makes people heroes, (let the Devil say what he will) -

And I say God bless her,

God bless them both, not only with all my heart & with all my soul & with all my strength - but with all my mind -

Aug 19/72 F.N
Petition of Women: Lea Hurst

&

Bulgarian emancipation

Cromford: Derby

Sept 21/76

Dear Alice,

You ask me if I know anything of Miss Albert: nothing but a rather unwise letter; not very, I saw of hers.

But Mr Lewis Farley, who is, I believe, the President, has a bad name with almost all of us, even with good Serbians.

I think it, the petition, is such a good thing to do that I felt tempted to sign it quand même. [She had written to Miss Irby.]

But all our other groups of things, for "Sick and Wounded," for "Bulgarian Relief" &c. have been taken up & amalgamated, each group by some great central concern, as they ought to be.

And I am not without hopes that some Women’s Petitions will also be: so that one can sign without having anything to do with “League” people.

I sent it (unsigned) as you directed.

God speed the Right:

yr aff

F.N.
July 21/81  
10, South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane, W.  
My dear Alice  
How good of you to take  
so much trouble about poor  
Madame Mohl.  
The nieces entirely & strongly  
decrate my taking lodgings  
at all for her. They do not  
make the least mien of  
intending to come.  
I have no doubt they  
are perfectly right.  
At first when I opened  
your note I was struck  
with alarm that the "she"  
who had "written" to you  
"with addresses of lodgings"  
was Mme Mohl herself -  
But I think I understand
it is Aunt Julia. 
I think I would let it now 
entirely alone. What 
Mme M. wrote to me was 
to take her lodgings for 
herself alone, "without a 
maid," "in" my "street."

For us to start a fresh 
plan for her which 
she has not herself 
contemplated I think 
would be unwise, even if 
we could get the niece. 
I wrote to her, Mme Mohl, on Tuesday 
after I had had the various 
answers that (without 
saying why) lodgings could 
not be had as she proposed. 
And I wrote to Elinor the 
same morning a note which 
I hope she forwarded to you. 
I gave Mme M. your kind 
message about how, thinking 
she was going to Klagenfurt & not coming to England till 
September, you had filled 
up your house till - I did 
not say when - 
There is scarcely any one 
our hearts bleed for as 
for her. Her note to me 
was heart-rending. I 
shall never be surprised 
at her arriving at my door 
without notice. But I 
pray not. What will 
become of her?
You are very good to have bestirred yourself so much. I may yet have to claim it all, & to make one of the nieces come -

But I trust not -

With love to Aunt Joanna ever yours affly

F. Nightingale

I hope Mme Mohl will not come to England at present but go to good Ida in Carinthia

Dear Alice I re-open this letter:

I have just heard/had a long letter from Mme Mohl

She writes most affectely & pathetically but says: “I wish I could box every bodies (sic) ears successively that has been saying I was going with these poor things” (Ida & Anna)

to spoil their journey” - Not one word about coming to England - She seems to have quite forgotten it.

Hampshire, signed letter, f585/9, 2 ff, pencil

Lea Hurst, Cromford, Derby [1:453]

Nov 21 1881

My dear Alice

I cannot help sending you a line with my dear love to give you joy on, as I believe, Aunt Joanna’s 90th birth day - I hope she is as well as your care can make her, such tender care - 2.

I have seen such an exceedingly nice woman here, age 43, daughter of Joseph Smith, gardener at Cromford Bridge for 30
years who still lives -
If Aunt Julia wanted
a maid, I think she would
do. I should have taken
her at once had I
wanted one, - subject of
course to her (12 years')
character from Ireland
proving satisfactory [She
left this Irish place, because
they were compelled to
diminish their household.]
As housekeeper in a
small family (not cook)
or as maid to an elderly
or Invalid lady she
wishes to find service.

3. I am sorry to say that
I shall be wanting a
cook (in South St.) by
the middle of December
-- the "good" woman
proving a failure in
almost every way (as cook)
& utterly dirty and a muddle.
I am sure you will kindly
think of me (& mention
my wants to "the family")
if you hear of anyone -
My best love to Aunt
Julia - & oh what a
letter of interest to her &
to me I cd write her
from here, had I but
strength -
But I have scarcely been
downstairs at all -
Miss Irby goes tomorrow.
ever yours affly
        F. Nightingale
Excuse (not conventionally)
this villainous scrawl.
Dear Alice

Would you kindly manage to see the letter I have just written to Aunt Julia - in order to insense the lady, whoever she be, who is going with her to Lea Hurst - or the maid - I refer particularly to her employing Jane Allison & to her NOT employing poor Lizzie Brooks - [Shall I tell you what she did within one fortnight of her returning from Miss Kingdon’s? But I kept her for years after that.]

Blessing on Aunt Julia’s journey to Lea Hurst - And blessings on you - Has she written to the Shore Smiths? My love to Aunt Joanne, if she remembers - yrs ever affly F.N.
Leicestershire Record Office 1432

archivist: (cover) {postmarked:} WINSLOW D AP 29 82
Miss Alice Bonham Carter
Ravensbourne
Keston
Beckenham
29/4/82 Kent

f585/10/2
{postmarked:} LONDON X MY 24 82
Miss Alice Bonham Carter
Ravensbourne
Keston
Beckenham
24/5/82 Kent
My dear Alice,

I trust that I am not troubling you too much by writing to you about Lea Hurst furniture for Aunt Julia. I have waited till her return to Ravensbourne, in order that it might only make one trouble in your speaking to the maid, if you kindly will. [I have tried to make things as comfortable as I could in having all kitchen utensils re-tinned and everything ‘washed up’ - And I am going to send down by Aunt Julia’s maid a new piece of some ill sat in to be let into the/renew some Drawing-room furniture] -

You know Aunt Julia has a room full of her own "things" & utensils there - And I have directed Mrs Francis to give out in the way of counterpanes &c &c &c kitchen utensils &c &c &c everything that Aunt Julia wants - but to take charge of the rest herself -

Please tell the maid that there is to be no stint in anything that Aunt Julia wants -

I come now to what I know you will not think me ungracious in to her. It is because the Shores propose to go to Lea Hurst as soon as she leaves: & Shore’s alas! repugnance to the place depends a good deal on what I am going
to explain, whether it increases or not.
[I always retin & renew the whole of the
Kitchen utensils two & even three times
a year: once after Aunt Julia’s servants,
- once after Shore’s - That is a very
small grievance indeed - And I should
never have mentioned it. I always renew
all broken glass & china several times a year.]

But the last time Aunt Julia was at
Lea Hurst, her cook - I think her name
was Philpots - not only used the kitchen

-2-
utensils we always leave out for Aunt Julia
but broke open a large box - of course without
Aunt Julia’s knowledge - in which all our
kitchen utensils, entirely new & clean
were packed by me for Shore’s arrival.
That again is a small grievance - But
these were put back without an attempt
at cleaning - black off the fire, most/many
of them burnt through - all more or
less spoiled - Shore’s family followed
unfortunately at once - And - je vous laisse à penser - they thought this was my way of receiving them, the Shores - [I unhappily did not follow that year till September]

A room was also left in an incurably dirty state, carpet quite spoiled. This also was laid to my door, in spite of all I have spent upon the house - This again would be a very small grievance - if it did not make Shore dislike the place more alas! than he does already.

You will know how very much I grieve to be troubling you about these petty cares who have so many petty cares already, as well as great ones.

All I want to say is this: I have not left any kitchen utensils out for Aunt Julia this time: not because I did not mean to do so: but because all of them were sent to be made good in preparation.

If you would be so very good as to tell the maid that Mrs Francis, the woman of the house, **will give out all she wants**; there need be no difficulty.

But if she, the maid, would be so kind as to see that charwomen are sent for, at my expence of course, to clean up all the Kitchen utensils when Aunt Julia leaves - & especially if any are burnt through or otherwise injured to **have them sent at once to Cromford** (Mr Yeomans or Mrs Francis will manage it) to be **re-tinned or renewed there** at my expence of course -
I shall be very grateful -
What a long story I have inflicted on you -
dear Alice. I
earnestly hope that Aunt Julia’s stay at
Lea Hurst will be most successful -
There are many waiting for her: Mary Bratby
- Jane Allison - Mr Haywood - God speed her.
How grieved about Miss Kingdon’s illness -
Marianne Galton told me - Is she better?
That is a real misfortune.
I am afraid Arthur Coltman is not better.
Dear Alice, you are the goddess of
many whom you help - Shore and Louisa
not the least. -
Shore is better - he was very poorly.
ever yours affly with love
& many beggings for pardon
F. Nightingale
Nov 21 1882
10, South Street, Park Lane, W.

My dear Alice I thought of Aunt Joanna’s 91st birthday & of you. May your cares for her be blessed: and He does bless them.

May I send you the money for Aunt Julia for her so kindly taking Jane Alison at Lea Hurst? I ascertained from Jane A. that she had been employed at L.H. for 9 weeks at 1/ a day. And this would make £3.3.

I was so glad to see that letter of Mme Mohl to Aunt Julia. It is the first letter I have seen like herself. It must be Ida’s being with her. Her letters to me were distressing beyond anything I can tell you.

Dear Alice In vain I have tried to finish this. It must go as it is - I am going to write to Aunt Julia & return Mme Mohl’s. She will be sorry to hear that Jane Alison’s surviving
niece, little Florry Platts,  
the good old hero’s last  
grandchild, has had a  
frightful attack of  
Diphtheria, & poor Jane  
burst in upon her. But  
the child is getting better  
under Doctor & Nurse.  
ever dear Alice  
yr aff  
F. Nightingale

Hampshire, signed letter, f585/12, 2 ff, pen

Feb 15/85
{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

My dear Alice  
I am so glad to hear of you and  
Edith. What a life you may  
make for her if she can recover  
health & work under Miss O. Hill.  
My most fervent wishes are hers -  
& yours yet more, dear Alice.  
With regard to our beloved Madam  
Mohl, I have not time or strength,  
(which is the same thing) even to look  
out her letters - much less to look  
them over, to see what is not private  
for the purpose you mention. I think  
(& I thought her/Mrs S’s article was  
evidence of it) that Mrs Simpson had  
the most surface knowledge of her -  
She merely knew her picture -  
the tricks of voice, speech and manner.  
She did not know the living original  
mind which made her the life of  
M Mohl, M Fauriel & many others -  
which made her the inspiration of  
the rich as in England many have been  
of the poor. Yet I am very glad that  
you are helping Mrs Simpson. How is  
Elinor? ever yours  
F. Nightingale

f585/13, Lea Hurst, August 11, to Alice from Parthe Nightingale with family news
Lea Hurst

Oct 30/79

My dearest Louisa

Your letters drop manna in the way of starving people.

God bless you ever.

I will return the (charming) Prescriptions tonight.

Thank God that under your tender care, she is so wonderfully recovered.

Pray give her "Florence’s" loving love - [You know Euripides says there is "unloving love". That you will never know anything about.]

I think I see dear Shore

{archivist’s note: on the facing page: I think the “charming prescriptions may have been for her mother, Aunt Fanny being at York Place. Euripides!}

watching her.

I am so glad you have found etchings that Sam will like. But now comes the framing of them. And please be so good as to let me pay for this: I intended it.

I have a letter from Miss Irby - all right - arrived alone at Serajevo. But one of her best girls is dead of consumption ‘at home.’

ever & always yours

F. Nightingale
Jan 30/93
[1:513-14]

Dearest Shore

Thank you for your very kind letter. As to the pecunia, you have no call to be reckoning it up in that way; I haven’t. As we agreed, we can fight & squabble about it in another & a better world. I am your debtor - not you mine. The time day approaches for the anniversary of my death Mother’s death, but always - my thoughts dwell on your love & kindness to her & how
all the happiness of her last years was due to you & yours - And I feel that nothing I could say or do could at all express my thankfulness, & hers, I am sure. I thank God that you are so much better. And don’t be cross & ill natured to your head. You will see he will get better too - As for me, it is years since I could bear two people in the same room at once, which is sometimes very awkward. And I was shocked to find out that I could not bear a young lady playing the violin in my room - Mendelssohn’s "O rest in the Lord," which I had much wished to hear - But I believe your head will get better soon And then you will bless Bournemouth & the endless pleasure of the sea - & enjoy, I trust, some other place. But don’t be in a hurry to go abroad - That will come in time. You were so good as to telegraph an enquiry to me the day of the house being
burnt in our street. When
the danger was over, I
wished you could have
been here: to see what
I did. The two upper
storeys of the house,
next door but one to this,
w & under repair were
in flames before the
alarm was given. But
then to see the Fire-Gods
rushing & roaring up the
pass, i.e. Park Lane - to
see each dissolve into
7 or 8 demi-Gods with
helmets on, as it arrived -
you heard no order given
- everybody, even the horses,

-2-
seemed to know exactly
what to do - The scaffold-
ing in front of the house
that is, the tops were already
alight - four demi-Gods
flew up like eagles &
with their axes, slashed
off the tops into the street
- others stood below &
trampled out the fire
with their boots. I suppose,
if the scaffolding had
really taken fire, nothing
could have saved the 5
houses, two on each side.
Now, if you call this
penny-a-lining, I shall
bite you. The discipline
of the men, all acting
like one, yet each
with his eyes & ears
awake to the smallest thing.
You should have seen the
intentness of their faces,
set to their work - I
assure you there is
nothing in Hindoo or even
in Greek mythology equal
to the Fire-Gods here -
I could not help thinking
how we waste our time in
criticism. These Gods did
not waste a moment in
thinking what idiots the
workmen were who went
to their breakfasts leaving
a fire burning near pitch -
but up & on to their
work in a quarter of a
second.
The police worked well
tho’ they were late on the
scene - they ranged the
traffic on both sides
Park Lane - so as to let the
Fire-Gods pass -th 7 of them.
the hose was all along the middle of the street.
They drew a cordon at the
mouth of Park St - & of South
St & on the other side the
5 houses - one of which was
so hot that a lady & a
Nurse, half dressed carrying
babies came out - & after
- wards went to live at Dor-
chester House. The next
day the skylight at the
top of their house fell in
from the heat - upon a woman.
But she was not much hurt.

All was discipline on this
side - all was indiscipline
on the other - maids standing
at their doors akimbo -
gabbling & giggling.

But it was a grand sight.
I am interrupted - but will
write again if I may.

ever dearest Shore
your loving old F

{printed address, upside down:} 10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.

{cover} {archivist: F.N. to W. Shore Nightingale, 30 Jan 1893 A fire in South Street
next house but one to No 10. A very lively & dramatic description of the fire brigade

envelope, f586/1-2,
{Postmarked:} LONDON W 7 OC 31 79 7
{in another hand} Elises Fattorini
89 Via Margutta
Mrs. Dukes
Via Sistina
Thanks for all the Christmas Day, charming, Evergreens 1893
your munificence has sent from everybody.
{printed address:} 10, South Street,
Park Lane, W.
Dearest Shore
On Christ's birthday I
must wish you & the darling
people about you - a happy
Christmas, "not dragging
"our hearts along the earth"
"but fixing our hearts on
"heaven," as Augustine, I
think it is, says: not
meaning by "heaven," you
know, any future state,
for he expressly says
to-day. "I see
"The beautiful child Jesus
"A-coming down to me,
"And in His hand He beareth
"Flowers so rich and rare."
Those were almost the
last words I ever heard of
Parthe’s, the last day she was here, just a week before her death. And she looked up at the Dresden Raphael and asked the child Jesus to come down to her. And He is "coming down" today to give us "His flowers so rich and rare." And you are to tell me what they are - And we must not sadden His soul by anything. One of the most striking things in Mr Jowett was: his ever-abiding conviction that life was a splendid gift. And this was not the fruit of animal spirits, for he had none. On the contrary, he was too often depressed. And what makes it a splendid gift? Not ease, not prosperity - But that the real virtues, the greatness, come out of evil, & the contrariness of life, & even weakness. For as that great man, Paul, said, ‘When I am weak, then am I strong.’ The ‘kingdom of heaven,’ which Christ certainly meant for that on earth, is given to the ‘poor in spirit’ & to those who are labouring for others & yet are not praised.
So Augustine says, “I have already torn myself from that hope of ours, (that apparently of becoming “friends of the emperor”) “& have settled to serve God, “& this I begin from this hour, “in this very place.”

Needless to say that God & Truth & Love (working for our fellow creatures) Mr Jowett said meant all the same thing. And He would not have us think that God was particular in being named Himself.

“But,” Augustine says further; (still referring to becoming “friends of the Emperor”) “if I choose to become a
friend of God, {printed address: 10, South Street,}  
“I can do it here  Park Lane. W.  
“& now.”

Dearest Louisa has been so good in writing & telegraphing to me & she has sent me a turkey. And how good it was of Vaughan to come down here - And now I think of you all as “serving” Truth & Love - all that dear darling party at Gangmoor assembled today.

And we have only to say: ‘Da quod jubes et jube quod vis,” as Augustine did.

Hoping to see you soon & that you will let me know the hour & the day - & with Express Trains of love to all the dear yours,  
ever your old Flo -

Do you remember Mrs Holmes at Lea Hurst, my most particular friend, who used to give out the milk? She is very poor, she is lame & ill, her husband is almost blind - She has only one daughter left in England, who has had two operations - Yet she writes to me for Christmas, “I can’t think how we can say, I fear, when God says, ‘Fear not.”

F.N.
Dear Bon

Here is a list of my books:
1. Goody Two Shoes
2. Tales of the Vicarage
3. The Promised Visit
4. Juvenile Biography
5. Fruits of Enterprise
6. Bird catching
7. Maria’s Visit to London
8. Irish Legends
9. Sunday Evening Conversations
10. An Abstract of the history of the bible

I forgot to tell you that I have got 1st & 3rd volume of Berquin, Pop the 2nd & 4th, and I have Sandford and Merton. Which would you like? Here is a beautiful hymn of Montgomery’s called Prayer. I have learnt it.

1

Prayer is the soul’s sincere desire,
Uttered, or unexpress’d,
The motion of a hidden fire,
That trembles in the breast.
2
Prayer is the burden of a sigh,
The falling of a tear,
The upward glancing of an eye,
When none but God is near!

3
Prayer is the simplest form of speech,
That infant lips can cry,
Prayer, the sublimest strains that reach
The majesty on high.

4
Prayer is the Christian’s vital breath,
The Christian’s native air,
His watchword in the hour of death
He enters heaven with prayer!

5
Prayer is the contrite sinner’s voice,
Returning from his ways,
While angels in their song rejoice
And say, “Behold he prays.”

6
In prayer, on earth the saints are one,
In word, in deed, in mind
When with the Father and the Son
Sweet fellowship they find.

7
Nor prayer is made on earth alone,
The Holy Spirit pleads,
And Jesus, on the eternal throne,
For sinners intercedes!

8
O Thou! by whom we come to God,
The Life, the Truth, the Way!
The path of prayer thyself has trod;
Lord! teach us how to pray!

Goodbye, dear Bon, believe me, your
affectionate cousin      Florence Nightingale
My dear Aunt Ann

I hope you have got safe to your journey's end. I hope you saw the eclipse of the moon the day you went. Papa says that you were blind bobbies if you did not watch it for a whole hour as we did. The garden goes on very well. We have got a very little pretty new book called sacred poetry. Papa has hunted twice this week. My eye is well and I went to church on Sunday. Kate or Laura has left a pinafore here. Gale wants to be remembered by nurse and all the children. I hope Marianne and Laura and Kate do their exercises. Pray give my love to everybody and believe me your very affectionate niece Florence Nightingale

Please give me an answer.

{archivist: Novr 1826}
Dearest Aunt Joanna,

What will you say to me, if I came down with Alf tomorrow night till Monday? I do so long for a sight of all your faces - And it was not proved till today that I could go. Which gives you no time for an answer to stop me. Pardon me & let me sleep in a drawer,
Dear Aunt Joanna, yours lovingly, gratefully, repentantly
F.N.

Though these ex post facto repentances are unsatisfactory things.

{archivist: 185?} Friday Burln St
Dearest

Aunt Evans desires me to write & thank you & say all that is kind in answer to your dear little note - which indeed I can for I am sure, out of your many sympathizers, there was no heart which responded more warmly to your appeal than the old lady's or wished the young pair joy with such a youthful trust in their happiness & flutter of cheerful life for them. She was exceedingly pleased with your kind thought of her. She is deafer & thinner, but more lively than ever - & younger, i.e., as Aunt Mai says of real youth, [illeg pure?] more energetic, more really alive. [end 1:446]

{illeg Tires,} me rascaI - I shan’t take the 30/- it didn’t cost the 30/, it isn’t as if I went to Rome every winter for the fashions &
did commissioning for the votaries of fashion. I shall never go to Rome again - so you might let me do a commission for once & as I shd like to replace J.B.C. to his mother, if I could, but I can’t, you might let me replace his brooch to her & no more about it. so as we owe you £4/4 for the picture, I shall send back the 30/ & don’t you be riling me up any more - won’t ‘ave it. I won’t...

Poor little dove comes away from the Lushingtons early in August, in consequence of Mrs Rupert’s tiresome confinement. I have no other place for her so shall ask her here -

Jack, when shall I see thee - but as I said, I don’t care for {illeg that?} so farewell till death us do unite.

Best love to dear Fan.
boy Shore does not come here till Monday.
5 Royal Terrace

Belfast

Dearest I think your Malta plan an admirable one - I am very sorry to think it will prevent me from seeing you this year - but, on all accounts, it seems to me such an eligible idea that I cannot regret it. Of all the picturesque little towns in the world I think La Valetta one of the most comical, the most beautiful, the most interesting - & though you must expect Malta to be the barest of islands & a garrison town the most gossipy of places,
yet you are well protected from the last by the company you go in - & the delightful climate, the pomegranates & the sea make up for the first. It is such a lovely climate. And there is a great deal/something to be seen on the island after all. And the Maltese are so queer - one is never tired of them. Do ask for our friend & Dragoman, Paolo (he was not known by any other name) if you can see him.
I can give you no hints, which the Tom Carters, who knew so much
more about Malta than I do, will not give you better - I think a maid is nothing but a trouble. Certainly so on the voyage. And when one gets there, if one wants one, I had so much rather have one of the country. We found our maid the greatest trouble we had. I suppose Mrs Giffard takes one for the children. Still, if you feel inclined to take one, don’t let me deter you - F or I think it is a mere matter of idiosyncrasy.

I don’t think you will suffer much from sickness,

But the only advice I can give is to keep your berth or your mattrass on the deck. Sitting up is the devil. The real misery of a sea voyage is the impossibility of washing & that I don’t know how to cure - I think one/the india rubber bath, which folds up into a bay, is a great comfort - It is so difficult to get tubs anywhere. But even that is difficult to get filled on board a vessel. Ask if you suffer from mosquitoes at Malta. I don’t think you do - But, if you do, take
a "Levinge," which is a complete set of curtain & sheet. Hilary knows them—they are to be had in Leadenhall St.

A little arrowroot & Sherry, which can be made in a minute, is a comfort on board a ship, where you sometimes can eat nothing else—But my advice is, Eat not at all—A hot water bottle for the feet is a great comfort—as you are often cold on board ship in the hottest weather. But you will find all grievances about climate vanish the moment you have passed Sicily. Take warm cloaks for the voyage.

And my blessing go with you. I think it is a beautiful plan.

You will be a great comfort in companionizing Mrs Giffard—who will want you much—For do not be disappointed if you find a garrison town knowing, not only everything you have done, are doing, but everything you mean
to do - or don’t mean to do.
   In haste, dearest,
ever thine with all
good wishes & blessings
   F.N.
I am here to nurse
Mrs Fowler, who is
very unwell, but
obliged to come here
with Dr Fowler for
the Brit Ass.

Hampshire, initialed letter, f587/6, 2 ff, pen

To the
   Dignacious little Pog
Dearly beloved With exquisite yawnings of the heart do I sob out the cruel fact that you & I shall not continny our studies together, at least not just now that my prospect is removed afar off & that the prospective delight of taking many rides on three quad rupedated animals, instead of a solitary one, is blotted from my view. Under these afflicting dispensations, I can find few words to express other
than that Papa shall bring Sam’s watch & the naval military Gazette and that I hope that worthy is recovering his elasticity of mind & limb. I heard from Miss Parker this morning enclosing a pair of mitts worked in red chenille, as there were none left like yours. We hear a poor account of Aunt Jane & of Gerard, rather - who goes to Exeter Hall the evening after Dr Arnott pronounces it a complt of the heart & quite essential.

I suppose Sam has recommenced hunting upon the strength of Mrs Lyford’s recommendation - Give my love to the Horners. I do not know which of them, besides Susan, is with you. I cease - for we are all in a state of cold which beggars description and are going to play about

Ever my dear little pog’s disconsolate viddined F.N.
Embley Towsday
35 South St  
W Oct 17/72
Dearest Aunt Ju

Thank you so very much for being so glad to see Miss Torrance.

She will thankfully come to you for a fortnight or so tomorrow (Friday) by the train which reaches Cromford at 4:18. And I thankfully accept your kind offer to order her a fly for that train.

I am sure that you will like her - that does not trouble me at all - & that she will be made happy & well.

But I hope that the necessary housekeeping will not trouble you too much - and please charge it all to me - including flys, (fours-in-hand, powdered footmen & the rest -)

for which purpose I send £5, & will send as much more as you please to charge.

She ought to eat, sleep & run about morning, noon & night - & read fairy tales, which is a religious duty - or the like. Shall I send down some books of the kind? Or will you unlock your literary (fairy) stores & those of the house?
She is, I believe, a Scotch Presbyterian - but tho’ intensely religious & devoted, the most entirely unbigoted person I think I ever met with - for she is not bigoted either against or for any Denomination. Her Bible classes are: a lesson & study.

I send by her 3 bottles Sherry & 2 lbs Tea - For tho’, dearest Ju, I agree with you that Derbyshire tropical productions are beyond any other, yet I do not think that it shines in its ‘Teas’ -

God bless you
ever your old Flo
2. In very many instances when Cottage Hospitals have been built, they undoubtedly are the means of withdrawing patients from the County Hospital, & thereby diminishing its usefulness.

Cottage Hospitals are very convenient for the Local Medical men; they save their time, centralising cases, many of which would be visited without remuneration; they also afford them opportunities of performing operations & of experience, which country practitioners do not otherwise obtain.

If the Hospital is thus the means of withdrawing Patients from the advantage of more skilled advice & attendance, it is of course in so far an evil.

Then the cost - most important - depending mainly on the average no. of legitimate cases which the District supplies - usually very few in an agricultural district. The Workhouse Infirmary meets the demand to a great extent [And to improve workhouse Infirmary nursing is one of the things to which this present time is awakening; & in London & the great towns with some success.]

A Cottage Hospital should at any rate require a minimum payment for every inmate (to be remitted only exceptionally after due enquiry) -
It is not suitable for Fever cases for which the Parish authorities are responsible. A qualified Hospital-trained District Nurse at a cost of say £100 a year may be sufficient to meet the larger part of the requirements to the District. In a populous district both Hospital & District Nurse may be usefully combined. Effective supervision whether of Cottage Hospital or of District Nurse is difficult. The advantages & disadvantages are a question of degree & local circumstances. and sound conclusions can hardly be arrived at by a stranger. May the highest success attend the carrying out of this work, (& the decision arrived at be the just one) & all your works is the hearty wish of yours ever sincerely Florence Nightingale

The Revd Charles Stubbs
Pardon dryness - not of good wishes. I am sorry not to be more definite.
Should a Cottage Hospl plan be ultimately decided upon - & you care to send me the sketch plan I would have it carefully considered & criticized by experts.

F.N. [end 16:866]
Jan. 28/97

Dear “Charlie”
I should be very sorry not to see you before you go.
Would 5.30 or 5 tomorrow (Saturday) or Sunday suit you?
Or have you twenty five better engagements?

Your affecte
F. Nightingale

This is you:
Je suis le capitaine de vingt cinq soldats
Et sans moi, Paris serait pris.

Feb 3/97

My dear Charley
If I am not too late in asking you, I should be very glad to see you to-day (Wednesday) at 5.30, if that will suit you, & if it is not too dark to see the lamps.

Yours affly
F. Nightingale
Leicestershire Record Office 1465

signed letter, 1f, pencil

14 Oct/98
10, South Street, {printed address:}
   Park Lane. W.
My dear Charlie
   We shall be very
much pleased to see
you on Sunday at 5
   ever your affectionate
   Aunt Florence

signed letter, 2ff, pencil

   Oct 11/98
10, South Street, {printed address:}
   Park Lane. W.
Dearest Joan & Charlie
   How can I thank you
for the beautiful print,
the lovely picture of the
man & horse, now
delighting my eyes &
mind?
A million, million thanks
& again a million
   And dear Charlie
will you not come &
   see me some afternoon
next week & please
make an appointment
   (about 4 or 5 -5 is
   now rather dark)
for I have an
appointment every day
this week, barring
Saturday & Sunday -
And I am only able
to see one person a
day -
   ever your affectionate
   F. Nightingale
(Aunt Florence)
Jany 27 1902
10, South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane. W.
My dearest Charley
Many, many thanks for
your most kind letter. And
I trust this will find you
better. Allow me to
give you jot of your
coming marriage -
We trust that you will both
be blessed with every
happiness & with God’s
best blessing
I am sending you a Cheque
for £20 as a little
token & present for you
& your bride.
With much love
Your affectionate
Aunt Florence
April 6/1900
{printed address:} 10, South Street, Park Lane. W.
My dear Miss Allsop

How can I thank you enough for the beautiful flowers we received this morning - charming Daffodils, primroses & moss, which do so remind me of Embley -

also for the lovely snowdrops received some weeks ago -

I do not know how to thank you - they are so delightful both as a reminder of Embley and of you -

I trust that your mother is well - please give her my kindest regards - & also that Mrs. Humby & James Porter whom you kindly reminded me of are flourishing -

We are of course in great anxiety about the War - England always succeeds at last - no fear of that - But must I say that we have been very stupid at first, & generally are: but we are getting over it, & shall make a good job at
last of it, as we always have done. We have sent out Nurses & are still sending some -
I do hope you are all well. & I do thank you from the bottom of my heart - for all your kindness - ever yours
Florence Nightingale

Hampshire, 16M91/23 signed letter, 1f, pen

April 3 1902
{printed address:} 10, South Street, Park Lane. W.

My dear Mrs. Allsop,
How can I thank you for the most lovely flowers you have been so very kind as to send us?

We have no or not much Peace news. Would we had! But you probably know as much as we do. However when I remember the Wars in my youth these seem to me comparatively small. But would they were over.

yours ever
Florence Nightingale

We get no such flowers in London as those you are so very kind as to send us. How lovely Embley & Wellow will soon be looking!
London Feb 21/91
Loving thanks for the lovely snowdrops & the beautiful moss, smelling so sweet & fresh out of the country. & most of all for the kindness & dear remembrance of those at Wellow Mill

from Florence Nightingale

Miss Louisa Dinah Petty
Wellow Mill
2/21/91 Romsey

Hampshire, 65M96/1 letter fragment, 1f, pen

to remember where they were put or to find them - This also could only be done in the afternoon - A small round table wants one of its legs making firm.
The new (second-hand) book-case in the little {in another hand, written across the note Park St a letter {the rest is illeg}

faithfully yours
Florence Nightingale
I wish you a happy New Year with hearty good wishes - & many happy New years
F.N.
{in another hand: January 1886}
2

Lord Stanley’s Commission. [9:511-12]
comes up to the reality, even in some of the best Bombay Stations.
The (W.O. and I.O.) Commission has now distinctly recommended a course, Para 22., p. 12, of proceeding to be followed at all Indian Stations. And the next thing to be done would be that the Presidency Governments should have surveys made.

Perhaps the best way would be for them to select two or three of the Stations to put into proper order - then to make the surveys, and send home to the India Off: their reports & proposed improvements for sanction.
Thus a beginning would be made.
The present position
is simply this: - that
every body is willing.
And yet nothing is
done.

I have heard (from
India) that they have
no Sanitary Engineers
capable of making the
requisite surveys.
This is curious, if true.
One would think there
must be men in the
Public Works Dept.
If not, I have reason
to believe that we
could find them men

who would gladly go
to India to do this
work.

Should you think
well to circulate the
"Remarks" in India,
(which are, in fact, a
sequel to the "Suggestions")
the W.O. would furnish
copies.

I trust that you
will pardon my intrusion
& that you will believe me

ever your faithful servant
Florence Nightingale

(Rt Honble
Sir Charles Wood M.P.)
letter Nov 13, 1854, Before Sevastopol, from Lord Raglan to FN, recognizing her presence at Scutari or Nov 15 RP 3618/1; Having heard that you have arrived at Scutari for the benevolent purpose of administering comfort to the sick and wounded, and have brought with you nurses to attend upon them, I hasten to tender to you my grateful acknowledgment for thus charitably devoting yourself to those who have suffered in the service of their country regardless of the painful scenes you may have to witness, and abandoning without hesitation or reluctance the comforts you enjoyed at home.

You will doubtless be supported in this arduous undertaking by the sensation that you are doing good to your fellow creatures and you will be rewarded by the gratitude of those who will benefit by your tender care.

I have the honour to be, Madam, your very faithful servant

Raglan

Leicestershire signed letter, 4ff, pen, copy in NAM

Barrack Hospital
Scutari
29 December 1854

My Lord

I regret that so long a time has elapsed since your obliging letter to me, respecting the office I have undertaken here -

I have now not only to thank you for your very kind communication, but also for a message delivered to me yesterday by General Sir George Brown.

The General went over this Hospital & expressed himself satisfied with the comfort of the men - to Dr MacGregor, who accompanied him.

I cannot mention this gentleman’s name incidentally, without expressing my sense of the obligations, which this Hospital is under to him, as being virtually its founder, & still supporting it with unabated zeal, vigour & assiduity.

I regret to say that the three last arrivals
of men, in number about seven hundred and fifty, have come down in a wretched state of sickness. They complain (upon the passage) only of want of orderlies & of utensils, by which a great amount of avoidable stench resulted.

Having been informed that there is a quantity of warm clothing in Balaklava harbour, I nevertheless grieve to find that these men (all landed since the 19th) are more ragged & even destitute of clothing than any of the preceding. The number of frost-bitten cases might, it appears to me, have been diminished by an examination of the state of the men on their return from the trenches.

The majority of cases are those derived from dysentery & exhaustion, sometimes both.
These have suffered by the length of the time on board, ten days -

The naval arrangements for landing the sick have certainly not been so prompt as they might have been. The authorities do not seem to perceive the importance of this for the saving of life.

I will not venture to trouble you with any further observations &

I have the honour to be,

my Lord, your Lordship’s most obedt servt

Florence Nightingale [end]

Leicestershire signed letter, 4ff, pen

Barrack Hospital [14:114-15]
Scutari
8 January 1855

My Lord
I have no excuse to plead for the impertinence of which I am about to be guilty, other than that extraordinary circumstances, such as those in which we find ourselves - these Hospitals being unparalleled as far as I know in the history of calamity - urge for extraordinary proceedings, of which one of the most extraordinary is certainly a woman venturing to address a Commander-in-Chief upon a matter of within his own province.

I have, however, been, while freed from professional trammels, in a position
to observe as many of the details, possibly more than anyone else. Throughout these Hospitals now containing 3600 sick. And these three thousand six hundred include those only in the General & Barrack Hospitals.

The comforts of the sick do not depend so much upon the skilful surgeon even, as upon the careful orderly & the constant change of these continually neutralizes the orders of the former.

My Lord, I know well that what I am going to suggest may be simply impossible. But I also know that hundreds of lives may depend upon it.

The French have a permanent system of Orderlies, trained for the purpose, who do not re-enter the ranks. It is too late for us to organize this.

But two things occur to me as desirable, if possible.

(1st) an exceptional Order for the
moment from the Commander-in-Chief that the Convalescents, if good Orderlies, be not sent away to the Crimea.

(2nd) that the Commander-in-Chief call upon the Commanding Officers to select ten men from each Regiment as Hospital Orderlies, to form a depot here - (not young soldiers, but men of good character), also 3 Serjeants from each Regiment, for upon the non-commissioned Officer, who now is recalled as soon as he begins to learn his duty, when placed in charge of a ward, depends most of the good order of that ward.

I have only, my Lord, now to thank you for your kindness, to beg once more your forgiveness for troubling you on behalf of Hospitals in which I have been so interested, & to remain,

your Lordship’s obedt & obliged servt
Florence Nightingale
P.S. The approximate number of Orderlies these two Hospitals I consider to be about 500, viz. twelve to every hundred sick, for the sickness & mortality among the Orderlies themselves, in this Dysenteric atmosphere, has been extraordinary), of 70 on general service.

Out of this No of 500, it is not perhaps seeking too much that one-half should be permanent Orderlies, carefully selected?

I throw it, my Lord, upon your kindness & forbearance to me not to betray that I have interfered with you in this matter, whatever decision your enquiries may lead you to.

With regard to the nurses for Balaklava, I am inclined to think that we shall be able to send three or four, but I am anxiously considering the point, & must delay the answer for a few days.

letter January 12, 1855, Before Sebastopol, from Lord R. to FN, re her request that soldiers be examined after leaving the trenches and that their transport be as quick as possible

letter January 17, 1855, Before Sebastopol, from Lord R. to FN re her request for permanent orderlies

Leicestershire signed letter, 5ff, pen

Barrack Hospital
Scutari
14 March 1855

My dear Lord
I should be very glad to know, before any active operations begin in the Army, whether it is your intention to treat the majority of the Wounded at Balaklava instead of sending them, as heretofore, to Scutari.

My reason for troubling you with this enquiry is that the
illness of my poor Superintendent at the Hospital at Balaklava has compelled her to return to England. I am consequently requested to go to Balaklava, also to increase the Staff of Nurses there, which is very difficult to do, on account of the great pressure of sickness here. I should be sorry to absent myself from here, unless, as has been reported, the greater number of wounded will be kept at Balaklava.

Pray forgive me for giving you this trouble & also for enclosing the copy of a letter which I have written to one of the Sisters who seems without my orders to have joined a Hospital in your Camp, lately formed.

There is a great improvement in the appearance of the last draughts of sick whom we have received from the Crimea. The cases from the two last vessels, the Ottawa & Sydney, were very slight - & nearly all could walk on shore - Not one death on board.

Pray believe me, my dear Lord, your Lordship’s obliged & obedt servt Florence Nightingale

I have always scrupled to take up your Lordship’s time in thanking you for your very great kindness shewn to the Sisters & Hospital at Balaklava.
Barrack Hospital
Scutari
March 18/55

Copy {in FN’s hand}

Dear Miss Clough
I hear with some surprize that you are about
to be established at the Highland Hospital & shall
be glad to know your reasons for taking this step.
Believe me,
yours truly
Florence Nightingale

letter, The Heights, Balaclava, March 23, 1855, from Miss M. Clough to Lord Raglan, enclosing a copy of her reply to FN in which she declines to recognize FN’s authority, black-edged

letter, British Embassy, Constantinople, March 23, 1855, from J.T. Burgoyne to Lord R. reporting negative opinions about FN

letter, Before Sevastopol, March 30, 1855 from Lord Raglan to Miss M. Clough assuring her of his support

letter, The Heights, Balaclava, from Miss Clough to Lord Raglan thanking him for his letter and offer of assistance

letter, The Heights, Balaclava, March 31, 1855, from Miss Clough to Lord Raglan complaining about the accounts of supplies she is required to keep

letter, Before Sevastopol, April 1, 1855, from Lord Raglan to Miss Clough proposing that the Surgeons make the necessary requisitions for her

letter, April 10, 1855, from Lord Raglan to FN, (copy) suggesting that she not come to Balaclava until further notice and praising Miss Clough’s work
“Robert Lowe” [14:184-85]

May 7/55

Dear Lord Raglan

I have the honor to inform you that I have arrived here, with a little party of three nurses, & intend to land to-day or tomorrow with a view of organizing the Hospitals of Balaclava -

I bring with me M. Soyer, who has letters for your Lordship from Lord Panmure & Lord William Paulett, & who is prepared to exert himself in re-organizing, as he has done at Scutari, the cooking of the Hospitals. [end 14:185]

I remain, my dear Lord yours truly & gratefully

Florence Nightingale.
Scutari  
Barrack Hospital  
July 14/56

Sir

I learn from His Excellency the Governor of Malta that you have been kind enough to consent to my request that you will receive, & cause to be properly disposed of, some private Hospital supplies, for the comfort of the Sick Soldiers in your command. I have, therefore, shipped on board the “Antelope” this day

41 Cases  
1 Cask  
25 Bales

addressed to the “Officer Commanding the British Troops “ at Malta.

And I now beg to apologize for troubling you with enclosing the 
Lt General

Sir John Pennefather
Invoice of their Contents -
   In doing this, I am aware that I am imposing upon you, who have much weightier matters to attend to, the trouble of decision as to the disposal of these things, which were sent out for the Crimean Army by the British nation - or purchased here upon the spot for the same purpose.

   I venture to add, by no means with the view of making a suggestion which would be impertinent, but simply of stating what my own difficulties of distribution have been - that, in order to prevent waster, to insure the Articles reaching those who required them, & those for whom they were destined - and to prevent them from being consumed by, and adornning the persons of those for whom they were not destined & who did not require them, I have always followed the rule & custom of the Service, in giving them only upon Requisition from the Medical Officer in charge, in case of the Sick, or from the Commanding Officer in case of loss of kit &c with the men.

   Permit me to repeat my apologies for the trouble I am causing you -

   I have the honor to be
   Sir
   your obedt servt
   Florence Nightingale

The Air Beds & Pillows in Case 39 were sent by Her Majesty [end]
between the two elements of the nation but that, if both had equal political powers, there is a probability that the social reforms required might become matter of political partizanship — & so the weaker go to the wall? — I can scarcely expect that you will have time to answer my humble questions. As to my being on the Society you mention, you know there is scarcely anything that/which, if you were to tell me that it is right politically, I would not do —

But, I have no time. It is fourteen years this very day that I entered upon work {breaks abruptly here}
subjects very near my heart -
the India Sanitary Service.
I have worked very hard
at this for 6 years - And,
during all those years, my
great wish has been -
would it be possible to ask
Mr Mill for his help &
influence? -

But you were so busy,
Pray believe me
dear Sir
ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale
J.S. Mill Esq, MP
Lea Hurst
Matlock     Sept 19/68
35 South Street, {printed address:}
    Park Lane,
    London. W.
Dear Mrs Frewen Turner
   I have never thanked you
for your most kind note
of July 31, full of encourage=
ment & sympathy - nor for
your goodness in sending
me a valuable little pamphlet=
tract. But I have thanked
you in my heart, tho’ not
in words.
   May I venture to send you
my little “Notes on Nursing”,
which I have just had
reprinted, because it was
out of print? --
   Perhaps Miss Eleanor
Martin may find in it
something for her poor
cottages, in the Chapters on
Health of Houses & “Minding
Baby”?  

Leicestershire Record Office 1485
Leicestershire signed letter & envelope, DG 6/D/44, pen [8:569]
Madame Mohl also desires me to ask my father to send Miss Eleanor Martin "some sunflower seeds, when ripe," because "they are wonderfully fine at Lea Hurst."

My father thinks that Madame Mohl must mean Hollyhocks, because we have no longer Sunflowers here. But he could get her some Sunflower seeds from the Cottages, if these be really what she means -

Perhaps Miss Martin would write a line to my father to say whether it be Hollyhocks or Sunflowers or both -

I am afraid I shall very soon be returning on my business to London. I hope that I am not troubling you by writing these things to you.

Dear Mrs Frewen Turner, I so often think of you - of the kind defence which I once heard you make of me & which I dare say you have long since forgotten - of the peace & happiness which I pray that you may be enjoying, as I think you should, after a long life spent in the service of God,
tho’ with many cares & sorrows. I trust that your bodily sufferings are relieved — pray believe me ever your faithful & grateful servt

Florence Nightingale

envelope Mrs. Frewen Turner
Cold Overton Hall
Oakham

Leicestershire signed letter, DG6/D/217, pen

35, South Street, Nov 14/68 [8:572]
Park Lane, {printed address:}
W.
Dear Miss Eleanor Martin
My mother has desired me so many times to write & ask you to forward kindly the “Letters on Egypt”, (when Mrs Frewen Turner has quite done with the book,) to this address — and I have so often put it off from excess of business — that I snatch the pen now in a rampant state to execute my Mother’s desire. I hope that you will not think it
troublesome.

My mother will send
Mrs Frewen Turner another
copy if she desires it.
Pray give my most
respectful love to Mrs
Frewen Turner - I trust
she is not worse but
rather better than usual.
May I, on my own
account, ask whether you
returned by Madame Mohl,
there is no possible hurry
for the same) two books,
one on some American
War Hospitals, by a lady,

& one on the American
Christian Commission - The
latter I think I saw here.
You must excuse my asking
these questions, because, being
a prisoner to two rooms,
I cannot hunt for myself -
I am at this moment in great
tribulation because
I cannot find a copy of a
Persian poem, with French
translation, by Al Khayyám,
which M Mohl gave me.
People take my books away
& return them perhaps,
(perhaps not) into my
Dining = room, where they
become mixed up with
other older books there.
And into my Dining room
I have not been able to go
for 2 years -. Excuse haste
& complaints. And believe
me ever yours affectly
F. Nightingale
Leicestershire Record Office 1489

Leicestershire signed letter, 718 DG6/D/218, pen

35, South St., [4:108]
Park Lane, W.
Jan 8/76

Dear Eleanor Martin

I cannot thank you enough for writing to me: [I had only heard of M Mohl’s death from some one who saw it in the newspaper:]. Yours was almost greedily received by me: I have written to her: but what human tongue can comfort her?

If you know whether he was sensible to the last: & whether he said anything those last -2-
days, will you kindly tell me?

No one knows what the loss is to me, but God. Since I was 18, he was my truest friend. The world was a different world to me, because he was in it. But, because no one can know what it is to me, I am almost glad to be alone with my dead -

As for him, what can one say? - but "Glory to God in the highest": he was the truest follower of Christ, (by whatever name he called himself). He was the most enlightened & at
the same time the lowliest
& purest soul: he really tried to lived as
like Christ did: & was the only
man I have ever known
who might have said like
Christ: 'Learn of me, for
I am meek & lowly in heart.'
Few knew him as he really
was: tho' few will be more
missed than he -
I cannot speak of him -
[I think, if she has health, she
may have a life in editing
his papers. She told/asked him
that she would/might do this: & told me.
Do not mention this to her -]
My respectful love to Mrs

Frewen Turner. I know
what she & you have lost
in him -
Please write again -
ever your affecte
F. Nightingale
My mother is 88 in a month.
35 South St.
Park Lane, W.
Jan 27/76

My dear Eleanor Martin

I ought to have written to you long ago:
(but somehow I feel as if a spring of my earthly
life were gone: & I can scarcely do my daily work:)
& told you, as I feel, how thankful I was to you for
these letters which I return. You may guess how
eagerly I read them over and over again.

As you say, we must not think of "second causes":
a "friend of God" is gone back to the bosom of his God:
I think his life might have been prolonged some little
time by what we call good Hospital Nursing,
& it used to make me quite sick to think this:

but prolonged in the midst of suffering?
perhaps God saw it was not desirable:
there was no possibility of restoration.
-- French Doctors are generally excellent Nurses: they
don’t write a prescription and go away, as London Doctors:
perhaps they saw there was nothing to be done:
there is no doubt the seat of the disease was the bladder
& there was Cancer.
I wish they had not produced that Haemorrhage on
the Wednesday before the last:
it weakened him & hastened his end:
but even that we cannot be sure was not in
mercy.
It seems certain that he did not foresee the end was near: & yet I say it seems certain: but it would have been just like him, if he had known it, & not spoken of it, for fear of giving pain. I have heard from both Ida & Fanny Tourgueneff: but nothing probably but what you know - Fanny de Tourgueneff hopes that when Ida goes you will be summoned: as she says, Mme Mohl cannot be left alone - Perhaps this is settled already - however - I return the 'Temps' with many thanks.- It is good: the Articles upon him have been much better than newspaper Articles in general: & the speeches at the funeral were good - But yet these Articles (not the these speeches) almost irritate me: they knew but the surface: they hardly knew the mine of pure gold that lay beneath, that mine of which will now be worked thro’ eternity. Somehow I cannot help thinking that Madame Mohl will hardly leave Paris again: but I may be quite mistaken. God bless you:
yours ever sincerely
F. Nightingale
“About the Cottage Privies: –
   My father always puts privy
& pig-sty together – & both at the
as far a distance from the
 cottage as the garden will allow.
Also: but this is particularly
at Embley – the whole seat, you understand,
is made to open on hinges – After the privy
has been used or (say) once
a day, the Cottager’s wife puts
down all her ashes – in this
place (Lea & Holloway) there
are plenty of ashes, because
the people burn coal – In
Hampshire, where they burn wood,
the wood ashes are not much –
And a spade full of garden earth is put down too - so that the privies are really not offensive at all - Above all, my father always gives each cottage its own privy. The privy opens behind at the bottom. And the cottager takes out the whole results (not often enough, I think) & buries them in the garden, which, of course, improves the garden. "Moule’s Earth Closets" are used by a neighbour of ours. They are expensive & we (i.e. we of the India & War Office Sanitary Department) believe from experience that, where those are used on any large scale, when Cholera comes, those houses always have Cholera - For schools, I do think the landlord (as my father has done here) ought to have Lavatories with hot & cold water laid on - consequently water closets, as, when you have laid the water on, you may as well have water closets. But I tell you this out of my own head, as my father rather scoffs at the School Water-closets here - If Miss Eleanor Martin chooses to write to me & send me details drawn up, both about privies & about drainage, accurate
enough to be consulted upon, I will consult us of the Sanitary Dept (I often do this for villages & Institutions) in London & give her a regular answer - I quite agree in what you say as to spending £1000 a year & neglecting the privies. The Bishop of London gets together £500,000 for building Churches - & does not a thing for the dwellings - the seat of all vice.

I ought to say, if you build Water-closets for schools, those for the girls & those for the boys ought to be as far apart, & the paths to them as far apart, as possible.

It is very undesirable for boys & girls to be "chaffing" each other ever on the way to the WC - much more when they are in it. Bishops have not the least idea how much vice arises merely from breaking down the barriers of decency in this way - as also in crowded dwellings - nor how much what you may call innocent vice there is, as Euripides says there is unloving love -

Lastly, you probably know that, latterly, people of any enterprise in villages of any large soil have furnished
Leicestershire Record Office 1496

the whole village with water closets. It is much less expensive than is usually supposed. And if you thought there were any chance of its being done, it would be very easy to get you exact particulars of average expence. But I have so often fashed myself to do this kind of thing for people, who had as many hours of leisure in a day as I have in a year, that I am more prudent now - especially as I found out that, in most cases, they did nothing & had no intention of doing anything. (My father never has a privy in a cottage, or very near a cottage.)

F.N.

My dear Miss Eleanor Martin
I delayed writing to you about a Trained Nurse for the proposed Cottage Hospital, because I thought I had one in view: one of the District Nurses (Miss Lees) who is leaving. But she has chosen & been appointed to another Cottage Hospl of which we had the particulars.

As, I suppose, the proposed Cottage Hospl in Leicestershire is not ready & no particulars about the Nurse yet sent, I do not despair of yet being able to supply you from St. Thomas': but we have not at this moment any Nurse leaving after 3 or 4 years’ experience.
These are those we like to appoint. If you could give us the time and particulars, we might have by and bye someone to recommend, tho’, in general, we do send out our Nurses in Staff, as you say.

I have seen Madame Mohl, 2 or 3 times: I do not like her looks, tho’ she goes about as usual. I hope one of you is going back with her to Paris, if I may say so when she goes:

My respectful love to Mrs Frewen Turner:

My mother is pretty well: & I am going to take charge, please God, in 10 days

May I send you (enclosed) a paper of Miss Irby’s, our friend’s? The distress & starvation among the (Turkish) Christian fugitives is intense.

ever yrs affly

F. Nightingale [end 13:300]
35 South St.
Park Lane W.
July 6/77
6 a.m.

My dear Elinor,

I hear from Madame Mohl that you are going with her to Paris. I entreat you to come here (-I shall be gone) with her on Monday - & stay here till you go with her to Paris: (picking up a cat which she is to have from me).

I assure you she is not fit to be left alone. If you were to see her as I have seen her, you would need no assurance.

It is the most piteous & most pathetic thing to see her who has occupied a place à part like a Queen at Paris: & the widow of such a man: beating about London - & destroying her own purposes:

Please, dear Elinor, come here & save her: yours ever affly

Florence Nightingale
Leicestershire Record Office 1499

signed letter, DG 6/D/222, pen

No 2 35 South St.
      Park Lane W.
      July 6/77

My dear Elinor

Since I posted my letter to you, Mme Mohl tells me that she stays at Montagu Sq till Tuesday: then that she goes to Lady Eastlake, 7 Fitzroy Sq - & that she does “not know when she returns to Paris”.

The rest of my letter to you remains the same: Please make use of this house (by writing to Mrs. Legg who keeps it) whenever you like for accompanying Mme Mohl to Paris -

And write to me at Lea Hurst Cromford. Derby: for otherwise I shall probably know nothing of Mme Mohl’s movements.

in great haste

ever yrs affly

F. Nightingale

The cat which she wishes for shall be left here.
March 24/79 {printed address} [8:591-92]
10, South Street,
Park Lane, W.
My dear Eleanor (if you will allow me to call you so)
I cannot help writing to say what I cannot say how much we feel with you at the calling home of our dear
Mrs Frewen Turner: 'Is it well with her? 'It is well. She is gone home.
To you I am afraid it is the breaking up of a home. And I long to know not only about her, but about you. Only I do not like to press you to write.
Dear M Mohl; he was so fond of her. Perhaps now they have met. I always
used to think of him -- there was no one who wished so much to know God, who so longed after God. He could have spent his life in writing the history of God, as far as man can know Him, & he was sad because he thought man can know Him so little. Now he knows Him after whom his soul yearned.

And your dear grandmother: she is home, beyond all misunderstandings, where all is love.

It is six and twenty years to-day since I lost my dear grandmother Shore: she was 95, but what a blank that made in my life.

How much I have lived thro’ since. And how much she has known: how much she has enjoyed since.

I have often the saddest letters from Madame Mohl. I trust you will be with her soon.

Pray for me: & I pray for you. May God be with you. Fare you very well: now & always.

ever yr affecte

F. Nightingale

How dear Hilary would have been with us now:

Perhaps she is.

Did you know our Miss Irby? She is on the Bosnian frontier.
Easter Eve
6:00 a.m.
April 12/79
10, South Street, Park Lane, W.

My dear Eleanor,

Indeed I do pray for you:
as I hope you pray for me:
pray that we may both
find God’s highest call for us –
He has sometimes
a heavy load for us to carry –
May He give us & show us
what we have to do for Him,
be it hard or easy.

There is so much to do for Him in life: & so few real,
genuine labourers.

One does indeed feel what
a blank life is to you just now: but what a joy to her
that you were “provided for.”

Ah, but it is a good thing that at her death there was no aged person to be turned out of home!

I pray that God may show
you the way! And
do you pray no less for me! f
or my way is hard and heavy.

God bless you ever:

God bless & keep you & your sisters, & Madame Mohl, is one of the deepest
Easter prayers of yours ever

F. Nightingale

I have lost both my beautiful
long-haired Tom kittens (black & orange)
-- only a little white cat left
which is very miserable. (Mme Mohl’s cats).
You once kindly offered me a Persian Tom kitten:
have you a Tom kitten to spare now? tortoiseshell?

F.N.
My very dear Eleanor (if you will allow me to call you so)
I was so very glad to see your handwriting again.
I do pray, as you wished, that you may find your place & your work. But we may trust God for that.
There is such a field for work.
Thanks very many for the little Tom kitten. I wrote to Miss Crossley for it/direct: & she was so kind as to send it here. It misses its mother, but is too ‘manly’ to cry. It is a charming little animal. And I have called it Darius. ("Mr Darkie’s" progeny, as you said).
Dear Madame Mohl has written to me. She is seriously offended with me for not being in London. She does not know the circumstances - I come down here every year at the risk of my life (this year the journey was more serious to me than ever) in charge of my dear Mother. Her condition here was very anxious. She has just returned to London under the care of my cousin, good Shore, who is so good to her. And I stay here to regulate/help in such a mass of business, Schools, sick & dying people &c &c &c, as we are the only resident family, if poor Mother & I can
be called ‘a family,’ her at
Lea Hurst now: besides
trying to work up the arrears
of my own business.
Then when,
But I will not write all this,
dear Eleanor: you were
so kind as to ask after us:
& I thought perhaps it was
as well to tell you, as
you might make Mme Mohl
understand, thro’ the lady,
(your cousin?) whom she is with:
Mrs Fickers: [I will also write to Mme
Mohl.]
Pray for me
& believe me
ever yrs affly
F. Nightingale
Mme Mohl wants me to "decide"
or at least to "advise" about the publication of his
letters to her. Priceless his
letters must be: but I am
wholly unequal to such a
"decision" or "advice." A competent
person should give a
month or 6 weeks to looking
them through. How I, were I
competent, should enjoy such a task.
But I could scarcely give
6 hours from the business
which has had far too
many claims upon me
for 25 years & more -
F.N.
June 6 1882

10, South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane, W.

My dear Eleanor Martin

I have had a piteous letter from Madame Mohl,
I cannot tell you how piteous.

But she asks me to write to you to come "to look after" her.

It appears to me from her letter that there is not a day to be lost:
and I am quite/sure if you were to see it that you would kindly set off for Paris with the least possible delay, provided indeed that you do not know more than I do.

But you will judge better than I -

I will write again:

but now, in terrible haste,
ever yrs affly
F. Nightingale

Telegraph to me your address, please -
I am not sure of it
To ask if Madame Mohl arrived last night: & how she is after her journey: & to ask whether she will come & see me this or tomorrow (Sunday) afternoon at 5 or at 6, as she desired.

Mrs. Simpson’s
14 Cornwall Gardens

with Florence Nightingale’s love
10 South St. Park Lane W. June 10 1882

very anxious to hear how Madame Mohl is
so sorry (for myself) that my time is so filled up with business now & by appointment.

To morrow (Friday) at 5 or at 6 is the only time I have this week to see Madame Mohl, if that would suit her, as I hope. 10 S. St. June 15 F. Nightingale

Dear Eleanor
She was so unspeakably pathetic - not in the least wandering - but she actually told me all her wanderings about M Mohl -- that she saw him several times “quite distinctly” pass the glass door of her room (in Paris): that she reproached him for not remaining with her - that she actually wrote to him at the Institut, but as I understood did not send
her letter - that she has not been able to help writing to know whether & where she could find him - but that she reasoned with herself, & knew it was an "illusion," viz. that she had seen him - [oh dear friend, oh I do "pray" for her - May God comfort her. I never wished so much that I could have said the right word.)

that she had never fancied him sitting with her [I almost wished she had].

She has never wandered with me in the slightest degree about him either in her letters or in talk but on the contrary been exceedingly perceptive & touching - more so indeed I thought than when he was in life here - [I thought her sadly altered in body.]

She asked it is true the same question many times about some things - but many people do that -.

There was little trace of her former brilliancy.

She was sad and silent for her, but her talk was oh how far more interesting than ever.

I should like to hear of her from time to time if you would be so good -

I was so sorry not to be able to see you

ever yrs sincerely,

F. Nightingale
Leicestershire Record Office 1509

signed letter, DG6/D/230, pen [8:598]

Burn 10 South St.
July 9 1882
My dear Eleanor: oh how grievous it is -what
you write about dear, dear Madame Mohl -
I know not what to say: only to pray: But
I ought to explain something in Madame Mohl’s
last letter to me which has been misunderstood.
She did not write to me - not that last letter
- pressing to come to England "at once,” - but
pressing that some one - mentioning particularly
you - should come out to her at once - at Paris.
And she gave reasons which would have so
alarmed a Doctor or Nurse - as to/for her not
being left alone a day longer - that I
telegraphed & wrote, as you know -
For she had never said anything of that sort
to me before -
I do not think I said anything in my
telegram or letter did I?, about her being in
a hurry to come to England then - But I gave
almost the exact words of her message to you -
that she must be with you "at once."
[Knowing how imperfect her memory is, I
sent down to the Bonham Carters first, who
are in constant intercourse with Ida,
to know whether Ida might not be with
her, or going to her, then - in which case I
should not have troubled you †so emphatically.]
It is grievous indeed that she should
be so restless in England as you describe.
- I earnestly hope that this does/will not continue.
If it does, it is because she has again her
illusions that M Mohl is there at Paris, & that
she ought to be with him.
I hope these will pass away -
I am quite sure she did desire to come
to England - & would not have been satisfied
without it - but if unhappily (And may
God forbid!) you should be obliged to take
her back to Paris, because she thinks he is there,
may I say that if you were to see her last
letter to me - [I thought the more of it
because she has never been in the habit
of saying such things - but just the contrary - ]

-2-
you would think it quite unsafe for her
to be alone at Paris -
I know how difficult it is to be there -
And perhaps you have many, many
other calls at home - But I venture to
think that some one of her nieces should
always be with her, or some lady friend.
- Is it not so? -
I wish I could be with her, as you say it quietens her, & as she talks rationally & oh so pathetically with me: but alas! it is impossible.

I was aware that she had written thro’ Ida to M Moritz Mohl to find her M Mohl - And she told me herself that she was subject to these illusions -

Her strong mind must be helped by those who are with her to overcome them - She does try. If she is left alone, they will increase -
If they were comforting instead of painful illusions it would not matter so much. It would not be so unlike the truth of God’s love - & her husband’s love -

O may God be with her -
I pray, I pray for her & for you -
ever yrs sincerely
F. Nightingale

signed letter, DG6/D/231, pencil

Lea Hurst
Cromford, Derby
Sept. 9/82

Dearest Eleanor
Just before I left London a few days ago I had an unspeakably melancholy letter from Madame Mohl - She spoke a great deal about you: full of tenderness for you: wishing to have you like her child: & ended with asking me to tell you not to give her "lessons" -
but not as if it were your fault but hers that she could not take "lessons" from you – that it was as if she were your "mother" – There was no incoherence in the letter – She spoke of M Mohl as dead & of her great loss & misery – She did not allude to her visit to England:

I answered her letter at once; (I wrote without entering, of course, into the "lessons" question: & indeed only spoke of your love to her as far as my letter regarded these things) & urged her to ask you to come to her). Afterwards my sister told me that Margaret was with her. Is this so?

But, whether it is so or not, I had so strong an impression all last night, viz. that, however almost impertinent it might seem to me, I ought to keep you ‘au courant’ of what my friend of five and forty years says to me, however almost unreasonable, that I know you will forgive me, my very dear Eleanor.

I often think with the greatest pain, could I not do something more for this friend of more than, I suppose, eighty years old? But it is impossible.

Dearest Eleanor, I do not know what
she means by "giving her lessons" - But I guess that it is this - if you could put the things that concern salvation & God & Christ which you so truly feel & say to her into words more familiar to her habits of thought ---------- you & I mean the same things/truths: but somehow she understands you less than she does me -

I venture to say this because I know we mean the same things.

You truly knew M Mohl: knew him as I did to be a man more occupied with God than almost any man I ever knew. If I were to try to describe him, I should say: truly filled with the Spirit – the Spirit of God. What a thing that is to be able to say of any man! But his words, his manner of speech, were different from the usual phraseology of English orthodoxy - yet those are the words which suit her now. And one cannot wonder at it -

Forgive me -
I do feel so excessively anxious about her I think one can never know what might happen.

We have been exceedingly occupied with sending out Nurses & Orderlies to the War, under circumstances of great anxiety - Pray for them - pray, pray - I have been very ill since I came here, which I only mention that you may excuse this scrawl: wh: I address to Wormstall, tho’ I know you are not there, as I did my last -

God bless you. ever yrs anxiously

F. Nightingale
Leicestershire Record Office 1514

signed letter, DG6/D/232, pencil

10, South St. Feb 25/86 [6:649]
Park Lane, W.

My dear Eleanor (if I may call you so) Mr Croft, one of our Senior Visiting Surgeons, will admit the poor little Club-foot case under his own care, in St Thomas’ Hospital. He has been very successful in these cases, in restoring a serviceable foot, & preventing the necessity of further operations, – tho’ these are not cases generally liked in large Hospitals, overdone with acute & severe cases – But, as Mr Croft says, the child would certainly “come to grief” where it is - There are no cases I pity so much; for a child certainly cannot get itself born of married parents, or of careful parents. And God does let the sparrow fall to the ground. But you will say: Where is your faith?
So I enclose the Order of Admission without further words. Mr Croft has purposely put no day & no hour for admission, because the child is from the country - And it causes so much inconvenience to poor people, he says, to do so - He may be brought up any day - Eleven o’clock is the usual hour for admission - But he may come in, any time - Yes: I suppose "Charing Cross Station" is the nearest Station to St Thomas’ Hospital. A cab must take them to & across Westminster Bridge, & St Thomas’ is just on the other side of the Bridge, as you know - I will gladly pay for the cab, if there is any difficulty.

Thank you very much for the title of M Fauriel’s book. What excitement she would have felt about this book. And thank you very much too for two photographs of her which have arrived from abroad & which I am sure I must owe to your very great kindness - Do they come from Ida? [There is an address in them: “Baronin Anna von Wächter Brixen”]. I think they must come from Ida - Will you thank her very much?
Leicestershire Record Office 1516

God bless you, dear
Eleanor. May He give
you the highest happiness!
For all our “Auld lang syne” [end]
ever affly yours
F. Nightingale

Leicestershire Record Office DG/6/D233 [3:512-13]

[printed address] Claydon House,
Winslow,
bucks.
19 August 1887
Private
My dear Eleanor (if you will allow me to call you so)
May I ask you a confidential question? My brother-in-law, Sir Harry Verney, has
had a small living of his suddenly to fill, Grandboro,’ three miles from here, its
excellent clergyman having been drowned accidentally. The Rev. C.H. Hanning, six or
seven years curate of Branchley, has been recommended to him as an admirable
successor. Sir Harry has asked me to write a quite confidential enquiry of your
kindness, at the same time saying that he has recommendations of others and very good
men, too, and that he begs you to be so good as not to mention his enquiry to anyone,
least of all to Mr Hanning.

What is Mr Hanning as to ritualistic views, or as to evangelical views? How much
can he win (a) farmers, (b) labourers, as he is doubtless well acquainted with
country work? What has been his bringing up as to liberalism or conservativism? The
working men at Grandboro’ are shrewd, hard, toiling, patient men, with a contempt
that quite startles one for the weak amiable young Tory parson. The farmers as a rule
are more or less attached to the church, but the labourers are in many places so
bitter and so unsettled that it only needs a narrow bigoted vicar to drive them into
extreme socialism.

What sympathy would Mr H. feel with the farmers and what with the labourers--two
classes alas! now in opposition, and with the questions of the day that concern, so
as to be able to guide them to Him who is the way, the truth and the life, and to
decent living. Sympathy rules the day now, not reverence.
Is he deeply religious? devoted? genial and modest? Would he be an agreeable
friend among his fellow clergy round about? Is he a hard-working man at schools, and
an affectionate visitor to the poor, so as to win their hearts? What sort of sermons?
Now I think I have troubled your kindness with questions enough, and will only
add that though his political views are enquired after, it is far from wished that
he should take part in any political organization. What is his share of a good sound
common sense? manliness? uprightness and downrightness?
I was so very sorry about that little child with a club foot whom you entrusted
to us at St Thomas’ who died of diphtheria, which he was supposed to have brought
with him, but which we had feared he had taken at St Thomas,’ though there had been
no diphtheria for months in the ward where he was. His case was always reported to
me by the doctor under whose care he was. And on his death I immediately wrote, as
usual, to undertake his funeral at the place whence he came. But this was negatived
as it appeared it was desired otherwise. I always do so grieve for children or
patients who come into hospital for one thing and fall sick or die of another. Abut
every care was taken of him.

God bless you, dear Eleanor. How are you? And are you happily employed?
ever your affectionate
F. Nightingale
I shall be back in London shortly.
10, South St. June 27/88
My dear Eleanor (if I may call you so) You must have thought me so ungrateful - And I was so grateful to you for this notice of the last of that noble family, one of whom was such a light to the world & so inexpressibly dear to us.
I ought to have returned it you long ago - And tho' I had heard of poor Ida’s terrible affliction, your account of it was such a great interest to me -- Perhaps now that the last of the brothers is gone, she may publish some of their letters & this will be a welcome task to her - I have to thank you too for the "Waifs and Strays" Socy Report - Accept my thanks for all. The fact is that for 4 months I have been seriously ill. And I am/have been scarcely out of bed 6 times. And now I am a good deal overworked.
But how I go back to those
dear old times -
   Fare you very well -
What a tragedy, the two
   German Emperors -
ever yours
   F. Nightingale
1 Upper Harley St
Sept 7 {archivist: [1853]} [16:25]

Dear Lady Canning

Not having heard anything of your Gutta Percha rings, I went out foraging - & finding their companions at the Gutta Percha place in Bond St, I took the liberty of enquiring whether any such had been sent to your house in Grosvenor Sq - & finding that 6 dozen had been sent there, & the man of the Gutta Percha Establishment shewing me your order in his file, I ventured to desire them to be brought here - I hope I have not taken an impertinent step -

We shall require much more than 5 doz. probably in all, 12 doz. I suppose that I had better order the remaining 6 doz. at the same place & the same price? May I?

We have had the most vexatious delays, bothers & confusions with our workmen, with which I am not going to trouble you in
your holiday -

They are not yet out
of the house - & we are
not yet in the front
large ward - The patients
still number only seven.
But we have several
applications when we have
room -

We are putting our
linen into order - The
beautiful linen which
you sent us (I must
tell you) Mrs. Clarke
has chosen to mark
V.C. I had intended
to have all the linen
marked according to its
floor - But Mrs. Clarke
holding firm, & I not
wishing to be disrespectful
to your towels, we effected
a compromise, - I had my
“1st floor” - & she had her
“V.C.” over it, “V.” for Vice,
& “C” for Countess, as she
informed me! - I hope
you will approve of this
titular arrangement &
believe me, dear Lady Canning,
yours very truly & gratefully
Florence Nightingale

We have had such work
with our workmen, & if we
had not had “the courages
of lions & the eyes of ocks”
(by which we mean hawks,)
as Mrs. Clarke puts it, we
should never have kept
the peace -

[illlegible]
Dear Lady Canning

Mrs Perez bore the moving like a hero, & was decidedly the better for it! - Now however she is failing, & sometimes, I think, cannot live through the night - Miss Robson has not yet returned -

I have parted with the under-housemaid, & I have been obliged to give poor Nurse Bellamy warning, though I had no fault to find with her, farther than that she had nothing of a nurse but the name & the wages -

We have now one nurse & one servant less than in Chandos St - we bake, preserve, & do all the Needle-work of the new furniture at home - (having made all our blinds, curtains, carpets & linen ourselves) - & we don't find the want of those extra servants.

Your furniture from Mr. Fisher’s has not yet all arrived. That which has come we like exceedingly - The curtains for the great ward are
all made, & look very
gay - but they are not
yet all up, owing to 5 doz
of Gutta Percha rings
being still wanting - I
have been to the place
in Bond St. about them
twice - They will not let
us have them for less
than 2/6 per doz. (but they
say the price to other
customers is 3/9) I have
got those which were
sent to your house in
Grosvenor Sq - & ordered
5 more doz - which ʃ of
illeg/course, ought to go to the
account of the Institution.

The arm-chairs you
ordered from Mr. Fisher’s
have been the delight of
the Patients, & are all in use.

I have not seen any
of the Committee but Miss
Maurice since Ly Caroline
Russell’s departure - Every
body else is out of town.
Mrs. Lindsay has not been
here/seen yet.

The workmen are not
yet nearly out of the
house - The lift & the stoves
seem to be stumbling
blocks & stones of offence,
as if no one had ever
heard of them before -

We have seven patients -
two more coming in - two
more making application -
I believe that some alterations in the way of organization will be required, as you say - But I have not mentioned them yet - preferring to wait till you & other ladies of the Committee were in town & on the spot again -

Mr Marjoribanks has been most kind & helpful - Indeed, without him, I don’t know how we should have got through - Lady Stuart de Rothesay was so good as to call one day about your furniture & said that she would write to you. We have not been able to take patients into the “Camp” yet - I fear we shall have to change the “Fry” nurse - Mr. Fisher is a dilatory gentleman & has not yet! finished putting up our blinds, but at this time of year London workmen “strike” for their amusement, just as country workmen marry when they are out of work to divert their minds -
With regard to my own share in the business I have been so busy for the last fortnight that I really had never asked myself the question till your letter came. Now I ask myself in obedience to your desire, how do I like it? And I can truly say that, as far as the Patients are concerned my business is full of joy & consolation. They are much easier to manage than I expected & they are always to be cheered, tho’ not always cheerful. Indeed I think we are most fortunate in our Patients - & we are going to lose one on Thursday, who is going home to die, because Dr. Farre can do nothing for her, whose loss I shall regret as if it were my own sister -

I think I have answered all your questions, & I must conclude, in great haste, dear Lady Canning, ever yours most truly & gratefully for all your kindness

F. Nightingale
Barrack Hospital
Scutari
5 April 1855
My dear Lady Canning
Most truly obliged am I to you for your two kind letters & for your unwearied exertions in our behalf - I will write more fully next post - I only trouble you with one line now to say that, as the eighteen Nurses whom I wrote for were for Scutari and Koolale, 8 for Scutari & 10 for Koolale (according to the rate fixed by the Inspector=General) - and, as Lady Stratford has written for & is expecting thirty=four for Koolale alone - I must request that no more be sent here - our Quarters being already overcrowded for health, & the difficulty of getting more quarters being inappreciable in England - I have received the eight sent out by Mrs. Herbert who are all /whom that I intended for this place -Scutari. The seven whom you are kindly sending out - this letter will be, of course, too late to prevent. But it will be impossible to hold any more at present here.
Mrs. Herbert has been kind enough to send print & ribbon for our Nurses’ summer clothing - & my sister has sent Barège shawls - I believe - which I suppose will be all we want - So that we need not trouble you at present. With many thanks for your kind exertions, believe me, in great haste, dear Lady Canning,

Yours very truly & gratefully

Florence Nightingale

I have written to the W. Office to resign Koolale.

WYAS, Leeds Canning 177/2/2 signed letter, 3ff, pen

Barrack Hospital Scutari

April 22/55

My dear Lady Canning

I cannot sufficiently thank you for all the trouble & care you have taken about my Nurses - The seven penultimate whom you were so kind as to send are, I think, take them for all in all, the most respectable set we have had - They are not experienced Nurses, but they seem to be all dependable women - with the exception of Miss Brookes,
who I think from her
grammar, French & Irish,
is nothing but a parvenue
Bonne, & who does go on
about “her friends the French
Duchesses” till the Nurses all
laugh at her - except when
she is abusing the washerwoman
in good round terms - There
is not one of the other six
whom I do not like -
  The four who landed
yesterday are very respectable
looking - One of them, Mrs.
Sullivan, had been dreadfully
sick - I like their looks,
but that is all I know of
them at present -
{last line is cut off}
  Very many thanks for all

the trouble you have taken
about our summer dress -
The things are not yet arrived.
I am going up to Balaklava
this week with four nurses
of my old ones - The reason
I have not been before is
that we have had much
more work here than there
& I have been ill -
  Do not, please, send me
out any more Nurses till
I write for them - I am
rather glad the drunken
lady fell short -
  I am very sorry for all
the trouble you have had
  I shall have quite enough
to supply Balaclava with
out of the bonnets & print
which you have been kind
everous to send to supply my
Balaklava nurses with -
   Many thanks for the quinine
   Mr. Sabin’s sister did not
apply to you - She had declined
coming -
   Pray do not be uneasy
about Kulleh’s share of “gifts”.
It has had from Scutari whatever
Miss Stanley or Dr. Tice (the
Medical Officer) made requi=
sition for - But indeed there
is no more need of the “public”
at all, as far as regards
gifts. Pray stop them from
coming in any more -
   With regard to Nurses,
should any more be sent,
I would recommend that, as

was done with the first set,
they should be paid 10/ a
week for the first month,
to be raised to 15/ a week -
if they stay three months,
to 18/ or even 20/. But there
is no hold upon women who
come out without Xitian motive,
if they begin at once with
16/ or 18/ & have no looking
forward to being raised, if
they conduct themselves well -
They get drunk at the
first provocation, knowing
that they can only be sent
home -
   Believe me, dear Lady
Canning, ever yours very truly
Florence Nightingale
I am in great want of two Household Servants immediately - In order to save the Government expence, I have tried both here & at B’clava all the soldiers’ wives in turn who would come & never will try another. I want one for the Castle Hospital, B’clava, & one for the General Hospital, Scutari - The soldier’s wife now there, on getting drunk the other day & being reproved by me, assured me that it was the smell of three grapes

{in another hand: Miss Nightingale Sept 23}
which had got into her head! fact.

Believe me
dear Lady Canning
most truly yours
Florence Nightingale

Believe me
dear Lady Canning
most truly yours
Florence Nightingale

Barrack Hospital
Scutari
April 22/55
My dear Lady Canning
I shall be happy to carry out your wish of paying a portion of the wages of the Nurses (whom you have sent out) in England - they making the request individually - I prefer to give them Orders of payment on my own account in England - I have had experience enough of the ignorance & the insolence of the Purveyor’s Office here - (vide the evidence of Drs. Andrew Smith & Menzies, “Times” of 27 & 28 March, as it has been told to me) to refuse to have any dealings with them as to minor details, not strictly comprehended in the War Office Orders - The Nurses must depend entirely upon one head - or this Hospital will become the bear-garden which the others have done.

I have received something like a reproach from the War Office that three Nurses, sent home by Miss
Stanley from Therapia, called at the W.O. for a balance of Accounts - as to which accounts I was ignorant -

Believe me, dear Lady Canning, your very truly

Florence Nightingale

The “print” for Nurses’ gowns & the bonnets are just arrived - many, many thanks. [end 14182]

WYAS, Leeds Canning 177/2/2 signed letter, 4ff, pen

Balaklava [14:188-90]

May 10/55

My dear Lady Canning

I would write more at length to thank you for all the trouble you have taken for us - to tell you what an useful person Miss Tattershall, the tradesman’s daughter, is turning out, - what nice respectable women, two of the Oxford Nurses, Clarke & Howse, - these are of the first party - & Logan, the Scotch Presbyterian, I think I like the best of the second party. (their agreements were all right - & so were their certificates, excepting that, being expressly designed therein as for Scutari Hospital, it gives me no power to transfer
them to Balaklava, if found desirable)
Also, I have stated to Mr. Hawes my objections to giving these women 18/ at once, without any power of raising their wages - In this way, women, sent back from hence for drunkenness in a short time, will have almost as much use to them as those tried ones who have borne with me the toil & burden of the day. Or I must raise the wages of the whole of the old set at a great expense to Government. The terms of the old set were 10/ per week with permission to raise up to 25/. I raised none till they had been with me six months.

I begged Mrs. Bracebridge, who remained at Scutari, to write & thank you for your great kindnes sin taking so much trouble about the summer clothing - & to say that I have had no trouble about drinking with any of your eleven - (the two sets whom you were kind enough to send me) - as yet.

I would like to say much more. But this is principally a letter of business to say - pray prevent any more women being sent out - The “female troops”, as we now are called, are becoming quite the laughing=stock of the Army. (this is strictly “entre nous”) or will illeg/be so - if it is continued - to send them out in such numbers. Koulale & Smyrna are so overstocked that I hear nothing but jokes on the subject - I mean overstocked under present circumstances
Matters are very different now
(thank God, as my Mrs. Clarke,
now gone home, used always
to say & to write, thank Gog!)
from what they were when I
came out. I have plenty at
Scutari now to supply Balaklava,
even should there be a great
& sudden emergency, for I have
far too many at Scutari under
PRESIDENT circumstances - The number
of sick, including Convalescents, were,
when I left Scutari (& they must
have decreased since, owing to
sending home several more ships)

{Barrack Hospl} 1100
{General} 378
{Palace} 240
{Koulale} 410

Though there were 1100 in the Barrack
Hospl, not 100 were in bed - & 10
women could easily have done all the
work - whereas I had 26 -

I am very glad to have a
reserve, but I have quite
enough to garrison Balaclava.
I brought three with me - I
had eight yes here before for the
two Hospitals - & such is the
difficulty of housing them, that
such the difficulty of obtaining
labour of any kind, & wood
(we pay Croats 3/ a day to do,
3 in 3 days, what one English
workman does in 1 hour.)
that, though we only require a
hut for the whole party, that
but cannot yet be erected, & I
have them still on board a
Transport with me - We have
here but 400 sick & wounded -
of whom but 120 wounded. We
are now amply sufficient for
this number - as upwards of
100 of the sick are Convalescents - & we
are twelve - I have inspected
most of the Regimental Hospitals -
in which the number of sick
& wounded vary from 4 to 50 -
Of course it is out of the question
to place women there with an
army too which may take the field
any day - nor would the authorities,
of course, permit it.

Should there be an assault, for
which we are all, officers, men,
cattle & women, earnestly praying,
(for what is the carnage of an
assault compared to what we
had last winter?) or should
the army take the field &
march upon Simpheropol &/or
have an engagement which

sends us its wounded, - we have still,
at least, twenty nurses to spare
from Scutari - Two things appear
certain that nothing will be
done before Napoleon comes
if he does come - & when he
passes thro’ the Bosphorus, it will
be time for my Nurses to pass
through too from Scutari - the other that it
is the intention of Lord Raglan
to keep all his wounded up
here in the Krimea - (Whether I
shall be able to find accommo-
dation such as can keep women
respectable is a different question)
I wish that there were some
combination between Commander=*
in=Chief, Medical Inspector=
General in the Crimea, War Office
& its Civil Hospital - There appears
to be none - For, while we hear
from Lord Raglan that all the wounded are to be kept here - while the Hospitals now existing in the Bosphorus, are comparatively empty, - we hear from home that three Civil Hospital, two besides Dr. Parkes’ are coming out, of 1000 men each for the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles or Sinope, we hear from Dr. Parkes, who interests me greatly in his success, that he expects everything but Patients - For there is more than room for sick, already existing - 

When I see the camp, I wonder not that the army suffered so much but that there is any army left at all - not that so many passed through our hands at Scutari - (4000 once in 17 days) but that all did not pass through Nothing has been exaggerated - But now all is looking up - fresh meat 3 times a week - fresh bread from Constantinople - Sir John MacNeill has done wonders -

{from the first page, top margin}  
Pray believe me, dear Lady Canning, yours very truly  
F. Nightingale  
There is some Cholera in camp but not much.  
{in another hand: received May 24}
My dear Lady Canning

I have been waiting only for an hour
to thank you very, very much for your
most kind letter & to answer the questions
contained in it - I have been driven
by our work more than usually of late
from the sudden death (of by Cholera) of my
excellent Matron, who managed the Linen
Stores for 1200 Patients & the Hospital Furniture -
& from the illness of my Assistant - at the same time.

I never doubted the sympathy of
the Queen for her poor soldiers, &
consequently for all those who tried to
do them good. Indeed the fellow-feeling
at home with these poor fellows has
throughout been a great help in their
sufferings - And to be assured of the Queen’s
sympathy was the highest pleasure to them.
We feel it the more because on all hands
we hear of the pains & the interest
she takes in informing herself of all
that concerns them -
It seems as if I had been negligent in accounting for the use of the £200, which Col. Phipps desired me to lay out for the Queen in any comforts which it might seem well for her to give - But I have not - The only use I have as yet made of it was to purchase a tent for the Convalescents to air themselves under, which cost £21. Soldiers are strange beings & it seemed desirable that they should have to thank their Queen for something which they did not consider their right - To spend her money in ArrowRoots & socks would not have attracted their attention - At this time too we are amply supplied with every kind of store, very different from what it was when we first came out - Tobacco is, above all, the luxury which the soldier most enjoys & far be it from me to grudge it him in this miserable war - Still it is not exactly a Queen’s present - But I look forward to a time next winter, when we shall be less fashionable in all human probability than we are now, when England will be tired of us - & the Queen’s kindness will be well applied & fully appreciated by the soldier
Question I

It struck me when I read the agreement signed by the Civil Nurses that the last paragraph would not do for a Military Hospl. Because the Nurses there must not be placed under the immediate direction of the Principal Medical Officer - In Civil Hospitals, the Medical Officer is accustomed to the direction of women - & may be trusted with it - in Military Hospls not - Bind the Superintendent by every tie of signed agreement & of honor to strict obedience to her Medical Chief - (I think it has been the defect at Koulale that this has not been done) But let all his orders to the Nurses go through her - I mean, of course, not with regard to the medical management of the Patients, but with regard to the placing & discipline of the Nurses - I have never had the slightest difficulty about this - the Medical Men always coming to me & saying, "I want such & such assistance" - and I always informing them of any exchange or removal of Nurses - & consulting them - But I would never have undertaken the Superintendency with that condition that the Nurses consider themselves "under the direction of the Principal Medical Officer" - I am under his direction - They are under mine.
I will give two instances just to explain that my meaning is to attain not insubordination to the Doctors, but a power of explaining to the Doctors -

It has continually happened to me, especially at B'clava, to be asked for a Nurse to attend an Officer where there was no possibility for the woman to retire day or night for even a moment - & where she it was too far for her to return to her Hospital. And this request has been made by an old married Doctor & a father -

In one instance, the Principal Medical Officer of B'clava, when I pointed this out to him, immediately gave up his own room for the Nurse to retire to at certain hours - shewing that it was not indifference but inadvertence. In another instance though, - similarly with the first instance, - the house was crowded with men, (viz. Officers, servants & doctors &c) & there was not a cranny where a woman could go unseen, yet though three of the men were Chaplains & the sick man nursed was a Chaplain, it was only by going myself & turning out an Officer & servant & providing for him elsewhere that I could secure a corner for my poor Nurse - whose Patient required her constantly, - These are the things which deaden women’s feeling of morality & make them take to drinking & worse - if the Superintendent is not continually on the alert.
The other case which makes me “stickle” for the Superintendent being first in authority over the Nurses was that of a Nurse whom I removed from her wards on account of an intrigue in which she was slightly to blame & removal was all that was necessary - In the anger of the moment, she said she thought she had been only accountable to the Medical Officer - She immediately repented, saw the justice of the removal & was forgiven - But a Medical Officer would neither have discovered nor removed her for this - & she could have quoted her agreement to prove that she was chiefly responsible to him.

Under these circumstance, therefore, I must suggest that the Form of Agreement should bind Nurses to obedience to their Superintendent, the Superintendent to the Principal Medical Officer by another Form signed by her. But, if the Medical Officer conveys his orders, in the first place, to the Nurse, the Superintendent can only interfere in the second place - And there will be continual quarrelling, which there never has been in the four Hospitals under my charge -

Question II With regard to the wages, a sliding scale is absolutely necessary - At what rate it shall begin I cannot decide - Because I have no doubt that the excitement
which has been made about us in England has raised our price - I will only remark that the lowest description of Nurses I have had were a Mrs. Gibson who came out at 18/ in the 2nd party, a Mrs. Whitehead who came out at 18/ with the same party & who has not yet returned home, because she has broken her leg, - a Mrs. Thompson, & Mrs. Anderson, who came out at 18/ each by the 3rd party & returned drunk in 3 weeks, a Mrs. Holmes of the same party, who was a woman of bad character, but whom I have kept, because I believe she has really been shocked into reform here - also at 18/ - a Mrs. Clarke from Oxford, of the 4th party, who came out at 16/- & several others whose names I will not give, because they are not likely to trouble you. These all came out at 18/ - whereas some of the most respectable women were of the first party, who all came out at 10/. I do not think their having children to settle has anything to do with the Government question of providing good & responsible Nurses for their soldiers - But I am not aware, as I have already said, of the present state of feeling in England - & think that your sliding scale may be a necessary one viz 14/ a week for 3 months, to be then raised to 18/ & after a year to 20/
I have not had a single person/Nurse yet, either at high or at low wages, whom I could place in a situation of responsibility, excepting Mrs. Roberts & Mrs. Walford, (the latter I found out here & she is the poor woman just dead of Cholera)

I think a mistake has arisen that a Nurse out of a surgical ward means a surgical Nurse - The nurse out of a surgical ward is nothing but a maid=of=all=work. She scours, washes the Patients, makes the beds - sometimes the poultices &c - Mrs. Orton, of the 4th party, who came out as a Surgical Nurse from Bartholomew’s, is scarcely fit for a maid of=all=work. She came out at 16/. But she is such a good creature, though silly & vulgar, that I employ her in the Linen Stores under direction -

I send home you the first Agreement & first Certificate which I think, after all, were the best.

Question III I see no objection to the “Drink” rule being left out - Because it is different at different Hospitals - But, without the rule about/against Presents, no discipline could be maintained - I have had no difficulty in enforcing it. I know of many instances where the Nurses have refused money & have never told me so themselves - I know of only one
instance where money was accepted & that
was by an unprincipled woman, Mrs. Lyas, of
the 2nd party, whom I was about to dismiss,
& who has procured herself a situation as
Governess!! in an Armenian family by the
agency of the R.C. priest. Experience connected
with this woman leads me to the suggestion
that it is desirable never to send out R.C. Nurses, who will
always be borne scatheless by their Priests -
through any misconduct - & never to pay them their wages, or any portion
of their wages, in any other way excepting thro’
the Superintendent - This woman sets me all at
defiance, has carried off all her new summer
clothing, endeavours to seduce away the other
Nurses, because I had no check over her -
her wages having been paid in London by the
W. Office - She sent me word, when she ran
away, that she was sure of her wages without
me - And she has completely deluded that unlucky
unfortunate Lawfield of St. John’s, whom she
converted.

We require, if you please, a large Assortment/number
of new Badges, Ours are worn out & we have
no time to work them - Mrs. Bracebridge has
the pattern.

I think it undesirable that the Nurses
should be allowed to take with them their own
outer clothing. It will be a constant struggle to prevent
their wearing it.
I would suggest that, if Nurses choose to wear white Petticoats & white stockings, it should be made a condition that they put them out to wash at their own expense - Grey twill would do very well for petticoats. I have sent for some to Malta -

The rule about wearing the regulation dress applies particularly to when they are out of Hospital - & therefore the rule as it is written about the is not explicit enough - I have myself heard one soldier address another, “Don’t you speak to her’n! don’t you know that’s one of Miss Nightingale’s!” The necessity of distinguishing them at once from the camp=followers is particularly obvious when they are not engaged in Hospital work -

I think the rule about receiving wages should be - quarterly -

I hope the additional rules I sent home by Mrs. Bracebridge will be adopted - especially that about their accepting no other situation out here - People in the East will take a servant, or even a Governess, with no character whatsoever.

The rule about remitting nurses’ wages thro’ the Paymaster is undesirable for two reasons 1st the extreme delay - It is stated “in the same way as soldiers’ remittances-” The delay in making
these is so well known that the soldiers are
in the habit of remitting by me to England
in small sums of 20/ or 30/ a weekly amount
of (now) not less than £150. It is stated that
"the Genl Agent will in due course issue the
same." The "due course" is one of many months.

2nd the Nurses should be dependent on the
Superintendent for their wages - entirely - as she
alone can know their deserts -

The Exhortation to the Nurses is excellent -
but something might be added - In the rule
(4th) about the walking, we are obliged to arrange
that they should not go out for exercise excepting
with a superintendent, as when two or even
three were together, the soldiers would make
appointments to meet them - for we have here
the misery of a depot - On the other hand, I
have been obliged to waive the rule that two
must always be together in the wards - It cannot
be always maintained.

The 5th viz. the instructions of the W. Office
respecting religious intercourse to Lord W. Paulet
has been so completely misunderstood by the
R.C.s that it has been, in fact, my
principal difficulty - & the less publicity
which is given to it the better - The R.C.s
who, before, were quite amenable, have chosen
to construe the rule that "they are not to enter
upon the discussion of religious subjects with any Patients other than those of their own faith”
to mean - therefore with all of their own faith - & the 2nd party of Nuns, who came out, now
wander over the whole Hospital, out of Nursing hours, not confining themselves to their own wards nor even to Patients, but “instructing” (it is their own word) groups of Orderlies & Convalescents in the Corridors - doing the work each of ten Chaplains - & bringing ridicule upon the whole thing, while they quote the words of the W. Office, which indeed seem to have been left intentionally vague, & to bear this construction.

(1) Aprons may “well be served out like Towels” But it is better for the Nurses that each should have her own towels, aprons &c - as some tear & destroy so much more than others - & the tidy ones ought not to be called upon to succeed to the others’ patches or rents -
(2) Extras &c are very useful
(3) A good stock of needles, cottons, &c &c
would be eminently acceptable to me - I am constantly “emptied out” - as we give a small stock to each Patient returning to the Krimea - He cannot drink cottons - Buttons may be sent us by the million & used - gratefully -
I will send back the Lists of the clothing which the Nurses have had. I have not yet got in those from the Crimea, which has caused my delay.

We are truly grateful to you for all you have done for us - I am very anxious that Mrs. Bracebridge should be the person to approve the Nurses sent by Lady Cranworth & that none should come without her approbation - because she knows so exactly what we want.

Death & illness & misconduct have thinned our ranks & I now require

2 Matrons for the Linen Stores
   one at each of the two Scutari Hospitals
   For we have now undertaken the whole of these immense Stores - There are four Divisional Stores to this Hospital only - & each man has now his clean shirt twice a week &/or oftener & his clean sheets once a week or oftener.
   These Matrons will have nothing to do with nursing -

1 Housekeeper - who will exercise control over the Nurses in the Quarters - not in the wards - she too has nothing to do with nursing -

2 steady elderly healthy Maids of all work - willing to go to B'clava, if necessary -

4 Nurses - who must also be willing to go to B'clava, if necessary -

I cannot sufficiently say how much I feel all the trouble you have had/taken with us - nor how great I feel your loss will be to us - Believe me, dear Lady Canning, most truly & gratefully yours  F. Nightingale
P.S.

Many, many thanks for your kind enquiries after my health, which is as much improved, I believe, as I can expect in the time - I have most seriously considered the kind wishes of my friends that I should leave this place for a time - But I believe those about me come to the conclusion that, on the whole, it was best that I should remain here -

Can you pardon this long letter, which I have not time to make shorter, written among interruptions & business of all kinds?

There are of the many good wishes, which will follow you to your command in India, none more fervent, at least, than ours - I do not know how you will look upon the exile from England - But I cannot help rejoicing at your going to so responsible & important a post -

Many thanks for your encouraging words upon mine -

Can you pardon this long letter, which I have not time to make shorter, written among interruptions & business of all kinds?

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Many thanks for your encouraging words upon mine -

[14:227]

WYAS, Leeds, Canning 177/2/2 signed letter, 1f, pen

Scutari

September 16/55

Dear Lady Canning

I write this in haste to say that I have discharged Miss Brooke for drunkenness, incompetency & insubordination at the General Hospital at Balaclava - that she did not choose to return home, having, I fear, made acquaintance in the Crimea - & that she has now therefore
no further claims upon
Government of any kind -
Also that I consider
her an improper person
to be sent out again
to any Hospital whatever. [end 14:231]

Believe me
dear Lady Canning
sincerely yours
Florence Nightingale

WYAS, Leeds Canning 177/2/2 signed letter, 8ff, pen black-edged
{in another hand: received Oct 17}

Barrack Hospital
Scutari
October 1/55 [14:235-38]
My dear Lady Canning
I have a very painful
duty to perform in
giving you some infor-
mation concerning
Miss Salisbury, which
is today to be made
the subject of a Dis-
patch from the General
Officer commanding here
to Lord Panmure -
Miss Salisbury’s name
is probably known to
you through Miss Wyse,
(who recommended her to
x (in another hand: This is a mistake as Miss Stanley never saw her or recommended her – C.C.)

Lady Stratford,) & thro’ Miss Stanley x as one of the Lady Nurses here –

  Miss Salisbury undertook in this Hospital the charge of the “Free Gift” store – upon a written understanding that nothing was to be given out of that store, excepting by a written Order from me – I considered it my duty, & it has been my constant practice to keep an account of every Article given – which account could be, at any time, made known to the Public – my responsibility being to the people of England – These accounts have been already printed in the “Blue Book” up to February 15/55

  Circumstances occurred which made me believe that property from the “Free Gift” stores was withdrawn by Miss Salisbury, unknown to me. And this suspicion became so much strengthened that I mentioned it to the Commandant – who, thinking that I had grounds for it, at once advised me to
dismiss her. I did so, paying her her salary, offering to have/take her passage home to England or to Patras, whence she came - & supplying her with money, besides, out of my own pocket.

She refused to go - & offered her services to Mrs. Moore, Superintendent of the Officers’ Nurses -

She was about to proceed on the same errand to Lady Stratford at Therapia, when material proof of her dishonesty appeared.

-2-

Farther evidence against her having come to light, the General Commanding sent men to search my house in Scutari in which she, Miss Salisbury, slept. Property was found there, which I may safely assert was of above £100 value, - concealed in the room of a Maltese couple, who were brought here by the recommendation of Miss Salisbury, & were in my employment.

I must leave it to others to interpret this circumstance for themselves -

Miss Salisbury says
that it was her intention to give away this property & acknowledges that she has given away much from the “Free Gift” stores unknown to me -

The excuse she offers is that the Stores were rotting & eaten by rats - And that Mrs. Bracebridge, when here, had given her & the Nurses leave to take or to give away any thing out of the Free Gift store.

It is my wish to leave the latter assertion to be answered by Mrs. Bracebridge - That rats abound in all these Hospitals is an unlucky fact. But I never heard that the Purveyor or Commissariat gave away their stores in consequence.

Be that as it may, Miss Salisbury has broken the agreement which she made, in disposing of the Free Gift stores at her own pleasure - without record or responsibility - And the people of England are not to be left at the mercy of Miss Salisbury.

To this I must add, with the greatest pain, that Articles of my own wearing apparel, which I had missed, have been found in her boxes - It is undeniable that the circumstances are
such as would, in any other case, be considered a felony - Five men are now in custody, two of whom she brought to Scutari, in whose possession have been found goods given over to them by her.

It reaches me from various quarters, as being said from one person to another, that a desire is expressed to know the plan that has been & is pursued in the disposal of the Free Gifts & the Queen’s Gifts here - I wish that it had been said to myself, as I could then immediately have afforded the information.

For the Free Gifts addressed to me, I have, of course, considered myself responsible -

I have made it a rule in these Hospitals of Scutari to answer all the Requisitions of the Medical Officers, having first ascertained that such Article does not exist in the Purveyor’s store - I have then procured it either from Constantinople, Malta or England, if it did not exist in the Free Gift Store - I have spent thus upwards of £3000 in Constantinople alone - part of which has
been repaid me by Government, part has come out of my own & other private funds - This is wholly independent of the "Times" Fund - To other Hospitals I have sent all, (but nothing else) that was required of me in any Requisition, representing things as wanted, either from Medical Officer, Chaplain, or Superintendt of Nurses - had I sent other things, the public Gifts would have been wasted -

Only in the case of Koulale Hospitals have I deviated from this rule & sent stores unasked -

I have invariably sent, when asked, to all other Hospitals in the East, whether I possessed the Article actually in store or not - & I possess an exact record of what has been sent.

The "free gifts" & the stores (procured by money at Constantinople), which have been distributed in the Barrack, General & Palace Hospitals of Scutari up to February 15/55 have been published in the Blue Book, as above
Leicestershire Record Office 1555

mentioned -
An exact account is ready for publication up to May 1/55 of the Free Gifts distributed in the same Hospitals -

Also, of the Free Gifts distributed to the Hospitals of Koulale & Balaclava - between Nov 4/54 & May 1/55 (It will perhaps surprise some to hear that, in the Barrack & General Hospitals alone of Scutari, in the first three months of my stay here - were given out by me upwards of 10,000 Shirts & 4,000 flannel do. independently of all other Articles of Hospital Furniture)

During May, June & July, I was prevented by illness from taking any part in the distribution of the Free Gifts, which was undertaken by Mrs. Bracebridge, who will answer any questions concerning the distribution which took place at that time - From July 28/55 to the present time I have an Account of every Article distributed - And all these Accounts will be published subjoining that of what is regularly given to each soldier who leaves the Hospital, either invalided
home, or convalescent to the Crimea -

Believe me, dear Lady
Canning yours most truly
Florence Nightingale

P.S.

The Queen’s Gifts, i.e. those which came to my address, dated Dec ’54 & Jan ’55, were immediately divided into proportionate quantities among all the Hospitals - a double portion only having been given to the Palace Hospital, where were most Officers, who would prize most such Articles as the Queen sent - Of the distribution of these, I also kept a record - I have also had a voice in the distribution of her other gifts, particularly of the games, concerning which I can also give an Account - as I made out the List of the proportions to be given to each “Division” - I should perhaps add that the correspondence of Miss Salisbury was seized by order of the Commandant here, who thought this step a necessary one - as indeed it proved - & that it laid bare a

{in another hand: Miss N. Oct 1}

most curious system of falsehood, which she had been pursuing in her letters to England. It is so easy for an adventurer of this kind to trade upon people’s sympathies in this way.

F.N.

[end 14:238]
Miss Tattersall
It is quite impossible for me to say what I owe this lady for her untiring industry - for her flinching from no menial employment, as at her own request, she had been Cook & Housekeeper to the female Staff of the General Hospital, Scutari, since April/55 - for her truth, judgment, faithfulness, discretion, & entire trust-worthiness, for her temperance, in all things even in flirting; and for her high religious principle, I cannot express too highly my respect & esteem.

Mrs. & Miss McLeod
These ladies are excellent, but not useful. They are gentle workers - And the old lady- though most amiable & attractive, having both age, & delicate health in the way of her working; it is difficult to understand for what she was sent out.

Mrs. Evans
A most eccentric, little Welsh, woman. Her manners make many wonder whether she is a knave or a fool - but none have been more useful, laborious, honest, respect-able, sober and trustworthy than Jane Evans. I am under great obligation to her for her active zeal - And from her Farming-Knowledge she was able to keep one of the Crimean Hospitals supplied with Milk during the Winter.
Mrs. Shaw Stewart
I should fear to offend this lady - were I to say what my opinion of her is. Without her our Crimean work would have come to grief. Without her judgment, her devotion, her unselfish consistent looking to the one great end, viz. the carrying out the work as a whole, without her untiring zeal, her watchful care of the Nurses, her accuracy in all trusts and account, her truth - in one word, her faithfulness to the work as a whole, laying aside the desire inherent in all weak minds) that it should be observed how much more good she was doing in her own particular Hospital than others were - without all her qualities, I believe that our Crimean work could not have withstood the insidious petty persecution, the laying of traps, the open opposition which it has received. Her praise and her reward are in higher hands than mine.

Miss Morton
Last come out, but not least useful; In the constant good influence exerted by her over the Nurses, in her unfailing desire to teach them and train them to good. In her willingness to take any work which offered to be most useful, and which only her physical want of strength prevented her carrying out more fully. I have the deepest obligation to her for her faithfulness to the work, for her tender care of the workers.

F. Nightingale
(copied)
Dear Lady Canning,

I have just received your very kind letter “finished Oct 7. at Barrackpore” - You have been too kind & efficient a mistress to me & mine for me not to think it an “official” duty to give you some account of my stewardship, & answer your letter step by step.

1. This seems to me like a dream & not my past “campaign”. It seems to me like a dream to see the women driving walking about in little bonnets & big petticoats & hear them saying that “poor Lord Raglan”, (that most chivalrous & noble old man in his disregard of mere public opinion), “died of the ‘Times’” - to see the men playing the game of party politics over the graves of our brave dead, & trying to prevent us from learning the terrible lesson which our colossal calamity should have taught us - Oh my poor men, who died so patiently I feel I have been such a bad mother to you, coming home & leaving you in your Crimean graves, - unless truth to your cause can help to teach the lesson which your deaths were meant to teach us -

2. The public has been, on the whole, very considerate of me. Two or three of my friends have made very great mistakes & been unable to understand that publicity must, by injuring my cause, be painful & worse to me - And puffing always injures any real work, were it only by collecting round it elements of frivolity, vanity & jealousy. On the whole too, the War Dept, has been very kind to me, & forgiven me my popularity as well as it was able tho’ it was very angry with a speech
of Sir John McNeill’s at Edinburgh which 
was made contrary to my earnest and 
written remonstrance.

3. The Hospitals of the East were, 
at the end, quite perfect, as also the 
Sanitary arrangements - I conceive that 
this year, the Barrack Hospital at Scutari 
was the finest in the world - Also, The deaths 
in the second week of January 1855 were 
578 per 1000 in the Army - (& this was 
not the /our highest mortality, which was 
in the end of that month) - The deaths 
in the corresponding week of January 
1856 were 17 per 1000. The deaths 
from Epidemics were reduced from 70 
60-80 percent of those from all causes to 
45 per cent - And the sickness from 
Epidemics from 60-80 per cent to 16 per cent- 
This, of course, is attributable to the excellent 
Sanitary arrangements in the Army, 
introduced by the Sanitary Commission - 
& as well as to those in the Hospitals - The frightful 
mortality in the Barrack Hospital at 
Scutari diminished in like manner -
During 54-55, that Hospital was literally 
living over a cess=pool - & the Military 
Medical Officers ascribed the 
unmanageable outbreaks of Cholera 
which took place up to November/55 
to a Cemetery 3/4 mile off - !!

To give you some idea of the way in 
which H.M.’s Ministers are informed 
of the health of H.M.’s troops, the only 
authorized returns of Cholera (of course Ministers 
may have had private returns) sent 
home were (& are) of the Patients who are 
in Hospital from Cholera on Saturdays 
(Cholera running its course in 3 or 4 hours) 
& the Patients who are admitted the other 
six days in the week, dead & buried - 
of them there is no other record than 
in the Death Returns & not always there - 
The excess of burials over recorded deaths 
was 4000
4. I am sure that you will be pleased to hear that of your “friends”, as you kindly call them, Nurses Logan, Sullivan, Cator, Jane Evans, Miss Tattersall, Woodward (from Koulali) Montague, Orton, Maloney &c turned out “all right”. Miss Morton so good - & many others honestly anxious to do their duty - I do not mention the virtues of those who were before your reign, as they will be less interesting to you - But I cannot help just recording the gratitude we owe to Mrs. Shaw Stewart, to the “Revd Mother” of the R.C. “Sisters of Mercy” at Bermondsey, to Sisters Bertha & Margaret of the Anglican “Sisters of Mercy” of Devonport & to the immortal Mrs. Roberts -

5. I have not had time to read the Koulali & Smyrna books - But even had I, I would not - For women who have had the happiness of serving God & the honor of serving their country in her War=Hospitals to make a book about it is to me quite enough, whether that book were prompt ed by their own vanity or by silly or astute advisers. The Koulali authoress, Miss Fanny Taylor, has now joined the R. Catholic Church, which indeed she had done privately before she went out.

With regard to what you say about the necessity of Chiefs at home having the cause of dismissal always sent them, it is so true, both theoretically & practically, that I only wish it had been more strictly enforced - But, on one occasion, that of Miss Salisbury, a woman proved to be profligate, intemperate, & dishonest, the War Dept did not act upon the character sent home by the Commandant as well as by myself -

6. I am very much obliged to India for their zeal in our cause - I am
pleased to hear it, because, ignorant as it is, it is upon a right principle - One is sick of the cant about Women’s Rights - If women will but shew what their duties are first, public opinion will acknowledge these fast enough - I dislike almost all that has been written on the subject, Mrs. Jameson especially. Let the “real lady”, as you call her, be as much professional, as little dilettante as possible - let her shew that charity must be done, like everything else, in a business-like manner, to be of any use, (a thing I found it more difficult to make my ladies understand than anything) - And all that is good will follow - provided, of course, that the real love of God & mankind is there - And, with this, I conceive that we have even an advantage over the R. Catholics - (A vow implies a fear of failure) just as the really sober man is undoubtedly better off than the man who has taken the Temperance pledge - Besides this, R. Catholics, even the best, are essentially incapacitated (from their inherent Manichæan-ism) from doing the best kind of good - They are to console the suffering which evils have produced - They are not to remove the causes of those evils - As a curious instance of this, I will mention that I tried to make/persuade a great ally of mine, the Suprioiress of the Sardinian “Sisters” at Balaclava, Countess Cordero, (one of the most remarkable women it has ever been my good fortune to know,) to join with me in a strong protest against a certain Canteen, up to which we used respectively to see our respective Patients in Hospital slippers & clothing - stealing past the (conniving) sentry - out of the Hospital Huts. The protest was to have been addressed to our respective Chiefs of the Staff & would have been easily
-3-
attended to - But I never could persuade her that it was any use to take any Preventive Measures against drunkenness or anything else - I have seen this even among the excellent French “Sisters” at Paris -
You will be glad to hear that Miss Shaw Stewart is hard at work improving herself at Guy’s Hospital, where she is training as Nurse - For I have much more harassing work to do -
7. I am sorry to hear your account of Indian (middle class) women - But I really think that it might be read aloud here to great advantage, for “Indian” substituting “English”
India is a wonderful field for you - There is very much that we might imitate, with much advantage, out of the Indian Army, & what you say of the Sepoys reminds me of it.
I saw hardly anything of the Turks as you may suppose - And what little I did see made me think that poor Turkey’s days are numbered - But men, far better informed than I am, say that she is making steady progress onwards - the merest sight of Turkey impresses one, of course, with the immense superiority in civilization which Constantinople has attained over her provinces - The Turkish Contingent was the best thing we did - And I regretted much its being disbanded - They, we the soldiers, were getting so attached to us -
How you Tropical colouring must call out your artistic feelings - We had small time to look at colouring - but even I feel the change to this London sky deaden all my artistic perceptions -
8. You will wonder what is the grievance with us when everything was so perfect about the Army when it left - The fact is we have not made one step towards a system which will prevent the recurrence of such a disaster - If we were set down at Batoum tomorrow, we should have all /54 over again - I have never heard any sensible man doubt this who was with our Army in the East - We are no nearer having the next Army live on fresh meat at 1 ½ per lb instead of die on salt meat at at 8d per lb - we are no nearer having the next War Hospitals drained & ventilated - the next Land & Sea Transport well organized than if we had not died & lived respectively in the years of Disgrace /54 & of Grace/56. Because the system does not exist to compel it. Nothing has been done but a violent expenditure & the relaxation of all rules & all logical scheme of Government - And the very luxury & expence of /56 was bad for our cause - Because it gave the supporters of the old system (or no= system) the right to say, Look what these innovators do -

Lord Panmure is going to give us a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the all that concerns the health of the Army at home & abroad - And I have been commanded by the Queen & by him to write a Precis for the Government - I do not feel very sanguine as to the result of either - But I shall "eat" straight through - Of all those in Office whom I have had to do with since I came home, you will, perhaps, perhaps not, be surprised to hear that I have found the Queen, Lord Palmerston & Mr. Herbert the most free from the Office Taint - These are really, (after their different fashions) not officially, interested - I have had much to do with two Taints lately, the Scorbutic & the Office Taint - And the latter is the worse -
The points in my Precis will be to try to show

1. that the Army must be taught to “do for” themselves - Kill their own cattle, bake their own bread, hut, drain, shoe-make, tailor, &c &c. But in this the Camp at Aldershot is, if possible, behind that in the Crimea - everything is done for it by civil contract - (Its clothing only is going to be given to it to do) - You will hardly believe that, in the Crimea, even when we had fresh meat, we buried one fifth part of it & that the most nutritious - Our Naval Brigade & the French dug up our ox=heads & make soup of them - & I dug up the feet, & made jelly of them -

2. that the Commissariat must be put upon the same footing as your East Indian Commissariat which has, I believe, never broken down except during the first Burmese War, which was not its fault - instead of which our Commissariat is made, with other arrangements, to destroy an Army

3. that the Quarter=Master General’s stores must be periodically reported, as to what they contain, to the General Officers of Divisions - You are probably well aware that, while our men were lying in one wet blanket & one muddy great=coat, - wet & muddy because they had been 20 hours out of the 24 in the trenches, - while they were dying of Scorbutic Dysentery upon salt meat, rum & biscuits, our stores at Balaclava were full of rice, lime=juice, great coats, crates, rugs & even blankets -

4. that, in time of war, the Transport must be under military control - For, while stores were daily arriving at Balaclava, & every man in the front would gladly have given 1/ to have his blanket carried up to him, & every man in the Transport Service could have carried up 10 blankets, we positively never thought either of using or of paying the seamen on board the Transports to carry up stores to the front.

5. that a Sanitary Officer must be
attached to every Quarter Master Genl’s Office - to advise upon matters relating to encampment, diet, clothing, hutting, sick transport - Even after our great distress was over, it was found that the 79th, altho’ down at Balaclava, was in such a state from Fever that, if matters went on thus, the whole Regiment would pass thro’ Hospital 4 ½ times in 6 months - After the usual recalcitration from Commanding Officers as to “Military Position” &c, it was found that by moving the lines 20 yards, which did not alter the military position in the least, the troops were saved from Fever - The boards of the huts were found positively covered with green algine matter - But now a Medical Officer, if he analyses the water & finds it unfit for human health, & remonstrates in writing, may be placed under arrest. Military health, as was written 57 years ago, is sacrificed in an enormous proportion to ignorance.

I have 11 other points which relate

1. to the Government of General Hospitals, which, being in the hands of eight Departments, the Officers of which are appointed by different authorities, ensures delay, irresponsibility & inefficiency - A requisition to mend a broken pane of glass must pass thro’ six Departments.

2. the Sanitary Element in Hospitals

3. the Army Medical Department, - its rate of pay, - education, - system of promotion, - confusion of its administrative & professional functions, - absolute necessity of a Practical Army Medical School at home, impossibility of its being/producing, as at present constituted, a good nursery of good surgical science -

4. the necessity of a Hospital being complete in itself & furnishing a Hospital kit for each man - We positively had no
power of inventing any scheme, (when the men were ordered to leave their knap=sacks on board ship when we landed at Old Fort, which knap=sacks they never recovered), of clothing these men when they came into Hospital with nothing on but an old pair of trousers & a dirty blanket- nor of feeding them, because it was a Queen’s warrant that they ought to bring their spoons in with them into Hospital

5. Cooking & Dieting of the Army
6. Washing
7. Canteens
8. Soldiers’ Wives
9. Nursing by male & female
10. uniformity of Stoppages, the non=uniformity of which engenders a want of confidence in the men, (and justly,) as to the accuracy of the balance of pay they get/receive, there being one stoppage of 3 ½ for the field, another for on board ship, another for wounds in Hospital, another for sickness in Hospital - I have had so much to do with the little money = deposits of the men that I know how badly this works on their moral confidence, without any proportionate saving to Govt.

11. Engineering of Hospitals
12. Mode of keeping Statistics - That good little Sardinia has adopted our civil mode of keeping these at the Registrar=General’s Office, while we are not allowed to have any sickness in the Army but what they had in Charles II’s time - And I could make you laugh at our classification which seems made to deceive & bamboozle Govt as to the causes of our disease - Just as the system of the Army Medical Department seems made to prevent it from rising to the level of the Medical science of the day -
I think, if you could see our real Statistics, you would think that I have been moderate in my statements. In eight regiments in the front, of which the 46th actually lost more than its average strength from disease alone, we lost 73 per cent in seven months from disease alone - I am not aware that we can show any instance in our history of a similar disaster except in the Burmese war in 1826 - At Walcheren, which is called the "ill-fated" expedition, we lost 10 1/4 per cent, in 6 months from disease, - in the Peninsula 12 per cent per annum in a year from disease -

Contrasting this 73 per cent with the loss in our Naval Brigade, which was scarcely 3 1/4 per cent from disease, & among our Officers which was 3 3/4 per cent from disease, shewing that there was no fault in the climate - & with the loss, from more fearful than ours, from disease among the French this year, when they began to do on purpose what we did from stupidity, - namely ill=feed, ill=clOThe, ill=shelter the troops; shewing that it was not only over=work in the trenches which killed us, - I think we arrive at a pretty just conclusion.

The question is, shall we have any Reform? The Queen has been most earnestly interested - so is Prince Albert. But I fear they have taken the wrong sense as to the Crimean Commission - They do not see how, if all the men, there= in blamed, were so excellent, what must the system be which killed from disease alone 50 per cent of all our infantry in the front in 7 months - & 39 per cent taking all the Infantry & Cavalry together.

You will wonder at the din & bustle of our English business in your Indian life, & may I say so?, I think you a little
prefer the former in your approbation. I wonder more at the way we have here of making out of the most critical subjects conversation only. I think the proof of this is the degree to which, in England, the newspapers influence people’s opinion or rather talk - It is said that the speeches may be counted which, in the House of Commons, have commanded a vote. (That is because an M.P. has an opinion about his vote -) And it is impossible to believe that, if anyone has a definite opinion upon any subject, the Article of a newspaper gentleman, who has to get up his opinion before 4 o’clock could alter it - Yet how many people read & talk newspaper - shewing, I am afraid, both how little definite opinion there is, even upon important subjects, & how much these are made mere grinding organs to grind a talk of =

However, one could not be too thankful for one’s own free press when one saw the disastrous consequences to the French this spring of having none -

Lord Panmure has given me six months’ work (but no wages or character)
After that, I go to the nursing business again.

elieve me, dear Lady Canning,
sincerely & gratefully yours
Florence Nightingale
Great Malvern  
Sept 16/57  
Dear Lady Canning  
Will you think  
me trespassing too much  
on your former kindness  
to me, if I venture to  
recommend to your  
otice my cousin,  
Lothian Nicholson, a  
Major in the Royal  
Regiment?  
He did his work  
well in the Crimea  
& is going out to do  
the same in India -  
I will not say a  
word upon your all=  
absorbing affairs -  
You know how all  
England is thinking  
of you -  
I need not say  
that, should you  
think it possible for  
me to be of the  
smallest use, I would  
come out, at 24  
hours’ notice, to serve  
in any capacity,  
in my “line of business”,  
that you would  
direct -  
Believe me  
dear Lady Canning  
ever faithfully yours  
Florence Nightingale
Dear Lady Canning

You have been my "mistress" on two different undertakings. And therefore I have ventured to send you (though not to hope that you will read) a copy of my Report to the War Office.

I need not take up your time in expressing to you what all England has felt about Indian affairs. And about the noble & mighty things which have been accomplished.

I am only going to ask you to turn your attention to two things, which I am quite sure have occupied it already, but which I know (from my own experience) are particularly hopeful things to do.

1. There is sufficient evidence to shew that a great amount of disease in India springs from intoxication among the troops, especially on landing. & that the evil is greatly increased by poisonous liquors.
sold in the native Bazars. There is
evidence also of great saving of health & life
having been effected by supplying the men
with wholesome liquors under suitable Regulations.

-Could not something more be done in providing proper Canteens under proper Regulations at all the Stations, & in putting down all other traffic in liquor near the

-2-
men’s quarters? To me who have seen Scutari in the year of its drunkenness & Scutari in the year of its sobriety, the soldier appears the most hopeful member of mankind for this experiment -

-I have described the process of cure at Scutari at Page 453 or my Report. Of course the same process will not do for India, I am well aware -
Games under cover & amusements must be necessary for the men everywhere.

2. The terrible catastrophe at Dum=dum & the evidence as to the enormous rate of Mortality among soldiers’ wives & children prove the necessity of providing proper “married Quarters” at every Station - Space & fresh air are wanted as well as needful conveniences - It is terrible to think of these poor women & children suffering when so much of it can be prevented - Could not something more be done in India to remedy this defect? As to means of remedy, I do not presume to offer any suggestions to you. At the head of those who have the power & the will to benefit India you stand -
Poor Mrs. Polehampton sent me your kind letter of introduction, with a very sweet letter from herself. It is now 15 months since I have been able to see any one, except on the pressing business which still takes up all my time - And I believe I am very little likely ever to leave my room (or rooms) again -

Believe me, dear Lady Canning, faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale
Dear Sir

Thinking the paper you have sent me was a Proof, I have ventured to make certain corrections as to matters of fact with regard to the London Memorial & also as to the way in which I would give my humble assistance to my late dear master, if desired.

most faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale

Rt Honble T. Sotheron Estcourt M.P.

With envelope package

Rt Honble T. Sotheron Estcourt MP Estcourt
London Nov 28/71

Madam

Let me say first with what deep sympathy & earnest admiration I see such efforts as yours & Dr. Lewis' for the benefit of so many done in the quietest most persevering manner -

Other people begin with a Prospectus, great names, a Secretary, a Public Meeting, and a Castle in the air.

You begin with a cottage, a few suffering people, who at last number a great many, and your own noble personal exertions & wise practical Mrs. Lewis benevolence.

I shall feel too much honoured in being permitted to help in ever so slight a degree in your plans- believing as I do that no greater benefit could be bestowed on the working people of this country than that every county & every Hospital should have such a “Rest” as yours.

If you wish, (as you propose,) to send me the Sketch plans of the Institution it is now projected to build, I will look them over most carefully, & also procure a good opinion upon them.

With your practical wisdom,
you will of course, include
in the Sketch-plans your
past experience of inconveniences
to be provided against in
the new building- And any
information of this kind you
could give me will be valuable.
[All cost for mere ornament should
be avoided. Good & substantial
wood & stone work is what is
wanted at the sea-side.]
The question about “Officers” is a
difficult one- & in general is
best decided by local experience,
(which I, of course, have not-)
Nevertheless if when I know
more particulars of your
undertaking, I can answer any
questions, I will do so, according
to my past experience-
But people are apt to forget
that no amount of official help
will do exactly what you have
done from sheer love of the work.
Any sketch-plans to be commented
upon should include a sketch
of the site proposed.
Your letter of the 24th= did not
reach me in time for post-
which must excuse my delay in
answering. Pray believe me
Madam
ever your faithful servant
Florence Nightingale
May I ask you to excuse any delay in
future answers owing to my being
constantly overworked, & a constant
prisoner to my room from illness? -
Any letter addressed to
care of Mrs. Wardroper
St. Thomas' Hospital
will always reach me -F.N.  [end]
18/11/65
34 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W

Dear Sir

The account of your meeting about the new Swansea Infirmary - which you were kind enough to send me - has afforded me very great pleasure. Your enlightened Committee has rendered a real service to the cause of humanity in adopting Mr. Graham's beautiful plans. When completed, you will have perhaps the finest & most perfect small Hospital in the kingdom.

I was deeply grieved to hear of the death of Dr. Williams - who is indeed a loss.

I shall be very much obliged to you to add my name to your List of subscribers & to summon me to pay the £25, when you are ready for it.
I think it is an extremely good idea to interest the men (in the great Iron & other works) in your Hospital - as it takes away from the idea of a charity, & gives them a personal care and anxiety for a measure which ought to concern their feelings. [end 16:679]

Pray believe me
dear Sir
ever your faithful servt=
   Florence Nightingale
Robert Eaton Eq
April 23/58
Dear Dr. Balfour
Dr. Sutherland understood you to say yesterday that in Genl Lawrence’s evidence in your Report, I should find an estimate of the annual cost of the Soldier. I cannot. And I dare say he made a mistake—
Could you tell me the Page where it is to be found?
ever yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

Sir
I beg to acknowledge your note of July 15, regarding the proposed plan for a Convalescent Home in Lincolnshire, which has since been forwarded to me by Mr. Fowler.
The plan is good. It will face a fierce wind, very bracing, and not requiring the same amount of precaution & separation of parts necessary in a milder situation.
The following points require attention: a sick ward cannot be placed in so isolated a situation. It must be where the Nurse or “Attendant” can overlook it day & night. In this case the “Attendant,” if by “Attendant” is meant a Nurse, is where she is not wanted at night & not where she is. I my self should prefer the Sick Ward more apart from
The Revd
F. Pretyman
the Convalescents. But you might move
the sick ward to the Attendant’s room=
side. i.e. leave the bath where it is,
& shift the sick ward across to the
two windows to the right (and vice versâ
on the left) - & place the two windows
between the Sick ward & the Bath.
There must be an Inspection=window
through the attendant’s wall to the Sick
ward. [If you have 2 sexes, you will require 2 Baths.]

Also: a Lavatory on the men’s side.
If there are two floors, the Sick wards
should be up stairs- and the down=
stairs room turned to some other
purpose. [I think your Matron should have
2 rooms-bedroom & sitting room.]
also, a small light Linen=store or press

The central parts should not be raised
above one floor.
One can scarcely say from present information,
answer the question how to build.
I fell disposed to think that it is better
not to begin till one has the money.

Will you present my apologies to Mr. Fowler
for having returned the plans to you,
as you requested, & not to him, as he
requested- on the ground of my
total inability to write two letters?-
overwhelmed with illness & hard
business as I am.

Pray believe me
Sir
ever your faithful servt=
Florence Nightingale