

Add Mss 45751-58, Correspondence with Dr John Sutherland and Mrs Sutherland, 1091 pages; this file contains all 8 volumes of British Library Mss of Sutherland correspondence. Note: Dr Sutherland's hand is very difficult to read; excerpts from his letters and drafts are given as best as possible, but likely contain many errors; Nightingale's hand, by contrast, was very clear, and the text were carefully proofed, so that errors are likely to be rare.

Add Mss 45751 correspondence with DR JOHN SUTHERLAND 1856-64, microfilm, 254 folios, 69 pages, Adam Matthew reel 7

f1 JS to FN 25 Aug 1856 Southwood Place Highgate has her letter of 24th re her letter, she in position to give advice, nursing an art, no hope of improving except by introducing improvements gradually and incorporating with improved hosp system, agrees in taking no action re N Fund, long nice letter prior to her going to Balmoral.

I have just recd your letter of the 24th and am very glad to find that you are so well as to write so long a letter containing so many questions. Depend on the whole matter being kept by me in strict confidence, and I now proceed to give you the best advice I can.

1. It appears to me that your own good sense has pointed out the reply wh shd be given to Sir B.H. You are in a position to give advice wh ought *not* to be rejected. It wd be extremely difficult to enter into all the details of the nursing mgt of hosps so as to make them clear to persons not only unaccustomed to such mgt but prejudiced against it, and even if they were made thoroughly to comprehend it, and had every wish to carry it out, the greatest of all difficulties wd still remain, namely, the art of doing so.

You know full well that nursing is not a paper science but a very difficult art, and from these considerations my opinion is that there is no hope for the improvements we all desire to see carried out except in introducing them gradually and steadily until they become incorporated with an improved hosp system.

2. I see no reason since you have rightly determined not to send the suggs asked for wh you mt not offer to introduce into the home mil hosps an element wh has never hitherto existed in them, that of female nursing "*to an extent wh you could define,*" but I wd rec you not to call it *reform*.

3 I entirely agree with you as to taking no action at the present time in the matter of the N Fund. John Bull's organ of wonder is too much excited to enable him to arrive at any practical concls on the subject. It is being discussed however and from what I myself have heard I have every hope of its assuming a real working form.

4 I think you shd tell Ld Panmure fully and openly your experience in the East. He has every desire to carry out such improvements as wd benefit the public service. What he really wants is good reliable info. When you see HM your communications with her may take a form you mt not be prepared for. You will have to be guided by circs, both as to the info you may communicate and any request you may make. I wd rec you not to go prepared with any definite request as to having a female nursing est, but of course, as I have already said, you will be guided by the turn the conversation may take. I shd not think it prob that you will have an opp of entering into

the qu of army med reform with the queen. There is no reason however why you shd not do so with Lord Panmure. In that case, I wd advise you to restrict your communications to the defects wh have come under your notice, and not to suggest any reforms unless asked to do so. Facts are always facts, while advice may be returned w/o thanks, which in your case it is better to avoid. Unfortunately there are great differences of opinion as to what is reqd to reform the Army Med Dept. The sc defects cd be easily remedied but those defects you point at are not I fear of such easy removal. They are the fruit of the army system generally, and until the tree is rendered good, such will be the produce. One comfort is that in all the European armies the med system has been improving and has improved immeasurably within a century. The late war has raised the Br Army greatly at least in matters of detail, and I for one have every hope that your own work, like every true and good thing, will leave its impress on the great highway of human progress.

I hope you will enjoy your visit to Balmoral. It is a beautiful illeg. You will also no doubt go to Birk Hall where I am sure you will meet with a warm reception. I dined with Sir James the other day and we talked over "your case," but I fear from the character of your letter that you have already escaped our hands.

f3 JS to FN 12 Nov 1856 Highgate just recd hers of yesterday, re Amazon women myth; letter to FN from Ann Tainton, has secured a situation at St George's, gives address in London and hopes to see FN. Your project has developed itself far better than I expected and I think I see a way of doing good and therefore I shall serve on the commission.

Get Alexander. Nobody else if you cannot. He is our man. I am to meet you tonight at Sir James Clark's to dinner and shall be very glad to talk over the subject further.

f4 JS letter to FN Highgate [3 Jan 1856] can't get to town tomorrow, re medical school scheme

**ff7-8v** NOTES ON PRACTICAL TRAINING, PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f7**

- 1st 1. *Scientific* yes  
 2. in what University is  
     Physical Geography taught?  
 3. scientifically, not practically

**f7v**

2nd The "specialities" seem to be the least of the wants or rather it is practical training in *all* specialities, practical specialities, which is wanted fully as much for civil as for military. Practical instruction, in "details" or "specialities?"

constitutes the desiderata.

"Hospital course" certainly  
in all its practical details.

Why "in the *field*" only?

"Camping" the only strictly  
military subject.

"Whatever practical matters  
connected with health or lives"  
of men, "as distinguished from  
mere scientific knowledge".

"pure book=man" no use  
anywhere - "Pupils take the wind

**f8**

out of" such always & everywhere

Query their being "quite ready for civil practice". Most men, after their scientific education is over, go to Paris or go on by themselves trying all the modifications of operations on the dead body as long as they live

It is not so much teaching as practical training & therefore ? one year.

How many professors question of consideration -

Govt to pay all the cost certainly.

"Men who have gone through the work" -- Why Military Surgery more than Railway Surgery? We knew little enough about gun shot wounds before -- But

**f8v**

what do we know of them now? What general results have been obtained?-- Cases have been kept in our civil Hospitals in such a way that one Pathologist collecting all the records might come to some general conclusions -- But in the army one man who has kept some records will tell you that he has arrived at a conclusion & another that he has arrived at a contrary one. Dr. McLeod, Dr. Lyons & Dr. Taylor have all valuable records. But the generality have none, the cases have not been kept at all so as to be of any use & no certain nor general deductions are to be had. The system of Army Statistics precludes it. And I have known many instances where a *fancy* case was made up after Patient's death.

f9 JS letter to FN 10 Dec 1856 re her visit results

f11 JS to FN 20 Dec 1856 saw Jas Clark yesterday, who sent plans for new hosp to be built at Aldershot to her

f12 JS to FN 27 Dec 1856 thanks for her long note, did a deal of good, delighted to find the big people no more than Gog and Magog

**ff13-13v** NOTES ON DEFICIENCIES IN HOSPITAL PLANS, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, DATED ca BEGINNING JANUARY 1857

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE:}

M. Boudin                      Sir B. Brodie  
110 Rue de Rivoli

{WRITTEN NORMALLY:}

2. deficient cubic space
3. deficient light
4. deficient ventilation
5. defective height of wards
6. too great breadth between  
    the windows
7. arranging the beds along the  
    dead walls
8. selection of bad sites -- & bad local  
    climate
9. Hospitals in towns
10. defects of drainage

**f13v**

11. having more than two rows of  
    beds between the windows
12. having windows only on one side  
    or having a close Corridor connecting  
    the wards
13. construction without free  
    circulation of external air
14. washing floors of Hospitals
15. defective accommodation for  
    Nursing & discipline
16. defective condition of W.C.s
17. defective Hospital kitchens
18.       "               "       laundries
19.       "               "       ward furniture

**ff15-16v** NOTES ON HOSPITAL PLANS, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE**f15**

[archivist:] Netley [16:243-44]

This present Report  
leaves altogether untouched  
the question of site \*

we made certain  
objections regarding  
deficiency of light &  
means of ventilation  
wh. appear to have been  
obviated as far as  
nature of plan previously  
adopted permitted

great improvement  
to abolish smaller wards  
with borrowed light

**f16**

arrangement in end  
wards seems simplified,  
so that they have now  
better means of light  
& ventilation

in regard to Corridor,  
its open space towards  
the external air has been  
very considerably increased  
& no doubt advantageously.  
And the danger of the atmosphere of  
the different wards  
intermingling will be  
correspondingly diminished.  
But everything will  
depend on air in Corridor  
being at all times  
in a state of purity  
equal to that of external  
air.

**f16v**

Altho Corridors improved  
to this important extent  
I still retain opinion  
that a Corridor should  
not extend along any  
side of ward from  
which it obtains light  
& ventilation

& that if Corridor is  
to be introduced into  
Hospl consn at all  
it should be solely  
with view of connecting  
detached blocks of  
wards with a  
comparatively small  
no of sick in each --  
& not made to cover  
the ~~sur~~ whole surface  
of one side of a  
Hospital block intended  
for from 400-500 sick.

**[end 16:244]**

**f17v** NOTES ON SICK, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
{LEFT COLUMN:}

If you want to  
prove your point  
of non=contagion  
it is conclusive.

{RIGHT COLUMN:}

Our Army was  
uncared for the *first*  
winter -- Theirs  
the *second* --  
They send in 8 months  
one third the force  
thro' Hospital  
We send in 4 weeks,  
twice the force thro'  
Hospital.  
What does it signify  
whether it was  
55 or 56?  
Certainly --  
Yes, but the *first*  
winter we admitted  
thrice that  
proportion of Typhus

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS, BELOW LEFT COLUMN:}

What do you want me to say?

Yes I think so  
I think Christison shd be  
asked --

Where are  
Soyer's Diets?

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS, BELOW LEFT COLUMN, BUT IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION AS  
ABOVE:}

I like Scrive  
much better than  
Baudens

f19 JS draft

f20 JS letter to FN Friday [26 June 1857] JS letter to FN re visit from Dr Zdekauer, prof of the Academy of Medicine of St Petersburg, who came with an intro to make inqs about hosp construction. He had been in Paris and fortunately I was able to help him in many essential points. He is sent by the emperor to draw up plans of a new hosp, and after examining all the best hosps he appears to have arrived at the conclusion that Lara plan, with two stories of wards, each to hold 25 sick, the pavs further apart, no artificial vent, but solely doors windows and fireplaces with an air shaft of a illeg and self acting water closets, contain the elements of the best hosp constr. Besides the san advantages there are great advantages in the way of classification for clinical instr, wh he also pointed out. All this is satisfactory, is it not?

I asked him about the sisters and the following is the result.

They are under the patronage of the grand duchess Helena, have been recently introduced, are not very acceptable to the admin, are very useful,



have special powers as to seeing diets and medicine given patients and beds and wards kept clean. Can order orderlies who must obey, are not under vows, are appointed for a year, have a special dress, wear a cross the first year, give spiritual as well as nursing aid to sick, are not a religious order, consist of Greeks, Catholics, Lutherans. After 10 years service they have a pension. If you want to know more write at once, as my friend goes away in a day or two.

How did you get on with Laffan?; I am a prisoner here today as everybody has filled every conveyance to Hyde Park. Yesterday I had to be at a school exam.

Any alterations you may feel disposed to advise with regard to the wards at Netley shd in the first place provide for the direct lighting and vent of every portion of every ward. No throwing of wards together or portions of wards behind will compensate for the evil produced by ill lighted and ventilated portions that may be left in doing so. The chief ward improvement made in the old plans consisted in clearing out all corners and reducing the structure to its simplest form, and we must be careful not to restore the defects in attempting to improve the plan. Again the back buildings are much too close to admit of any projecting wards or parts of wards being thrown out behind. To do this you wd require to pull down all the kitchen and dining room bldgs to remove them to a greater distance. If left they wd obstruct light and ventilation, In such a plan also every ward projected behind wd interfere materially with the lighting and vent of the whole bldg. The projections in the original plan of the chapel and dining rooms across the line of lighting from the E are grave defects, wh wd be increased by every ward projected unless indeed the distance between the wards so projected were at least the same as at Aldershot, namely 101 feet, which with a plan like Netley wd be imposs. If the adjoining wards were thrown together so as to produce longer wards with the beds along two sides, back and front, then the ward windows into the corridors wd have to be altered from the present plan in wh these windows are in reality glass doors, so as to leave a sufficient wall space between each two window for two beds. The plan of joining two wards by excavating a illeg passage thro the orderlies room wd not answer.

I have put down what appear to me to be the principles to be kept in view in making the alterations, but I shd like to see sketches of the proposed changes, embracing the prs I have mentioned. The cost of admn a I have shown it for different plans must also be considered.

Under any circs it is prob that alterations of plan will involve sacrifice of bed space and the hosp as a whole will not accommodate the number wh its vast dimensions wd lead us to expect. In this also there will be additional outlay.

f22 JS draft re alterations she may feel disposed to advise re Netley.

## **ff23-26** NOTES ON HOSPITAL PLANS, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

### **f23**

The separate ventilated & lighted lobby with a door leading into the

ward on one side &  
into water closet on the  
other, tho' apparently  
shewn in Ground Plan,  
is found in reference  
to Section to be merely  
a partition apparently  
of slate extending  
about half heighth of  
closet, an arrangement  
which is inadmissible.  
The plan must be so  
altered that this slate  
partition must be  
removed & its place  
supplied by a wall  
perforated by swing  
doors -- the wall to  
extend the whole  
height of water=  
closet.

**f25**

In regard to sewerage  
I take it for granted  
that no sewer passes  
under Hospl that  
sewerage is to be  
conveyed below low  
water mark  
& that the sewers are  
to be ventilated at  
a distance from the  
Hospitals

At all events, -- these  
conditions are indis=  
pensable to health  
of Hospital --

**f26**

Plans don't shew  
method of ventilating  
Hospl.

but provision shd be  
made for ~~sufficient~~ thorough  
ventilation of every  
part of building by  
natural means alone

Laundry matters not  
shewn.

Further information  
as to means of cooking  
Extras --

Accommodation for  
female Nurses as good  
as was compatible with  
plan, in which they were  
not taken into consideration

**ff31-33** NOTES ON HOSPITAL PLANS, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f31**

Great doubts whether  
accommodation for  
Orderlies will not  
result in their suffering  
from Hospital  
atmosphere --

in my opinion, it  
will be necessary that  
they should sleep  
elsewhere

7. I doubt, whether, with  
all the improvements  
in Corridor, the removal  
of projection won't  
interfere with  
sunlight

**f32**

Without entering  
into any discussion  
as to site or  
expressing any  
opinion about it  
& still retaining my  
opinion as to the  
other modes of Hospl  
conscn than that  
adopted at Netley  
I am of opinion  
that with further  
alteration suggested  
in water closet  
lobby & ~~with due~~  
~~alteration to means~~  
~~of natural ventilation~~

**f33**

all appears to have  
been done that the  
plan admitted  
to *remove* the  
structural objections.

**ff34-34v** NOTES ON ARMY MEDICAL GOVT, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN [arch JULY 18  
1857]

**f34**

Did not A. Smith's  
evidence yesterday  
amount to this?

I act upon no rule,  
I have neither selection  
nor seniority, I erect  
myself into a judge  
of what is best for the  
interests of the service,  
I have under me  
gentlemen, educated men,  
who are like beggars,  
without any knowledge  
of what tomorrow's  
prospects are -- they

**f34v**

have no rule to depend  
upon but my judgment  
of what is best for the  
service.

This is the System of  
Army Medical Govt, &  
I consider it a  
perfect one, perfectly  
administered."

**ff38-41v** NOTES ON RELIGION & FN, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED Sept 5, 1857

**f38**~~70-~~

WRITTEN DIAGONALLY, IN PENCIL  
To  
Dr. Sutherland  
[ca Sept. 5 1857]

{WRITTEN NORMALLY, IN PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

And now what shall I  
say in answer to your  
letter?

Some one said once

He that would save his  
life shall lose it -- and  
what shall it profit a  
man if he gain the whole  
world & lose his own  
soul? ~~I suppose this~~ He meant, I suppose  
~~means says~~ that "life" & ~~soul~~  
is a means & not an  
end -- & that "soul" or the  
~~the end~~ object of ~~for which~~ life  
~~was given~~ is the end -- Perhaps he was  
right.

Now in what one  
respect could I have  
done other than I have

**f38v**

done? or what exertion have  
I made that I could  
have left unmade? Had  
I lived any where but  
handy, would Mr.  
Herbert have used me?  
Had I not been ever  
at hand, could he  
have used me?

Not if I had been  
the Archangel Michael,  
alive instead of in  
stone, would any  
Englishman have  
come to the top of  
San Angelo ~~now~~ to  
~~to~~ find me, even lived

**f39**

he at its foot. And  
you know very well  
that the Angel Gabriel  
~~living~~ when he lived at Highgate was  
~~will not be~~ not sought  
there.

Now, had I "lost"  
the Report, what would  
the health I should  
have "saved" have  
"profited" me? or what  
would ten years of  
life have "advantaged"  
me, exchanged for ~~the~~  
ten weeks this Summer?

Yes, but you say,  
you might have walked  
or driven & eaten meat.

**f39v**

Well, since we must come [7:681-82]  
 to sentir della spezieria,  
 let me tell you, O Dr.,  
 that ~~the shortest~~ after any walk or  
 drive ~~increased the~~ I sate up all night with  
 palpitation ~~to such a~~  
~~degree that many is the~~  
~~night I have sat up~~  
~~the whole night.~~ And  
~~that~~ only the ~~mere~~ sight of  
 animal food increased  
 the sickness ~~to such a~~  
~~degree so as to make me~~  
~~incapable of taking any~~  
~~food.~~ "The man here" put  
 me on the sofa as soon as I arrived & told me  
 not to move ~~nor~~ and to take  
~~any~~ no solid food at all till  
 my pulse came down.

**f40**

Do you think me one of Byron's  
 young ladies? He, it was, I  
 think, who made a small  
 appetite the fashion -- Or do you  
 think me an Ascetic?

Asceticism is the trifling  
~~coquetting~~ of an enthusiast  
 with his power ~~his~~ a puerile coquetting  
 with his selfishness or his  
 vanity, in the absence of  
 any object sufficiently great to employ the  
 first or ~~drive out~~ overcome the ~~latter~~ last.

Or, since I am speaking  
 to an Artist & must  
 illustrate & not define,  
 the Cristo della Moneta of  
 Titian at Dresden is an  
 ascetic -- the Es ist vollbracht  
 of Albert Dürer at Nüremberg  
 is a Christ -- ~~hem~~ whom  
 we call our example, though  
 little we make of it. For

**f40v**

one Church has daubed ~~him~~ that tender beautiful image  
with coarse bloody colours  
till ~~he~~ it looks like ~~a~~ the sign=  
~~post~~ of a road side inn  
& another has mysticized  
him out of all human reach,  
till he is the God & God is  
the Devil. But ~~I think~~  
~~we should~~ are we not really to do  
as Christ did. And when  
he said the "Son of man" did he  
not meant the sons of men? He  
was no ascetic.

But shall I tell you  
what made you write to  
me? I have no second sight.  
I do not see visions nor  
dream dreams.

It was my sister.  
Or rather I will tell

**f41**

you that I have second sights.  
I have been greatly harassed  
by seeing my poor owl  
lately, without her head,  
without her life, without  
her talons, lying in the  
cage of your ~~little villain~~  
~~of a~~ canary, (like the  
statue of Rameses II in  
the pool at Memphis)  
& the little villain  
pecking at ~~the~~ her.

Now, that's me -- I  
am lying without my  
head, without my claws,  
& you all peck at me --

It is de rigueur,  
d'obligation, like the  
saying something to one's  
hat when one goes into  
~~one's pew~~, church, to say to me



**f41v**

all that has been said  
to me 110 times a day  
during the last 3 months.  
It is the obbligato on the  
violin -- and the twelve  
violins all ~~say~~ practise it [~~illeg~~] together  
~~times~~ -- like the clocks  
striking 12 o'clock at  
night all over London,  
till I say, like Xavier  
de Maistre, assez ~~le~~: je le sais: je  
ne le sais que trop --

I am not a "penitent:  
but you are like the R.C.  
"Confessor" who says what  
is de rigueur, what is in  
his Formulary to say, &  
never comes to the life of  
the thing -- the root of the  
matter. **[end 7:682]**

f42 JS to FN Sept 7 1857 from Highgate reply to her scold of a letter,  
advises to stay, can get result without so much suffering

f44 JS to FN Sept 9 1857 further on her dead owl letter re Netley

f46 JS to FN Sept 11 1857 from Highgate, has recd her note caratina mia,  
regrets appeared unkind or illogical, will work with her at family or  
Malvern

**ff50v-51** NOTES ON ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f50v**

But, even supposing you  
obtain the *best obtainable*, you  
know that the Departmt is wholly  
incompetent to organize itself, --  
that it is no child's play orga=  
nizing a new office -- & that not  
one of those men, suggested as the  
best obtainable, is capable of doing  
it. McNeill organized the Poor Law  
in Scotland -- Farr the Registrar  
Genl's Office in London -- Kay  
Shuttleworth? the Committee  
Army of Council on Education.  
Well or ill, ~~Bad or good~~, not one of  
the four could  
do anything  
like those  
organizations.

**f51**

It is indispensable to the practical carrying out of your Reforms  
that these things should be all done  
by yourself. And it is due to the honor of a Reformer that he  
should be allowed to work his Reform himself & not  
have to see  
others spoil  
it & say, it  
won't work.

**ff52-53** NOTES ON ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE**f52** {LEFT COLUMN:}

A.M.D.

1a Mr. Herbert  
 Dr. Sutherland  
 Dr. Farr  
 Sir J. McNeill  
 the D.G.  
 3 Members of Council

3q Mr. Herbert  
 Dr. Sutherland  
 Sir H. Storks  
 Sir J. McNeill  
 Mr. Alexander  
 Beware of letting W.O. or A.M.D.  
 touch it.

## {THIS SECTION IN DR. SUTHERLAND'S HANDWRITING:}

1a Accommodation, Office,  
 Officers,  
 Byelaws, Limits of departments  
 Books, Office forms,  
 Expenditure

## {FN'S HANDWRITING STARTS AGAIN:}

Forms } to be kept  
 Diaries }

q. general Hospital Organization  
 {Hospital Organization IN DR. SUTHERLAND'S HANDWRITING}  
 limitations of functions of its  
 officers.

a. Poor Law Board will give  
 valuable information as to  
 Books to be kept  
 Diaries to be kept by all the M.O.S.  
 Bye laws necessary to complete the  
 Regulations  
 Generally, the Dept ought to be put in a  
 condition to furnish authentic information  
 as to all that concerns 1. supply 2. sanitary state  
 of an Army -- all over the world -- to Commissn & W.O.

**f52** {CONTINUED RIGHT COLUMN:}

zc *School*

Dr. Parkes

or (Sir Fergusson

(Sir B. Brodie

Sir J. Clark

Mr. Herbert

Dr. Sutherland

f. Sir H. Storks discipline

Dr. Sutherland science

{THIS SECTION IN DR. SUTHERLAND'S HANDWRITING:}

zc Lecture room

Accommodation,

Museum Laboratory,

Library,

Maps, plans, charts

Models,

Statutes,

Books

Expenditure

{FN'S HANDWRITING STARTS AGAIN:}

f. Gymnastics

discipline

scheme

c. Josep's Akademie, Vienna

first Medical School

in Europe, would give

hints as to Statutes.

Dr. Farr has the book of

its Constitution.

Dr. Sutherland wd

make the practical

arrangements at Chatham

**f53**

General Instruction to be  
given to Sanitary Members  
of Council to consult with  
Dr. Sutherland on all points,  
as long as Barrack Commissn  
lasts.

As to Bye=laws

Instructional matter &c  
Regulations pre=suppose a power  
of inspection which A.M.D. is  
at present quite incompetent  
to perform --

They do not see nor will the  
S. of S. where these Regulations  
are carrying them.

It has been decided that  
Army is to do its own work.

We know it to be incapable

Only by the most careful  
arrangement of its new work for it  
that it can be prevented from  
breaking down

**f54** Typed copy of note on meeting with Dr Sutherland, dated 15 January 1858  
[archivist: Original owned by R. Cowie Scott]

Gt. Malvern  
Jan. 15/58

Come now --

{Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

f55 22-23 March 1858 JS hand the chief points in Dr Christison's letter are  
1. The excellence of the reg hosp dietetic system, wh is admin by the med  
officer who in order to do so becomes purveyor, nurse and store keeper,  
also hosp accountant; 2 the absurdity of the gen hosp system of dietary; 3  
the practicality of framing a dietary for the field out of preserved  
articles; 4 the propriety of calling "half diet" full diet" and "full diet"  
"extra diet"

Replies: 1 we want to prevent the absurdity of med officers being purveyors  
store keepers &c; 2 we want to abolish the req system in gen hosps; 3 we  
want a field dietary; 4 It wd not be safe to change the designation of the  
diet.

In carrying out these reforms we want a scale of diets based on the  
army scale but more subdivided, and containing the "medical comforts" &  
extras" to be applied in all gen and reg hosps, at home and in the  
temperate colonies. The same scale wd very prob answer in hot countries by  
the med off giving diets lower in the scale than he wd give at home. We  
want for field service a dietary based on the nutritive power of preserved  
provisions, with the equivalent in nutritious value stated of fresh  
provisions (so much essence of beef equivalent to so much fresh beef or  
mutton

In fact a scale of dietetic requirements wd be of much service.

The med off wd then save his stock of preserved provisions when he cd  
get fresh and wd know how much to distribute.

Let Dr Alexander be requested to draw up a hosp dietary of preserved  
provisions such as they had during the second winter at the Crimea.

Ask Christison to review this dietary.

Ask C also to frame a scale of say 9 diets based on the existing scale  
in the army for gen and reg hosps and then to collate with the Alexander  
dietary of preserved provision

Ask Alexander to improve the scheme of hosp diets so as to include  
extras.

f57 SH letter to JS April 3 1858 from Dunmore Park, Falkirk re his question  
difficult. Gen Peel is evidently in a difficult and..If he meant to

f61 SH letter to JS from Dunmore Pk Falkirk Apr 11 1858 re Lariboisière

f63 SH letter from Wilton to JS May 28 1858 has his not but not enclosure

**f68** NOTES ON FRESH AIR, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE [16:519]

Cubic feet	"
of air	"

Add Mss 45751

23

	per person per hour	" per minute	
<i>Chambre des Députés</i>	635	10 1/2	Amount not enough
<i>Institut</i>	1024	17	Can be increased
<i>Conservatoire Arts et Métiers</i>	469	7 5/6	Hall contains 494 000 cubic feet

In all these cases, there is a large balance of fresh air to begin with -- from the great size of the Salles in proportion to the audience. And the séances last only one or two hours & are rarely full except in the case of the Corps Législatif. [Perhaps the state of the air was the cause of the revolution of 1848].

[end]

f70 Farr letter to JS June 17 1858 with remarks on old returns

f72 SH to JS Supt 22 1858 elder sister's death so hasn't done, leaving for Scotland

f74 SH to JS Sept 28 1858 re Neison's paper, ought to be answered

**f76** NOTES ON WELLINGTON BARRACK DAY ROOMS, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE,  
DATED SEPTEMBER 1858

60 {PENCIL}

Mrs. Herbert has  
written to Lord  
Rokeby about  
the Wellington  
Barrack Day=Rooms.

**f77** NOTES ON AVAILABILITY OF FACTS TO SUB-COMM, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY  
NIGHTINGALE, DATED ca. 1858

I had not an idea that the "Sub=Comm",  
had not all the facts before them in  
black & white in an authentic form  
satisfactory to themselves as to correctness.

For you know I have made it a rule thro' life  
to make applications especially to Govt  
offices only in such case -- or  
where I myself had such facts in a  
form to satisfy both sides as to their  
authenticity.



**ff78-79v** LIST OF MEDICAL OFFICERS, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED ca. 1858

**f78**

*Major General Storks*                      PREST

Mr. Herbert  
Dr. Sutherland  
Lt. Col. Lefroy

Dr. Alexander    }  
" Taylor            }     Medical Officer  
" Beatson           }

Ct. Finnerty Adjutant

One of the Purveyors in England

**f79v**

Dr. Ross Jamieson  
Dr. Matthew  
Dr. Jackson  
Dr. Jephson

Mr. Robertson

Dr. Shrimpton                      Paris

f80 JS to FN 1 Jan 1859 has seen Warrren, who had written to her; JS gave him the answer; SH thinks meeting mt yet be done, re Gen Storks; War Dept fight council; SH thinks they have no plan of their own; we shd offer to organize for them

f81 JS to FN 3 Jan 1859 Balfour in a mist; paper he sends

f85 JS to FN 6 Jan 1859 question re council, salary, urged Alexander not to ask too much, he is worth £2000 if we cd get it

f87 JS to FN 7 Jan 1859 will return Hammick's paper to Farr with a rec; paper must be a little condensed in some parts, augmented in others; *Morning Star* an organ of the AMD

f91 JS to FN 8 Jan 1859 bad enough,, danger in Alexander giving way, will have nothing to do with Hawse's scheme

f92 JS to FN Jan 10 1859 glad to hear Combe the author of that article in the Warrant; SH struck with him at Dublin, good officer

f94 JS to FN Jan 11 1859 good as far as it goes, but we are sufficiently far advanced yet in our inquiries to make a list of commissioners; SH has raised no serious objection against any of our men; do you know Mill enough to know what course he wd take; our sec must be with us; if Mr M is with us in feeling and object and also in hopes, then we mt have him and with immense advantage; do not se how he cd be otherwise; altho identified with the past system we are not going to alter a system; our system does not exist

f95 JS to FN 12 Jan 1859 not yet recd the letter from Clough and cannot reply, re SH with him at AMD

f98 JS to FN Jan 15 1859 sorry to have given rise to any uneasiness on your part from ambiguity; re her note, what sent SH

f100 JS to FN 17 Jan 1859 sends proof of the Chatham School report; if you are able wd you go over it and send it with your remarks to SH; nothing new; saw Farr, re answering *Star*, Hammack to do a review of the anon pamphlet

f101 JS to FN 18 Jan 1859 a very satisfactory note, by an intelligent man; SH has written Gen Peel re the council; hope he has used the Dublin affair as an argument as he promised

f103 JS to FN 22 Jan 1859 admirably explicit account you have given! has dictated a few heads for an article

**ff105-08v** NOTES ON ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f105**

Heads of Article on the  
future administration of  
the Army Medical Department.

-----

The Royal Commission,  
while exposing defects in  
present sanitary arrange=  
ments, and their results  
to soldiers, appears to have  
carefully considered means  
of remedy.

Two places come out in the  
evidence, one to place the  
whole sanitary administration  
under an officer quite  
unconnected with the Army  
Med. Dept. the other to use  
the Dept. and its officers

**f105v**

for preserving health, as  
well as curing disease.

There are strong arguments  
for both methods. Hygiene  
is a specialty, and like  
other specialties requires  
undivided attention.  
Treating disease is also a  
specialty, requiring a man's  
whole thoughts, and it is  
doubtful whether the train  
of thought which makes a  
good physician, would not  
make a bad sanitarian  
so thought some witnesses.  
Others thought that as the  
public paid a large staff  
of educated medical

**f106**

officers, these ought to be employed for sanitary service.

Against this proposal stands the fact, that under the present system the Army has suffered so vast a rate of preventible sickness and mortality. Can we hope to reduce this by employing the machinery under which it has happened.

The R.C. appears to have considered that the machinery might be improved & rendered efficient by two additions,  
~~one~~ 1. Educating every Med.

**f106v**

Officer in the specialties of Hygiene.

2. Creating a ~~Med.~~ Council to be attached to the Army Med. Dept. of three members, one for Hygiène -- one for Hospitals -- one for Statistics. It proposes that given the school and Council, the Army Med. Dept. might be entrusted with Army Hygiene, but only if both were granted.

Profitting by the experience of the failure of deliberative Boards, the R.C. proposed to make the Council simply consultative, that is that each Member should be

**f107**

perfectly free and unfettered in giving his advice, and minuting it if necessary, to the D.G. but that the D.G. should be sole administrative head over the whole Dept. We learn from the evidence that this plan was recommended by so high an authority as Sir J. MacNeil that it had worked successfully under the Scottish Poor Law, and that it is the plan adopted in the govt of India.

The new Indian Council is so constituted. ~~is so constituted~~

**f107v**

It has long worked successfully in France. In counting up our progress in Army Reform, we ask what has become of the Med. School and of this Council, are the deliberate recommendations of a R.C. of experts to be adopted, and future Armies saved, or has the whole plan so carefully considered and so intelligently framed, been shelved by the genius of dulness & stupidity, ~~to~~ in the W.O. to which Great Britain from time immemorial has committed

**f108**

the destinies of her soldiers  
in peace & in war?  
Why all this delay? or rather  
has the time not arrived,  
when the nation should call  
for a R.C. of enquiry into the  
manner in which the interests  
of the Army are neglected  
through the ignorance of  
a set of obscure paid  
officials, who in all probability  
would never have been  
able to earn their salt in  
any other walk of life.  
The H. of C. last session  
decreed Barrack Reform  
by a unanimous vote.

**f108v**

Thereby sanctioning by the  
national voice our recom=  
=mendation of the R.C.  
Our columns shew from time  
to time the progress which  
is made -- let them also tell  
the W.O. that unless other  
equally necessary reforms  
are carried out, it is quite  
possible that better men may  
be found to attend to the  
health and efficiency of  
the Army.

f109 JS to FN Jan 29 1859 The proofs are good and sufficient except that there appear to me to be a few verbal mistakes in the lettering. These I cannot correct till I get the plans from Mr Clough. For instance, I find "Lingerie" translated "drying room" and the place where tisanes are brewed is called a "kitchen." I shall correct all however and return them to you by the post *after* I get the plans.

I send you a rattling note about them. If you like it you mt send it. It shd go at the end of the paper and in front of the plans. You may promise the poetess that they shall reach her by next post or so, ready for the press. They are excellent as illustrations of the paper and will do much good I hope.

By the by. I have tried reading Isa's ode over several times. It grows on one. It has the true clink and I begin to think that it is poetry after all. Like you I am tired of reading sentimental trash arranged in long or

short lines.

f111 JS to FN 31 Jan 1859. I got the plans from Mr Clough this morning and have gone over all of them carefully. I have corrected the lettering of some of them, chiefly Lariboisière, which is now right. Somehow or other a letter got misplaced in your original big plan from wh the reduction was first made and the letter for "chauffoir" which ought to have been at the foot of the great staircase, got placed in the dining rooms and in between the pavilion. I have not altered it but I have changed the description. I have translated "communauté" by ward "Sisters" as coming nearest.

The additional letter I have put in will add interest to the plan of Lar. The words "hot ward" are copied from the plan prepared for our Netley report. They were put in by the typographical people. "Itch ward" is the illeg lettering.

I believe they are all right now and can be sent back to "Isa."

This is a delicious day here, is bright and bracing. I have been working in the house all day and am going up to the heath for fresh air.

The Plymouth illeg have just arrived.

f112 note Manner of Working

f116 JS to FN 3 Feb 1859 her Malvern tailors re service of army; blot on civilization

f118 JS to FN 7 Feb 1859 fear you are right, re tailors; SH letter to her tells what we saw together; Jas Clark letter from Berlin good; proves how careful the Prussian govt is of their med school; everything we do is a tittle. Here is Alexander, the most enlightened and practical man of the whole lot, so frightened about the school appt that he does not see that his course wd be futile, Burrell;

f120 JS to FN 8 Feb 1859 re her letter this morning has made me very very sorry, had hoped she was improving

In the meantime there is nothing to bring you up to turn at last connected with our work. The med school report will I hope pass the commission and be sent in within a week or ten days if we do not go illeg. Then we have this council or board and then the Regs when you next write to Mr Herbert please suggest his asking Gen Peel for the Regs as they passed the War Office committee. They must be nearly ready by this time and we must see them.

Have you seen the article on our report in the last Quarterly? It is interesting from the manner of handling. It is evidently written by someone who has been considering the subject and indicates a decided advance in the proper understanding of army hygiene. All this is very hopeful and must tell on the dolts we have to deal with, if anything ever tells on dolts, wh is doubtful. "A dolt is a person who without any merit or illeg gets into a public appointment and opens his life and draws his salary in keeping himself in office and keeping out all improvement." This is a new definition wh perhaps may be useful some day or other.

Somebody sent me the Morning Chronicle with an article of Hammick in the Contribution. Have you seen it.

Tomorrow to dispatch more reports. Mr Cowie dines with us and we are going over the whole schools question.

God bless and keep you. JS

f122 JS to FN from War Dept Feb 9 1859 had a meeting and passed a report; Mr Rich

f124 JS to FN 10 Feb 1859 re Ms, will go into the whole matter about the schools with view of ascertaining what is poss

f127 JS to FN 11 Feb 1859 Mr Cowie and he laid out the whole school subject last night; personally will undertake it; improvement of training ests themselves, lectures, exams, and re common schools; will not be easy to do

f129 JS to FN 12 Feb 1859 re Irish reports from printer, to send to Gen Peel before we go

f131 JS to FN 16 Feb 1859 agreed between SH and Galton we shd visit Brighton and Chichester



**f133** NOTES ON DUBLIN HOSPITAL, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE,  
DATED ca. MARCH 1859, bl online says City of Dublin Hosp

*Dublin Hospital*

If the whole of central  
part gutted, quarters  
& Chapel removed,  
ward used for stores  
given back to sick,  
there would be the  
same number of beds  
(at 1200 cubic ft each)  
as there are now  
(overcrowded) viz. 200 beds.

[16:361]

The cost being:

1. Gutting centre building,  
putting up floors,  
opening windows &c
2. Building Chapel,  
Medical Officers' Quarters

But 500 beds are the  
amount required -- for a  
Garrison of 5000.

[end]

f134 JS to FN 1 May 1859 Dublin

f136 Farr to JS Oct 4 1859

f138 letter of C.C. Prinsep Stat Soc to Farr re JS enclosed 29 Sept 1859

f140 Farr letter to JS Oct 30 1859. I saw Sir Charles Wood on Thursday at 4  
½ for 5 ¼ as he was illeg by his. He called on Col Baker and gave him the  
illeg orders. So I met the colonel of the next day, with Mr Hornidge at 10  
½ and showed Mr H what he had never seen before--the annual muster rolls.

Mr Hornidge is to ask for the clerk and to vet them to work for ..

f142 JS note for FN nd ca 1 Dec 1859 did not promise to come today because  
does not know what will arise in meeting; will come when knows if daylight,  
or tomorrow early

**ff145-46v** PRINTED FORMS FOR THE STATISTICAL BRANCH, ARMY MEDICAL  
DEPARTMENT, **SEE PHOTOCOPIES**

**ff147-48v** NOTES ON INDIAN HOSPITALS, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED ca. 6  
FEB 1860

Dr. Hunter                      [9:941]  
    *of Bombay*

I saw him

I liked him the best of all the  
    Indian Hospital men who have  
    been sent me --

[I did so dislike Lady Napier's  
    Madras Doctor (Porteous)

And he was so drunk.]

    Dr. Hunter was short, not sweet  
& to the point.

    He says he wants a Trained  
Matron for the Jamsetjee Hospital  
-- which consists of  
500 beds for General Cases  
    one fourth women  
about 250 Lying-in & Children  
about 250 Eye cases --

    He is the head of the College --  
he likes the Hindoo Students better  
    than the Parsee -- (unlike Calcutta  
                            he says --

**f147v**

He says the Parsees quarrel  
among themselves  
Naoriji Furdoonjee against  
Manockjee Cursetjee  
and so on --  
And you must think for a month  
before you decide which of these  
two gentlemen to address first

-----

Dr. Hunter  
proposes a married Englishwoman,  
the wife of a Serjeant Major  
who eloped with the daughter  
of his *Colonel*  
to be trained at St. Thomas'  
as Matron of the Jamsetjee

**f148**

He says that Eurasian women &  
European women born in India  
if trained at St. Thomas'  
would do very well for a year &  
then fall into fine lady habits. [end 9:941]  
At least, he says that is the usual  
course.

===

He said, of course they always marry

-----

A propos to Students  
he said (he knows Calcutta)  
that the Hindoo Medical Students  
there had fallen off, into  
habits of intoxication  
but not at Bombay --  
He says -- they are more acute  
than Parsees --

**f148v**

He says -- that Hindoo who has  
been at Netley & got a Commission  
was a pupil of his & a first  
rate man --

But will he treat the European

**ff149-50** NOTES ON SIR JOHN FORBES' MEDICAL BOOK, "NATURE & ART IN THE CURE OF DISEASE," PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f149**

30 Old Burlington St  
London W

**[16:541]**

Feb. 14/60

You would be puzzled to  
see Sir John Forbes's  
book "Nature & Art in  
the Cure of Disease"  
arrive by the post. It  
was I sent it. It just  
occurred to me that  
you might possibly  
like to put another  
book at the head of  
your Article And,  
~~this~~ if so, this is the

**f149v**

only Medical book I  
know in our sense at all.  
And Sir John Forbes,  
who is slowly dying  
& *chair*=ridden, wrote  
to me, when my  
little book came  
out, saying that he  
"went along" with it  
entirely -- a great deal for  
a *Medical man* to say.

I was not able to  
write & tell you  
why I troubled you  
with the book  
yesterday.

**f150**

Many many thanks  
for ~~the~~ your letter.  
F.N.

**[end]**

**ff151-53** NOTES ON HARRISON, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE,  
DATED 4 MARCH 1860

**f151**

9

Harrison has now made  
me "an offer", as he says --

He refuses to print a  
cheaper Edition for a twelvemonth (before which  
he says it would spoil the  
sale of the present one)

He consents to print  
a 5/ Edition of 2000  
copies -- which he says  
he shall not be able  
to sell off in less than  
2 years -- [In Harrison's  
veracity let who will  
trust]

He consents to do so

**f151v**

only on the ~~ground~~ condition  
that I shall *add*  
to it but not *alter*  
& that I receive  
nothing for it -- while  
he says he shall lose.

He tacitly submits  
to my having granted  
the right of translation,  
which indeed he was  
told I should do,  
whether *he* gave leave  
or not.

Finally, he offers me  
500 guineas for the  
Copyright.

**f152**

Upon all this I feel  
that it is founded upon  
a roguery -- viz. the  
having gone on  
selling an Edition of  
at least 15,000  
copies, by his own  
shewing without  
giving any sign of  
life to me -- & then  
saying that he can't  
publish a cheaper  
Edition *on the score*  
of his not wishing  
to spoil the sale of this  
roguery.

**f152v**

I am quite willing  
to "add & not alter"  
in the 5/ proposed  
Edition -- For indeed  
I have nothing I  
want to alter.

F.N.

Mar 4/60

It seems to me that the  
whole question turns  
upon this: would *the*  
*trade* consider it a  
fair thing to call  
fifteen thousand copies,  
(at least) of a 2/ pamphlet  
an Edition?

**f153**

And is there not  
danger of such a sale  
of a pamphlet being  
a "nine days' wonder,"  
without producing  
any permanent good  
effect, while to  
publish in addition  
a cheap Manual  
for the uneducated  
and a Library Standard  
Book for the educated  
*would* produce a  
real permanent  
effect?

f157 Farr to JS nd

f158 E.A. Parkes to JS 4 May 1860 re discussion at Senate

f161 Major Graham to SH re Army Regs

**f161v** NOTES ON ROYAL COMMISSION REPORT, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE,  
DATED JULY 1860

R. Commn } { Dr. Edward Jarvis  
Report } { from Florence Nightingale  
          { Berg           July 1860

Regulation } -- Boudin  
              } -- Levi  
              } Austrian  
              } Engel  
              } Berg

f162 JS draft

**ff168-69v** NOTES ON THE WAR OFFICE, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, DATED 9 JANUARY 1861

**f168**

Underneath this lies an immense Reform. It is only the root. *That* is quite sound. But it will of course need to be carried into the branches.

Lord de Grey's argument for making the Permant=Under Secretary equal with the Heads of Departments is quite conclusive.

It would probably be followed by Hawes's resignation -- another benefit.

The argument that this is not done in other Offices does not seem worth much.

The Home Office has nothing

**f168v**

to do but to hang people & look after the police -- the Foreign Office to make as many disturbances at as many places as possible. The War Office has to look after the security of the Empire. And it has entirely in its hands the lives, healths & morals of 400,000 people quite unlike any other position in the world is the English War Minister's.

He must have working men for this not fine gentlemen. And it is quite time to have done with this amateur system & adopt that one of Lord de Grey's systems, which puts the Permanent Under Secretary on a level with



**f169**

the Heads of Departments.

Most admirable is the way in which Lord de Grey prohibits the clerks from "giving opinions".

Of course Mr. Herbert's letter is only a sketch for the Treasury.

But there is no reference in it to the Registry, altho' the "minuting" is disposed of.

Also, no reference to the Weekly Committee.

Probably, such is not needed.

====

The scheme, if carried out into the branches will certainly reduce the W.O. business to ~~about one sixth~~

**f169v**

a fractional part

of what it is now.

====

I do not see any suggestions to make upon what is only a masterly general sketch except 1. to adopt the equality of Under Secy & Heads of Departments and 2. to carry out the same scheme into all the branches.

The more rapidly this is pressed forward, the better -- If it could be done before Lord De Grey goes!

Jan 9/61

**ff172-73** NOTES ON MR. HERBERT'S EVIDENCE, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE**f172***Mr. Herbert's Evidence*

1. Relation of H.G. to  
W.O. to remain as  
at present
2. S. of S. has control  
over all which he  
ought to control
3. Minuting system  
carried to excess --  
Time to be saved  
by conferences
4. Military Officers  
should be more  
employed in the  
Office, but not with  
Commissions -- they  
could not be got rid  
of.
5. Further Military  
advice desirable

**f172v**

6. Council of
  - (1) Parly Under Secretary
  - (2) Permanent "
  - (3) Sec. of Mil. Cor.
  - (4) Artillery Officer  
Military Stores
  - (5) Inspector General of  
Fortifications
  - (6) ~~Store-keeper~~
  - (7) Director of Supplies
  - ~~(8)~~ C. in C.

**f173**

Accountant=General  
Commissary=Genl  
D.G. of A.M.D.  
&c  
to be called in to give  
advice.

Does not say how  
Office business to be  
conducted.

**ff174-74v** NOTES ON OLD WOOLWICH HOSPITAL, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE,  
DATED 28 JANUARY 1861

**f174**

*Old*  
*Woolwich Hospital*  
I see, in the proposed  
plan, "*Quarters for*  
*Female Scrubbers*". None  
such are required.  
For the Regulations  
admit no *female*  
scrubbers.

2. It would be better  
if all the females  
were quartered  
together -- and room  
found for "Linen Nurse",

**f174v**

& "Supt female servant  
near the Nurses'  
Quarters.  
Less necessary is it,  
but still very  
desirable that a  
"Mending Room" should  
be found near the  
Linen Store

Jan 28/61

f175 JS draft case at present

**ff181-82v** NOTES ON FLOOR CLEANING, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, DATED  
ca. MARCH 1861

**f181**

107

{THE FOLLOWING IN PEN BY FN:}

**[16:398-99]***About floor=cleaning*

In preparation for  
the great event (of  
Woolwich Hospl) I want  
you to try at Netley  
*all* the experiments --

1. the Berlin lacquer,  
which I have always  
been bothering about.  
I don't want you to go  
to Berlin. There is  
a much greater &  
more *improving* trade  
carrying on of French  
Polish in London than

**f181v**

at Berlin.

Could you not  
consult the best  
French Polisher here  
as to the best lacquer  
for Hospital floors?

Bowood & some  
other places I know  
~~where they~~ varnish  
their floors & it  
stands for years.

But I would tell  
my polisher *of all*  
*a Hospital floor*  
*would have to stand,*  
viz. constant passing to

**f182**

& fro, carrying of heavy weights; even dragging furniture -- which the Berlin lacquer does not stand -- coal fires, which also it does not.

The cleanliness (& the little labor of cleaning) of the Berlin lacquer is the beauty of it.

2. Then I would try (at Netley) saturating with mastic, saturating with beeswax & turpentine, the old fashioned way,

**f182v**

(which I did at Harley St) -- the French ~~floor~~ parquet &c --

The great Misery of the French "frottage" is its excessive labor -- which I believe to be unnecessary --

I have described a way of cleaning, which I have known answer, in my larger Edit. of "Notes on Nursing".

FN

[end 16:399]

**f183** NOTES ON GIBRALTAR REPORTS, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED ca. MARCH 1861

If you want me to write to Ellis tomorrow  
you must say so

Ditto        Major Malleson  
"    Officer of Health of Bombay

I have had your Gibraltar Reports here a month  
You said you wanted me to send them to  
Officer of Health    Bombay  
Major Malleson  
Sir J. Lawrence  
Dr. Shrimpton        Paris

If you do, say so -- & write covering letters  
As for me dunning you about your  
own Reports, I am now quite unable  
Insp.

f185 Harry Roberts, St Leonard's to FN 31 May 1861 re her kind note of 19th  
with copies of recent ed of *Notes on Nursing for the Lab Classes*,

**ff195-96** NOTES ON MRS. SHAW STEWART, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN blue pencil

**f195**

1. Would it not be civil to tell Mr. Peacock that I am going on August 1 not however pinning myself to the day & that I want to have a room in this house for my books & papers.

[About July 16, 1861]

Mrs. Shaw Stewart has accepted the superintending as I expected saving her inconsistency by a long letter of abuse of me -- to Lord Herbert, which really seems to have nothing to do with it -- & stipulating that all the nurses shall be Ch. of England, which he has granted her in wh. both he & she

**f195v**

are legally wrong as the regulations give absolute power to the superintendent in this respect -- which she knows -- She might have had all Mahometans if she had liked it -- She asserts to Ld. Herbert that I had told her the exact reverse of what I did tell her -- but I incline to let this rest for what is the use of engaging in farther self-defence -- either with him or her -- what do you think?

Please say exactly what she wrote to you about my returning all her letters to her -- I am quite ready to do so now, but she is just as likely as not to take it as a farther "insult" -- as she has often done before, unless one can show [regular pencil here]

**f196**

her chapter & verse --

f198 JS hand rough note [text below]

**ff199-200** NOTES ON WAR OFFICE & LORD DE GREY, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED 16-21 SEPTEMBER 1861

**f199** JS rough note on

[written sideways] Of every other & almost without the knowledge of their common head, responsible as he is to ~~the~~ Parliament.

**f199v**

He died before his work was done.  
His great aim was to reorganize the War Office -- to substitute unity  
economy  
promptitude of action  
& responsibility in each of the heads  
of ~~a~~ Departments  
for the reverse of all this  
~~to their opposites~~. He wished to ~~make~~  
~~each head~~ divide the War Office

**f200**

into distinct Departmts & branches,  
to ~~make~~ place the head of each in  
~~distinctly~~ immediate responsibility for his ~~acts~~,  
own ~~office~~ Department & in direct commu=  
nication with the Secretary of State.  
He wished entirely to abolish the  
present slow & tedious system of minuting,  
of extravagance in Clerk=work  
and the present ~~system~~ process ~~possibility~~ whereby  
each branch may act independently.

F201 JS note. [end 1861]

1. The com of the N Fund propose on their part to set aside the sum of £300 to £450 per ann for the tr of nurses in King's College Hosp under St John's House.

@. By the terms of this trust, no compulsory religious tr and no denominational religious observances can be exacted from probs.

3. Acc to agreement maturely considered and entered into the gov of St Thomas' Hosp, where a number of nurses are being trained at the cost of the fund, certain prelim conds are exacted from probs, certain records have to be kept by the matron and reports made to the com of the Fund, observing the state of tr of each prob, and the matron has certain summary powers wh she can exercise in cases of misconduct on the part of probs.



**ff203-04v** NOTES ON LUNATIC WARDS, PEN, HANDWRITTEN, not FN hand, DATED ca. 1861, not JS hand

**f203**

*Lunatic Wards*

The proportion of lunatic cases 0.01 is not on the strength 6000, but on the 600 sick cases.

The number for which accommodation would be required is therefore 6 --

As these cases are only kept under observation for a short time, the arrangements necessary are rather those required for such a purpose (namely observation,) than for lunatic

**f203v**

asylum arrangements.

Occasionally no doubt cases of delirium tremens would be taken into these wards & perhaps a noisy fever cases now & then. The construction should therefore in a military hospital suit such emergencies -- There must be --

1. One dark padded room with about 600 to 700 cubic feet, which would be enough for mere temporary use.
2. 1. one bed ward of

**f204**

about 3000 cubic feet.

3. The only remaining point is whether there should be 2 two bed ward, or 1-four bed ward. For ordinary lunatic arrangements 1 four bed ward would be enough but considering the delirium tremens cases -- 2 two bed wards would be more convenient. With the present treatment there is less danger of delirium tremens cases disturbing lunatic cases, than of the latter

**f204v**

disturbing the former. There will be no objection to placing incipient lunatic cases, or far advanced convalescent cases, if there were such in a large ward with other sick, but of course the least show of excitement ~~would~~ ought to lead at once to the seclusion of the lunatic case.

**ff205-06** NOTES ON PAPERS TO GO TO DR SUTHERLAND, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN  
DATED 2 FEBRUARY 1862

**f205** {THIS WHOLE PAGE IS CROSSED OUT:}

31 Dover St.

February 2 1862

Dr. Sutherland to collect & take  
into his possession all the official  
books, M.S.S.; Returns & Indian  
Replies &c which I have -- belonging  
to Government Commissions & Offices.

done 9/9/69 {IN PENCIL}

Also to select for himself  
any Blue Books or other books  
(referring to these Commissions  
& their business) of mine.

Also the papers referring  
to Colonial Schools & Hospitals

done 9/9/69 {IN PENCIL}

-- and those referring to the  
Statistical Returns of Operations --

done 9/9/69 {IN PENCIL}

to go to him -- with an earnest  
request that he & Dr. Farr will  
make such use of them as may

**f205v**

seem to them best --

done by me FN {IN PENCIL}

9/9/69 {IN PENCIL}

Also I earnestly beg Dr.  
Sutherland to edit ~~another~~ the  
Edition of my "Notes on Hospitals",  
as promised for me by Mr. Clough a year ago to Messrs. Parkes,  
omitting all that relates  
exclusively to the Crimea War,  
adding whatever seems to him  
desirable, but not altering  
anything which regards Nurses,  
Ward Offices or the Nursing  
administration generally.

done 9/9/69 {IN PENCIL}

by me {IN PENCIL}

And I beg that Dr.  
Sutherland will accept due  
pecuniary compensation for  
such editing.

FN {IN PENCIL}

Florence Nightingale

**f206**

[Feb 2 1862] PEN

As to papers &c  
to go to Dr. Sutherland

F. Nightingale

f210 JS note in rough draft

**f214** NOTES ON BOOKS, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED ca. NOVEMBER 1862

[3]  
& uselessness. In fact,  
he says, *these* are  
the "dangerous" books.

In this I entirely  
agree ---

---

I send you our  
Secretary of State's  
learned squib to  
amuse & enrage you.  
Please return it to  
me. The great man  
sent it me himself --

{IN PENCIL [See also F.N. to Capt. Galton] Nov. 1862  
The jeu d'esprit was a ~~Latin~~ Greek version of  
~~Hey-diddle-diddle~~ Humpty Dumpty by Sir G. Cornwall Lewes

f215 note in JS rough draft

**ff221-21v** NOTES ON PAPERS & HOSPITALS, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED 18 FEBRUARY 1863

**f221** {WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE PAGE BY FN:}

You always take half holiday when about to proceed on a journey?

Had I not better send a copy of that paper to Ld Stanley if nothing turns up --

I think it would put us into open collision with our Chairman

if Sir C. Wood were to send him that Minute

& he were to find we had written the substance of it

& I had not told him

My dear soul, your letter was so cautious as to amount to being

obscure

~~I suspect~~ your own mother, could not understand it.

But I have written to Ld Stanley so often on this subject

that he, if he suspects anybody of the Minute, will suspect me

Amount of & necessity for soft water in Hospls means of laying it on

Parian & other cements & their cost --

Floors - (new fire proof) limitation of--of--

Convalescent Cottage Homes            when there are insects

**f221v** {WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE PAGE:}

You left the ink on the chair without a cover & without a stand.

Tom jumped into the

air. The ink fell out *on to the rug*. The whole is spilt--I had to  
jump up & clean

all up. Because if I had waited for a maid it would have been too late --

As I'm quite sure that whatever you say you will do *that* at least will not be done --  
Would it be indiscreet to ask why when *I* asked you to do that Memo you said {illeg}  
it 2 or 3 days for Ld Stanley's answer. Then why did you say

I know that in half an hour  
you will come upstairs & say  
it must go this moment to the W.O.  
There's nothing in that but what I said  
in my letter to L  
You never spoke [?] work [?]  
You want to know where your  
Indian papers are?

I always have these attacks on the  
heart when you're gone.  
After you've made me talk, jump,  
{illeg. remind?}, about all things  
which you know just  
will you

{WRITTEN NORMALLY ON THE RIGHT-HAND SIDE OF PAGE:}

I think it wants strengthening --  
Ld de G. asked for a Memo printing out  
generally the deficiencies of Indian Bks  
& generally what *wanted doing* to them.  
I was afraid to tell you this because I  
know you would start off & say  
*it can't be done*, as if I were  
pushing out, by the shoulders.  
It won't do to say that, because you have  
just said that visiting a few Stations  
in India by rail would give you a  
general idea.

King's Coll. Hosp. is endeavouring to  
establish a Conv't Home but is too poor  
£400 a year from that Craven  
Charity  
All St. John's House and Patients would  
be taken into the Conv't home beside

**ff222-22v** NOTES ON INDIA GOVERNMENT, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED ca. MARCH 1863

[9:126-27]

**f222**

1. Ld Stanley is in earnest, however cautious
2. He is going to Sir C Wood today to try to persuade him to let the Home Commn work -- He asked my leave since it will depend ultimately on Sir C. W. it was no use saying No!
3. You are to go to Ld S. on Saturday at 11 with the Draft proposed as we wish it (of course we have not done that already) to hear what Sir C.W. has said
4. Ld S. thinks it quite impossible to submit the money part to the Commn
5. neither to put it into direct communication with the Presidy. Comm.
6. he dwelt of course on the great jealousy of the India Govt against the India/Home Govt & urged a Calcutta Commn which I answered & he gave up
7. he said that the Act was only for the three seats of P. (in which I think he is wrong -- he said afterwards he did not know.
8. Ld S. said that no India Govt would listen to a plan of sending their plans to be criticized by a W.O. Commn So I, said, put it as if the Commn were to be their own, Cautley & Martin upon it, & the W.O. Commn added on to theirs -- the detail can be arranged after
9. Ld S. says that you must reckon a year as the average delay produced by reference home to England



**f222v**

1. Lord de Grey entirely gives up his idea of a Calcutta Commn  
& adopts ours -- But
2. he strongly urges that it be put into the recommendations of  
the Report
3. he will do nothing till the Report comes out, unless he finds  
that the India balance, set apart for buildings, is to be  
expended at once, of which he will inform
4. he says that the *practical* success of the Commn will depend  
on whether we can make Lawrence, Cautley, Vivian defend its  
measures in the Home commission.
5. he sees great difficulty in putting the Home Commn in direct  
communication with the Presidency Comm
6. he did not know that Presidency Commissioners were recommended

he had read my paper every word & quoted it --  
I mean my letter to Lord S.

Have you heard from Sir J

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE PAGE:}

*Not Today*

Ld de G. lays the *greatest* stress on a copy being sent  
privately to him *without delay* [end 9:127]

Today?

But is not that an insult to our Chairman

But there's nothing new in that

How does that solve the problem of *no delay*

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT THE BOTTOM OF THE PAGE:}

I am thinking whether you had better see Ld S or J. If you are  
as convincing as you were in your letter, you won't do much  
You should have  
told me that  
you write in  
order not to  
be understood.  
I think you must judge  
You don't distinguish  
between what the  
Presidency & Home  
Commiss  
Certainly, Ld de G. said so too  
Yes, I told Ld de G. that  
what ought to be done  
was to represent  
a Barrack Dept & a Public  
Health Act in India --  
to do what they have done in England. And he said  
Put that explicitly  
It's what S. Herbert called cockadoodled.

f224 JS note in rough draft

**f226** NOTES ON SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED ca. 23  
JULY 1863

I must write to Trevelyan  
today What shall I say?  
tomorr  
JS: because the 26 is a Sun  
Galton says the position is changed.  
I never take any notice.

f227 JS note in rough draft

f230 Stanley embossed Chevening Sevenoaks, July 28 1863 to SH; Miss  
Nightingale has a right to the extra copies she wants and if I have any  
power in the matter I hope and wish that they may be assigned to her.  
Perhaps this expression of opinion may be enough for your purpose, if not  
tell me to whom to make a formal application and I will do so with  
pleasure. Address Knowsley, Prescott, yours truly Stanley

f231 JS note to FN embossed War Office 31 July [1863] sends report, will  
come tomorrow, re India affair

**f232** Note by Dr Sutherland to FN, pen, dated July 1864  
You are promised the copies  
tomorrow with the most  
vehement oaths & protestations.

I enclose the Geneva  
Papers. Longmure & Rutherford  
are to go, & we are to prepare  
the papers.

J.S.

Friday

Is that what you mean?

Is that the Taylor with you  
in the Crimea

**f233**

FN:

I want to burn.

I wish you had been  
in that State for

7 1/2 months

No but the thing would  
have been done

Fiat justitia

Quat houses

Have they? Will they?

They won't be sent

but with the

suggestion.

**f233v**

Of those 50, I am to have  
 25. *20 immediately*  
 What is become of the 8  
 Where is Barbadoes?  
 Where are the three Registrar}  
 General's papers?               }  
 I ought to send one set out   }  
 to Sir J Lawrence with my       }  
 copy -- I promised it           }  
 What is to be said to Sir John about these  
 I do not shake hands till the  
 abstract is done. And I do  
 not leave London till it is  
 done --               copy of the *Report*  
           I have never had Mr. Frederick

f236 JS note in rough draft

f238 JS note in rough draft

**f238v** NOTES ON THE DAYROOMS AT GIBRALTAR, PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

You will want this Gibraltar map  
~~fo~~ (about the Dayrooms at Gibraltar)  
 with Sir H. Verney

F.N.

**f239** JS letter to Toynbee*Private*

115, Park Street. W. [printed address]

30 June 1864

My Dear Sir

Will you excuse the trouble I put you to in asking for the following information.

A patient of yours Miss A. Jones has been selected to undertake the nursing about to be introduced into the Liverpool workhouse. She is at present engaged at Kings Cross Hospital, and has been under your care for deafness. Every one interested in the Liverpool work considers her to be in every way competent for the office, but she herself has some doubt, whether with her deafness she ought to undertake it.

Would you be so very kind as

**f239v**

to help us in arriving at a decision by stating your opinion on the case. We are desirous of knowing whether the affection[?] of the ear is cerebral, merely local, or whether primarily or secondarily her present state is the result of a low state of general health. The practical object we have in view as you will perceive is to ascertain whether relaxation and sea side air, or any other change would remove the disease or arrest or diminish it to such an extent as to enable Miss Jones to enter on her new sphere of work, subject of course to the conditions to which every body is subject, that her health may suffer occasionally from anxiety and overwork & that she may require change of air, from

**f240**

her new sphere. At Liverpool she could always get to the sea side at New Brighton so as to be within an hours travel of the workhouse.

I think I have said enough to tell you the object, and if you will kindly send me a note here, I have no doubt we shall be able at once to decide how to act.

I am yours ever truly  
J Sutherland  
Joseph Toynbee Esq F.R.S.

**f241** pen note by J Sutherland

After carefully examining all the evidence regarding the state of Miss Jones' health, it appears that she is suffering from partial nervous deafness of both ears, but not to such an extent as to incapacitate her for her work. Cases of this kind are always aggravated by ill health especially in nervous people, and are best treated by rest, fresh air, and other things tending to improve the health & to strengthen the general system. If Miss Jones is not fit for Workhouse Hospital service in Liverpool, she is not fit for Hospital service at Kings Cross Hospital Or indeed anywhere else. My objection to her going to Liverpool would apply equally to her undertaking any other nursing service. There is only one grade of nursing & that is "efficiency." The obvious way of dealing with the case is as follows. Let Miss Jones try sea air, rest & recreation until her health is restored to its *usual state*. Put aside the deafness in the mean time. After her health has been restored let her go to Liverpool & enter on her hospital work. We cannot take into account anything that may happen afterwards; all we can do is to decide on present facts.

f242 pencil note by JS in rough draft

Miss Jones would be responsible to the Governor for the conduct of all nurses placed under her.

Miss Jones would be responsible for the nursing to the Governor.

Miss Jones could not exercise discipline ~~rule~~ over either patients or nurses without the power were given her by the Governor.

The Governor is an autocrat who is *personally responsible* to the Guardians & through them to the Poor Law board.

If Miss Jones wishes any discipline beyond mere personal expostulation to be applied to a nurse she would have to report to the Governor who would exercise the discipline.

**ff245-46v** NOTES ON BUILDINGS & STREETS, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, DATED AUGUST-OCTOBER 1864

**f245**

What are those buildings? Are they Lansdowne Horse Stables? What are the buildings on the other side Bolton Row? What are the buildings behind?

the houses which connect the house with the passage -- what are they?

there's no door between 1 B Row & Lansdowne Horse Passage -- but plenty of buildings -- which are I am afraid Lansdowne Ho.

**{SEE PHOTOCOPY OF DRAWING}**

Is that mews

Is that mews

Is that mews

**f245v**

There is no door to the drawing room but one  
 And of course if I made the boudoir my bedroom,  
 I must take up the drawing room entirely  
 except that I know some one who would  
 sit by the front fire place --  
 Yes -- Were these  
 No -- It's a door

**{SEE PHOTOCOPY OF DRAWING}**

Are there folding doors  
 between front drawing room  
 & dark place.

*Well have you no reflection*  
 What kind of W.C.s  
 Where upstairs

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE:}  
 I don't think I  
 should take a house for  
 that -- anymore than I took  
 Cleveland R. for the drawing rooms --

**f246**

Bolton Row can be had all the year  
 Norfolk St only till April 30 --  
     I never have  
     It may be so -- I have always hoped I  
 should be able to come here by May --  
     But I never have --  
     ± 115 Park St was perfectly sleepless  
 from noise for May June July --  
 What will Norfolk St. be?

I think so too --  
 But it is not near so bad --  
     as Cleveland R  
         Is Bolton R *paved*



**f246v**

We must have somewhere to live for the  
winter course.

Who is James Selby

1. Bolton Row -- looks as if built for somebody to do  
something wrong in --  
very much entangled with stables --  
but no thoroughfare -- no carriage  
can pass the front --  
deficiency of Western sun, but still  
*much* better -- in sun than Cleveland

perfectly horseless {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY IN THE MARGIN UNDER Bolton Row}

Norfolk St -- quite brilliant -- beautiful -- the  
sunsets will be glorious --  
but horribly noisy -- at 115 Park St  
the fashionable carriages went on  
till 3 AM -- the heavy grinding luggage  
vans began at 5 AM. Now  
there is not a tenth of the space between  
Norfolk St & Park Lane that there is  
Norfolk St. is paved -- & it is almost  
impossible to get a bed into the street  
side rooms.

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY IN THE MARGIN UNDER Norfolk St.:}

dreadful

I ~~saw~~ heard the coal vans  
grinding in P. Lane --

f247 JS rough note

f248 JS rough note

**f249v** NOTES ON NURSING STAFF, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

Beds

28.                1 Head Nurse  
                      2 Day  
                      1 Night  
 6 --            at least 1 Day Nurse additional  
                      but            1 Night -- *may be required*

separate        1 Day } Nurse  
 6 bed        1 Night}  
 Women's    But then it has no Head Nurse  
 ward

24.               1 Head Nurse  
                      2 Day  
                      1 Night  
 6                at least 1 Day Nurse additional  
                      perhaps 1 Night

**ff250-51** NOTES ON FLIEDNER, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE,  
DATED ca. BEGINNING DECEMBER 1864**f250**

What these good old German fogies say    **[12:56]**  
 is perfectly true: --

Fliedner actually reserved for himself  
 an income only of £90 a year, for himself  
 & his wife, (tho' *the whole of the capital*  
 was collected by himself for the Institute)  
 & of quite late years the salary, I guess  
 about £20, for the private Tutor of his  
 younger children.

The King (but this is not at all a  
 special favour -- Tübingen educated all  
 its theological candidates (*gratis*) gave him  
 the theological education of his elder  
 children.

Of course he was obliged to accept  
 charity from friends -- among others mine.  
 In proportion to the rest of his income,  
 I have maintained my god child exclusively.

Well, now these excellent fogies desire  
 me to put about this paper of theirs, which

**f250v**

tells absolutely nothing to English ears.  
Just compare it with Fliedner's own  
papers, & with mine about him.

No body *in England* knows anything  
about Fliedner. My own father, when  
I told him of Fliedner's death, said,  
"Fliedner, Fliedner, who's Fliedner? I seem  
to have heard the name somewhere!!"

And these poor old fools desire me  
not to put any appeal in the newspapers  
but to write myself to all my friends.  
They might just as well ask Mme Fliedner  
to write for me & my objects.

The only thing that I can think of  
is for me to reprint the two notices in  
"Evan: Xtendom", to add (printed) an appeal  
of my own, & to ask the Office of Evan:  
Xtendom?} to send it about. But this  
(with having the covers put up at the Office)

**f251**

would cost me about £5. And I'll be  
bound would get about 18/ -- So I had  
much better send them the £5 direct.

All that I can spare goes to Mme  
Fliedner direct.

I sent her £125 direct in 1862  
out of my own savings -- And I got thro'  
Evan: Xtendom 18/. **[end 12:56]**

**f252** JS rough note re deaconesses

As regards the deaconesses: Like every other growth they should be judged by their fruits, and when so tried where shall we find in ancient or modern history any record so full & so touching as that of these poor women & their poor house & often poverty stricken founder? Over the whole earth they have laid their hands in nursing the sick & wounded & in other works of mercy. Looked at from a purely English point of view one would say with H.R.H. That as much good could be done without their special garb as with it,. But we must look at Germany & at the Kaiserswerth work as a whole, both in the points with which we entirely agree & in those in which we do not agree.

So considered the deaconesses institution is a pure good not only to Germany but to all lands & it is a great honour to the fostering care of Prussia that the small seed has become such a tree of promise. In England we have had the ludicrous failure of brotherhoods & sisterhoods who expected that the garb alone could make the nurse a teacher, but in the Kaiserswerth system the garb is [illeg] & a merely external badge of work & position

For the good of others, so considered of [illeg]

**f253**

and recent events have fully borne this out.

In all recent times [?] it has been considered necessary to resort to private assistance for providing sick & wounded men with attendance & care. The most splendid & costly example of this was the work of the Sanitary commission in America. Yet in no case has the result been satisfactory. In fact when governments go to war they do not calculate the chances of the battle field although they ought to be considered as closely as those of Army subsistence.

When 100,000 or 150,000 men are sent on a great military service in which great battles are most likely to follow, it is always possible to arrive at some estimate of their contingencies and every effort should be made to provide for them. Governments are the only parties who should be held responsible for the wounded & sick in war. This should be one of their highest responsibilities. But to fulfil it there should be an organization in peace which could be easily expanded to meet the necessities of the field. If this were done no separate voluntary effort, other than that which could be rendered by inhabitants near the battlefield would be

**f252v**

necessary. Where Mr Dinant erred was in [Dunant] supposing that a voluntary agency of any value could be extemporized. The duties all require training, discipline & prompt obedience on the part of the agents. Afterwards, when the Conference at Geneva limited its recommendations to the neutralization of the field medical service I joined heartily in its principles, and it does not speak well for Austrian foresight that they refused so small a boon to humanity as this.

**f253v** in rough JS hand

Dr Sutherland.

The letter is extremely interesting and conveys just the kind of practical information which a person who has had experience in these matters desires to obtain. The fact about the comparative results of treating the wounded in a well appointed hospital and in the open air is most instructive, and is a new illustration of a thing being suspected, namely that if wounded men were simply placed on the battle field under a roof without walls to keep off the rain & were there operated on at once the recovery would be far greater in number.

Hospital influences are the great cause of hospital mortality at all times, but chiefly so in war. In our new Herbert Hospital at Woolwich we have 650 beds, but we have made provision for wheeling out a number of the beds on to terraces in the open air if necessity should arise for doing so. I was in communication with M Dunant long before the Geneva Conference, and found that I could not on functional grounds join the basis then proposed, which amounted to the introduction of voluntary lay agency as a supplement to or as a substitute for government action, because my own experience was all against this.

**f254** NOTES ON PRUSSIAN DEACONESSSES, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED ca. END 1864

These Prussian Deaconesses are doing the work we

[12:56]

ought to be doing in the E. Mediterranean ports & the least we can do is to help ~~them~~ with money.

[end 12:56]

Add Mss 45752, correspondence with Dr John Sutherland, 1865-67, 265 folios, Adam Matthew reel 7

ff1-2 JS hand [beg. Jan 1865]. Draft

1. The revelations wh have been made about the treatment of sick poor in the London workhouse infs have shown that it is no longer possible to continue the present system of mgt.

2. As an instalment of reform in the Metropolitan Poor Law, there shd be a final separation made between the sick, infirm, incurable, mad and imbecile and able-bodied poor.

3. All those classes which suffer from any disease bodily or mental shd be placed under a distinct and responsible administration answerable directly to Parliament.

4 Uniformity of system in this matter is absolutely necessary in order that the suffering poor shd be properly cared for and in order that vacant beds and places may be filled up wherever spare exists.

FN: sell houses  
cheap & nasty

**f3** NOTES ON SICK POOR AND LUNATICS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED ca. 1865

What I say is: why are poor Lunatics so much more valuable than poor sick? You say: oh but the poor sick's Doctor may do something else. Well, this man tells us he can't.

Well: this man ~~had~~ was Master of the Infirmary--with the Nurse, as his mistress.

It was not the case in the Pauper Lunatic Asylums I have been connected with

~~h~~ In the St. Giles' Union it is obvious that the Doctor, *IF*

supposed to be Master *ANYBODY* was Master, was "I've heard quite enough"

~~Club yesterday~~ Parker & who? {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY OVER ~~Club yesterday~~,  
UPSIDE DOWN}

**f3v** FOOD LIST PEN & PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE {IN PEN:}

Hare  
2 Rabbits  
Leg of Pork  
2 Pigeons  
1 Chicken  
Apple Pudding  
Tongue  
Orange Jelly  
Bread  
Brown Do  
Twist  
Fingers  
Oat Cakes  
Sponge Cake  
Salad & Sauce  
Flowers  
Apples  
Strawberrys  
Rhubarb  
Celery  
Asparagus  
Beans                      Sod & Moss  
Broccoli & Watercress

{IN PENCIL, WRITTEN SIDEWAYS:}

Am I to say anything to Mr. Farnall as to the



**ff4-5v** NOTES ON NURSING IN INDIA LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1865

**f4**

[Jan.-Feb. 1865] {IN PEN, IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S}  
~~Census of capital cities & Cantonments~~  
~~hand in hand with~~  
~~to which they apply system of collecting Mortality~~  
~~rates~~

1. where were the Allahabad women Nurses got? **[9:947-48]**

soldiers wives      Eurasians  
                         widows      women of English parents  
   born in India

officers      "  
                         "      native women  
civilians      "  
                         "

What about the Home?

how the linen can be taken care of in India  
And what sort of accommodation required  
for it?

subsidiary Orderly Service, in carrying & piling of linen  
&c to be done by Orderlies or  
Native servants?

where the Nursing material is to come from?  
what it is?      {Matron must be not only a linen keeper  
who trains?      {but a trainer of Nurses

**f4v**

2. The Supt Genl must be herself a Trained Nurse  
ask particulars about system of government possible

3. Wherever there ~~will~~ are two Nurses, there must be a  
Matron

she must be supreme & have power over  
discipline, just as Beatson claimed for himself  
same Matron might do for female Hospital

At Regimental female Hospitals, one  
should be Matron again.

All Nurses at any given Station under  
one Matron

position of Native Nurses & midwives with regard  
to English Nurses?

pay of Matrons *must* be liberal -- she must  
have the power to select & take on Probationers

**f5**

The Med Off

4. who must be the Court of Appeal over the  
Matron? as the S. of S. for War is here  
what Commandg Officer? to whom must she be  
responsible?

5. should there not be a Superintendent Genl for  
each Presidency?

can single ladies travel in the way she would  
be required to travel?

6. how far would English method of Governors for General  
Hospitals do in India? what relation should the Governor  
have to Nurses & Superintendents?

**[end 9:948]**

**f5v** {THE FOLLOWING PAGE IS CROSSED OUT:}

What shall I say to Strachey about {CUT OFF}  
is that that?

Am I to tell him what you said that the  
diminution of Mortality may not be a real one

*am I to say that*

show me

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:}

No -- But shall I break the

way with him to this

But not to say anything about

telegraph

{THE FOLLOWING HAS A BOX DRAWN AROUND IT:}

widows -- yes --

I hate wives

f6 JS hand, pen

00000000!!!

---

000

Miserable lot NO. 2

I believe I said all you can say to Massey with any good effect,  
namely,

1. To instruct him generally in the sanitary improvement of India.
2. Point out the fact that there are 70,000 troops and 150 millions of people to be cared for. That every soldier who dies costs the Indian Exchequer £100. That labor is more than double the value in India it was before the Mutiny, that the value is rising every day, that the illeg the pop is swept away by preventible epidemics. That they are our fellow subjects now as much as Londoners. That India is the hot bed of epidemics from want of sanitary care, that the most costly of all manufacturing of disease and the most illeg . That our holding the country depends on the present high death rate in the army being brought down, that the prosperity and civilization of India are impossible with epidemics. That the social state of India is a disgrace to us. That the required outlay for sanitary works will form a very wise expenditure: that Trevelyan thought so and said so. Ask illeg to support us in the Council and the grant expenditure for health purposes. Explain the san campaigns of the presidencies and their relation to us. Tell him that Ellis's plan was approved by the govt but they said they had no money. Point out the losses the public service has sustained by preventible diseases. Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning Lady C. Illegs Laing injured, Trevelyan injured, Sir J Lawrence threatened. Calcutta illeg Say what you like about the municipality and also about the projected illeg for India, but do not admit the latter, as the scheme was only put out for info. Show Massey the paper was sent to Trevelyan.

A general talk will do most good for you will have to write to him on any parts that come up after he arrives in India.

**ff8-9v** NOTES ON POOR RELIEF LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED ca. MARCH 20, 1865 checked by LM at the BL Oct 2006

**f8** {DATE: IN PENCIL, IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S} [ca. 20. Mar. 1865]

To-day is an Indian mail

Yes: and when I do shew you anything,  
You say "I saw that". You have  
communicated to me that information  
15 times this morning. Why, man,  
do you think, man, I shew you  
things to hear that?

-----  
Yes

1. I wanted to know whether as they  
call it "re=organization of the W.O." they  
were going to do anything such as S.  
Herbert & we call "re=organization".  
2. whether any thing has come of Capt  
Galton's Intendence proposal?

-----  
3. Whether Dr. Murchison's Typhus letter  
has any reference to the case?  
of what? viscera?

**f8v**

O I read those two. It's the only reading  
I *do do*.

~~They want to oppose the Unions Chargeability.~~

**f9** {FN WRITES:}

just write down for him in 3 lines the  
pith of the Unions Chargeability

-----  
{SUTHERLAND WRITES:}

You are aware that ~~we have~~ the poor in England  
have a legal provision for relief under the Poor Laws.  
This relief is at present ~~the~~ given by ecclesiastical  
parish officers mainly & the ~~illeg~~ rate for each  
parish is levied on the ~~property of the~~ Parish.  
Besides this however, in many cases checked by LM at BL  
the adjoining parishes are united into  
unions for certain purposes such as  
Medical & Workhouse relief &c. It is  
found in practice that the poorest families  
have the most paupers & hence the poor  
rate is highest where the people are  
least able to pay it. To equalize this  
~~it is~~ a Bill is now before Parliament  
to extend the Parish rating over the  
whole union. This is strenuously objected  
to & some of the objectors wish to  
learn what the French system of  
poor relief is.

{FN WRITES -- INSERTED FROM **f8v**:}

They want to know ~~most of the~~ particularly the French system  
of ~~upon~~ relief of the Poor by Bureaux de Bienfaisance & others

others?}

Whether any body can starve to death in  
France

whether there is any voluntary system of  
GENTLEMEN Relieving Officers, besides the  
Municipal Sisters of Charity

whether that arrondissement system  
obtains in the country as well as at  
Paris --

~~The Speaker asks~~

{SUTHERLAND WRITES:}

can you refer me to any printed documents

giving an account of the method of funding for the

{BACK TO **f9**:}

poor in France in which the information required ~~are~~  
could be obtained.

**f9v**

{SUTHERLAND WRITES:}

The point I am desirous of ascertaining is the best method not only of ~~estimating~~ testing the presence of ~~orga~~ vegetable organic matter & animal organic matter together with nitrates & ammonia in water but also the best existing means of ascertaining the ~~amount of~~ ~~each~~ amount per cent of each ingredient vegetable organic, animal organic, nitrates & ammonia in drinking water

I should feel obliged if you would let me have the information as soon as you can. A short statement will be sufficient for this purpose

{FN WRITES -- WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN:}

But I don't understand myself why Sir J. Lawrence issued that paper under his authority -- which so vexed Ld Stanley unless it is to be explained by what he said to me that I should "think" him "timid & time-serving"

f10 JS pencil note

f11 JS pen note. [April 1865] IN order to understand the statistical bearing of the question it would be necessary to make a general table for the Metropolitan Workh infirmaries, showing the results of the enquiry. All the existing headings which contain statistical facts, but no numbers & cubic contents of wards, numbers of sick, cubic space for bed, nature of nursing established and a illeg to put on a single sheet. The reports by themselves exhibit a state of matters which certainly requires reforms. The cubic space per sick bed appear to vary from under 400 to 700 cubic feet, showing excessive overcrowding, with the exception of St Pancras and one or two other parishes, there appears to be really no nursing. There is some kind of infirmary housekeeping with or without paid aid, but in the great majority of cases, whatever sick attendance there is is of the same character as it used to be in the army, when comrades from the ranks asked to be the nurses. Only your best pauper comrade is no doubt very much worse than the worst soldier comrade used to be. In the best parish infirmary, you will find that the trained attendants, many of them, are not employed for the purposes for which they were trained, e.g., persons trained in lunatic asylums being put to ordinary ward work &c.

Taken on the whole, the reports clearly indicate the need of further enquiry. For instance, there is no account of the nature of the nursing and this could only be got by enquiry by a illeg qualified woman. If you thought it would be illeg I dare say we could arrange to get a thoroughly competent report for you on this part of the enquiry.

You may however rest assured that with the machinery exposed in these returns anything like nursing or even due care of the sick is put of the question.

The infirmaries also require inspections by more competent sanitary officers. I mean persons who really know what a good well aired prospect is when they see it. If medical men, so much the better, but it does not at all follow that a medical attendant simply because he is a doctor knows a good hospital ward, a bad one, when he sees it.

Since I began to write this, I have seen the inquest on that most wretched St Giles' case. It is really doubtful. I have asked myself whether such an occurrence could have been prevented by having good nurses, and I fear that a good nurse would have been impossible in such a case as she would certainly never have allowed such a thing, and she would have in all probability been turned off if she had tried to do her duty.

In short, the whole nursing question requires a making up and in doing so some means of training nurses must be devised. Workhouse schools would be excellent sources of subjects for training, provided you could arrange a system. So far as these returns go, it would appear that St Pancras Workhouse is about the most hopeful as a place to try training in.

**ff13-14** QUESTIONS REGARDING WORKHOUSE NURSES PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f13**

questions

No of Nurses employed in each  
workhouse

character

whence obtained

pauper or otherwise

paid or otherwise





**ff15-16** SURVEY OF WARDS BY UNION OR PARISH TYPEWRITER DATED 1865  
{SEE PHOTOCOPIES}

**f17** NOTES ON SICKNESS IN JAILS LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED APRIL-MAY, 1865

In regard to Jails the diminution of over crowding with the increase of sup area, has been the result of progressive experience. every climate has its limit. Thus, for Turkey the Inspector who is at present in E. informs [us?] me that 124 [?] sq. ft. are allowed both in cells & in common rooms, this Turkish experience is probably the nearest to yours. One wd think the recurrence of Epidemic disease in Ind Jails a different reason for increasing the space. If you have any prison in which epidcs prevails, your area is too small. If you have any exempt, your area is sufficient Increase your area & cubic space until Cholera, Dysentery & Fever disappear *epidemically*. Of course ventilation & cleanliness are inferred

Prison epidcs in London had been taken as the test of Sanitary condition. Formerly they killed prisoners, jury & judges. Now they have ceased to exist in prisons -- this is your Indian test

stat. very good & quite a great deal of  
information

{THE FOLLOWING IS WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN:}

To-morrow is Indian mail.

I *must* write both to Walker & Strachey  
& not put off till I get the Water supply  
question

{BACK TO RIGHT SIDE UP:}

But we can't help seeing that a great part of the lower  
Death rate is due to the absence, epidcs especially of Cholera

**ff18-21** NOTES ON WORKHOUSE INFIRMARIES PEN & LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED END APRIL - BEGINNING MAY 1865

**f18** PEN {DATE: PENCIL

Govt of Workhouse Infirmary [13:583-85]

Master to be responsible Governor  
with Sub-Committee of 3 Guardians  
to report at each Meeting of Guardians  
on each of these heads:

Sanitary state of building: cleanliness &c  
Bedding & Patients' linen  
Diets  
Medical attendance  
Nursing: cleanliness of Patients  
Complaints

Regulations for Nursing

Preliminary Inspection by a Nurse  
(read A. Jones' Ext.)  
to go round with Poor Law Inspector

{work the  
{Infirmaries up to it  
to make a (with Mr. Farnall) { {to make a  
Preliminary Sanitary Inspection { {Report which  
{ {shall be a  
{ {kind of Manual  
{by which to judge  
{of future Efforts  
a member of B. & H. I Commission (shew General Report  
or Sutherland, Rawlinson & Logan {with permission of  
Lord de Grey

or Officer of Health of the Parish  
to go round with Poor Law Inspector, noting  
with Inspector what he sees so as to obtain  
{a minute report upon the state of every Workhouse Infirmary  
{in London, comprising all the points, including Nursing (find

woman

**f18v** PEN

we will give points to enquire into, if desired.

a quite independent examination to ascertain the  
state of things what it is -- & then some step  
to be taken to regulate & prevent evils in future

Officer of Health too dependent on Guardians

regular Sanitary inspection of Workhouse Infirmaryes  
quite independent of Vestry

whether P.L. Board can issue Regulations  
as to cubic space

ventilation

shutting up unsuitable wards

&c &c

Annual report to shew up Guardians before  
Parlt

why are Lunatics so much more valuable  
than sick?

[FN rewrite of top para]

**f19** PEN & LIGHT PENCIL**[13:583-85]**

GOVT ~~Master~~ Governor {Governor IN PENCIL} to be responsible  
 with Sub-Committee of 3 Guardians  
 to report at each Meeting of Guardians  
 on each of these heads: --  
 sanitary state of building, -- cleanliness &c  
 bedding & Patients' linen  
 diets Yes {Yes IN PENCIL}  
 medical attendance  
 nursing: cleanliness of Patients  
 complaints Yes {Yes IN PENCIL}

-----

## PRELIMINARY SANITARY INSPECTION

(with Mr. Farnall)  
 a quite independent examination to ascertain  
 the state of things what it is -- & then some  
 step to be taken to regulate & prevent evils in  
 future  
 {THIS LINE IN PENCIL:} Yes: of the Consolidated Hospitals  
 to make a Report which shall be a kind  
 of Manual by which to judge defects in future  
 -- & work the Infirmary up to it  
 by a member of B. & H. I. Commission  
 (shew General Report  
 or Sutherland, Rawlinson & Logan { with permission  
 { of Lord de Grey  
 {THIS LINE IN PENCIL:} Yes -- yes yes --  
 {A LINE IS DRAWN THROUGH THE FOLLOWING:}  
 or Officer of Health of Parish  
 (we giving points to enquire into)  
 to go round noting with Poor Law Inspector  
 what he sees  
 result {minute report upon state of every Workhouse  
 {Infirmary in London, comprising all the points  
 including Nursing {find woman No -- {No IN PENCIL}  
 { read A. Jones  
 ?{Regulations for Nursing

**f19v** PEN & LIGHT PENCIL

whether P.L. Board can issue Regulations

as to cub. sp.

ventilation                      Yes: they do {Yes: they do IN PENCIL}

shutting up unsuitable wards

&c &c

{IN PENCIL:}

But they give only 600 cub. ft & 300 cub ft when they can leave the  
ward

{IN PEN:}

Annual Report to shew up Guardians before

Parlt

{IN PENCIL:}

They do already. But the Guardians

don't care

The Bds of Gns are drifting down on an inclined plane

No magistrates serve on them now

{IN PEN:}

Officer of Health too dependent on Guardians

Yes {Yes IN PENCIL}

? regular sanitary inspection of Workhouse

Infirmaries quite independent of Vestry

{IN PENCIL:}

This shall be done --

{IN PEN:}

N.B

Why Lunatics so much more valuable than sick?

{IN PENCIL:}

Because Lunatics depend on the Visiting Justices

sick only on Bds of Guardians

who actually drink up the rates at the

annual dinner with the best Port Wine

Mr. Farnall ever drunk.

**f20** LIGHT PENCIL

[1]

Union Workhouses to be divided into 3s --  
each 3 to have one Hospital

present Hospl unimprovable

Hospl to be governed by a Governor, probably a  
Military man

(& his wife -- to this I totally demurred)  
with a Sub-Committee of Guardians.

He will have the (third) Workhouse Infy  
entirely gutted.

He will thankfully avail himself of the  
B. & H. I. Commn's help.

If the Boards of Guardians put themselves  
under the protection of local Acts, he will  
have a new Act of Parlt to compel them

It is intended only to put the sick & not the  
aged infirm into these new Infs.

Incurables to be put into these new Infs not in the same  
wards.

{not in the same wards WRITTEN DIAGONALLY}

**[end 13:584]****f20v** LIGHT PENCIL

x

[2]

I feel excessively nervous about this

**[13:590-91]**

He has, he says, about 2800 girls in the Union  
Schools to put out to places --

about 200 every year -- of the age of 16 -- to put out

-----

x

He proposes to derive his Staff of Nurses from  
this material.

He proposes to send a Circular to all the  
Hospitals to ask them to take in these girls  
as apprentices --

& a circular to all the Bds of Gns to ask  
them to apprentice out such of these girls  
as are willing as apprentices to Hospls.

When arrived at the age of 25, to be placed  
as Nurses in the new Workhouse Infies

Here comes the hitch -- I can't conceive what a girl  
of 16 could do in a Hospl but scrub -- And I am sure

Hospl Nurses (except ours) will not be good mistresses.

**f21** LIGHT PENCIL

He took away the General Report under his  
arm with great gusto:

Yes yes yes --

He was delighted with A Jones' letter.

He said: "*that's a jolly woman*".

Therefore,

He proposes that the salaries of *all* the  
new officers, including Nurses, shall be  
paid out of the Consolidated fund --  
putting these apptments into the hand of  
the P. L. Board -- & giving the P. L. B. the  
power of issuing Regulations &c, independent  
of Vestry.

You know the salaries of the Medical Officers are  
already paid *half* out of the Consolidated Fund.  
But the Bds of Gns actually mulcted them of the  
other half

**f24** JS rough note

This letter touches the whole question & contains the  
true political economy of it.

I would simply avoid all difficulties in the  
administration of definitions patent to every one.

The Med Officer can always tell who is  
sick, who is infirm, who is incurable, or mad.

Anybody can tell a destitute child.

The only remaining class are able  
bodied, casuals & tramps.

All cases certified by MOs should be  
sent at once into hospitals or asylums  
out of London, there to be treated or cared for  
as Christian people under affliction, not as  
malefactors. I would do all this in the way  
of the best London Hospitals & Asylums & charge  
the cost over the whole metropolis.

Able bodied, casuals, & tramps should leave  
to the Parish authorities. In some parishes

**f24v**

This would lead to the abolition of workhouses altogether. Outdoor relief under proper restrictions would do much better.

London workhouses contain about 30,000 persons & we now know that 24,000 of them come under the Medical officers' hands. These should be properly cared for by the entire community. The remaining 6000 men be left to the Guardians.

[end 13:501]

**f25** NOTES ON LONDON POOR RATE LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

I have received two offers

1. from a writer in the Times
2. Saturday Review

to work the London poor rate in the sense  
we wish

if 1. I will give them heads

2. " " where to get information  
required

**f27** NOTES ON ADMINISTRATION LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

If any thing were wanted to prove the ~~very existence~~ want  
of the very foundations of knowledge of what with regard to  
the ~~sick-poor~~ administration.



**ff31-31v** NOTES ON WORKHOUSE INFIRMARIES LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f31**

Is that a glorification of Marylebone Workhouse?

[13:584-85]

1. sick & maimed
2. incurables
3. helpless from age
4. lunatics
5. imbeciles {CIRCLE DRAWN AROUND imbeciles AND A LINE  
CONNECTING IT TO POINT 3.}
- 6.5. children  
[on right in JS hand]
  1. Hospital Sick
  2. { a Helpless for example Imbeciles  
    {b Incurables
  3. Lunatics
  4. Children

[FN] The incurables should be under the same Establish  
with the sick & not with the helpless. still  
less imbeciles

{ incurables  
{ sick  
  helpless

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:}  
a Workhouse *Infirmary*  
should hold incurables  
but *not* helpless still  
  less imbeciles

**f31v** THIS FOLIO VERY FADED, to faint to verify and can read little sur  
place very rough notes, ignore  
{illeg} {illeg. save?} nothing to do with it  
replied by criticizing the Infirmary Report  
with great trouble to myself  
that I have not answered these questions  
I *must* answer

Villiers has sent me this & this  
Villiers or Farnall's coming here to day  
Now what have I to say?

[end wkk]

{illeg} the Workhouse  
{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN:}  
I have sent her £20  
{illeg} told her it was quite  
impossible for me to write contributions in the {illeg}

But now I want to write to her on the  
business point

What you've just been saying

I can't --one copy. There's the old.

[water damage on folio]

ff32-33 JS note re A.B.C. [good material, FN reworked it] pencil

These statistics divide themselves naturally into several groups.

- A. { 1. Sick  
    {2. Those always requiring more or less medical care  
    {3. Imbeciles & Idiots requiring care & attention  
    {4. Lunatics requiring care.

-----  
B. children at school or not.  
-----

- C. 1. Able bodied. Paupers in Workhouses  
    2. Persons receivng out door relief.  
-----

Group A

1. In this group are contained those who cannot provide for or take care of themselves.

Here there is an *impossibility* to consider.

2. Sick, infirm, Idiots & Mad persons require special constructive arrangements

Special medical care & nursing & special dieting. They are not "paupers" They are "poor & in affliction." Society owes to them every necessary care for recovery. In practice there should be consolidated & uniform administrative arrangements. Sickness is not Parochial, it is general & human & its cost should be borne by all. ~~The poorest people are generally the most sickly~~

f32v

For sick you want hospitals as good as the best Civil hospitals. You want the best nurses you can get. You want efficient medical attendance. You want an energetic & efficient administration. Look at the Assistance Publique at Paris. That is something like what you want. All the great Parisian hospitals, the schools for half the medical men of Europe are managed by the central authority. It has its bureau of administration. It knows where there are vacant beds, it distributes its sick accordingly, & it provides the cost.

You will do no good without some such administrative authority.

Form a board with elected members if you will. But keep it distinct & independent of the Guardians, because as already said sickness is not parochial but general.

All the officers of these hospitals should hold direct from the board an authority & should not be under the Guardians.

F33

Group B.

Children. Get them out of the workhouses by all means. This is a state question. You want to prevent the Generation of Pauper, well take all the children, train them to work in asylums & schools, & put them in the way of getting a living. The colonies would take the whole of them especially the young women thankfully (But get them out of the workhouses.

This is again a matter of *General rather than of Parochial interest.*

Group C

To deal with this group requires special local knowledge. A central board could not do it. Leave these to the Guardians. But look what this amounts to. It is  $64000 + 1850 = 65,850$  persons ~~receiving~~ in health receiving relief

Query would it not be a great thing to abolish workhouses & also the two sums together. Convert all paupers into outdoor

Recipients? It is evident that the workhouse

test is of little use as regards able-bodied.

I would leave all illeg in the hands of the Guardians, together with the casual Medical [?] As they require apparently for the whole class, one illeg would suffice if the present method of relief were continued. Apparently the matter would arrange itself thus:

1. Illeg appointed hospitals for sick
2. Asylums for aged poor
3. " for Infirm & incurable poor
4. " for Idiots & imbeciles
5. " for Lunatics
6. Schools & Asylums for children

- 
1. A few workhouse beds for able bodied
  2. Machinery for outdoor relief.

- 
- A. Hospitals for sick should be separate buildings or Pavilions.
- B. Aged & Infirm. Imbeciles & Idiots with incurables might occupy different and detached pavilions in the same building.
- C. Lunatics should have a separate asylum.**

---

**The number & locality of each class will depend on the existing accommodation & on the organization adopted.**

**f34** NOTES ON WORKHOUSE INFIRMARIES LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE {SUTHERLAND RESPONDS DIRECTLY BELOW EACH OF FN'S POINTS IN BRACKETS}

FN: They say:

here are three objections we shall have urged:

1. if we make the sick & infirm comfortable how are we to prevent them all being "Incurables"  
{SUTHERLAND:} (By a proper medical inspection. Have high med authorities on your board)
2. it is charging five sixths on the General rate  
{SUTHERLAND:} (Cannot be helped) checked by LM at BL necessary
3. want of a check on Out door Relief  
{SUTHERLAND:} (No. Leave out door relief as at present. I am not sure that out door relief would not be the only relief required Leave the Guardians to deal with these cases subject to Poor Law audit & inspection If the Parishes have to pay individually

Add Mss 45752

94

for their out door relief they will take care  
not to exceed or tax themselves) **[end 13:585]**

**f35v JS note**

1. It is not difficult to determine what cases are infirm & unable to provide for themselves.

Nor what cases are incurable.

The Asylum Medical attendant would very soon be able to detect at a glance what was about.

But you might have a first rate man or two in the Boards to whom to appeal in doubtful cases as is done in the army.

2. By the assumption, Sickness & incapability from any of the causes stated in the table are taken to be independent of men ? parochial Boundary or management. They are so to speak "Visitations of God" & in a Christian Community if not provided for by Charity their Costs would be born by the Community

?? which the calamity happens. It is quite certain ?? that the existing method of administration of Parishes is simply abominable as regards their cases.

ff36-40 July 15 1865 Storks letter from Palace Malta to JS re blue book, with tables

unsigned draft letter, f41, pencil [added by Gwyneth Blair] in rough JS hand {archivist: [Bef 30 July 1865] [**x** Draft of letter to Mr. W. Rathbone re "Organization of Nursing in a large Town"]}

**f41**

Your **x** statement and appendix are very good & very business like. The way in which the work is forming itself is most interesting, and deserves careful watching & study by all who desire to benefit the poor. The budget is unexceptionable Your means & methods excellent, and what one so rarely finds in any schemes of benevolence - you have afforded an outlet for real humble self denying work. I will make no change in your M.S. but if you will send me a proof complete I shall be glad to consider it carefully. Perhaps you might add a paragraph somewhere ~~that~~ to state that your object in issuing the paper is to inform your townspeople on your measures, to create additional interest in the work & to ~~in~~ induce others to join you. and to let other towns know what you are doing in order that they may consider the propriety of following your example.

Add Mss 45752

96

ff41v-42v continues above

f43 JS in pen, with FN comments



**ff44v-47v** NOTES ON MALTA LIGHT PENCIL & PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED 1865

**f44v** LIGHT PENCIL FN

1600 beds appears *enormous* for that island.

1000

600 Incurable

1600

Did he increase occupation?

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE:} [checked by LM at BL]

Has Storks seen

my book

{BACK TO WRITING LEFT TO RIGHT:}

What was I to tell him of your papers?

last night

have you forgotten that you told me you were going home

to look at Maltese

Why could you not say so?

favourably

So do I only I don't sleep --

Will you look for the Malta photographs

Portfolio stand in dining

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:}

*What* is Mr. Inglott

Is the population 10000

I want my book

**f45** PEN DATED MALTA 1865**[16:672]**

Malta [archivist]

1865

"

*F.N.*

1. Overhauling the towns, with reference to reconstruction & opening up of worst parts.
2. improved model dwellings outside lines, to provide for increase of population, & keep down crowding within lines.
3. sewers to be relaid outlets to be improved. [It would be a great benefit, if all sewage were applied to land for manure, where practicable.]
4. W.C.s & water latrines properly constructed, instead of present Maltese stone troughs.
5. improved house drainage by drain pipes.
6. extended supply of water & better means of distribution, so as to have it always laid on to house & barracks.
7. new cemetery & abolishing interments in churches
8. new Incurable Hospital  
" Poor house  
prison
9. general improvements in education

**f45v** PEN

10. oversight of progress of Barrack improvements
11. new military hospitals required for Valetta & Cottonera
12. day & reading rooms, game rooms for soldiers --  
soldiers' gardens  
Gymnasia

**f46** LIGHT PENCIL

The Gd Master is the keenest man I have seen for  
3 years --

We are to write a Memo to day for him -- And he  
is to come back here, after considering it, to discuss  
it.

He wants to know whether he had not better begin  
on the Vittoriosa side, instead of at Valetta

He says they will spend £12000 or £14000 a year  
on Sanitary works.

-----He  
wants to write to us } two or three times a day  
He wants to be written to }

He wants to know whether Sir John Lawrence's  
Municipalities are [~~illeg~~] elected? yes, so far as  
} appears  
are paid ?} No.

{Yes, so far as appears AND No SEEM TO BE WRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND}

He says he fears they will be corrupt, if they are

He had a *paid elected* Municipality at Zante

And he

| He says there has just been  
That was only by the way | an Epidemic at Malta  
& 3 officers have died

He asked particularly about outlets

about laying manure on land &c

He is quite willing to be guided by us -- almost too willing

**f47v** LIGHT PENCIL

{yes AFTER Did you see Galton MIGHT BE WRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND}

Did you see Galton yes. Storks has been to Galton.

He says Floriana Barracks are improved but no others

He wd have succeeded if he had not been ~~broken up~~

recalled -- if Ionia had not been given up --

He says so he was very popular -- **[end]**

That's all you gave me.

Have you no copy at home?

And you leave me to hunt?

Muir  
Paynter  
F.W. Innes  
Wm Home  
Rutherford  
Beatson  
Arthur Anderson

f48 JS note, pen 5 May Could you persuade Storks to illeg & Hospital at Malta illeg. Gov Hospital into a barrack? That is the BEST arrant, but unless it comes from him, I fear we shall not like it done.

f49 JS pen note. This is a very good paper, and is intended to show how for in what manner the hospital regulations in use here are adapted for India.

The only real difference between the plan proposed and ours is that Dr Gordon thinks the Indian Hospital steward if he is empowered to illeg all requisites of the med officers will have done his duty, while we require him to supply *according to a scale* & besides this to comply with all requisites of the med officers. Our is better and safer than his illeg a distinct responsibility.

I have given the return to Dr Balfour who will write about it to illeg.

pencil comment  
but in this matter you in  
India can also form  
practical opinions you  
know your local habits best

ff50-51 JS pen note I wonder if Mrs W wishes to sound you in the points. Her letter reads so.

3. About Liverpool. I do not regret by any means the present aspect of matters of there. The governor s intention which has been unmasked by Mr Rathbone's letter has all along been to subordinate the nursing to himself, just as if the supt and nurses were paupers. Now this cannot be, and after the fact has been discerned it must be dealt with.

The facts state by Miss Jones are in direct opposition to her proposal to take no notice, and if the coach cannot be kept on the road with a fair prospect of arriving at the end of the journey then it will have to be spent. You could not advise Mr Rathbone to spend £3000 on such a system as Miss Jones has described. I believe you will get everything right yet, but there is risk of failure. Any way you will now get Mr Rathbone's version of the facts and his opinion. This will give you safe ground to go in. If there is little or no importance in Miss Jones facts, then no notice need be taken, if, on the contrary, they are of a vital nature, you will have to get a proper scheme introduced. Its basis might be, simply to give Miss Jones the sole regulation of the nurses and probationers, and giving the governor the same general authority over the supt which he has over the medical officers. But you will see after Mr Rathbone has enquired.

It has occurred to me that perhaps the best reply to Mrs W about the nurses accommodation at St Thomas would be to say shortly that you agreed with her in thinking that a separate house would be better, and that you had written in that sense already to Mr Hicks. This wold avoid all further controversy and as you cannot *compel* them to give you the accommodation you ask for, you could accept what they gave at the same time telling them that it was not what you expected.

ff52-53 JS note pencil

The only additional question that comes out of these letters is the following Suppose that as Dr illeg the treasurer should become ill mannered or abusive to the matron as she considered unjustly, and suppose the treasurer were to interfere with the efficiency of the nursing in any way, would the matron have any resource except to submit and take the blame of inefficient nursing which the treasurer has been the means of making insufficient, or could she appeal or complain to the committee.

Same question about Kings College with regard to the Secretary.

The system of government at the illeg that at Kings College would do for you.

The corresponding arrangement for Liverpool would be as follows.

1st the governor to be executive of the workhouse committee

2. Workhouse committee to appoint illeg

3 Supt to enlist appoint, censure nurses, probations scrubbers without interference of governor.

4. Supt to report sisters for dismissal to committee, but illegs

5 Governor to execute nurses acts of discipline, necessary in workhouse nursing on the request of supt

6 Governor never to interfere with the nursing staff and report inefficiency to the committee if he think necessary.

The scheme for working a training school in Mrs W's letters would answer for you. You would have to appt a committee to whom she would be responsible qua the training, and then you could make what arrangements you think right about binding the nurses to serve.

The great difficulty could be to find a medical officer capable of training, and who would stay. All house surgeons are either army men who find little employment in a year or two or do men who have been unsuccessful in civil practice. Very rarely do you find a man who is stationery and competent.

**f53v** NOTES ON MISCELLANEOUS LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED JULY 3, 1865

Have you anything to say about Col: Sargent's plan to  
the Committee

There is a box of flowers from Embley for Mrs. S. here

How is it to go?

M. Husson

any of their Statistics of Pauperism which would correspond &

could be

compared with those in this paper -- 442 (A V111)

3 July 1865

**f54** [Dr S to F.N. ca 17 Sept. 1865] pen

Sunday

It is useless to say that there is nothing serious in Miss Jones letter. But the seriousness comes out of Mr Rathbones letter. It comes of the state of things which that letter has brought to light. On first reading Miss Jones letter I thought it would have been wiser in Mr R. to have taken our advice and simply to have ignored the present difficulty by providing against it in future in the way we advised, viz, to have organized a proper system.

On consideration however, I feel that we did not know all the case. We know it now, and what would have been a matter of proper organization before, now becomes of vital importance to the

**f54v**

entire scheme. I would send Miss Jones letter to Mr. Rathbone but tell him that it is for his information only, & that he must not use it or cite it in any way. The governors reply to him will be the best ground for future proceedings. If as I expect the Governor has asserted his supreme right over the nursing department, then a case will have to be made out from the past experience elsewhere, (St. Thomas', Kings College, your own book &c) showing that although the Department *as a whole* should be under the Governor, the departmental details must be under the Superintendent.

Mr. Rathbone should be told

**f55**

that the revelations, accidentally made in this letter of Miss Jones' shows that up to the present time the training has been a mistake, & that it has been so because there has been no proper method of selecting candidates, and no efficient control over them.

I don't despair by any means. The entire proceeding has in it the elements of an Irish row, for they are all more or less Hibernian. They will cool down, and the points which are reasonable & necessary will keep hold of their minds. Nothing must be done to aggravate the mischief.

The whole policy now consists

**f55v**

in benefitting by the revelations which have been made  
The practical result is that the Governor must cease to interfere in any way with nurses, probationers, duties or difficulties. He must be simply executive a part of any thing the superintendent may require,

**f55v** NOTES ON MR. RATHBONE (WRITTEN ON A LETTER FROM DR. SUTHERLAND)  
LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

FN in pencil:

This is the gist of what I wrote to Mr. Rathbone a week ago. I think my letter to the Govnor should bear out what I say to Mr. Rathbone

**ff56-56v** NOTES ON GOVERNOR VS SUPERINTENDENT'S AUTHORITY OVER PROBATIONERS PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, blue paper, pen

**f56**

Notes gathered from  
questions to *Dr. S* --

The governor should be asked to recommend the pauper women who are to be trained -- Miss Jones should have the power to accept or reject any so recommended.  
When in training the superintendent should have power to remove any woman -- who has once been guilty of drunkenness, untruth or in chastity --  
For more venial faults -- should she think it proper to deprive a nurse of beer or any privilege such deprivation should be submitted to the governor --  
It is quite unsuitable that the governor should enter into details of management. If a woman



**f56v**

be disobedient, dirty or guilty of any other misconduct -- the opinion of the superintendent as to such a woman should be received as final -- the governor accepting her decision & not himself interfering with the details --

Mr. Rathbone & the Committee should insist on the respective limits of the governor's & superintendents functions -- The governor to be supreme over the department but the superintendent's authority to be unquestioned in matters of detail --

Mr. Rathbone's letter shewed such a mastery of the subject as probably to cause the governors annoyance.

F57v-59 JS pencil notes

**ff60-61** NOTES ON MR. BEGGS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, on back of bill of C. Humphrey for work on FN's house

**f60**

I don't like your Beggs.  
He wrote at first  
that they were going to bring forward his scheme in the Jurisp. Lecture *this winter* & that they were going to bring forward a Bill next Session -- upon his paper. He writes so himself.  
He writes now in a kind of suggestive cursory paining (?) way that they may perhaps bring it forward in the Jurisp. Lect.  
& not a word about the Bill

**f60v**

I can shew you his letter  
to you --

**YES IT WAS**

-----  
I have all his former letters  
to you  
You never read this  
And you never told me  
What to do with that  
I think so too -- When?

**f61**

If you mean Mr. Thos.  
Hare he did bring  
forward his paper at a  
previous Jurisp. Lect.  
in London --  
he was *not going* to  
read a paper at  
Sheffield --  
and the Bill was not to  
I take Mr. Beggs'  
story  
*has* he bought

**ff62-63v** NOTES ON DUTIES OF A MATRON PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED OCTOBER? 1865, pale blue paper black-edged

**f62**

Then it amounts to this:  
that, in order that the Probationers may be  
neglected by the Matron, they are to be placed  
at a distance from her  
which is of course a reason for us to place  
them at a still greater distance by removing  
them out of St. Thomas' altogether.  
Since it is deliberately put to us -- that St. Thomas  
wishes them to be neglected

that the Matron is to be prevented by mechanical  
means both from having leisure & from  
not enjoying it.  
~~She is Her occupation~~

**f62v**

Her duties are not to be facilitated by saving her steps & her strength -- But ~~they~~ are to be hindered as much as possible by giving her the greatest distances to traverse.  
The Treasurer does not know his Matron --  
And if his Matron were what he thinks her, better get rid of her altogether  
Let us have her --we will soon find another Hospital for her & for our Probationers  
Of course, if the Treasurer's arguments are correct, it would be better to remove the Probationers out of their Matron's reach altogether except when they are in the wards.

**f63**

The circumstances under which women have to perform their duties about the sick are so different from those of men --  
~~It is now~~ If Mr. Hicks' argument were correct the Head Nurse ought not to have her room off the ward, so as to be in command of it day & night -- but ought to be on the contrary as far from it as possible. Yet it is universally acknowledged that the former is a sine quâ non --  
Till this moment also, I have always heard it urged as an objection to the Pavilion system (& I admit it) that it is essential for a Matron

**f63v** {WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE PAGE:} pale blue black-edged paper  
to live *within* her Hospital  
so that she may go to all  
parts of it at unexpected  
times without being seen  
coming, without being  
expected.

But the very contrary  
is now alleged as a PRINCIPLE  
for, I should think, the very  
first time.

{IN PEN, WRITTEN SIDEWAYS:}  
I heard twice from  
Brocket (Lady Palmerston's)  
with the most interesting  
account of Lord Palmerston's  
last

**ff64-65v** NOTES ON MATRON'S OFFICE & RESIDENCE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN  
DATED END OF OCT. - BEG. OF NOV. 1865 [pale see again and f65]

**f64**

These objections (1) & (2) surely cannot be serious.  
The points put by Mr. Hicks are such as no  
person, not actively engaged in Hospl Nursing  
can judge of --

My authority explicitly stated on the following

1. That the proximity of the Matron's Office &  
Residence cannot afford inducements to spend  
too much time in the latter -- but that on  
the contrary this proximity will save a  
great deal of time in the Hospl administration

In the Herbert Hospl & at Netley the whole  
Nursing Establishment Nurses, quarters,  
Day & Dining room, Matron's quarters & office,  
Linen Store & Mending Room are all within  
one outside door. It is absolutely essential  
to efficiency that they should be so

2. Interruption to leisure -- Any one who would  
put forwards such an objection can know very  
little of the feelings & principles of action  
of a good Matron.

**f64v**

2. Matron's time too much taken up with Probationers. Too much time spent in dressing might just as well be urged as an objection. A bad Matron will always find the means of mis-spending time, whatever the structure may be

And a good matron will use common sense in apportioning her own duties

[And they think nothing of the time she will waste (& the strength) in going to & fro between all these scattered Probationers' & other quarters]

3. In working a long line of building, it matters very little whether your office is at either end or the centre. For distances are the same.

**f65**

4. Cost of extensive alterations --

My opinion should have been asked before the plans were decided on, *if* they meant to retain our Probationers -- Because I was not asked, therefore the cost of alterations to meet our wants is to be thrown in our face. Do not we pay rent for good accommodation not for garrets & cellars?

The Nursing Establishment is, to say the least of it, as important as the Medl School They are Trustees of National money -- & are bound to act as they are acting & to get the accommodation required for carrying out the end for which the Fund was raised The Committee & Miss N. are all of opinion that

**f65v**

this course cannot be attained by the course proposed by the Treasurer

**ff66-68** NOTES ON ACCOMMODATION FOR MATRON & PROBATIONERS PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE**f66** {To Dr. Sutherland IN PEN}*To Dr. Sutherland*                      *To be returned to FN* [red]

I want to say: --

1. that I *have* said that the best place of  
accommodating "Sisters" & Nurses in a  
Pavilion Hospital *is* that each Pavilion  
Nursing Staff should be accommodated  
in its own Pavilion separately

but that with Probationers it is a totally  
different question -- it is proposed to  
accommodate them in two Pavilions but  
without any reference to their work  
whatever      and totally away from the  
matron, who is their mistress.

It is entirely subversive of any moral  
discipline whatever --

And Lifts have nothing to do with the  
question at all.

2. that there is not a good Training Matron in  
the world (with our present ideas of  
training Nurses) who will not tell the Treasurer  
that she would *prefer*

a: that her Office & Residence *should* be

**f66v**

together [N.B. The Matron's Office *if* in the end block, would certainly be rather far distant from the other end block -- but with regularity of arrangement, this would not matter. And I am extraordinarily mistaken, if there is a single good Training Matron in the world who would not infinitely prefer that her Office, Residence, Probationers' Dormitories & Day Rooms should not be all together in that end block].

b. that she *cannot* undertake to train or exercise moral discipline over Probationers unless their quarters are *all together & near her*.

3. One large Day-room suffices for dining & all other purposes, if the quarters are, *as they must be*, together.

It is nonsense putting a Day-room *and*

**f67**

a Dining-room *together*, as in the proposed plans. There must be a separate Day-room to every Dormitory in such plans.

4. No (or very little) advantage accrues from the Dining & Day rooms being near the Matron's Office. Were the Office, Residence & Probationers' quarters to be all divided, I should say: put their Dormitories & Day room near her *Residence*.

**f68** {WRITTEN BY CURRY:}

A separate House for 40 Probationers  
A separate sleeping room for  
each probationer of the dimensions  
set forth in Miss N's paper --  
Matron House as near as possible  
Distinct entrance from  
without  
1. Day & Dining Room  
3. floors of Dormitory  
not objected to

{WRITTEN BY FN:}

I made Curry write down this

f69 JS note with FN blue pencil

To be returned to FN. Mr Curry's last plan

**ff70-70v** NOTES ON GOVERNOR EYRE & SIR CECIL BEADON PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED AFTER OCTOBER 1865 [5:317]

**f70**

Well, I say that, take Governor Eyre *at the*  
*very worst* that can be said of him  
& take Sir C. BEADON at the very best that can  
be said of him  
& Sir C.B is a Devil compared with Eyre --  
Eyre acted under fright, because he thought  
the blacks would be too much for the English  
I say he was responsible  
therefore he killed a few hundreds -- whom he  
took to be rebels  
Beadon, because he knew that he need be  
under no fright, because whatever happened  
to the wretched blacks, nothing could affect  
the English, killed 750 000 -- ~~of those~~ blacks for  
whom he was responsible & whom he knew nothing  
could make rebels --  
Had the blacks been capable of any resistance they would  
not have been killed.



**f70v**

My dear -- you remind me of Sir John  
Ramsden who when a boy of 16 was found  
by his mother lying under the front door --  
"What are you doing there?" --  
"Trying to catch a cold to prevent my going to  
school" --  
Now -- he was the only child of a widow --  
And he had £120000 "a" year --  
Now -- she went & fetched a riding whip  
she gave him a smart cut over the  
fingers  
That's what I ought to do to you --

Have it framed --

Might I send him an Algerian Report now

Passaglia is even *now* the most liberal

& far more so than Manning

[illeg] 99 [29?]

f71 JS pen 20th Nov [1865] on War Office embossed.  
Th enclosed little man is a  
surgeon (consulting) of Chorlton Union. [prob George Greaves]  
They have had much fever & have  
had nurses such as they are killed  
& wounded thereby. The Guardians  
have deputed this card to come to  
London & try to get a Supt  
It has been at Mrs Wardroper  
without success. It has got one  
In a illeg from Miss Jones, but  
it wants a good nurse to take  
charge permanently as supt  
tendt of the pauper army  
with the view ultimately of  
having trained nurse throughout

f71v

I have sent it to Dr Steel at  
Guys. And now I send it to  
F.N. to see if she can find a  
suitable woman.

The new hospital is nearly  
finished & is to be completed  
within the excessively low estimate.

J.S.

ff72-73 JS rough note re Poor Law, faint pencil. It has struck me  
forcibly that having given

**f73** NOTES ON NURSING, PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

But about the Nursing  
You know there is nothing I would  
not do to promote such an  
object But -- I can't *invent*  
a woman. About the Chorlton Union man I must have time

That's not the question  
We only can supply a Supt  
of course not. Do you suppose  
our Nurses go about begging?  
We must have time

Is the man gone?  
If he

f74 JS hand pen

Mem. On accommodation for Probationer Nurses at New St Thomas' Hospital  
1. The number of Probationers for whose accommodation shall  
is required in the block of building illeg to be set  
apart for their use would be

A. The number which could be provided for out of the Fund

FN pencil: This is the Fund concern.

+ B. Such others as might be sent for training at the  
cost of private individuals or societies. FN pencil: This is  
the hospital concern. (illeg

2. The requirements for good nurses for hospitals at home,  
in India and the colonies are rapidly becoming so  
great that it is highly probable that any amount  
of accommodation likely to be provided in the new St  
Thomas' hospital plans will be much too small  
by the time the hospital is built.

It is necessary to fix a limit, and I should say about  
40, more or less to suit the size of the building.

3. A. The accommodation should consist of a small room for each nurse.  
B. Dining room to be used as day room.  
C. Vice superintendents sitting and bed room.  
D. Kitchen.

f74v

E. Matrons office for probationers. (? If necessary)

F. One or two small rooms for convalescent nurses sitting room

G. Baths, Lavatories, W.C.s Stores &c &c

The dining room may be 12 feet high

The nurses room - - 8 feet - -

The nurses rooms should be at least 12 feet by 10 -

120 square feet, and 960 cubic feet which con

sidering the peculiar & dangerous nature of the nurses

duty is not too much. (A window to itself]

Each nurses room should have half a window

(one window between every two rooms.)

The simplest arrangement for this accommodation would be Sir Joshua Jebbs penitentiary at Fulham, which has been badly copied in the Liverpool nurses training school.

This plan admits of each nurse having a separate sleeping room with its own half window, probably warmed and sufficiently ventilated, while every bed room door can be seen from any point where it may

f75

be considered advisable to put the Vice superintendents accomodation.

Both at Fulham & Liverpool, there is a single pavilion consisting of a central hall extending from the floor to the roof, which is of glass. The rooms are arranged in separate floors on the sides of this hall, so that they have their doors opening or open in a corridor running the whole length of the building.

The advantage of this construction is that it admits of outer windows, while the doors all open on a central hall a corridor like those in model prisons. Ventilation is secured by windows, & by having means of admitting & warming air at the glass of the Hall.

The illeg is warmed by a stove in the hall. AT Fulham certain changes have been introduced in the structure to make it as unlike a prison

f75v

as possible. [sketch]

f76

Other arrangements could easily be planned. This sketch is intended merely to show the nature of the arrangements required.

The whole quarter when complete should have its own entrance from the public street.

F76 8/12/65 JS note to FN, Rough sketch of what comes out of the corr about the nurses quarters at St Thomas'

**£77** NOTES ON FARNALL PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED 1865

I wrote to Farnall to send me back these books --

You appear entirely to have forgotten the pledge we gave him on that fatal first of January, when you came --

He said: if we had helped him then, he could have done it.

But: he does not say so now --

[1865] {IN A HAND OTHER  
THAN FN'S}

There's Fish for you at 1 --

And then you'll do it

Yes: and the

**£77v** NOTES ON MISCELLANEOUS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

{CUT OFF} my seeing it again?

Who is that Capt. Wrottesly?

I've sent it back.

Is he the Sub-Governor of Netley?

He dates War Office

It is possible there may be some truth in

But it's been

made use of to weaken her position

& ~~weake~~ make her unhappy in another

direction. They're a bad lot -- a {CUT OFF}  
problem for her to solve.

ff78-79 JS rough hand re Shaw Stewart

**ff80-82** NOTES ON ADMINISTRATION PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED ca. 1865 re JSS

**f80**

CODE Y Y

I have been unwilling  
not to try & see how a  
compromise which seemed  
to be satisfactory could  
be left undisturbed -- And  
this is the reason why I  
have kept it so long.

But I fear that the  
few alterations introduced  
into this code Y are  
rather in the wrong  
direction, & will be  
found rather to tend  
against the principles  
of administration in  
the "Purveyor's" own  
"Regulations" -- & in the  
Med: Reg: --

The principle \* which

- x The Supr is *never* responsible for  
the *supply*, only for the *distribution*  
of linen within her jurisdiction.

**f80v**

the Supt Genl of Nurses is  
trying to grasp, viz. that  
~~of complete responsibility~~  
~~within her own jurisdiction,~~  
would be a most  
desirable one -- if only  
all General Hospitals,  
in peace & in war,  
were certain to be  
provided with a  
complete Staff of Nurses  
& a Linen Store *under* a *Superintendent*.  
But this neither is  
nor will be the case,  
for a long period to  
come.

And everything must be  
arranged meanwhile  
for Field Service,  
where the General  
Hospitals might have

**f81**

to go on without Nurses,  
at least for a time.  
The responsibility  
of the Capt. of Orderlies  
must be kept intact  
& no alteration admitted  
which weakens this  
in the slightest degree.

E.g. *Page 40*. Foot Note  
added.

Has not this a tendency  
to destroy the distinct  
personal responsibility  
of the Purveyor (Steward)  
& Capt. of Orderlies  
in furnishing the  
wards with linen?  
If this note *must* be  
retained, should it not be,

**f81v**

merely a "permissive Bill",  
the Governor (Commandant)  
to grant the permission

*Page 41. Art. 196.* Mrs. S.  
Stewart's M. S. annexation

Is not this proposed  
amendment inadmissible?

*Page 41. Art. 197*

It was purposely laid  
down in this Article  
that no foul linen  
should be retained  
either in the "Nurse's  
room or in the ward  
or its vicinity". This has  
been altered by taking

**f82**

[2]

out the words "Nurse's  
room" and "or its  
vicinity" -- thereby  
enabling foul linen  
to be kept in the  
"Nurse's room", which  
is entirely unjustifiable.

f83 pencil note

What does or used the War Office  
to pay per bed for female patients  
sent to civil hospitals  
W.R. Purveyor Victoria St. Westm  
1 Est the local  
causes of the disease  
from the Medical attendants  
2. & report through the  
"local authority" in  
Your case the Guardians  
or Vestry

f84-85 JS rough note and prob f86, Rawlinson



**ff87-87v** NOTES ON INSPECTION OF WORKHOUSE INFIRMARIES LIGHT PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE ca. DATED 1865

**f87**

[ca. 1865] {IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S}

In how far is the Medical Officer  
of Health dependent on the Guardians

Do not you feel that there ought  
to be a regular Sanitary inspection  
of the Workhouse Infirmarys, who wd be  
quite independent of the Vestry

by whom?

a Member of the B. & H. I. C. to  
make a preliminary inspection  
with permission of Ld de G.  
with Mr. Farnall  
to make a Report which shall  
be a kind of Manual by which  
to judge in future of defects

**f87v**

But ~~will~~ for permanent periodical  
Inspection, is there no Officer  
independent of the Vestry? No  
But without going to the expence  
of having a Poor Law Sanitary  
Inspector for all, is there no  
Officer independent of the Vestry  
in each parish, or might not one  
be found who cd be appointed  
to do each Workhouse Infirmary

to make a preliminary Report &  
work the Infirmarys up to it

a quite independent Examn to  
ascertain the state of things  
what it is -- & then some step  
to be taken to regulate & prevent  
evils in future.

**ff88-93** NOTES ON HOSPITAL SERVICE, blue PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED JANUARY 23, 1866

**f88**

[3]

{Private WRITTEN DIAGONALLY}

*Private* [~~1865?~~] *D.G.'s Minute*

{DATE: IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S} [Bef. 23 Jan 1866]

1. I agree that it is desirable *not* to omit "with the concurrence of the Governor".

[But the Governor should remember that these words are merely to ensure his being supreme -- only in as far with the Female staff as he is with the Medical staff & not for him to fid-fad in vexatious interferences with the women.

It is for General Hospitals on foreign stations where the Supt Genl is *not*, that I think it desirable to preserve these words.

2. The Supt Genl should *always* be (and not *only* "when practicable") "consulted as to the Medical Officer who may be directed to attend the Nurses when sick".

**f88v**

I do not see the force of the D.G.'s objection. But surely there must be some medium course, whereby the "P.M.O." can have "the distribution of the professional duties" & yet the Supt, if not the Supt Genl, In foreign "consulted" "before designation" as stations) be to the Medl Officer to attend the Nurses

3. The next two Paras -- from  
    "with regard to" down to  
    "for the Nurses"  
show total ignorance on the part of the D.G. of the subject as also his *animus* against them.

Not only is there "sufficient ground for assuming that the Medical Officers ignore the Nurses", but it has been proved (*not* "assumed") before a Govt Committee

**f89**

What does "it is more than probable" mean? viz. "that the Nurses wish to ignore &c" -- If there are facts to make it "more than probable", state them --

In this instance, the woman has so much the advantage of the man in the clearness of her statements.

And I never heard a "more than probable" taken as evidence any where.

But the "more than probable" goes on -- it becomes in the next sentence a "measure" -- (like Falstaff's eleven men in Kendal green)  
Nay, in the next sentence, it becomes resistance -- an émeute -- send for the Police

**f89v**

"Resistance" is "provoked" -- altho' qualified by the little words "I fear" -- pretty little timid womanish words.

Then, what does he mean by his "demonstration" "that a mixed Male & Female hospital service cannot be worked in the same wards".

It is really too absurd to require a contradiction --

Does he propose to work one wing by women entirely?

*The Wardmaster's duty is to maintain the Nurse's authority. The Nurse's duty, among other duties, is to teach the Orderlies certain offices about the sick.*

**f90**

[4]

What the D.G. means by "manual" I don't know. If it is cleaning, that is certainly the Orderly's duty, & not the Nurse's. If it is poulticing, that is the Nurse's duty to teach the Orderlies.

But what can you expect when a D.G. writes such stuff as this?

In no way can a Nurse interfere with a Wardmaster learning his duty --

And, even if she could, which she cannot, Sir E.L.'s {EDWARD LUGARD} marginal note is a sufficient answer.

To all who are in the least conversant with Hospitals, the

**f90v**

part I have marked in blue of the D.G.'s minute is absolute nonsense.

**f91**

6998

- 134 1. I agree "that the Regulation respecting the age of Nurses on admission should be abolished -- & that the point should be left entirely to the discretion of the Supt Genl, with whom the whole responsibility rests of organizing an efficient staff of respectable women as Hospl Nurses" --
- [I agree under protest -- i.e. I think ~~the~~ a Supt Genl finds an "ages" Regulation a very great protection against assiduous *friends* (?) who wish to palm off upon her their discarded protégées. In all the Hospitals with which I have been associated, some such Regulation very properly exists, to be broken "on

**f91v**

emergency" -- a word which applies much less strictly to such old-established Hospitals than to the (infant) female Service in Military Hospitals -- But when a Commandant makes it the subject of an official letter that the word "emergency" does *not* apply to such infant service. I agree that there is no other resource but to abolish the Regulations & make the Supt Genl entirely free]

2. I agree that the pay of Nurses (these are Head Nurses) should be raised to £30 as a beginning rising £2 yearly to a maximum of £50 -- the pension to be on a scale graduated to the pay.

**f92**

3. I consider that it would be better to give a Superintendent £150, without deductions than a higher rate with deductions.

There are advantages both ways. But for one Supt who would manage better, if she had to supply the several articles mentioned as deductions, there are 9 who would consider the articles so supplied as her "private property", which is very undesirable.

These articles should be "public property".

I think the increase of £25 after 5 years' service -- & a farther & final increase of £25 after 10 years' service -- on the recommendation of the Supt Genl -- a proper course.

**f92v**

A ration should certainly be allowed for the Supt's servant.

And the Supt should have her other allowances, the same as the Nurse

4. I agree as to the rate of Mess money -- & as to the sum for an annual dress.

But I consider the P.M.O.'s proposal preferable that the "things for the Nurses' Quarters" "for each additional Nurse" should be provided by the Supt & paid for by the P.M.

5. The fact has been established beyond any doubt that the Nurses are "ignored by the Medical Officers" -- that they do *not* occupy that position in the wards which Head Nurses -- as they are -- occupy in Civil Hospls -- & Hospl Serjeants in Regl Hospls -- & which alone can render their position useful & efficient

**f93**

I beg leave to draw attention to  
this Para: p. 104 in 6998

----

105

Messrs. Galton, Logan & Sutherland's  
Report

"We consider it necessary that in  
future the female Nurses should  
have the status of head-nurses  
in the wards, & should be regarded  
by Medical Officers & orderlies,  
in the same manner as the Head  
nurses in the best civil Hospitals".

[This never has been done,

F.N.]

It is *impossible* for a woman  
to do her duty in a ward  
full of men, if it is not  
done.

**f94** NOTE TYPED copy DATED MARCH 10, 1866 Original owned by T. Cowie  
Scott

TYPED  
COPY

35 South St. [printed letterhead]  
March 10/66

**O!** {LARGE PRINT IN PEN}

{TYPED:}

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE  
("lonely & weak")

Dr. Wombwell

**f95** NOTES ON CATTLE PLAGUE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED ca. MARCH 1866  
**[6:528]**

I will shew you the first  
account of a Cattle Plague  
extant in the 6th century  
& the remedy applied  
which is 1/1000th part  
less barbarous than  
slaughtering the healthy  
cattle to prevent them  
dying.

f96 Subjects for discussion at the meeting of the ASC 20 April 1866

1. Sanitary condition of Windsor Bks
2. Measures for averting disease known as "Delhi ulcers"
3. Sanitary condition of the Bks at Cape Town.
4. Scarlet Fever at Aldershot, Chatham & Woolwich.
5. Quantity of water necessary to be supplied to each individual in Bks.
6. Water supply of Calcutta.
7. Method of calculating the death rate in Prisons.
8. Dover, Increasing Hospital [illeg].
9. Ventilation of Stables.
10. Aide Memoire of Sanitary experience to be prepared.
11. Ophthalmic ward, Herbert Hospl.
12. Of what dimensions should Provost cells be constructed.
13. Health returns of the Army? By whom prepared.
14. Cubic space in Bks at Hong Kong.
15. Rations for Troops in China. [with pencil notes of what]

f96v FN pencil note F.N. will have to see the whole thing.

J.S.  
21/4/66

**ff98-101** NOTES ON MORTALITY OF CHINA TROOPS PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED APRIL 12 & 21, 1866

**f98**

Anent "*Mortality of China Troops*"

"We" (the party in the W.O. which does not wish to  
screen Government)

"we" think that the surest way of arriving at the truth  
is for the Committee

to go at once to the *facts*  
then to the *causes*

(not to take any particular Report &  
not to go back to the beginning)



- i.e. we think that the Committee should enquire
1. what was the mortality & disease at  
Hong Kong among men, women & children
  2. the causes of such mortality & disease
  3. Should the Committee be satisfied after  
such enquiry that the chief cause, or an  
important cause, of disease & mortality  
was: defect of Barrack & Hospital accommodation  
-- then enquire what has been done in  
this matter
  4. If it appear to the Committee that the

**f98v**

absence of the Medical Officer was a cause  
of mischief, then call him to account.

===

Sufficient hints for every part of this enquiry  
except for (3)  
can be found in the Parly paper --  
[I have not this before me -- But if you  
would read over what I have now  
written with the Parly paper & my  
notes upon it, I think you will see  
what "we" mean]

No (3) will follow naturally. And  
questions should be asked then of  
the W.O. -- and papers called for from the W.O.

Sir Hope Grant would be a most  
valuable witness  
He will give every information  
about Kowloon

**f99**

N.B.

"We" don't think in this case the Treasury to blame

Whether Col. Guy is to blame is to be ascertained.  
The point about the "guards" is supposed to be a  
very important one.

And we want to know specially about the new  
Barrack plans  
begun by Sidney Herbert  
sent out there long ago

12/4/66

**f100***Anent the Mortality in Troops China*

We find (at the W.O.) that the Commandg R Engineer has never done any thing in putting up the trial Barrack at Kowloon. He (the C.R.E.) has now left the Service.

===

The central point of the whole enquiry is: whether it was necessary to keep so many men at Hong Kong at all.

===

The facts about the (proposed) Barracks, of which I told you, are as follow: --

In 1859-60 Sidney Herbert decided to build new Barracks to afford more space, and, if possible, on a more healthy site.

Reports on sites were obtained by the W.O. from Hong Kong

[Hong Kong, as you know, is a miserable hole which would hold 10,000; & into which John Bull has insisted upon putting 100,000.

N.B. John Bull always expects God Almighty to obey him -- & not that he shall obey God almighty --

Col. Sargent's plan of a floating Barrack might do -- provided it were in the direction of a healthy wind. But Col. Sargent himself says that troops which had been healthy

**f100v**

at sea were sickly at sea off Hong Kong --  
And ~~troops~~ seamen have often to be landed  
for health. To build a healthy Barrack on  
shore is cheaper, we believe, than to keep a  
floating Barrack. But every thing depends  
on the situation]

It appeared that Kowloon was the most  
healthy.

Plans for a Barrack (excellent, giving 1000  
cub. ft. for every man) & Hospital, Married &  
Officers Quarters, Day-rooms &c were prepared  
as I mentioned.

Just at this time, Governor & Colonists  
interfered & wished to appropriate all the  
best ground shoving the Barracks into an  
unhealthy hole.

This led to long discussion & loss of time.  
[The W.O. says the Colonists ought all  
to be hanged.]

The W.O. examined all officers who had  
been at Kowloon -- all agreed upon the  
goodness of the site proposed for the Barracks.  
~~But~~ Dr Rutherford, the Sanitary Officer,  
recommended that a single block should

**f101**

be built on trial first.

This was decided upon --

But the Commandg R Engineer never  
executed the work (as I have already  
stated)

This should be enquired into.

Capt. Galton should be examined.

21/4/66

**ff102-08v** NOTES ON TROOPS IN CHINA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED ca. APRIL, 1866

**f102**

|p. ii|           **A**  
-----

As regards the sending of ~~troops~~ the 99th to Kowloon,  
because there was a riot, & keeping them  
there for five months -- the Committee  
should ~~adopt Para. 8 of Ld Hartin~~  
~~as follows~~ --

consider the following points: --

1. the Governor had power to request the  
Commanding Officer to remove the troops
2. the Medical Officer, according to Regulation,  
did his duty in protesting against it
3. the Commanding Officer, according to  
Regulation, was bound to have refused to  
send them, unless he stated in writing  
sufficient military reason for ~~not~~  
doing it.                   He was also bound to  
shew that there was sufficient Military  
reason for keeping them there *for 5 months*.

The evidence certainly proves that the  
Commandg Officer committed a grave  
error in not listening to his Medical Officer

**f103**

**B** p. vii

call upon the Committee to introduce  
proof into the Report from the evidence  
that the Circular No 361, 17th December  
1858 did not contain sufficient  
powers to have any amount of  
accommodation acquired

there should be something like a  
legal decision on its meaning

**C** p. v

ask what is the present amount  
of hut accommodation for troops  
at Japan --                   [I hear for 1500 men]  
(ask Ld Hartington)  
if this be so, it shews great activity in  
providing accommodation

**f104**

that, although, from the evidence of Commanding Officers, it appears that no diminution of the Guard duties required of them was practicable, the Committee is not satisfied that the amount of Guard duty asked for by the Colonial Government was necessary & that the safety of public property could not have been otherwise provided for

**D** p. iii

**f105**

p. vii **E**

as regards the demand to be made on the Admiralty to instruct the Admiral in China to furnish accommodation, evidence is wanted that such instruction was necessary

**F.** p. v

In stating that every exertion appears to have been made by the authorities at Hong Kong to provide accommodation & that it was completed 6 weeks too late, it ought to be said that the troops arrived before they were expected (or might have been expected according to past experience of sea-voyages) You have this on evidence.

**F** p. v.

**f106** {DATE: IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S} [ca. April 1866]

p. vii **G**

Genl Guy did *not* spend £18,610. The amount spent was *at that rate* per annum, provided the expenditure had gone on for a year, which it did not -- call for evidence on the point

**H** p. vii

It should be stated in the Report that Lord de Grey considered the authority given to Genl Guy to hire accommodation & to dispose of the force amply sufficient

**I** p. vii

Regarding the W.O. Report of 1863 about Kowloon, it should be shewn at what date that Report came into possession of the S of S for War

**f107**

Sir E. Lugard

clearest explanation of the system  
& at once its strongest condemnation

There is no system

no nervous system connecting the hand with  
the extremities in the British Army

You ought to be able to do with one Regiment,  
a few native troops, & native watchmen

And you have not been able to do with  
less than three (Regiments)

The first official information was in April  
1865 of the unhealthiness of Kowloon  
pointing out at the same time what would  
be required to make it healthy --

Genl Guy's two errors

1. the using troops for any duties
2. the not incurring any amount of  
risk in providing accommodation

These are the two points in Lugard's Examination

Walker's evidence

Guards used instead of Police -- These colonial fellows --  
It's monstrous

**f108**

Questions for Report out of this evidence

1. decide about the number of guards required  
at Hong Kong.
2. Police could evidently have done most of  
the Guard duty -- which proved fatal  
to the men
3. The question of embodying native troops.  
This is always best in these climates  
where native troops can be depended  
on
4. Might not some rule be adopted  
whereby Officers at distant stations  
might have power to incur expence  
for accommodation &c?
5. Ought not the whole question of these  
Chinese & Japanese Stations to be now  
definitively settled?

It is evident that there should be permanent  
accommodation for at least 2 Regiments  
at 1000 cubic feet per man with  
Hospital at 1500 -- with the means  
of providing ample temporary accommodation

**f108v**

(panelled wooden huts in store) e.g. for  
any excess over this number.  
It is evident that the whole peninsula of  
Kowloon should be bought up, improved  
& rendered healthy -- & then Kowloon &  
Hong Kong might be made the centre of  
the Chinese force.

Lastly, the whole thing is a mess & confusion.  
There is a head in London -- there are  
extremities all over the world but  
there is no proper nervous system  
connecting the head & extremities

**f109** see diagram in hard copy, then:

JS rough hand:] When F.N. sees the dispatch she must look  
carefully to ascertain what the proposed  
will do for us. We must simply reply by  
describing what sanitary administration in  
India should be & by pointing out what  
must be done, and then we must ask  
whether the proposed scheme will answer.  
FN:] How is "FN" to see the Dispatch?  
How? How?  
Shall I tell Ellis to say something to Ld de G



**f110** NOTE ON LORD DE GREY PENCIL, PEN & TYPEWRITER HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED MAY 5, 1866

***ON HER MAJESTY'S SERVICE.*** [printed]

{WRITTEN IN PENCIL, SIDEWAYS BY FN:}

Oh don't tell me about it

I'm scarcely alive

{WRITTEN IN PENCIL BY FN, NO LONGER SIDEWAYS, TO THE RIGHT OF ABOVE:}

I'm very uneasy about not hearing from Ld de Grey --  
Sir J. Lawrence's letter would justify me in looking up Ld.  
de Grey.

Yes yes yes --

I'm thinking of the Despatch now -- [May 5 - 1866]

{IN PEN,  
IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S:}  
Robert Rawlinson  
{TYPED:}

{IN PEN,  
IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S:}  
Miss Florence Nightingale  
South Street  
London W

-----  
Rivers Commission Office,  
2, Victoria Street,  
Westminster, S.W.  
-----

G [861] 250 5/66

f111 JS rough hand re school

f112 JS pen

f114 JS rough hand

f115 JS rough hand re separating sanitary inspectors from medical

pencil

Of course Mr Rathbone & you know much better than drs the illeg committee & how they are likely to receive your report, but reading it at a distance it appears very much like an attack on the former system of the committee & a laudation of your own work.

It is no doubt most illeg to find words in which to express such a charge. Possibly if you had made the report longer and more diluted the strokes would not have been so heavy.

Numbers in wards when nursing has illeg

Admissions in 9 months

Discharged cured illeg

a for other causes

Dead

Remaining at the end of the 9 months

The influence of good nursing in diminishing the sick time in the wards cannot be ascertained except after ~~long~~ a considerable longer time than you have been in charge

v

If Dr Gee would keep the statistics ...

unsigned letter, ff119-21, pencil in rough JS hand [added by Gwyneth Blair]

f114 JS pencil notes

f115 S pencil notes on separating san inspections from medical and from prison inspections. [clear]

ff116-17 JS pen, re cubic space, Angus Smith

**ff118-19 pencil JS**

**f119 FN note on back of JS**

Women of this class command very high rates of pay in Civil life. St. Johns house nurses have a guinea a week & their board when on service, & even these women don't follow nursing as a profession. It is with them a vocation as well. The present low rate of pay for Nurses in Military hospitals has led to considerable cost, because the comparatively inferior class of candidates ~~her~~ which has been obtained all require extra cost of some kind in their training, which besides has been lost in consequence of dismissals for unfitness. The importance of this point will

be seen when it is stated that the total number of women admitted at Netley under the present scale of wages has been \_\_\_\_\_ & the number discharged or resigned as unfit \_\_\_\_\_ while it to be feared that ~~those~~ of those left in the service *all* are not of the standard aimed at. The present proposal ~~for~~ increase of wages from ----- to ---- a year is simply intended to put a stop to this by enabling the War Office to compete with other people for the better class of women. ~~which~~ The proposal has really no relation to the Naval hospital nursing question, but it is one which lies at the root of the entire scheme as now carried on at Netley. The India Government however ~~has~~ ~~pe~~ proposes to obtain ~~nurses~~ head nurses from England for the Indian hospitals. These should come properly from Netley, but up to this present time Netley has scarcely been able to supply its own demands & it is ~~for this~~ to meet this difficulty that Ld. Hartington has requested their Lordships to grant increase of pay.

**f119v** {half of the first seven lines is too black to read; I have transcribed the legible parts}

... usual mistake of  
... questions. The no  
... hospitals is rather ideal,  
... than nursing  
... undertake it are  
... mentally and  
... required for Military hospitals.

The result ~~illeg~~ of transferring Admiralty Nurses to Military Hospitals under any kind of Government may be imagined, but must not be described, at least, by me.

In the army we require a well disciplined corps ready for the field at any time, or to go to any foreign station where they will be placed in positions of great trust; and for none of those purposes will any admiralty nurse, or any woman of her class answer at all. We have in short to create a service which with the devotion & morale of the sisters serving in Foreign Military hospitals will possess at the same time a nursing qualifications as much higher than those of foreign nurses as it is possible to arrive at.

The great difficulty hitherto has been in obtaining candidates for service relevant at any cost, and of those who could be obtained, at the present rates of wages a large number has been sent away by the Superintendent as inefficient. It is not the case in England as in Catholic Countries where nursing sick is a branch of Conventual obligation. Here everyone expects to be paid for their labour, and nurses as well as others. At the present time there is such a demand for the better class of woman that they can scarcely be obtained at any price, &

**f120** {archivist: [June - July 1866]} in rough hand JS  
Nursing

Dr. Sutherland  
1866

In so far as the management of sick & wounded in hospitals is concerned, this will have to be done by the Medical service of the Italian army. Any increase of Medical officers over the establishment which may be required, may be made either officially by the Government, or by volunteers from the Civil Medical Service either directly, or indirectly through the agency of voluntary societies like your own. But in any case the whole medical & surgical service would have to be placed under Military order & command.

---

The Government & its agents would have to provide all the hospitals . and would govern them all. Voluntary effort would do nothing in this case.

---

Government should provide all the bedsteads, bedding, linen, dresses, lint, bandages, splints, instruments, dressings, hospital diets, comforts, medicines, & indeed all appliances, but voluntary effort might materially aid in this matter by collecting quantities of all such supplies, to be issued for use and to hospitals & localities where from unforeseen circumstances

**f120v**

which always happen in war, assistance of this kind would be required.

You might have stores at all the cities along the frontier line of operations, with suitable agents ready at a moments notice to supply any wants, and you should have the means of transport, horses mules, carts &c to send out the supplies as soon as they are asked for.

To do this thoroughly you would require a very good staff of volunteer officers who would give their whole time & their lives to this service

---

You should proceed at once to make lists of volunteer nurses for hospitals, ~~La~~ women of all ranks should be invited. And without loss of time they should be sent into existing civil & military hospitals to learn the work they may have to engage in. They would have to consent to place themselves under any superior authority which the ~~Governor~~ Government might appoint in the hospital they were to serve.

**f121** in rough JS hand, pencil

You might also obtain a voluntary staff of male nurses to cooperate with the Infirmaries, & these volunteers should have some preliminary training as well as the women. They too should be placed under the governing head of the hospital to which they are to be attached.

---

You might have volunteers for ambulance purposes, such as for collecting wounded on the field, carrying them, using the various kinds of field cartlets, wagons & in pitching hospital tents. In all these duties your volunteers should be trained now, & placed under the commanding authority in the district where they are sent to serve.

All voluntary agency of this kind would have to consent to place itself unreservedly under the ~~gr~~ authority appointed by the officer Commanding to ensure unity & to prevent failure.

**f121v** rough hand

Supplies, medicines &c should only be issued on the requirement of the governing authority in the hospital or of the officer commanding.

For all this you will require money, & another part of your agency should consist of collectors & of persons ~~to~~ conversant with the subject to purchase, keep & issue the required stores.

~~These are~~ There are no books except those of the United States Sanitary Commission which would tell you about voluntary efforts of this kind. I have asked M. Heath to apply for them to the Americans minister.

I have sent the Regulations of the British Army which are intended to render voluntary aid unnecessary & always to provide every thing required for the field. The lists & quantities given in these documents will shew what our practice is.

ff122-24 JS rough hand, pencil

So far as the general arrangements for convenient temporary & field hospitals are concerned, you will find all necessary details in the printed paper now sent. These details were used successfully during the late American war, and I have no doubt you will be able to apply such of them as are necessary to your present unfortunate circumstances.

At this season of the year, you are not likely to have much suffering in the field, that is, the men's constitutions will not become so deteriorated as would be the case in a winter campaign, but nevertheless whenever you have sick or wounded men to provide for and accommodate you will have hospital fevers & mortifications unless every attention is paid to general management.

Of course your surgeons will do all that is necessary in the way of treatment, but there is much that a surgeon cannot do and which can only be done by good nursing. The following are the very essence as to aspects of military hospital management and what can only be carried out by the greatest and most constant care.

1st absolute cleanliness of sick wards, rooms, beds, bedding, clothing &c at all times by day and night. This requires the most constant care and attention on the part of nurses.

2. Immediate removal of all evacuations of patients and of all dressings and washing away from the buildings, and cleaning all the vessels.

3. Taking especial care that all lint and linen used for dressings are perfectly clean and good, and that the waterbasins, sponges, towels &c are perfectly clean. Want of attention to these things loses many lives in all wars.

4. The greatest care should be taken that the ventilation of the

wards, rooms &c is so perfect both by day and night that no difference is perceptible between the freshness of air outside and the state of the air inside. Open windows in military hospitals are just as essential for the wounded and sick as is their daily food.

5. Never overcrowd a ward where there are sick and wounded men. The more space they have, the better. You should never give less superficial area to a wounded or sick soldier than 100 square feet, that is 10 feet by 10 feet or some similar proportions.

6. Nurses should be most punctual in administer diets, stimulants, medicines, drinks &c at the times ordered by the surgeon.

7. Whatever articles of food and drink, diets &c may be provided by private efforts in military hospitals should be administered solely under the directions of medical officers.

8. Nurses should attend medical officers on their visits and receive and obey their instructions.

9. Where trained female nurses are attached by the government to military hospitals, it is advisable to direct the orderlies (men nurses) to obey their instructions.

10. Each ward or two closely adjoining might be placed under one head nurse. A female nurse is required for every 25 serious cases to do them justice.

F124 JS note, pencil. Hard to read. I saw the par on the illeg and it appears to have been written to support a proposal of Miss Louisa Twining to undertake the nursing of Middlesex Hospital by illeg. Nearly all the med staff the governor opposing. I should think the occasion illeg.

I should think the occasion is reason which to raise the question of the qualifications of lady nurses.

Your letter could support the governors. I know nothing about the proposed nurses or their arrangements, but I should illeg .. consider it desirable or even positive to advocate either one side or the other. What we must do is to supply as many trained nurses, and lady nurses as we can, but I fear we should come to grief if we appeared to go out of our way to mix in any disputes.

I see also that you say that the wkh nursing is as good "*and is possibly superior*" to that of any other hospital. I do not think we should institute comparisons.



**ff125-29v** STATEMENT BY THE MIDDLESEX HOSPITAL ON NURSING (WITH NOTES BY FN INSIDE) TYPEWRITER & PENCIL DATED DECEMBER, 1865  
{PLEASE SEE PHOTOCOPIES}

Proceedings of the Medical Committee Relative to the Nursing. 16 Dec. 1865, considering proposition of Miss Louisa Twining to place the ladies of St Luke's Home, Queen's Square, in connection with Middlesex Hospital, with the view to their becoming Probationary Nurses. The first resolution carried at the meeting, 10 to 1 was "That, in the opinion of this Committee, the performance of the duty of nursing in this Hospital is unsatisfactory."

**f128** FN comments:

Report: The recommendations of your Committee are as follows:-

1st. That the superintendence of the Nursing of the Hospital be separated from the duties of Housekeeping.

**FN:** but the Housekeeper must, of course, be under the superintendent.

3rd. That the Superintendent and a certain number of the Nurses reside in a separate building, to be designated the Middlesex Hospital Home for Nursing.

**FN:** No the Supt. *must* reside within the Hospital where her chief duties must always be.

6th. That Nurses be relieved from menial duties, such as scrubbing the wards.

**FN:** but the Scrubbers must reside *within* the Hospital & be under the Superintendent.

F130 Acland letter to JS. I have made a few corrections in this paper. But it ...Can you kindly suggest to me or to Captain Galton any modifications or any other points to be hinted at. The point is to ... with FN comments. What is this?

F131v FN: You see Villiers writes to me & Galton does *not*.

Ff132-33 JS pen. In reading over this paper by Dr Acland I am strongly impressed with the fact that the com of which he is a member and the assoc for improving the tr of the poor sick in Metro workhouses are not proceeding from the same ground. One of the earliest reforms proposed in workhouse mgt was a classif of the inmates...young, aged, lunatic, illeg, sick. [good material]

ff133v-34 pencil still JS:

Supposing you all come to a unan decision. The thing is perfectly certain, and that is that unless you appoint a separate and specially qualified gov for the sick wards and give the nec staff and nurses, your questions however you reply to them will leave the matter exactly where it is.

You ought but to forget that the public complaints although in some cases resting on deficient space, in all or nearly all were founded on bad admin, clearly traceable to the fact that the workhouse masters had not knowledge of sick and were trying to suppress pauperism by oppressing the sick. [good stuff]

f135 JS rough note pencil, re Miss O training at St T

**f137** NOTE ON SISTERHOODS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED ca. 1866

If I were to spend £1000 a year on extending

Sisterhoods & were to say to a man of mark

Will you be on my Council but only in name? --

You are to be responsible for everything I do  
to the public

But you are to have no control over anything I do

What man would accept it?

It would be different if you & the Sisterhood collected all the funds yourselves -- & constituted a Government in yourselves -- a thing which has been done & may be done quite well.

but it is not *constitutional* to do the other

"guarded power" can't be --

The Supt must be made responsible as it were to herself

ff138-45 JS pencil good statement re metro and numbers but legible re needs of hospitals.

1. It appears that there are on an average 6000, what may be called acute sick in the London workh infs, and the disclosures recently made in report to the mgt and nursing of these sick have been such that it is imposs to continue the present system.

2 enquiry has shown that those sick poor are all more or less subject to great evil and hardship from defective hosp accom, defective medical attendance and treatment, defective nursing, defective general admin, want of classification

3. It appears, moreover, that these sick people have been considered out of much as a separate suffering class requiring very special arrs and appliances for their care and treatment such as are afforded in civil hosps, but that they have been included so to speak among the

other paupers and subjected to the same general admin arrs.

4. It is undeniable that to this mixing up of classes of poor who are altogether distinct from each other much of the present evils are due.

1 In remedying those evils it is absolutely necessary that the classes of sick, infirm and paupers shd once for all be separated and placed under distinct administrative, med and nursing arrs

2 What these arrs mt be has been long decided by the universal voice and experience of all civilized countries and continual improvements during centuries of trials have been going on until we have arrived at the present position, which is as follows:

3 All sick who cannot be treated as outpatients or at home are recd into special ests and have the best medical and surgical advice together with the best nursing and mgt which can be obtained. A first class London hosp shows what is necessary and no more than what is necessary for the care of sick,

4 this being so it is evident that the proposed reform shd aim at providing for the parish sick class the same appliances wh have been found necessary for the sick into of the parish for instance it were determined that all the parish sick of the metropolis shd be sent to existing civil hosps (provided they were large enough) in such a case these parish sick wd be at once liberated from their present unfavourable cond and placed in the same position as other sick. (Of course I take it for granted that the mere fact of sickness makes a total difference between the sick poor man and the able bodied pauper) we may discourage and suppress pauperism, we cannot suppress sickness, and nobody wd seek to discourage pauperism by miss using the sick poor.)

5. What then distinguishes the civil hosp from the wkh inf? 1st, a very special adm whose foundation is humanity and charity, and an earnest desire to restore the sick to health as soon as poss. To this end all the arrs are directed. 2. The best obtainable medical and surgical skill. 3. The best obtainable nursing 4. sufficient diet, comforts, clothing, medicines.

6. Now these things are so special and so important that they no more admit of being continued with illeg wkh mgt that with any mercantile pursuit. They are specialties. And if any good is to be done we must seek to realize them.

7. This can be done only in one of two ways: 1st to contract with civil hosps if there were sufficient of these. N.B. All the sick poor in Paris, inc those classes which enter a London wkh inf, are treated in the great civil hosps.

2nd to provide a sufficient amount of new hosp accom at the cost of the parishes similar to that afforded in the London civil hosps.

8. The first proposal is impracticable from room except for fever cases for which it is now in force. The second proposal is the one wh will have to be adopted.

It never follows that hosp accom: in 6000 sick must somehow or other be provided for London, you cannot deal efficiently with more than 1000 sick in one illeg; 6 hosps will be necessary

9. These must be found either by appropriating some of the best London workhouses after altering and enlarging them to make hosps up to the present requirements, or else some of them shd be so used and other

hosps built. Or if none are found suitable after special inq then 6 hosps will have to be built.

10. Having provided your hosps, the best and cheapest mgt will be to have one board or authority for the whole, under wh wd be a governor for each hosp, and under the gov the necessary staff.

11. Considering that the costs must be paid out of the rates, the central board must in some sense represent the ratepayers, but it ought in no sense to represent the present parish system with its traditions. If any good is to be done we must break once for all with the parish adm. But as the metropolis of the Br Empire is something more than a mere aggregate of parishes, and as the whole empire is more or less interested in the higher administration of its metropolis, it wd be very wise to add some member or members to represent the country and to be responsible either directly or indirectly to Parl. You ought to have two elements, one to ensure that the work is done, the other to satisfy the ratepayer that their money is properly spent.

12. Suppose these great fundamental reforms, viz., suitable hospitals and a suitable governing body provided, there wd be every facility at once for carrying out the details in the most satisfactory manner.

**f146** NOTES ON A SANITARY REPORT PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED 7 JANUARY 1867, pale blue paper black-edged

*Sketch of Report*

or a Sanitary "Punch". Jan. 7/67

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

{BACK TO PEN:}

1. It has no foundation of  
evidence for its conclusions  
whatever.
2. The *opinions* upon which  
it rests would not be  
taken in any scientific  
enquiry as a foundation
3. It defeats itself, by  
resting the question of  
cubic space on ventilation,  
with which it declares  
itself incompetent to deal.  
It is self=contradictory.
4. It does not deal with the  
*administration* of the wards  
at all.

F147 JS notes embossed War Office pen Confound all cats and women.  
Galton's points.

**f149** NOTES ON A WORKHOUSE PAPER PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

I wrote yesterday --  
£32 per bed per annum  
exclusive of "Establishment charges"

Yes = for you to contradict every word  
I say.

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN:}

I hope we shant finish that  
Workhouse paper -- marking it for the  
general purpose -- for 2 months.  
Because that will entail upon me  
the expence of keeping up the type,  
which I like

f150 JS War Office embossed pen 3 Jan 1867. I have put down the enclosed  
as notes on the question. If you see meet, could you write to the clerk  
of the Guardians at Chorlton on Medlock and ask him the question as to  
cost per bed. If you agree to this perhaps the following might do.

"I am desirous of ascertaining the cost per bed per annum of your new  
workhouse inf and would feel obliged if you would kindly tell me.

F151v

The annual cost per bed should include the following items:

- 1st. The proportion of cost & repair of buildings for sick
- 2nd. The proportion of administrative expences
3. The cost of bedding, inf clothing and the like.
4. Cost of food and medicines.
5. Cost of nursing and medical attendance.
6. Any other incidental charges.

You give I believe 1200 cubic feet per bed. Will you say whether this  
is so.

F151

I am desirous of obtaining the information as a fundamental fact,  
based on your experience of a new workhouse inf. In London hospitals it  
is general considered that £30 per bed per annum includes everything,  
and what I wish is a corresponding est derived from the Chorlton case,  
which is one of the most important instances of improvement which has  
yet occurred."

This fact if you could get it would be a capital foundation for the  
estimate for London. I am not sure about the £30. Please put this right.

ff152-56 rough JS hand re Hardy's bill different from Hardy's speech

f157 JS War Office embossed Wed [20 Feb 1867]

ff160-61 Memo on WR letter on wkh reform stylized and 162

**ff163-63v** NOTES ON MISCELLANEOUS (UNIONS, THE VOTE) PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED FEBRUARY 20, 1867

**f163**

[ca. 20 Feb. 1867]

Yesterday he asked Sir H. viva voce to tell him  
the name of the Union --

Sir H. came to me --

And I said that, as we should receive no  
more applications if we gave information against  
Unions, I could not give the name unless Mr  
Hardy gave his word not to use it.

There it remains.

Well, exactly, but Hardy will have the name.

Ld Houghton's little girl  
called after me

The controversy is still raging.

Col: Reilly says: nothing could be worse} than the  
others : " " better} Prussian  
Hospls.

who melted? the F

what? in the D. of W.'s lines?

**f163v**

What is a Compound Householder?

It ought to be a Rates-Compounded-for-Householder-

not, that pays rates --

But you would give a vote to a {LINE DRAWN FROM THIS POINT TO ABOVE  
PHRASE a Rates-Compounded-for-Householder-}

now? --

But -- on the "ancient presumption" every free  
woman, married, with 4 acres of land  
had a vote too.

If women had votes, they would vote so well  
that men would have to be disfranchised.  
As for me, I have had more political power  
than if I had been a borough, returning 2 M.Ps.,

45752 f163 FN note to JS  
sugar

Do you mean to finish reading that? --

f164 JS pencil rough note re debate last night, all against the fundamental pr of bill

f165 JS note Thursday War Office embossed [ca 8 March 1867], attack on him in House

f166 JS War Office embossed 10th Sir Proby has agreed

f167 JS rough pencil hand re bill out of House [March 12? 1867]  
The Metropolitan Poor Bill is now out of the H of C committee. The great question now is whether any reconsideration of the principle cd be got in the H of Lords.

The adm machinery is really an extension of the present system of boards of guardians, with a minority of nominated members added. It is greatly to be feared that there will be the same quarrels, bribery, and inefficiency under this new system as there has been under the old. As the care of sick is an admin matter and not a question of guardians cd the pr be discussed fully in the H of Lords of having one central committee instead of a number and over this central com a first executive chairman to take charge of all the hospitals and their affairs?

F

If the H of L were to affirm this principle we shd have a most efficient admin whereas by leaving the matter in the hands of a number of boards there will be no uniformity of procedure and the Poor Law relief idea will still be carried into the care of sick with which care it has nothing to do.

**ff168-69v** NOTES ON SIR JOHN LAWRENCE'S MINUTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f168**

To Dr. Sutherland {IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S}

March 15 1867

F.N.

As you renewed yesterday the conflict about  
the Indian question, & directed me to  
believe, on the authority of Sir Proby Cautley  
that a S. of S. for India would *not* do  
what a S. of S. for India *did* do, I  
must remind you of the facts: --

[9:564]

[No answer is necessary -- indeed  
no answer is desired -- as I am  
positively certain that you will,  
the very next time, repeat, for the  
101st time, in spite of the facts,  
the same thing.]

[end 9:564]

*Lord de Grey empowered, in writing, you & me  
to write such a Minute as we desired.*

[9:564-65]

*Lord de Grey accepted, in writing, the Minute  
which we did write.*

That the Minute did not go (to India) was  
entirely our own doing.

We lost it by a day -- by our own fault.

I will give the dates, without comment: --



**f168v**

[I omit your insisting upon having Mr. Ellis to Norwood, (the last day of Lord de Grey being in town, before Mr. Ellis left England) instead of meeting him here -- which was the real cause of the Minute by Sir John Lawrence not being found till May 5 --when Lord de Grey found it himself.]

1866

June 15 -- [which was a Friday --]  
Lord de Grey writes that he empowers  
you & me (naming us by name) to  
write the Minute -- & urges haste  
[I immediately write off to you at Norwood to this effect]  
June 16                    } Dr. Sutherland does *not* come.  
"    17 - Sunday}

June 18 - Monday   Dr. Sutherland comes -- but  
will do nothing

Evening   Ministers are beaten in the  
Ho: of Commons --

June 19                   Dr. Sutherland puts into  
F.N.'s hands a sketch of the  
Minute, not written in concert  
with her -- "for her consideration only" --  
-- Ld. de Grey writes *again* to ask  
for the Minute "*at once*" --  
-- F.N. sits up all night to write it

**f169**

July 3

Lord de Grey accepts the Minute.  
-- For the next fortnight, Ministers  
wavering in their seats  
-- Ld de Grey wavering whether he  
shall have a Committee in the  
India Council to despatch  
this Minute -- asks our advice  
-- Daily Messengers between  
Lord de Grey & F.N. & between  
F.N. & Dr. Sutherland for a  
fortnight.  
-- Ministers go out -- Ld de Grey  
leaves Minute in India Office  
*authorized by him* & for his  
successor

---

One more thing  
[You have so repeatedly told me that *you had*  
*seen* a letter to me from Ld Stanley, saying  
that he would "trust Sir J. Lawrence  
against us" -- that I must put down  
the dates for you --

For altho' you made me get out of bed  
to find the letters & show you the dates  
& *you must have been convinced by your*  
*own eyes* -- you again renewed the same

**[end 9:565]**

**f169v**

error]

II.

*Lord Stanley & Sir John Lawrence***[9:565-66]**

1866

January 3

Ld Stanley writes to me, about  
quite another matter, that he  
"would trust Sir J. Lawrence".

JANUARY 20

Date of Sir John Lawrence's  
famous Minute (& of his  
letter to F.N.)

February 20

F.N. receives Sir J. Lawrence's letter.

May 5.

*Sir J. Lawrence's Minute*  
found at the India Office

May 12.

Lord Stanley writes to F.N.  
that he "entirely concurs IN OUR  
"VIEW that Sir J. Lawrence's  
"proposal is wholly inadequate  
"for the purpose & that  
"Inspectors of Prisons are NOT  
"the proper instruments."

===

No answer required but that you shall tell me  
the first Thursday in every month till

Doomsday that Lord Stanley concurs in Sir J. Lawrence {CUT OFF}  
Minute (against us--)!!! **[end 9:566]**

**f170** JS note Friday [15 Mar 1867] Gulf. Thanks for your parting kick  
which it is always pleasant to receive by them as likes it. I hope  
please God to get back before long.

I have read last night's debate. It was very good, & makes one feel  
the evil of too great haste, a couple of months more time would have  
carried a complete measure. However, men's minds are strongly open now  
and permanent good has been done. Adieu.

F171 Friday. [15 March 1867] I wrote you about Mr Mill's speech by post  
this morning. Thank you all the same for sending the info. We must hope  
that Villiers will win the carrying out of the measure and the felicity  
of having a central admin.

2nd Thanks for the parting illegs. The "bunch of diets" is very  
interesting and nourishing and I hope has done you as much good as it  
has done me.

It is always best to be strictly accurate in these things 7 I send  
you the food back again according to your desire. We will renew the  
affair afterwards.

f172 JS rough note re principle, utterly failed re Xn charity ca. March 1867

The principle which has  
utterly failed to realize any  
one object of Christian  
charity is just this,  
Leaving the poor to  
themselves, trusting to their  
power of providing work  
under all circumstances  
and applying a starvation  
test to them if they fail.

On this failure there  
can be no difference of opinion.

If it be said that it is  
not a function of the present  
government a constitution to  
alter this then I fear the  
reply must be that we  
must begin to look about  
for another government or another  
constitution.

**v**

Of all the tests of inefficiency  
of any constitution a form  
of government surely no  
stronger could be found than  
just this, that in the  
Metropolis of the greatest  
empire the world has  
ever seen, & amongst  
the most practical people  
in the earth 7 millions  
a year are spent in  
Charity.

f173 JS pen note to FN re Jones's authority. No you are wrong. You could not get at the menagerie when it was in the desert, now you can.

In regard to the note of Mr Rathbone's, Last year you and I thought it quite necessary that some understanding should be come to as regards the future position of Miss Jones and the system which was to have been introduced for training pauper nurses. You remember, they would have their own way and ever since they have been in a state more or less of war in an enemies country. It is evident that they have proved, what nobody doubted, that good nursing is better than bad. It is evident that their class of cases admits of trained nursing being used to train

future nurses. It is evident that under the system or rather no system, they adopted, that pauper nurse training has burnt itself out. They have gained a footing for trained nurses at Mr Rathbone's expence, they may gain a footing for probationer training provided FN will throw her shield over them, in they paying the cost in a not very open way through F.N. The have given up the idea of training pauper nurses.

This then is the position. In what way can you help in this? I don't think that either you or your committee would like a pious fraud. No good could come of it. But I have all along thought that you might take training schools under your protection provided they conformed to your rules and their pupils came up to your requirements. Personally, I should object decidedly to receiving and paying money as Mr Rathbone proposes; amongst other reasons, because it contemplates an entire change in the main original intention of training pauper girls as nurses and intends to found a training school for nurses in a workhouse, where without a very distinct and definite system of responsibility, a position on the part of the training head, there would be the chance of success. So that so far as the main question of even trained probationers (not paupers) is concerned, they are still without system, Miss Jones is still without authority, and the governor has still the same power to appoint spies and to make or unmake the nursing as he thinks fit.

The *unsystem* is the same, the subjects are only altered and want of system is forsooth to be guarded against by F.N. and her shield. (Besides I feel strongly that the governor will care for no one, nor no shield so long as the law enables him to do just what he likes.)

As the matter now stands, I fear that you could not interfere. I remember Mr Farnall's note to you in returning Mr Rathbone's letter, and I should feel disposed to say to Mr Rathbone that you do not think you could be of service in the present state of the question. He had better see Mr Farnall and Mr Villiers and tell them exactly what has taken place from first to last, and hear from them to what extent they can help him extend directly or indirectly, But I think all this had better be done without you. When the time comes you can help most certainly, but at present you are called to take the side of *no-system* & to throw your name over it, which I do not think you should do. Let him write you after he has seen Messrs Villiers and Farnall, telling you about what they advise and then you will be able to see your way. J.S.

...pauper nurse training has burnt itself out, have got a footing for trained nurses at Mr Rathbone's expense [good strong letter of JS

**ff175-75v** NOTES ON MIDWIFERY PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED ca. APRIL 22, 1867 [8:176-77]

**f175**

~~[illeg. Can you attend? No!!!]~~

*Now -- This is one of many things.*

This is a question constantly arising.  
Our Midwives trained at King's Coll: are, on the  
one hand, *not* employed in the country because  
the Guardians have no power to allow them the  
Parish Fee.

On the other hand, we are besieged with applications  
to give paid Workhouse Nurses *one* month's  
instruction in Midwifery to be employed  
*not* certified as *Accoucheurs* in Workhouses.

This I flatly refuse.

And I think there should be a regulation  
of the Poor Law Board to prevent Guardians  
from employing uncertified Midwives  
any more than unqualified Medl Officers

~~The~~ Our Committee  
upon the recommendation of their  
Medl Officers & the Supt

{REST OF FOLIO BY SUTHERLAND}

**f175v**

Now let me tell you what is constantly happening

Yesterday the Winchfield Bd of Guardians,  
a powerful Union of 38 Parishes  
appoint for the first time a paid Nurse  
to their Workhouse

And they ask us to give her *one* month  
to qualify her as *Accoucheur*  
adding "*Of course we require no certificate*"

Paris gives 2 years

I did so -- And they immediately reply --

we don't want you -- we can get it elsewhere  
and they have done so

f176 defect of this pamphlet. C..

**ff177-78v** NOTES ON NURSING IN INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED JUNE 7, 1867

**f177**

Well: --

[9:956-57]

Miss Carpenter came here yesterday on very serious  
business.

She began by telling me what every one knows but which  
seemed to have struck her as something new --  
the awful state of the India native women --

I won't dwell upon this --

She has got some enlightened Parsees who have  
followed her to London --

She enlarged -- upon the horrible Parsee observances  
the women defiling themselves with the priests as  
an act of worship -- at Bombay --

at Calcutta, the Bengalie women. mewed up in  
dark close out of the way cells, while the men  
enjoyed the drawing-rooms --

(but that's the way of men all over the world --)

Editors Note

Now for the business she came to me about: --

**f177v**

she says the Hospls are in the most awful condition --

she gave me the most curious account of the  
Memorial Nursing School founded in memory of  
Lady Canning --

It is *entirely broken up*.

*The Englishwomen all drank.*

But in the Medical College Hospital at  
Calcutta where it was founded the Eurasian  
women who before would not lay their hands  
to anything when they saw the Englishwomen doing  
it began to do it too.

And the Eurasian Matron & Eurasian Nurses  
make a very tidy staff now at Calcutta Med:  
Coll. Hosp. --

she says the material *is* there, if it were trained: --  
that there are many Eurasians, many natives & even  
many Englishwomen out there who could be trained  
-- Englishwomen who don't marry because they  
are too poor to marry educated men & too  
well educated to marry soldiers

**f178**

she describes the state of the Nursing in Bombay & Madras Hospitals as something inconceivable -- both by the native men & native women -- worse than anything you can possibly describe.

she says, if I wait for the action of Government I shall wait for ever.

she wants to put me into communication with divers people at Madras & Bombay --  
& she says) if I don't do it, she shall ask Miss Edwards, of Bristol.

she says, Ld Napier would do anything -- & she would advise me to write to him, as I know him --

she also says, there is a Dr. Hunter, of the Eye & General Hospitals at Bombay, who is now in London (he came over with her) who would do anything.

also: she says there is a Parsee, of Bombay, now in London for a month, whom she would like to put me in communication with.

**f178v**

This is on another subject.

Miss Carpenter says: she finds Sir S. Northcote very amenable indeed.

both on the subject of her Model Training Schools  
& of Jaols --

He actually wrote to her to come up & see him. [end 9:957]



**ff179-82** NOTES ON INDIAN ADMINISTRATION PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY  
NIGHTINGALE DATED JUNE 14, 1867 **[9:569-71]**

**f179**

Sir B. Frere told me more in an hour of Indian  
administration & its difficulties & what ought to be done  
than Ellis told me in 6 months or than I learnt  
from Strachey in 2 days or from the whole  
India Council (S. of S., R. Commission & all) in 6  
years --

I will do my best to give you the chief points. But  
I am afraid, so overdone with business as I have  
been, that that will  
I have no time.

The main point is: --

that under Ld Dalhousie & Ld Canning, great  
steps had been taken to give responsibility &  
a certain degree of power to local administration  
keeping of course the strings of the purse in  
the Supreme Govt, which is & ought to be  
the Treasury

that, under Ld Elgin, this began to go back --  
that Sir John Lawrence has done his very  
best, has struggled under the *genius loci* in  
vain.

& that during the last 4 years, things have very  
much resumed their former fatal course

**f179v**

which I am going to describe --  
that things are in such a position now that  
    *nothing* is done -- & that they must soon  
    come to a *dead lock* --

The process is this: --

~~It~~ it is *all* Reporting --  
    there is *no* doing --

there is absolutely no responsibility anywhere

what is done is this: --

a Report is drawn up say at Bombay, which  
    as Sir B. Frere says, is as far from  
    Calcutta, as the Easternmost point of  
    Europe is from London --  
it is then sent to a number of authorities in  
& out of the Presidency Govt --  
it is then sent to Calcutta --  
it is referred from Calcutta to a number  
of authorities all over Bengal  
it comes back to Calcutta --  
it goes thro' the Supreme Council --  
it comes back to Bombay, after a period of

**f180**

perhaps 3 years, tied up with a quantity  
of minute restrictions, perhaps impossible  
to be realized --  
it may even happen that it has to be referred  
back to Calcutta a *second* time --  
Now a 3 years Officer is an *old* officer in India  
And when it comes back again, the old Officer  
is changed, a new one is there, who has some  
new crotchet in his head --

And the course of Reporting has to be gone  
thro' again --

But there is something more: --

    an active Engineering Officer (say at Bombay)  
may be ordered by Sir B. Frere during the  
rains when the men can't work to prepare  
plans --

Well, the *shortest possible* time when these  
plans can come back from Calcutta will be  
just when the *next* rains begin --  
And so with every thing.

**f180v**

Sir B. Frere says: --

it has come to such a pitch that everything  
must come to a *dead lock* --

He said in the most impressive manner

I have done nothing

I have been like a squirrel in a cage

And my heart is broken -- And so is Sir

R. Napier's --

But, he says, my successor, Mr. Fitzgerald, who is a  
very good man, with Sir R. Napier, might do  
much. But the system paralyses every  
exertion.

He said -- there can't be 3 better men than

Dr Leith of Bombay

Ellis

Madras

~~Malleson~~

Calcutta

Strachey

But they *have done nothing*.

**f181**

He says --

in a country like India

the only thing to be done

would be to have a Budget --

to give the Presidency Govts the responsibility  
of action

*up to that sum*

*tie them down to that sum* --

but says -- that work is to be done --

*you* have the responsibility of it --

we shall send a whip to report on the

work done -- & to shew you up if you

have not done it

And *you* must report to us every year as

to the work done --

Now, he says, it is just the contrary --

the whip is to *prevent* the work being done --

till every minute detail has been reported

on by a parcel of people who know nothing

**f181v**

the whip says to them, "the work shall *not* be done" --

He says they won't --

He says: -- he himself (Sir B. Frere) is looked upon as a rebel in the India Council & has been told that he must "make things pleasant" --

But, he says, Sir S. Northcote is well disposed.

He says that when he was in the Punjaub years ago, it was not so -- that, on the contrary they were told, get up those improved Barracks in the shortest time possible & that he himself (Sir B. Frere) when he was a little man, in the Punjaub & in Scinde, has incurred large expenditures in housing

**f182**

troops, & had it *sanctioned afterwards* without a day's delay --

He says: -- Sir J. Lawrence has not one good man about him -- & that Sir W. Mansfield is the best.

He says: -- he always knew when Sir J. Lawrence had had a letter from me -- or even from the D. of Cambridge -- for a little action took place at once. [end 9:571]

He says: -- there *must* be a total alteration of the system -- or Indian Administration will become impossible

He says: -- he (Sir B.F.) has done nothing for Bombay.

**ff183-84v** NOTES ON THE LYING-IN WARDS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED JUNE 17, 1867 **[8:193-94]**

**f183**

This was written (5 weeks ago to Dr. Sutherland when Miss Jones was pressing me for an immediate decision (as far as regarded advice to her)

-----  
[ca. 17 June 1867]{IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S}| to be returned to F.N.

It's a very serious matter -- |-----

It amounts to this: -- that I am to decide  
whether the Lying in Ward, with all its advantages  
to the poor in training Midwives, is to be given up

There has been either real or fancied increase  
of illness among the Lying=in women --

Miss Jones, who ~~h~~ is the only one who has any  
sense, is positive that it comes mainly from  
the Post Mortem Theatre & its proximity --

Dr. Priestly says that it comes from  
having a lying in ward in a General Hospital.

But, she says, that is nonsense -- There are  
no other Patients on the floor -- or near them.

And, she says, Dr. P. does not like the  
Midwifery Nurse School, which he thinks  
beneath him & wants to have the ward for  
the students.

However the matter is serious enough & has to  
be decided.

**f183v**

She had said: -- 1. that no students were to go  
into the ward, except in the regular course  
with their Professor --

they go in perpetually, & straight from the Post  
Mortems

2. that the smell of the Post Mortem Theatre  
is *quite* perceptible in the ward.

They won't believe it.

3. she had said that no unmarried Lying=in  
woman, was to be admitted *except* by an  
authority from her --

they have admitted such -- latterly 5 with  
disease upon them --

& there has been Pyaemia in the ward.

**f184**

Certainly I don't mean to advocate it.  
 But -- Dr. Priestly, *she thinks*, is going to condemn  
 it, to abolish the Lying-in ward  
 he has been at the Directors already --  
 & to take extraordinary Parturition cases  
 into the *same ward* for *his* students.

I can't do that  
 The Lady Supt comes here herself, lays the  
 whole case before me & says that a  
 decision is imminent.

It is not exactly so --

The Council of St. John's House pays for the  
 ward.

We pay them.

Miss Jones really manages the whole affair --

She & I -- She comes to me, & says: What

**f184v**

do you advise? --

How am I (Miss Jones) to ascertain  
 whether the ward is really (under proper  
 management) so unhealthy as that this  
 invaluable School is to be given up? --

Because, there *is* strong ground for suspicion  
 that Dr. P. is only intriguing to get the ward  
 for his own students with a worse  
 kind of cases --

But, she says, they *can* only do that, *if* she & I  
 consent. They don't dare --

And her & my consent depend upon whether we  
 really think that we are killing women to  
 teach midwives --

1 case of puerperal fever which recovered --  
 Pyaemia

2 cases of small pox came in with it upon them

" " scarlet fever " " " " " "

**ff185-85v** NOTES ON MISCELLANEOUS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED BEFORE JULY 10, 1867

**f185**

Sir B. Frere spoke most earnestly  
against Standard Plans --

Won't Sir J. Lawrence say that we want him to adopt  
our Standard plans? --

You must say something about their  
own Sanitary Commn advisors  
Clos By is quite an old man  
I am sure it is quite 30 years since I read  
what you refer to in his works.  
let me see it

**f185v**

For me to write to  
Sir J. Lawrence -- well  
Sir S. Northcote} I postpone, tho' I have  
Ld Stanley } postponed too long already.

Sir P. Cautley - I mean to write to him --  
if you don't conjoin with me,  
I shall write by myself --  
as I did before

{REST OF PAGE WRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND} and f186

**ff187-87v** NOTES ON CORRESPONDENCE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED JULY 16, 1867

**f187**

I never dreamed for an instant of not  
taking Galton into it.  
What have I else been writing to him  
for for 6 weeks?

I can't read your Draft --  
I must mention Ld S'law  
He will see, as he will think, on that paper  
that there are Commissions  
Did not you mean to mention that paper by  
name?  
Did you mean me to say that I have written to Sir  
J. Lawrence  
Sir B Frere would do anything I asked  
I should certainly let Sir B. F. know what  
I have done any way  
Lady Napier has written to me that she is in  
England -- returning to India next week -- &

[9:577]

**f187v**

asking to see me -- to communicate a message  
from her husband -- & ask for mine in  
return. She comes tomorrow afternoon.

[end 9:577]

If they could have framed a set of Rules  
on purpose to secure disorder, these would  
be they

~~You say Yes~~

Edgill (of Chorlton) called here  
Ungrateful pig -- he sent me his pamphlet  
(20) on the Chorlton Union Infy



**ff188-91v** NOTES ON INDIA OFFICE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED JULY 22, 1867

**f188**

Sir B Frere was here for more than 2 hours, [10:36-38]  
reading papers & letters --  
He entirely approved of my letter to Sir S. Northcote  
which he said was a very moderate  
statement of the case --  
He said he would present it himself, -- if  
we liked it --  
[The only mistake he said is that the Bombay  
Commission was *not* broken up]

He said he thought it better that we should  
know exactly the state of the case as to  
[June 19 1866] {DATE:IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S}  
Lord de Grey's Minute (which *he* had  
never heard of) before we sent in the  
letter to Sir S. N. And he goes himself  
to the I.O. this morn'g to rout out the Minute  
& to let us know what has been done --  
He believes nothing --  
He says, the I.O. is in a state of inexpressible  
confusion -- that when he asks for a paper

**f188v**

in the Military or Public Dept, he is told  
that those papers are partly in the Public  
& partly in the Judicial Dept.

[He did not at all admit Ellis' excuse for  
not finding Sir J. Lawrence's Despatch,  
which he, Sir B.F., had of course seen.  
Because, he says, the above fact is well  
known]

He says that *nothing will ever be done*  
till there is a special Public Health  
Dept *in the India Office here* -- as well  
as in India.

And he offered, almost with tears in his  
eyes, to be "our Aide de camp", to work out  
such a Dept.

**f189**

Yes, but he says the defect of the W.O. Sanitary Comm: is that they have no power to ask, *Has the thing been done?* that it is absolutely necessary to have a man or a Dept in the I.O. to ask & to see, *Has the thing been done?* -- & to furnish the S. of S. annually with a Report, not bigger than an 8<sup>vo</sup> pamphlet, to be laid before Parlt annually as to what *actually has been done*.

And he actually proposed that he himself, Sir B.F., would undertake the Dept if we thought him fit, if he could get the S. of S. to consent, & if we would help him.

**f189v**

Sir B.F. will write or come himself this afternoon to tell me the fate of Ld de Grey's Minute.

He says, that there could not be a better time than the present to urge our suit -- But he says, it must be between this & August 15 that the I.O. is actually come to a dead lock because of the badness of its arrangements that they are *compelled* to turn into the new I.O. *before* August 15 -- that there is then to be a general (compulsory) re-arrangement of sub=Departments, papers & the like -- that Sir S.N. would, he is sure, consider

**f190**

the subject now, both because Parlt  
will soon be up, & because of this  
compulsory re-arrangement of the I.O.  
-- that he, Sir B.F., is going to stay in  
town on purpose --

~~What does cancelled mean? --~~

Sir B.F. laughed immensely at that  
paper -- he said  
quite right -- quite right -- quite  
right for the official mind -- keep  
*that* for the official mind.

You know, he looked at that -- & said, it is  
all very good. But what you want is  
some one man or Dept here, to ask of  
India, What have you done? -- He says,

**f190v**

there is absolutely *no means at all* in the  
I.O. to forward a Sanitary administrative  
point at all --  
And he told me -- some dreadful stories  
to that effect -- resulting in disease &  
death -- under his own Bombay  
administration --

He is going to send me the Orissa Report,  
some Jail Reports, & some Poona Reports --  
which he says particularly the Orissa  
Report, illustrate better this fact  
than anything he could say --

He says the Orissa administrative disaster  
is beyond historical parallel --

He says -- that only applied to Bengal

**f191**

Shall I accept his offer of fathering the letter by presenting it himself? --

There's no doubt about that.

Sir B.F. read that. And he was of opinion that that, or something like that, should go in to Sir S.N. as a criticism on Sir J. Lawrence's Minute which he said he (Sir B.F.) had, when he saw it at the time, totally disagreed with

But he afterwards said that as Sir S.N. would be quite certain to show my letter to the Council, we had better send something of that kind in afterwards, as private.

He also read this -- & wished me to send that in.

But I said that, till we knew what

**f191v**

was the context of Ld de Grey's Minute it would not do for us to appear as if we had in any

[end 10:36]

**f192** NOTES ON THE SULTANS OF THE GULF & OF TURKEY PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED ca. JULY 23-24, 1867

you see when the Sultan of the Gulf says come on Thursday or Saturday or Friday considerably puts out the Sultan of Turkey whom Sir B. Frere for the moment depends hurry is that then Sir B.F. must come to day or tomorrow?

"made my own arrangements". And they are all undone -- I have. But I've had no answer -- dear soul, I've 50 other people to see. And I'm not at all "at ease".

**f192v** NOTES ON RATES PENCIL & PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE & ANOTHER HAND

*Angleterre* {IN PEN, IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S}

{IN PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

If that letter means anything, it means that till he knows that those rates &c will be sanctioned, he won't give the list of names

{IN PEN, IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S:}

Miss Florence Nightingale,  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London

{IN PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

He means me to get the rates agreed to first.

The question is: -- what am I to do?

f193 25 July [1867] note to FN no minute copied, decided doc to be signed by all the members, FN pencil note on: how many minutes are there between 12.20 & 3.45 The minute has been copied, but it was decided that being a document of great importance, it should be signed by all the members. Half the signatures have to be got yet. Dr Massey is at Portland and is expected tomorrow. Mr Frederick says it will be sure to be sent tomorrow. It is certain not to be sent in today, but it will make no difference about your letter. They have a copy of the India paper at the India Office, and can get it there.

**ff194-95** NOTES ON ARMY RE-ORGANIZATION PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED ca. JULY 25, 1867

**f194**

Army Estimates on to night --

Sir Harry comes here at 3 to know whether we wish him to say anything about a greater scheme of Army re-organization than this miserable two pence --

Whether he should propose a Commission to enquire into the whole question as a whole --

Well but that's just what Sir H. says -- a Commission to enquire into the *whole*

D or [?]

Well, then, do it -- Let us do what Cap G. asked us

**f195**

He asked us to send him something farther.  
D\_\_l take me if I would have been  
inveigled by you to send for that d\_\_d  
Report --

Well but about to night  
Sir H. says -- it's worth while if you have anything  
to propose to bring it forward year after year --

*Well but it's tonight*

Sir H. says, Ld Grey's plan is the best: for  
having men for a few years' enlistment only --  
But our authorities say: -- we have not the  
means of training them.

F196 JS pencil notes Doors and Windows

**ff198-201v** NOTES ON INDIA OFFICE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED ca. 25 JULY 1867

**f198** [archivist: F.N. ~~to Capt. Galton~~ reporting  
on conversation with Sir  
Bartle Frere --  
[~~July 24~~  
1867]

1.

He has seen Lord de Grey's Minute -- [10:34-36]

Then, he was told that nothing had taken  
place upon it --

Unlike Ellis, he was not satisfied -- And  
he went ferreting on

[He says, *by the way*, that Anderson is one  
of the best men they have -- but that  
Anderson told *him*, as he told Ellis,  
that there was nothing, absolutely  
nothing -- when there were *three*  
Despatches --

But that we *ought to get hold of*  
Anderson, because if he once takes up a  
thing, he *will go on with it*.

He says, *by the way*, that there is a  
Standing Order at the I.O., that I, F.N.,  
am to see any paper I call for

**f198v**

He says that he has found a Despatch  
of Lord Cranborne, upon Ld de Grey's Minute  
(which Minute, he says, is almost word  
for word our Memo)  
Ld Cranborne's Despatch is most unfortunate.  
He says, finance must come first -- when he  
sees what they can spend, then he will see  
what can be done to save life --  
instead of, as Sir B. Frere says, saying --  
Save our lives, cost what it will --  
then we can work  
he says  
We will save your lives if it does not  
cost too much --  
At the end, there are some good Suggestions  
as to using municipal bodies & local  
Governments --  
To this, he says, Sir J. Lawrence replied.  
And he says I (F.N.) have seen his reply.  
But I don't know what.  
He Sir B.F. has seen the Reply

**f199**

In April last, Sir S. Northcote wrote a  
Despatch, "a good administrative Despatch",  
which Sir B. Frere found.  
But, he says, nothing in all this alters  
our position.  
He says, with regard to my letter, I ought  
to say civilly to Sir S N. that he must go  
back to Ld de Grey's Minute --  
& that I ought to call for all these  
intermediate papers --  
  
He wished very much to have taken my  
letter *with* him (which he read over  
again most carefully)  
and to have taken the famous "doors  
& windows" paper with it (my letter) at  
once to Sir S. Northcote --  
I said: I didn't think that would do --  
that I must return the "doors & windows"  
to you --

**f199v**

He said -- well, the sooner you do anything  
the better --  
If you could send me (Sir B. Frere) your  
letter *to day*, to give to Sir S. Northcote --  
*taking care* that the "doors & windows"  
paper goes in *to day* to the I.O. so  
much the better --

**f200**

Sir B. Frere says: --  
that, if the administrative system in India is bad,  
that in the I.O. is worse  
he says --  
we are divided into 8 Committees of 5 or 6,  
who all do the business which would be  
much better done by one man, Clerk or  
Secretary --  
the business is actually not done  
we meet every Thursday the whole lot  
of us --  
every thing that is unimportant is then  
done  
every thing that is important is left undone  
for, if any one man moves that the  
papers be adjourned, every one else accedes  
personal questions, of course, come up first  
those are always brought up  
but no administrative question ever gets  
on a single stage  
there is no time for it  
we have just time to do the useless things the  
trivial things.



**f200v**

So, every thing is adjourned from year  
to year

*it is* like the Delhi sores

it is always on the list

& no one puts on even a plaster --

I miss him so --

He says -- the thing is now to let drive at  
Sir S. Northcote without a day's delay  
to get Anderson (who is efficient) on our  
side --

& to take advantage of the move to the new  
Office

& of the recess --

¶f He says -- "I will make 35 South St  
the India Office, while this affair is  
pending".

**f201**

Sir B. Frere told me most curious facts --  
(he was here for hours)

he said: -- you need not be so miserable  
about the delay in the Public Health Service --  
for you have given such a stir to the  
natives that we hear of nothing else --

This last year no European in Bombay could  
get a house --

All the good sea breezy houses belong to  
Parsees -- who, tho' rich, lived in the  
miserable parts of the town, & let their  
houses to Europeans --

This last year all the Europeans came to me  
& complained they could get no houses --  
I made great enquiries -- And I was  
told this: --

the boy Parsees go to the Grant Medical College  
& "Sir, we read there Miss Nightingale's &  
other works on air, & construction &c".

**f201v**

The Mama & Grandmama in Parsee  
 families are the tyrants.  
 The poor Papa had begged in vain to be  
 allowed to live in his own house --  
 They *would* live in the bad parts of the town  
 But when the boy came home & found  
 a sick child at home, he would say  
 "Grandmama, you're killing that child  
 Miss N. says so" --  
 And Grandmama listened to the boy, tho{CUT OFF}  
 she would not listen to Papa --  
 And Grandmama became a Sanitary  
 reformer in spite of herself --  
 And they moved to the new house  
 out of the narrow street with no window  
 to the sea-side house. [end 10:36]

-----  
 Sir B.F -- says "Miss Carpenter did much good" -- [9:700]  
 He says -- the gaols were like D. Dalgetty's horse -- when  
 he had been taught to live on 1 straw a day, he died  
 the gaol mortality from starvation -- excessive [end 9:700]

**ff202-02v** NOTES ON PERSONNEL IN INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
 DATED ca. 26 JULY 1867

**f202**

Lady Napier | [9:577-78]  
 -----

Ellis is afraid of me & does not  
 dare to come home --  
 He says, if he is deluded away to  
 Norwood again, his life is not worth 10  
 minutes' purchase --

Pycroft is leaving India --  
 Arbuthnot, Chief Secy is to have Pycroft's  
 place on the Council --  
 Ellis is offered the Chief Secyship  
 but waits my concurrence --

Lady Napier did not know of  
 Macpherson's death.  
 She brought me this letter from Ellis  
 Oh no he refers to Europe

**f202v**

I have heard from him  
And I have alas seen Lady Napier  
And I have also heard from Sir B. Frere

-----

Capt. G.  
says the jealousy is of the Army Sanitary Comm  
that our paper must dwell as exclusively  
as possible on the mode of procedure  
to be deprecated in India --  
as little as possible either on the disregard  
of the Army San Comm  
or on the door & window

he also says that it is essential to obtain  
Sir B Frere's support  
as Sir S. Northcote is quite sure to shew  
our paper to the Council

**[end 9:572]****f203** ADDRESS ON ENVELOPE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

H.W.

Deputy Insp Genl Porteous Eq. MP  
E. India United Service Club  
St. James Square

Madras

**ff204-08v** NOTES ON PORTEOUS' COMMENTS ABOUT NURSING IN INDIA PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED JULY 31, 1867

**f204**

Porteous

[9:958-59]

Well -- he came evidently intent on proving to  
me that no Matron was wanted --

that the Doctor ought to be Matron --  
& that wretched coolie women under the

Dr. were the best Nurses --

But, luckily for me, he was drunk --

And, before he went, (he was here 2 1/2 hours)  
he had admitted every thing.

The General Hospl is half Military -- 3rd Batt.

& half Civil -- The Military (60 Patients) have  
the same amount of room as the Civil (290 Pat.)

The Civil are 250 beds male 40 female --

The female is so bad that Porteous recommends the  
Govt incessantly to pull it down -- He says,  
*nothing* else will do.

[By the way, he says that no respectable woman  
goes into Hospl -- They are all prostitutes]

**f204v**

He says that these (which is made such a fuss about) "Hospital Nurses" are only for the small Infirmary (10 beds) all scabies & sore eyes) of the asylum itself -- that the "passed Hospl Nurses" know nothing whatever -- & are *never* "passed" into any other Hospital & are no use -- They only have a few Lectures from the Dr.

And this (he said) after having said that there was no need to send out any Trained Nurses to Madras -- that their Nurses were perfect.

However, he came to. And he said that, in that General Hospital our Training School must begin -- that it was no use connecting it with that.

Well, he said, first of all that they had Nurses & to spare at Madras -- then -- that we could get *no* material at all to

**f205**

train at Madras --

then that we, might get a few Eurasians & natives to train.

He gave a most deplorable account of the prospect of European life --

He said -- why you can't get your drummer boys out of soldiers' children --

And you won't get your Nurses out of soldiers' girls.

You are obliged to have your lady's maids out from Europe. And they won't stay with you. They get sick & either have to be sent back or ~~to~~ marry --

He said, he was afraid, our Nurses would not be able to keep their health there --

He is strongly of opinion (I don't agree) only to send out a Matron that she should be supreme in the Hospl -- that she should train Eurasians & natives (I think she *must*

**f205v**

But -- which was the one built by Sir C. Trevelyan  
which he says is capital.

-----  
have 2 Head Nurses *at least* to support her)  
He says -- we must ask *not* less than  
£20 to £25 a month & a house -- that no  
woman could keep her health for less -- &  
that her position ought to be *supreme* --  
He says -- the Eurasians & natives are most  
untrustworthy --  
that they never can command the respect  
of the soldier Patients who always rebel  
against them & call them 'blackie'  
He says -- he doesn't believe we can find  
more pupils (& no European pupils) than  
will do for Madras alone in Madras  
nor for Bangalore alone in Bangalore --  
He says -- it's no use looking for supply  
to soldiers' widows or daughters.

**f206**

Monthly salary? of teachers of College  
of Medical College & High School?  
Government teachers? normal school? --

[end 9:959]

a refrain  
sufficient pay

250 sup: a month & a house

Eurasians at the Lying-in Hospital (half-caste) [9:959-60]  
Bangalore

Mrs. Seckina  
Lying-in Matron

**f207**

Lying-in Hospital

he repeated over & over again -- we are so proud of this --

200 beds -- no Puerperal Fever --  
all Eurasian Patients (half-caste

Midwives here trained

But -- no Permanent Midwife --

the Matron, of whom he spoke enthusiastically,  
only housekeeper --

The pupils deliver *all* the ordinary cases  
without a Midwife & without a Doctor.

(No native Patients) {ACTUALLY ONE BIG BRACKET}

(All Eurasians )

The Dr. comes in for the extraordinary cases --

And the Dr. gives lectures --

I said -- & they are by to see the extraordinary  
cases delivered.

Here he got so drunk that he spent at least  
half an hour in explaining to me that there

**f207v**

was nothing to be "seen" -- that everything  
was under the bed-clothes

But -- he says -- these Midwives (who are  
paid by Govt) are employed exclusively  
among the rich.

He gives the most deplorable account of  
the Medical subordinates --

He says -- the money we have spent too  
in sending natives to be educated as  
Drs here is lost -- that they pass  
their examinations splendidly -- but  
that they don't live like gentlemen  
afterwards -- are not respected --  
& sink into contempt.

He says that all these "Dispensaries" have  
20-40 beds -- chiefly alas! prostitutes  
-- that they are waited upon, by native  
women who know *nothing* --  
that they ought to be abolished.

The Native Infirmary is large -- & he would  
like to unite the female part of the

**f208**

Genl Hospl with it

They have 80 Leper beds -- always full

He says: the Lying-in Patients always have  
their food brought in to them at the  
Hospl by their friends -- The Hospl  
neither feeds nor cooks for them --  
And all the women, except the Europeans,  
are naked in bed.

He says: -- it answers very well.

(I can't understand it)

He says: -- the Hospl Patients *never*  
stay in bed. They pull off the  
bed clothes (the moment the Dr. is  
gone) & lie about the floor --  
the same in the Asylums

He says -- that Ld & Lady Napier have  
devoted themselves entirely to the  
Hospls, & would do anything

**f208v**

He gave me a most interesting account  
of Ld Napier's famine tour

Ld Napier used to work 16 hours a day  
& would actually go to see the sick  
put up (on the tour) after the day's work

**[end 9:960]**



**ff209-09v** NOTES ON MISCELLANEOUS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED END OF JULY, 1867, very rough, can't read all even at BL

**f209**

That is well provided with just [PAGE RIPPED] the {illeg}  
This very badly -- she wants funds for it {PAGE RIPPED} of the {illeg}  
My son my {illeg. Lord?} is white  
{DATE: IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S} [ca. End July 1867]  
{CUT OFF Galton?} says: -- it won't do to take up the door question  
{CUT OFF} Till I get that, I can't re-write my letter.  
{CUT OFF} perfectly impossible for me to see 3 men on the  
{CUT OFF} same day --  
{CUT OFF} Sir B.F. expressly says: that he had better not  
{CUT OFF} introduce the other two to me --  
send me some Tomorrow is India mail  
Algerian Report Yes What books shall I send Hewlett  
the Health officer of Bombay --  
Algerian Rept

Whether Sir B. Frere would not be able to  
criticize my paper more freely if I were to send  
it to him instead of showing it  
then I don't see much use in the Exhibition

**f209v**

I sent [illeg] with that to Ld Stanley

I don't trust to that  
It was he who invented the  
India Council -- which it  
just on the same principle  
So you think you {illeg} {illeg} at a day

Where in second?

Will they go before next year?

only for £28 {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY}

14 {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY}

Now I have taught you to read  
Must I teach you to write?

**f210** NOTES ON SIR JOHN LAWRENCE'S TIME IN OFFICE PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED BEFORE 1 AUGUST 1867

write that down {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY}

{THIS SECTION WRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND}

{FN WRITES:}

That's just what I say -- and  
If nothing is done before August 1, it will be just  
as it was last year -- & nothing will be done  
this year -- And next year Sir J. Lawrence's  
time of office is up.

**ff211-15v** NOTES ON SIR B. FRERE, SIR S. NORTHCOTE & INDIA OFFICE  
PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED AUGUST 14, 1867

**f211**

[archivist: Probably after interview  
of FN & Sir B. Frere Aug. 14]

{FN WRITES:} **[9:591-94]**

Sir B. Frere says:  
that now is the time to attack Sir S. Northcote  
that if we don't do it this autumn, we shall not  
do it at all  
that Sir S. Northcote is willing but weak --  
very hard working & conscientious  
but always anxious to be *safe*  
that he won't do anything revolutionary but that  
he is anxious to do something --  
but that the whole thing turns upon my seeing  
him personally  
& that I must make his education like a  
baby  
that he is far more hard working than Lord de  
Grey  
but has far less insight & perception than  
Sidney Herbert (which of course I knew)  
that he would like me to write, offering to  
see him  
that he Sir S N -- is only going to leave  
London for 10 days this autumn  
& he Sir B. F. -- only for 2 days --

**f211v**

that they don't go into their new office till  
Sept 15 --  
& that in short he Sir B. F. thinks these  
next 2 months are the time for work --  
Sir B.F. says the two debates have only  
unveiled their excessive weakness &  
confusion  
that Ld Cranborne is full of splendid fallacies  
that he is energetic, imaginative -- & that when he  
talks about the confusion of Indian Affairs in  
the Ho: of C. he positively foams at the mouth  
Sir B.F. says it's all very well to talk of a despot  
Viceroy or Governor being the right thing.  
Yes. it's the right thing if he can have  
20 Wazeers in his Cabinet behind him, & cut their  
heads off if they don't give good advice --  
but what they want is not more Councils but more  
Counsel -- counsel from men who know  
something about it --  
That we talk about India as they talk about  
Europe -- a man remembers something about  
Devonshire in his youth & he thinks

**f212**

Spain & France are like it  
or he talks about Shields or Wapping &  
thinks England is like Shields or Wapping  
So, he says, we talk about India --  
A man may know 20 things about India -- &  
he mayn't know 20 other things  
  
He says -- the stuff that has been talked about the  
failure in Orissa -- about it's not the men  
but the system -- is like:  
if you have a bad mariner with bad barometers  
who can't foresee or provide for the storm  
which wrecks his ship -- which a better  
mariner could provide against -- it's no  
use saying -- it's not the man but the  
system -- What you must do is to give  
the man better training  
  
Then he went into more details --  
He said: -- Lord Elphinstone first, at Bombay,  
saw & acted upon the absolute necessity of  
reclaiming the marsh lands --  
I did what I could --  
But now -- we can't sell the lands we reclaim

**f212v**

we've *too much* land.

Well -- they can't see that it's a matter of health, not of market.

And we've got the subject up now at the I.O.

Then -- about the Barracks --

You must be cautious with Sir S.N. --

If you say every man must have -- cub. ft. & then multiply that by the men -- it mounts up to such a sum that the Council snub Sir S.N. (who really doesn't know anything about it) at once -- What you must say is -- do the worst first -- & find out which are the worst.

Lastly, he said that he was quite sure the "doors & windows" paper *had* attracted Sir S. N.'s attention in my letter. For, last Thursday, at the Council, when it came up, he, Sir B. F. was prepared to stop it & bring it forward instead of its being lost with the other papers -- but that he (Sir S.N.) was beforehand with him & brought it forward. And it is to be discussed to-day He says -- the Council is quite sure to go wrong.

**f213**

Lastly, he said that I must begin Sir S.N.'s education -- that I must have him here as soon as possible -- & go thro' the principal points with him since Sir J. Lawrence's accession.

Lastly, he said, that the state of the I.O -- is inconceivable that just the routine of the old E.I.C.-- the worst part has survived the wreck that there has been no master hand to create anything that *nothing has* been created & that they are just wading & waddling on & doing *nothing*

[And I'm sure he thinks that Sir S.N. is *not* the master hand which *will* create anything. Ld Cranborne he says was a genius -- but then he positively "foams at the mouth"-]

He is quite shocked at the indifference of the Ho: of C. He says the speeches were good -- but that the few M.P.s who were there sat like gulls -- & only

**f213v**

stayed "to defend Sir S.N. if he were attacked, --  
that the Manchester school & people who live  
by commerce on manufactures relating to India --  
& the country gentlemen who have sons & relatives  
making their fortunes in India --  
ought to be there, taking part in or at  
least interested in the Debate" --  
But devil a bit does one of them care --

Sir B.F. told me (by the way) that Ld Elphinstone  
~~that~~ had been the first to bring a water-supply  
to Bombay -- It was thought excessive -- But  
the people drank & washed to such a degree  
that the only fruit of Ld Elphinstone's supply  
has been to show that what was thought  
excessive is wholly inadequate --

**f214**

Look here -- you said I was to show Sir S.N --  
my papers to Sir J. Lawrence  
I have hunted them out

But there's no one but Frere I could trust

My son my beard is white

Sir B Frere said: -- I was to show Sir S. Northcote  
all the papers I showed him  
Now -- shall I?

-----  
I always feel with a S. of S. that they are  
so jealous of each other.

If ~~Sir S.N.~~ I show Sir S.N. any other  
S. of S.'s letters, he will think I shall show  
his --

If I show him what we have done for  
Ld de Grey, he will think I shall show  
any future S. of S. what we do for him

**f215v**

Shall I ask him  
to let me see Ld Cranborne's Desp.

[end 9:594]

**ff216-19** NOTES ON SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED AUGUST 1867 [archivist: after interview with F.N. Aug. 20]

**f216** {FN WRITES:}

**[9:594-96]**

*Sir S. Northcote*

well, I've won this --

A Dept in the I.O. for our business --

Sir B. Frere                      President      |      He mentioned

Sir H. Anderson	Secretary	Sir Erskine Perry & Genl Baker
-----------------	-----------	-----------------------------------

with an Assistt Sec -- | as members

I think he will -- because I spoke strongly about it.

But he said first -- there was an immense jealousy of the Army San: Comm: --

and it would not do to have Sir P. Cautley on both, Sir P.C. consulting himself

Then, he said, quite of his own accord, that he understood & admitted that the Dept with Sir B. Frere at its head should consult the Army San: Comm: --

And I said we looked upon the  
proposed Dep. as a Controlling authority  
& upon the Army San: Comm: as a consultative --

Sir S. Northcote says, that's a perpetual rub & sore

**f216v**

Sir S. Northcote was very confidential  
He says -- he is going to make Constitutional changes  
& actually asked me my opinion.  
I lilted up with my Budgets & responsibilities  
for local Govts  
And he was quite agreeable --  
He says -- should you not leave drainage,  
water-supply &c &c to local Govts  
& Barracks to the supreme Govt?

He asks -- whether it would not be better not  
to have those grand, permanent buildings at  
all -- whether buildings to be pulled down  
every 30 years are not better in a  
climate where the very walls get saturated

He asks -- is there not danger of any building  
in India getting polluted in 30 year's --

I told him that

**f217**

Sir S.N. is going away to-day, but comes back  
the week after next.

He spoke with great feeling of the Orissa  
business

He said -- they tell us we could not  
save all -- But we did not try to save  
any. We were actually told that no  
famine was expected that there was a  
Fever, but not the result of famine.

He is very well-intentioned -- but he has not  
the elements of Sanitary

He asked me -- why I said there was  
no organization -- no Govt Officers of Health  
when there were Sanitary Commissioners.

And I was obliged to explain from the  
beginning -- that Officers of Health are  
not Sanitary Commissioners

**f217v**

He is a man of very much the same style of [5:527]  
mind as Ld de Grey --

None of the rapid unerring perceptions  
of Sidney Herbert

None of the power of Sir J. Lawrence

None of the power & keenness of Sir B. Frere  
But he is very well-intentioned -- And I think

has great industry & also perseverance --  
I believe he will carry out exactly what he  
consents to do --

[end 5:527]

**f218**

[archivist: Report of F.N.'s interview with Sir Staff. Northcote  
to Aug. 67]

{F.N. WRITES:}

He took away Sir J. Lawrence's Minute & my  
criticism upon it (to study)

*That's* not the Minute --

No -- it was written on May 5 1866 here --  
when Sir J. Lawrence's Minute was first found --

He is intent upon making great constitutional  
changes in India -- so as to localize  
responsibilities --

Ld Napier appears to be badgering him to death --  
he is always writing for something --

he has sent him home an account of the  
success at Conjeveram --

he has told him -- his next letter will be  
about Hospitals

Age, I said, & his next letter after that  
about Public Health Service --



**f218v**

Then *I* began about Nurses --  
And he said he was pestered by private people  
with their philanthropic schemes about  
India (like Miss Carpenter, he said)

I said -- I'm not a philanthropic person.  
It's *they* who are pestering me to give  
them Nurses -- I sit here like a  
stupid Paged & say, Well, well, give me  
money & I'll see what I can do for  
you --

He said -- the India Off. at home was  
rather a controlling power as to expenditure  
-- that they did not propose to the G.G.  
to spend but rather checked him --

He said -- they had had no proposal,  
he believed, from G.G or any Presidency Government  
Governor  
to spend about Nurses --

I said -- will you favour it if it comes?

**f219**

He said -- yes, I'll do more than that --  
I'll write to Sir J.L. about it.

He talked a great deal about Jails --  
He said the Mortality was "monstrous".

I don't know that he saw how afraid I was of  
him. For he kept his eyes tight shut all  
the time. And I kept my eyes wide open --

I went fully into the question with him about  
sending R.E.s to be educated --

I showed him Capt. Tulloch's Report.

But I told him he must not expect to find  
another R.E. who would make so good  
an one --

He said he would talk the whole matter over  
with "Clinton" --

[end 9:596]

**f220** NOTES ON MAJOR MALLESON & SIR J. MCNEILL PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED ca. AUGUST 24, 1867

Am I to acknowledge Major Malleson --

I want carefully to leave a door open for myself  
and I want also to consult Sir J. McNeill, as he  
had so large a share in the original paper  
But Sir J. McN. is absent in the Highlands for 3  
weeks x Then I will write to him.  
It would delay my acknowledgment for at least 6 we

{FLOOR PLAN -- PLEASE SEE PHOTOCOPY}

**f221** NOTES ON NURSES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED ca.  
END OF AUGUST, 1867

Miss Rappe

the account she had given had deterred a young  
person, Luise Dell, a Nurse, from going over  
to Manchester to be as Nurse in the Hospital  
from the Hospital at Gothenbourg --

Miss Emily Nonnen  
at Mrs. Morgan's  
Rose Hill  
Conway

N W

**ff222-22v** NOTES ON SIR BARTLE FRERE & INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY  
NIGHTINGALE DATED AUGUST 27-28, 1867

**f222**

Sir B. Frere

[10:39]

is actually taking the trouble to write for us a  
paper on Dr. Farquhar's paper -- which he says  
is full of serious mistakes --

And we must read this before he comes

He says -- that about Trees is a mistake

He says -- it's an utter mistake to talk about the  
natives as if you were a father taking charge of an  
infant --

The natives can, *will* & do think for themselves --  
And you must make them work for themselves --

He says -- what Farquhar says about the Hurdwar [?]  
fair is all nonsense --

that the natives can perfectly well understand  
& be made to take care of themselves & to avert  
Cholera during pilgrimage fairs

but that Farquhar & Co. won't believe it.

He says -- you have the Mehratta, the Sikh, the Bengalee,  
the Madrasses &c &c -- & they are as unlike one  
another as Spaniard & Laplander --

but Farquhar & Co. -- apply to all India what  
they know of the Bengalee.

But he (Sir B.F.) says take the Bengalee & in keenness

**f222v**

& subtlety of intellect he is superior to an English man. It is true he tells lies --

But still it is nonsense to talk of him as an uneducated savage.

He laughs at you & thinks himself (& is) superior ~~to an~~ in intellect to an Englishman

And you must not treat him like an infant but take him into your counsels --

This is the grand mistake of Sir J. Lawrence's present advisers --

Then, he says, Farquhar is all wrong about many points of administration --

However, Sir B. Frere's paper is coming -- And we are to look it over together --

And he will come here on Tuesday at 3.30 to talk it all over with you in this room if you like it.

12. He asked to bring Sir H. Anderson to see me

He did not propose to bring him on Tuesday. **[end 10:39]**

**f223** NOTES ON SIR BARTLE FRERE & INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY  
NIGHTINGALE DATED AUGUST - SEPTEMBER, 1867

Sir B.F. took away with him all those  
Instructions & things about Bermuda &c --

And he suggests that they should be sent out  
to Sir J. Lawrence --

He also told me that they have laid on a  
quarantine on the river Indus -- & he feels  
sure they will do a great deal of harm.

He says -- that 10 years ago there was not [9:886]  
a single man in India who would allow  
that the causes of Cholera could be remedied.

He says that from Calcutta to Peshawur is as  
far as from London to Constantinople -- & it  
is positively necessary to have four  
responsible Sanitary Centres in that  
line --

Your population is increasing every year--the epidemics strike a  
greater blow at the people & property in a week than the whole  
cost

of the Sanitary Works to have [end 9:886]  
building a city on the bed of a torrent then would be --  
to be swept away every year -- only it's a death bed you  
build it on --

**f224** NOTES ON SIR BARTLE FRERE & INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY  
NIGHTINGALE DATED SEPTEMBER 7, 1867

Sir B. Frere

He is going to send the answer to our papers *to-day*.

The reason why he has been so long about it  
is: -- that he wanted to put down *all* he wanted  
to say & then found it was impossible.

He is coming here "early this week" -- Because  
he wants to consult.

He does not himself think that we shall get  
the India Off: Comm: for "a few weeks" --  
But this is the very thing he wants to talk  
about.

He says he has a great deal to say --  
He wishes he could throw all the blame on  
the "Emperor Theodoris" --

He wants me to write to Sir J. Lawrence by  
tomorrow's mail --

I don't myself see that this will do --  
And the Bombay mail of the 18th reaches  
Simla not much later than the Calcutta  
mail of the 10th

**ff225-27** NOTES ON SIR BARTLE FRERE & INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED SEPTEMBER 11, 1867

**f225**

Sir B. Frere [10:39-41]

is quite clear about what he wishes us to do but whether it can be done is quite another thing. I feel quite terrified when I see how much he thinks depends upon our bringing our personal influence to bear upon Sir J. Lawrence.

He says -- whatever originates from that end will be sanctioned by Sir S. Northcote --

But nothing will be originated by Sir S.N. except what we tell him to do --

He wishes us to write to Sir J. Lawrence by next mail --

[I asked him & he said he would look over any Draft we chose to send *in time*]

He wishes this letter to be like a Minute on Education which Sir C. Wood sent out to India some years ago --

which was not controversialist -- not blaming -- but simply ignoring all the foolish objections that had been made "harking back" -- saying -- now let us begin, could you not do so & so?!

**f225v**

He says -- no time should be lost --  
that nothing is to be gained by waiting to see  
what Sir S. Northcote is likely to do --  
because Northcote has not an idea  
except of doing what we ask --  
what we ask will either be done or not be  
done --  
it is *not* as if Northcote was going to suggest  
anything of himself -- For he won't

Nothing will be done for a fortnight --

Sir B. Frere thinks we are *quite* certain  
to have the Committee -- for Northcote has  
already discussed it with Sir H. Anderson --

And Anderson has opposed some retrogradists  
being put upon it

Yes -- I asked -- And Sir B. Frere thinks  
that that is all *at first* which his  
Committee is likely to do -- viz. to receive papers  
& call for papers --

In October *all* the Committees of the India Office

**f226**

Are remodelled -- And then Our Committee  
will be started.

They are now in their new House. But  
all the papers are in vans in the streets.

Sir B. Frere says that if we don't revolutionize  
India, revolution will come of itself --  
that they are incapable of bearing the  
smallest shock  
that they have no organization anywhere --  
that it is absolutely absurd for the Viceroy  
to attempt to be Providence to 180 Millions --  
that he is like L. Napoleon, who is already  
an old, broken-down & disappointed man,  
from attempting the same thing -- viz. to do  
every thing for the French, instead of helping  
them to do for themselves -- & yet that it  
is easier to play Providence for the French  
than to do so for India --  
He told me many curious stories -- especially  
about the present Govt of Sind & the Punjaub



**f226v**

showing that instead of their having a Govt  
there is nothing but a Police force, a  
Military force & a Civilian Administration  
all quarrelling & not co-operating  
with each other.

And he re-iterated what he had said  
that, if no improvement were made, there  
would be a revolution.

About the Sanitary part, he asked me  
over & over again whether Sir J. Lawrence  
had changed his views --

I said, I thought not. But really, I  
hardly knew how to explain otherwise  
than that he has been over-ridden.

You have not brought in the Peshawur papers.  
Sir B.F. asked about them --

Our letter to Sir J. Lawrence, he says, ought  
to be written at once. And the moment that  
is gone he says we ought to write to Sir S.  
Northcote, because we ought to profit of this  
moment of comparative leisure to keep pegging [?]

**f227**

our letter to Sir J. Lawrence he says  
should be -- to call him back to the time  
when he first went out  
we should embrace a (not controversial)  
answer to Dr. Farquhar & to Col. Crommelin  
we should ask him to consider what is  
to be done in India -- ask *him* to propose  
something --

We should go upon the ground of Lord de  
Grey's Minute & Ellis' papers --  
And -- he says -- we should ask him to allow  
Ellis to try *his* plan in the Madras Govt  
Sir J. Lawrence says & it is true -- that  
it would not suit the Bengal Govt  
without great modifications  
Well, then, let Ellis try it in his own Govt

Sir B. Frere says I ought to show Ellis' paper  
to Sir S. Northcote  
& send a copy again to Sir J. Lawrence  
He says -- I ought now to write a note to Mr. Ellis --  
& say -- press it *now* upon Ld Napier to write home  
to have it done.

**[end 10:41]**

**f228** NOTES ON SIR BARTLE FRERE & INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY  
NIGHTINGALE DATED SEPTEMBER 11-22, 1867

Sir B.F. says (I tell you this in the strictest confidence) **[10:43]**  
that Sir J. Lawrence is now so cross that he & the India  
Off: are scarcely on speaking terms --  
that if *they* were to write to him any proposal of  
this kind, it would just set him against it  
that he, Sir J.L., will not take a word from  
any one but me, F.N. --

I would add something in order to mollify Sir J  
Lawrence to the effect that Ellis might make  
the plan for Madras -- not as if we wished  
Ellis to legislate for the whole of India --  
and Strachey & Malleson for Bengal -- but  
all together.

**[end 10:43]**

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN:}

put up in boards  
not put in a press  
& covered with unlettered cotton cloth  
not to cut the margins  
All this is done to preserve the pencil  
notes

**ff229-29v** NOTES ON SIR BARTLE FRERE & INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED SEPTEMBER 22, 1867

**f229** [archivist: F.N.'s letter to Sir W.E.N. 11 Oct. 1867 shews that she did not] go. \* [22 Sept: 1867]

22nd

{FN WRITES:}

I am going to Lea Hurst  
but I will tell you what Sir B. Frere  
says -- for you to do --  
Sir B. Frere  
says that the next fortnight will decide  
our fate.

[9:597-98]

{IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S:}

[x Sanitary Committee & Dept.  
in the India Office -- appd -- Nov]

{FN WRITES:}

that it is *not* at all certain that the x Committee  
will be appointed, *unless* we keep worrying  
Sir S. Northcote  
that Sir S. Northcote comes to town tomorrow for 2 days,  
but that he has enough subjects before him,  
to take *weeks*, if they were to be considered  
properly, which they will not be --  
that he then goes to Manchester & then to  
Balmoral --  
that our letter ought to be before him *there*,  
when he will have a little time --  
that if we let it stand over till Cabinets  
begin in a month's time or till the Reform  
& Parlt begin again, we are lost  
that he proposes we should write Sir S. Northcote  
a letter, summing up & reminding -- reminding

**f229v**

him *also* of the Committee -- & explaining also in words  
which he will read Mr. Ellis' plan to be tried  
in Madras --

He says, upon this depends not only whether  
the Commee will be at all, but, what is  
far more problematical, whether it will  
be allowed to be of any use at all.

that then when the Commee is appointed, he  
shall ask us to draw up a plan of procedure

[end 9:598]

**f230** NOTES ON SIR BARTLE FRERE & INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED ca. SEPTEMBER 22-26, 1867

Sir B. Frere [9:598]  
 says that as Sir J. Lawrence's Despatch refers only to Bengal & Provinces, we ought to say either in our private letter to Sir S. Northcote or elsewhere that we hope something will be done for Madras & Bombay -- & that we ought to send him Ellis' paper with abstracts from his letters --  
 He is going to send back our whole concern this morning. [end 9:598]

**ff231-35** NOTES ON SIR BARTLE FRERE & INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED SEPTEMBER 26, 1867

**f231**

Sir B. Frere Sept 26 [1867] [9:598-600]  
 was here 2 hours -- (Sept. 25)  
 {[1867] & (Sept. 25) IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S}  
 he has no alteration to make in the letter to Sir S. Northcote which he would wish to go to Balmoral on Saturday or Monday  
 he thinks that a letter ought to go out without delay from Sir S. Northcote to Sir J. Lawrence (without even waiting for the appointment of the Commission) on Oct 3 -- & he thinks my letter should reach Northcote in time to prompt this --

But he thinks it is of the utmost importance that we should privately write to Sir J. Lawrence on October 3 asking him to enquire into the Peshawur

~~he says that~~ Sir B. Frere says: not  
 Sir B. Frere says that they are now (at the I.O.) granting £400,000 for *works at Peshawur* -- that, so far as they know, these plans contain not one of the Sanitary conditions which we require -- they won't --  
 Certainly -- But Sir B. Frere says that, when he said

**f231v**

something, he was told that Ld Cranborne  
had made this promise -- that Peshawur  
was to have the £400000 for works  
alone for the cantonment of Peshawur --  
that no enquiry was to be made --  
that the plans would not come before the  
I.O. at all --  
Well, it's going to be done -- it's sanctioned by  
Ld Cranborne --  
Sir B. Frere says that he knows of his own  
personal knowledge, that Sir J. Lawrence  
will do that for me which he won't do for  
the Secretary of State  
And he thinks we might interfere successfully  
about Peshawur --  
Sir S. Northcote is not going to decide at all  
Ld Cranborne has decided  
We *shall* have that Committee -- but not till  
November. And

**f232**

Sir B. Frere told me all about that --  
He knows Peshawur & Meean Meer well --  
And he gave me a long account of the cantonment  
of Poona, which he says will do just as well  
for Peshawur --  
He says that Poona is as we know a town  
of 90000 people -- that the cantonment grew  
up *below* & under the prevailing wind of  
Poona -- that the interval became filled up  
with another town of 30000 people --  
that the drinking water was supplied by a  
river into which the whole drainage went --  
that they had always Cholera or something else --  
that Sir Jamsetjie at last said he would  
pay a fabulous sum to give them good drinking water  
-- that the river was dammed up (to make a reservoir)  
by the Military Engineer -- that the dam gave way --  
-- that the river was dammed up by a Civil Engineer  
-- & the dam gave way --  
that it was then asked how the native Engineers  
made tanks -- & it was then done according to

**f232v**

their plan -- & the dam did not give way --  
but that the whole drainage was still allowed  
to run into the river --  
that Dr. Leith remonstrated --  
that they made a plan & Estimate -- & sent  
it to the Supreme Govt --  
that they said it was too dear --  
that they made another --  
that, in the meanwhile, it was found out that  
they could irrigate a ground of 90 miles --  
at a remunerative cost of from 5 to 20 per  
cent  
that *this* was referred to Calcutta  
that then they said *that* came under the  
head of Irrigation Loans  
& they must have a new & minuter Estimate  
for *that* --  
that Sir B. Frere said -- well, the Estimate  
is for £200 000 -- make it £205 000 --  
if you will --  
But let us have it --  
the *least* return will be 5 per cent --  
This has been going on for 19 years -- And

**f233**

*it has been up to this moment* lying at  
just the same point that it has been  
for 19 years --  
Sir B. Frere told me exactly that about Meean Meer  
He says it might be remedied -- but that nothing  
has been done --  
He says so -- And he says Sir J. Lawrence is not  
only trying to drive over the heap of stones (like  
the hackney coachmen) but to break them,  
all by himself  
And he can't --  
Sir S. Northcote has appointed a Committee  
on the Orissa business which holds its first  
Meeting to-day -- Sir B.F. is on it --  
He says, the only proposition that has reached  
them to make 40 millions of uncivilized starving  
people into 40 millions of civilized people is: --  
to have     2 Commissioners &  
           10 Stipendiary Magistrates

**f233v**

He says that everything must come from Sir J. Lawrence

that Sir J. Lawrence would do for me what he won't do for Sir S. Northcote

Sir B.F. says it is of the utmost importance that Sir S. Northcote should write to Sir J. Lawrence by next mail before the effect of our letter to him of last mail has gone off --

He says it will be effective in the same way as telling a drowning man to swim --

Sir B.F. says that Sir J. Lawrence is about India exactly as England is about Ireland -- trying all kinds of every imaginable specific -- but never going to the root of giving India a good Govt.

He says, with regard to all those things, the refusing a guarantee of 5 pr cent to railroads when no one knows that the possession of India may not turn upon being able to throw in a few hundred men from Kurrachee --

**f234**

& such things as the supply of water to Poona when there is a certainty of remunerative return in irrigating 90 miles of land if you ask -- well, who is it who prevents these things? --

the answer is, nobody --

the answer is, there is no one to shake the Financial Minister & say You find us this money somehow, for we must & will have it.

Sir B.F. says that it would be highly advisable if I could only get Ld Stanley to say to Sir S. Northcote --

Well now, this was a subject which interested me very much -- do look it up now --

Only Galton never does anything for me -- but criticize *my* letters (for which I am very much obliged to him)

For the matter of that, Galton does less for me than Ld Stanley. For we do know that Ld Stanley spoke for me both to Sir Northcote & to Ld Cranborne

**f234v**

Sir B.F. says that Ld Cranborne may possibly be the next Gov. Gen. or the next S. of S -- that he is a very dangerous enemy -- & Ministers would gladly do something for him -- & that it would be most desirable if we could get hold of Ld Cranborne now --

Sir B.F. still thinks that we ought to write to Sir J. Lawrence & tell him that we understand large sums are about to be expended on Peshawur as a cantonment & strong hold -- And have such & such Sanitary considerations been attended to -- He says, we ought to apply to Sir J. Lawrence The expenditure was sanctioned by Ld Cranborne --

Sir B.F. says -- they can do nothing farther (he has tried) But I could --

You stated (in this which Sir B.F. has seen) that we have no hint in *any* document as to the cause of the disease

Now, you say, that we have a hint as to the causation (in those papers.) That's just what he says --

Well, Sir B.F. says I ought to ask for that. He said so on the grounds in this letter. **[end 9:600]**

**f235**

[DATED Sept. 1867]

You know that the £400 000 voted for Peshawur has nothing to do with the Tunnel under the Indus -- & that Sir B. Frere considers that ~~nothing~~ questions more will be asked from the I.O. -- unless we privately ask questions.

He says, he has asked questions. But the answer has been Ld Cranborne gave it without conditions -- And we can make none now that I personally could easily say, I understood that a large sum had been sanctioned for works at Peshawur &c &c &c it's for fortification works --

No-- but that's just what Sir B. Frere says -- they appear to be "going at" it, without taking a single step to make Peshawur healthy.

Sir B.F. says -- the water=supply at Peshawur is exactly in the same condition as that at Poona --

Sir B.F. says they have less --



**ff236-37v** NOTES ON NURSES, SISTERHOODS & MISS JONES PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED ca. SEPTEMBER 26, 1867

**f236**

I think perhaps I ought to enter very briefly into this --  
that we never could sanction *Assistant Nurses*  
nor such punishments as stops

**f237**

involving not only the future of persons I hold very dear  
but the whole question as to whether Sisterhoods can  
exist in the Ch. of E. or not.

to my mind the question will be decided in the  
negative if Miss Jones fails -- i.e. if a Sisterhood  
cannot be conducted on a secular basis.

===

the object is to introduce some kind of spiritual discipline  
headship in Miss Jones or

at least one (a spiritual headship) to make discipline  
easier

The Chaplain is to set up an altar in Miss Jones'  
private room & exhibit the Sacraments on it

And one seventh of the Clergy in England at this  
moment would do this

===

Julian the Apostate's arguments to re-establish  
the worship of the Pagan Gods exactly the same  
as those used in "The Ch. & the World" to re-establish  
the use of vestments.

===

Miss Jones makes conditions about her Chaplain --  
As it happens, the two prohibitions/rules wh the Bishop  
makes are not those which they want to break.  
But -- they want to introduce some kind of  
spiritual headship in Miss Jones -- Miss J. is the

**f237v**

only person who sees this clearly -- Mr. Bowman has  
never seen it.

===

As I understand the Council won't enter into any  
agreement, by which the Sisterhood should not  
be an integral part of St. John's Ho: --  
They say -- yes, you shall have lodging in St. John's,  
a Chaplain of your own -- But -- we reserve  
the power to part, if the Chaplain plays fantastic  
tricks -- if he is Archbp Manning in disguise

===

I think the Council ought to have got rid of the  
late Chaplain, whether he were an Irish Protestant,  
a High Church or a Jesuit in disguise -- if  
Miss J. showed reason why he was an unfitting  
Chaplain.

I think the Sisters ought to have a Chaplain  
of their own choosing --

But then Miss Jones makes conditions

===

The Council is determined it shall be on a secular  
basis.

Miss J. says No: --

**ff238-39** NOTES ON ADMINISTRATION PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED ca. 12 OCTOBER 1867

**f238**

1 Here's that dreadful St. John's House

2 Council coming on again --

Yesterday I had Pelham Dale here the  
whole afternoon --

*There ought to be a Bill preventing men  
from interfering at all in administration.*

3. Here's Mr. Rathbone

Then she says, she can't.

She says, she would rather resign.

**f239** [ca. 12 Oct. 1867] pencil note, pale blue paper black-edged

It is the more aggravating because  
the real reasons of the separation  
which were almost entirely,  
first, the mismanagement,  
and secondly the ill-temper,  
of members of St. John's Council,  
are of course attributed, even  
by those who know them best,  
to Miss Jones' "High Church"  
"views".

**f240** NOTES ON SISTERHOODS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
DATED ca. 13 OCTOBER 1867

And so ends the only good & successful attempt ever made  
in any Protestant Church to establish a real efficient working  
Sisterhood. Flidner on the strict "spiritual supremacy"  
principle -- evading the real test -- secular Hospl -- not a  
Protestant at all --

failure mainly from fatal ignorance of Council of first  
principles  
of administration -- governing body putting itself in the place  
of its Officer -- judging its Officer not by her results but by  
her methods -- interfering perpetually

Calumnies ridiculous calumnies  
women bow down to eccles -- No  
Not those who have anything to do -- not in any Church (rather  
eccle: -- always make opposition to women who do anything well --  
Why is it? --  
eccl: always takes part of eccl. against woman

-----  
Miss Jones created St. J.'s.

six most useless specimens of animal creation six nurses  
financial support  
would she go for these "little? things" if she cared for the work  
the answer is -- would the Council ~~let her~~ do such things  
as to make her go if *they* cared for the work? --  
not one knows the difference of her work -- & others  
If we had fid f too too med med with Mrs W  
No: Councils are best quiet  
That is the real answer -- that Miss Jones goes, because  
she can't do the work which she cares so  
much for under the Council's interference

**ff241-41v** NOTES ON SIR JOHN LAWRENCE, LORD CRANBORNE, INDIA PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f241**

Sir J. Lawrence's PostScript

[9:604]

The important part is the P.S.

Oct 217/67

In it he says that the S. of S. does *not* support him.

Now the S. of S. says, Sir J.L. has only to propose -- and  
it is done --

Ld Cranborne "foaming at the mouth" says (about  
irrigation?) he never can make out why when the  
S. of S. is all anxiety to sanction & the G.G. is all anxiety  
to do, why it is not done --

That is just what the S.S. says to me

[I am not a big enough man to "foam at the mouth"]

He says -- *he* is willing

The S. of S. says -- *he* is willing

Why is it not done? --

I believe the answer is --

there are two supreme powers

India Govt in India

" " at home

But there is a higher power than either

And this is: --

English jobbers

Men who have neither money nor principle

but only wit

I believe this is the true answer to Ld C --

e.g. in the works at R. Janeiro -- ditto at Malta

but for English jobbers, the works might have been  
done at 1/10th the price.

**f241v**

e.g. The ~~English~~ British Railways have spent 700 millions  
& are paying (~~many~~ some of the greatest who are insolvent)  
their dividends out of borrowed money -- money not  
earned.

We are given up to bribery & corruption E.g.

At this moment it is quite uncertain, at the Met. Board  
of Works, whether, in the Thames Embankmt, there has  
not been the same jobbery.

About India -- I often think that I, a fool,  
rushed in where angels feared to tread

Govt in India must take these great works into its  
own hands & not leave them to "private enterprise" [end 9:604]

**ff242-43v** NOTES ON BARTLE FRERE, JOHN LAWRENCE, STAFFORD NORTHCOTE  
& INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f242**

Oct 22/67

Sir B. Frere

[9:605]

The Commn is actually appointed -- I have seen the  
letters of appointment -- and it enters on  
functions on Nov 1

Sir B. Frere            Chairman  
    Sir E. Perry  
        P. Cautley  
    Mr. Arbuthnot  
        Capt Eastwick (the best  
Sir H. Anderson    Secretary

===

Sir B. Frere says that there is a nasty  
prejudice expressed in the very letter in  
which he received his appointment by  
Sir S. Northcote, against the R. Commn  
& the Army Sanitary Commn --

And he came to me, knowing that Sir S.  
Northcote was coming here, to ask me to  
explain to Sir S.N. the real state of things.

Sir B.F. says there is not the slightest  
difficulty about it.

===

He says: Sir J. Lawrence has written a  
Despatch which neither Sir S. Northcote nor  
he have yet seen (such is the state of  
disorder at the I.O.) that it is of the  
utmost importance I should see it --  
that he is told Sir J.L. has asked for a  
Public Health Service, with a central  
responsible authority --

that Sir J.L. has since telegraphed, asking

**f242v**

for an immediate answer

that he wants me to say to Sir S. Northcote --  
-- telegraph at once: --"We accede to your proposal  
we will send you a Despatch mentioning the  
heads of what is to be done & await your  
answer as to how"--

that he thinks it of the utmost importance  
that we should see this Despatch -- because,  
he says, tho' his (Sir B.F.'s) C

[end 9:605]

====

Sir B.F. says that Sir S. Northcote should  
in his Despatch summarize the past history &  
then call on Sir J. Lawrence to point out the  
methods by which the past history can now be  
developed & organized & extended into  
practice.

[9:605-06]

But -- he wants us both to initiate & to  
revise the Despatch

He says -- the first thing is to find out what  
Sir S. Northcote proposes to do -- what he  
has in his mind.

====

Sir B.F. says that the Court of Directors always  
managed in this way -- if one local Govt proposed  
some scheme, they, sanctioned it -- they then  
wrote to another local Govt, such & such has  
succeeded, if you wish to do likewise, adapt  
it to your own varieties, & we will sanction it.

**f243**

He told me a good deal, *without* wishing it to be embodied in the Despatch.

He says, there must be a central responsible authority in Bengal, N.W. Provinces, Punjab, Madras, Bombay --

that this should be the President of Sanitary Commission

that all Officers of Health should report to him but that it should be left to Sir J. Lawrence whether this man should be one of the Secretariat (to which he, Sir B.F., acknowledges that he sees some objection -- he says the man will get overwhelmed with routine business)

or whether he should be a man to stand at the Governor Genl's or Governor's elbow -- to have a day every week to bring all his business before Governor or Gov. Genl -- He (Sir B.F.) thinks this the best plan --

He says -- the President in Bengal should be the superior deity of the other Presidents.

He says -- this man in *each* local Government should decide as to whether the execution of works or rather the funds should come from the central Govt or from the Municipality -- that nearly every city has its Municipal Act now -- tho' some are very bad -- that it will be either the Public Works or the Municipality which will have to do it.

**f243v**

He says -- nothing can be easier --

5 He says -- that the Vaccination people (who have been improved & educated) might be improved (instead of being cut down, as is now the case) to be Officers of Health of the districts.

He says -- the President -- the centre man -- ought however to be rather an Inspector Genl than a Director Genl

He says -- that the small towns should have a Civil Surgeon, in some cases a native Surgeon, as Officers of Health.

He says -- that the natives are very much coming on in Engineering -- that at Bombay they have lately developed a College to teach native Engineers not only Surveying but real Sanitary Engineering -- & that this will develop native Engineers

Then he says that hitherto the fatal difficulty in India has been that no one had any idea that there was any necessity (e.g. in an outbreak of Cholera) to do anything but look after & report -- that all this look aftering & reporting ended in nothing -- no works were undertaken to prevent another Cholera -- that the great business of the I.O -- Committee will be to call upon them -- what is going to be done? -- what *has been* done? -- & to publish it yearly

[end 9:606]



**ff244-45v** NOTES ON BARTLE FRERE, JOHN LAWRENCE, STAFFORD NORTHCOTE  
& INDIA PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f244**

Now you're going to be good aren't you?

[9:606-07]

For I *am* so tired & feverish

Sir S. Northcote

Oct 23/67

said he came for 2 things --

1. because he wanted to announce Sir B. Frere's  
Committee, in the I.O. tomorrow, (to day) where it  
meets with some opposition from Ahriman Ross  
Mangles & he wanted me to coach him as to how  
to put it -- i.e. how to arrange the connection with  
the Army San: Comm:

In this I think I shewed him there was no difficulty.  
And I think he was satisfied.

He read over the names, but very fast: --

they were these

Sir B.F --

I think I settled

Genl. Baker

lh

that

Sir P. Cautley

E. Perry

Capt. Eastwick

Sir H. Anderson

He wanted to know whether Sir P. Cautley shd remain  
on the Army San: Comm:

2. he wanted to ask us what answer shd be made  
to Sir J. Lawrence. And I have got his Despatch  
here. I don't like it very much -- But, since that,  
Sir S. Northcote has had a private letter from Sir  
J. Lawrence, which he read to me, saying that there

**f244v**

was the utmost urgency, because of the state  
of country villages --

Sir S. Northcote has given me the Despatch  
& begs us to give him the points for an answer

I should tell you.

Sir S. Northcote thinks of sanctioning this with  
any suggestions we may make --  
for Bengal & the Central Provinces only  
& then of asking Ld Napier to do Ellis scheme

**f245**

[ca. 23 Oct. 1867]

I wrote it out & sent it to Sir B. Frere  
with a letter.

He said: -- with regard to Ellis' Memo, "if he  
has in any way modified his view, you ought  
to give him the benefit of it -- because we  
Indians never look again at any of our  
Mema without wishing to add or alter  
something" --

I have therefore looked out Ellis' 2 letters  
which bear upon it            Here they are

[end 9:607]

He also said, that I ought to write to Ellis  
to know if he wishes to modify anything  
farther

Yes: *he said*, so ~~so don't put off~~,

But he said, I ought to write to Ellis  
by this mail to tell him so

Or Had I not better send these letters to Sir B  
Frere? --

Should I send Sir B.F. the Conjeveram [?] letter?

Yes -- we named it to Sir J. Lawrence

Yes: -- but Sir B. Frere has not seen that.

**f245v**

I don't want to do what's "no harm."

Sir J. Lawrence

You put it into the Draft

I'm quite lost without Temple

You've never sent me the Malta Reports

You'll say so every day

Exactly

Come over here & show me the parts  
in the Peshawur papers

**ff246-47** NOTES ON SIR BARTLE FRERE LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY  
NIGHTINGALE DATED ca. 27 OCTOBER 1867

**f246**

Sir B. Frere  
says that every one of Sir J. Lawrence's Council is  
against him  
*Mansfield* because of that very thing that Health  
Officers have interfered with Engineering  
questions & his good sense is revolted  
*Massey* on the financial question -- Sir B. Frere  
says that Massey's financial papers would  
disgrace a child of 12 years old  
*Durand* because he thinks there is sufficient  
machinery already for every thing -- & he  
does not want to see any new machinery  
*Grey* -- because he is a "capital clear-headed  
"Secretary" -- but -- nothing more --

He says -- the state of Indians is *most* serious --  
the officers are discontented --  
the Civil Service equally so --  
we could not bear the slightest shock --  
if at this moment, there were a rising of the  
Hill tribes at Peshawur, which *could not be* had

**f246v**

Genl Jacob lived, we could not resist it --  
for we have 4 conflicting authorities at  
Peshawur -- & no administration --  
& a *great many too many* ~~men~~ soldiers --

Sir B.F. is speaking of this last year --

To return  
Sir B.F. says I should show Ellis' paper to Sir  
S. Northcote --  
that he has never seen it --  
But then -- I ought to show him Ellis' letter  
written afterwards

**f247**

Sir B F says

All that we have done at present is to get  
75000 halters (for 5000 mules)  
we had a dim idea that mules were wanted  
-- that the mule was a contrairy animal --  
therefore we indented right & left for  
halters --  
with a dim idea that what was over  
would do to hang King Theodore --  
& we have got 75000!!!

ff248-49 JS pencil rough draft re Wardroper [30 Oct 1867]

**ff250-51v** NOTES ON MISS CARPENTER AND INDIAN PRISONS PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED AUGUST OR OCTOBER, 1867

**f250**

I had Miss Carpenter here for 2 hours yesterday. [9:700]  
She is always a great deal too much for me -- But  
she certainly told me yesterday much that was useful.

She says that it is perfectly useless for the Indian  
Govt to go on as they do now about building prisons --

She says that there is a prison just built at  
Coimbatore or Ootacamund (I forget which) at  
I forget what enormous cost for 1000 people  
on the model of Pentonville  
that in each of these cells, there are 4 or 5  
prisoners

that there is no water supply, no privies, no  
Hospital, no sanitary arrangements, no sufficient  
ventilation,

& yet that the Govt of India make use of  
the fact of their having built these prisons at  
enormous cost to say that they can do nothing  
more.

that a *better* prison might be built -- she says --  
at no cost at all -- just of huts -- for the Prison  
Cells --

She says that the Council of Engineers which

**f250v**

sits at Calcutta on the Prisons is the  
destruction of everything good.

She says that a *Dr. Wiehe* whom Sir B. Frere  
employed about Prisons (Bombay Presy) is a  
very good man.

She also praised Dr. Mouat -- but says  
he has no influence with the Council  
of Engineers.

But, she says, they *will* put 4 or 5 into each cell  
made for one -- She says, they *have* -- at  
Ootacamund

She says -- never. She says Dr. Wiehe has  
published an excellent  
Report.

She says -- the mischief done by putting female  
prisoners under male warders -- a practice  
universal in India -- tho' denied -- by Sir J.  
Lawrence is incalculable --

She says -- 'what Dr. Mouat says that hecatombs

**f251** are yearly sacrificed in Indian prisons to preventible disease -- is the exact truth. [end 9:701]

**ff252-58v** NOTES ON MISS JONES' RESIGNATION TO ST. JOHN'S, KINGS COLLEGE & CHARING CROSS HOSPITALS; MR. BOWMAN, MISS BYRON, BISHOP OF LONDON PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED ca. 12 NOVEMBER 1867 [8:184]

**f252**

My cares are more in number than the hairs of my head, even tho' I've torn out half of them  
===

Bowman has got himself into an impossible position  
Miss Jones " " herself " " " " --  
And both come to as to ask what they are to do --  
===

The thing is this: --  
Miss Jones, without going to Bowman, who has done all the Council work for 15 years, writes to the Secretary of the Council to resign, giving these two reasons: --  
that the Report was not honest or straightforward  
that the Bishop would not let them have the Chaplain they were to pay themselves without interfering with him --  
Miss Jones also writes, without waiting for any farther communication, both to King's College & to Charing X, saying that she has renounced her connection with St. John's --  
===

Bowman was so exceedingly overcome & depressed in telling me this -- & at the prospect of having the whole arrangements of Nursing the two Hospls thrown on his over worked hands that I really hardly knew what to say --  
===

In the mean time, the Bishop of London writes a *private* note to Bowman (and this is absolutely all that is known) saying that Miss Jones has sent him in her resignation to St. John's -- & asking Bowman what is Miss Jones' connection with St John's? -- Note well

**f252v**

how much this Bishop who is *both*  
Visitor & Chairman knows about the  
matter he undertakes!!!

Only Miss Jones has stated, alas! but too  
explicitly & too far too imprudently that  
she & *all the Sisters* resign --

Next, *in the same letter*, the Bishop writes  
to Bowman that he has had several  
"unsatisfactory" letters from Miss Jones -- &  
that he has ~~for~~ 'veto' d the appointment  
of the Chaplain, because the Sisterhood  
wished ~~to~~ the Chaplain to "administers vows" --

Bowman says, this is *all* he knows about  
it -- that Miss Jones may probably or  
possibly be able to explain this -- but  
that he (Bowman) is so hurt by Miss Jones  
taking such a step without even giving  
him notice as writing her resignation  
officially to St. John's, to Kings, & to  
Charing X that he can't send for her --  
===

He is at his wits end -- And he went away  
from me more at his wits ends than ever --  
Because -- he did not seem to see the difficulty  
*before* of replacing Miss Jones -- He said he  
was going to Miss Twining -- and also to the  
Clewer Sisterhood to see if they would  
undertake the Hospitals -- And he did not

**f253**

seem to anticipate (what I told him quite plainly) that I should never dream of [leaving [? ] the Midwifery ward under either the University Sisterhood or the Clewer or Miss Twining.

I told him that I should think it my duty immediately to lay a plan before him as my Council as to *what* we should do -- but that I should not remain at Kings

===

Bowman asks me to write to her certain question upon the letters which he knows I have had from her, but which I neither showed him nor told him about -- & to try to make out from her something --

He would prefer that I should not tell her what he told me -- nor even that he had been to me --

But he would rather that I should tell her all than that I should not learn from her *something* for them to go upon.

===



**f253v**

Bowman is going to the Bishop this week  
And he is coming here again on Saturday  
to know what I advise him to do

!!!

The matter is finally to be settled on Nov. 22

Bowman says he is quite sure neither  
St. John's nor Kings Coll. nor Charing X  
will keep a Sisterhood with vows --

But then you see he contradicts himself --  
For he told me that he could not  
conceive how Miss J. could be such a  
fool as to throw up all this work for  
such nonsense -- & then he told me  
that he could not believe but that  
she had already made some arrangements  
for keeping on the work --

Bowman says -- "on the 22<sup>nd</sup> (Thursday week)  
I shall be in the chair -- *What am I to do?*  
*What am I to say?*"

But, if she asks me point blank  
whether I have heard anything from  
Bowman, what *can* I say?

-----  
Bowman himself does not see the essential difference  
between Miss Jones & all the other Lady Superiors --  
that she trains & the others do not  
And the Bishop -- you know he sanctions &

**f254**

*Miss Jones:* {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY}

          applauds those idiotic Deaconesses  
          & Pelham Dale -- & he does not see  
          the entire superiority of the training  
          principle of Miss Jones

-----

How I wish there were no men --

Bowman jawed away -- reading me up all the  
back papers -- shifting his own ground every  
moment -- instead of the one clear  
statement which Miss Jones gives --  
justifying that stupid Report -- when Miss J.  
says -- if only they would not have mentioned  
anything but finance --

He has seen Miss J. And they seem to have  
come to some sort of reconciliation --

And he has written to the Bishop --

And we are trying to make the Bishop  
see Mr. Labart, who long ago offered  
to come up to see the Bishop --

The Bishop has convoked a Meeting  
at London House of St. John's Council  
on Friday next --

And Bowman consents to try & see the  
Bishop first -- & has written to ask --  
also for Mr. Labart --

**f254v**

| not Miss Jones --

Nothing can be | \_\_\_\_\_  
arrived at, unless the Bishop gives in  
& with draws his letter, which perhaps  
he may have the gleam of sense  
necessary --

**f255**

This is a *dead* secret.  
What do you think that idiotic Council  
have done? -- gone, without consulting  
even Bowman, & asked Miss Byron  
of All Saints (University) to undertake  
the work -- And Miss B -- without a  
moment's consideration, undertakes  
the whole work --  
Very well, I said to Bowman -- then I  
will tell you a dead secret --  
Miss Byron has not one Sister who  
knows anything of Hospl work but  
one who was discharged from  
another order for untruthfulness.  
Miss Byron's Sisters all take  
vows as a regular thing -- And if  
the Bp who

**f256**

{whole IS UNDERLINED 5 TIMES}  
{having IS UNDERLINED 4 TIMES}  
{The whole contract IS UNDERLINED 3 TIMES}  
{St. John's IS UNDERLINED 4 TIMES}  
The **WHOLE** of the details  
are virtually settled between Miss  
Jones & me --  
If we say nothing, nothing will  
be done.  
Miss Jones & I **HAVING** settled  
to give up the  
Midwifery ward in  
K.C.H. She asks me  
whether she shall do, as above.  
Harry B.C. is absolutely nothing  
but my Officer in reality.

Harry B.C. is absolutely a person  
non-existent as regards K.C.H.  
THE *WHOLE CONTRACT* is between  
K.C.H. & **St. John's** --  
We repaying

**f256v**

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN:}

Miss Jones is to ask Kings College to ask  
St. John's to ask our Committee to with=draw  
from the Midw  
ifery ward? --  
Is that the right way?

{WRITTEN RIGHT SIDE UP:}

You see -- I don't --  
I manage it with  
Miss Jones --

the agreement to terminate  
by mutual consent  
found in practice not to answer

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS:}

**Miss Nightingale**

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN:}

They're all idiots  
but Miss Jones  
I spoke to Bowman myself  
He's an idiot

{WRITTEN RIGHT SIDE UP:}

what they pretended to do with regard  
to the P.M. Theatre has entirely failed  
& the effluvia are as bad as ever

**f257**

The Drolesses & the Droles are too much for me --  
But I could do with the Drolesses -- They are reasonable  
But it's the Droles -- I never would have  
created men, never, never --

-----

Such a Drole as the Bp of London I  
really never contemplated.

-----

Well, I had Bowman here jawing away all  
yesterday evening, till I am much more dead  
than alive.

I believe I brought him to reason -- He  
acknowledged & assented to every thing --

But, he says, what am I to do next? --  
I say: -- see the Bp of London --

Well, he says, I will -- But 1. the Bp of London  
is at the N. Foreland -- And 2. the Bp of L.  
won't take a verbal statement from me --

But, he says, I will write to the Bp of L -- at  
once & say that I have seen 2 or 3 people  
(he wished to mention me, but I said, Don't)  
& I want to see him before the Meeting --  
And I will also write to Miss Jones & ask  
to see her & kiss & be friends.

⊕ So I said -- But he says "the Bp won't  
take a verbal or a written statement from him (Bowman)  
He says -- Miss Jones must go with him -- Or  
he must take a letter from Miss Jones --

Now I (F.N.) don't think Miss J. will do either

**f257v**

{entirely IS UNDERLINED 4 TIMES}

{any IS UNDERLINED 3 TIMES}

This is a difficulty of the Bp's making.  
And I don't believe (tho *I* might) that Miss  
J. will choose to be had up in the dock  
to make explanations.

But the "vows" & the "oaths" & compulsory confession are

**ENTIRELY** the Bp's own  
megrim.

Well, then, Mr. Labart replies to that,

Neither I nor *ANY* one would take *ANY* [3 underlines]  
kind of care whatever under *ANY* Bishop  
who chose to write such a letter as that.

Well, the only person who is straight=forward  
& above=board is Miss Jones.

As for the Bp, Bowman showed me  
letters of his last night which I could  
not have believed, if I had not seen them.

That's just what I told Bowman to find out --  
But the Bp's word is "oaths".

**f258**

Bowman showed me a letter of the Bp's last night to this effect: --

that he could not conceive why this arrangement should not be made --

that the Council should keep the Nurses with a housekeeper over them

that the Sisterhood should be set free to engage with the Governors of Hospitals as they thought fit --

& that they (the Council) should put out their Nurses to Hospital Nursing as to private Nursing as they thought fit.

I told Bowman as mildly as I could that such a proposition was absolutely untenable

that my whole life had been but one protestation against such a plan

that any one who could propose such a thing simply showed that either he had not considered or was incapable of considering the question --

Miss Jones always told me that the Bishop {INSERTED FROM **f257v**:} had tried to sever her from the Council -- And I actually never believed her till I saw it last night in the Bp's own hand.

**f258v**

{SUTHERLAND WRITES:}

1. To tell Mr Bowman exactly all  
that Miss Jones said. {FN WRITES:}I did & he was  
satisfied

{SUTHERLAND WRITES:}

2. Let Mr. Bowman see the Bp  
& *tell him all* & see whether  
an arrangement cannot be  
come to. {FN WRITES:}He says he will. But he says the Bp  
~~can~~ will  
not accept a statement from him.

{SUTHERLAND WRITES:}

3. The Council to restrict its  
reports in future simply to  
Finance & general matters  
without touching on the  
Sisterhood.
4. If it be considered desirable  
to have a report on the  
work of the Sisterhood this  
report to be supplied by the  
Superior personally.

{FN WRITES:}

3 & 4: He says -- he consents to directly -- But  
he says, if Miss J. had but said she  
wished this, it might all have been settled

B



**ff259-60** NOTES ON SIR BARTLE FRERE & DESPATCH TO SANITARY COMMITTEE  
PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED NOVEMBER 23, 1867

**f259**

I have been so hard-worked --  
And my cares are more than my hairs

[9:609-10]

-----  
Nov. 23/67 {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY}

Sir B. Frere

He says the Sanitary Commee (I mean to call  
it Departmt) sits now every Monday --  
To-day it takes our Despatch in hand --

He says -- it will then come before the I.O. --  
on Thursday --

that Sir S. Northcote who is (he says) a very  
good judge as to what will pass the gate,  
doubts whether our whole Despatch will  
pass the I.O. on Thursday -- He thinks it  
better to proceed by steps -- to adopt Sir  
J. Lawrence's proposal first -- & then to  
creep on -- But -- he says -- if the Commee  
of this morning should strongly recommend  
to go for the whole thing at once, he will  
try it on Thursday.

Well -- Sir B.F. hopes that he's got the  
Bombay drainage referred to Rawlinson --

He says that he is sure Sir S. Northcote  
means me to see the Despatch before it goes

**f259v**

{strongly IS UNDERLINED 3 TIMES}

but that, if it does not go the whole length,  
he **STRONGLY** recommends us to lose no time

but write immediately to Sir J. Lawrence  
& ask HIM to INITIATE the rest

Sir B.F. says that at present, the I.O. send  
him (the Publ. H. Commn) all the papers they  
are bothered with & want to get rid of --

~~He~~ They have got a most curious set of  
papers about Fever in the Ganges Delta &  
at Goa & Canare--

~~They~~ He told me the contents -- & asked  
me whether they should be sent to you --

I said Yes -- if without jealousy --  
I told him so -- to ask for observations -- even  
if not for opinion --  
to send all the papers for observations or  
remarks (for a Minute which will  
guide them)

They have got the Hurdwar Fair papers --  
& he asked me whether

**f260**

{an attempt IS UNDERLINED 3 TIMES}

I did not tell him of Sir J. Lawrence's  
letter --

He says that Ld Napier has a little the credit  
of writing finding=fault Minutes & going  
*no farther.*

He says -- it is quite impossible to describe  
how entirely the Govt of India is running to a  
Govt of detail --

He says ~~Ld~~ Massey is worth nothing  
Ld Elgin inaugurated all this Govt  
of detail --

He says -- under Ld Dalhousie & even  
under Canning, the G.G -- really reigned --  
that he said to his Council: -- You disagree  
with me -- shall I record your dissentient  
Minute & send it home --

They sometimes said Yes -- but more often  
No --

The consequence was that the G.G. really  
governed --

Ld Elgin did not make **AN ATTEMPT** at  
governing.

**f260v**

He had not an opinion of his own -- [end 9:610]  
He sent

I wrote Miss Jones an affectionate  
Epistle last night  
Now here comes the dry dust

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT THE BOTTOM OF THE PAGE:}

There's only one as great goose as you are --  
And that is Norman Chevers. And he's  
coming to-day -- as if I had not enough geese  
without him --

What am I to say to him?  
Am I to give N. Chevers any thing?  
Go & find me what I am to give him.

**ff261-62v** NOTES ON DR. NORMAN CHEVERS & MEDICAL COLLEGE AT CALCUTTA  
PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED NOVEMBER 23, 1867

**f261**

Norman Chevers gave me the most  
remarkable account of his Medical  
College at Calcutta -- especially  
in reference to whether these  
Native Surgeons could be employed  
as Sub=Inspectors in the Sanitary  
Service.  
He is Head of the Medical College  
& has under him 600 native  
Students, educated by the Govt --  
Part go into the Civil Medical  
service, as "Sub=Assistant  
Medical Officers", & "Dispensers"  
in country districts.  
Part, encouraged by the Govt, set  
up in private practice.  
He says their knowledge is quite  
remarkable --  
their want of conscience equally  
remarkable.  
The first would entirely qualify

**f262**

them for the sanitary service -- the second is a grave difficulty.

He says: -- they all take to intemperance & opium -- & are old men before they are 40 -- But he says -- compare them with Medical Students in England -- & their knowledge, their power of acquirement, their quickness in practice distances the Anglo=Saxon out & out.

But -- their idleness -- their want of sympathy with human suffering -- their want of professional conscience!! -- their agreeableness & their courtesy -- are all equally remarkable --

He says -- they are all Monotheists -- none of them Hindoo Mythologists & that their grand children will be Christians.

He says -- I say to them -- if I had had the professional advantages you have -- you are much cleverer than I -- and you know it -- you are the most conceited fellows I ever knew -- Now -- be a little industrious when you reach your Stations. If you are sent for to Patients, go at once --

Not they. They are too idle to ride -- They never ride -- They can't afford buggies -- sometimes they go in palanquins.

He says -- this will be a most grave difficulty -- If employed in Sanitary service, they won't ride about to do it.

But -- he says -- their love of gain (not of professional work) is remarkable.

**f262v**

And, he believes, that a selected number, if paid for it, are capable of admirable sanitary service

He says: the Vaccinators are a very low set. And, he fears, could scarcely be turned to good Sanitary service.

f263 JS letter 22 Dec [1867] Another letter is very common sense, ...marks of effect of your letter to him. The point gained is that if they illeg will prob get H of C com apptd for a gen inq into the whole poor law qu. No cal for a special reply from you for he agrees and asks no questions. If you write an ack (which is not nec) you may say that you are glad to find that he agrees so closely with you on the points wh shd be include din the inq, that you are in comunic with others on the subject and that altho for obvious reasons...cannot promise active help at present, much hope of being able to exert beneficial infl in having the entire poor law subj enquired into, labour test and workhouse test have equally failed either in relieving distress esp in sickness or in checking pauperism, no use in trying to force a man by punishment to find work if he ha snot the faculty of finding work, and that so far as concerns the able bodied and deserving poor the real function of a poor law is neither to punish nor to feed, but to train the poor to self dependence and industry. This is a great branch of a natl educ wh is in no sense helped by reading writing and figures ...Must now wait the result of HV's letter to Ld. C., Very much will depend on the view he takes of the qu. But even if the view is unfav we may still put forward the principles for his consid.

**ff264-65** NOTES ON LORD NORTHBROOK'S REPORTS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED ca. 19-31 DECEMBER 1867

**f264**

I don't know whether you have seen the last of the 3 of Lord NORTHBROOK's Reports, upon which it is understood that Mr. Cardwell is going to act.

It is almost impossible to believe that a Minister can be so mad.

All the Departments which failed so miserably in the Crimea as in the Peninsular War are to be put under one man, Storks -- Commissariat, Clothing, Stores, Transport, Pay, Barracks, Hospitals. And as if this were not enough he is to be Head of the Ordinance stores, ammunition &c &c -- And as if that were not enough, he is to be Chief of the Manufacturing Branches.

It does not need a prophet to foresee what will come in time of war.

Storks is not a great man. He is rather a superior specimen of the combination

**f264v**

of what makes a good Military man & a good business man.

In the field under the Commissariat Officer who has already too much to do are to be placed Transport, Clothing, Stores, Equipment, Hospitals -- & besides this, Ordinance & Ammunition.

But -- he is to be called for euphony Controller.

This is the exact reverse of Sidney Herbert's plan -- Our plan, under him, was: -- to perfect the organization of each Department separately -- & then, to bring them into direct communication with the Secretary of State --

all finance & pay mastering to be divided from the other Departments --

And this is what will have to be done at last.

Next: Sidney Herbert's principle was

**f265**

that Military appointments should be carefully separated from the political element. Now, the only thing which, it appears, is to remain with the political man, the Secretary of State is: the appointments, the Military business

Notes from an interview with Sir Bartle Frere for John Sutherland, ADD Mss 45752 ff198-201

[ca. 25 July 1867]

He [Bartle Frere] has seen Lord de Grey's minute. Then, he was told that nothing had taken place upon it. Unlike Ellis, he was not satisfied and he went ferreting on. (He says, *by the way*, that Anderson<sup>x</sup> is one of the best men they have but that Anderson told *him*, as he told Ellis, that there was nothing, absolutely nothing, when there were *three* despatches, but that *we ought to get hold of* Anderson because, if he once takes up a thing, *he will go on with it.*)

He says, *by the way*, that there is a standing order at the I.O. that I, F.N., am to see any paper I call for. He says that he has found a despatch of Lord Cranborne x x x x upon Lord de Grey's minute (which minute, he says, is almost word for word our memo). Lord Cranborne's despatch is most unfortunate. He says, finance must come first; when he sees what they can spend, then he will see what can be done to save life instead of, as Sir B. Frere says: save our lives, cost what it will. Then we can work, he says; we will save your lives if it does not cost too much.

At the end, there are some good suggestions as to using municipal bodies and local governments. To this, he says, Sir J. Lawrence replied, and he says I (F.N.) have seen his reply. But I don't know whether he, Sir B. Frere, has seen the reply.

In April last, Sir S.N. wrote a despatch, "a good administrative despatch," which Sir B. Frere found. But, he says, nothing in all this alters our position. He says, with regard to my letter, I ought to say civilly to Sir S. Northcote that he must go back to Lord de Grey's minute and that I ought to call for all these intermediate papers. He wished very much to have taken my letter *with* him (which he read over again most carefully) *and* to have taken the famous "doors and windows" paper with it (my letter) at once to Sir S. Northcote.

I said I didn't think that would do, that I must return the "doors and windows" to you. He said, well, the sooner you do anything the better. If you could send me (Sir B. Frere) your letter *today*, to give to Sir S. Northcote, *taking care* that the "doors and windows" paper goes in *today* to the I.O., so much the better.

Sir B. Frere says that, if the administrative system in India is bad, that in the I.O. is worse. He says we are divided into eight committees of five or six, who all do the business which would be much better done by one man, clerk or secretary. The business is actually not done. We

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<sup>x</sup> Henry Anderson became secretary to the India Office Sanitary Committee later in 1867.

meet every Thursday, the whole lot of us; everything that is unimportant is then done; everything that is important is left undone for, if any one man moves that the papers be adjourned, everyone else accedes. Personal questions, of course, come up first; those are always brought up, but no administrative question ever gets on a single stage. There is no time for it; we have just time to do the useless things, the trivial things. So, everything is adjourned from year to year. It is like the Delhi sores, it is always on the list and no one puts on even a plaster. I miss him [S. Herbert?] so.

He says the thing is now to let drive at Sir S. Northcote without a day's delay to get Anderson (who is efficient) on our side and to take advantage of the move to the new office and of the recess. He says, "I will make 35 South St. the India Office while this affair is pending."

Sir B. Frere told me most curious facts (he was here for hours). He said you need not be so miserable about the delay in the Public Health Service, for you have given such a stir to the natives that we hear of nothing else. This last year no European in Bombay could get a house. All the good sea breezy houses belong to Parsis, who, though rich, lived in the miserable parts of the town and let their houses to Europeans. This last year all the Europeans came to me and complained they could get no houses. I made great inquiries and I was told this: the boy Parsis go to the Grant Medical College and "Sir, we read there Miss Nightingale's and other works on air, construction, etc." The mama and grandmama in Parsi families are the tyrants. The poor papa had begged in vain to be allowed to live in his own house. They *would* live in the bad parts of the town, but when the boy came home and found a sick child at home, he would say, "Grandmama, you're killing that child; Miss N. says so." And Grandmama listened to the boy, though she would not listen to papa. Grandmama became a sanitary reformer in spite of herself and they moved to the new house out of the narrow street with no window to the seaside house.



Add Mss 45753, Correspondence and notes with Dr Sutherland, microfilm, 1868-69, 280 folios, 200 pages, Adam Matthew reel 8

**ff1-4v** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE TO SUTHERLAND PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 12-13 Jan. 1868] (ARCHIVIST) **[3:475]**

**f1**

It's all over --  
They've turned out the Sisters of St  
John's --  
And so ends the only good &  
successful attempt of Hospital  
Nursing by *Protestant* Sisters  
that has ever been made  
I couldn't have believed it.  
Miss Sellon has been Popish from the  
first -- tho' I love her --  
Miss Jones never has --  
It's *entirely* the Bishop's &  
Council's fault **[end 3:475]**  
I shan't see

**f2v**

I wish I could shew them you  
Unfortunately Miss J. has kept them  
They were as absolutely  
unbusiness-like as all you  
have seen.

It's not the least worth while  
to trouble you with these papers  
(especially as I have not  
Bowman's propositions)  
But will you look at them? --  
They are the papers of Sunday.

**f3**

Harry B.C. asks me to tell him the  
"main points at issue which have  
ended in the separation & breaking  
up of St. John's --  
It is his right --  
He will be repeatedly asked about it  
while I am away --  
[And he will also be asked to  
furnish Nurses]  
But, for the life of me, I don't  
know how to state the "points at  
issue" --  
B Could you put down the case  
for me in a few lines? --

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE}:  
But how came they to have no Statistics of  
Syphilis? --

**f4v {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}: [3:475-77]**

The Bishop was there  
& never said *he* was the author of  
the proposition which Miss Jones  
has been so condemned for

That's true -- But then Fliedner [7:599]  
always evaded the great difficulty  
-- of undertaking a secular Hospital --  
You know I have myself seen him  
interfere with the *Drs* in the Hospl  
in a way no secular Hospl ought  
to or would tolerate for a moment.

You know how dearly I loved  
Kaiserswerth

But I have never in all my life  
seen a Hospl so ill-managed, so  
beastly, so unhealthy.

[end 7:599]

**ff5-6v** NIGHTINGALE TO SUTHERLAND RE: SISTERHOOD, TAKING VOWS, AND THE BISHOP PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 14 Jan. 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

**f5**

Miss Jones was here 3 hours --  
Now, mind, it is really rather hard upon me  
to have to play the Devil's advocate  
on BOTH sides.

I don't defend Miss J.

But I see absolutely nothing that could not  
have been arranged with a *little* temper on  
both sides.

-----  
Mr. Bowman & the Council have shouted  
against vows as if Miss Jones were in the  
Act of leading the whole Sisterhood to St.  
Alban's to make a public vow -- like R. C.'s --  
the word vow has not been so much as  
mentioned.

Miss Jones accepted the whole "reformed  
Resolutions" bonafide even tho' not satisfied  
with them.

These included that the Sisterhood should  
name & pay a Chaplain -- to be of course  
appointed by the Bishop --

Miss Jones took considerable pains to find  
a man (*whom Mr. Bowman admits* to be a  
moderate man) Mr. Labart or Labarre (I  
don't know how to spell his name) If you  
remember, he was the man who went on  
board the Fever ships at Liverpool

She went down to the Bishop at Fulham.  
He accepted the man without a word.  
He did not say one word to her about enquiry.  
He said to her: I *know* the man -- & I accept him --

**f5v**

The Bishop -- she not having said one word as to wishing for vows or anything of the kind of any "irreversible promise" towards herself -- writes to Mr. Labart a letter which he sends to her -- saying that he (Mr. L.) must not urge any Sister to "Confession" & must not "administer" any "oaths" -- (such an extraordinary word) to any Sister --

Mr. L. & Miss Jones decline to have any conditions made at all --

Mr. L. says (most justly, I think) that he would not accept a cure in London to have the Bp dictating to him one way or other as to the "inner life" of his Parishioners. But that no Bishop would do it.

Miss Jones says -- `the Chaplain might never `be asked by any Sister to "administer" any `oath" at all --

`As for any "vow" to me, the question is `absolutely groundless & insane -- It is a `fantasy of the Bishop's -- a Fata Morgana.

`As for any "urging to Confession" it would be considered by Mr. L, by me, & by all the Sisters, as simply sacrilege --

But he had made *no* conditions with the last Chaplain.

**f6**

At this very moment, the Bishop HAS  
*sanctioned* a Sisterhood & a Chaplain  
(without a Council) to take vows --  
And this can be brought up against him in  
black & white.

He is always telling Miss Jones that she  
ought to have no Council --

And the real fact & explanation is that  
he is afraid of the Council --

Miss Jones whose Sisterhood is the *only*  
Sisterhood which does *not* take vows,  
is the only woman who chooses to be  
above board, & to say, No, I won't  
accept conditions which some of my  
Sisters *might* evade privately, as a  
thing between themselves & their God --  
& which ALL other Sisterhoods *do*  
evade publicly.

I (F.N.) know of my own personal  
knowledge that the Clewer Sisters,  
(whom that infatuated Mr. Bowman  
wants to offer Kings Coll: to) *do take*

**f6v**

every one of them vows, altho' it stands in their Regulations publicly that they are not to take vows. That is the Bishop of Oxford all over. He puts "no vows" in his Regulations -- & he "administers vows" in private.

The Bp of London knows perfectly well that the Sisters of University Coll. to whom he is Visitor, take vows privately. He has made no such condition with them --

Asses.

As to Miss Sellon's sisterhood, they have always taken vows.

====

Miss Jones says -- that she will do anything to reconcile herself with the Council.

She authorized me "to say anything" to Mr. Bowman--

But she says -- the primary condition must be -- that the Council do *not* interfere with the "inner life" of the Sisters. She says -- that I have no idea of how many Sisters have refused to enter on account of the perpetual interferences reporting &c &c &c of the Council --

**ff7-8v** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND DATED 15th Jany. 1868 BY SUTHERLAND, embossed WO, asked her to consider following point and give opinion when comes Monday, re sever cases at Woolwich, all wish to have a night female nurse to attend to them, besides the day female nursing. Similar things have happened before and on a former occasion Mrs S.S. was asked to supply the night nurses but declined to do so unless her staff was largely increased....new proposal to classify bad cases into a single ward and appoint 1 of the staff to act at night, poss 2 wards reqd...Many cases are said to be so slight as to require no nursing comparatively, while others are so serious as to require night nursing. This proposal to give every assistance necessary in the way of orderlies & to the nurse. cd such a system be arranged.

"I found the brutes when I arrived here. They were given into my hand by the Hall keeper with a most profound bow. He evidently thought I had "influential friends in the country." Many thanks to you for the "repute" but many.. . illeg for the cause.

**ff9-10** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND TO NIGHTINGALE Jany. 17 embossed WO, concurs with Ld C., not losing time, actually gaining time. present East London case is bringing many things to light which were little suspected, and it is forming public opinion in 2 or 3 very important matters, such as: The insufficiency of the Poor Law to relieve real poverty. The absurdity of the workhouse & labour tests as proof of need. The necessity of giving great work, & paying for it a fair value, as a means of meeting temporary want of work. Indeed the last point is the reform required. Next the utter anarchy & chaos produced by the joint action of Guardians and relief committees w/o number. The want of ready faculty in meeting emergencies (just like the Crimea) and sever other things.

I think a R. Commission would be the best agency to examine into the matter. But we must wait & see what government proposes to do. We must not oppose them unless under absolute necessity.

Next as to Anstie: The circular he says is provisional and.....The Bethnal Green element of equalization of rates has crept in no doubt through the clergy. But the circular will do good in our direction. It will lead to discussion and to forming opinion.

Anstie merely send it to you to inform....

ff11-14v NOTE TO SUTHERLAND RE: MISS JONES AND REGULATIONS FOR SISTERHOOD  
PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [middle-end Jan. 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

**f11**

She said that I could not conceive the  
correspondence which has been brought upon her  
by the Council's reports --

that, if they would restrict themselves to  
finance, she should be spared half her  
difficulties --

that they have promised over & over again  
to show *her* the M.S. before it was printed  
They have *never* *ONCE* done so --

She says there are two ways ~~of~~ for the Bishop  
to give in --

Either -- he might say to the Council --  
do you nominate & I will appoint --  
And then he need not make conditions --  
And the Council might nominate Mr.  
Labart.

Or -- he might appoint one nominated  
by the Sisters (and then she would look  
out again for another man) without  
conditions --

[Mr Labart has behaved in the most  
exemplary manner. He says -- he is  
quite willing to be Jonah & to be cast  
out of the ship. But she says justly  
that to sacrifice Mr. Labart to take  
another without conditions is unfair  
to him.]



**f11v**

They (the Council) appointed Mr. Giraud  
without conditions.

Miss Jones declares that there never has  
been any question about a vow of  
obedience -- nor about a vow of poverty  
-- that she holds the same opinions as  
I do about that --

thing of that kind  
that no vow *has ever been exacted*  
*urged or permitted/or made public*  
but that women between themselves  
& their God have made a vow  
to the life.

[end 3:477]

in the religious or moral hands of another  
or Moral

to be led by another's religious Consciences  
nothing of the kind has even  
oath (of obedience to her)

**f12**

That's just what Miss Jones says --  
If you can't trust us, we had better go --  
She says -- every member of Council has his  
own inner life, his own shades of opinion.  
You don't say to them: -- you must think  
this or do that.

Why do it to us? --  
The Council does not know anything about  
women -- or they would not do this

She says -- they, the Sisters, have supported  
the Council, instead of the Council  
supporting them --

She says -- as for the Council saying, we can't  
go to the public for subscriptions, if you  
do so & so, the Council are actually  
supported by the labour of the Sisters' hands.

They have 34 Nurses at King's Coll:  
which costs them £1700 a year --  
King's Coll: gives the Council £1400 a  
year. The remainder is made up  
by the Sisters taking paying Pupil Nurses.  
And so with all the rest

**f13**[Middle-End Jan. 1868] **[3:478]**

She says

--

that nothing will induce her or any of the  
Sisters to re-enter under those terms  
that the Sisters state distinctly that, in  
case of her death, they would not accept  
any Supt nominated by the Council.  
that the Sisters state distinctly that they  
will not accept the rule by which  
the Council prescribes the dress  
that they will not continue under the rule  
by which the Council can re-model  
or appoint the duties of every officer  
They won't get one.

-----  
She says --

she never has & never will assume any  
spiritual headship.  
but that the conditions laid down by  
Bishop & Council lately  
are as if they were to make it a  
condition to her that she should not  
*swindle* any part of the funds.  
And therefore she says they must go

-----  

She says: -- why can't we take St.  
John's work as we take King's Coll  
work?

**f14v**

The rules of 1865 are as autocratic on everything except the details of nursing as can well be. Looking at them on the legal side the Mother superior has nothing to do at all except to provide for efficient exercise of nursing duties in Hospitals private families &c. There is a jealous guardianship over every thing religious. There is also control over the general efficiency of the nursing -- whether in Hospitals or in private families. All the possible work in St. Johns house is exercised exactly in the same terms. What can be done by the Sisters in Hospital is precisely what can be done by them in the other duties of the House.

The rules show entire liberty for the Superioress in all details of Nursing but the most absolute & control by the Council in everything else. The idea is that on these terms the Council will enter into arrangements with Superior & Sisters, but on no other terms than these. The rules are a very distinct *constitution* with rights on both sides strictly defined & which can only be departed from by secession on one side or the other.

**ff15-17** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE ON MIDWIFERY NURSES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN  
DATED [middle-End Jan. 1868] **[8:199-200]**

**f15**

All Doctors to be locked up in Lunatic  
Asylums --  
by Act of Parlt                      And all clergy --  
   And all men

**[end 3:478]**

-----  
Midwifery Nurses --  
Dr. Priestly's plan: --  
that we should build huts on the  
*ground in front of Kings Coll Hosp* for  
special cases of abnormal parturition to  
be attended by Nurses & Students alike.  
I told Miss Jones that I considered Dr  
P. a Lunatic  
I have distinctly severed our connection  
with K. C. H. this day  
I have told Miss Jones that we will  
now consider whether we could establish  
a connection with a Workhouse  
*under her                      We have them all*  
or whether we could establish a School  
to attend Lying-in Women *at home*  
*under her*  
To my surprise she did not seem to  
consider the latter impossible to place  
under proper supervision. There's no kind  
of similarity.  
But there's no School.

**f16v**

You might just as well say that I  
could establish a School for Hospital  
Nurses to learn as Hospital Students  
do --

Marylebone is TOO FAR  
St. Giles --

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}

About the far higher matter of Miss  
Jones herself --

She positively says that she never will re-enter  
St. John's as an integral part of it --

that they will work for St. John's as they  
do for the Hospitals --

if not, not.

at St. John's --

to be turned out just as Hospitals would  
turn them out if disapproved

only finance -- to be the Council's part --

the Nurses are the property of the Council

She says: -- when she says that the Council must  
not interfere with the "inner life" of the

Sisters: -- they say, "they don't want to" --

And when she says -- then let us go on so -- then

they say: -- "then what's the good of our  
being a Council at all?"

their "unreason is unbearable"

But she's no objection, to leave ALL that  
to the Council.

I told her so.

[end 8:200]

**f17**

If either you or Mr. Bowman were half as reasonable as Miss Jones, I should be a happy woman.

Now, are you going to sit there? --  
I was so ill on Thursday & Tuesday from leaning forward to shout at you.

-----

Are you going to tell me anything about Wednesday's Committee?

I'll find it but  
what you are bound to tell me is: --

Sir P. Cautley attends Sir B. Frere's Comn on Monday. You see him on Wednesday.

You make me write *reams* about  
what Sir B.F. tells me

& you won't tell me a word  
then what did Galton say? --

Did ~~Sir~~ you ask Sir P. Cautley nothing

-----

If you put in the Illustrated News that what I've said on *Hospls* is in my Notes on *Nursing*, that's the result.

**f18** NIGHTINGALE TO SUTHERLAND RE: NIGHTINGALE'S POOR TREATMENT PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN [ca. Jan 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

I wish you joy of your pupil  
And I beg another time that you will not give  
my name --  
I particularly dislike being quoted for conclusions  
directly opposite to those I wish to advocate --  
I don't like being left in a minority of 13 --  
And I am quite distressed at being put as it  
were in opposition to Mr. Goschen, whom people  
have asked to consult me --  
The man's facts, not his heart, are all wrong --

I'm afraid he's done harm  
to do what?

11 870   93 000   7.8	4443   37 000   8.3
83 090	35 7544
-----	-----
99 100	14 560
94 960	13 329

4443	
137	
-----	
4306   37 000   8.5	
34 448	
-----	
25 520	
21 530	
-----	

**f18v** NOTE--MORTALITY STATS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

1

Deliveries King College Hospital

Total deliveries 1867 -----

Total deaths 1867 -----

Causes of Death ~~as entered~~

~~in to Hospital records~~ & }

no. of deaths from each }

cause as entered in the }

Hospital Books }

**ff19-19v** NOTE TO SUTHERLAND PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. Jan 1868]  
(ARCHIVIST)

**f19**

You want to know what our relations with  
the Governors of K. C. H. were --

None --

~~Th~~ St. John's made the Contracts

Dr. A. Farre most kindly instructed his  
Resident Assistant Accoucheur who existed  
*before* our ward to go round our wards  
twice a day --

also to give Lectures to our Pupil Midwives.

Our Midwife called him in in  
difficulty.

And he called in Dr. A. Farre at his  
discretion.

No student was ever in our ward but  
once at a *Delivery* -- a case of Craniotomy

Dr. Priestly, the year before our ward  
closed, stated to M. Husson

that K.C.H. opened our ward "for the  
instruction of the students" -- that only  
"difficult cases" were delivered in our  
ward & "by the students" -- that I contributed



**f19v**

£300 a year!!!

All this was *pure* invention.

As Dr. Priestly was then head of the  
Obstetric Dept it is difficult to  
conceive his ignorance --

M. Husson was clever enough to smell a  
rat

& wrote to me exact questions for  
exact answers.

Here they are

I paid £500 a year.

The *whole* of Dr. Priestley's  
statement is *pure*.

**f20v** NIGHTINGALE TO SUTHERLAND PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN CONTINUATION OF  
PREVIOUS LETTER? APPEARS TO BE MISPLACED, NOT DATED

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

[3]

construction to the climate. And the  
Pavilions can be connected by a Corridor  
for facility of intercourse under cover.  
As above=mentioned, I have myself nursed  
a Hospital in the Crimea consisting  
of wooden huts *without* a Corridor  
(thermometer: 2° ~~above~~ *above* zero Fahrenheit).  
The Death=rate in that Hospital was  
*under* 3 per cent -- in the magnificent  
Corridor Hospitals of Scutari it has  
been 20 per cent on cases treated -- and  
in one large Hospital during one month  
more than half of all the cases died.

**f21** NOTE RE: CRAWFORD PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED arch: Jan-Feb 1868

I must write something to Sir B. Frere as to what  
is to be done with Crawford when he comes --

He comes in a fortnight --

I shall be gone --

He wants instruction. And Sir B.F. says that  
he is a man of extraordinary energy but no  
judgment. Sir B.F. says he will be moulded by  
the first man into whose hands he falls --

Had I not better send them to Farr.

I don't like to overload Frederick whom I can't  
pay.

-----

To reduce these ships nor to  
get                    1. the death rate to cases.  
                      2. the death rate to  
                      diseases & ages.

They are returns of patients  
treated in districts under  
nurses at their own home

**f22v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [Spring 1869 Feb.?] (ARCHIVIST)

Is Galton in better humour?

It appears to me that Sir J. Pakington has performed the rare achievement (unachievable one would have said had it not been for Sir John P.) of putting Storks into the W.O. so as to make him useless except for the use of making Galton useless -- & of keeping both in a state of violent antagonism *to do nothing*

But what is Storks about?

You had better now 12.15 lay in a large amount of nourishment & also of stimulant if you are going to see Wilbraham. For my part, honour bright, I had *just as soon* have Mrs. Stewart howling here as Wilbraham.

I'd none -- Mrs. Stewart "keeps me unstable."

**f23** LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND -- PEN -- 8th Feb. embossed WO, found note, doesn't see what she can do

**f24-25** LETTER FROM CAUTLEY, embossed IO to JS-- PEN -- Feb. 7. 1868

**f26** draft JS PENCIL Feb or March 1868 re conditions, problem, Mrs Kidd

**ff27-31v** NOTES TO SUTHERLAND ABOUT BOMBAY DRAINAGE PEN, black-edged paper,  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN [ca. Feb.-Mar. 1868] ~~April 1868~~ (ARCHIVIST)

**f27**

Sir B. Frere  
[see Bombay Drainage  
Tulloch & Rawlinson]

says he has been occupied in doing  
School master -- in teaching grammar  
& the three r s.

He says -- that no one can imagine [10:43-44]  
the quantity of matter they have  
disinterred in the I.O.

He has written the Despatch to Sir  
J. L. in our sense.

But -- Sir S. Northcote, it is the  
etiquette, must present it to  
the Council.

Sir J. N. will do so -- & will  
previously send it to us --

He still says -- the thing is, to get  
everything initiated in India.

He has been disappointed in not  
hearing from Ld. Napier

One of the main things he came about  
is: -- Chadwick has been at him  
about an Aide Memoire.

**f27v**

Sir B.F. is quite willing --  
And he came here yesterday -- to  
ask me to consult with you  
about it -- & to let him know.

Well -- Sir B.F. is not at all taken in  
*Quite the contrary.* He came to ask me  
what he was to think of Chadwick.

~~And~~ Sir B.F., I think, would rather  
have as little to do with C. as possible.

He empowers us to think & let  
him know how this Aide Memoire  
is to be proceeded with -- by  
whom -- on what subjects -- &c  
&c --

I told him so. But I don't think  
he thinks Sir P.C. will do anything.

**f28** I rather think you had better --  
I choose.

I had better write to Sir. B.F. about  
the Aide M.

Sir B.F. will take my word  
against Chadwick's

**f28v**

Sir B.F. says  
they have had another Despatch  
from Col. Crommelin  
20 pages of close print against us  
& then one short Paragraph  
admitting the whole --

===

He says  
Rawlinson has written a very good  
paper on the Bombay Drainage --  
which he hopes will revolutionize  
the whole of India --  
that Capt Tulloch is going back  
to Madras -- And the wretched  
man has been ordered by the  
India Govt to stop at Bombay --  
to take Rawlinson's paper with  
him & try how he can reconcile  
Crawford, Hewlett & Co. to it.

**f29**

[2]

that Sir B.F. is furnishing him  
with introductions, in the faint  
hope that, as at Constantinople,  
all the Bombay dogs may not  
set upon the strange dog.

-----

~~Sir~~

IN THE STRICTEST CONFIDENCE

Sir B. Frere has been on a  
Committee with Storks to  
report upon Ld Strathnairn's  
Report.

He says -- their Instructions were  
like Rinch's Instructions to  
the Baltic Fleet --

The country looks to you to  
take Russia.

But you are to do it without  
the loss of a man, a gun  
or a vessel.

**f29v**

Sir B.F. after weeks of labour,  
reported that there was nothing to  
report -- that they must put  
Storks in the Controller Office,  
Balfour as his second  
& Lindsay as J.G. of Reserves --

He says Pakington knows nothing  
at all --

that he did this in Galton's  
absence --

that Galton's friends are furious  
& have all been urging him to  
resign.

that he, Sir B.F. tells Galton he  
will be in a much better position  
than he was before --

Sir B.F. says the condition of the  
W. O. is quite beyond belief -- &  
that nothing but the D. of Cambridge  
being a Prince of the blood keeps  
things together for a day.

**f30**

He says -- that Galton does the Estimates capitally -- but that it is not *possible* for a man in his position to do them.

[end 10:44]

E.g. an artillery officer at Shoeburyness says they must have so many thousand rounds in the Estimates.

All those rounds are at Woolwich & need not be put into the Estimates

But a Capt R.E. (viz Galton) can't tell them that --

It requires a great big Lt. General & a Privy Councillor -- with a General of Artillery at his back -- to tell them that.

Then -- at Gibraltar there is a heap of salt meats for the Navy in one corner of the room -- And in another

**f30v**

corner a heap of salt meat for the Army. The Navy men eat their salt meat straight through. But the Army men eat theirs only say once a week. Theirs gets bad. But there is nobody to say -- transfer the Army heap into the Navy heap. But a Capt R. G. can't go to the Admiralty & say: Do this -- That's just what Sir B.F. has said: -- it should be done by the Controller.

And -- he says -- there *must* be a man, of Storks' rank who can go to the D. of Cambridge & say -- I *must* see H. R. H. even if the gentle Q. M. G is with him -- or even if the redoubtable Genl Forster says: Keep me out No--

**f31**

Sir B.F. says he told Sir J. Pakington  
the whole question rests upon  
Finance.

Therefore, your Finance Secretary  
ought to be asked to supply his  
views.

Sir J. P. never asked Galton to  
supply his views till about a  
month ago -- *after* Storks was  
appointed.

Nevertheless, says Sir B. Frere, it  
is quite true that Galton was  
Finance Secy without having the  
means of being Finance Secy.

Sir B.F. says (what we have so often  
said) that every thing goes in the  
W.O & o:  
They speak of poor Lugard with contempt.

**f31v**

Sir B.F. says -- Sir H Storks will  
virtually be Mil Sec.  
They will.

**f32-33v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 16 Mar. 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

**f32**

You know I have seen those certificates given by  
Wilbraham before.

The Miss Cranks (mentioned) presented them to  
Mr. Rathbone -- And he sent them to me --

I was obliged to tell him that they were utterly  
untrustworthy.

~~1869~~ [Miss Cranks had been suspected of stealing linen

And *Wilbraham himself* told me he knew it]

{~~1869~~ CIRCLED AND WRITTEN SIDEWAYS IN MARGIN}

Mrs. Wardroper saw Miss C. & told me she was  
not fit to be the commonest Nurse --

Even now I can't think how Wilbraham as a  
gentleman could do such a thing.

The W.O. really must stop it



**f33v**

~~In conform, In conformity with the rule in other  
departments of the public service~~

No certificate will be granted to any ~~nurse~~ Sister  
leaving the service of the Royal Victoria Hospital  
except by the Superintendent.

**f34** NOTE TO E. WILHELM PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 20 Mar 1868]  
(ARCHIVIST) [To E. Wilhelm] or JS?

I write this merely to report progress (if there be  
progress) in our endeavours to obtain a Superintendent  
of nurses for the Lpool Workhouse. I have heard  
of a Lady, whom I have not however seen, who  
appears a very likely one indeed to answer  
your purpose. Mr. Rathbone has also heard  
of her & ~~he~~ will possibly know more of her  
than I yet do. As the matter is pressing  
it has occurred to me to suggest that you  
should communicate with Rathbone who  
will tell you his own opinion. If it be  
possible to get the Lady, which is still in doubt  
I should of course take steps to ascertain her  
qualifications more fully.

**f34v** WRITTEN IN CORNER -- UNSURE OF HANDWRITING

Dr Chevers

**f35** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE? UNSURE OF HANDWRITING PENCIL, DATED 18TH March & 8. April BY AUTHOR, JS?

18th March from W. O.  
You might now discuss this  
and send a reply as the W.O.  
is desirous of arranging  
about the pay &c  
-----

8 . April  
The only thing to do is to  
read to Sir E. L. ~~that~~ what  
your verbal understanding  
was as you suggest & to  
state that the training of  
Mrs. Deeble & of these is  
giving on = successfully &  
that in due time names  
will be sent for selection  
to [3 illeg words]

**f36-37** LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND? -- Mar. 24/68 UNSURE OF HANDWRITING

**f38** LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND -- [ca. 4 June 1868] embossed WO

**ff39-39V** undated NOTE FROM DR SUTHERLAND, SUMMARY OF A LONG ENQUIRY

**ff40-41** LETTER TO DR SUTHERLAND PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED ca. 6-16  
June 1868 (ARCHIVIST)

**f40**

*Dr. Sutherland*                      35 South Street [printed address]  
Park Lane  
London. W.

{PENCIL}:

I am neither able, *in such a hurry*,  
to speak or to write.  
I will send you down papers, if  
you please --  
Your lunch will be ready at 1.

Do you know anything of the  
Seaman's Hospital at Constantinople?

If so, would you look at  
3 papers I have just sent down  
to Sir Harry -- & be so kind as to  
say what occurs to you? --

F.N.

**JS:** It is quite unnecessary for me  
to see you until the trial is  
closed. **FN:** I shall be glad

**f40v**

to look over any papers  
you have till 1 --  
The Constantinople hospital  
is a poor place & used  
to be under a Kaiserswerth  
Nurse. It appears to  
me that if the Deaconesses  
house at Constantinople  
could detach a nurse  
it would be the  
~~worst~~ best arrangement

**f41**

If not, there will be  
great difficulties  
But I agree about  
you asking Mrs. W.  
    Otherwise let them  
    appoint a sailor  
    orderly.

**ff42-44** NOTE RE: MR. BOWMAN'S REPORT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca.  
16 June 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

**f42**

Now Bowman has sent me this Report.  
    And I assure you it has given me more pain  
than Miss Osburn's (printed) letter --  
    It is the worst of all possible falsehoods --  
Because it is a falsehood grounded on the  
reluctance which he knows we shall all feel  
to contradict him.  
    And I think it ought to be a privilege of my state  
not to have to look over these Reports.

    There are two or three things especially which  
Bowman has been told are falsehoods --  
    And yet he repeats them --  
It gives one, you know, a kind of unbelief in *all*  
Reports.  
Now in my Una there was not one word which  
    the whole world could prove not to be  
    *within* the truth.

**ff43-43v** BLANK PAGES

**f44**

Mr. Bowman's  
Report contains a multitude of those  
statements when men do not put  
forward where they can be cross-examined  
or in the H. of C. or anywhere where they do  
not reckon on our reluctance to answer or  
expose them.

You will excuse me if I say that I much/strongly prefer now  
the Sisters of *St. Jones* to the Sisters of *St. John's*.

**f45** NOTE BY DR. SUTHERLAND 26/6/68**ff46-47** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

Well, I'm going to-morrow.  
I can't stand it.  
Because I'm just as much afraid of the  
W.O. more than of poor Mrs. S. Stewart.  
I can't *bear* to think of the state of the  
Netley Nurses under Wilbraham.

-----  
I'm going to Ephesus -- But I'll write to  
you -- Will you come by & bye?

*go out when?*  
10.30 to morrow morning -- please God --  
Will you come?

-----  
You know I've always said that Sir John Pakington  
had achieved the unachievable achievement  
of putting Storks into the W.O -- ~~for no other~~ to be useless except  
~~use but~~ to make Galton & the other Depts  
useless

I could ha' telled ye that before, Jamie  
I told Sir B. Frere &c....

I'm a lodger. I have the Lodger Franchise.  
But blow me if I'm going to register.

[2. 7. 68]  
35 South Street  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

{ `[2. 7. 68.]' WRITTEN SIDEWAYS IN PENCIL AND  
`35 South Street  
Park Lane,  
London. W.' [printed address]

**f46v**

Well -- it's very odd. But that's my experience of  
 Poor Boarding=Schools conducted by the French  
 Sisters of Charity.

Where can I find you? --  
 Because I'm never safe from that poor woman  
 then at home?

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:  
 I didn't write on Saturday --  
 It was no fudge --  
 I was totally unable --  
 I agree entirely with what you say --  
 But I want you to write me a few lines --  
 Because I don't know how to express no  
 opinion --  
 She wants me to say that I "don't believe  
 what those lying men say of" her --

Watson is come -- He takes me --

I think I've enough of man's work & of  
 woman's work too without being worried  
 to vote

6  
 6560  
 12  
 -----  
 557,200

**f47**

If Muir had been there, it never would have  
 happened

Barrack

G. M. G. --

Engineers

Medical

But are both this affair & the Storks  
 affair going before the *H. of C.*?

**f47** -- bottom half of folio **47** LETTER FROM NIGHTINGALE PEN, July 2 1868. James B. Grant?? Asst sec.

{PRINTED LETTERHEAD}:

THE LONDON NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE  
AUDREY HOUSE,  
NOTTING HILL, W.

{PEN}:

222 High St. Southwark  
July 2nd 1868 S.E.

Madam,

We are advised that  
under the new Reform Act,  
women are entitled to vote for  
Members of Parliament; and  
we are desirous of getting as  
many claims made as we can,  
Will you be so good as to fill  
up the enclosed form, and  
return it to me?  
If you can give us the names

**f47v**

of any ladies who hold  
qualifications either as  
Owners, Occupiers, or Lodgers:  
we shall be much obliged.

I am, Madam,

Yours Obediently

James B. Grant

assiss. secy. per F.G.

Miss Florence Nightingale

**f47v** BOTTOM HALF OF **f47v** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN  
BY FN NOT DATED

I've just heard there's some doubt  
about getting the Invalid Carriage  
But I feel it's life or death for me to go  
And I shall go in a Saloon Carriage  
Will you come? When you please.  
to Lea Hurst

**f48** NOTE FROM DR. SUTHERLAND --Bef 13 July 1868 "There is nothing  
new here about Netley affairs. The governor is acting entirely on  
his own responsibility. If there should be any "little strangers"  
he will have to stand god-father.

We have meetings next week and I believe a week after about  
India and other things. The weather is cool now but it has been  
awful. All the grass is gone and the poor animals are going about  
crying for food.

The leaves are flying about like October.

**ff49-50** NOTE FROM DR. SUTHERLAND -- 13th July 1868 embossed WO: "I  
have been doubting with myself whether I should write you,  
considering your state of health and the fact that I have nothing  
to communicate about the nursing." re Netley

occupied this past week with committee work and we are about  
beginning a long enquiry into the present state of the barracks  
sanitary works. Will write when there is anything to tell.

We have had thunder and rain so that the country looks less like  
a cracked brick than it did on Saturday.

**ff51-53v** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND, pen

**f51**

Gulf 25 July [1868]

What can one say to comfort you  
under all this. I don't think H.B.C.  
took the best course. The matter  
stands thus. The Leeds people send  
a self-willed woman in training. She  
gets into a mess: you are doubtful  
whether she will answer. You let  
her have a holiday to quiet her ruffled  
spirits. She has no end of grievances  
against her teacher: she complains  
& backs herself up with letters from  
other self-willed women; & the Leeds man  
or men feel satisfied about it: & that  
Mrs. W. is a martinette. Well what  
of it all? If your nurses are all



right the main point is gained. But as your nurses have to go with their insubordinate superintendent you on your side have cause of complaint.

My own opinion is that the best way to do would be to lay the affair before YOUR Committee & to have

**f51v**

it enquired into. But do not attach too much importance to it.

Sir Harry or somebody should write to the Leeds people to say that the committee had been extremely grieved at the occurrence. That they consider themselves as acting for the public in this matter of training. That according to the terms of the agreement under which they understate to train all Ladies and others must submit to the required discipline. That in practice this is essentially necessary especially as both, Superintendent & nurses are trained together for the purpose of acting together afterwards

That they have had reason hitherto to be perfectly satisfied with their training matron, and that the accusations brought against her have occasioned much pain that it is their duty to discover whether these accusations go to shew that

**f52** the training matron has been guilty of gratuitous unkind treatment, prejudice unfair charges, arbitrary conduct & the like, or whether they have arisen out of necessary discipline to which all must submit having been mistaken for studied unkindness.

That the Committee feels itself called on to request that the Leeds committee should enter with them as their enquiry, as its result may involve the question of how far the committee can provide Leeds infirmary with nurses to act, under a Superintendent who has brought such charges against their matron.

If you do not take this  
cause then you must dismiss the  
insubordinate woman from the establishment  
at once.

If the Leeds people won't accede  
to enquiry you must request them  
to withdraw their insubordinate woman

**f52v**

In short you must take one of these courses.

Either dismiss the woman summarily  
In notorious insubordination. Or

Enquire into the allegations against  
your matron with the view of  
continuing her if you find them  
proved -- or

If the Leeds people will not enquire  
then request them to withdraw Miss  
D.

This experience is valuable. A governess  
accustomed to command young ladies  
won't be commanded by a hospital  
matron. What so natural? She is  
not the kind of woman you want.  
She hasn't the "vocation". Do you know  
I like that word. I think you want  
somebody on your Committee who will  
explain what it means to all aspirants  
as Fliedner would have done.

Yours faithfully

J. Sutherland

**f53 [embossed WO]**

P.S. I write the enclosed before  
coming to town. I have read all  
the letters again.

There is another course you could  
take, but your committee should  
judge of this. It is as follows.

To take H.B.C.'s knowledge  
of the so called confidential letters  
as evidence. Then to state  
their contents in writing as  
far as practicable to Mrs.  
Wardroper. Then to ask  
her for an explanation. If  
her explanation is satisfactory  
which we must assume. Then  
to send it to the Leeds people  
with a statement that after  
such a reply it is impossible  
that Miss D. can be allowed  
to complete her term, and

**f53v**

that if they should ever at  
any future time require the  
aid of the committee  
it must be on the  
distinct understanding that  
no interference between the  
probationer & the matron  
is to be permitted.

You should not interfere  
any further then in advising  
your committee. I would  
write to nobody on the subject  
at present, except your committee.

-----

If you will send *here* any small  
matters that require advising, I  
shall do my very best.

**ff54-55v** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND -- 27th July 1868

**f56-57v** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND -- 28th July 1868 embossed WO, re  
India

**f58-59v** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND -- 28th July 1868, embossed WO,  
enclosed Mrs S.S. announcement of her departure, protest

**f60-60v** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND -- 29/7/68, embossed WO, re Mrs S.S.,  
key returned, drawer locked, writes answer, last 8 pages of  
Appendix, please don't give any opinion that she might print

**f61-62v** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND -- 29. 7. 68., embossed WO, re  
despatch

**f63-63v** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND -- 10/8/68 embossed WO, re people here  
going to apply to her to train nurses & supts, applications coming  
in and cannot be dealt with otherwise. "If you give them the  
facilities of the School *your responsibility of course ends with  
the training*. If at any future time they want any farther aid let  
them ask it & state what they want." FN red underlining with No  
written in margin.

**f64-66** NOTES FROM SUTHERLAND -- August 12th Gulf, re Netley

**f67-68** NOTES FROM SUTHERLAND -- 13th August/68 embossed WO, returns  
Lord Napier's paper, re Algerian expedition

f69-70v NOTES FROM SUTHERLAND -- August 17th embossed WO (joke re JS Mill and latent expectation) re WO

f71-72v NOTES FROM SUTHERLAND -- 22 Augst embossed WO, has read all this, does not alter his first opinion, re Deeble "not a suitable candidate to" HBC's paper conclusive. an unsuitable person was sent to be trained. Mrs W. tries her best, the person remains unsuitable and is clever enough to see and sees if rejected will damage her, accuses Mrs W., an old dodge, paper shd be laid before N. com [lots more on]

**f73-74v** NOTES FROM SUTHERLAND -- 27th August embossed WO, er protest, thanks for her letter....WO will expect really efficient nurses, re pensions

**f75-77** NOTES FROM SUTHERLAND -- 28th August embossed WO

**f78-78v** NOTES FROM SUTHERLAND

**f79-80v** NOTE RE: SIR B. FRERE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [Bef 25 Sept 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

**f79**

Sir B. Frere

[10:47]

1. Copies of that are going to be sent round to your Comm: with a request from Sir S. Northcote that you will criticize it & send him your remarks.
2. Genl Baker is selected by Sir B. Frere himself because he will carry more weight at the I. O. & at the H.G. than Sir B.F. himself in pushing the recommendations of your A.S.C.
3. It was Sir B.F. who sent Dr. Hewlett to you  
He was very much pleased at what I told him you thought of Hewlett. He says: -- why can't we train Medical officers at Netley to be like Hewlett. He wants us to teach Hewlett all we can.  
He had heard nothing of the paper you told Hewlett to write

I think now I must write to Hewlett -- about the Executive work -- because I snubbed him by your desire about it

4. Sir B.F. says if we two would draw him up a scheme for "training Sanitary Officers", he would urge it --

He said this à propos to Dr. Goodive having turned out to be so ignorant.

Sir B.F. said this à propos to your saying that Med. Off: were not the people & to your mooting the

Add Mss 45753

278

question: Should not we train Sanitary Officers?

**f80v**

5. Now comes much the most important point  
of all.

Sir B. Frere is seriously uneasy about the Sir J.  
Lawrence Organization question

He says that, when all the Local Govt Reports  
have come in, Sir J. Lawrence has no one to  
deal with them

that Major Mallerson will deal with them  
exactly as if he were drawing up a Report  
of the Bouddhist religion --

that Major M. has not an idea except of  
the political side of a question  
that nothing has come home from him

And Sir B.F. wants me to write to Sir J.  
Lawrence by next Friday recommending  
him to have Ellis over to Calcutta  
unofficially *to draw up with Major M --*  
*a scheme*

I objected that Sir J. Lawrence did not  
like Ellis.

He said: "then Strachey is the only other  
"man to recommend --

"But Strachey is not a practical man like  
"Ellis" --

[end 10:47]

**f81-81v** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND -- 25th Sept

**ff82-83v** NOTE by JS, and FN PEN AND PENCIL [ca. Sept 1868] embossed  
WO, Mrs W's levée, Herbert Hosp

**f82** SUTHERLAND'S HANDWRITING, PEN

Wednesday.

All Netley are coming  
to present themselves  
at Mrs. W's levée  
There are 6 women  
besides Mrs. Deeble.

Herbert Hospital  
has not yet spoken

It is evident that  
you must keep the  
places you can, open.

{FOLLOWING IS WRITTEN BY FN IN PENCIL}:

I am afraid that they are  
proceeding under a complete

**f82v** {PENCIL -- NIGHTINGALE}

mistake -- and Harry B.C.  
will scold me for it,  
because he will say  
I ought to have let  
his letter of explanation go --  
We do not take & never have  
taken persons already in  
an Institution to be  
trained & returned to that  
Institution -- except under  
a special permission from  
our Committee, which they  
are not at all disposed  
to grant -- in this case --

Between candidates who  
have acquired bad habits  
(or strange habits to our  
own,) & candidates of our  
own who have no habits

**f83** {PENCIL}

at all, Mrs. Wardroper  
will certainly *ceteris*  
*paribus*, choose the  
latter.

What the W. O. has now  
done is not at all  
what Sir Storks, in his  
letter to me, indicated  
that they would do.

I am quite sure that our  
Committee will not  
enter upon any such  
engagement --

And either we shall give  
by rejecting all "6 women".  
great offence. Or we  
shall have to break off  
the negotiation with the  
W.O.

Our Committee would never



**f83v**

"keep vacancies open" to  
train for a particular  
Institution, but would  
after letting all candidates  
compete *alike* for  
admission, *then* recommend  
to the W.O. after a year  
those who were thought  
most suitable for the  
Mil: Hosp -- We never engaged  
to train Netley Nurses, or Woolwich Nurses  
but *candidates* among whom we were to choose --  
If, e.g. Guy's were to ask  
us to do what it appears  
the W.O. are *NOW* asking,  
(they did not ask it before,  
nothing would induce us  
to do it. And Harry B.C.  
would entirely decline to  
do it for the W.O. F.N.

**ff84-85v** NOTES FROM SUTHERLAND 15 Oct. 1868, pen embossed WO

f86 LETTER FROM J.J. FREDERICK AND NIGHTINGALE PEN HANDWRITTEN BY  
J. J. FREDERICK

16 Oct/68

Dear Madam

Your letter to Sir J.  
Lawrence has been forwarded  
by today's mail via  
Marseilles.

Yours very faithfully

J.J. *Frederick*

Miss F. Nightingale

**f86** -- BOTTOM HALF OF FOLIO **86** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

You know they *could* only have let you out  
because you were Incurable.

The I.O. considers me by myself as 4/5 of the  
A.S.C. They have sent me 8 copies &  
you 10 of the "Memorandum"  
But my dear soul the Highgate St. Pancras Infirmary  
has actually been contracted for & begun.

**f86v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED Oct. 1868

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

Don't forget that you said ~~you~~ we should  
consider the question of "Sanitary Officers"  
for Sir B. Frere Oct. 1868?

You see what you said was that, in the Crimea,  
while admirable Medl officers did not know  
what to do those Liverpool men knew  
what to do at once.

About Lord Mayor's Day  
shall you come?

**ff87-88v** NOTES BY SUTHERLAND IN PEN AND FN IN PENCIL HANDWRITTEN embossed WO, letters written yesterday to Netley and Woolwich asking commandant to send up lists of nurses who in their opinion ought to be sent on probation for training....

**f87** {SUTHERLAND IN PEN}:

23d Oct 1868

It is all right. Letters were written yesterday to Netley and Woolwich *asking the Commandants* to send up lists of Nurses who in their opinion ought to be sent on probation for training.

As soon as the replies come the whole matter will be put in train.

{NIGHTINGALE IN PENCIL}:

What on earth did they do that for? --

We understood that they had (a few) Candidates clamouring at the W.O.

We consider it a great favour

**f87v**

to take their Candidates at all

We don't want their recommendation. We had much rather have our own This year we have a ruck of Candidates.

But to take Wilbraham's recommendation & to have to refuse them is dreadful --

Not now

Not one.

**f88**

But all Storks  
mentioned in his letter  
to me was that we  
should see Mrs. Deeble  
& other candidates at  
the W.O.

Mrs. D. had nothing to do  
with Wilbraham.

If she had I really don't

====

think we wd  
But Storks never  
mentioned one word  
as to candidates from Netley.

**f88v**

Then it's a lie --  
Well -- we *must* make up  
our vacancies this week --  
And we've more Candidates  
than we want.

We never understood  
that Wilbraham was to

recommend --

You knew, as a general rule  
we decline taking Candidates  
who have previously had  
what they call "experience"

**ff89-90v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [28 Oct 1868]

**f89**

There is a "something" which most people would [10:84-85]  
think a very big "thing" indeed -- And that is  
-- seeing the Viceroy or Sacred Animal of India.  
I made him ~~to~~ go to Shoeburyness yesterday & come to  
me this afternoon, because I *could* NOT see him  
unless you give me some kind of general idea what  
to state.  
Thank the Lord -- I never consorted with them  
low Irish.  
Just say again quite shortly as you said it then  
what has been done (or rather not done) in  
India.  
Ld Mayo goes next week -- And till he's gone I  
mean to put this "limitation" on myself that I  
will do as little else as ps

Ld Mayo=cats.  
When Ld Mayo gone, cats come.

Here's a letter about you & the new Sanitary Laws Commn.  
I don't know what to do but to show it to you. **[end 10:85]**

**f90v**

Oh about the W.O. Nurses -- we've heard nothing  
On Saturday we close our lists.

I have really such quantities of these kinds of  
letters to write that I get quite bamboozled --  
Do you think this is the *kind* of letter?

-----  
You ~~illeg must?~~ will I hope distinctly  
understand  
that I have written this only as an acknowledgement  
of your letter. I am ill & have written in  
fragments as I could. I have not written  
you as an answer on the whole  
question. This I could only do after  
greater consultation with M.R. and you  
& I must consequently delay until the  
election is over.

Shall I send Miss Freeman my Workhouse Nursing/  
& without serving healthiness.

**ff91-96** NOTE Not by NIGHTINGALE ON LORD MAYO PENCIL DATED [29 Oct. 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

[10:85-87]

**f91**

*Ld Mayo*

I think this very good. And I don't know myself what to add.

But you know with the exception of III it is exactly what I put in my lilac pamphlet which I gave him & which he actually read in my room -- & a little bit out of the scarlet book which I also gave him

I *will* tell you some of the things Ld Mayo said - not that they showed much insight --

He said: -- that ~~pow~~ formerly there were Collectors [5:524-26] or Magistrates everywhere who had almost supreme power -- that power had been almost taken out of their hands

that his idea was to have a supreme European in every district -- & that part of his business should be to look after the Sanitary things

---

that he looked to interesting the natives in them (then I told him about Ellis' experience at Conjeveram

That he had small faith in reporting but much in inspecting -- that Indians were much too fond of paper --

**f91v**

He's a curious mixture of sagacity & [6:540]  
superstition --

He said that Cholera & Cattle Plague could  
be effectually stamped out  
& then it appeared he meant by Quarantine.

He actually said: it was a pity we could  
not kill men like cows --

He told me with the most excessive self  
gratulation of his rushing over to England  
& *forcing* "Palmerston" to put on a strict  
cordon to prevent calves from coming into  
Dublin from Lpool --

And the result of my quick action, he said,  
was that we had only 3 cases of Cattle Plague  
in all Ireland --

I of course said nothing. But when I told  
him of Ld Granville's cattle shed -- & also  
of *Sanitary* precautions against Cholera & Cattle  
Plague, he entirely assented.

He said: they had stamped out Cholera in Dublin

**f92**

by buying & burning the clothes of the Patients &  
by whitewashing

====

He, as an illustration of what he meant to avoid  
in India -- said

that Trevelyan had actually wasted £6 000 000  
in the Irish famine by trying to direct it  
from Downing St. & that very little of that  
found its way down the throats of the starving  
-- that Sir J. Burgoyne had afterwards spent  
£1 500 000 on it -- which had produced more  
relief than the £6 000 000

== Not, he said, to direct everything from  
Calcutta was his conclusion  
he said that Trevelyan's 6 millions had actually  
gone chiefly to paying Clerks & printing Forms

=====

he seemed a little puzzled by what we say  
about an Executive

He said do you mean a Central Executive? --

**f92v**

=== he talked a good deal about Jails --  
but I rather tried to keep off that as not being  
my specialty

~~He~~ Sir Walter Crofton is his scripture -- his authority  
The only thing I said was that we deplored the  
building of these enormous Pentonville gaols in  
India -- And we thought a better system might  
be: cheap huts.

====

Then' we got upon Barracks --  
And I said we deprecated great solid  
permanent expensive Barracks --  
There he was quite up to us -- And he said  
O I know the Curragh Huts are *much* better  
than solid Barracks.

Well, you know we've put that in *all* our  
books. So I did not take up his time.

I think he understands that. But still  
you had better put it down.

Call them temporary Barracks.

What passed  
between us was chiefly  
as against the  
Dalhousie  
Barrack?

{`What passed...Barrack?' IS WRITTEN SIDEWAYS AT BOTTOM RIGHT  
CORNER OF PAGE}



**f93**

He talked a good deal about the occupation of the soldier -- said the D. of Cambridge whom he had just come from was not averse to it but told him that he had a great deal of opposition to encounter -- & that the men themselves did not like it --

I said that's not true, especially if you pay the men --

He didn't seem to think that the men cd be paid --

===

He talked about the Irish Poor law & its excellencies (he seemed curiously enough to be trying to justify his administration to me) but this was à propos of the principle that sick should be separated from indigent & beggars --

===

Then we talked a little about Census & Registration.

He said he had wished Registration to be in the hands of the Police -- for that the Medical men (in Ireland) were very inexact --

He said they had entirely failed about the Civil Registration of Marriages --

**f93v**

I think -- those were the main points --

He is, as I told you, a curious mixture: of sagacity & superstition --

He asked most sagacious questions about the *men* -- the two Stracheys -- Temple &c &c Frere -- Lawrence -- Ellis --

And that was clever of him what I told you [end 5:526] that he wd tell Sir J. Lawrence to tell me what to write to *him* --

===

He asked a good deal about Hindoo & Parsee character.

I told him how Hindoo MD's were so clever & then fell off --

He said Dr. Chuckerbutty -- a man I know -- of Calcutta had been given a Govt appointmt & from that time had done absolutely nothing but -- draw his salary.

Not he. He's as clever as he can stick together.

However, if he told Sirs Lawrence & Frere what I said

**f94**

I should not mind

Two other things Ld Mayo talked to me about: --

1. freedom of the press
2. irrigation

1. He said that the native press had so much improved that he thought it desirable to publish all that cd be published --

I said that we & Sir J. Lawrence himself had been anxious that the Minutes of the Sanitary Commissions should be published -- but that the local Governments had been averse to it --

[I did not tell him what Sir B. Frere told me that, as to the Gaols, they had positively been *afraid* of publishing the facts]

Yes -- but that's the reason why Govt does not publish a great many of its Minutes

Now -- Ld Mayo says *he* shall.

2. irrigation.

He discussed the prevailing prejudice that you can't irrigate without being unhealthy -- I said --

**f94v**

& I gave him instances -- that you can't be healthy without irrigation -- that the thing is, -- to carry off the water -- not to let it be stagnant He said -- Cotton had told him that too --

**f95**

Well you see it's so difficult.

He's a good & sensible man -- But he knows -- absolutely nothing --

He told me himself that he had had to work hard at his own office (Irish) till the 6th. He goes next Thursday. He has evidently been cramming at the India office exactly as a Ho: of Commons man crams for his speech.

He repeated to me phrases which I *knew* were Sir B. Frere's. And that I was rather glad of.

What he said was not unsensible -- but essentially Irish.

He said that he should see Sir J. Lawrence for 2 days!! before he left. And he said he should ask Sir J.L. to call upon me the moment he returned -- & to ask *me* to write out to him (Ld Mayo) any thing that Sir J. L. thought "a new broom" could do.

That was clever of him --  
But -- he asked me (over & over again) that we should now at once before he goes write down

**f95v**

for him something (he said) that would guide one upon the Sanitary administration as soon as I arrive -- and "especially" (he said) "about that Executive" -- he repeated this several times --

**f96**

I have written to Sir B. Frere this morning  
Ld Mayo told me himself that he was going to see Sir B.F. to-day --  
But I could also ask Sir B.F. to come -- if you wished it.  
I have asked Sir B.F. to write to me *as soon* as he has seen Ld Mayo to-day.

It occurred to me that, as I *must* thank Lord Stanley for his great kindness about that.

Trench, I might use the opportunity to ask him to say something to Lord Mayo.

[end 10:87]

**f96v** NOTE TO LORD STANLEY? PENCIL NOT BY NIGHTINGALE NOT DATED

[To Lord Stanley

{ `[To Lord Stanley]

I have not seen Ld Mayo who goes out to India next week. He's much more interested in the improvement of India. & it has occurred to me to ask you whether you could say a good word to him ~~about~~ for us on Indian Sanitary improvement

**f97** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 30th Oct embossed will come tomorrow

**ff98-98v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

**f98**

Yes -- I read it -- But I await Wyatt's answer. Did you read in the Times the Vestry Meeting. It was so obvious to the meanest capacity that they were angry at having been turned out from living on the Poor Rates, jobbing the rates -- & that Wyatt *had* an answer --

Do you think I *could* ask Wyatt to let me see the St. Pancras plans? --

**f98v**

It occurred to me à propos to Conjeveram to tear out & send him that letter of Ellis to me in the ~~Algerian~~ Malta Report.

===

I suppose I must now send this to Sir B. Frere -- Unless he returns it to me tonight *without* modification, I am afraid it can't go in on Sunday to Ld Mayo --

I *can't* copy it.

**ff99-100v** NOTES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. Oct. 1868]  
(ARCHIVIST)

**f99**

Sir B. Frere has brought me the Dispatch from [10:49-50]

Sir J. Lawrence --

It is exactly the same as Sir J. L. sent me -- &  
which Sir B. Frere, it appears, knew he had  
sent me. (the one you would not look at)

I have arranged with Sir B.F. that the Document  
shall be referred to you at the A.S.C.  
officially with a request for your remarks --  
And you will find it there to-day.

Sir B. Frere has dictated to me the way in  
which you at the A.S.C. can officially hang on  
the recommendation for the Sanitary Executive  
-- which he will get passed at the I. O --  
& which I will tell you when you have  
read the papers.

Do you wish to hear what Sir B.F. told me?

-----  
He told me about that -- ~~the~~ your Calcutta Fever minute.  
He said that he was afraid *his* Departmt  
wd have said: "Oh we have lived among rice=  
fields all our lives -- & we never had fever" --  
but that, on the contrary, they will now pass  
officially almost everything which we send  
officially -- & that in effect they said: "This  
is nothing new & it is all quite right" & it  
passed at once.

**f100v**

Sir B. Frere says, that, after having reported your opinion on the subject of the Despatch, you should sum up something in this manner: [and that he will engage to pass it thro' the I.O.]

"The time has now come when ~~th~~ effect (or execution) should be given to the excellent Sanitary recommendations that have been made -- (or) when the Govt of India should give executive power to carry out the admirable recommendation which they have received.

In all those places xx where Reports have been made showing clearly the steps which require to be taken (or) the evils which require to be removed & what the steps are by which they can be removed an Executive power should be created (or) Executive power should be given to the Officer of Health to proceed at once to the removal of those evils

xx [This, he says, will include the great towns, the districts where there has been Cholera, the districts about Calcutta, Lower Bengal & elsewhere where there has been persistent Fever.

Say nothing about Funds at present, he says. Temple will manage that. And say nothing about a wider Executive at present.

**[end 10:50]**

**ff101-01v** NOTE RE: TRAINING SCHOOL PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED  
[Nov 2 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

**f101**

[Netley]

he *has* been dying

[12:179]

There is the most dreadful complication about the

W.O. Nursing -- ever since Saturday -- But I  
Genl have been unable to attend to it.

Genl Wilbraham (what an idiot he is) has written  
*to Mrs. Wardroper* assuming that it is entirely  
between him & her, entirely ignoring the W.O.  
*and* our Committee -- & asking her to take in  
at once 6 women including the acting Supt!! &  
train them for HIM!!

-----  
Mrs. Wardr says that we have always supported

her in doing *nothing* of the kind  
that Mr. Rathbone has asked her over & over  
again to do it for him at his own expence.  
And we have always positively refused.

We don't ask them to do so -- never have  
asked them to do so -- never shall ask  
them to do so --

But my principle has been always perfectly

**f101v**

clear & distinct.

We train new blood for you. We then  
send it in to train the old blood --

We don't admit old gossip & old blood  
to dilute the Training=School. When it is  
just what we want to avoid to admit  
the *old tradition* of the place we are  
to train for into the fountain head, our  
Training School.

[end 12:179]

**f102** NOTE RE: SENDING ENGINEERS TO ENGLAND FOR TRAINING PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN [5 Nov 1868] (ARCH)

end of III [sending Engineers to England  
for Training]

**[9:614-15]**

He might ask each Governor, Lt Governor, Chief  
Commissioner & each Chief Sanitary Officer  
either by letter or orally

"what special reports have you on the  
Sanitary measures required in any large  
city or district under your charge.

"what are the measures recommended &  
approved by you for improving its  
Sanitary condition

"have these measures been carried out  
and if not why not? --"

They would probably plead deficiency of  
men or deficiency of money. If so,  
the Government should provide properly  
trained Engineering Officers, as they  
have done in Capt. Tulloch's ~~loss~~, whom  
they sent to England on purpose. If  
they want money, it would have to be  
found

**[end 9:615]**



**ff103-04** NOTE RE: LORD NAPIER, LORD MAYO AND SANITATION PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [~~4. 11. 68~~]

**f103**

end of IV [Lord Napier -- Lord Mayo ~~[4. 11. 68]~~  
& sanitation ]

{ `[Lord Napier -- Lord Mayo  
& sanitation] [~~4. 11. 68~~]' }

A number of ~~Reports on localities~~ local Reports **[10:90]**  
have been already prepared, setting forth  
the Sanitary defects requiring remedy.  
A consideration of these reports would  
at once shew what works were required

Ld N. cd probably suggest a Station under  
his own eye. Where the Milly & Civil  
requirements as at Poona point  
to the necessity of the same works

I don't know -- of course you will do as you like  
But -- I shd have thought Ld Mayo was more  
important than anything else --

He sees Sir S. Northcote tomorrow -- the Queen on  
Thursday & stays till Saturday on purpose to do  
anything extra of this kind -- Who are "our true men"?

**f103v**

It's no more use your coming on Friday  
(to-day's Tuesday) than your coming on  
Friday week

I shall write to Ld Napier of Madras on Friday --  
telling him all I can glean about Ld Mayo -- who  
is going there -- And I shall be as busy every day  
till Ld mayo goes as I can be for him. **[end 10:90]**

**f104**

end of V F.N.

Besides this, there is a strong argument of public necessity. It is simply a fact that you cannot ~~have~~ ~~B P~~ keep British troops in health so long as you allow native populations in their vicinity to be decimated by epidemics. In this matter, Providence acts with stern justice. If any Government leaves its poor subjects, especially in a tropical climate, a prey to pestilence, the government will have to suffer in men (alas! how many of the noblest Governors who ever went to India have died from this cause) in revenue & in all ~~its~~ their resources. An epidemic country is always a poor country. It is little short of madness in a country like India for people to fold their hands & to comfort themselves with the idea that it is impossible to raise the mass of the people into health -- & that health is a blessing Providence intends only for rich Englishmen in England -- ~~& that barely~~ --

[9:889]

[end 9:889]

**ff105-06v** NOTES ABOUT FN'S MEMORANDUM ON LORD MAYO PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN [5 Nov 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

**f105**

[About F.N.'s Memorandum  
on Lord Mayo]  
[5 Nov 1868]

Ask about how to put in as to  
Ld Napier of Magdala

*Sir B. Frere*

he says that Ld Mayo goes out to Egypt -- joins [10:91]  
Ld Napier of Magdala there -- but & after the  
ceremony of investing the Viceroy of Egypt is over --  
that is etiquette -- that then the two, Lds Mayo  
& Napier of Magdala take the Feroze at Suez,  
& visit together Aden, Bombay, Madras -- Ld  
Mayo reaching Calcutta in January --  
that it is therefore of the utmost importance  
I should give him every hint about men,  
men whom possibly he will never see again,  
as well as measures before he leaves --  
because it's no use writing to him about Bombay  
& Madras after instead of before.  
But Sir B. Frere does not like my adding to  
the *paper* -- he says it wd be hampering it --  
I don't think he even liked the additions I have  
made -- but he insisted on my writing a  
private letter -- which I have done. And he  
also insisted on my asking to see Lady Mayo --  
He said Ld Mayo was disappointed I had not

**f106v**

I did not.  
He looked at the pencil additions -- said they were  
very good --  
but said, generally, don't overload the paper  
but write a private letter  
You'd better read it all thro' with the private  
letter -- & then you will judge --  
I will rewrite anything you like --  
But Sir B.F. said: let it now go & in as  
soon as possible

[end 10:91]

**ff107-08v** NOTES PEN AND PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN dated [5 Nov. 1868?] (ARCHIVIST)

**f107** {PENCIL}:

During the time that you were taken possession of by [9:889]  
the wiles & graces of Wilbraham, Sir B. Frere came  
here twice -- They have made a paper at  
the I.O., chiefly embodying our paper -- & Sir B.F.  
says: -- if we would add in again what they have  
taken out, he feels almost sure it would be  
adopted. He has now brought it.

**f108v** PENCIL:

JS: ~~In its present~~

This is an admirable paper, and contains  
quite as much as you should put  
forth at present. You have included  
in it all the great principles both  
Sanitary & Administrative which the  
country requires, & now you must  
keep at these points until they  
are embodied in local works in  
India. This will not be in our  
time, for it takes more than a few  
years to introduce Christian  
Civilization into a continent. These  
people are of us & we are of them  
& in God's good time we shall  
all of us I trust reap the common  
benefit of obeying all the laws which  
he has given us for our well-being.

[end 9:889]

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN IN PEN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE}:

FN: With regard to what you were kind  
enough to tell me about the 1

**ff109-09v** NOTES PEN AND PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND AND NIGHTINGALE

{SUTHERLAND IN PEN}:

5/Nov.

Inkermann!!

The lists are being made out.  
There are 6 or 7 applicants on the  
books besides. These names  
together with the two hospital  
lists will be sent I hope today  
to H.B.C.

I shall call tomorrow  
morning.

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN BY NIGHTINGALE IN PENCIL}:

Shall I send him £5 without  
my name? --  
amongst dead "what  
Worthington --

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS BY NIGHTINGALE IN PENCIL}:

Are the men to sleep under the grate?  
What shall  
I say? --

**f109** -- BOTTOM HALF OF FOLIO **109**  
PENCIL

Do you wish anything more to be said?  
what *shall* I say to Chad?

Altho' I wish of all things to see Mr. C. in Parlt  
on account of the great services he wd render on  
social questions

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

I see no place for Nurses.

**f109v** {CONTINUED NOTES WRITTEN BY FN IN PENCIL}:

JS: with short  
wards & no  
end windows  
you might safely  
arrange so as to  
place the Baths &  
W.C.s beyond the  
end wall & behind  
the fire place. All  
you would want  
would be a separate  
ventilated & lighted  
lobby between the  
W.C.s & Baths &  
the ward.  
All the drain pipes  
would have to go down  
along the outer wall.  
~~This~~ If your wards  
were longer, your present  
arrangement of W.Cs &c would be the best  
FN: the consequence  
of depth of projections  
in comparison with  
shortness of ward  
{`the consequence of depth...of wars' WRITTEN SIDEWAYS}

**f110** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 6 Nov. embossed WO, lists sent today,  
Rawlinson

**ff111-11v** NOTE ABOUT VARIOUS DOCTORS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

**f111**

Well I've read the letters. I have them by heart.  
The thing seems to be in a nutshell -- It is wholly [9:615-16]  
a question of persons -- If you had more Hewletts  
than one, you would say: put the Executive power  
into the hands of the Medl Officer of Health  
If you had more Tullochs than one, you  
would say: put the Executive into the hands  
of the Executive Engineer.  
But as to putting such power into the hands  
of a Goodeve, a Farquhar, a Murray, a Hunter,  
or *any* or *all* of the now numerous Indian  
Drs. who have been sent to me or have  
corresponded with me, you might much  
better put it into the hands of Temperance.  
As to putting it into the hands of a Parkes,  
a Farr, a Rumsey, a Sir J. Watson, or any or all  
of the `Crimean War Drs whom I know, you  
would get out of them a discussion upon  
Contagion & nothing more --  
Parkes is totally unfit to give even the elementary knowledge  
Hewlett requires

**f111v**

He's unique --  
He's like his uncle, Mr. Whitfield -- who can  
scarcely write English but who is &  
remains the only Hospital man who has  
the least inkling of the real portée  
of the question of health of Hospitals [end 9:616]

**f112** -- NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 6th November embossed W0, encloses  
Hewlett's letter with Rawlinson's reply to JS's, asks to read them  
both so can discuss whole question of the appt of officers of  
health for India. The estimated Liberal majority at the lowest  
possible calculation is 126.

**ff113v-14** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

**f113v**

There ought to be an Act of Parliament to prevent  
people under penalty from sending me  
newspapers --

But you told me not to destroy the Sydney  
newspapers sent me, because you wanted to  
look at them --

And since then there has come another Legion

**f114** {WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON FOLIO}:

She says that is excellent --  
She says she has given many  
others to the Soc: Science which  
we may send for if you like to see  
It's there how they put 5 or 6  
prisoners into cells for one at  
the new (Pentonville) prison at  
Potacamun or Coimbatore.

**JS:**

No -- the prison was for 1000  
And they put in 5000 or 6000.

{WRITTEN RIGHT SIDE UP ON FOLIO}

**FN:** I must send that  
to Harry B.C. He  
has never had  
the grace to tell  
me whether the  
question about  
pay & pension is  
come --

**JS:** Yes -- my dear -- it  
has. It was  
fixed at £150  
rising to £200 --  
Maid of all work  
to be paid by W.O.  
Do you know  
where she is?

*I have*



**f114** -- BOTTOM HALF OF FOLIO **114-14v** LETTER FROM NIGHTINGALE? PEN  
WRITTEN IN HAND OTHER THAN FN

{LETTERHEAD PRINTED}:

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL  
SCIENCE

WITH WHICH IS UNITED  
THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE AMENDMENT OF THE LAW  
1, ADAM STREET, ADELPHI, W.C.

{WRITTEN IN PEN}:

9 Nov. 1868.

Madam

By request  
of Miss Carpenter  
I send herewith  
Dr. Wicke's Year of [?]  
Inspections in India.  
There are also other  
reports relating  
to Indians, which

**f114v**

were presented  
by Miss Carpenter  
a short time  
ago, and which  
Miss C. places  
at your service,  
if you wish to  
see them

Yours --illeg

J.N. Nolinson [?]  
asst secy  
Miss Nightingale

**ff114v** -- BOTTOM HALF OF FOLIO **114v-15** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE  
PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

**f114v**

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}

Yes -- but it was distinctly understood  
( & Wilbraham is quite sharp enough  
to know that) that there was to  
be an appeal against a *Supt* to  
the *Commandant*. And that  
will make her office impossible  
I beg your pardon. Wilbraham told  
me with his own lips that as long  
as there was a *Supt* & no *Supt Genl*  
it did very well, *because* there  
was an appeal to him. And, if the  
*Supt Genl* is out of reach, it was  
distinctly understood that such an appeal  
was to be

Don't you think  
it would be a  
matter of courtesy  
for Harry B. C.  
to tell her that  
we have been  
applied to to  
form a staff  
Would you just  
look through -- &  
see if there be any  
thing about  
gratuities or  
about *anything*

**f115**

There are 3 correspondents  
who literally always give  
me spasm of the heart --  
& whose correspondence  
you *must* open --  
1 -- Mrs. S. Stewart  
2.  
3  
I am so full of cares. But  
this is an old story --  
Will you read these letters?  
But first -- I will show you  
what's past

**f115v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED Nov 24/68

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}

Nov 24/68

All the time feeling that God was ready to pounce upon him if he failed once; till again & again the intensity of his efforts utterly defeated their object by destroying for the time the desire to prosecute them with the power to will them.

**ff116-17v** NOTE PENCIL JS or FN? hand DATED [ca. 23 Nov 1868]  
(ARCHIVIST)

**f116** {LETTERHEAD PRINTED}:

35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
W.

1. He has succeeded in shewing what an enormous amount of confusion, complications, & means of jobbing exist in the present system & he has shewn that all is traceable upwards to the purchase system.
2. He has not proved that all this mess would disappear if purchase were abolished, but he has rendered it possible that if purchase were abolished it would disappear always provided that the army can exist without purchase.
3. He has not shewn that an army could exist without purchase, if there are to be

**f116v**

it aristocrats, middle class  
& working classes.

4. He has not shewn how  
the expences of regiments  
could be diminished so as to  
admit N.C.O.s or to meet  
Earls at the Mess table.
5. He has not shewn that  
the mess could be abolished --  
& the expences reduced.
6. He has not shewn that  
Earls would be willing to meet  
labourers sons as fellow  
officers in that brotherhood  
required in all armies
7. He has not taken into acct  
that these islands are ~~dev~~  
peopled by distinct races  
which have never amalgamated

**f117**

as the races in France &  
Germany have done.

- 8 He has not ~~ask~~ proved  
that the race which comprises  
the mass of the rank &  
file of the army would  
like to be officered by  
men taken from itself as  
well as by gentlemen.
9. Would not the abolition  
of purchase & throwing open  
the Army to all comers  
put the point of the wedge  
into the abolition of aristocracy  
question: which in reality  
lies at the root of the purchase  
question.

**f117v**

10. As regards the admissn of  
short service men into the  
Civil service. He has not  
shown ~~that~~ how the limited  
number of appointments in  
a service where the appointments  
are for life can be an inducement  
to recruiting in an Army  
which is to be totally changed  
every few years.

11 He has not shewn why  
all the appointments or even  
any considerable number should  
be given as ~~reg~~ rewards to men  
who have been paid for a  
few years soldiering ~~to the~~  
at the cost of men better educated  
& more able

**f118** NOTE RE: SIR C. TREVELYAN'S SCHEME PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN  
[5:190]

Sir C. Trevelyan

[Dated Nov 68]

"With all the cry about it, there is *no* real equality"  
in England -- there *is* in France.

In England, wealth covers blackguardism  
aristocracy

the only blackguard is the poor man

[This is the real obstacle to Sir C. T's scheme  
The aristocratic blackguard will be obliged & even  
loved by his men. The deserving N.C. Officer  
raised from their own ranks to command them  
will not]

**ff119-23v** NOTE RE CROWN PRINCESS AND PLANS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN  
2 Dec. 1868 (ARCH) **[5:542]**

**f119**

The Cr. Prss. was here all yesterday morning & she **[8:823 5:542]**  
is coming again --

She is a great deal more intelligent than Sir James  
C. I can tell you -- And she took every  
thing as quick as lightning.

~~But~~ She has left the plans & our paper in case  
we should wish to add anything.

But her main object is to found a Training School  
for Nurses on the best Sanitary principles of  
teaching -- which she said are not at all  
understood in Germany -- & least of all by the  
Deaconesses of Bethanien & Kaiserswerth  
because these are all under the influence of  
Pastors -- [Of course I did not choose to "give

up" my Deaconesses to her. But

-- I know what she says is too true]

She told me a hideous story about their having had a Typhus  
Epidemic at Bethanien because  
they WOULD obey Pastor Schulze, the Chaplain, &  
not use the preventive measures urged. **[end 8:823] [end 15:542]**

Never mind that.

**f119v**

She wanted me

**[8:823-25]**

1. to draw up a hierarchy of Nurses as  
needed for that Hospital -- ages &c --
2. whether we would train for them 1  
Matron 1 Head Surgical 1 Head Medical  
1 Monthly Nurse --
3. *whether we would give her the conditions*  
under which ~~we had in the Army nurses~~  
~~had~~ Lying in women could be without Puerperal Fever  
{THE ABOVE POINT #3 IS BRACKETED IN LEFT MARGIN}

She says that Germany is worse than India  
about nursing Lying in Women --  
that their Midwives are very good -- much  
better than in England -- & she herself  
was delivered by a midwife -- but that  
the Nursing afterward & the deaths from  
it, from the highest to the lowest woman  
are awful -- the dirt, she says, beyond belief --  
& that she herself has been obliged to tell [had?]  
her own Midwife to "wash her hands" before  
she delivered her --

Well -- she asked me whether we cd train.  
She asked me whether we wd see the daughter of

**f120**

the Matron of Q. Charlotte's -- who, she says, is  
a trained midwife & a nice woman -- & see  
whether she wd do -- But

Miss Osburn was the only one we trained there  
who was a woman of purpose & courage  
She wants

4. me to give her an account of what we  
require in the way of clothing, of *clean under*  
linen changes from our Nurses -- & of change  
of sheets for Patients -- & whether we use  
*white* sheets.

also patterns of their gowns & caps --  
-----

*Well*, what she wants to know are *the conditions*  
under which we have been *successful* --

Where was that Hospl Hut where they had  
800 cases without a 1  
at Colchester.

I told her so -- And if information could be written down  
as to the *working* of it

She wants to imitate that - there - Could you not  
get Massey to write down for me



**f120v**

She asked me some questions it was impossible [5:542]  
for me to know anything about --  
She means to raise subns for this Hospital --  
in order to obtain a grant from Govt  
She said very humbly that she was only a  
private individual.  
& asked me whether I thought she cd get  
subns from America.  
I cd not even think of any one to refer her  
to for Counsel.

[She said (of course in confidence) that the  
present King "& the 2 Queens" are entirely  
in the hands of the High Church Tory  
Pietistic Ecclesiastics & of the Military Counts  
She said: if they want to build a Hospl  
they ask a Pastor & a Count -- And such  
a man as Virchow is absolutely in disgrace,  
because he is neither Tory nor High Church.  
She told me some really horrible things as to  
how the Knights of St. John & other Ecclesiastics  
had interfered in the Military Hospls: & killed the Patients

**f121**

She instantly wrote down about the windows &  
beds.  
She says she thinks the Architect means to have  
24 beds -- raised to 32 when full.  
She MEANS to alter the construction. She only added  
that she thought the ward was to be constructed to  
admit 32 with safety -- but 24 to be the usual  
number.  
Now -- you must help me to write down the No of  
wards in brown plan  
for one to calculate with Mrs. Wardroper  
the Nursing hierarchy  
===  
She is very anxious to have a School for Men-Nurses --  
That is truly German -- Both Agnes Jones & I thought  
the Men Nurses at Kaiserswerth & elsewhere  
very objectionable.

If that College for Convalescents -- be for men too there  
must be a man sleeping on the men's Side --  
and there must also be W.C. & Lavatory arrangement  
complete & separate on each side.

**f122**

Look -- things in Germany are always  
action & re-action -- Because Kaiserswerth  
& Bethanien have been entirely in the  
hands of Pastors & women, to the exclusion  
of Doctors, therefore the Princess seems  
now inclined to put her Matron entirely  
*under* the Doctor -- That is why I wrote  
that last page.

**[end 5:542]**

But she also said

ought not the Nurses to pass an  
examination like Students? --

Now my opinion is that such  
Examinations for women are almost  
useless. I did not say so however  
But ought I not to tell her what I  
think the only useful examination --  
viz. our monthly record under the  
heads there specified

Would it do to send my printed paper with  
a little written explanation?

**f122v**

Here's a very important letter from Sir  
B. Frere.

Let that come back to me for my *information*.

You never sent me (for my information) as  
you yourself proposed, the paper on the  
memorandum -- You said you shd send it

on Wednesday night from the W.O.

I think it wd be desirable (in *that*) as you  
ask me, to mention the famous pp 15-17==

those are ours

Not one word from the W.O. about  
the Princess' requirements --

**f123** {DARK PENCIL}**[15:624]**

The Princess Royal told me *in confidence* that the agency provided by the Knights of S. John at Sadowa was the most dirty, the most useless, the most untrained & unsanitary possible --

She said the Prussian Army Medical Officers were Sanitary angels in comparison

She said that it was impossible to conceive the worse than uselessness, the dirty, feckless creatures, male & female, accommodation, Civil Doctors, everything, provided by the Voluntary Agency at Sadowa

And (which I have never told any one)  
She said the Deaconesses were just as bad.

**[end]**

JS: [?]

I must do something about this. You see I have had 2 sets of papers from the Prussian lot to me as President of the Foundling Hospital

[?]

I'm sorry to say I don't like poor Sir Harry's letter at all. I have not answered the two first  
should there not be  
some ending to it?     I     I did -- And that's  
the answer

**f123v**

Would you please look at this first  
They have suspended my wretched Commn from  
the Corps. He came crying here yesterday. I *can*  
give him a character. But they  
ought never to have sent him to me.

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON FOLIO}:

[illeg] -- wife of the Govnor Genl of one of the Hungarian  
provinces

I should like to have  
seen it  
which p.?

I read the Article  
How can he afford an Observatory?  
what is he in the W.O.?

I must answer something  
I thought reason rather absent

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF FOLIO}:

Miss N. desires me in conclusion to add  
her warmest acknowledgements for the honour you  
have done in wanting her to take part in  
your work

**ff124-25v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [3-4 Dec 1868]  
(ARCHIVIST) **[5:532]**

**f124**

My dear as to being honourable or not honourable  
if Dizzy had gone out 2 years ago he wd have  
been honourable --

He has staid in to get the finest appointmt  
in the hands of the Govt (India) to make a  
great many other appointments *disastrous*  
to us -- & to put [illeg] great Govt offices, W.O.  
I.O. & Poor Law into a state of disorder such  
as they have not been in since I have  
known anything of Govt --

And then he goes out exactly in the way  
to give Gladstone most trouble  
And you call that honourable!

**[end 5:532]**

However -- this --  
I shall be very glad to see Villiers at the Poor Law --  
But if they expect me to coach the new S of Ss **[10:91]**  
for I.O & W.O. they may whistle for me in  
vain.

Sir C. Wood not -- because too old  
Ld Stanley not -- because he won't --  
Ld de Grey -- I wish for but don't hope for.  
If he has Lowe, you know Lowe is absolutely a  
slave to Simon -- And what's worse, he's an *oligarchical*  
Titan

**f125v**

I could write on another sheet if you liked  
some thing quite general to Sir J. Lawrence,  
order to prepare his mind to act with us  
when he comes home.

**[end 10:91]**

Sir B. Frere wrote to Sir J. Pakington.

Well now -- I'm half dead. But I must go thro'  
all these little worrying particulars.

**f126** NOTE RE: STRACHEY PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [Bef. 4 Dec 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

Well--you must prepare yourself that this is the [10:51]  
nastiest pill we have had yet --  
But we have swallowed a good many -- And we're  
not poisoned yet --  
Strachey's letter to Sir John is in a passionate &  
unjust tone which bodes ill to us now  
Strachey is on the Council --  
I understand now what I have been told for the  
last year that the communications of the Govt  
in India to the Govt at the India office  
have been in such a tone that they are  
scarcely on speaking terms --

One thing you must consider -- what I am to  
answer Sir J. L. since next Friday is the  
last mail ~~by~~ which will find him in India

Of course I will do what you *deliberately* think best  
But Sir B. Frere is so anxious -- so annoyed with  
the tone of recent communications to the I.O -- &  
I think so ill that

I must answer this & acknowledge his Report --  
because Cunningham has taken immense pains  
to let me & the I.O. have a copy each as early as possible.  
[end 10:51]

**ff127-29v** NOTE RE: DR MACLEAN AND DIAGRAM OF BEDS PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN [Early Dec 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

**f127** Dr Maclean

[Early Dec 1868]

has written to Sir B. Frere to ask him to see  
him at the close of this week about Sir  
B.F. believes, two young Drs who were  
sent to Germany to enquire about Cholera  
Sir B.F. questioned me most closely as  
to what Dr. Maclean was -- whether he  
was obstructive -- Whether he Sir B.F.  
should encourage him or not --  
I promised to write to Sir B.F. whether this  
is the same as the two young Drs who  
are going out to India -- on what  
footing they are going out -- what is this  
story about Germany -- & generally what  
Sir B.F. had better say to Dr. Maclean.

**f128**

You forget. I wrote  
Dr. Maclean wrote to ask to see Sir B.F.  
Sir B.F. asked me. I wrote.  
You said that Dr. Maclean ought not to have  
meddled -- for that the A.S.C. was to send  
in a request to the I.O.  
I told Sir B.F. that that wd come to him  
at the I.O -- They go tomorrow  
I bespoke Sir B.F.'s kind consideration --  
He told Dr. Maclean who of course told  
Dr. Parkes --  
Well it seems to me that hitherto no one has moved  
but I & the despised Dr. Maclean.

You told me you wished me to write to Sir B.F.  
a "Note" on Cunningham's Report.

**f128v**

Look -- *can you attend?* --  
The feature of that hut is this: --  
that there is a Nurse's room & a Matron's in such  
a position that each knows exactly what is going on  
in her two wards -- otherwise, there must be  
a woman sitting up night & day with each  
Lying-in Patient -- Or else you must take away  
all the infants.  
I don't care what they do -- I tell you what  
must be done --  
I am telling you what must be - not in Colchester  
Camp -- but in a Lying-in Hospl such  
as the Princess intends  
but -- when? --  
But no one has gone into the further question  
whether she ought or ought not to be  
delivered in *that* room -- Hitherto it has

**f129**

been I believe the opinion of all accoucheurs that  
She ought not  
In all the Maisons d'Accouchements  
in Paris which pay each woman.

**f129v**

I ask where the W.C.'s are & Sinks --  
Then what does the Nurse to do with the  
Mess? --  
I don't like that at all.  
To make that the unit  
{DIAGRAM OF SET-UP OF BEDS}  
or else



**ff130-31** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 9 Dec 1868]  
(ARCHIVIST)

**f130**

That wd be awfully stupid --

Ld de Grey, as having Indian & Army experiences  
would have been better in the I.O --

Lowe is a much abler man than Cardwell --  
but he has gone so awfully wrong under  
Simon about Sanitary Reform, that I think  
he wd have done us much harm at the  
W.O.

I am most unhappy about the Poor Law -- There is  
no question but that Villiers *ought* to be there  
*what?* --

~~In~~ No -- because if I make a remark you will  
instantly tell me that that is the very thing  
in which your paper does not want a remark.

Well, I think the paper admirable -- But it strikes **[10:51]**  
me that instead of being less, it is more dogmatic  
than Sir B. Frere's suggestion -- & more dogmatic for  
your having seen Strachey's letter.

Sir B. Frere says: there is great virtue in these  
words "The time has now come" -- as if you  
implied that the Govt of India has been all along  
working for this.

**f130v**

Then c & d -- should be rather

c. That the time has now come for that important  
information -- which has been obtained  
by inspection to be turned to immediate  
practical use for improving the health  
of those places which have been thus  
reported on.

**[end 10:51]**

d.

**f131**

I am not an official  
But I shd adopt some tone like this  
And in d. I shd I think avoid  
raking up the obnoxious Memd  
& (repeating the magic words "The  
time has now come" imply that the Govt

Yes -- but I ~~think it~~ will, if you like it, send  
it to Sir B. Frere -- if you will roughly  
correct those two last pages -- for

You might do it here --

~~I shd not mind his seeing it -- On the contrary,~~  
for prudence

I think I should ~~then~~ tell him of (not  
shew him) Strachey's angry letter

I ought to see it. I can't conduct the intercourse. [10:51]  
Remember, it was you who with Sir B. Frere without being  
proposed my shewing cognizant of  
Strachey.

**f132** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [11 Dec 1868] (ARCH) on  
same paper as letter Dec 9 1868

I am perfectly deaved.  
Even while you have been  
sitting here, Mr. Rathbone  
has been -- & the Crown Princess  
has been -- both asking me  
to see them --

I don't know that I can  
see you on Monday

I certainly can't keep  
Worthington's plans  
till Tuesday  
I shall tell the Crown Princess  
that the W.O. does not choose  
to take any trouble for her --

**ff132-32v** LETTER TO NIGHTINGALE PEN**f132**

[LETTERHEAD PRINTED]

Tisdall & Son  
Doers & Scourers to her Majesty  
36 Duke Street,  
Grosvenor Square, London. W.  
{LETTER WRITTEN BY FN IN PEN}:  
Dec 9th 1868.

Honored madam,

We find from  
our books that we have not  
received any order from you  
for the last three months --  
we humbly hope we have not  
in any way given offence, as  
we should greatly regret the  
withdrawal of your favors.  
We are anxious at all times  
to give satisfaction to our cus-  
tomers, and are ready ever to

**f132v**

rectify any fault through over-  
sight by doing any such article  
a second time. We sincerely  
trust if by any act or omission  
we have displeased you, you  
will grant us an opportunity  
for making atonement.

We are, Honored madam  
Your obedient Servants  
Tisdall & Son

Miss Nightingale

-----

**ff133-33v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN or JS? DATED [Bef. 12 Dec. 1868] (ARCH)

**f133**

In consequence of the loss of nearly a [9:890]  
regiment of British troops in India in  
1867, besides many thousands of natives,  
and ~~her~~ in consequence of the complete  
fiasco of Medical doctrine & practice  
in this disease. The Army San. Comm  
has decided to ask the India Office  
to join in ~~an~~ a great scientific  
& practical enquiry into the whole  
subject. The Instructions are under  
consideration & will be sent officially in due time ~~to the~~ In  
submission to the  
Sec of St War & Sec of St India.

One part of the enquiry is altogether  
special & has been made matter of  
education of two active young Surgeons  
who were sent to Germany on purpose.  
One Dr. Cunningham belongs to the Indian  
service, the other Dr Lewis belongs to the  
British service in India. Both are  
going out on the 12th Dec, and application  
will be made officially to the India Office.

**f133v**

that these specially trained men shall  
not be sent on general service but  
shall be kept at their special work  
until the scientific enquiry is completed. It  
is no doubt about them now that  
Dr. Maclean wishes to see Sir B.F.  
The object is one of the highest public importance  
& I would venture to  
~~to~~ bespeak your kind consideration for the  
application when it comes --

[end 9:890]

**ff134-34v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 12 Dec. 1868]  
(ARCH)

**f134**

I will gladly give up all my hopes of heaven to get those  
India papers before next Dec 12

Where is your paper for Galton on Lord Herbert's work?

**f134v**

If everybody would set their face against  
such waste of power as I do  
the whole thing would be put an end to.

*Must* I answer this woman?

The rest of the letter is all hypocrisy

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

I am not aware that  
any photographs of me  
are ~~publish~~ sold & I  
therefore cannot reply to  
your ~~requ~~ question as to  
the place where to obtain them

**f135-35v** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 12TH Dec. embossed WO, re Colchester,  
cases and deaths

**ff136-42** NOTES ON STATISTICS OF MORTALITY IN LYING-IN INSTITUTIONS  
PEN AND PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND WITH CORRECTIONS IN PENCIL  
BY NIGHTINGALE? NOTE: ALL PENCIL MARKINGS NIGHTINGALE NOT DATED,  
embossed WO

**f136** {PEN}:

Notes on Statistics of  
Mortality in Lying-in  
Institutions  
=====

1. In the year 1862 the Committee  
of the Nightingale fund, with the view  
of extending the advantages of their  
training institutions entered into an  
arrangement with the ~~Governors~~ authorities of  
~~Kings College Hospital~~ St. John's House under which  
wards were fitted up in the new  
part of ~~the building~~ King's College Hospital for the reception  
of Midwifery Cases. The wards were  
~~placed~~ under the charge of the ~~late~~ then  
Lady Superintendent; provision was  
made for ~~skilled~~ medical attendance  
{PENCIL}:

a skilled Midwife was engaged  
{PEN}:

and a certain number of pupil  
nurses were admitted for training.

The then Lady Supt ~~St. John's House~~

~~Every one~~ did ~~their~~ her very best to ensure  
success to this new branch of the Nightingale  
training school, and hopes were

**f136v**

{PEN}:

entertained that it would confer  
a great benefit on the poor  
especially in country districts  
where Midwifery nurses were needed.

~~Apparently every precaution~~  
had been taken ~~by the Lady Supt~~ to render the  
midwifery department perfectly  
safe, and it was not until the  
school had been nearly 6 years  
in existence that the Nightingale Committee  
had any reason to think that  
it was otherwise.

As soon as the facts of the case  
were brought to the knowledge of  
the committee an enquiry was  
made. ~~It is due to the authorities~~  
~~& Medical officers of the Habitat~~  
~~to state that every precaution was~~  
~~taken which experience could dictate~~  
but the inexorable "logic of facts"  
due in a great measure ~~to the~~  
~~faulty construction of R. C. H.~~  
~~& particularly~~ as was supposed.

quite the  
contrary  
Miss Jones  
remonstrated  
persistently  
about the  
*P. M. Theatre*  
They promised to  
remedy it -- no one  
knows how --

And *nothing* was done.

{`quite the contrary...And *nothing* was done.' WRITTEN IN PENCIL}

**f137** {'to the dangerous proximity of the Post Mortem Theatre, the smell from which was quite perceptible' WRITTEN IN PENCIL}

to the dangerous proximity of the Post Mortem Theatre,  
the smell had by this time proved that precautions  
from which were unavailing for diminishing the  
was quite mortality, which had indeed gone  
perceptible, on in an increasing ratio, so that  
in 1867 the time when the wards were  
closed by consent of all parties, out  
of every 14 women delivered one had  
died! During the period of nearly seven  
years when the wards were in use, it  
was found from the records that 780  
women had been delivered, and out of  
this number 276 had died, a mortality  
of ~~29.4~~ 33.3 per 1000. An analysis of  
the causes of death showed that  
with the exception of one death from  
haemorrhage in a poor woman who  
was delivered in a cab on her  
way to hospital not a single death  
had taken place from accidents  
incident to child-bearing. There  
were three deaths due to diseases  
not necessarily concomitant of this  
condition while of the great majority



**f137v {PEN}:**

of deaths 23 in number no fewer  
 than 17 were due to puerperal fever  
 3 to puerperal peritonitis, 2 to  
 pyemia & 1 to metritis. Nine  
 of these deaths took place during  
 the last year 1867, that the wards were  
 in use. ~~It is true that~~ The first death in this year was from

puerperal  
 fever in

an Erysipelas case ~~had been~~

brought in from the General wards. ~~during this time.~~

{`The first death in this year....General wards. ~~during this time~~'

WRITTEN IN PENCIL}

Under these lamentable circumstances  
 the closing of our Midwifery school  
 was a matter of course and since  
 that period I have been engaged in  
 discussing the question whether it  
 would be possible under any cir=  
 =cumstances to reopen it elsewhere.

Dr. Priestley  
 attributes -- 3? h?  
 Deaths to this cause

With this view I have endeavoured  
 to obtain all the data possible &  
 the following facts taken from the  
 appended tables appear to afford  
 some insight into the whole  
 question. It is necessary however  
 in using the data to make the  
 reservation that the conditions under

**f138** {PEN}:

[2]

which deliveries take place in many of the various institutions included in the tables are only imperfectly known. The general sanitary condition of the wards: the management adopted; the class of patients admitted: the time they are kept before and after delivery & their general state of health before delivery are all elements very necessary to be known before the causes of those immensely various death rates about to be noticed, can be assigned. The figures must be taken as they are and their value ~~assigned~~ arrived at from our general knowledge of the establishments and of the condition of the population admitted into them.

2. The first thing to do in the enquiry to ascertain what is the normal death rate among lying in women?

In the Registrar Generals 30th annual

**f138v {PEN}:**

report (1867) there is an instructive series of tables from which this element can be deduced.

In the year 1867 there were in all England 768, 349 births and 3933 ~~3963~~ women died in childbed

This gives an approximate total mortality of 5.1 per 1000 from all causes.

On analysing the causes of death we find that out of 3933 deaths 137 were due to fevers & eruptive fevers. 230 were due to consumption & other chest diseases & 154 to other minor causes.

The remainder of the mortality was distributed as follows: --

Deaths from accidents of childbirth 2346

Deaths from Puerperal diseases 1066

This last number if added to the fever deaths would give 1203 as the mortality from diseases more or less connected with what is called "blood poisoning"

**f139 {PEN}:**

The death rate in 1867 from causes more or less incident to the puerperal state was from: --

?	Accidents of childbirth	3. + per 1 000	-----
?	Puerperal diseases	1.4 " "	----

The same report gives the following death rates for all England during 13 years 1865 to 1867.

Accidents of childbirth ...	3.22. per 1000
Puerperal diseases	1.61
	-----
Total	4.83

Another table gives the mortality in districts for 10 years 1851-60 as follows.

*64 Healthy districts*

Puerperal diseases & accidents} 4.3 per 1000  
of childbirth }

*11 large towns*

Puerperal diseases and}  
accidents of childbirth} 4.9 " "

? In other words out of every 5000 deliveries there are three more deaths from these causes in towns, than among the country population.

**f139v {PEN}:**

These figures then according to our present knowledge may be fairly taken to represent an attainable standard of mortality, with the reservation that as the public health advances towards improvement the blood diseases ought to decrease in fatality, and that with improved midwifery practice fatal accidents will become less & less frequent.

Assuming 4.8 per 1000 as an attainable standard of Mortality from Puerperal diseases & accidents, let us see how it fares with puerperal cases in public institutions at home.

The lowest aggregate mortality from both classes is that in Liverpool workhouse lying in wards.

This is 5.2 per 1000.

Next in order follows the mortality from the same causes in 27 London workhouses in which deaths took place.

This is 6.2 per 1000

**f140** {PEN}: [3]

It is however instructive to remark that  
there are 13 London Workhouses  
in which in 5 years 2459 poor  
women were delivered without a  
single death. x

x In Workhouses the proportion of unmarried women varies  
from 1 to 1 up to  
5 to 1 to married women. The number of primiperae  
among unmarried women is very large.

{WRITTEN IN MARGIN TO BE PLACED IN AT THIS POINT IN PENCIL}:

On the other hand  
in one year 1865  
there is one ~~Hosp~~<sup>Hosp</sup>  
Workhouse (Islington)  
which gives the highest  
rate of mortality in  
Child-births we have  
yet found in England  
being 55 per 1000  
or 5 Deaths on 91  
Deliveries & during the 5 years  
11 Deaths on 375 Deliveries  
or 29 per 1000.

{BACK TO TEXT IN PEN}:

There are at present 7 Military  
lying in Hospitals attached to as  
many garrisons. In one of these which is a Hut  
at Colchester no death is returned  
out of 137 deliveries. {IN PENCIL}: And it is believed  
that ~~from~~ about 600 Deliveries took place in this Hut without a single Death.  
But of this there is no  
*official* record.

{IN PEN}:

In the other six the death rate from  
Puerperal diseases & accidents of  
childbirth has been 6.6 per 1000.

The returns for the city of London  
lying in Hospital {PENCIL}: for 1859 to 1868 {PEN}: and the British  
lying in Institution {PENCIL}: for the 11 years 1858-68 {PEN}: do not  
specify  
the causes of death but the total  
mortality has been 10.9 per 1000 in the former  
and 14.3 in the latter,

**f140 cont.** {THE FOLLOWING IS WRITTEN IN LEFT MARGIN IN PENCIL BUT DIRECTED TO BE INSERTED AT THIS POINT}:

which rate is more than  
double the rate  
~~mounted up from~~  
(7 per 1000) for  
~~in~~ the 13 years  
from 1849 to 1861

{CONTINUE WITH TEXT IN PEN}:

, or, between 2 &  
3 times the Mortality in all England  
in 1867. The Return for the Dublin Rotunda  
Hospital is for 1857 to 1861 (5 years) 26 per 1000.  
-- [of the 1214 women lying-in in Marylebone} Workhouse in 5 years,  
944 were single, & of these 667 primiperae

**f140v [JS ink text, with pencil by FN inserted]**

{PEN}:

lying in hospital from 1828 to 1868  
show a very high death rate.  
The average for the whole  
period was no less than 25.3 per  
1000 or fivefold the mortality for  
all England in 1867. And for ~~the~~ 7 years from 1857 to 1863  
it was actually 40 per 1000.

The death rate in this hospital  
for the whole period  
1828 to 1868

from accidents of childbirth  
was ----- 5.3 per 1000

The death rate from puerperal  
diseases was ----- 14.3 " "  
-----

Total from both causes 19.6 "

I come now to our unfortunate experience  
at Kings College. In this case the  
total *childbirth* deaths were 29.4 ?  
per 1000, and all of them took  
place from puerperal diseases  
(blood poisoning)

I have given in another table the death  
rates from childbirth for the year 1863 in each of the  
Parisian hospitals admitting puerperal

**f141 [JS ink, FN inserted]**

cases. This table reveals a condition of matters urgently calling for enquiry.

We find that the minimum mortality

given in it from Puerperal causes is at Beaujon {IN PENCIL}: a

General Hospital with a Lying-in Ward, {IN PEN}: this is 19.2 per 1000 while the maximum

mortality for 1863, from puerperal causes is at

{PENCIL}: not the highest for 1861, 2.

{PEN}: the Maison d'Accouchement and is

{PENCIL}: charité the highest

{WRITTEN IN MARGIN BESIDE:

*but it is not the*

*maximum for*

*1861, 1862*

{BACK TO TEXT IN PEN}:

no less than 130 per 1000. {IN PENCIL}: The Maison

d'Accouchement is, as its name signifies, for Lying-in

{WRITTEN IN MARGIN IN PENCIL}:

cases alone --

& is the great

Government

school for

Midwives

~~In~~ 2006 Deliveries

took place in it

in this year

1863

{BACK TO TEXT IN PEN}:

The total aggregate mortality from

all causes of Lying-in cases in the 12 Parisian hospitals

given in the table is no less than

70.3 per 1000 while the mortality from

diseases & accidents of childbirth

is 60.6 per 1000. {IN PENCIL}: Of these 12 Hospitals only

one, the Maison d'Accouchement

is a Lying-in Hospital. The rest are Hospitals with Lying-in

Wards. {IN PEN}: We have thus then obtained a series

of data which suggest some most

important questions.

What can the reason be of this

ascending series of fatality from the

same class of cases?

? Why is it that these *puerperal* death

rates beginning at 5.1 per 1000 for all



**f141v**

{PEN}:

England town & country including lying  
 in wards should successively become  
 among the same people 8.5 --  
 9.8 -- 10.9 -- 14.3 -- 25.3 -- 33.3  
 and if we cross the channel 70.3.  
 There must surely be some reason for  
 this.

Again why should fever & inflammations  
 of the puerperal class which give  
 a death rate for all England of  
 1.61 per 1000 mount up in English  
 hospitals to 3.4 -- ~~3-6~~ 3.6 - 4.1  
 14.3 & 24.9 [FN:] ?29.4

These death rates represent blood  
 poisoning.

Puerperal women as every one knows  
 are the most susceptible of all subjects  
 to blood diseases. Very trivial causes  
 produce very decided & fatal results  
 with them. It is by keeping this  
 fact in view while examining the  
 conditions to which puerperal cases  
 [FN:] are subjected

**f142**

[4]

that we may hope to arrive at what  
 those destructive causes really  
 are.

**ff143-45v** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE ON TRAINING PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY  
FN DATED [Nov-Dec 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

**f143**

We hardly ever take any  
I don't want to be severe -- But there are many  
~~I'm afraid it will come to that.~~  
Institutions, besides ours: who would say to a  
woman: You have been a week at Netley -- then  
You won't do for us --  
In most Institutions, foreign & English, the rule  
is invariable: -- we don't take candidates  
from other Institutions  
All English Institutions will not take candidates  
You know: Storks asked us to look at his  
Candidates. And we consented. But we  
never consented that he should *enquire for*  
candidates for us -- *That* makes all the  
difference --  
We don't want them to be dismissed  
We were asked distinctly by the W.O. -- to  
train a Nursing Staff -- *not* to train their  
existing Nurses -- We consented. We shan't be

**f143v**

ready for a year. The W.O. can of course do'  
what they like in the meantime --  
*They should have said so* when they wrote to me.  
I  
We could train 10, 12, 16 --  
We always like to train the whole Staff  
*at once.*  
Only -- there is no "suppose" at all -- We know  
a good deal about all the women at Netley  
& Woolwich. There is only one, Caroline  
Oakes, at Woolwich who would have been  
admitted among us in any capacity whatever  
  
Then -- we give great offence -- And  
that is just what we wished to avoid

**f144**

You know, I think that wd be so hard upon Mrs. Wardrr, so offensive to all, that that is just what we wished to avoid.

You know nothing of this kind was suggested in Storks' letter.  
No Institution in this world would take this condition' -- we take your M.  
Any needy Institution: -- no good one --

I told you that *ceteris paribus* a woman who had been in a Hospital would be less fit to be trained than a woman who had not  
Our experience of 8 years has proved it

You know you actually took the pains to ask me & Mrs. Wardr whether Mrs. Deeble should be put on. And now without asking us they go &

**f144v**

But -- if they advertise, then they'll have nothing to do ~~for~~ with us.

We have more candidates already than we want.

We acceded to their request that we would look at their candidates who, we understood, like Mrs. Deeble, had applied to the W.O.

But now they

There is personal reason, so far as we know, why every Nurse, except Caroline Oakes, in Netley & Woolwich, should not be taken

And we never dreamed of their applying to Netley & Woolwich for candidates

Harry B.C. was right -- he had better have seen Sir G. Lugard first.

**f145**

That's just what Harry says --  
We were told there were none --  
We were told that there was not one except  
Caroline Oakes who had been there a year --  
I ~~told~~ saw Wilbraham's letter --  
I told you that we differed in totissimo --  
Take our opinions quantum valeat --  
But don't expect us to be converted  
by a Wilbraham.  
They *all* did -- But there is not  
one, but C. Oakes, at this moment  
who has *any* vested interests.  
It had been better avoided.

**f145v**

Not the least --  
The rule is perfectly invariable in all Hospls --  
Miss M. Jones goes into Kings Coll Hosp with  
her own staff of Nurses -- All the old ones are  
told this: you may stay if you like it under  
the new regime as long as your conduct  
is good --  
Some choose to stay -- some to go --  
So it goes on. But in my experience it has  
invariably happened that the old ones  
do not ultimately ~~stay~~ choose to stay  
under the new discipline --  
And they go -- but in perfect good humour.

Then -- why did they ask us? --  
They never expressed this -- we ask you  
to train the existing Staffs at Netley &  
{ENDS ABRUPTLY}

**f146-46v** LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND Dec. 16th/68 embossed WO, sends  
info, hosp plans for Dublin off the board, re Colchester plan,  
not good enough...."but I have just learnt that the P.R.'s  
accoucheur has been here & that the draughtsman has been  
instructed to help in a lying-in hospital plan....told them not  
to go on till get Massey's answer. re present matron at  
Colchester

**f147-48** LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND 18TH Decr. embossed WO, Here are the plans. The large hosp plan is the present Female Hosp about to be erected in Dublin, The right hand is the lying-in ward, which for certain reasons has its own small kitchen for the purpose of isolation. The plan as it stands wd do for a lying-in hosp of 24 beds and if this were done there would be no need of a separate kitchen.

The Colchester wooden hut plan speaks for itself. It is as simple as a hut can well be.

I am going over to the Army Med Dept about the paper showing mortality in the lying-in hosps and will send it if I get it.

They re preparing a sketch of a lying-in hosp with separate rooms, which Col Murray will send you in pencil for your remarks, and you will then have an opportunity of discussing all the difficulties. JS..

**f148v** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN--MISPLACED}  
That letter is of course intended  
as an answer to our suggestion  
that *Strachey & Ellis* should  
be employed by Sir J. Lawrence  
to digest the Local Govt  
answers

**f149-51v** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE & DIAGRAM PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN  
DATED [2-19 Dec. 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

**f149**

*This* is chosen  
She said -- remove Backerie as well.

but more especially upon the routine &c of successful one at  
Chichester. ~~±-10~~ That is what she asked me  
for. She did not ask me for a general  
minute -- but for the working of that successful  
one (which *I* told her of.)

[8:204-05]

Well -- what passed was this: --  
she praised Q. Charlotte's --

I said -- Yes but the Death - rate is very high --

she said -- that can't be helped when Lying in

women are together -- And unless they're together

You can't have a Midwives' School.

I said: it can be helped. That's what I told her. And  
I gave her the Chichester instance.

**f150**

[2-19 Dec. 1868]

It was very kind of the D.G. to do that Lying in paper. But it is not of the least use to the Cr. Princess. She says what she wanted was not the Statistics of the Lyings in (which after all shew a Death rate among hundreds worse than that among thousands in the Workhouses), but the plan & working of the one Lying-in Hut which you told her had had 800 Lying in Cases without one casualty --

What's required to tell her what to avoid, she says --

Since the General Death rate (& among those small numbers) is the same as a

The Princess wants to make  
a Training School for  
Midwives -- That's her  
purpose --

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS AT BOTTOM OF PAGE}:

4443| 14 000 (3.1

| 13 329

-----

6710

-----

Devonport}

Chatham}

Woolwich}

**f150v** FN hand

What the Princess says is this: --

what I wanted to have is the ~~ground plan~~,  
*groundplan* & ~~the~~ *section*, & the working  
of that one Lying in Hut where there were no  
deaths.

It's no use sending me the Statistics of all those  
Hospitals -- & putting at the bottom that  
-- out of -- Deaths were not from puerperal  
causes -- without specifying *in which* Hospls  
this were so -- E.g. -- in Chatham, IF the Deaths  
there recorded were *all* from puerperal causes,  
then the Mortality there was higher than that  
of the worst London Workhouse with thousands  
of cases --

What I wanted was to take the Lying in Hut  
with 800 cases without a Death -- & learn  
all about that --

I can't construct a Lying in Hut or plan  
of working from anything in that paper.

Also: it's no use telling me -- excessive  
cleanliness & ventilation -- If I were to ask  
a German Midwife, she would say that  
excessive cleanliness is what she uses --

**f151**

who is she?

She says she *has* been to Q. Charlotte's -- & that the excessive cleanliness was there beyond praise

And she now wants to know *what* are the conditions which have secured in the Colchester Hut

[end 8:205]

Then say so, & send the plan --  
It isn't there.                      Now he says 600  
   now he says 137

Well -- that's the only thing in that whole paper that gave her any information *in connection with your* statement about the 800 cases or as now stated 600 cases -- which they have not even taken the trouble to put on that paper  
She justly said 137 cases tell nothing.

**f151v** DIAGRAM OF A FLOOR PLAN SKETCHED IN PENCIL--SEE PHOTOCOPY

**f152** DIAGRAM OF HOSPITAL -- SEE PHOTOCOPY PENCIL DATED [15-19 Dec. 1868] (ARCHIVIST) [15-19 Dec. 1868]

{DIAGRAM OF HOSPITAL AND LABELLED IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER}:

Administration  
Matron  
Nurses  
Probationers

Patients  
Stair nurses  
room scullery

Patients

Patients  
Stair &  
Nurses room  
scullery



**f153-56v** NOTE JS hand, some FN, PENCIL NOT DATED faint re hospital near Spandau or Plözen See (45750 f29

f153 {THE FOLLOWING SECTION HAS BEEN stroked through  
Brown Plan

1. The site is close to a ~~lake lagoon lake~~ and also to a ~~canal~~. I take for granted that care should be taken that the subsoil on which the hospital is to be built is ~~will~~ sufficiently raised above the water level to keep the foundation dry & that the banks of the canal do not generate malaria. ~~If this is the case then site would not answer.~~

{THE ABOVE SECTION HAS BEEN BRACKETED IN LEFT MARGIN}

The slaughter house should be away  
*from the hospital altogether.*

The wall space of the wards should be better divided.  
At present two beds are placed close together. These beds should each be 3 feet apart

{THE FOLLOWING SECTION IS NOT CROSSED OUT BUT BRACKETED IN LEFT MARGIN BY NIGHTINGALE}:

but the ~~will~~ wall space should be better divided so that which the beds are placed two & two between the windows each bed should on the nearest side be 3 feet from the adjacent bed.

----

All the nurses should be placed in the Nurses position at the end of the

**f153v** [JS pencil]

hospital and the matrons quarters  
should also be there -- arrangements  
should be made for separating the  
night from the day nurses  
sleeping rooms so as to ensure  
quiet for the patient  
The Nurses detached quarters K on the white  
plan are too far away from the  
building & would not therefore answer  
of the end [illeg] for  
the Brown plan arrangement or —  
nurses is better.  
Concur with Dr Virchow's criticism  
about the position of the Lying in quarters  
it would be better to turn the end  
to the east ward

The arrangement of the convalescent  
cottage appears to be good

The architect who put in the beds &  
the architect who wrote the description  
appear to have differed in them

**f154** FN pencil

[Error one puts in 32 beds and  
other 24

Then she began telling me about those  
Altans

She said that having seen the Wounded  
recover under sheds --

She thought bad Fevers or bad Surgical  
cases ought to be moved out under  
such Altars

I mindful of the disastrous Indian  
Verandahs said I thought it wd be  
better to have a separate hut or shed  
for such cases

**f154v JS hand**

+

There are two ground plans.  
one brown -- the other white  
The arrangement of the wards is  
good in both. ~~We send~~ each  
has advantages. The single ward  
pavilions on the ~~white~~ brown plan  
admit of greater distances between  
the pavilions. The double wards  
on the white ground plan admit  
of readier supervision.

The center block of the brown plan  
containing the chapel, kitchen & it  
is better than the corresponding block  
in the white plan because in the  
brown plan the centre block is  
wholly isolated from the wards  
The schlacerie in the brown plan  
should be recovered altogether to a  
distance from the hospital.

-----  
The plan shewing the pavilion  
is good in its general arrangement  
{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN, WITH A LINE CROSSED THROUGH IT}:  
The Crown Princess of Prussia is going to build a  
Hospital & has sent us the plans, begging us  
to criticize them.

**f155** FN pencil note

Each sick Pavilion resembles precisely  
1 of the smaller Pavilions of the Herbert  
Each Pavilion is on 2 floors.  
& contains a ward on each floor --  
Each ward contains 32 beds  
There are altogether 6 sick Pavilions  
connected together as in the Herbert  
by a Corridor -- And each Pavilion has  
its own staircase besides.  
There are thus 64 beds on 2 floors to each  
Pavilion.  
And  $64 \times 6 = 384$  beds for the main  
buildings.  
The Matron's & Nurses' quarters are placed on  
a Pavilion at one end of the line of Corridor  
The Kitchens, Chapel, Stores, Day Room &c  
are placed in the centre of the Hospital  
line -- exactly as in the Herbert  
The part allotted to the Administration in  
the Herbert & which contains there the  
Nurses' quarters is in this present plan  
reserved for General Administrative  
accommodation.

Separate Convalescent Cottage for 12 beds  
standing by itself -- with 2 Nurses' rooms  
Lying-in Hut.

**f156 [FN hand]**

I can't talk. I'm quite exhau  
I'm in the most worrying position among you  
the Princess has begged that these Lying-in  
plans may go down to her by Q. Messenger  
who calls here on Monday --  
But what's this Gream's plan [Green's?]  
That's just what I want to learn --  
consulting Col M on Puerperal Fever?  
Well -- I rather think so --

**f156v**

1. That wd be a difficult administration -- impossible except for Probationers --

Every Lying-in woman wants somebody to sit up with her according to modern notions at least the first night or two --

You would require the same No of Pupils that you have confinements almost.

3 weeks in Workhouses.

4 " at K.C.H.

You see that's scarcely enough to instruct Pupil midwives in the quantity they wd be required to nurse such a difficult administration

I don't think Lying in women ought to go out in less than 3 weeks -- The parts are not replaced in less time. And the woman suffers afterwards from Prolapsus Uter --

But, on the other hand, *that* is better than Puerperal Fever --

Well you know we actually only took 6 Probationers at K.C.H. for 10 & sometimes 12 beds.

**f157** NOTES FROM NIGHTINGALE RE: CHARACTER OF MISS FREEMAN PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 24 Dec. 1868] Liverpool (ARCHIVIST)

**[13:608]**

Look here -- don't laugh -- this letter places me in a most disagreeable position.

Miss Freeman has not told Miss Wilson (to whom I introduced her) one word of truth --  
Am I to tell Miss Wilson the truth --

1. as to "Mrs. Kidd"
2. as to Miss Freeman's "parting with her best Nurses"
3. as to her receiving help & information from me

the facts are just the reverse of those stated  
Mrs. Wardroper & I have worn ourselves out with correspondence, conversation & help to Miss Freeman -- all in vain --

And (I tell you this in the strictest confidence) her sister was dismissed by Genl Lawrence for drunkenness --

And we fear that there is something radically wrong (tho' not that) about Miss Freeman from what has been forced upon our knowledge by the Nurses who have left her -- (not dismissed by her.)

**[end]**

Now you must make a commencement  
to Lisb. I can't.

**f158** NOTES FROM NIGHTINGALE ABOUT SIR B. FRERE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. Dec 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

Sir B. Frere  
has put into a General Minute ~~that~~ what we [9:615-16]  
said about Dr. Hewlett that Bombay  
Officers of Health must have Executive powers.  
If this does not succeed, he will write a  
special Minute about Dr. Hewlett  
And he has indoctrinated Mr. Scobell the  
Legal Remembrances & Financial adviser  
of the Govt of Bombay, who is just going  
out, upon the position Dr. Hewlett should  
have.

He wishes us to go forward with a Training  
scheme for Officers of Health for India  
to be submitted to him privately  
& then to be sent *officially* by the A.S.C. --  
to his Dept at the I.O -- while they are  
in their present favourable temper

Well, he says, take care not to put too much  
into the answer to *that* Despatch, for fear of  
not securing the first point [end 9:616]

**f159** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND ca. 1868 embossed WO, sends letters,  
conclusive as to request re barracks and hosp plans

**ff160-61** NOTES FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED  
[ca. 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

**f160**

You know that they talk of sending Greenwich  
to Netley -- I should be very glad.

All I care about is to keep the whole thing as  
much *out of* & away from the Committee  
as possible.

It was the Committee ruined St. John's House

Yes -- but you see I am pointedly asked  
about Winchester -- Now I don't choose to say  
that we know its Matron to be a scandalous  
calumnator -- because she has got our Nurses  
but still I want quite to put a stop to that

**f160v**

"That letter is a great relief to me

**f161**

[ca. 1868].

Just write that down.

Can you tell whether this is like the ~~interior?~~  
building

The stores where the sick were found  
was a long range of buildings on the  
East ~~North~~ side of the Docks. Karabelnaia  
a long low building on a raised basement  
-- long single floored buildings  
But that was in Sevastopol  
what day was it our troops rushed in  
Sept 8. -- Fall of the city  
9. Evacuated

**f161v** WRITTEN SIDEWAYS IN UNKNOWN HANDWRITING:

{illeg. ~~Belav?~~}

FN

~~1868-9~~

1067.\*8

**ff162-64v** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE 'MY ARTICLE' PENCIL HANDWRITTEN  
BY FN [ca. Early Jan. 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

**f162**

my Article  
1. What a set of advisers poor wretched me  
has! -- I have adopted  
*Here am I quite ready to adopt all your*  
corrections, all Parthe's, all Sir Harry's --  
And you read over their draft & tell me it is  
ready for print --  
And you don't tell me that, in every page, there  
is a sentence left quite incomplete, not  
concluded at all --  
I have been at it since 7.30 --  
And this *kind* of work really takes a year's  
strength out of me --

I'm quite ready to adopt it. But there  
are sentences, whole Paragraphs, broken  
off in the middle

I've dug my way down to p. 15 --  
[You know nothing on earth would have  
induced me to undertake this kind  
of thing]  
I've the trouble of filling up all  
I'd much rather write on  
Bosh And you [illeg] men I have --

**f162v**

Now you must help me --  
I've done 15 pages, almost at the cost  
of my brain -- And as far as I have  
gone, you must look at it --  
But never, never will I ~~do~~ undergo this kind of thing  
again.

So far from it -- They have taken out all the  
bons mots & substituted such words  
as "indolent selfishness"

I'll put which you please.



**f164**

P. 6.

This very year 1868 a Health Report on Manchester has appeared, which is virtually to this effect: let the town breed as much infectious disease as it likes put the cases into big Hospitals/Infirmaries -- this is the way to cure Manchester: to build Hospitals to cure people after they have been killed

{THE FOLLOWING PASSAGE "It is now...just the same" IS CROSSED OUT WITH THREE VERTICAL LINES}

P. 26

It is now known that no "disinfectant" has any real power of disinfecting. the disease ~~is~~=cause ~~produced~~ remains just the same.

A woman at Hampstead well known to Mrs. Sutherland, (*Mrs. Lyons*, the mother of my cook) was apparently breaking up -- I insisted on her going to Clifton -- And I provided the means -- She says I have saved her life.

Tell Mrs Sutherland -- She is fond of her -- She is in hopes that manipulation will bring out some dinner

**f164v**

But don't you think it's very dangerous to humour -- or rather not to protest against the fatalist ideas of the poor & of every body --

I should top up with something more about Convalescent Cottages or Homes --

I always put S. Is it now S.E. Then why didn't you tell me? -- Are you S.E.

That's the last

p. 97

~~And~~ And that apparently hopeless cases would recover if sick poor were enabled by their richer neighbours to have change of air.

**f165-65v** NOTES FROM NIGHTINGALE ON HER ARTICLE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. Early Jan 1869]'

**f165**

Well -- about my Article  
I have written ~~it~~ out part the first with what  
you did for me on Monday  
incorporated.  
And as far as that portion goes,  
I think it looks very well.  
But I have also ~~gone farther into~~ finished going through the  
Verney copy -- And ~~as~~ in the middle,  
there are not only whole Paragraphs  
left unfinished as at the beginning,  
but whole subjects cut off in the middle  
& others interpolated -- from other parts  
I have waded on Yesterday I was  
so ill after thus wading that I was  
obliged to lie for 6 hours doing nothing.  
I felt as if the top of my head was  
blown off --  
*Nothing would have induced me to  
undertake this copying from another copy.*  
But as I have begun I ~~must~~ have finished

**f165v**

I am sure I wrote at less cost to myself  
my book on Nursing

**ff166-66v** NOTES FROM NIGHTINGALE RE: NURSING STAFF AND SCHOOLING  
PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN [Aft. 8 Jan. 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

**f166**

Well, you know, Ommanney  
consulted me about the  
Nursing attendance to this  
Hospital -- And I answered  
that you *must* have as  
many nurses, as many wards,  
if you had but one lying-in  
woman to each ward  
Then, if you have 8 lying-in women,  
your Female Staff must be  
at least 8 --  
That's not the question  
He knows nothing about it

**f166v**

I've always said so --  
that a Lying-in Hospital of  
single bed wards is  
impossible unless you have  
a School because you *must*.  
L

**f167-67v** NOTES by FN ON HOW TO SET UP HOSPITAL PROPERLY PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [Aft. 8 Jan 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

**f167**

You are I hear going to  
put up a lying in Hospital  
some where or other.  
I have been going thinking  
into the subject and am  
going to print about it  
and if you don't wish  
your hospital to be used  
as an illustration of what  
should not be done you  
must listen to me. Now  
your existing hospitals have  
not been successes in this  
department of human knowledge  
& it is *proved absolutely* by  
experience time you should  
not have more than one  
woman in one ward.

**f167v**

This is what we are going  
to do for in our school.  
~~Be~~ It would answer  
for your small number  
of cases but for a large  
hospital it would be  
too costly -- ergo large  
Lying in hospitals must  
cease to exist & consequently  
would for several bed  
Q. E. D.

**f168-70** NOTES FROM NIGHTINGALE RE AGNES JONES PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [Bef. 16 Jan 1869]

**f168**

[re proposed Memoirs of Agnes Jones  
by her sister Mrs Higginbottom]

I have read about half -

It is appalling to me to have to criticize it --

For

1. I should take out 9-10ths not because it  
is too interesting from its revelations but  
because to the general public it is totally  
without any interest whatever

2 --

But how can *I* tell them that? --

2. There is a long letter to Mrs. Pennefather by  
her which the public will call mere  
verbiage --

3. The whole is *utterly unjust to her*.  
The public will say: if she cd write that  
long journal (which is little better than  
Hurrell Froude's journal about the "cold  
goose".) how could she do her work? --

**f168v**

But then I can't say to her

1. take my Una as a pattern.

2. You are incapable of it.

I ought never to have been asked --

She was my friend

She never wrote verbiage to *me*.

Mr. Rathbone & the Bp of Derry ought to

have been asked -- not me --

Only that is a hopeless M.S.

There ought to be an Act of Parliamt against

Sisters writing Memoirs.

Because -- they are uncriticize=able.

**f169**

As for my reading thro' the proof sheets,

I can't

**f169v**

There is not one definite proposition in it

from the beginning to the end --

And the public wants: definite propositions  
or suggestions at least

I wonder she does not rise out of her grave.  
& say to her Sister Thou shalt not.

I could not undertake it.

Because -- that has only confirmed what I have  
always felt.

to make use of a person's private letters & journals  
is infamous.

There is not one word of that which ought to be  
given to the public.

It will lower their opinion of her *immensely*

And the sister has shewn herself perfectly incapable  
of Editor's work --

And how can I teach her? --

**£170**

My dear soul -- you forget -- *that* is the 2nd part  
of the Liverpool  
I have Read it many times.  
Well -- the story is so pathetic in itself that I  
can't read it without tears --  
But every thing they can do to spoil it they  
have done --  
The things alledged as her *merits* are what  
every old beast of a Workhouse Matron is  
now turned out for *not* doing --  
And her *real* merits -- they do not seem to have  
the smallest inkling of.

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ALONGSIDE THE ABOVE PARAGRAPH}:  
Is Galton going to leave?

```
{BACK TO TEXT}:
      He is Regius Professor -- College Tutor --
                                College --
Preacher -- University Examiner. He works 16 hours
out of the 24 -- He takes 2 1/2 weeks holiday
in the year -- And he has expressed
```

```
{THE FOLLOWING SECTION IS WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT THIS POINT}:
    35 South Street, [printed address]
    Park Lane,
    W.
```

Dearest S. Gonzaga, Dec 30/68 [8:1017]  
I send 3 bottles of Sherry (is any Brandy wanted?)  
& a Hare. And I hope you will get a good  
place in heaven for not drinking all the Brandy  
yourself. [end 8:1017]

{BACK TO TEXT: THE FOLLOWING IS WRITTEN RIGHT SIDE UP TO COMPLETE THE PAGE}:  
an uncompromising opinion that  
                                  the whole  
                                  ought to be suppressed  
Her writing is actually below par  
          It's maudlin

**f171-72** LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND 19th Jan. 1869

f173 NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE RE AGNES JONES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY  
FN DATED ca. 20 Jan. 1869

**f173**

[re Agnes Jones  
memoirs by her  
sister Mrs. Higginbottom

Well first about this poor Agnes.

I have had this letter from her sister this  
morning -- She does not seem to entertain the  
least idea of what the verdict will be.

It struck me that Jowett's criticism (lopped  
as Mr. Rathbone has justly lopped it) is so very  
bald that it will either strike them as unkind  
or as being simply the enemy & therefore not  
strike them at all --

That was why I put in the after part.

Mr. Rathbone told me the other day only that you  
could say nothing too bad of him [the *last* governor of the  
Infirmary] that his  
paramour *in* the Workhouse is now in prison --  
for theft *in* the Workhouse, I understood.

Supposing I cut off all after Mr. Jowett's bit,  
*write how I should end.*

**ff173v-74v** A NOTE ON PAUPERISM BY NIGHTINGALE PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN  
BY FN NOT DATED

f173v {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}  
[A Note on Pauperism]

Well now about my own Article  
I think you mistake my sister's letter --  
It is exactly, (*almost word for word*) what  
I wrote myself to her --  
She asks *me* the questions I asked them --  
She makes the criticisms to me that I made  
upon myself to them --

2. I believe I could just as soon go to India  
as read over their copy of my Article --  
*I am half killed* by reading over poor Agnes  
Jones -- And I could *much more easily*  
write a new Article than read their copy --  
As to comparing it with my own, it is utterly  
impossible.

3. You made me refer it to them -- I should  
never have dreamed of letting *them* make  
a copy *for me* again to revise -- I told you so --  
If you do not choose to look thro' their copy &  
settle the thing, I shall simply burn the  
M. S. S. -- & forget all about the Article.

Yes -- but it is utterly impossible for me to look  
it thro' & compare it with the other -- And I see



**f174**

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT TOP OF PAGE}:  
by merely glancing at it that they have made  
one great mistake in a whole passage from  
not noticing the tr.

{WRITTEN RIGHT SIDE UP}:  
I should have thought Cornhill better than Fraser --  
But -- I am perfectly indifferent. Indeed,  
I am almost too much worn out to print  
it at all.

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE}:  
It ~~does~~ is not said they are all orphans --  
but children running about the streets  
destitute & without ostensible parents.

**f174v**

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}  
It's Mr. Rathbone's fault -- & not this poor woman's. --  
I knew what they were -- their total ignorance  
of the world & the way in which the world's  
business is done --  
The aunt Miss Smythe wrote to me that *she* had  
been the means of sending *me* to ye Crimea --  
that Agnes had heard of me at Kaiserswerth --  
had mentioned me to her --  
& she had talked about me --  
& that that was the reason *I was sent to the  
Crimea.*

I took no notice -- It was vain to explain to  
such a woman that I was Sidney Herbert  
the then Minister of War's most intimate friend.

**f175** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [20 Jan  
~~19~~. 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

Would you be so good as to go & engage a  
place at Colney Hatch for me immediately --  
since certainly Liverpool workhouse, Sydney,  
Miss Lees, my sister &c &c &c can have  
but one conspiracy -- viz. to drive me mad?

This is the least mad=giving  
Army?

It does n't need Stallard to tell us that  
I have been at it for 15 years &  
you too.

That Stallard (what a conceited fellow he must  
be) should move in this which you  
& I for 15 years have been slaving at  
in the opposite direction

-----

Yes -- Well, you know, Mr. Rathbone offered  
again to pay for the Training=School provided  
we would incorporate it with ours -- But we  
saw no way to it.

**f175v**

This is the third Registered packet  
of that size I have had from Mrs.  
Stewart in 3 weeks.

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS}:  
O if I had asked you  
to go up to the W. O.  
to "relieve" it.

{ENVELOPE IN CENTER OF FOLIO};  
Miss Nightingale  
35 South St  
Park Lane  
London

**f176**

Miss Nightingale

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

I must offer Mr. Frederick  
 some kindness for his wife.  
 Should I find him at  
 the W.O. to-day?  
 What is his address? --  
 It's in Lorrimer Road --

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS}:

There's oceans more -- even of the Miscellaneous sort.

**f176v**

Now it's about this Liverpool Workhouse  
 Certainly, Miss Freeman "savours of the  
 "self-willed & impracticable" --  
 You must understand (to understand  
 this correspondence) that she is in the  
 habit of writing to Mrs. Wardroper & me.  
 "Oct." Emm (one of our best Nurses) is  
       a drunkard --  
 "Nov." ~~Will~~ Emm requires promotion,  
       which she *well* deserves. Will you  
       find her a good place? --  
 "Dec." -- Emm -- will you take her back?  
       is 'de trop' here

Well then I've these 2 letters 2 *consecutive*  
 days -- And this is what drives me mad

**f177** JOTTINGS BY SUTHERLAND 21st Jan. embossed WO

Mr Frederick's address is

91 Lorrimore Road

Kennington Park

S.

He is not here today & I  
 have no means of replying  
 to your questions about Mr L.

**ff178-79** NOTES BY NIGHTINGALE DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED  
[~~Feb: 1869~~] (ARCHIVIST)

**f178**

Why don't you put Sidney *Herbert*?  
I'm afraid they had little respect enough  
for Ld Palmerston who was worth them  
all. Then say so --

To whom? --  
I don't even know whether Sir B. Frere is  
in London  
I should very much have preferred  
before writing to Gladstone  
to see whether Ld de Grey, Ld Stanley  
& Sir B. Frere would back me --  
And now you see that troublesome  
Maclean has gone to Ld de  
Grey about *his* business  
Now, Ld de Grey hates trouble --

**f178v**

There's not enough precision --  
Lord de Grey, Lord Stanley & Sir B. [9:651-52]  
Frere would at my request fill up  
& state the work that has been done  
under their eyes --  
But Cardwell & Gladstone are  
perfectly ignorant.  
Cardwell & Gladstone would say: --  
we are not going to destroy the Army  
Sanitary Comm: -- Then I should say: Dr. Sutherland  
And they wd say: *Is* Dr. S. the Army San: Comm: ?

**f179**

Well my dear soul -- you've only to say  
the word -- I am so weary of all the  
responsibility of the correspondence  
with Sir J. Lawrence being thrown  
upon me -- & the irregularity of the help  
given me -- that, if you do but say,  
the word, I believe I wd throw it  
all up, let this house -- & throw myself  
into private Hospital & Nursing  
business.

**[end 9:652]**

lunch at 1?

{JOTTINGS BY SUTHERLAND ON SAME FOLIO}: embossed WO

23 Jany 69

Omanney has been trying to  
embody your obstetric requirements  
& will send you the plan when  
further advanced.

I must come up on Monday  
so I shall call in case I can't  
come on Tuesday.

**f179v** NOTES ON THE AMS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

What am I say to Sir James Clark & Co.  
about the Army Medl School?  
You see, the fact is, I had much rather  
not have had the A. M. S. -- mixed  
up in any letter I have to write --  
I don't care a button about the  
A. M. S. -- I think Parkes,  
Maclean, Aitken have done us  
very *poor* service -- I am sorry  
for Dr. Chaumont, because he is  
actually a better man than Parkes.

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

These Prussians have written to me *again*

**f180** NOTES FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. Jan 1868] (ARCHIVIST)

There is but that copy & one at the I.O.  
in England -- And the I.O. would not let  
Sir B. Frere take their copy home --

It is in consequence of the immense row  
I made that these 2 are sent.  
There is another lot which you would not let me  
Look -- here's a difficult job for us --

Lpool Workh:

I felt so sure that what Miss Freeman was  
really doing was this: -- viz. sending those  
Nurses she *wanted to get rid of* to other  
Workhouses -- Except Agnes Jones & Mrs.  
Wardroper, there is *no one* not guilty of that

Quite so -- But -- you see the original idea is quite  
lost sight of, quite as much by Miss Smyth as by  
Miss Freeman, for which Agnes laid down her life --  
viz. that a Workh: Infy was to be a Hospital --  
& 2. a Training School --

**f181** NOTES pencil HANDWRITTEN by FN [ca. 31 Jan. 1869] (ARCH)

It was worth while for you to come out, perhaps --[9:651]

I suppose you know that everything is going *by the*  
*board* in the new Estimates -- the Army Sanitary  
Comm:, yourself, the Army Medical School --

I do not mean to take the responsibility  
of doing anything, unless you share it & wish it  
I cd also write to Ld de Grey, asking him to state what has been  
one

It's no use talking nonsense now --  
Every body knows that I have been working  
with you for 12 years --

There are several things to be done: --

I could write to Sir B. Frere & ask him to  
speak to the Indian work

I could write to Ld Stanley & ask him to  
speak to the work under him --

I could write to Gladstone (whom I know  
a little) & who asked me (in 1861) to draw up  
a statement of Sidney Herbert's work --  
But then I shd have liked to ask Sir H.  
Verney to take my letter -- [And he, most  
unfortunately, is ill at Embley]

I could ask Sir Harry to go to Cardwell,  
whom he is much attached to & take a letter  
from me But then Sir H. is at Embley --  
I never saw Cardwell but once at S. Herbert's

[end 9:651]

**f181v** {TEXT IS WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}

JS:

Now ~~these is two~~ [?] ~~agencies~~ which it is now proposed [9:654] to cripple and destroy was set on foot by a Royal Commission presided over by Sidney Herbert for the express purpose of remedying defects ~~to~~ which all admitted to exist.

The necessity [illeg] was subsequently confirmed  
by the recommendation of the  
R.C. on  
the Sany  
State of  
the India  
army

The question  
is {illeg. sure?} {illeg. -?} {illeg. —?} {illeg. —?} is  
{illeg. —?} this committee {illeg. or?} answering or not  
answering its

purpose. Are the purposes so completely fulfilled that ~~they agencies~~ their agency may cease

These are the questions suggested by a real economy. I know every thing which has been going on in ~~these agencies~~ these matters. I have watched step by step their progress; I have seen the benefits of the work in the reduction of army mortality to one half & in some-- cases to less than a half. I have ~~seen the effect in~~ been kept informed from India of every step taken in applying the principles of improvement in Stations & barracks in India from India itself involving an {illeg} {illeg} of ten million {illeg}, and I can only say that {illeg. -} to proceed to destroy all this work ruthlessly by persons who know nothing about it is closely allied to the Crassa ignoratum which the law deals with as something else than ignorance.



**ff182-83v** NOTES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN and JS DATED [1 Feb 1869] (ARCHIVIST), cleaner version is 45801 ff188-89

**f182** {TEXT IS WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

[JS]

~~I am one~~

I have heard from two separate sources of certain **[9:653]** projected changes in the W. O. which will so completely reverse the ~~the~~ work initiated by Sidney Herbert & bring us back in the army to the bad old times that I cannot refrain writing you about it. It is stated that ~~in/~~ {illeg. ~~amid/~~} among the reductions about to be made in the W.O. ~~concur~~ {illeg. ~~change?~~} {illeg} {illeg. —?} ~~is the~~ {illeg. —?} ~~of the Army~~ {illeg. ~~Medical~~} ~~school at Netley which as you are aware is a school for E India as well as for other~~ {illeg. ~~parts?~~} ~~of~~ {illeg. —?} {illeg. —?}, and in the ~~distribution of the Army Sanitary Committee is deter~~ which

is a

Public Health Committee for troops in India as well as for ~~other~~ troops in other parts of H.M. dominions. Now I am the last person who would stand in the way of real economy. I would say let every thing which cannot prove its necessity as well as its usefulness cease to be a charge on the public. But let us be sure before the step is taken that the charge, to be abolished cannot justify its own continuance, & that the persons who deal with it are competent to judge.

**f182v**

{TEXT WRITTEN RIGHT SIDE UP ON FOLIO}:

And as you know perfectly well, Lowe is Simon's slave. And, tho' Lowe is fond of me, I cd not approach him.

{TEXT IS WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

I feel myself to some extent responsible & to some extent struck at personally in these proceedings. I have been a prime mover in — advising H.M.'s Governt to adopt the improvements which have been carried out & just at ~~at~~ the time when we are laying the ground of an entire reform in India in all its sanitary arrangements -- carrying out there Lord Herberts great principles. I now learn that some body or other is destroying them. I write simply to ask that these things be considered & that justice be done to great principles which have raised as we all know the credit of the British army ~~& on Indian which~~ out of the slough into which it had firmly fallen & into which it is evident that there are some who without knowing it will land the army then again.

[end 9:653]

**f183** {WRITTEN RIGHT SIDE UP ON FOLIO}

[ca. Jan 1869]

over

I will send the letter to Mrs. Wardroper  
I read it in this way --  
that they are doing their work well  
but in a spirit of opposition & acrimony  
so that their hands are against every man's --  
even against me --  
she writes to me appealing to my "fairness" &  
"candour" -- as if I had been unfair &  
uncandid --  
Then -- I should as soon think, for myself,  
of kicking against the rule that the  
Supt is not to sleep out without leave  
of the Board

why Agnes Jones could not take a walk  
without leave of the Governor.

{`Then I should....of the Governor' IS BRACKETED IN LEFT MARGIN}

The whole of that "this one individual" &  
about "Guy's" refers to Robert

{`The whole of...refers to Robert' IS BRACKETED IN LEFT MARGIN}

I am always struck with that kind of  
impracticableness in our women -- Miss Freeman  
thinks it a hardship that she must not ask  
a guest without leave of the Committee -- I have  
never even dreamed of regretting any such Regulations

**f183v**

I think I can hardly send Jane to her Dr. again  
without answering his letter to me -- What shall  
I say?

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS}:

over

- Two things they hardly seem to understand at all
1. that it requires wisdom as well as self-denial to  
establish any new work & overcome evil with  
good.
  2. that the way to escape from an obnoxious Regulation  
is: not to resist but to obey it.

{WRITTEN IN BOTTOM LEFT CORNER}:  
myself

**ff184-84v** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE RE MRS STEWART, IMMIGRATION, &  
DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 5 Feb. 1869] ARCHIVIST

You have no idea ~~of~~ how that poor Mrs. S. Stewart [page torn]  
his on my mind. Suppose she should commit  
suicide. I think I ought to apprize her friends.  
Now I know her craze, I see how every Advertisement  
in the Times will increase it.  
I think I ought to apprize her brother.  
Sir Michael S. S.

Will you do me the favour to read the  
enclosed letters which I have received  
from your sister & to return them  
to me. They are intended to be  
strictly confidential as you will  
see & ~~I~~ may I beg that  
you will not hint to her even  
that I have sent them.

Cardwell merely meant in writing *that*: --  
"I admit your statement that Dr. S.'s work  
is essential to the very existence ~~e~~ as to efficient  
work of the Army Sanitary Comm: --

And this is my bald way of putting that I  
mean to continue the efficient work of the  
A.S.C.

If I were to state that ~~I mean~~ Gladstone means  
to continue the existence of the W. O., I should  
state it in this way -- that he will place the  
salary of the S. of S. for War on the Estimates

I think Cardwell very rude to ME -- *but* without  
meaning it --

But I think you much worse for writing me that, when  
I was in the midst of my trouble in writing to Lord de Grey  
& have not had an hour's sleep for a week.

**f184v**

All that's quite true But you have  
no idea of the differences in the discipline  
of a Hospl, where as in St. T.'s, there is an  
old resident Mr. Whitfield, & where, as in  
King's Coll:, the House Surgeons are changed every  
year

You know what the enemy will say to that, is: --  
that the U=nited States won't take any more  
English emigrants in masses --  
that Canada will take only a few --  
that Australia is the only country which really  
wants emigrants in masses -- & what  
they want are: *Settlers*. (not workmen,  
unless very good ones -- who can do well at  
home.) Canada wants *settlers* -- And settlers  
must have money in loans or otherwise  
not that the remedy is to be sought in this way.  
The Annual Rate is equivalent to an annual Capital

only with Cornhill  
& *only about fictions*  
And she never mentioned the Cornhill  
You said that that ought to go in somewhere else  
& farther expanded  
Then -- you hang Mr. Reeve?

**ff185-85v** NOTE AND LETTER FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL AND PEN  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [9 Feb. 1869]. (ARCHIVIST) on black-edged  
paper

**f185**

I have never answered Macleod  
Will you read me his letter?

JS:           *Please settle it*  
          Would you be so very good as  
          as ask the publisher to leave  
          Una set up in a clean  
          suitable type in the porto  
          8vo form (not Double cots)  
          & without the illustrations &  
          send me a proof. The page  
          should be about the size of this  
          paper.

What a good thing!

{PRINTED LETTERHEAD DATE HANDWRITTEN IN PEN}:  
                  35 South Street  
                  Park Lane,  
                  W.    Feb 8/69FN [PEN]

Sir

          Although unable to claim  
the honour of your acquaintance,  
I venture to send you a very  
short & unpretending article  
on Paup

**f185v** {PENCIL -- WRITTEN RIGHT SIDE UP ON FOLIO}: FN

Froude has lost no time --  
I did not send my paper to  
him till late last night. --

Does that mean it is to be in  
the March Fraser --  
And should I ask to revise  
the Proof --

I hate other people to revises  
my Proofs --  
Mr. Froude

I am very glad indeed that  
you think my paper will do  
Some little in the way of opening  
people's eyes. Will you be so  
kind as send me a proof  
for revise?

**f186-87v** NOTE DISCUSSING DISINFECTANTS PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN  
DATED [ca. 16 Feb. 1869] (ARCHIVIST) FN and JS

FN: I could wish I could have shewn you my letter **[9:619]**  
to Lord de Grey -- But I did not like to  
delay it -- You know he is President of the  
Council -- And that is why he wishes to see  
all those papers about Quarantine & Cholera --  
It is a most favourable opportunity of getting  
hold of him -- And I tried to use it **[end 9:619]**

I must thank Angus Smith

**[9:894]**

JS: Manufactory to set up all is ready  
made & crying out ~~to~~ to be used  
Now comes the logic. If all this  
be true as Dr. Angus Smith has  
proved it to be, why go about making  
disinfectants which are not so good  
& cost money & which after all  
also require engineering methods to  
apply them.

This is how it strikes an  
outsider equipped with nothing except  
a little logical faculty

**f186v**

FN: I wonder whether that sort of wild  
Resolution=ing does much harm -  
I think it does harm

I have not answered Cuningham of India  
yet.

[end 9:894]

You said a reduction had been made of  
Murray's Report.

Could anything be done about this? -- [6:541]  
The nuns at Bermondsey write me word that  
25 people lie ill of Fever at one house --  
some die --  
the house is "disinfected" --  
then it is re-occupied --  
(all the windows are kept shut)  
exactly the same thing happens again --  
25 of the new people (or so) take ill of Fever  
but you see nuns can't do that -- Is there no one  
to whom they could appeal to write these letters for them?

**f187**

The local authority vested with power  
to deal with these cases is the Vestry  
of Bermondsey.

If they refuse or deal ineffectually the  
Medical attendant or indeed any  
householder should write to the Home  
Secretary calling his attention to the facts

The "Medl attendt" if any is of course  
the Poor Law Medl Offr  
{`the Poor Law Medl Offr' IS CIRCLED}  
Would he write to the Vestry for the nuns?

The nuns won't write --  
Would it do for them to ask the Poor Law  
M. O. to write to the Vestry for them?  
or would the P. L. M. O. be afraid? --  
But then it brings down a hornet's nest about  
their ears -- And ever after that their  
Visitations are unacceptable -- And they are  
annoyed by the Parish authorities -- That is why  
I ask -- whom could they get to do it?



**f187v**

Many thanks for your book on disinfectants  
It is ~~about~~ the best ~~if not~~ I have  
seen, and will do much towards  
disinfecting the disinfectors.

What we want very much is a  
cheap supply of logic for every  
day use, and if you have not  
given it to us you have at all  
events made it acceptable to the  
meanest capacity - thus

Air is ~~or the~~ one of the best  
disinfectants  
water is one of the best  
disinfectants

Earth is one of the best disinfectants.  
Now it strikes me that all these  
are very cheap, and that the =  
real question is an engineering one  
namely how to ~~empty the~~ use them  
most effectually for disinfection purposes  
Enemies can do this & have done it. If they don't they should be  
taught to  
do it

There is nothing to make, no

**f188** NOTE JS HANDWRITTEN pencil, scrap DATED arch: 18 Feb. 1869

JS: This would be better organized  
 Charlemagne ~~said~~ the civil  
 polity of western Europe at  
 a time when scarcely anybody  
 could either read or write

**f189-89v** LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND 18 Feb. 1869 ink, Charlemagne,  
 tradition that C. signed his name by dipping hilt of his sword in  
 ink

*Charlemagne* When I see the passage to which you refer I never  
 doubted its correctness. It is a tradition that Charlemagne  
 signed his name by dipping the hilt of his sword in ink. But the  
 best of all authorities Anquetil, whose history I have, devotes  
 pages to Charlemagne's learning, to his encouragement of arts and  
 sciences. He makes him indeed to be the great reviver of learning  
 in the West. Neander states that distinctly that Alcium wrote a  
 copy of the bible for him and that he (Charlemagne) wrote letters  
 on all sorts of subjects. He printed himself the German grammar.

I should say after this that the case is not in point and that  
 it would be safer to leave it out.

|You might put the sense thus

"The greatest of all sovereigns, Charlemagne reorganized the  
 government of the west in te depth of the dark ages." This would  
 be safe.

Illegs. It would be sufficient to put his name and the name of  
 the institution in a foot note. J.S.

**ff190-91** NOTE FROM JS PEN HANDWRITTEN black-edged

**f190**

Friday. [19 Feb. 1869 arch].

I have read it. It is very good  
 because not a treatise, only fragmentary  
 a sort of "Detached thoughts" which  
 in this "slim" age will tell better  
 than any consistent argument  
 would have done.

Au fait *Corrections*

p. 281. "Au fait as to charity" -- leave this  
 as it is.

p 287. You may change the "fruit" [?]  
 into "Beginning with the political  
 economy"

p. 281 col 2. Charlemagne -- I am  
 afraid he could write I have been  
 looking through my great "Moreri" this  
 morning & nothing to the contrary

is stated. The last time I saw Charlemagne  
was on a french stage & then he

**f190v**

certainly had not learned to write  
for he stamped a paper with the  
hannel of his sword dipt in  
ink.

p.283 col. 11 Dr Chalmers

"~~and~~ family" take out the "and"  
It means that relief was given by  
visitors to families on enquiry, which  
is the root of the ~~the~~ system.

p. 285 Note Nurse Harry [?]

I think you have done enough.  
*They all* want funds, but what  
we want is a systematizing of  
all these agencies so as to make  
the present funds much more  
than enough.

p. 288. col. 1 Area of ground 10 X 8

**f191**

meter. The real area is 78 square  
miles. 8 X 10 is a round number  
which people will remember.

p. 289 *no power of expansions.*

You may make it "little" if you  
like, but waste lands belong to  
somebody and according to our  
present land-laws, you could  
not compel proprietors to convert  
their *great* parks into farms.

I think you may send it  
safely. There will be grunTERS  
& growlers, but this is the object  
of it.

**ff192** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [end Feb. 1869] (ARCH)

**f192**

I'm sure Sir B. Frere won't read any more Reports --

You said I was not to write to him till I had seen that --

I must now write to him --

[9:619]

It isn't the "class of" officers he wants to know -- he suggested that himself -- it is -- their powers & duties -- what we should suggest to put into their 2nd Annual Mem: --

It is a fortnight since he was here -- And he begged me to write or see him as soon as possible

~~I told~~ I told you that I told him ~~His~~ every word of this -- And I told you that he said: we were to say what we should suggest officers of Health were to do in India

[end 9:619]

**f192v-93v** NOTE RE MR RAWLINSON PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

**f192v**

Mr. Rawlinson {'Mr. Rawlinson' WRITTEN ON SLANT}

Many thanks for your Public [illeg] report

It is evident that in this case [illeg]

only [illeg] great National calamity been

averted but that the Money has been

spent to really permanent productive

purposes. viz. in [illeg] health

& working capacity

Sir John McNeill {'Sir John McNeill' WRITTEN ON SLANT}

**f193**

I like these letters. They are terse, intelligent business like. They are also using common sense, & indicate ability of a high kind.

The part ~~of~~ which ~~affl~~ afflicts me is the cost of Barrack But this you can always diminish by insisting that no plans be sent home except of the very plainest character. Fine costly architecture is no part of sanitary construction & I believe the costly nature of the elevations has been again & again commented upon by the W.O.C. You want plain walls, under type roofs & the cheapest verandahs & stair cases.

**f193v**

He says -- you *must* speak to the Indian in the concrete -- & give examples -- examples to avoid -- examples to imitate examples of *places* improved examples of places not improved then say so --

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE}:  
Lord Napier

**f194** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE RE: AGNES JONES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. Feb. 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

Liverpool Workhouse --  
~~I do think~~  
Agnes Jones has been  
dead a year --  
I do think her  
successor will drive  
Mrs. Wardroper & me  
mad.

[13:610]

[end]

**ff195-96v** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED  
[ca. Feb. 1869]

**f195**

F.N. [to Sutherland]

Do you wish to hear about Galton? -- [9:619]  
He has written to me in answer to mine yielding  
& saying he *will* attend if summoned --  
but saying that he does so only to delay the doom  
of the Army San Comm which he looks on as  
doomed & ~~while~~ Cardwell & Northbrook are there,  
nothing can save it [end 9:619]

**f196**

That Staff was calculated by me & Miss Jones  
for 36 beds (*32 constantly occupied*) of *single beds*  
wards -- & *30 pupils* --

The Staff would require a great deal of  
re-calculation for any other number or construction

We have always laid it down as a principle  
that we will not receive women unless  
"labour is imminent"

Lying-in Hospitals send the women back  
in that case

**ff197-99** Note re Sir B. Frere, pencil, dated February-March 1869

**f197** FN: Then I had much better show that minute privately to Sir B.F. and ask him to say -- is that what you want? if not, say.

**f197** {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE}:

He's very much disconcerted.

You know two of the things Sir B.F. mentioned to me I knew he was correct in -- but I could have mentioned others to him and did not.

The Note on their blue Memo, and the Note, in which he had himself inserted that correction about Sanitary Officers being selected in India, both of them, he says, were, without any reason whatever, 3 months in coming -- But he mentioned others

Sir Bartle Frere

[10:94-95]

wants us (you and me) to begin helping directly about the next blue Memo.

He says -- one thing which can be initiated from this end is -- the duties and powers of the Sanitary Officers -- if we wd draw up something short about that --

He says -- they are quite disinclined at Bombay to give Hewlett even the powers he had before -- that they say he was very extravagant -- which Sir B.F. says he was not --

But he says, we must be very careful how we make Bombay an example in anything general we propose -- that they are quarrelling about Hewlett's salary now --

But -- still he says -- that when Hewlett goes out he means to ask me to write some kind of letter with him -- that he thinks Bombay will come round --



But -- to return to the general -- [6:542]  
he says -- could we not mention some place,  
either English or European (he mentioned  
Worthing) as an example -- Where such and  
such works had been carried out -- (he's not  
upon Sewage at all) where such and such Sanitary  
works had been carried out -- when such and  
such powers had been given to the Health  
officer -- where such and such diseases had  
disappeared in consequence -- Where such and  
such a lower Rate of mortality had been  
secured -- He said: there must be such  
towns -- he mentioned to me some -- Watering  
places where no houses could be let because  
of Fevers -- where Sanitary works were undertaken --  
Fevers disappeared -- and every house was let.

He says -- yes, it *is* an English one -- And he

### **f197v**

wants us to say -- such and such powers have been  
given to English Health Officers -- they were not  
sufficient -- they have not worked well -- therefore  
we recommend that such and such should be  
given to India Officers -- we *have* magistrates in  
Then I had much better show that Minute privately to Sir B. Frere  
& ask him to say is that what you want? if not, say.

He's very much disconcerted. You know two of the things Sir  
B.F. mentioned to me I knew he was correct in, but I could have  
mentioned others to him & did not.

The Note on their blue Memo, & the Note, in which he had  
himself inserted that correction about Sanitary Officers being  
selected in India, both of them, he says, were, without any  
reason whatever, 3 months in coming. But he mentioned others,  
wants us (you & me) to begin helping directly about the next blue  
Memo.

He says one thing which *can* be initiated from this end is the  
duties & powers of the Sanitary Officers, if we wd draw up  
something short about that. He says they are quite disinclined at  
Bombay to give Hewlett even the powers he had before, that they  
say he was very extravagant, which Sir B.F. says he was not.

But he says, we must be very careful how we make  
Bombay an example in anything general we propose  
-- that they are quarrelling about Hewlett's salary  
now --

But -- still he says -- that when Hewlett goes out  
he means to ask me to write some kind of letter  
with him -- that he thinks Bombay will come  
round --

But -- to return to the General --

he says -- could we not mention some place,  
either English or European (he mentioned  
Worthing) ~~where I~~ as an example -- where such &

**f198**

such works had been carried out -- (he's not upon Sewage at all) where such & such Sanitary works had been carried out -- when such & such powers had been given to the Health officer -- where such & such diseases had disappeared in consequence -- where such & such a lower Rate of mortality had been secured -- He said: there must be such towns -- he mentioned to me some -- watering places where no houses could be let because of Fevers -- where Sanitary works were undertaken -- Fevers disappeared -- & every house was let.

He says -- yes, it *is* an English one -- And he wants us to say -- such & such powers have been given to English Health Officers -- they were not sufficient -- they have not worked well -- therefore we recommend that such & such should be given to India Officers -- we *have* magistrates in

**f198v**

every corner of India -- say, what powers, if any, should be granted beyond bringing the thing before a magistrate to India Health Officers.

I told him so --

He said: does it work well? --

I told him all that --

He said & I said: that won't do.

He said: can you give no examples from the Continent? Say what has worked & not worked well -- And give

Well you know every word of what you have been saying has been gone thro' not once but many times between Sir B.F. & me.

Every word of what you have been saying has been said by Hewlett to Sir B.F. & written by Hewlett to me I have all his letters.

There is nothing new in it.  
But what Sir B.F. wants us to do now is to write something of {WRITTEN SIDEWAYS}:  
a scheme of powers & duties

**f199 [JS hand]**

Officers of Health in England have no =  
 powers & can spend no money.  
 They make up mortality returns &  
 disease returns & tell how many  
 people have died. They inspect houses  
 where fever takes place or any  
 other epidemics & they report to the  
 Vestry or other local authority. But  
 no proceedings & no spending of  
 money follows necessarily on their  
 reports. The Vestry is both judge &  
 executer & the health officer does  
 nothing but advise in cases where  
 his opinion is asked for or when  
 he thinks it necessary to report on  
 specific causes of disease. Some  
 of the officers perform analysis of  
 various kinds.

[end 10:95]

**f200v**

FN 1869

Notes on MOH's

**ff201-03v** NOTES BY NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED  
 TWICE: [June: 1869] & [ca. 1 Mar 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

**f201** [See {illeg} & Rawlinson] [~~June ? 1869~~]

35 South Street, {LETTERHEAD PRINTED}:

Park Lane

W.

Sir B. Frere {TEXT WRITTEN IN PENCIL}: [9:896]

talked to me especially about the

Bombay drainage --

He says Aitken's pamphlet has never

been sent home to the I. O. --

that he believes Bombay will settle

the Drainage question itself -- &

settle it in the right way --

& that he doubts it's being referred

home at all (which he says is a

very good

Sir B. Frere says: if they had meant to  
 take Aitken's scheme, they would have  
 referred it home --

They have not --

He infers they don't mean

[end 9:896]

**f201v**

I had a long talk with Sir John McNeill

He had all the Health Acts of Scotland fused last year into one Act to be worked by the Bd of Supervision And he is going to send me a copy --

Also -- he asked me to read this

He went there himself. He says it's a total failure -- that they cost more than retrieving paupers & getting rid of them for ever -- & that *these* paupers always come back to them in a year.

He'd only just had time to glance at it -- He is going to write to me --

You said you were going to tell me what to write to poor Rawlin.

**f202** NOTES FROM FN PENCIL HANDWRITTEN FN [ca. beg. Mar. 1869]  
**[5:473]**

Do you see that Gladstone is going to give £15 000 a year for training Nurses & Midwives in Ireland

I wish he would ask the Nightingale Comm. for advice

With regard to the Midwives, I should like to get my Lying=in Hospital paper out as soon as possible.

You may depend upon it that Gladstone who is the most unsanitary brute, that ever was known will found a quantity of Lying=in Hospls &

Well, if [illeg] he d?

**[end 5:473]**

**f202v**

Well -- it's not well at all --  
 The whole of London is calling here to tell me  
*they* have got a depauperizing experiment  
 to show me -- amongst others, that  
 horrid woman

Sir John McN says that, in *all* their  
 great towns now, Greenoch, Paisley,  
 Glasgow, Edinburgh &c &c, they have not  
 one pauper child except boarded out  
 at cottagers -- that you could not tell  
 the difference, either physical or  
 mental, between these & the cottager's  
 own children -- & that they *never*  
 come back on the rates --  
 The child goes to the same school as the

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE}:

If you choose to read it here, I may be  
 so good as to give it you afterwards

They & also Stallard have been  
 mandating me with their papers since  
 that came out.

**f203**

[ca. Beg. Mar. 1869].

Then let him tell me so --  
 I've sent out two & twenty  
 copies -- most of them asked for  
 And except Sir J McNeill not  
 one of these men has answered  
 Let him write  
 I have to conjugate the Imperative  
 tense all day long.

**f203v**

Well but really I must have something  
 to tell Sir B. Frere -- It's deceiving him  
 for me to go on in this way -- It is  
 not worth while for me to go on at all

I

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

Well shall we begin writing our Lying=in  
 Article? --

I've done that these 2 years  
*Don't* you think the best plan would  
 be to put it off for another 2 years?

**ff204-04v** LETTER FROM JS 3d March embossed WO, the great O very busy, qu re admin of single room hospitals. Portsmouth to have 1 general ward for ordinary cases and instead of a general ward for lying-in cases there will be 8 rooms, 8 fires to light instead of one. the usual staff in such a bldg with 2 wards wd be: 1 matron, 1 nurse general, 1 nurse midwifery, 1 cook, but nobody knows how to get 8 rooms cleaned and fires attended to

**ff205-05v** NOTE FROM ? PEN, not FN hand, NOT DATED, embossed WO

1. Are the following proportions sufficient for a single bed ward (not to be used as a delivery Ward): 15' X 13' X 11' high, giving 2145 cubic feet and 195 superficial feet?
2. Supposing a lying-in Hospital of 36 beds (or 32 patients) to be divided into separate 2 storied pavilions (with corridor communication) of 4 wards per floor, must there be a delivery ward to each floor of each pavilion? Or would it be sufficient to provide a certain number of delivery wards on each ~~ward~~ floor and to assume that a patient might, shortly after delivery, be moved some distance through the corridor to her own ward? If so, what proportion of delivery wards should be provided for 32 beds?
3. Are the following the proper proportions for

**f205v**

for a delivery ward: 22' X 20 X 14' high giving 6140 cubic feet and 440 superfeet; I should propose to attach one single bed ward to each delivery ward. --

What should be the proportion 4. of trained nurses to patients: 1st where there are no pupil Midwives: 2nd where there are pupil Midwives?

Instead of endeavoring to provide 5. Nurse's rooms designed to overlook

the patients, would it not be better to assume  
that any case which requires overlooking  
will be attended day and night  
by a nurse or by a pupil midwife?



**ff206-11v** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE RE: SET UP OF LYING-IN HOSPITAL  
PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 4 Mar. 1869 ARCH. **[8:210-13]**

**f206**

1. The minimum of cubic space for a Lying=in woman in a single=bedded ward, even where that is not the Delivery Ward, is 2000-2500 c. ft. ~~the minimum superficial area at 200 Sq. feet.~~

To put the Lying=in woman, her infant with a woman washing, & dressing it at the fire, Midwife, Midwife's Assistant, & perhaps Doctor into a space of 120 sq. ft. is inadmissible. [Were it a Delivery Ward, they would not even have space to turn round]

2. A Lying=in Hospital of 36 beds (but I will call it 32 Patients, because there ought always to be 4 wards (or beds) in rotation entirely vacant.) would train from 12-15 Pupil Midwives The whole of these would probably be present at every Delivery -- or at least all that could be spared from attending on the other Patients.

A Delivery ward, quite separate as large as an ordinary Hut ~~(say 40 by 20 ft)~~ is absolutely essential.

**f206v**

3. No Day Room at all = A Dayroom in  
a Lying=in Hospital is a positive  
nuisance.

4. Personnel -- 1 Matron  
1 Head Midwife  
1 Assistant Midwife  
12-15 Pupil Midwives  
(female servants  
besides)

The Head Midwife will be present, of course,  
at all the Deliveries -- the Assistant  
making such ordinary Deliveries as may  
possibly fall at the same hour as a  
protracted or difficult case which the  
Head Midwife cannot leave --  
Deliveries as often or rather oftener take  
place by night than by day --  
If then the Bed-room (named "Nurse") is  
for her, it is quite out of the question  
that she should occupy it  
But -- the row of bathing=machines (Called  
Wards) is out of the question altogether --  
The last is quite as much out of the way

**f207**

of anybody as if it were 2 miles off -- (how can an almost lifeless infant & a perhaps equally exhausted mother ring a bell or make themselves heard?) and the one next the so-called "Nurse's" room -- probably she won't be in her room at all --

5. No dispensary especially no Dispenser. A dose of Castor oil is all that is wanted in a Lying-in Hospl
6. No "Nurse's" room should ever be turned into a Scullery. This is a sine qua non. And this involves another point. The real distracting noise to a really exhausted Patient would be: -- to have every drop of water, every slop, every cup of tea &c &c &c, carried past her room to & from the Patients beyond her --

But the real "quiet" which a Lying in Patient requires is: not the quiet here proposed -- but not to hear the noise of a protracted Delivery & not to hear the to - ings & fro - ings.

**f207v**

7. A Surgeon's room may be necessary to keep instruments. The Surgeon himself comes only twice a day -- & is called in for any dangerous case of Delivery or After-birth -- or accident or Haemorrhage.
8. A collection of the Colchester Huts, 4 on each side an oblong, two at the end viz. one a Delivery Hut the other a spare hut -- so that one of the 9 huts shall be in rotation always empty -- kitchen hut at the other end -- would be a Lying-in Hospital. The present one is the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out -- viz. a Lying in Hospital with the Lyings-in left out -- & the infant utterly ignored

**f208**

Well, you know, I've considered it since last week very carefully -- And my only remarks will be administrative --

1. the 4 single wards will never be used --  
It should be called a 32 bed ~~war~~ Hospl  
(28 beds to be constantly occupied)

for this reason -- when one group of 4 is under whitewashing & cleansing, as one is always to be, you can't occupy that poor little 5th ward by itself --

Or if you do it must have a complete service to itself.

I have said too that that the Regular Service will be one Night Nurse to each 4 --

How can you put one Night Nurse to those 4?

I told him that you could not --

The Nurse always sleeps in the Lady's room at first -- & then (with the baby) in her dressing-room.

**f208v**

A ~~Th~~ It is not a Servant that is wanted -- On the contrary it must be an experienced Pupil Midwife.

the Night Watches regu

You must restrict the Night=Watchers to 4 beds -- As for the Nurse=bed=room, as I explained to him, all he has to do is to put assistance by bells within reach of that Night-Watcher.

JS: 4 beds on a floor is the best number a fifth bed is undesirable & would scarcely work.  
 You do not want a nurses' room or any of the floor  
 There is a night watcher on foot duty for every four rooms; if she needs aid she rings the bell into the pupil nurses room which may be in the centre block. Hence the corner detached room on each pavilion may be taken out altogether & this will leave 32 beds which is enough.  
 [end JS]

**f209**

FN 2. I think the Scullery where there may be 8 babies at a time quite large enough for one block of 4 but rather small for 2.

And I think the same of the other conveniences --

And suppose you had to draw 8 hot water baths for 8 convulsions in 8 babies at once

3. I think the relative position of door & window in some of the wards inconvenience for the bed -- In some there is scarcely a place proper for a bed

You never put a Lying=in bed  
 in an angle

to mark off bed=space so as to shew  
 the extent of room about it

**f209v**

Those wards wd practically never be used --

And a Nurse (not the watcher) would be put to sleep in them.

It is not a question of detachment --  
It is that the Service will be divided into 4 S - Now you can't divide a Service of 4 s by 5 s --

I said quite distinctly that there was to be a Night Nurse for 4 at the outside -- also that it was more dangerous to have the Extra nurse sleeping on one floor only than not to have any -- Suppose her called down=stairs,  
night  
her up=stairs bell rings -- they don't know where she is --

I explained to him distinctly that the Nurse who sleeps there is simply to answer say the 4 bells of the Night Watcher

**f210**

No Institution or Charity would stand a Delivery ward to each 4 -- One Delivery Ward to each floor is all that any Charity wd put up with -- And they would say -- better have but one floor --

One wd do for one floor.

Of course when I gave that size, I meant one Delivery Ward for the whole 32 Patients, where they might have 2 or even 3 Deliveries at once & the whole of the Pupils present.

There would be no Nurses.  
No Charity or Institution cd possibly bear the expence of a single=bed=ward Lying=in Hospital (without a Training School) because they would literally require 16 Nurses to 32 wards --  
Even as it is, I can't see how the first year will be managed, because you can't turn in a raw girl to a new born Infant & Lying=in woman

& you can't spare the girl a whole Midwife to herself  
to teach her.

**f210v**

You may possibly have among 32 Patients  
16 of them with their infants who can't be  
left for one minute night or day for (say)  
3 days & nights after Delivery --

But then there is some one a neighbour or an  
eldest girl always in the room --

There is a Head Midwife --

Each Patient after Delivery is carried to her own  
ward -- That can only be done when there is no  
other case -- And as I told that Lieutenant  
of Engineers to whom I am appointed Midwifery  
Teacher, there are so many cases which  
can't be moved immediately after Delivery --  
there must be a small ward dis

**f211v JS:**

1. The lying in ward will do.
2. The pavilion had better be on  
one floor & so arranged &  
connected under cover that  
the Lying in ward will be equidistant  
from each one lying in ward  
will be enough
3. The proposed dimensions of the  
lying in ward will answer
4. Nursing must be done by  
pupil midwives to save cost
5. Nurses rooms are not required  
for the pavilion. There should be  
a scullery. W.C. & W.C. Sink  
for each also a small linen room [end JS]    **[end 8:213]**



**f212** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN [March 7 1869] IN ? HANDWRITING

Then I'm to understand  
that you won't do anything to-day  
I had poor Mrs. Wardroper here all Sunday afternoon  
about that Liverpool Workhouse business --  
But I will not talk about that now --

She told me however 2 things about Mrs. Deeble  
whom she likes very much

which concerned me for Mrs. Deeble's sake --  
Mrs. Deeble has told her

1. that she has received a positive promise  
from the W.O. (she did not say from whom)  
that she, Mrs. Deeble, is to have the Supcy  
whether or No --
2. (Mrs. Deeble expects to have a house to herself  
at Netley where she can receive her children.

You know if we have anything to do with it  
we would not recommend a Supt except  
to live in Quarters with the Nurses.

Do you see the Debate about Capt Vivian [?]

**f212v** {WRITTEN SIDEWAYS AND UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

yesterday  
by mail

**f213** NOTES FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 5-10 Mar. 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

**f213**

I believe it has the Tables  
you asked for.  
This all refers to your work.

I don't lay down a dogma on  
that --

But the 8 Nurses would be  
sleeping, not watching.

Now what may happen is this:  
an infant is seized with  
convulsions -- The sitter up,  
perhaps an inexperienced pupil,  
can't even lay the infant down,  
& wants hot water immediately  
Would it not be easier for her to  
summon a woman sleeping in the  
Pavilion than anything else? --

**ff213v-14v** NOTE FROM FN & LETTER TO SIR JAMES CLARK, PENCIL & PEN  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN [~~April 1869~~] ARCH. **[8:214]**

**f213v**

General Principles for the use of Lieut. Ommanney &  
Dr. Sutherland

-----

1. Lying=in women usually, at least sometimes,  
lie in of infants --
2. Nurses are not like Tadpoles -- You can't  
cut them in two -- & put one half on one floor  
& one on another.

**f214**

Thanks -- I think I must write it out myself  
because Lieut. Ommanney is not very intelligent  
And I am afraid I must put it so that he can  
understand

Was there anything in the Letter on Official Reform 2 or 3 days  
ago?

Do you choose to have a brace of pheasants sent to the W.O.  
for you? --

I mean to write & publish separately the Chapter you propose on Lying=in Hospitals -- & shall be very much obliged if you will help me.

**f214v** {PENCIL}

Lieut. Ommanney knows nothing  
about it. There must be a  
Nurse~~is~~ sleeping on each floor,  
if that system is adopted at all  
-----

D. Farr

1 Could you give me the normal  
death rate from puerperal disease  
(excluding deaths in public institutions  
~~for each~~ for registration districts  
in towns more or less  
unhealthy & for country districts  
more or less healthy

2. Could you give me the fever  
death rates in the same districts

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN IN ANOTHER HAND IN PENCIL}:

Taken from [illeg] packet 7th 1869. Letters  
relating to Lying In Institutions  
-----

FN

35 South Street, {LETTERHEAD PRINTED}:  
Park Lane,  
W.

{LETTER WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO IN PEN}:

My dear Sir. James Clark

Do you remember having  
the kindness to say that  
you would give an  
introduction to Dr. Reynolds.

**ff215-16v** LETTER FROM J.J. FREDERICK, embossed WO, AND NIGHTINGALE AND NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PEN AND PENCIL

**f215**

{PEN}:

10th March/69

[10:95]

My dear Madam

At Dr Sutherlands' request I beg to enclose for your information a copy of a Memorandum by the Army Sanitary Committee, on papers relating to the Duties of Inspecting Sanitary Commissioners in India, as passed at the meeting of the Committee on Monday last -- A copy was forwarded

**f215v**

-warded to the India Office yesterday.

I am, dear Madam  
yours very faithfully  
J.J. Frederick

-----

Miss F. Nightingale

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS IN DARK PENCIL IN NIGHTINGALE'S HANDWRITING}:

I told you  
that, in 3 or  
4 months, I  
was to write  
a letter by Sir  
B. Frere's desire  
about Dr.  
Hewlett's position

**f216**

I wrote 4 sheets for you the other  
day from him.  
It is you who must tell me now --  
I have seen him (to my own great

exhaustion) And I told you what he  
wants.

I told you all that myself from Sir  
B. Frere

**f216v**

My dear soul -- really Sir B. Frere [9:897]  
could not have known the fatal, the  
exhausting labour he has put you all  
to -- To produce that in 4 months  
must prove fatal to all your constitutions --  
I really cannot take upon myself to go  
farther -- to tell you what he asks. [end 10:95]  
He is an ogre. [end 9:897]  
Sir B. Frere has told us what he wants

**ff217-18v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f217**

[ca. 12 Mar. 1869]. [See Army Estimates Debate  
1869]

1. Universal Training  
Military for the whole  
population of the proper  
age -- (not serving merely training  
(P. Council might do it in this  
school)).
2. a recruited Army as at  
present out of the  
trained population
  - a. active
  - b. reserve
- 3 to 5 years active service  
unmarried  
5 years reserve service  
married  
Ld Herbert's plan was to have  
then two divisions  
Active to go abroad  
Reserve to stay at home.

**f218v**

Volunteers 160 000 have  
managed to train themselves.

~~Then~~ volunteer Regiments  
might furnish trainers for  
schools --

Militia would then cease --  
unready

The principle is that, as in  
former times, the English male  
population should be trained  
to arms -- & that they should be  
enlisted into an Army when  
necessary. & when so enlisted  
would have little except  
Regimental work to learn --

**f219** NOTES DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. mid-Mar.  
1869] black-edged paper (ARCHIVIST) **[5:239]**

**f219**

You know that Sir John  
McNeill went to Goschen  
last week to try &  
persuade him to put  
children out to cottagers  
in England.

I said to Sir John that  
I felt doubtful whether  
in England it would  
work as well as in  
Scotland -- I said  
that in France, with all  
their sentimentality, it  
had not worked well.

**[end 5:239]**

Quotes more civilized than we  
~~Turkish~~ in their encouragement  
of Emigration



**ff220-21v** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED  
[ca. 20 Mar. 1869] (ARCHIVIST) and JS [split letter]

**f220**

How I am to get through day by day I don't know [13:610]  
Mrs. Wardroper was here the whole afternoon  
yesterday about that dreadful Miss Freeman who  
is coming here to-day --  
As Mrs. Wardroper says: Agnes Jones has been  
dead 13 months -- And the Workh: is rather  
more thrown upon our hands than ever --  
Miss Freeman's statements are so contradictory,  
she appears so entirely to have lost her head  
that Mr. Whitfield says: To reform her  
Workhouse Nursing the first thing to do is  
to reform herself -- or to tell her to resign

Within the last 24 hours, she has told Mrs. Wardroper  
that she wants a thoroughly trained Assistant --  
And when Mrs. Wardroper sent her one, she told  
the woman that she did not want any training  
in her Assistant.

~~Those~~ Unless you stand over her & make her do  
it, she can't -- Mrs. Wardroper had her for 6  
hours.

what Regulations	"What are your difficulties & her own view
upon each point	what do you want?" of what she
would she	wants --
require? --	what do you propose to do?"

**f220v**

Mrs. Wardroper & I put down these points  
in order to nail her to something --  
because she does not know what she wants.  
~~I am a~~ You will not be able to understand them  
without me -- because some are her complaints  
& some are our suggestions.

But if you wd look them thro', I wd explain. **[end]**

It's poor Mrs. Wardroper -- **[12:180]**  
Mr. Solly was rude to Mrs. Deeble  
who had unintentionally been incorrect.  
She had told him that she had given a  
Patient his medicine when it was put on  
his card that his medicine was to be  
discontinued -- Mr. Solly reproved her  
rudely -- And Mrs. Deeble came tearing  
in to Mrs. Wardroper, crying & shouting  
that "if her poor husband were alive he  
would see her righted" -- Mrs. W said  
"let your poor husband rest" -- But, as  
she stands to her pupils like a man, she  
insisted on Mr. Solly making an apology

**f221** {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}

Mrs. Wardroper says (I don't mean to say  
this ought to be final) that, if we had  
not given her absolute authority, merely  
reporting to our Committee, over our  
Nurses -- she could not only not have  
managed our Nurses but she could  
not have managed St. Thomas's --

Just put down that wh you said about  
the process of reporting an insubordinate Nurse.

E.g. She told the Nurses when they went out to  
wear their uniform dress

They went to the Vestry without telling her --  
And the Vestry said: oh wear what dress you  
like. She should have gone to the Comm: & told them how  
unadvisable  
it was that the Nurses should ~~have gone~~ out without  
their uniform  
Comm: should have agreed to it first.

Add Mss 45753

411

Probationers == School=boys

Sir J. McNeill = draw up a case for him

**f221v**

Mrs. W

Star?

the Superior?

Miss Freeman

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

JS: Rules to be framed

Nurse to sign promise of ~~obedience~~  
obedienceSuperintendent responsible that the  
nurse obeysSuperintendent to report charges of  
disobedience to CommitteeCommittee to determine the facts &  
to charge Superintendent when  
necessary with the duty of enforcing  
obedienceSuperintendent to report to Committee  
further neglect of nurse of her activityCommittee to authorize Sup. to dismiss  
or suspend nurse

=====

FN: We can't establish a School on their conditions

unless their conditions happen to be our own-- [end 12:180]

**ff222-23v** JS NOTE JS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN [Aft. 23 Mar. 1869 arch]**f222** {WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ALONG FOLIO}:

Am I to write to Rawlinson

**f222v** note in JS hand

Can you send me a  
statistical estimate of  
the death rate in  
London in old times  
under - but counter &  
filth as compared with  
the present death rate  
with a much larger  
Population.

Could you send me a  
similar estimate for ~~not~~  
~~in~~ a few improved towns  
in comparison with their

state when unimproved  
also the classes of  
disease which have been  
reduced by Sanitary measures.

**f223** {DARK PENCIL}

Sir B.F. says you must speak to India in the concrete & not in the Abstract.

He says: his answer from Sir Richd. Temple was -- why, I was my own Sanitary Officer -- I saw the people wanted wells -- And I digged them --

**f223v**

But

Sir B. Frere says -- to you & me --  
only go forward with this Officer of  
Health

Where's that conf -- d Minute you've

**ff224-25v** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY JS [I thnk]  
DATED [ca. 25 Mar. 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

**f224**

Thank him for his photographs  
Say that they shew great taste  
& liberality on the part of  
Australians & you hope who?  
will be [illeg]

Tell him that we are surprised  
at the high death rate in N. S. W.  
and that no greater benefit  
could be conferred on the  
public than by an enquiry &  
report officially on its  
causes.

**f225v**

to do any good useful efficient work in this world  
you must have/show that the interests of every body on/are  
your side

I do not say Christian effort  
but self-interested worldliness  
enlightened worldliness

active

to enlist the interests of united worldliness in your view/scheme  
acute  
sagacious  
well-intentioned

Add Mss 45753

415

well-combined

well-directed worldliness

**ff226-27v** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE LIGHT AND DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN  
BY FN DATED [ca. 25 Mar 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

**f226** {LIGHT PENCIL}

The New South Wales  
Statistical Register is  
deficient in not  
Containing the Causes  
of death in the  
various registration  
districts arranged  
according to the English  
Registrar Generals  
nomenclature &  
Classification

**f227 FN note**

[ca. ~~April 3~~ 25 March/69]

{DARK PENCIL}

Sir John Lawrence said: --

[10:95-96]

You initiated the R. Commission which  
initiated the public opinion which alone  
forced Sir C. Wood to take up  
—as a matter of policy

the Sanitary measures

which he did not believe in --

And now there is not a Station in India  
where there is not something doing --

He thinks Ld Mayo a gentleman -- But he evidently [5:526]  
thinks him nothing more.

He says the difficulty of being led without being  
misled is almost insurmountable --

that a new G. G. coming has only 3 ways of getting one.  
either to work his way into all the business himself,  
which entails getting so much into arrears that like  
Ld Canning, he never gets out of them -- or to  
take the advice of others while getting to know for oneself  
which entails unless a man has extraordinary penetration,  
the being misled instead of led. [end 5:526]

He said -- of course in strict confidence --

[end 10:96]

They did not want me to stop -- I shd not  
have stopped if they had. For I am ashamed to say



I was quite tired. But they did not ask me.  
They wanted the appointment -- And they actually  
intimated that they were surprised I did not  
go before.

**£227v**

& bang out the people's brains

I know that village Hospital  
There are 2 or 3 committals a day of girls in  
(under 18) to 2 or 3 months hard labour  
for -- breaking 49 panes of glass -- for --  
banging about the Nurses with pokers & pails  
-- when told that they were not to go out till cured  
I hope you see how those amiable ladies  
under your Contagious Diseases Act who  
were to be not only cured but reclaimed  
& who were to be so willing to go into & behave  
well in Hospital are behaving.

These are the ladies who were all to be  
reclaimed -- Give him my compliments &  
my information about his ladies

It would be the direct offence to Barnes  
the Maternity Surgeon to do this

I did write to Barnes directly & asked him exactly what you say -- That's 10 days ago & after I had had the previous answer from him --

{LIGHT PENCIL}:it would increase the value of the information, only it is not essential I want to get the death rate

JS: I wrote to Miss Freeman [?] a short time ago about the death rate in the Maternity division of the Liverpool Workhouse. Could you kindly send me the following two facts for a few back years if you have time

1. The number of deliveries each year.
2. The number of deaths army lying in women each year.

This will answer, but if you could add the causes of death

**ff228-29v** NOTE FROM JS PEN, embossed WO HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED 30. 3. 69. (ARCHIVIST)

**f228** [see to Farr -- 30. 3. 69.]

As organized measures for protecting the public health are intended to ensure an adequate supply of the prime requisites of life, -- pure air, pure water, & wholesome food, it is perhaps superfluous to say that where these objects have been attained, health has improved. In Her Majesty's army serving at home, the adoption of measures of this class has been followed by a reduction in the death rate from 18 to 9 per 1000. The reduction has been most remarkable in diseases of the Tubercular & Miasmatic classes -- the foul air diseases -- Consumption, fevers & the like.

Comparative statistics have not yet been deduced for the Civil population, except in one instance so remarkable in its character as to include the whole question of the effect of improvements on health. This is the Metropolis for which we have comparative statistics for groups of years, extending over upwards of two & a quarter centuries, showing a most striking advance in public health in proportion as improvements have been introduced

The earliest group includes the years  
— 1629-35. During this period the

**f228v**

Metropolitan death rate was 5 per cent per annum, most of which arose from infantile diseases, fevers, dysenteries, consumption & the like.

During the next group of years from 1660-79 the death rate including the great plague was 8 per cent. The ~~great~~ chief causes of mortality during this period were the same foul air & foul water diseases. From 1728 to 1757 although plague had disappeared the death rate was 5.2 per cent due to the same diseases, with the exception of a great reduction of deaths from dysentery apparently coincident with the extension of a purer water supply by means of the New River.

From 1771 to 1780 the death rate was still 5 per cent due to the same diseases. During this period London was undrained the subsoil was honey combed with cesspits into which all the filth & foul water of households was passed. The dead were buried among the living & much of the water supply was derived from wells dug in the same foul subsoil. The population was also increasing, but

**f229**

not ~~with~~ in the same ratios as it has done since the commencement of the present century.

It is from this period that improvement may be said to have advanced, but at a date nearly 40 years later Dr. Southwood Smith could still report that whenever the Commissioners of Sewers had not been at work there fever prevailed, and that fever had diminished only as drainage had advanced.

In the years from 1801 to 1810 with a still augmenting population the death rate fell below 3 per cent (2.9) The reduction was chiefly in infantile & miasmatic diseases & in consumption.

From 1831 to 1835 including deaths from Cholera, the death rate was 3.2 per cent During the next 14 years 1850 to 1864 the death rate has been 2.2 per cent, with a great diminution of mortality from miasmatic & tubercular diseases. Sanitary improvements had made rapid advances during these latter years. Drainage works had been every where extended, cesspits abolished, intra-mural burials had ceased, old unwholesome wells were no longer used & ~~pure~~ a purer water supply extended.

~~Since 1850 there have been two epidemics of Cholera in the metropolis~~

The Sanitary administration of the Metropolis had also been entirely reorganized, & Officers

**f229v**

of Health as well as other Sanitary officials had been actively engaged in removing causes of ill health.

There have been two epidemics of Cholera since 1850. But instead of prevailing equally over the Metropolis they were in reality local tests of bad water, bad drainage & other local sanitary defects, not yet grappled with.

In order fully to appreciate the nature of these results we must bear in mind that they have not been effected in a country town with a limited, chiefly agricultural population, but in the largest capital city which has ever existed and among a mixed population containing a large proportion of poor town workers,

now amounting to three millions.

The present death rate, low as it is is still considered to be too high. It is much higher than the rate in model dwellings where improvements have been extended from the outside to the inside of houses. In these cases the lower death rates have been due to the almost total exemption of the inmates from miasmatic diseases, fevers, scarlet fever & the like, & the rates scarcely exceed those among small rural villages in healthy parts of England.

**ff230-31v** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED  
[ca. 31 Mar. or 1 Apr. 1869] (ARCHIVIST) **[6:316-17]**

**f230**

We are in the most dreadful scrape about  
Lpool that I was ever in about anything  
in all my life.

Mrs. Wardroper recommended that Mrs. Kidd,  
you remember, the Assistant Supt to Miss  
Freeman, to be Supt of the Northern Hospital  
at Liverpool --

And she has turned out a drunkard &  
been dismissed!!! --

Of course, (tho' they don't say so) Lpool Workhouse  
won't come to us now for a Trained Assistant.  
And they have taken a District Visitor  
whom we fear to be quite unfit as Miss  
Freeman's Assistant --

Of course all hope is now over of our being able  
to serve the Lpool Workh: or of our ever  
establishing a School there --

But this is not the worse: that woman  
Freeman says she suspected Mrs. Kidd  
of drunkenness before -- And she never  
told Mrs. Wardroper -- tho' she has been  
prolific of false accusations of drunkenness

**f230v**

against every body else --  
and she says we were warned  
against Mrs. Kidd -- which is perfectly  
false -- false even on the last occasion  
I saw Miss Freeman -- when she gossiped  
for an hour about Mrs. Kidd

I think the woman who lets another  
suspected of drunkenness go to a  
responsible place without telling  
is worse than the drunkard --

**f231v**

write to the N. Hospital & say that for such & such a time Mrs W. had had Mrs. Kidd under her superintendence that during that time she never showed the slightest indication of drinking; that she was recommended to the Ll Workhouse where she had been such & such a time that not a single hint had ever been given of this vice although Mrs. W. & the Nightingale Committee had been in constant communication with the Workhouse & the only explanation that can be given is that she had —} fallen into the vice secretly in the Workhouse

**f232** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 3 Apr. 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

**f232**

I am rather sorry that Mrs. Wardroper sent all those letters of recommendations of Mrs. Kidd to the Liverpool Chairman -- because these are not what we go upon -- Mrs. W. & I always agree that they are not worth the paper they are written upon -- But Mrs. Kidd was one year in training under Mrs. Wardroper -- And we believe that that vice cannot exist without discovery among our Trainees. **[13:610]**

You have not read Miss Smyth's letter --

Should I write & ask her whether she said what Miss Freeman says she said viz. "testimony" & "very faithfully expressed opinions" against Mrs. Kidd  
I must answer her letter somehow

I must say something about Mrs. Kidd to her

**[end]**



**ff233-34v** NOTE PEN AND PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN AND SUTHERLAND?  
[ca. 3 Apr. 1869]

{WRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND? IN PEN}:

Returned

1	From Miss F.	To	F.N.
1	" E. M. Hunt	"	Miss G.
1	" Miss Gilpin	"	Miss F.

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS IN PENCIL BY NIGHTINGALE}

It's nothing to  
do with Miss  
Freeman -- It's  
out of Miss  
Freeman's hands  
& has been these  
10 days -- I wrote  
to the Dr. myself --  
And he says he's  
no records --

I did  
I did  
I did  
the No of  
deliveries  
the No of  
deaths  
for 3, 4, 5  
or 10 years  
back --

**f234**

{PENCIL}

The Mortality of Lying=in women      **[8:214]**  
 in no General Hospital with which  
 we are yet acquainted is the  
 half or the quarter of what it  
 is in the Maternité at Paris

"      Vienna

in Queen Charlotte's Hospital  
 & in many others    the no. of cases at Aldershot  
~~it~~ is not so large as in any large  
 London Workhouse.

In the Lying=in Hospitals in every  
 European country    where the  
 highest known mortality occurs  
 the practitioners take no other  
 cases --

The time is exactly the same at Colchester  
 & at Aldershot. And the results are  
 exactly opposite. Not only this but  
 there is a higher mortality at Aldershot than  
 in any London Workhouse --

**f234v**

If you don't help me to begin the Lying=  
 in paper at once, I deny you, I forswear  
 you, I disown you.

**[end 8:214]**

They will not do it. You'll see --  
 they've had my letter nearly 3 weeks --

And I don't mean to wait for  
 what will be                      It isn't true

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

Get it. I've asked you 50 times --  
 And you said -- I was to do it

Certainly not

**ff235-36v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 3 or 4 April 1869] (ARCHIVIST) **[5:523]**

**f235**

arch: [Sir John Lawrence]

FN:

In the first place, when I see him again **[9:622-23]**  
I see that there is nobody like him --

He is Rameses II of Egypt --

Gladstone & all the Ministers are rats

& weasels, by his side **[end 5:523]**

He says that Lord Mayo must hear the Reports  
of the new Medical Sanitary Inspectors of  
Provinces -- that he must consult the Local  
Governments what taxes can be laid on  
the people to carry out their recommendations  
& to go on gingerly

He says that much has been done for the  
soldier -- but still the soldier has not  
had that done for him which induces him  
to spend his money otherwise than in  
drunkenness -- that drunkenness has  
diminished but not so much as it  
ought -- that the fatal plan of paying  
the 2 d a day in lumps, of paying batta in lumps,  
of paying them for road-making in lumps --

**f235v**

tho' many soldiers do put into Savings Banks, still a great bulk of the money is spent in beastly drunkenness.

He says this money ought to be given either in pension, or leaving a certain choice to the soldier, in increased pay

He is quite against the short time system & the re-inlisting system -- He says people don't know the Indian soldier who talk in that way.

He says -- why don't you get recruits? -- Because the soldier when he comes home deters others from enlisting by his wretchedness -- he is the inducement which prevents decent young men from enlisting.

He says -- the man takes his run home -- he spends his money in drunkenness -- he re-inlists -- he spends that money in drunkenness --

How short-sighted, he says, is this Short System talk?

**f236**

It's a system, he says, to enlist the scum of the earth.

If a decent man does enlist, he gets on, he gets made a Clerk, he does not come home -- why, if there is a man fit to get on, he does get on -- in the Army --

But the scum come home scum & are fit for nothing -- They can't go into Civil Life -- they become paupers -- And Sir C Trevelyan talks nonsense

=====

Then, he says, about married men -- what nonsense you talk --

The men marry half-castes or quarter castes -- And these women are very good women -- much better than your Soldiers' Wives -- And they have their allowances -- And their children have allowances -- And they get on very well --

Then, you think it's a favour for them to

come home -- Why, they come home, they have  
no allowances -- And the woman turns prostitute for a living --

**f236v**

Lord Dalhousie, he said, asked me whether the men who distinguished themselves should have their names posted up on the church doors in England --

"I think," (I said), " You had much better do something for them" --

Then they will be an Advertisement to other men to enlist, when you want recruits

**[end 9:623]**

Now your time-expired men are an Advertisement to other men not to enlist, when you want recruits.

{A DOODLE DRAWN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE -- SPIDER WEB?}

**f237** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND Friday [9 Apr. 1869]

**ff238-38v rough** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**[9:897]**

I beg leave to remark that I found a letter of yours this morning dated early in December (which I mean to show you) in which with the strongest objurgations of me, you told me that you could not come because you intended to get the Cholera Instructions thro' by December 12

**[end 9:897]**

April 13/69

much better

**f238v** {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}

I've written about half as much again --

**ff239-40v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY JS and FN DATED [April 1869]  
(ARCHIVIST)

**f239**

[India] [Sir B. Frere]

FN:

I must tell him why I cannot give him  
any other towns than London & why Mr.  
Rawlinson ~~he~~ can give no information  
because he Sir B. Frere has written to remind  
me of both promises.

JS:-----

London is the city where most has  
been done systematically, and where  
the registration returns have been  
most carefully kept for the old dates  
In Country towns there are not the  
same means of Statistical [illeg]  
because the population areas of the  
Census, the Borough Areas & the  
Registration districts are not  
identical. The facts could only  
be obtained by special enquiry in  
each case. But London is the  
major of all possible cases &  
hence its importance

**f240v**

cottage owners doing what?

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

FN: enjoyment the result of accumulated labour  
to go out in his carriage poor man must have produced  
then must have been production  
" rich man a debtor  
every rich man a debtor to the world  
will he go out of the world & leave himself in debt.

Gladstone poetic -- world the best of worlds.  
Froude a great caution  
object of education not ornamentation but production  
after he has learnt to produce then let him  
ornament himself  
Ld Stanley

Add Mss 45753

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the man who has riches & leisure  
or must be a debtor.

must produce



**ff241-41v JS** and FN notes RE: MRS KIDD'S CHARACTER PENCIL,  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [Apr.-May 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

JS: [I think]

You will have to  
enquire about Mrs.  
Kidd & if she has  
been guilty you must  
ascertain why Mrs.  
W gave a character  
& if guilty you must  
remove her from the  
register

FN: [I think]

**f241v**

You see they have made this fatal mistake --  
I am convinced that if they had asked Miss  
Freeman for a character of Mrs. Kidd, she would  
have given a good one.

But then they ought to have asked her.

She would have forgotten -- & said we had  
taken Mrs. Kidd against her "testimony" --

But then we should have had her own letter  
against her.

**f242** NOTE ON CIVIL ORPHAN ASYLUM PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN and JS  
DATED [ca. beg. May 1869]

#### Civil Orphan Asylum (East Indians)

Cost of dinner for 50 children	{On Sundays the
£94.7 Per annum	{children have
Per child per annum £1.17. 3	{chicken curry
	{which costs
	{a little more
	{than their mutton
	{ditto every day dinner

-----  
JS: Indian Refuge

40 childrens all East Indians dinners

£65.19. 6 per annum

£1. 13 per child per annum nearly

13 May

Add Mss 45753

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Tribune

**f242v** Plan of Hospital

**f243** Plan of Hospital, front elevation 4/7/69 with FN letter on back

f243v LETTER FROM O'MANNEY TO DR. SUTHERLAND 5/5

FOURIER PAPERS.

{`FOURIER PAPERS' NOT SURE WHOSE HANDWRITING}

**f244** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN  
DATED [25 May 1869]

My son, I could repeat it word for word from  
beginning to end.  
That's just what you want, me to tell you, in  
order that you may contradict  
But does it not say that the European Death Rate  
is as low/good as the Native do now? --  
You told me that the point was this --  
that it has been falsely said that the Climate  
must always affect the European, since the  
European suffers now as little as the N.

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

You might come tomorrow only I object to  
receiving on Derby Day or any other of  
the Festivals of the church.

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS}: FN:

very curious letter  
that letter of the Irish  
Agrarian  
peasant

**f245** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE? RE: TARIFF PENCIL UNSURE OF  
HANDWRITING DATED [27-28 May 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

Tarriff  
the whole of her Diatribe upon  
which I founded my letter to  
her was written to myself.  
I know nothing of the contents  
of her letters to her correspondt  
except what she herself  
compelled us to know -- by,  
after exhausting all her passion  
to her correspondt winding up  
with: "I have reported (sic)  
all these things (About Chart

Add Mss 45753

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& Miller) to Mrs. W. & Miss N".

**f246** FN NOTE PENCIL DATED [End May 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

Lady Napier (of Madras) has effected the most [10:622]  
wonderful reform in the Charities of Madras,  
the worst managed in the world --  
has paid off the debts of all but one --  
all were in debt.

by getting them out of the hands of Hindoo  
malversation -- & working the supplies by  
Co-operative stores -- & making the  
E. Indian ladies (half-caste) interest themselves  
in the maintaining this system.

She is the most plucky & efficient woman.  
But she too is come to England to collect  
money x & work for her Penitents to do. [end 10:622]  
x She says only 2 people ever gave her anything

**ff247-47v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [May 1869] [5:260]

**f247** Hon L. Kerr's letter  
with Miscellaneous. May --  
packet. 1869 --

- This is one of the Queen's Maids of honour --  
She wrote me these two letters --

And I did not answer

Then I answered -- saying that I subscribed  
to no Institution except on ~~have~~ condition of  
having no vote -- that I could not  
send her any "trash" for her Bazaar -- but  
that I sent her £5.

& that ~~if~~ all the time, paper & stamps ~~were~~ might be  
saved by people making the same rule  
as I do --

Then the poor thing wrote me this letter

-----  
I think one ought to answer this: --  
(she may have a fit of Del: Trems  
pointing out that because she "always will  
work", she can do much better work --  
& not waste herself on canvassing & Bazaar=ing  
which destroys her nerves & does no good.  
{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE}:

I keep to my rule -- I will subscribe to no  
Institution except on condition of having no

vote. I will have nothing to do with any  
body who wastes the time God has given them  
on Bazaars.

**f247v** {WRITTEN IN BOTTOM RIGHT CORNER UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:  
Lady Lucy Kerr

**ff248-48v** FN NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN [ca. 6 June 1869 arch.]

**f248**

It's sent to us by H.B.C. to revise

ought I to tell him that that is a Reg: which

Mrs. S. S. more frequently infringed than not --

I suppose he wishes to imply it as a reason

for giving what are otherwise high wages --

Mrs. S. S. gave £30 to a girl of 18!!

You have never so much as filled up this --

to Sir Jas Simpson --

Death 13 years

1.61 per 1000

{illeg}

-----

Exactly --

From Jan 1

to June 5

we have got on

in the noble Art

of doing nothing

most amicably --

I having written

about 12 hours a week

by your orders.

**f248v**

What I hear people who wish to believe in  
Claude Bernard ask is --

has he not done the same thing as Huxley & other  
pretenders have who generalize from 2 or 3  
facts when he CB. says that he has  
discovered by all his nervous facts that  
there is a distinct creative intelligence,  
the Moi, which makes its casing?

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE}:

But it appears to me that nothing can be so weak  
as what Mr. Bruce says -- Mr. Gladstone  
& I don't think that the direction of Emigration/condition of  
England question is a function  
of Govt -- But the Irish church is -- Whereas that's a  
proof of no Govt. We can't govern -- therefore we must abolish  
They make them not think.

The disputation goes up to Mr. Bruce to say that we've too many  
people

Another goes to Mr. Gladstone to say that we've too few  
Bishops --

**f249-49v** LETTER FROM JS June 9 1869, pen embossed WO, on the  
whole a good and useful digest, attention (BlF.) shd be called to  
points, Leith, Goodeve

**ff250-52v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY JS DATED 8.10.69 (ARCHIVIST)

**f250** [See also Dr Sutherland 8.10.69]

P. 13.

Dr. G {illeg. Ninehead?} objects to the  
Registrar Generals classification  
for having introduced new  
disease latrines into India --  
But these new latrines  
began to appear before this  
change & were connected with  
the assertion of Dr. Budds  
doctrine of Cholera Germs by  
the Cholera Commission.

Would it not be desirable  
to put a paragraph into the  
body of your own report to state



that for the Registrar General of  
Englands nomenclature & classification  
~~had been~~ of diseases in India  
The nomenclature of the R. C. of Physicians  
of London had recently been submitted

**f250v**

I thought I would keep the Messenger till you came  
in case you had anything more to say.  
Where is the part about quarantine?

In the Bombay Municipality you told me viva voce  
there were 3 things you wished to correct.

**f251**

Unfortunately the discussions respecting drainage plans  
for Bombay are not as yet satisfactorily concluded.

Two methods of dealing with the question have been  
advocated one for providing sewers of large dimensions  
for carrying off the tropical rainfall of Bombay together  
with the sewage of the city the whole to be discharged  
into the sea, leaving the sewers nearly empty  
during the dry season. The other proposed by  
~~M-R~~ M Rawlinson & ~~expal~~ adopted by Capt  
Tulloch R. E. who was specially sent to England  
~~to~~ by the Madras government to study the various  
questions regarding: ~~ee~~ town drainage & the  
utilization of sewage. This latter project provides  
for draining & sewerage the city by conduits  
only large ~~en~~ enough for conveying away the  
sewage & for applying the sewage to agriculture  
at a distance from the city. ~~In this case the~~  
~~rainfall would be dispersed by improving the~~  
~~surface drainage & passing it into the sea~~  
~~over the surface~~ It is objected to the first  
proposal that the large sewers being left  
almost empty during the dry season will become  
generators of foul air & tend to deteriorate  
the health of the city, while it is objected to  
the second plan that there must of necessity

**f251v**

be ~~partial flooding~~ of the surface during heavy rains when the tide is unusually high. ~~It should not however~~ It appears to be an important element in the discussion to bear in mind that the ~~sewe~~ town sewers & drains are primarily intended for removing the foul water of the population & not for removing rainfall, ~~and that~~ while any attempt in such a climate as that of India to provide for the rainfall by sewers must entail an enormous outlay for a temporary purpose. It might be well in any further discussions which take place on this question to consider the two ~~problems~~ questions as separate problems so that while only the foul water is removed in underground sewers the question of surface drainage may be settled & the proper outfalls for this water into the = sea ~~may be~~ provided for.

**f252v FN:**

M. R.

I have been requested to state my news on The ~~Bombay~~ drainage question & have drawn up the enclosed paper. But before sending it I should ~~feel~~ feel much obliged if you will see that it is right. I merely ~~with~~ wish to put the homily impartially so as to lead the people to give up their hot partizanship.

**ff253-54** {GOOD COPY OF THE PREVIOUS ROUGH DRAFT} [See Page 173  
of the Report {[See page 173 of the Report]} FN, ink

**[9:899-900]**

U.P. Un fortunately [The discussions  
respecting Drainage plans  
hence f for Bombay are not as yet  
satisfactorily concluded.  
Two methods of dealing  
mentioned above f with the question have  
been advocated -- one for  
providing sewers of large  
dimensions for carrying  
off the tropical rainfall  
of Bombay together with  
the sewage of the city --  
the whole to be discharged  
into the sea, leaving the  
sewers nearly empty  
during the dry season.  
-- The other proposed by  
Mr. Rawlinson & adopted  
by Capt. Tulloch R.E.,  
who was specially sent  
to England by the Madras  
Government to study  
the various questions  
regarding town drainage  
& the utilization of sewage.  
This latter project provides  
for draining & sewerage  
the city by ~~sewers and Drains~~  
conduits  
large enough only to  
convey away the sewage  
& for applying the  
sewage to agriculture --  
at a distance from the city

**f253v**

It ~~is~~ has been objected to the first proposal that the large sewers being left almost empty during the dry season will become generators of foul air & tend to deteriorate the health of the city while it is objected to the second plan that there must of necessity be partial flooding of the surface during heavy rains when the tide is unusually high.

It appears to be an important element in the discussion to bear in mind that town sewers & drains are primarily intended for removing the foul water of the population, & not for removing rain fall; while any attempt in such a climate as that of India to provide for rainfall (~~occasionally~~ sometimes ~~16~~ 14 inches in by sewers ---- even if practicable, ~~which it is not~~, must entail an enormous

**f254**

outlay for ~~a~~ an occasional and temporary purpose.

It might be well in any further discussions which take place on this ~~question~~ subject to consider the two questions as separate problems, so that, while foul water only is removed in underground sewers, the ~~question~~ point of surface drainage may be settled, & the proper out falls for this water into the sea provided for. [end 9:900]

**ff255-56v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY JS DATED [ca. 9 June 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

**f255**

Page 7 -- Bombay Abstract  
In dealing with the  
Sewage & Mr. Rawlinson,  
ought not some notice  
to be taken of Capt  
Tullochs report on the  
drainage of Bombay?

**f256**

Should I send  
Herbert of Mons  
1. my book  
2. Herbert Hospital book  
3. Sany Commn (your) blue book

**f256v**

Where can I find a plan of that Navl  
 Plymouth Hospital?  
 But is n't that the Hospl that  
 we were going to nurse?  
 Is it a Tom?

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

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

{WRITTEN IN PENCIL}:

In my time 3 Under Nurses  
 slept in that box, which  
 had no light but from the  
 landing

**ff257-57v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 9 June 1869]  
~~1869 1870~~ (ARCHIVIST)

**f257**

Harry B.C. asks you to look at these.

[12:181]

I've read them till I'm saturated with them

And I've told Harry B.C. that Mrs. Wardroper & Mr. W.  
 are most unjustifiable in their use of adjectives & of the  
 word "dismissed".

If I were not more cautious than they are, I might do  
 serious injury --

Charlotte Duncan was "dismissed" for short sightedness  
 And I have just seen a letter of Mrs. Wardroper  
 recommending her in the most flaming terms

"found unsuitable"

Mrs Kidd was dismissed by Liverpool for  
 drunkenness.

And S. Taylor by us for being tipsy

Yet the self-same word is used as for this  
 Miss Duncan (who is a lady) whom Mrs. Wardroper  
 is recommending everywhere

-----

Hardly any of the Paragraphs are applicable to Civil  
 Hospitals. I can't think what Harry is about

Head Nurses in Civil Hospitals do far, far more

Add Mss 45753

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than in Military.

**[end 12:181]**

I don't think fit at all



**f257v** {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}

If you want me to do anything with Dr. C. this afternoon, you must say what.

I write reams & reams of papers for you on on any interview I have

What is your "course"?

Do you choose to come to luncheon here with Dr. C. before he goes?

Do you want those plans of his he lent me again?

**ff258-58v** INCOMPLETE LETTER AND NOTE PEN AND PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN and JS, on black-edged paper

**f258**

35 South Street, {LETTERHEAD PRINTED}:

Park Lane,

W.

{LETTER WRITTEN SIDEWAYS IN PEN}:

Private June 8/69

{DOODLES DRAWN AROUND THE LETTERHEAD IN PEN}

My dear Sir Bartle Frere

Madame Mohl, the wife  
of M. Mohl

{LETTER DOES NOT CONTINUE AND HER NOTES ARE NOW WRITTEN RIGHT  
SIDE UP IN PENCIL}:

[ca. 9 June 1869]

Shall I write that to him to-day  
or wait? --

Is IT a Tom?

{`Is IT' IS ACTUALLY TRIPLE-UNDERLINED}

Then you put off the Lying=in  
women till 1870?

Very well. {SOMETHING SCRIBBLED OUT HERE}

Pray don't press with such  
undue haste

Lat Festina Cente

put down the pages where there are printer's errors

Bombay Abstract page 2

also page 6

put about the Title

JS:

The title will do, but there would be a  
great & obvious advantage if both ~~report~~  
your I. O. report & the Indian experts  
were for the same dates namely 1868

At present we first ~~see~~ read about 1868  
& then our endemic is in 1867. Could not  
this be managed by pressing for the Indian reports ~~earlier~~  
earlier

**f258v**

scraps FN  
1869

**f259** LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND 24th June embossed WO sends "Russian"  
tables

I herewith send you "Russian" the tables which are very  
instructive: the original rags of the same and also an analysis  
of the facts, to that you may go ahead, in the "fastest" way.

Will you be pleased to read the analysis, look at the table  
sand cudgel your brains till I come for the reasons and oblige  
yours ever J.S.

**f260** NOTES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

You want 39 [June 1869]

A curious fact that in the British **[8:218]**  
Lying-in, the last 10 years  
have a Mortality just twice the  
first 13 --  
Have you found the 3 years  
of Parisian Mortality?

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS}:

The Maison  
d'Acc: is the  
highest Mortality  
known.  
It has actually been  
up to 250 per 1000 --  
But that is not  
a compound --  
The Liverpool is but little  
higher than All England

**[end 8:218]**

**ff261-62v** NOTE FROM NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN **[8:221]**

[Aft 7 July 1869]

It is a thing which I have thought  
about a great deal.

I think: that she would have to be  
treated in her own room

that the other 3 rooms of the Quartet  
would have to be emptied, possibly at once  
& that as soon as the Puerperal fever  
case had recovered or died, her room  
& the other 3 should stand empty & be  
lime washed &c &c &c

=====

But I have asked myself, since I  
read Lefort, an ulterior question --  
query -- whether you should not remove  
all women recovering naturally after  
(say) 5 days to another "Recovering" Ward  
I don't know. It merely occurred

Add Mss 45753

452

to me

We rather think that the 2 Delivery Wards should

**f261v**

not be in the same Pavillion, because you  
 could not thoroughly Lime wash & knock  
 about in the one while women were  
 lying-in in the other over or below  
 Certainly 3 -- if not 4 Delivery  
 beds -- for 12 Lying-in women constant  
 But I think I have put all  
 that in my scheme --

**f262v**

Then it could not be a Midwifery  
 School unless you had at least  
 3 4 bedded = viz 12 Patients  
 Delivery -- 1 ward & duplicate  
 Lying in ward 3 of 4 beds = 12 occupied beds  
 Convalescent 3 of 4 beds = 12 occupied beds  
 Total 7 24 patients  
 Duplicate ward 1 Delivery  
 " " 2 4 bed 4  
 -----  
 170 Wards 2832 bed  
 I have no objection to that. All I said  
 was that you could have a Midwifery  
 School of 10 Pupils with 12 beds --

Certainly -- & you can only remedy that  
 defect by having a duplicate or partly  
 duplicate set of wards

**[end 8:221]**

**f263-64** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND [July 1869] ink embossed WO recd. I have read through this and think it a valuable contribution to the obstetric statistics. The author has dealt powerfully with certain important questions but generally there is a controversial tone in it. He shows up the weak points of Simpson and others cleverly and in doing so he also shows the great need there is of more careful record of facts. The book takes the sanitary and unprovable side as against the contagion or fatalist side of his adversaries, will do much service.

It contains a great surprise. While we are considering his exposure of the weak points of his opponents and expecting that he will deduce from his amended facts, certain practical conclusions of his own, we find all of a sudden that he has adopted the practical conclusions of the others. So that we now know that all parties agree that maternity hospitals have a large amount of preventible mortality.

But I am sorry to say that his facts show that there is a large amount of preventible mortality in the most successful private practice.

This is a man I believe who ought to have succeeded Simpson instead of Simpson's nephew, which led a witty French writer to affirm that it was clear the Edinburgh Town Council had merely borrowed from them (the French) the method adopted in France in politics, viz, that they had not selected the best man, but a man "parcequ'il--etait le neveu de son oncle." J.S.  
The enclose has just come here for you.

**f265-66** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 9th August 1869 pen embossed WO, 1st International Conference on prison discipline. I wd concur in the necessity of such a congress, and tell them your state of health is such that you are afraid that any active cooperation of yours would be impossible, but that you had already published in illeg the principle which seemed to you to be at the root treatment of all crimes against property, namely to cease to board and lodge them at the cost of people they had robbed, and to teach them by experience that it is cheaper in actual money value to work than to steal.

2nd Lefort. If you could copy out in pencil any statistics or other matter which you would like to go into your long promised Contribution to the subject, I should be glad to have them.

Your affectionate message to Capt Galton and Omanney shall be duly delivered.

3rd Mrs W. The nurses quarter question must be dealt with. Mrs S.S. would have selected by preference whatever was most

uncomfortable. But other people have other views and the W.O. must try to do what is possible.

Ld de G. We can give him the account he asks for. But as you have mentioned the subject, I may tell you that last week I went to Ld de G about it. Before the late changes in the office questions came regularly before the Committee. But since then, important points bearing on health have been decided without us.

Illeg G got these questions and had them referred. Now he has no such power. After thinking this over and bearing in mind my own responsibility, I went to him to ask his opinion as to what course shd be taken. "That I had wrote up to next April, but that if other arrangements were not made before that time I shd beg to retire. But at the same time if they wished another year's similar service I would give it, but no more. I told him that we Sanitarians had "to work." that work was our mission and I could not pretend to work only. That I had no system to leave the government, with my experience in any way in which I could make it available, but that I must have the means of doing so in the W.O. or elsewhere." They took me away from plenty of work in which I used to rejoice and by the present arrs I have not enough to do, at least illeg. G asked time to give a reply. If you choose to write to G about this pray do so. Had you been here I shd have told you and had G given an opinion I shd say that Ld de G had written to you. That you had written to me and that I had replied in this sense. But I had not had your letter before I spoke to him. G said he would like to talk to Ld de G about the whole subject. I think it such a pity when they have the opportunity to let me go. Of course I shall take no step until I hear from G and if I had heard from him, I shd have written to you also before taking any step.

When did you begin the "unproductive labor test" It all comes to these women. Look at today's Times and you will find what strong minded females are up to. They can be members of a 'secular club" and members of the church at the same time, and get 40s/ out of anybody that laments over the same. Cute isn't it!

It is of more importance however to learn that in Australia they are actually providing farms and that they are crying out for everybody that can come.

The remunerative convict question will I hope get a lift by this eastern experience.

A lady told me the other day that she had asked a relative of hers a colonel just come from India whether any real sanitary improvement had he seen there. He replied that the change was

"incredible." This is very good. J.S.

**f267-68** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 11 August/69 embossed WO, regrets her letter ....delay, re Osborne [Osburn]

I regret that your letter shd have come last night about 2 hours beyond the possibility of replying by this morning's mail.

I have read both letters twice over. The Osborne [Osburn] letter is really gossip and not a bit of use or interest. The only thing in it is that she deposes a woman to write to you who she now says is quite unfit to write to you. This is really the practical outcome. Does she write mail after mail merely to accumulate your autographs in her album?

There is nothing to reply to and I shd not reply a word. But if you do reply a short, pacific note on the general question is all you ought to send.

You can scarcely back up Dr Deas Thomson in putting down the existing hospital unless you knew something about it. We should not pull down any building without a very searching enquiry ending in satisfactory reasons. If the question were to come to us, we should reply in this sense. The Edinburgh case is not applicable. Of the subscribers a committee think that the memorial hospital ought to be altogether a new building. It is for them to decide, not for us to say.

I am very very sorry you are so poorly. I wish with all my heart that these people would let you alone.

What can we think or what can Sidney people [Sydney] think of women who prefer devotion to suffering humanity, when their supt actually writes to you in this strain, looking forward to the termination of the engagement with joy and not with grief. Does it not rather seem that the sick are intended to suffer for their sakes?

**f269-69v** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 2d. Sept 1869 embossed WO. "I am very very sorry to hear so poor an account of your health & scarcely like to write even about this urgent business. I hope you have had medical advice to relieve these attacks.

I have enclosed a brief reply to your points about the Netley nurses accommodation. The sooner the report is sent in the better, as there will be money to get and contracts to make before the work is entered on.

Mrs W account of the nurses is very satisfactory and one must hope that there is a fair prospect for the future.

**f270-71** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 13/9/69 embossed WO, thanks for her



note, has sent back paper with a minute, plan for quarters at Portsmouth

Many thanks for your note which I got on Saturday night. I have sent back the paper with a minute proposing a quarters salary for Mignot as a douceur.

She has certain pension rights under the regs acquired by her service and they had to be covered.

The plan for the quarters is now in the hands of the C.R.E. at Portsmouth for enquiry and report. They say here that it will cost £500 to make the alterations. This must be sanctioned by the sec of state before the works are begun.

They will take time and the present quarters will have to be vacated. Now comes the question. How long could you give us. I.e., how long could you keep the new staff in hand before sending them down. There would be no harm in placing the existing staff in any accomm they could get about the place, for a new temporary occupancy but it has occurred to me to ask whether it would be advisable to bring in the new staff before the quarters are ready. On your decision will depend the question as to whether we shd ask the existing staff to remain until the new staff arrives. It is a complication, and we must make the best of it.

To save time, could Sir Harry as chairman tell Mr Cardwell that the new staff is nearly ready but that when the quarters at Netley came to be examined, it was found that all the nurses including the supt, slept in one room. That there were in fact no quarters in the sense in which quarters exist in civil hospitals and considering the respectable character of the women it was necessary to ask for proper quarters for them and expenditures necessary for the existence of efficient nursing. This might possibly expedite a decision. J.S.

**f272-72v** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 8 Sept. 1869 embossed WO, re HBC, draft letter, pension of supt

Mr Carter's letter of the 6th has not yet come to me, but it contains all that is necessary. The C.R.E. will do the right thing about the quarters when he gets his orders.

Draft letter

Furniture. It is obviously necessary that furniture shd be provided. I shall urge this if it comes to me.

Is not the augmentation from £150 to £200 rather rapid? Ought it not to be in four years at the moment? I merely suggest this for your consideration.

Foreign pay for supt. There is no use in doing more than

"suggesting" that in case the supt is sent abroad, some reasonable addition to the salary shd be made. It is in the highest degree unlikely that nurses will ever be sent to an foreign station. The present policy is to withdraw white troops altogether from these stations.

Pension of supt. By existing regs she would get £100 a year (i.e. on Mr Carter's proposed salary) on retiring at 60. .... at the end of 12 full years.... [more on details]

**£273-74** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 13/9/69 embossed WO encloses draft of sanitary work, asks to read and return with any remarks, will amend in any way you may indicate, re his position here, his complaint

I enclose you a draft of our sanitary work. Will you be so good as read it and return it to me with any remarks. I will alter or amend it in any way you may indicate.

I would like to write you about my position here in order that if you thought fit you might send my letter to you, with the memorandum to its destination.

I have told you already generally what my complaint is. In looking forward to the ensuing year (if indeed it be lawful to look so far ahead) I shd like to have the prospect of doing more work than I can see at present.

I am far from well, and this hard affection may perhaps stop my work, but still is it my duty to make use of my experience as long as I can. Besides this, I do not wish to appear to have responsibilities which I have no means of exercising. I am quite willing to work while I am able, but I must have work to do. If left to decide from the present prospect of work, I shd retire at the end of next March, but I wd stay on the exiting prospect another year if govt wished it, or as long as I had so much and that I felt I was doing good.

These are the points. Now you know all the circumstances and I shd not like to act without your concurrence as my resigning would remove me from the chance (not a great one at present) of pressing forward improvements.

Nobody knows about this except you and Galton. He is not here, but thought when I last saw him that possibly this news might afford an opportunity of raising the question.

I told G you had asked for a memo.

**£275-76** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 16/9/69 embossed WO, re HBC

I have just heard from HBC on the subject of my letter to you. He says it will be very inconvenient to delay the nursing staff for more than 14 days. I have seen Col Ravenshill who informs me that the estimate has not yet returned from Netley, but that he does not think the rooms will be ready much before the end of November.

There are but two courses to be taken unless the nurses are kept back for two months. Col R suggests that as all the new work required to be done implicates only the linenry that if a temporary linenry were provided, the acc available for the nursing staff wd be a supt's day room and sleeping room, also an office. A kitchen and servants room and the nurses to sleep in the present sleeping room (which will be their future day room) until the separate rooms are ready. The only other course is to place the whole nursing staff in the best set of spare rooms or wards which can be obtained until the new quarters are finished. I have written to HBC in this sense. I dare say he will communicate with Mrs W before sending me a decision and with you also. You will all no doubt give it your best consideration and then when he writes me about it I shall possibly be able to move in the matter here. J.S.

**£277-78** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 19/9/69 embossed WO

I have heard from HBC in the same sense as you last night's letter\* I cannot tell you as yet what the cost will be because the estimates have not yet come from Portsmouth, where they have to be made up after a survey at Netley.

Some additional cost (two fire places and a door cut through the main wall of the of the building) will be reqd to meet the objections you made to Mr W's plan and which we have agreed in. The division of the linenry from the new passage must also, it appears, be made higher and they wish  
\* all except the spice.

to avoid the use of iron. The block has a certain architectural finish inside and out and they will make the new quarters to correspond.

The present disadvantage may be a fortnight's delay but in all future time the advantages will be obvious enough in far greater comfort.

It is a pity the exam into the quarters was not done a couple of months ago. The question is what is best to be done. I have written to HBC and if you have anything to say to him and will write, he will get both letters on Monday. I have told him either

to see Mr Talbot or to write to the under sec as he thinks best stating that you will be ready to transfer the nurses on October 1st but that having understood the quarters will not be ready you will hold them over at work until illeg 1st provided the W.O. will pay wages from October 1st that to continue them at ST Thomas' Hospital after Nov 1st will be a very great inconvenience and that the committee hope the quarters will be ready by that date.

There is every disposition to hasten matters here and no time will be lost when the ests come in.

Would it not be desirable in the meantime to complete the regs for Netley. I expect illeg here on Monday and I will make him copy out a code on half margin for your correction and Mr Carter's and we shall then get it put in type. The supt and nurses as well as the commandant and M.O. ought to have it by the time the quarters are ready.

**f279** NOTE PEN AND PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN [8:222]

{PEN}:

I earnestly beg Dr. Sutherland to edit a paper on Lying-In Hospitals, embodying the materials I have so laboriously prepared -- all which are ~~put up in a packet addressed to him.~~

{PENCIL}:

in the bottom drawer of the small Chest of 6 Drawers nearest the window in the Drawing-room and in the upper shelf of the 2 shelves behind

Brown Holland curtains in my Bed-room  
Also, I beg that Dr. Sutherland will do the same with the materials for a paper on Pauperism," being those which I have prepared for a second part of my "Note on Pauperism" (in Fraser's Magazine of March 1869)

{PENCIL}:

all which materials are in the small ottoman which opens in the Drawing-room -- [Printed papers in it are only those of St. Thomas]

{PEN}:

Also, the same with the materials for a paper

on selling Land with Houses in Towns --  
{PENCIL}:  
which are in the bottom drawer of the Chest of 4 Drawers  
(without lock & key) near the fire-place in the Drawing-room.

{PEN}:  
~~These three packets will be put up each~~  
~~separately addressed to Dr. Sutherland~~

And I beg that Dr. Sutherland will accept  
due pecuniary compensation for such  
editing from my cash.

Florence Nightingale

September 19 1869

**f280-80v** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND 30/9/69 embossed WO, re Whitfield,  
Ravenhill, CRE Portsmouth

Add Mss 45754, microfilm, correspondence with Sutherland 1869-70, 264 folios, 169 pages, Adam Matthew reel 8

ff1-2 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND DATED Oct 1, embossed War Office, plans back from Portsmouth [1869]. I send you this merely to say that the plans have come back from Portsmouth. The CRE has adopted essentially the plan as amended by you and by us here. Only it happens that the tracing on which Mr Whitfield worked is not quite correct. The building has been carefully measured and the proposals adopted so as to cave [?] into the actual construction. The only point in which his proposal differs from this is that the superficial area of the rooms is a little smaller. Thy will be 9 feet by 8 feet 4 inches, some a little larger. The area is 75 square feet instead of 80 as in Mr W's plan, but the result is a large saving in cost and the lighting of the dark end of the passage and corridor which in Mr W's plan had to be provided for by a new large end window to be balanced by a similar window on the other side of the front. There are practical and costly difficulties in using iron and as the score of cheapness wood stained and varnished will be used and the partitions will be carried up to the roof in all cases. There is plenty of excellent storage very ingeniously planned and there is a spare room for a sick nurse which they will put up if required.... some £200 will do it all at least I hear so. Orders have already gone to proceed with the outline of the work and there is really not much to do, so that I hope you will all of you be in by the end of the month.

**ff3-3v** NOTE RE: MRS SHAW STEWART PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f3**

[1. Oct. 1869.]

[15:211]

Mrs. Shaw Stewart

This poor woman's (Registered!) letters always seem to come when I am least able to bear the smallest addition to my cares --

However, she is perfectly right in this: --

1. I have always held that Female Nursing in Military Hospitals was impossible unless there were a "real lady" at the head and a Governor.

P.M.O.s will always play this sort of trick ["The Doctors" would do it in Civil Hospitals, only that they would thereby put themselves in the wrong with the Matron, which she would certainly take advantage of.]

We (the N. Committee) are now stipulating in our Agreements that the Nurses we send shall be kept to the ward=duties we send them for -- And I shall give Hy B.C. a hint to do the same for Netley --

2. What can she mean? -- What is she intending to do?
3. We certainly should not take those Nurses to train at St. Thomas', neither "with" nor without "her payment" --

Shall I answer her letter? --

[end warnetn]

Please Over.

**f3v**

[1. Oct. 1869]

Mr. Whitfield's letter to Hy B. C.  
(sent you before)

-----

Of course I agree that it was much too objectionable,  
both in matter & manner, to send to the W. O.

But do not, please, criticize "the plan" (when it comes)  
"according to Mr. Whitfield's requirements," without  
me.

I utterly dissent from some things in ~~the~~ his  
letter. And nothing would ever lead me  
to consent to having a Nurse's Sick-room -- or  
Bed-room beyond the Linen-room -- The  
Linen-room must be distinct from the Nurses'  
quarters -- which must all be within one door --  
not the same as the Orderlies' door.

F.N

Please return me this my letter with Mrs. S. Stewart's

Embley

Romsey

1/10/69

**ff4-5v** LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND DATED 2/10/69, embossed War Office re  
Herbert Hosp nursing. Nobody in the office knows about the transfer of  
the female nurses to the female wards. No authority has been given by  
the W.O. Perhaps the best way wd be for the supt to write to the W.O.  
stating that she had been directed by the PMO on their auth to do this  
but that it was her duty to state that such transfer was destructive  
of both disc and nursing. She clearly ought to have written at once to  
the W.O....

The points about the plans you have stated will all be included. I  
may state generally (besides what I told you yesterday) that the CRE  
has managed all the points we wanted ingeniously. He has cut off two  
excellent sufficiently lighted stores from the end of the nurses day  
room. He leaves the small housekeepers store which is well lighted and  
is now in use. Instead of throwing this into another store beside it,  
which wd answer to good purpose, he leaves the partition and connects  
the room, which has a good window, into a sick room, if you want it.  
But the nurses rooms now being divided up to the ceiling and each  
having a window to open, any of them would do for a sick nurse at  
least for all usual sickness and unusual cases which happen so seldom  
that they mt be provided for specially [?]. However there the room is  
if you want it. I believe Mr C will have the amended plan to look at.  
My work is now being laid out to save time.



**ff6-10** NOTE RE: DERBY INFIRMARY PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f6**

[To Dr Sutherland]

[16:718-20]

Derby Infirmary

Nothing tries me so much as looking over plans --  
And therefore for my sins I have plenty of this to  
do.

Mr. Frank Wright came up to London (as usual, without  
a day's warning) to show me these plans --  
I should really have asked you to see him at the  
W. O., but that before I could receive & answer his  
(forwarded) letter, he was gone --

I have now gone over the amended plans, &  
enclose a few (by no means exhaustive) Remarks,  
Probably many others will occur to you --

Will you be so very good as to go over the plans  
& return them me with your Remarks & my  
own? --

Embley

Romsey 2/10/69

F. N

{I enclose a letter from Sir  
{Harry about Derby Infirmary  
{Please return it.

**f7v**

1869

[Archivist: Derby Infirmary, FNs comments] 1869

**f8**

A few not important remarks.

Derby Infirmary

Basement

1. What is the Nurse's room doing by itself by the "Reception room"? -- She can't sleep out there by herself -- If it is a "Reception room" for Patients, the Nurse must be in it, not out of it
2. Out Patients' Dept      I believe it is a rule without any exception that there should be no communication between Out Patients & In Patient's Departments  
Here it appears arranged on purpose for the Out & In Patients to have as much convivial intercourse in as jolly way as possible
3. Nurses Dining-room.      I am sure I should very much prefer having the Nurses dining, each lot in their own Sculleries, if I were Matron.

**f9**

[2]

## First Floor

1. Matron's Rooms I think it objectionable to have her Closet jammed in in that way between her rooms -- A Matron ought to wish her Store-closet to be as public as possible (as to its entrance) instead of as "private" as possible. And if she is ill, poor woman, in her Bed-room, then it is exactly as if the Stores were kept in the Matron's pocket.

2. House Surgeon's Rooms. I don't much care about the "cheerfulness" of this "important" gentleman.

But I think it hard upon the Matron that her only Bed-room window should be overlooked by a window of his squinting into hers -- I should block up his window in the ~~corner~~ angle.

The Surgeon's & Matron's rooms are too near as it is.

3. Convalescent Room I don't like them, but I believe it is determined to have them (a.) The proximity of the Matron's Room is a good thing.

(b.) I think it objectionable to have two doors to the Convalescent Room -- as also to

**f9v**

the corresponding ward. [You don't want Patients or Convalescents to get out but to keep in.]

(c.) Also, is it desirable to have windows looking down the Area in these 2 wards? --

(d.) Is the W. C. opening out of the Passage, (Bath room) good? - 4. Large Ward

In some respects, the Nurses' arrangements, I prefer this to any Ward I have ever seen It is such a capital arrangement to have the Under Nurses as well as the Head Nurses sleeping near their work -- And I would have them dine in their Scullery too. Then the arrangement of the shoots is good.

(a). But will the Night Nurses be able to sleep undisturbed in one of those square projections by day? --

**f10**

[3]

Second Floor plan

## 1. Large Ward

I have only to repeat the same praise

## 2. Wards in Centre

These seem well arranged under great difficulties.

But I have some criticisms: --

a. In front Bath-rooms the W. C.'s seem jammed up in corners

b. the Operation Wards would only do for Patients for a few hours

c. which is the North aspect? -- The operating Room should be to the North -- but then the Wards must be cold &amp; dull

## 3. Maniacal Ward What an odd thing to

put the poor "Maniac" in a "central" position? Is it to amuse him or his neighbours? - And is the Nurse to be jammed in between him & the "Convalescent Women"? -- Or is the "Maniac" always to be a woman? -- [In a Provincial Hospl maniacal women are rare: men in Del: Trem:, alas!, [not rare.]

4. W.C. off passage (opposite "Maniac". Is that right, without a window? **[end 16:720]**

**ff11-12** NOTE RE SIR J. SIMPSON'S LETTER PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f11**

[to Dr Sutherland]

Embley

**[16:703]**

Romsey

Oct 7/69

Sir Jas. Simpson's letter in Scotsman

I send you this paper which has been sent to me  
with

"I think that the public should be  
wakened up about the matter of Hospitals  
Ought not the Statistics of Hospitals to form  
a part of Dr. Farr's Returns -- and cannot  
this be effected? -- Strong facts must  
be adduced. Or nothing will be done --  
There is an opposing interest to that of the  
patients. Doctors & Medical Students --

"And practical remedies must be  
suggested -- not interfering too much with  
existing interests. It is a very  
difficult thing to retract an error on a  
great scale."

What shall I say?

**[end 16:703]**

Mr. Wyatt & St. Pancras.

**[13:612-13]**

My dear, what a man of business you are!

You say: -- "As regards the Nurses: -- if you have any  
Nurses for them, Mr. Carter might tell them  
when they are ready -- A change in the  
men ought to make no change in the policy of  
Nursing" --

We were asked last year (by a formal Vestry letter) to have 15

Trained

Nurses & 1 Trained Matron ready "by April 1870" (I think)

**f11v**

Mr Wyatt now tells me they will not be wanted --  
-- Hy B.C. has had no letter --  
You are just like all the rest.

You think we can keep 16 Trained Women on  
the shelf like Quack Medicines in a shop.  
And if they won't do for one disease they will  
for another.

How can we ~~keep~~ get ready 16 Trained Nurses & then "tell them  
when they are ready"? -- if there is probability of their  
not being wanted, which, if the new Highgate Infirmary is not  
opened, they  
certainly will not

I have not answered Mr. Wyatt yet  
What had Hy B.C. better do? --

**[end 13:612]**

**f12**

Mrs. S. Stewart

I sent you all the letters. Perhaps they explain  
themselves. And I had better not add anything.

I cannot tell you the absolute terror she  
inspires me with. I feel myself in the ~~hands~~ power  
of a mad woman -- who may make her appearance  
any day, as she did twice before -- & who will  
certainly (as you said yourself) send her  
replies as fast as I ~~can~~ they can be got to  
me -- (if I write --) & telegraph besides.

I have had as many as 3 LARGE packets  
in a day -- from her --

I may possibly be able to stop this  
"publication" -- but it will be at the cost of  
writing on my part, which will expend  
all my strength & possibly my life --  
I have none to spare --

**ff13-14** NOTE ON NETLEY QUARTERS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN**[16:455]****f13**

[Oct. 10. 1869.]

Netley Quarters

Here are these dreadful plans again.

[Yet I do not like to decide upon them without you.]

1- vide H.B.C's letter marked in red.

- (1. You told me that all the Nurses' bed-rooms were to be divided up to the top. Only two are to be. I think this a very serious grievance. These Quarters are not temporary, but permanent. These Nurses are not Probationers, but Head Nurses --

I think it a very serious grievance also to move Nurses 2, 3, 4, 5 for any slight illnesses into Nurses' Rooms 1, 6 -- (There is nothing annoys a respectable woman more than not to have a single spot she can call her own) -- then to move back Nurses 1, 6 into the (late) Sick room without a possibility of any airing or temporary evacuation for thorough cleansing.

THIS makes me think that we must have the place marked "Infirmary" --

{ABOVE 2 LINES ARE BRACKETED IN LEFT MARGIN)

I would let the "Linen Nurse" sleep in it, on condition that she evacuates for a Sick Nurse -- [Our "Linen Nurse" has been a governess -- & but for her nervous timidity, is just as fitted as Mrs. Deeble to be Supt.]

**f13v**

The grievance ~~to~~ in this case would not be the same as it would in the other case -- because she would go into a spare compartmt -- which she might even retain, if she wished it -- at all events till there had been a thorough cleansing (a thing necessary even in a private house -- from time to time.)

As for Typhus & Small-pox, that must always be removed out of the Hospital at once, if possible & nursed elsewhere -- **[end 16:456]**

|2. I believe I agree with Mr. Whitfield as to the Hot water Pipes.

3| What do you say to H.B.C.'s 3 & 4?

I think the Store-rooms out of Nurses' Day-room nothing but reservoirs of foul air for the whole Quarters -- which, even in a private house, would ==be objectionable

4 I presume each Nurse's Bed-room is to have a door of its own,

tho'

== not marked on plan.

I send the whole Boutique to you for reference:

viz. 2 plans

R.E.'s letter

Sir E. Lugard's

Mr. Whitfield's

H B C's to me -- F.N.

**f14**

Please return me this my letter with

your Remarks

It is dreadful all this passing to & fro --

Embley

Romsey

Oct 10/69

**ff15-16** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND, embossed War Office DATED 11/10/69 to FN response to hers of 10th



**ff17-18v** NOTE, PEN AND PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN AND JS NOT DATED

**f17** {PENCIL WRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE}:

I sent the substance of this, mutatis mutandis, & mutatis the  
numerals,  
to Hy B.C.  
F.N.

{PEN WRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND}:

I have gone over the points in the plan with  
Col. Ravenhill & here is the result.

1. The Corridor in which are the letters C. A.  
is the corridor connecting the Central Building  
with the N.W. wing of the hospital thus:

{DIAGRAM OF BUILDINGS AND CORRIDOR -- SEE PHOTOCOPY}

The quarters are on the first floor & enter from the  
top of the grand stair case by their own private door  
at B in the plan. This door is never used except  
by the Superintendent.

2. The kitchen & servants bed room are the servants own  
domain. A Partition could be run up between the  
place for the bed & the passage into the kitchen  
where I have pencil-dotted it, if thought imperative.

3. As all the rooms are 15 feet high the  
light in the Superintendents office is enough.

4. Mr. Whitfield should explain for what purpose

**f17v**

it is proposed to cut off two dark stores from  
the nurses dormitory. (Day Room) we don't understand  
this. [No more do I. I objected to it as most objectionable  
F.N.

{ABOVE THREE LINES ARE DOUBLE BRACKETED IN LEFT MARGIN}

{`[No more do I. I objected to it as most objectionable' WRITTEN BY  
NIGHTINGALE IN DARK PENCIL}

{PEN WRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND}:

5. There would be no difficulty in dividing off the separate nurses rooms, each with its window.
6. There would be no difficulty in dividing off the diminished linen store by a glazed partition so as to leave the proposed passage.
7. The room marked "linen nurses room" has no fire place although they have shown one. It has no flue & none can be carried up. This proposed appropriation cannot therefore be carried out. But instead of this, it is proposed to improve the whole accommodation as follows: --
8. To break a door through the wall between C & A where the pencil marks are. This door to be the door into the nurses & Superintendents quarter from the Hospital corridor.
9. To convert the proposed Linen Nurses room into a store opening directly out of

**f18** {SUTHERLAND CONTINUED IN PEN}:

the linen store.

To continue the division separating the linen store from the "Passage" straight to the end as shown by the pencil mark. so as to cut the storeage entirely off from the nurses.

The door at C. to be retained exclusively as an issuing door & half door with counter.

In this way no orderly could ever come out of the corridor, unless for carrying in the clean linen & for heavy work -- Of course the partitions shown at the end of the linen store cutting off the lobby would not be introduced. The end of the store would come close up to the main wall: and being lengthened in this way it is proposed: --

10: to convert the "store" close to the lady superintendents bed room into a Linen nurses room and not to disturb the partition with the red marks across it

{ABOVE 2 LINES BRACKETED IN RIGHT MARGIN, THE FOLLOWING 3 LINES IN PENCIL BY FN TO BE INSERTED AT THIS POINT}:

I confess I did not  
understand this -- any more  
than Mr. Whitfield does. FN

{PEN WRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND}:

There is no fire place there at present, but  
there is a flue & a fire place can be  
easily made.

**f18v** {SUTHERLAND CONTINUED IN PEN}

- 11 The "Nurses scullery" to the far left of the plan belongs to one of the wards. But may have been used for washing up.

I think with the proposed alterations the rooms will be very comfortable. The "day room" is a beautiful room with splendid views from it

The best thing to do now, would be to make a list of the accommodation required & to send this plan with the committees report stating generally that

it is intended to show what is desired, but that any other arrangement whereby the accommodation required, can be secured, would answer.

12. As every thing is undergoing change I cannot ascertain what is being done about the mending at Netley. It has however been decided at Woolwich that in order to simplify wages-rates, & books, as well as to fix responsibility, the linen is to be returned into the superintendents linenry repaired from the laundry.

**ff19-20** NOTE RE: CHARACTER OF MRS. DEEBLE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN  
DATED [ca. 1 Nov 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

**f19** [ca. 1 Nov 1869] [re Mrs. Deeble visited F.N. with little girl  
Oct. 31 1869] see Diary {`[ca. 1 Nov 1869]

Well, she's not at all the person I expected --

And she brought with her the most lovely little girl.

I felt a great deal more interested in the woman than

I could have supposed possible.

And I felt a great deal more persuaded that she had

not the stuff in her of a supt Genl or even of a supt

than I could have supposed possible.

She is effusive, not to say diffusive -- she is brave, sincere

courageous -- but she has no observation -- she is quite

incapable ~~far~~ of understanding far less of making a

Regulation or an organization -- She will always

substitute words for deeds -- Any Officer may turn

her round his finger -- She will be engaged in

planning a nice tea for the Nurses, while she

lets the Nursing go to ruin -- She is shallow --

she is more clever than intelligent -- She has the

smallest & narrowest of minds & will unsay

herself 20 times a day -- She is self-reliant,

not from her courage, altho' she has courage -- but from

the incapacity of a baby not to see or reflect upon

difficulties But she has real heart & feeling.

She has her heart in it, you may depend -- She told me

that "her heart would be broken," if she were not

made Supt Genl

I don't think she has intelligence enough to know if

she does fail.

{PAPER TORN OUT} think that that lovely little girl could write a

better

{PAPER TORN OUT} she (the mama) could

{ABOVE FOUR LINES ARE SQUARE BRACKETED IN LEFT MARGIN}

**f19v**

She is going to Netley on Wednesday to stay a night.  
And she asked to see me again afterwards.

Well, now, what is to be done about these  
Regulations? -- Something must be done --

And I have not approached the subject of the  
Regulations yet with Mrs. Deeble --

I doubt whether she has seen them --

I doubt whether she is able to understand  
them --

I doubt whether she has a glimmer of the fact  
that she is to have a personal relation with &  
report to the W.O.

**f20**

Mr. Whitfield had a call from Wilbraham, he tells  
me, who says that the Quarters won't be ready  
till the 15th -- if then --

Really, the W.O. ought to give us notification  
of this, if true --

**f20v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN AND JS NOT DATED

{SUTHERLAND}:

Draft of Regulations proposed  
for the Nursing service at  
the Royal Vic Hos Netley

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO BY NIGHTINGALE}:

{PAPER TORN OUT} course of the Nurse with the Orderlies &

Officers

cd be of a strictly official character

Officially the Supt is supposed to embody the Nurses -- &

their moral conduct

And every intercourse not ~~official~~ in the way of duty with

Orderlies & Orderlies' wives &

Officers may be stopped easily at first but not  
afterwards -- & is certain to end in escapades of  
Nurses marrying Orderlies & the like as has been  
the case during the interregnum

**ff21-23** NOTES RE FIRST MEDICAL REPORT ON NATIVE ARMY PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN AND JS DATED [13 Nov 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

**f21**

{NIGHTINGALE}:

!! This is the FIRST Report (Medical) on the Native Army

{`FIRST' IS ACTUALLY TRIPLE UNDERLINED}

And this is the only copy in England --

Dr. Farquhar has given it to me --

~~I have told you nothing yet of what he said~~

He says it is equally remarkable for what there is in it & for  
== what there is not in it

~~Is it necessary to send Lord de G. the Form as well  
as the Instructions for the Cholera?~~

=== He said with the deepest feeling that it was  
dreadful how we had kept down  
Native Officers & Native Doctors

He says this is Dr. Murray's ~~doing~~ ordering  
out of the Native Reports  
the first time they have  
ever been noticed

But is the new Highgate Infirmary to become a Fever  
District Infy?

Will they have our Nurses? Because -- we must know

**f22v**

What shall I say to Mrs. S.S.?  
She is quite right  
I've always said so of the Netley Capt  
of Orderlies  
Would you mark this List for me  
presents for the Netley Nurses?

-----

{SUTHERLAND}:

Call M. G. attention to the Times of  
today & ask whether ~~it~~ in his  
opinion it would not be all right to  
write to the P. L. B. & state the facts  
about the Nurses & Sup. under training

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON THE FOLIO BY NIGHTINGALE}:

This is very important  
Shall I have that wire with smaller diamonds?  
If so how small?

As for the cats being afraid of it, they practise  
jumping on it from a distance -- from that chair

Well, is it to be upright as the man says?

===

Could I get the Regulations back & insert what  
Mrs. S. S. proposes?  
I don't know



**f23**

Dr. Farquhar is by far the best man I've seen,  
tho' he knows nothing about sanitary things

He is out & out better than the Hunters, the Porteous [?]  
the -- better than any one but Macpherson --

He is quite the sort of man to work a great  
reform among Native Officers & Doctors by moral  
influence --

He is now working at a plan (which I have  
consented to look at) for the recognition of  
the Native Doctors in the N. W. provinces  
by examination & certificate, so that  
they can sue for a fee, so that they  
can be employed by the Municipalities  
&c. He says the way we trample on  
these men is dreadful. He says it is so  
easy to laugh at the "crow-business" --  
i.e. the superstitions -- But that there  
these men are -- & practically they have  
great merit often -- And we ought to  
recognise & examine them.

He says so --  
Dr. Farquhar speaks the most extraordinary language.  
I believe it to be a mixture between Scotch &  
Ordoo.

**ff24-25v** NOTE REGARDING LOST CAT PENCIL HANDWRITING APPEARS TO BE NIGHTINGALE'S HOWEVER REFERS TO NIGHTINGALE IN THIRD PERSON

**f24**

Nov.

[1869.]

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

- F. Nightingale begs to say that the **[1:758-59]**  
lost cat has been brought back.  
She takes this opportunity of  
begging Ld Lucan's housemaid  
should a cat with a furry  
tail ever come upon their  
premises either to put it  
out the way it came viz.  
the garden side -- or simply  
to ring at her area door &  
let her maids know that the  
cat is at No 36. She  
will be most happy to make  
remuneration for this small  
service.
- F. N. can hardly help expressing  
her surprise at a pet cat  
being turned out in the street,  
as was done on Monday

**f25v**

It's a great pity the Beehive is  
     so discredited.  
 It often has valuable things.

Ought I to send a gratification to the  
     Detective now I have got Tit back?

10/

For ~~re~~ye cook for turning hot pot into ye street 5/

For ye detective officer  
 who sought after tit 10/

For ye stableman who  
 found tit 10/

~~For ye cook who turned  
 tit into ye street} 5/~~

For printing Hand Bills 6/

For advertising 7/

For prison railing £3

For action brought  
     by Lord Lucan £50

**ff26-26v** NOTE TO SUTHERLAND DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 2  
 Dec. 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

**f26**

You know that Wyatt has  
 resigned the Chairmanship  
 of St. Pancras  
     says he can't stand it  
 any longer.

Ought I to write to him?

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS INSIDE A BOX ON FOLIO IN ANOTHER HAND}:

To Dr Sutherland  
 on the back of a letter from  
 Sir H. V. Nov 30, 1869  
 FN

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO BY NIGHTINGALE}:  
 Well about Ireland?

**f26v**

Did you ever read the  
Canning's play in the  
Anti=Jacobin? --  
It must have been  
taken from that

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON FOLIO}:  
My son, the only thing that  
is clear to my mind is  
that you don't mean to  
do anything

Shall I send the  
Report to Farr?

ff27-28 NOTE WRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND IN PEN AND FN IN PENCIL DATED Dec.  
3d, War Office embossed sent regs with pencil amendments by DG

**f28** {AT BOTTOM OF PAGE BENEATH SUTHERLAND'S LETTER, WRITTEN BY  
NIGHTINGALE IN PENCIL}

H.B.C. & I actually  
wished for the term Nurse --  
It was you who proposed  
& insisted upon Sister.

**f28v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON FOLIO}:  
The M.O. has absolutely nothing to do with  
requiring the attendance of the Supt

-----  
superintendence of attendance upon Operations  
when the presence of a Nurse is required  
by the &c &c

Candidate is a very respectable word --  
Probationer very much the contrary.

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON FOLIO IN OTHER DIRECTION}:  
You particularly ordered that even the name  
of Probationer should not be used --  
I never heard it before

**ff29-29v** LIST OF REGULATIONS PEN UNSURE OF HANDWRITING, COMMENT BY FN  
AT END OF LIST NOT DATED, embossed War Office blue

**f29**

## Superintendent of Nurses

## Regulation

14. Is responsible for nursing
- 15 To allot Duties & watch over nurses.
16. To see duties properly performed
17. May suspend nurses
18. May dismiss nurses under appeal
19. Dismissal to be sanctioned by Sup. Gen
- 20 To pay nurses (wages, mess accts expenses
21. Responsible for Linen
22. To keep books & accts.
- 23 To draw rations. (Under this head is the following  
proviso "But in the United Kingdom, & on such  
foreign stations as the Sup. Gen may decide, mess  
money in lieu of rations will be allowed for the  
Superintendent & nursing establishment, on  
representation  
to that effect being made by the Sup. Gen. The  
mess money will in such cases be paid to the  
Sup of nurses of the Hospital & accounted for by her to  
the  
Sup.- Gen.
- 24 To make monthly abstracts of rations
- 25 to report on efficiency of Nursing
26. Sup's age not over 40 to retire at 60 "with a pension  
equal to 50 per cent of her salary at the time of her  
retirement" If she is obliged to retire on medical  
certificate "provided she has served 12 full years" she  
will be entitled to a pension equal to 20 per cent of  
her salary at the end of her 12th year -- but if after  
12 years service she retires she gets an  
additional 2 per  
cent for every full year above 12 years she has served.  
If she has to retire before 12 years she gets a  
gratuity. {NIGHTINGALE'S COMMENT IN PENCIL}:  
[They will claim this for Mignot]

**f29v** {WRITTEN IN ANOTHER HAND}:

~~W. O. I~~

Army Med. Regns

-----

Supt of Nurses

-----

**ff30-30v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN and JS DATED [ca. Early Dec. 1869] (ARCHIVIST)

**f30** {NIGHTINGALE}:

You know that's done already at the W. O.  
£30 up to £50

Well you know we've always gone on this plan.  
the Nurses and Supts are always engaged on  
the express condition that they are to go on  
war or foreign service, if sent -- And  
never to engage Nurses for War or Foreign  
Service, if it can be avoided

I agree with you -- I always have --  
With regard to the Pension, I believe what the  
Regulations intended was that War or Foreign  
Service should be only reckoned in that way

With regard to the £15, you know we have always  
said that the lower rates of Pension are too  
low & the higher too high

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

If you are going to quote Wilbraham again to me  
do go away -- All the bad women will & do  
say that -- All the good women say the reverse.  
Surely we know better than Wilbraham what a  
good woman is. Why? Because of Wilbraham  
& Mrs. S. Stewart

**f30v**

I cannot go on for one minute longer.  
You don't know what it is to me on  
Indian mail days, when I'm so ill,

If you could leave me now -- & if you  
are coming up tomorrow, & would  
come to me tomorrow --

Do you see about St. Pancras

**f31v**

And what's more we mean to turn  
away every one who's there  
We've always thought that too small  
I think it an extremely bad plan to let  
nurses pay for their own Washing  
It's a rule without ANY exception whatever  
{`ANY' IS ACTUALLY TRIPLE UNDERLINED}  
never to give a Nurse board wages.  
{ABOVE TWO LINES ARE BRACKETED IN LEFT MARGIN}

{SUTHERLAND}:

~~(Nurses will be allowed rations to be drawn~~  
(Nurses will be allowed rations or in lieu of  
rations 10/per head per week to be drawn  
by the Superintendent of Nurses)  
Each Nurse will be allowed one pint of  
porter

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF PAGE BY NIGHTINGALE}:

1 1/2 pts porter  
or 1 pt porter & wine glass full wine  
or 1 pt porter & 1 oz brandy --

**ff32-32v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN AND JS DATED [3-4 Dec. 1869]

{NIGHTINGALE}:

Bymaster I suppose they know?

There's no security, as far as I understand,  
that the Supt won't have to advance the  
9/6 herself.

That's the reason, I suppose, why they make  
a poor woman, a common nurse, advance all  
the money at Woolwich.

But Mrs. S. Stewart has been gone  
16 months. They complain of her -- and they  
don't make it possible to do otherwise

She has done so, three times to my  
knowledge. & has got no redress.

**f32v**

I think it's very bad, Mr Wyatt not being on the Board

1. You know I put that in before -- And you took it out
4. & 6 Certainly

-----

I thought so too The 9/6 was not put in by me

They have made nonsense of 9 "operations"  
The Instruction is for the Supt alone -- & means  
She shall bear in mind that a certain superintendence  
devolves upon herself of attendance upon ~~such~~ those operations  
where the Officiating Medical Officer has required a  
Nurse to assist

{SUTHERLAND}:

Among the duties attendance upon  
operations at which the presence of a  
nurse has been requested by the M.O.

**ff33-36** NOTE, HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f33** [Archivist: Strachey's letter]

Dec 4/69

Sir B. Frere was here for 3 hours.

[9:637-38]

1. they are writing & telegraphing from India every  
week to abolish something, for the sake of  
saving a few hundred thousands, on which the  
security or the welfare of the Empire  
depends --
  1. the police
  2. the Education policy of the last 15 years
  3. the Public works
    - a. the Kurrachi harbour
    - b. the Godavery riverboth of which were nearly completed  
-- & all that money is to be wasted
  4. the Barracks
  - & 5. the Sending out Medical Officers  
from Netley.

He told me a great deal on all these  
points. But I can only tell you the last  
He says that they have telegraphed home that  
having abolished 30 Regiments, they have



30 Medl Officers to spare. And they  
don't want any from Netley for at least a  
year. It is on this last point he  
wished to consult us.

**f33v**

He says that the expence of Medical Officers is after all very small -- that they always want M.O. s in India -- that they have always had a deficiency of applicants -- that, now that we have got them ready 25 (I understood) from/at Netley -- it appears to him destruction to stop this supply, even only for a year -- & to make an uproar for nothing

But he wants us to give him arguments to convince the Duke of Argyle

He says: if only 10 were sent out, that would be better than stopping the supply altogether.

-----

He says: a Hindoo is a born detective -- And the rest, he says, is not known at the I.O. at all

He is quite sure it has not come from the

I O --           The proposal to send no more Doctors comes from Lord Mayo.

**f34**

Sir B. Frere had heard all that --  
And he was perfectly aghast at the D. G.'s  
ignorance.

I spoke with Sir B. F. about that.  
He says no papers have as yet reached the I. O.  
But again, he was perfectly aghast at that  
proposition.

He says (this is a cognate subject only)  
"the way to make an Indian M.O. is this: --  
to have him for 5 or 10 years at the  
Presidency Hospital -- then to have him for  
at least 10 years at a large native town,  
seeing the native diseases which after all  
are very different from the European,  
& then & not till then he begins to make a  
good Indian Medical Officer

"We have not too many, we have too few  
Medical Officers -- he says --

"If you were to double the number out there,  
you would have too few --

"And the D. G. knows nothing about it.

-----  
I did not mention the D. G. at all to Sir B. Frere.  
But he spoke of the whole thing as of their

ignorance inspiring  
terror in him.

**f34v**

He read over Strachey's letter most attentively  
He says it is sound as far as ~~he~~ it goes.  
But he says: Strachey forgets that he & his  
cousin (Col: Strachey) are the two men who have  
done the most in India to carry "standard  
plans," hard & fast measures, measures  
drawn by plummet & line, over every  
population in India, however different

He says: Strachey forgets that we begged &  
prayed to be allowed to put up in Poona &  
the Deccan, where the winds are terrific,  
where the ground is rocky, one storied Barracks  
-- that we were ordered to wait, Sir Robert Napier  
was ordered to wait -- till a 3rd class Engineer,  
Col: Crommelin, an ordinary man such as you  
can find anywhere, sent us "Standard plans",  
which we were to use & no other -- & which  
were extravagantly expensive

But, however, he says: -- Strachey's is a good  
letter -- only somewhat tardy -- And he advises us  
to answer it cordially -- & immediately -- & to say  
also that as economy has come at last, it would be  
better to proceed with individual enquiries into the  
requirements of individual towns -- & stations -- to offer them  
an Engineer  
& then to draw up plans of improvements. **[end 9:638]**

**f35** {WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON FOLIO}:

Immediate

J.J. Freder {REST OF WORD IS CUT OFF -- PAGE ENDS}

Army San {REST OF WORD IS CUT OFF}

Wa {REST OF WORD IS CUT OFF}

Dec 10/69

**f36**

I did not mean to have told you about  
Mrs. Deeble because the quieter it is kept  
the better. But the state in which she found  
Netley is amazing --  
every Patient had his dressing at a different time  
or at no time  
every Patient had his stimulants at a different time  
or at any time  
Many Patients had bed-sores -- some as large as my  
hand. The Medical "cadets" tried all sorts of  
fancies ~~about~~ upon these And no one interfered  
Mrs. Deeble has introduced: --  
dressings all at the hour fixed, as at St. Thomas'  
stimulants all at the hours fixed, as at St. S.'s  
Bed sores she reported to the Senior Medical Officers  
& they in every instance looked into the case themselves --  
& ordered the remedies & also the preventive measures  
used at St. Thomas  
Night Orderlies She has also had to report --  
But isn't it scandalous? --  
However we must not triumph

But shall we be  
engaged for 3 months

**ff37-38v** Notes by FN AND JS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN [ca. 13 Dec 1869]

**f37**

[Netley] ~~68?~~

{`35 South Street, [printed address]  
Park Lane,  
W.'

{NIGHTINGALE}: This point is asked me from Netley

Hitherto the bandages have been  
sent to the wash without account!  
& have never been returned!!  
The waste has been terrible!!!

The plan is now -- for each Sister  
to make each Ward Orderly  
bring his Ward bandages every  
morning to her scullery,  
place them in a bucket  
kept expressly for that use  
with a little disinfectant --  
remain a few hours soaking  
& then cleanse them at the sink  
& put them on to boil in a boiler  
for the purpose -- then rinse &  
place them to dry on a small Horse --

**f37v**

before quite dry -- roll & clip them  
then finish them off.

It is stated that, if each orderly  
is taught this, he can be of  
great use to his surgeon abroad  
That's the reason why I ask  
you

-----

{SUTHERLAND}:

Mrs. Deeble

There may be saving in this  
process, and you with your  
great care might prevent  
mischief -- but we must look  
at what these orderlies may  
do in the first Indian or

**f38 {SUTHERLAND CONTINUED}:**

field hospital they may be sent  
to, and as we must depend  
on their being more or less  
careless when left to themselves  
we must insist on the  
rule that all dressings  
shall be removed out of the  
hospital altogether as soon  
as they are taken off dirty  
bandages included. The  
most useful constant lesson  
to give to these orderlies  
would be to train them  
~~to~~ in carrying away the  
dressings from the Hospital  
immediately, & in washing  
drying, ironing & returning

**f38v**

them into the hospital wards  
for use.

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF FOLIO BY NIGHTINGALE}:

Mrs. Deeble went to Netley [15:215-16]  
 prejudiced in favour of small wards  
 on account of the horrible double  
 wards at (present) St. Thomas' -- But  
 now She says the want of discipline  
 occasioned by the Netley small wards  
 is frightful --  
 that when she herself or any Officer  
 walks down the Corridor, the people  
 who are gossiping in the Corridor  
 have nothing to do but just to  
 dip into the nearest ward  
 like rabbits in a warren. [end 15:216]

**ff39-42v** NOTE ABOUT LORD NAPIER, PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN AND JS

FN: Dec 14/69

Lord Napier of Magdala came here for the afternoon [10:100-02]  
 When I look at those 3 men, (tho' strangely different,)

Ld Lawrence, Ld Napier of Magdala & Sir B. Frere --  
~~their~~ for practical ability, for statesmanlike perception  
 of where the truth lies, what is to be done, & who  
 is to do it, for high aim, for noble disinterestedness,  
 I feel that there is not a Minister we have in  
 England fit to tie their shoes since Sidney Herbert

There is a simplicity & largeness of view & of  
 character about those 3 men as about Sidney  
 Herbert that does not exist in the present  
 Ministers party men -- ~~the others~~ those 3 are statesmen  
 S. Herbert made enemies by not being a party man. It gave  
 him such an advantage  
 over them

===

What do you think they call the D. of Argyle? --  
 Caeculus Indicus  
 But you must not tell this

====

Ld Napier is aghast at the retrenchments in India

-----  
 About details of Barrack building,  
 Ld Napier says that there is now a reaction in India  
 against what they call our sentimental extravagance  
 -- & that we shall get nothing for a year --



**f39v**

I must put down a few details while I think of them of what he recommends --

1. he says all the Barracks are deficient & bad in water supply.

2. he says -- to make the soldier healthy & a Christian he must have a Day-room on his ground floor -- & go to sleep on the upper floor -- that is, in the 2 storied Barrack --

But even in the 2 storied Barrack, they have crowded up the ground floor with stores & not made the Bedroom fit for men to live in by day

He says, they are raising a cry against us!!! now, because they say our Barracks are "too hot" & "the men don't like them".

He says, they have made the Allahabad Barracks &c of pink brick. & if they had only painted them white they would have brought down the temp: from 5° to 10°.

He says, they must have not only Verandahs but Louvred Boardings -- or Jalousies

Also: he thinks -- ceilings --

Also: he says, you must lay water on to the upper story & everywhere -- They won't take the trouble to fetch water. And he approves of wetted tattier

**f40**

3. he gave me the whole account of Peshawur & Allahabad -- qua Epidemics --

-- the filthy state of the town of Peshawur      no surface cleansing -- & the irrigation all about      beds of streams higher than houses --

He says they are making a new cantonment which would be healthy -- But, he understands it is not to be finished

Allahabad -- the Cholera did not break out in the new Barracks -- But they are frantic with us!!! because when the Cholera men were moved into the new Barracks they did not get well directly.

He says -- the new Barracks are dreadfully hot, (for the reasons stated) And that's why the men don't like them.

4. He says -- so much has been done in Bombay Presidency by giving the soldiers remunerative work.

And now all that is put a stop to

He himself saved £90000 on one work by doing this.      But a Col: at Belgaum has done even more -- he executed lines making all the tiles & squaring all the stone with his Regiment which Lord Napier says was worth 3 Regiments after that.

**f40v**

And what do you think Ld ~~Napier~~ Mayo has done  
 He wrote Ld Napier a letter with his own hand,  
 thanking him And now he has written to  
 this unfortunate Officer (because the "dimensions  
 of the "lines" had been "slightly exceeded") stopping  
 the works, reprimanding the C. O., & stopping  
 the allowances -- And the Officers of the  
 Regt have subscribed the money to continue  
 the works

And

5. He says the India Supreme Govt consists  
 in turning 6 into half a dozen & half a dozen  
 back again into 6  
 {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO BY SUTHERLAND}: JS:  
 Is there likely to be any increase in the  
 number of physicians at new St  
 Thomas' Hospital & if so what will  
 be the proper course for any young  
 man to take which desired to be  
 appointed

**f41 {NIGHTINGALE}:**

[2] [Lord Napier of Magdala]

6. He says -- that, he laboured with all his might  
 to get a Sanitarium for soldiers & one for  
 children -- & a Prison at a Hill station for  
 Bombay --

And he can't get it

They say -- a Hill Station ought to be on  
 a Rail road.

But -- there are no Railroads in Bombay  
 Therefore there shall be no Hill Station

He says -- he chose obstinately to stay at Mahableshwur  
 once. And they were literally washed out -- the  
 rain took off his own roof -- They were obliged to fly --  
 And several natives were drowned in the flight

7 He says -- the Gaol at Bombay (for long sentences)  
 is disgraceful to humanity --  
 thin roof -- intense heat -- small cells  
 no out of door labour possible or allowed

[He wanted to move them up to his Hill Station  
& employ them out of doors]  
He says -- the prisoners don't die -- but they come  
out idiotic -- hepatitic -- mad -- crippled

**f41v**

8 He says -- that on the Bombay Presy Cholera last year he made an enquiry into water, food, clothing, drainage -- that the M.O's, many of them, resisted & said Cholera depended on Contagion & not on water.

He says -- the answers were not exhaustive but such as they are, he will send them me  
They have not been presented to Govt

9. He says -- that Sir Wm Mansfield is now proposing to abolish the C. in C. ship & to create a Ministry of War.

that 7 years ago, they tried to do this & offered him, Ld Napier, the office

He refused it -- & refused to have anything to do with the plan --

He says, that a Minister of War would have no chance with a S. of S. at home against him, a G.G. & majority of Council against him --

that he would get nothing -

that the only way they get anything is to have

**f42**

a C. in C. who complains home, &  
we make a "row" --

10 Ld Napier says that the improvement of the health of Bombay is mainly owing to 2 men -- Hewlett & Lumsdaine (Lumsdaine saved Zoulla under him) & to their surface cleansing.

He says that at present the drainage (& until the outlets are completed) does more harm than good & smells worse than it did before

11. He says that much has been done in Bombay Presy for the wives & children of soldiers -- that Mrs. Johnson at Belgaum the wife of that Col. who was reprimanded for saving the State by employing his men industrially, took the little brown girls sepoy's daughters) from rolling naked on the sea-shore, & taught them to work & to illuminate, which they do

beautifully. And he, Lord Napier, took their  
work to shew the Queen last Saturday

Lord Napier himself gave a tea to 360 of  
them -- & made them sing God save the Queen

**f42v**

He says the poor European orphan children do  
sadly want a sanitarium -- And he had  
planned one for them at Mount Aboo  
as an "Asylum" -- when he was put a stop to [end 10:102]

**ff43-44v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED 21 Dec. 1869

[printed address] 35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
W. [21 Dec. 1869].

You don't ask me about the  
Highgate Infy  
If you've seen all about our new  
Matron & Nurses in the papers,  
it will save me the trouble of writing.  
Our `Matron goes in to-day, at her  
own desire, like a spirited woman  
as she is'.  
Our Nurses go in next week -- &  
then they begin taking in Patients  
We have got what we earnestly  
desired, the choice of all the  
assistants in our Matron's hands  
But the wages are very low £13 to  
£15.

But such a Committee!!!  
Miss Torrance gave me such an  
account of them!

**f43v**

Miss Torrance is by far the best  
Supt we have ever trained --  
always excepting dear Agnes Jones  
You know Mrs. Deeble is not fit  
to hold a candle to her.  
Nor Miss Osburn to tie her shoes.  
There is that indescribable sort  
of refinement in her. that  
never seeks to make much of  
herself & her sarifices. She  
takes any work as simply as  
possible. she actually went  
to nurse that poor vulgar toad's

wife (Mr. Hicks) as if she had  
been a common nurse -- She is  
canny, capable, a thorough Supt  
& a thorough "lady", very handsome  
& imposing looking -- in the Quaker way --



**f44**

1 Matron (Miss Torrance  
9 Head nurses  
5 Assistants  
1 Cook  
2 Assistts  
1 Laundry Supt  
2 Assistts

I should think her more capable  
even than Agnes Jones --  
She has been with us 18 months.

Dr. Edmunds told Mr. Wyatt  
she was incapable

**f44v**

I am quite sure that the meanest  
of our Nurses would not have  
accepted such a charge for any  
money --

We bring up our Nurses to the  
art of administering ~~any~~ food  
under the most hopeless  
circumstances.

These people go to "detect  
an imposture" -- which they  
know, if they are successful,  
must end in killing the Patient

It is manslaughter.

But, how could Guy's give into  
such a wicked plot?

But you know the way they  
hailed the poor thing out of  
bed was enough to induce  
Delirium --

[end 13:613]

**ff45-48v** NOTE re INTERVIEW WITH GOSCHEN PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED  
[ca. 29 Dec. 1869] **[6:438-40]**

**f45**

Interview with  
Goschen  
-----

Interview with Goschen  
Dec 28 '69

35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
W.

He does not impress me. I don't think he will ever do much. He is a man of considerable mind, great power of getting up Statistical information & Pol: Econ. but with no practical insight or strength of character. It is an awkward mind -- like a pudding in lumps, from not having any coherency or power of assimilation. He is like a man who has been a Senior Wrangler & never any thing afterwards

But he was extremely communicative -- And I will go on to tell you what he said.

1. He says the old thing that if we make these Workhouse Infirmarys so good, people will go into them who otherwise would keep out of them.

He says all the rate payers tell him this - that mothers who would not let their sick daughters go into common Workhouse Infirmarys when they hear of "Miss Nightingale's Nurses," send them in directly

[He specified this of the Chorlton Union especially]  
He says: we have all the rate-payers against us.

**f45v**

children

2. With regard to Boarding out: --

He says that he entirely approves of it, but in the same breath he says that he can demonstrate by figures that there is a higher proportion of pauperism in the country than in the towns -- & therefore he asks may not the children become paupers all the more?

Also: he says the sleeping accommodation is so bad & indecent that the Inspectors sometimes cry out it is intolerable -- & that affronts the foster parents -- who say: it does for our own

He asks: why do the people take these children Do they expect to make something out of it.

These are people with families & in Lancashire

He does not say: boarding out children makes pauperism He says, if you board out children from towns in places where there is a higher rate of pauperism than in towns, is that likely to make them more independent?

He says: Unions object to having children drafted into them by the boarding out system not of their own Union.

He says: the Unions say, these children will ultimately come upon our rates --

& that he hears in his mind's ear, in the Ho: of C. this year, a speech launched against him -- especially if a few cases of Oliver Twists happen to turn up.

**f46**

3. He says:

that the Pauper Union Schools are now so good

that ~~in the~~ it is not an uncommon thing for a man to desert his wife & go to the Colonies by previous arrangement with her -- which he would not have done if she & the children had had to go into the Workhouse --

but that he deliberately says to her -- we never could get our children so good an education as they will have in the great Union Schools --

Mr. Goschen then enumerated the Industrial Teachers & the great Industrial education they were giving farming -- tailors -- shoemakers &c

But in the very same breath he admitted that  
these children all came back on the Rates --  
could not earn their livelihoods --  
"nothing succeeds but Music".

**f46v**

4. The only, actually the only proposition, he made was:

that he would separate the children really orphans,  
& educate them in schools called Orphan Asylums  
& not called Union Schools.

in order to persuade the Colonies to take them,  
who, he says, object to "taking emigrants who have been pauper  
children"

5. We talked a great deal about colonization  
He was really interested in what I told him of  
Miss Rye's experiment & of the proposal of  
Melbourne to form Industrial Schools of  
children not "confirmed paupers" --

He said the Govt could not have accepted  
that offer some years ago -- because of the cry  
of "transportation for poverty" -- but that  
possibly they might now --

He said: the Colonies absolutely objected  
to "Workhouse girls" --

And I said: No wonder.

**f47**

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

6. He says that he can show by Statistics that  
the proportion of Child pauperism is infinitely  
greater in London & England than anywhere in Europe  
~~else~~. Because we have such large families --  
One man out of work, one widow throws 5 or 6 or  
7 individuals on the Rates here -- in Paris 1 or 2

7. He absolutely declares himself against  
allowing persons (widows) in the receipt of Parish  
relief to take work --

He says it is one of the main causes of  
low wages --

Wretched widows with children will take  
seamstresses' work at starvation prices --  
eked out by "out door relief" -- & thus lower  
the wages of the whole district.

**f47v**

8. He says that any principle of the State finding work resolves itself sooner or later into Ateliers Nationaux

He says that if the Poor Laws gives ~~labour~~ work & underpays it, that lowers the rate of wages everywhere.

He says that in Liverpool Workhouse, they don't buy anything. Everything is made in the Workh:

**f48**

9. He says some London parishes e.g. Bethnal Gr. are absolutely hopeless -- that there is no "fixed labour" -- that there are numbers of seamstresses, with children, all underpaid, all receiving out door relief -- that you can't emigrate these women, they are too broken spirited nor their children, without their consents.

That Poplar e.g. has what he calls a "proper population" -- there there is "fixed labour" -- i.e. where men are in work, they earn sufficient wages -- when they are out of work, they are willing to emigrate.

**f48v**

10. He said (but this is a minor matter)

that the Medical men who send in to him their conflicting opinions about cubic space, structural points &c &c & their contradictory theories drive him wild

He quoted Bence Jones, Markham, Brydges, &c &c as these theorists.

He says Brydges says now that St. Pancras is all right on structural points

He says Sir Jas Simpson has done them serious mischief by writing to them against "large Hospital buildings" Highgate Infy included

I said: you must educate public opinion.  
He said: Yes: but you can't educate Medical opinion.

He really seemed quite crazed by it.

Markham, Brydges, Ed: Smith are their own  
Officers. And he says, they are all at loggerheads  
& nothing but theorists

**ff49-56v** NOTE RE PAUPER PROBLEM PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

**f49**

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

Agreed -- you & I & Mr. Goschen & Mr. Lowe

Somebody proposes, in order to do away with pauperizing influences to abolish women

Mr Lowe proposes in order to abolish pauperism to abolish the Poor Law -- Certainly

There is no real difference of opinion among us

But there is a theoretical question & a practical question in the pauper problem

1. Theoretical

When we have dealt with all pauper children so as to make them realize the sin of living on other people's labour & the sin of not providing for their own, we shall then require neither Poor Law nor Charitable Societies

To give every child a fair chance of "providing" for himself or herself "in sickness or accidents" -- of "educating" his or her "children" -- of "supporting" his or her "parents or orphans" -- is, one would think a rational problem to engage the attention of a Cabinet the Government of --a

country like ours

2. Practical

The practical problem is however the present one. We have -- there they are -- it is a fact -- we have the "sick" & the "accidents" un "provided for" -- the "children" un "educated" -- the "parents & orphans" un "supported" --

Why do we go on building upon facts which don't exist? -- neglecting facts which stare us in the face? --

Do we expect those pauper children now in the Workhouse



**f49v**

to "support their parents" either now or at any future time?  
Is the Pol: Economist seriously expecting & hoping that  
pauper parents now on the Rates are "educating their  
children" to "provide for themselves in sickness or  
accidents" -- or even to "provide for their own children"  
Do we not know that the process which is going on is  
exactly the reverse? -- that we are bringing up a=  
=nother & still another generation of paupers? --

====

But we have they are there -- sick, aged, imbecile &  
children -- who, on account of our past culpable  
neglect, would die, if we did not care for them  
The Law says: -- we must care for them  
So do women (till they are "abolished")  
So does the Church

But every working man, woman & child who can  
contribute even a farthing in the £ this year, to his or her own  
keep ought to be made to contribute to it  
If we get a farthing in the £ this year, we shall get a  
halfpenny next year: & so in time we may extinguish  
the £.  
But the Poor law ~~says~~ encourages the principle of not  
assisting the widow struggling to maintain her children  
or the father out of work over a time when his or her  
work can only partially support them -- & think it a  
very fine thing to drive them into the Workhouse  
whence they never will come out.

**f50**

Now for the Children: --  
we must train them -- & we have not trained them --  
as Christians (rather say, as Jews) -- in other words  
we must teach them the duty of work -- which the  
3 Rs do not teach them -- & the way of work  
and we must then help them to help themselves  
here or in the Colonies  
Lord Neaves 3 Rs only -- intromitting with his  
silver spoons  
Dr. Guthrie -- lock up Archbp Presbyterian Independent  
agree on Catechism in 5 hours together  
Could we not teach these pauper children the duty of work  
& the way to work? --  
It requires talent, knowledge, capacity of administration  
And that is just what we have not  
You must deal with this -- or if you can't you must go --  
a sensible country wd say --  
But we look on the working class or rather on the pauper  
class as a necessary evil.  
We don't grapple with pauperism, because we have no  
intention of grappling with it  
The old Pol: Eco: bases itself on facts which don't exist  
If so, it must go --  
But if England can bring about the facts on which it was  
based, it may stay  
  
By the law of Eliz:, every working man was entitled to  
4 acres of land to his cottage -- & to the magistrate  
settling his wages for the year on the current prices  
That is gone -- necessarily

**f50v**

And what have we given him instead?

A title to legal relief --  
and, because that is manifestly insufficient, a flood of  
Charities.

If we had set to work to create pauperism, could we have  
devised a better scheme?

But is there really no way out of this? --

In the Brit: Empire there is room for "4 acres of land"  
& a great deal more for each of our population  
I am not of course proposing this

Accountant Genl    kill paupers out of the way  
                     save forage    burnt 20 horses  
Quotation        1880.

The Poor Law is a National Debt of 300 millions  
on the Trade & Industry of this country?

And what do we get for our money? -- Pauperism ever  
   increasing.

Problem for a Minister -- for a Pol: Economist

~~to~~ finding an efficient economical substitute for the  
Poor Law — to abolish the Poor Law

**f51****[6:542-44]**

What we say is that a State, if it is to be a State at all, must supply for its willing workers, in the State or out of it the means to work so as to earn a livelihood -- & to its Criminals the means to work their way out of prison

[Many prisons in America are not only self-supporting but remunerative. But even these do not make it ~~a~~ the sentence for Theft to repay the value of the Theft -- which is the only way to teach a man that it is dearer to steal than to work. Now he gets the value of his theft twice over in what he steals & in what he is paid for stealing by being supported at the expence of the State for it.

At a Meeting of the Middlesex magistrates it was asked, whether, ~~as~~ a Female Prison specified ~~was~~ being one third fuller than it ever had been, a rate ought to be levied ~~on the Community~~ to maintain these women in idleness? ~~+~~ at the expence of the Community?]

Bentham was a great man spoiled. He ought to have laid down the principles, but never to have elaborated the details. This is the reason why that book fell so flat It was making like the Abbé Sieyès another cut & dry Constitution which will not work.

He did not see that none will work except by directing the existing means for work

**f52v**

For children, for Patients, even for surgical cases & operations, no invention has ever yet been made to equal the 'private family' -- that, with all our best arrangements our children, our Patients, even our operations, always our mothers, will die faster in the best Institutions than they do in the worst 'private families' & that we ~~must~~ are coming to this to try to imitate the 'private family' where we have it not -- for our paupers, our sick, above all our children & infants.

Our 'Company's infants' die faster than any infants known



full well, the children will only come out,  
if they come out at all, as paupers full grown.

**f53v**

The idea is: if you don't give to the Vagrant, he will  
find work -- Now it is a simple fact  
that he won't

Of bringing together the labourer & the labour,  
scarce one word.

One would think that, the Briton, having got his  
"liberties" by Magna Charta, which was in the  
reign of K. John, all other problems evermore were  
thought to be self-solving ones by our Govt.

This Govt: an enormous party got together on the Irish **[7:716-17]**  
Ch: Disestablishment cry (whether disestablishment is right or  
wrong another question) who know no more of what  
the people of England are, or of what they ought to be  
than the Man in the Moon --  
source of fruitful mischief this must be --  
all the Newspaper press doing all they can to increase it  
day by day

John Bright & Co say -- England is: between the 4 seas  
India & the Colonies are nothing  
& centre of England (between ye 4 seas) is: Manchester

**f55**

Govt going after Wills o the Wisp while the great  
question of England remains unsolved

Land sufficient to support 5 times the population  
of the whole globe -- question not to  
patch up Poor Law but to bring a million  
out of England into relation with unoccupied  
land elsewhere.

Proposed among Trades Unions or the day the Q.  
visits the City to line the way 3 deep with the  
unemployed men of London quarters whence  
they come to be designated by banners --  
nothing like a practical method of putting the  
question to the eye

[how impressive was the sight on Sunday as 30000  
(including spectators) greater part nothing to do  
with Fenianism marched past here  
Very sordidness of their appearance made it more  
impressive. & Marseillaise did not make it  
less ominous [Perfectly quiet]

Upon what is done next Session with the Irish  
Land Law, & the questions infallibly arising  
therefrom for England will depend England's  
future.

Middle Classes (Mr. Bright & Bd of Trade) as much/indifferent  
opponents of/to working people really as Upper  
Classes said to be. **[end 7:717]**

**f56v**

Should I say to Harry that it is of the  
utmost consequence for me to get a copy of those  
Regulations to go over with Mrs. Deeble before she  
goes

That's full of my handwriting  
I don't want her to know even that --  
She must suppose they come from the W. O.

If Lugard does that, he's mad.  
They ought only to go to the A. M. D. -- with a Circular  
telling the A. M. D -- to mind & obey them



**f57** ROUGH NOTE FROM JS FOLLOWED BY NOTE Pencil HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

{SUTHERLAND}:

I am sorry that the request in your note to ~~illeg~~ recommend a superintendent for your Asylum is one of those things in which it is not in my power to help you. My experience is in selecting & training gentlemen & others. The nurses & the qualifications are so different that those who would best suit my purpose would in all probability be unsuitable for you.

{NIGHTINGALE}:

They should set aside a part of their money for emigration --

that's

the way of lowering the Labour Market far more efficient plan than strikes then wasting their money upon idleness --

**f58** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND? (UNSURE OF HANDWRITING) PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND? NOT DATED

I have been applied to by Sergt Mjr Green Army Hospital Corps, who states that he is desirous of obtaining a place among Her Majesty's Yeoman of the Guard & asking me to aid his application. While he was with the Army in the East he shewed himself to be a good & efficient officer & from information I have since received I have every reason to believe that he has continued to be so --

f59v NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

4 1/2 millions of Irish  
who have appropriated to themselves all the poverty,  
all the violence, all the want of education, all the  
priest-riddenness  
and 1,400,000  
who have all the intelligence, nearly all the property  
all the landed property & they have religious freedom

3 centres 3 peoples in Ireland  
the Papists governed by a foreign administration  
from a foreign centre. x

the Episcopolians -- English colonists  
Presbyterians = Scotch colonists  
~~Ire~~ as different from one another  
the Irish from the Anglo-Irish  
as the Irish from any other country in Europe

x to 999 religions 1. political among Irish Papists  
& the political governs the religions thro' the  
Confessional --

**f60** ENVELOPE JOTTINGS PENCIL AND PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. Dec.  
1869] (ARCHIVIST)

{PENCIL}:}

From Goschen

Then he answers that he could  
hardly farm out 15600000 in the  
{PEN}:

Miss Nightingale

{PENCIL}:}

country --

He answers that the Guardians  
won't hear of it

f60v BACK OF ENVELOPE -- BLANK

35 South Street, [printed address]

Park Lane,

W.

I have been waiting every day to send you an invitation  
from Mama --

But she would not let me --

She always says -- she is not sufficiently recovered  
from the journey -- she cannot entertain you --

Now I write to say: -- when you can come, write to  
HER -- don't mention me at all.

Verbum says:

She is more cheerful, more gentle than I ever remember  
her -- tho', of course, I see she is much aged.

Her memory is almost gone --

But to me she is far dearer, far more respect=able  
than ever she was before

But it does not do for me to suggest anything to her  
And if I do, she is a little annoyed & then forgets

Mme M. asked me for herself to do so --  
And I find I cannot --

**f62** JOTTINGS BY NIGHTINGALE PEN AND PENCIL UNSURE OF HANDWRITING NOT DATED arch: With papers of 1869, cd be FN

The governing power is uniformly evil. The  
good is that which survives in the contest  
with the governing power, with the Evil

special cat you can't mew & have done with  
it you've mewed very nicely  
mew again in a different key

they don't seem to have an idea of how to set  
about things all their idea of governing  
is to leave things as they are & shoot down  
people who make a disturbance

54 [in pencil]  
50 ==

Municipalities must always precede  
Representative Govt -- St Paul governing  
the Ch. if you can't manage your own  
affairs you can't manage other peoples

		Mrs. Grundy
100	27	of last century
	39	of this
	---	a moral reason
	243	a {much worse}
	81	{Mrs. Grundy}
	----	
	10.53	

21 inches

[THE NUMBERS AND CALCULATIONS ARE WRITTEN BY FN IN PENCIL]

**f62v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ALONG FOLIO}:

I don't see a chance of my getting out of town this autumn --  
I wish I'd left you in your Indian galère to go  
to the devil --

**ff63-63v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [1 Jan. 1870] (ARCH)

I've a most important thing to ask you about.  
Miss Lees has come back to England on purpose to  
consult me after 5 months in the Paris Hospitals  
She is immensely improved.

At the same time, when I compare her nous with  
Mrs. S. Stewart's, I see the amazing difference --

[She came here on Wednesday & comes again on  
[rip] Sunday, preparatory to returning to Paris to  
finish her Probation

First of all, she gave me a most interesting account  
of Val de Grace --

Michel Lévy took her in there solely he said [on]  
my account. And he has taught her himself  
if she were going to be an Army Surgeon, which was  
more than I bargained for.

He is Chef or Directeur de la Clinique there  
She says he has brought the Val de Grace up to a point  
of perfection not only superior to any Paris  
Hospital -- but superior to any Hospital Civil or  
Military, she ever saw.

She says the Hotel Dieu is detestable -- She says  
the Augustinian Sisters are worse than our under  
Nurses at St. Thomas' -- & the filles de Salle worse

She says "than anything I ever saw --"  
& the discipline among the Students  
worse

**f63v**

She says Michel Lévy has worked the "Orderly system up to such perfection -- that she prefers them to female Nurses -- the probation is most severe they study on a lay figure for 1 month under a Surgeon before they are allowed in the wards at all -- 3 months if they are to be Clerks -- After they come into Hospital, after the 3 or 1 month's probation, they are well paid, well disciplined And she says the Corporate know more & do {PAGE RIPPED HERE} than Head Nurses -- They are called Panseurs, Corporaux, Sergens {PAGE RIPPED OUT} says, they are so particular & severe about {PAGE RIPPED OUT} point of Nursing that she is put back to {PAGE RIPPED OUT} [illeg], if she disobeys (unwittingly) a single {PAGE RIPPED OUT} -- And she says she has never seen in any Hospital abroad, or at home, Civil or Military, anything like the beauty of the dressings, order, cleanliness, quiet

She again repeated the Hotel Dieu was a pigsty compared with it

She says M. Lévy does not allow the Soeurs to do anything but clean the windows & bed chairs, cook & give the Diets (which they do very well) & generally keep house -- They are not allowed to touch the Patients

But, she says, the Patients are better cared for than in any Hospital past, present, or, she believes, future.

**f64** LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND DATED 14/1/70, embossed War Office, ink, sorrowful that this letter shd be necessary, but it is, owe to your com and to yourself. I think it states the case fairly and solemnly, merely suggest some few words of winding up, affectionate expression or two and ten sign it, copy shd be kept. If not please return it and Mr Frederick will make it.

**ff65-65v** LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND DATED 19/1/~~69~~ 70 ink embossed War Office, enclose sketch of latest hosp kitchen, boilers same as in Chelsea Workhouse kitchen. Goschen's approval of emigration, as in his gift of £1000.

**f66** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND JS rough hand PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY? DATED [ca. Jan. 1870] re drainage line at not great distance from the hosp

There is a main drainage line  
at no great distance from  
the Hospital. The sewage  
pond should be looked to  
& you had better bring the  
matter to the notice of  
Mr. Wyatt.

**f67-68** PHOTOCOPY OF WATERFORD LYING-IN HOSPITAL REGULATIONS SEE  
PHOTOCOPY, with FN on back

[8:224]

**f68v**

[ca. Jan 1870]

Our Lying-in paper has now been lying-in for  
exactly 11 months 2 months longer than the  
providential period longest allowed --

We could finish it in a fortnight, if you liked --  
Here are the new materials

Then our paper is to consist of  
"There should be no Lying-in Hospitals"  
Yes -- that is for our paper. I would put that

But personally you know we should never  
think of building -- We should take the  
healthiest of the Workhouses (which are there)  
or Ommanney's building, if it is built  
before 1870 -- We should spend our money  
in training, not in building.

[end]

{IN CENTRE OF FOLIO IS A COPY OF TITLE PAGE TO WATERFORD REPORT}:  
printed:

REPORT  
of the  
WATERFORD  
Lying-in Hospital  
FOR THE YEAR 1868-9.

ff69-70 LETTER FROM SUTHERLAND RE: CONTAGIONIST THEORY DATED 2/2/70,  
Tyndale lecture. Re Livingstone, embossed War Office

**f71** LETTER OF THANKS TO MISS NIGHTINGALE FROM MR. JAMES LEWIS, thanks  
for game Feb 3 1870, embossed General Register Office, Somerset House

**ff71v-72v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN NOT DATED

All our Supts ask me to tell  
them how to invest their  
Nurses' savings.



**f72v**

Mrs. Deeble tells me that the instruction given to the Orderlies is good (at Netley) the discipline execrable -- All the operations of the petite Chirurgie they know & do well -- but the Night Watchers she used to find regularly asleep in bed with lighted pipe

Miss Lees says the discipline at Val de Grace is: PERFECTION  
{`PERFECTION' IS ACTUALLY TRIPLE-UNDERLINED}

She says the Corporals at Val de Grace are better than the Junior Medical Officers at Hotel Dieu or at St. Thomas

f73 LETTER OF THANKS TO NIGHTINGALE PEN UNKNOWN HANDWRITING

{LETTERHEAD PRINTED}:

GEORGE J. COCKERELL & CO.

Central Office, 13 Cornhill, E.C.

Wharves: Purfleet Wharf, Earl Street, Blackfriars. E.C

Eaton wharf, Grovesnor Canal, Pimlico S.W.

Office, next Grovesnor Hotel, Pimlico

"Sunderland Wharf, Beckham, S.E.

Durham Wharf, 108, High St, Wandsworth

Brighton Office, Pavilion Buildings, Castle Square.

Central Office, 13, Cornhill. E.C.

15th Feby 1870

By Special Warrant

Coal Merchants to her Majesty

H.R.H. The Prince of Wales

AND

H.R H. The Duke of Edinburgh

{WRITTEN IN PEN -- HANDWRITING UNKNOWN}:

Messrs Cockerell beg to  
thank Miss Florence Nightingale  
for her favour of yesterday's  
date, with remittance.

**f73v** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

They've been "got together"  
for about 2 months

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS}:

You see in 1866 the Female Mortality  
of Cochin was high -- That includes  
the Accouchées.

**f74** {WRITTEN SIDEWAYS}:

You see the Shorncliff Hut has only as many  
Deliveries in 10 years as Liverpool Workhouse  
in one

Colchester has only 40 Deliveries a year --

It only keeps its Patients 10 days --

A thing absolutely impossible in a Workhouse or even  
in most Hospitals --

One can only say, that, compared with Liverpool

Workh: it is disgraceful to the Military Huts if  
they have a Death.

The Liverpool Workhouse, on an average of 500 Deliveries  
a year, & 3 years, has had the Death rate  
of the Healthy Districts

**f75** NOTE RE MISS LEES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED [ca. 15 Feb 1870]  
(ARCHIVIST) 45754

[ca. 15 February 1870]

Now, we come to the questions of Miss Lees --

1. M. Lévy tells her that she can learn nothing so well anywhere as at Val de Grace or what he will teach her (for my sake, he says) --

He says Vincennes is very far inferior --  
She asks shall she go back to Val de Grace,  
and for what time? --

[She has been there 5 weeks]

Shall she go to Vincennes -- & for what time?

2. She says: there are Naval Hospitals at Brest with Soeurs - Should she go there?

3. You know that the whole object of her life is to be allowed to nurse in the Naval, as Mrs. J. Stewart was in the Military Hospitals'.

Nothing will ever make her give this up while she lives --

She tells me she has now more hopes in the Cabinet & the Admiralty than she had --

She asks me

1. shall she go down to ~~Netley~~ Haslar merely for a visit (before going back to Paris on Monday)?

2. Shall she state her object to some persons of the Ministry now? --  
or when she returns from Paris? --

3. shall she delay or hurry any application? --

4. shall she conceal her object entirely at present?

(She is constantly asked what her object is in training)

**f75v**

5. what steps shall she take when she returns  
from France? --

6. how much longer had she better stay in  
training at Hospitals?

7. She asks me to do that --

I say I can't go down to Haslar  
But, you know, Sir John Liddell offered me  
Haslar -- And she has got hold of this fact  
You know we offered her Liverpool Workh: --  
She has great capacity.  
And NOTHING will put her off this plan  
My dear soul, I have lived at Haslar (for  
a short time) He was D.G.  
When I was at Haslar, there were & there are  
now Female Nurses -- They were & are  
detestable. And Sir J. Liddell said so  
Miss Lees' brother (a Naval Officer) died of  
wounds & neglect in the Crimean War --  
They had Female Nurses out at Therapia to remedy this  
She asks -- will they not make such a service  
permanent?

**f76**

[2]

The Soeurs of Val de Grace are all chosen among  
nobles with fortunes, in order to give them a  
certain status among the men.  
(Soeurs de S. Vincent de Paul -- ie Soeurs de Charité  
She says -- the discipline among the aides=major  
medical credits she never saw anything like it  
they are not allowed to speak -- they are not allowed  
to speak to her -- she is not allowed to speak --  
the wards are like a convent  
She was a month in the Enfant Jésus -- She says  
there are some good sisters (S. Thomas de Villeneuve  
& some very bad ones -- indifferent, careless, neglectful,  
worldly -- but that as a rule they look after the  
filles de salle better than the Augustinians do  
at the Hotel Dieu, which, she repeated, was  
detestable & immeasurably inferior to St. Thomas',  
in point of morality, in point of good nursing,  
everything.

-----

She says, altogether the Hotel Dieu is a  
brutal, careless place.

[end]

**f77** NOTES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY JS rough hand AND FN NOT DATED

[JS:]

Levy

I have obtained for you a copy of Hallier instructions now in use in India for a great enquiry going on there into Cholera. The first scientific report has been sent in & is to the effect that Halliers fungus theory of cholera is untrue & that the fungi seen by Hallier ~~by cholera~~ are developed ~~after~~ in the excretion itself as well as in other media

[FN:] Does that disprove in itself the theory?

"that things which have no existence may call ~~into~~  
~~existence things which have~~ existence"  
themselves into

I th ink they mean ~~you~~ me to send the money with the  
filled up paper for my spoon

But it doesn't say this is for a year.

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

Were the signatures to the protest given? not all women

**£77v** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND? AND NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY SUTHERLAND? AND NIGHTINGALE NOT DATED

{SUTHERLAND} : [rough hand]

I regret that you did not bring to my remembrance the fact about Capt. Parry & the Honle M.O's

It seems to me that if you were to ~~rest your~~ base a letter to Mr. Childers on the fact you have mentioned telling him what you have done & your motives & objects & saying you would be ready to enter on the duties of the necessity still excelled excited, you would have [?] a door of entrance which you have not at present

{ NIGHTINGALE } :

Should she do that at once?	to-morrow
	she comes here
	to-day

But, if she were to write to Childers at once, Childers, if he is a wise man, would say, go down to Haslar, & report to me? -- And Miss Lees has meanwhile gone back, as she ought, to Paris.

**ff78-78v** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND AND NIGHTINGALE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY  
SUTHERLAND AND NIGHTINGALE NOT DATED

{SUTHERLAND}:

I have given my name to the movement  
and not to any committee, or to  
any steps that may be taken. These  
must depend on circumstances  
& in my present state of health  
& occupation I could take no  
further part in the movement either  
direct or indirect. You must  
therefore work ~~you~~ out your own  
plans.

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO BY NIGHTINGALE}:

But if Parry's letter is, as I believe, ~~25~~ 20 years  
old, will it be of the least use?

I don't think the Treasury will?

**f78v** {NIGHTINGALE}:

What shall I say to Lévy to excuse myself for not having  
written before?

Have you any questions for me to ask Miss Lees about Val de  
Grace or Hotel Dieu?

She is very intelligent

That applies to England too.

Any thing you want to send to Lévy must be sent  
to night.

{PAPER RIPPED HERE} "I'm not very well" --



**ff79-84** NOTE RE DR CUNINGHAM PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f79**

Dr. CUNINGHAM

Feb 18/70

**[9:902-05]**

He is a man brimming with information, very candid,  
without prejudice or prepossession, quite without  
affectation or pretension of any bond -- & exceedingly  
full of our work, & of getting all kinds of instruction  
here -- But -- he is about 7 ft high -- 2 inch.

===

First of all, he says, that he has been all over the  
Presidency during the last year (during which Cholera  
has been more fatal than we have any idea of)  
& can find no proof whatever of Cholera being communicated  
by Contagion

====

He says you cannot tell except by the Monthly  
Gazettes how many new Barracks are finished --  
that they know nothing of Bombay & Madras  
Presidencies --

that Col Crommelin is the man who gives in the  
Monthly Report of how many Barracks are finished  
for his Presidency --

that Jullundur

Allahabad            have new Barracks but not  
Agra    all their new Barracks finished

===

that complaints have come in from all these 3 -- & also  
from Peshawur -- principally from the Commandg Officers  
Rawal Pindee

**f79v**

===that he, Cuningham, has gone in to all these  
complaints himself.

===that those from Jullunder he thinks not

substantiated

===All the complaints from all 5 places are of the  
same nature --

very hot -- sun beats on the walls --

no overhanging roofs -- or pent houses

that Cuningham says is quite true

& a horrible defect --

he says -- the immense block of masonry

in these new Barracks strikes one at

once as most incongruous --

& improper

because he says even huts with great

verandahs would be so much better

he says -- they really are "palatial"

He was asked, just before he

came away, whether he was prepared

to advocate double storied Barracks

for all Stations.

He reported: Certainly not --

that he held by what the Army Sanitary

Comm: here had said --

but he says, where double-storied

Barracks are necessary, it is not

necessary to make a great palace, without

**f80**

any kind of shelter from the sun  
 He says: -- you have no idea how costly &  
 absurd they are --  
 very hot -- even at night

==

very cold -- in the Hills -- in winter  
 He says -- he saw the men quite shivering & ill  
 with cold.  
 they leak -- but that is of course a building stupidity.

==

the men say -- we can't drag our cots out on hot  
 nights -- it takes two men to drag them down-stairs.  
 -- we used to drag them out into the Verandahs  
 or even out of doors --  
 the Verandahs, even where there are Verandahs, are  
 so hot they are no good  
 & we don't like the trouble of the stairs

The upper rooms are ceiled.

In only one instance had he complaints of radiant  
 heat from the ceilings

===

The upper stories are hot thro' the day & night  
 Thermometrical observations have been made at  
 Allahabad}  
 Lucknow } between the old & new Barracks--  
 Jullindur He says, very imperfectly --  
 They assert that, at Jullindur, there is 10° difference  
 between old &  
 new

**f80v** [some text omitted]

He says -- the men leave their sleeping-rooms at  
4 - a.m. -- but return to them at 7 a.m.  
that it is impossible to lock them up --  
that the men spend 18 hours in them,  
as a general rule --  
that nothing but a Commandg Officer  
such as they have not, could prevent this  
that Govt won't & can't supply a  
Punkah & tattie establishment for  
upper & lower floors --  
therefore there is only one for the upper

====

He says -- that the recreation & work  
rooms are there -- but nothing but  
forms & tables in them -- not books --  
that only a Commandg Officer who  
would invent occupation to interest  
the men & drag them off their beds  
would do any good -- that the men  
have no motive to leave their beds.

====

And they lie there, thinking about the  
Cholera -- for 18 hours a day.

====

He says the recreation & work rooms  
are only nominally used -- only a very  
small number are put to any real use.

**f81**

[2]

He says: Rawal Pindee is a very healthy Station  
So is Jullunder --  
But the Cholera at Rawal Pindee has  
been frightful --  
And that Typhoid Fever has nearly taken a  
quarter of the Garrison at Jullundur.

The Regiment (92nd Highlanders) at  
Jullundur was so frightfully mismanaged,  
brought up the Indus in overcrowded bouts,  
very young Irish recruits, in the hot season,  
that they brought Typhoid Fever with them.  
& it is not attributable to the Station --  
The Commandg Officer is a grumbler.

He says: there is a great difference between the  
protection from the sun to the walls  
in the old & new Barracks.

That, he says, is their great mistake  
You know Lord Napier of Magdala told me that  
Col: Crommelin was only a third class man --  
This man did not dare to say as much -- But  
it was easy to see it -- And now he says Col.  
Crommelin is to be head of a commission to  
tell Lord Mayo what to do.

**f81v**

Cholera has appeared in the new Barracks  
 of Allahabad  
 Peshawur  
 Lucknow  
 Morar

But also in the old -- {Not all the new Barracks  
 {at these Stations are finished.

He cannot say that any troops with Cholera  
 have been moved into the new Barracks  
 He told me a hideous story where he found  
 that dirty Coolie families with diseases  
 (he himself saw a case of Small pox) had  
 been allowed to inhabit the new Barracks  
 before they were occupied.

He told me a most interesting story of Peshawur --

Cholera appeared (say) on the 11th September

They moved out one wing 104th Regt on the 13th out of side the  
 cantonment -- But two men died -- out of 3 attacks  
 another wing on the 17th -- They lost 74 62 men {out

of 68 attacks

another of the 36th Rgt on the ~~24th~~ 19th. They

lost ~~130~~ 96 [171] men

out of 180 attacks [numbers hard to read]

**f82**

He says there has been Cholera in the vicinity of all  
 the Barracks at the time.  
 except Subathoo (which is a healthy  
 Hill Station!!!)

At Subathoo our troops have been  
 ravaged with Cholera in '67 and '69.  
 And a very dirty Bazaar close by  
 has had none.

He does not believe in Hill Stations --

Some of our most frightful Cholerias  
 have been at Hill Stations --

And he says Beatson & Murray are  
 quite mad about Hill Stations --  
 He says, the British Army might as  
 well be kept at Suez --

But, he says, what does do the  
 troops good is to send them to  
 work on roads in the Hills.

He says the 55th working at Chakrata  
(where our friend Dr. Walker is) is  
perfectly healthy -- & all their  
sick men recovered.

**f82v**

He says that      nothing has really been done to  
improve any native towns --  
that the govt of India says  
cantonments must be near  
native towns, because the  
cutcherries & Civil Boards of  
magistrature must be in the  
towns -- & cantonments must  
be near to protect them --  
that at Allahabad the new Barracks  
are close to the city  
that Umritsir is a vast dirty  
native city as dirty as when  
it was born -- without  
improvements -- that  
just now a plan & estimate  
(for 20 lacs of rupees) was  
made for improving it --  
that Mr. Strachey has taken off  
the octroi, upon which all  
municipal improvements  
depended for funds --  
& that now they have no funds  
& there is a furious outcry.



**f83**

[3]

that the water supply at Amritser has  
not been improved, & is as bad as  
possible -- the water supply has not  
been improved in any of the native towns

The Stations' water supply has been improved merely  
as far as this -- the best wells have been  
selected & great care has been taken  
by roofing in &c &c to protect them from  
pollution.

but there are no pumps, no means of  
distribution

And that is all --

He says: the Gaols are really their only success --  
that not one Gaol except Corrickpore, in Upper  
India has had Cholera

He says -- they have actually built vast costly,  
Palatial buildings for the Native Regiments  
sick & that the sick got well in the huts  
& don't get well in the Palatial buildings

He says: the Commandg Officer is really the Doctor of  
his Regiment -- the health of the Regt depends  
on the C.O. -- If the C. O.s would devise  
something sufficiently interesting to pull the men  
out of bed, that is their best hope of health

**f83v**

## Married Quarters

Not at Jullundur -- a success

But, he says, it was mainly the C. O.'s fault

He says: Durand is for going on just with the same  
vast expence as before  
Mansfield -- for stopping every kind of  
expenditure

And -- it appears -- that Crommelin is to decide  
-- except that Lord Mayo will wait for my  
letter --

And Strachey told him -- he was very much  
impressed by the letter he had received  
from me

He says that the native town of Cawnpore has been  
improved - but there is still Cholera --  
that they are now borrowing 5 lacs rupees  
at 5 per cent from Govt to carry out their  
farther scheme.

-----

He asked particularly what we thought of Bryden's  
Report --

He says -- cholera does not follow the area of  
bad drainage -- & stop where drainage has  
been improved --

It follows a certain area -- outside that it  
will stop even where there is bad drainage  
bad water- supply -- But certainly good drainage will

prevent

**f84**

He says -- there will certainly be Cholera  
this year in India

**[end 9:905]**

**f85** NOTE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN AND JS DATED [23 Feb 1870]

{NIGHTINGALE}:

I have Mrs. Deeble  
coming this afternoon --

What questions do you  
wish asked?

{SUTHERLAND}: [rough JS hand]

1st whether ~~her~~ she has  
every facility for her work  
& whether any improvements  
can be suggested

2. Whether any changes  
in the internal administration  
of the hospital have been  
introduced & if so how they  
work --

**f85v** {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}

Does Cuningham mention what  
day he will be back? --

Sir B. Frere has appointed  
to morrow "to come & consult"  
with me

nobody competent to have  
an enquiry

Yes with you -- But at Netley  
my opinion is that  
Hewlett was more fit --  
to teach Parkes than  
Parkes Hewlett

Cuningham has only 40 days  
in England --  
Cuningham is a much superior  
man to Parkes

**f86** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND -- DATED 22d Feb./70

**f87** NOTE RE SIR BARTLE FRERE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

Sir Bartle Frere

Feb 24/70

[10:103-05]

thinks that we should all see Dr. Cunningham & that  
for some time -- & get out of him every thing --  
He says -- what I observed Dr C. is full of facts --  
but he has no propositions to make  
Neither he nor any of the Reports give any  
connection of facts.

If the Army Sanitary Comm: would ask the Under  
Secretary at the India Office in proper terms  
after they have seen Dr. C. for his leave to be  
prolonged, Sir Bartle says it would be done.

Lord Napier of Magdala leaves England on March 7 --

By his desire, Sir B. Frere went from here to him,  
to arrange an appointment between him & me.

Sir B.F. advises that I should write to Lord Mayo,  
as soon as we have agreed upon propositions with  
Lord Napier, & so prepare Lord Mayo for what  
Lord Napier may propose -- which I am to settle with  
Lord Napier

{`Sir B.F. advises...to settle with' IS BRACKETED IN RIGHT MARGIN}  
===

He says if Crawford & Hewlett were to leave Bombay  
tomorrow, the Sanitary improvement would cease tomorrow

===He thinks Hewlett will be made Sanitary Commissioner

=== He told me a great deal about the Octroi & means  
of levying money -- He says that you can levy almost any

**f87v**

money or the people, provided they see that it  
 is expended locally to their advantage --  
 but that the Supreme Govt have always made  
 this fatal mistake, after they have declared  
 local levying of taxes impossible, when they  
 find it possible, they say O that's very nice --  
 we will take those local taxes for the Supreme  
 Govt's needs --  
 And then -- the people are not willing to pay

I was to state certain views to Ld Napier --  
 I was to ask him from his experience to tell me  
 what he would advise me to say to Ld Mayo --  
 in order that then when he goes out as C in C.  
 he may aid & abet what I may have proposed  
 to Lord Mayo -- because he will have great influence on the council --  
 This is exactly what Sir B. F. said.

f88v {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

Sir B. Frere

says that C Os have actually provided sometimes  
 Gun-stocks for the men's sport, without powder  
 ===

He says that the Clerk system has exceeded all bounds  
 under Ld Mayo --  
 that sometimes it is neither Ld Mayo nor any  
 Member of Council but it is some clerk low  
 down who stops the way --  
 ===

He says that Ld mayo writes & writes -- & they at this  
 end write & write -- & their letter are masterly --  
 -- but nothing ever comes of it -- The Clerks are  
 the Governors General.  
 ===

But, he says, Ld Mayo tho' so sensible & clever  
 falls terribly under the influence of any one who  
 chooses to exert it  
 ===

He says, just at this minute, tho', nothing will be  
 done by any one, because they're thinking of  
 nothing but stinginess.  
 ===

He says: you should recommend to Lord Mayo for

persons to make the enquiries -- as you enquired at  
Malta & Gibraltar -- any like Hewlett out there &  
say --from experience we judge these persons competent **[end 10:103]**

**f89**

[ca. 24 Feb. 1870]

I really could not help laughing to myself --  
They have caught a Tartar in her --

Mrs. S. Stewart was a dove --

By her own account, she rules the Medical Officers  
like a martinet

Mrs. Deeble

===She gave me such an account of the Medical  
Cadets

she says the Professors & Divisional Surgeons  
actually charge the "Sisters" to tell them of the  
mistakes the Cadets make to tell them when  
the Cadets ~~are~~ neglect their hours of visiting  
&c &c

And when I exclaimed she said: Well, I assure  
you the "Sisters'" manners are quite perfect,  
both with Surgeons & Orderlies

Who is a Count -- ? on the Medical Staff

He is one of those whom the "Sisters" are  
commissioned to superintend

then she told me of another Cadet who gave Quinine  
in acute Inflammatory Chest Disease, whose  
treatment the Sisters were told to superintend

They found spirits &c given into charge of Orderlies  
& Patients. And this was put by the Seniors  
into the charge of the Sisters -- when one night a  
Cadet sent for her Mrs. Deeble -- & said -- The

**f89v**

Sisters are keeping back the Patients' stimulants.

I've had great experience -- I was House Surgeon  
at Guy's --

So she told him that the Sisters had been ordered to  
administer the stimulants

Then, she marched into the ward, & told the Patients  
before the Cadet that they ought to be ashamed of  
themselves for complaining -- for the first duty of the  
soldier was obedience --

& told the Cadet before the Patients that this  
should be a lesson to him not to take their  
complaints without enquiry

===

She says, about the Training of Orderlies  
what would you think if at St. Thomas' you trained  
Probationers in that way --  
without a standing staff --  
& changing every body every 2 or 3 weeks.

===

I thought the M.O. himself was to be  
changed every 3 years --

**f90**

She says --

[15:492]

1. that it is impossible to conceive the badness of Netley  
as a Hospital till you come to work it.

those Corridors in winter are far worse than the open air  
-- they are not warmed except by one close stove which  
warms the air for itself --

the Indian Patients all get Pneumonia & they have had  
severe cases from men merely going down to the  
Dining Hall --

they wash the Corridors & the water freezes as they  
wash.

=====

there is NOT one bath in the whole Hospital that  
is not broken --

not one lavatory tap in the whole Hospital that acts  
the men can't wash or bathe in the Lavatories --

EVERY bath they have is brought up & put by the bed side  
=every drop of water in the lavatories carried in --

=there is ~~one~~ but one (Corridor) tap to each Division --  
& that is all the hot water the Sisters have



without its being fetched

She says -- it's been so ever since she has been  
there -- that every plug in the Lavatories won't act  
-- that she has begged & prayed for repairs  
& that they say they have no money

**[end 15:492]**

**f90v**

She says that Wilbraham is absolutely of no more  
use than an old grandmother  
She says -- it would not make the slightest difference  
whether he were there or not.  
she told me the whole story of the removal of  
the beds -- And it's even worse than you know  
But, she says, the whole blame really devolves upon  
Wilbraham -- What's a Governor there for, she says,  
except to prevent his Hospital being stripped  
He knew the Patients were arriving -- in less  
than a fortnight.

She saw it

===

She says the Orderly (Hospital Corps) system  
would do very well -- if it existed for a week  
together.

- But 1. the Orderlies & Wardmasters are changed every  
day --  
2. they only profess to give 3 months' training.  
3. there is no permanent Staff Corps of  
Orderlies & Wardmasters to train  
the others  
4. they (the Orderlies & Wardmasters) hate  
Netley -- they try to be drafted away as  
soon as possible: & she says they have good  
reason

**f91**

She says -- men, who are worth something better  
are employed all day cleaning & scouring the  
Corridors --

==And they beg & beg to be drafted off elsewhere --  
that a man who has just learnt to be  
handy about the Patients is drafted off to be  
writing Clerk in an Office --  
& they never see him again.

===  
that the Wardmaster of the Surgical Division  
is the only man who has been there  
even the 3 months --

===  
that the Wardmaster of the Medical Division  
& all the others are changed about twice  
a week.

===  
She says -- there is no discipline whatever in  
any sense of the word

===  
She says -- she has now obtained  
1. that the Orderly Medical Officer should  
go round every 2 hours during the night  
2. that the special Night Orderlies shall be  
told off for only 6 hours instead of 12

**f91v**

But now -- is what she came up for  
She says -- she must have 2 Female Nurses  
for the Night from us -- one for the Medical  
one for the Surgical --  
& that all the Medical Officers wish it  
How is this to be compassed?

==  
This is a comparative trifle  
she says 1. we can't use for the Nurses the dress  
stuffs that are there.

When are we to give the Nurses their summer  
dresses?

5 The Nurses can't dress themselves out of the £3.  
they must have £4

3 The Corridors wear out the Nurses' dresses at the  
bottom more than my roads --

Add Mss 45754

556

2 Their dresses are already worn out

4 Mrs. S. Stewart bottomed the Nurses dresses with  
leather

ff92-93 NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND DATED [ca. Feb. 1870]

**f94**

[ca. beg. Mar. 1870]

I think this an important argument  
to sue with Ld Napier as to having  
special Engineers

**f95v**

Do you wish to see if Tyndall has magnified  
his dirt?

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

I have thought that, if my letter to Sir H.  
Verney (on Mrs. Butler's subject) were  
published in the Pall Mall Gazette, tho'  
I had rather not give my name, it might  
do some good.

My letter asked for inquiry  
inquiry into facts

**f96**

1      Mrs. Deeble's case              2/3/70  
There are now 120 Surgical  
            135 Medical      cases  
            255 (under our Nurses)  
all requiring Nursing -- all "Civil  
Hospital" cases, which are nursed  
night & day.  
No number equal to this has ever been  
in Netley before --  
but, ~~besides this~~, there is too now a  
    (more or less) even, constant number  
    of serious cases requiring nursing  
    day & night.  
This too is a new state for Netley --  
    The average in Mrs. S. Stewart's  
time      was      20  
            40  
            ---  
            60 {Medical & Surgical cases  
[Besides this', there are a certain  
    number of cases in the other wards  
    whom Mrs. Deeble visits, & whom

**f96v**

our Nurses "dress -- but who are not  
under our charge --  
These do not require Night Nursing]

The great difference between the  
former & present constant number  
of heavy cases in the wards under  
our charge is shewn by the fact  
that (at Mrs. Deeble's request) the  
Medical Staff have consented to  
order an orderly Medical Officer  
to go round every 2 hours during  
the night.

Mrs. Deeble herself goes round at  
p.m.  
10 -- & at 2 a.m.

She used to go round a third time  
during the night -- but finds her  
strength unequal to the third time

**f97**

The Orderly Night Service is just  
as bad as ever --

There is one "Guard Orderly " told  
off every 4 hours during the night  
for each Division.

for any special case one Orderly  
is told off, who ~~is~~ was on duty 24 hours

At Mrs. D.'s request, one is now  
told off for each 6 hours of the night.

[There have been some most  
distressing cases from, night neglect. Patients left  
tolerably well by the Nurse over  
night & found dying in the morning  
-- Pneumonia cases who were to  
be kept in a warm temperature -- found  
by Mrs. Deeble at 10 p.m. with an  
enormous fire -- & at 2. a.m. fire  
out, orderly asleep, water freezing  
in ward]

**f97v**

But I do not recommend Mrs. D. to put it on the score of the Orderlies' derelictions.

All she & I & Mrs. Wardroper wish is to have 2 trained women of the rank of sisters as Night Nurses, one for each Division.

You recommended me to write to H. B. C. & to advise that Mrs. D. should write to him. I did so --

[This is the third time I have written out the case]

What do you advise now? --

[I did not write to Mrs. D -- yesterday].

The case is entirely different from what it was even 6 months ago.

**f98**

z

Mrs. Deeble

{SUTHERLAND}:

write to H.B.C. ~~such~~ a statement of the nursing service and especially as to defect of the night superintendence of orderlies as would enable the Committee which fixed the number of nurses after enquiry to ~~depart~~ be justified in departing from the terms of this former recommendation

Tell them that there are 255 severe cases while formerly there were only 60.

She must show that the night superintendent ~~nursing~~ has been in times past very defective, that there are no means at present of making it efficient, ~~& she must get the~~ and then state that to fulfil the M.O. support her ~~& then state what she supposes~~ in the way of efficient duties required regulating & she will require two ~~additions~~ additional nurses

**f99** {SUTHERLAND}:

HBC

to UnderSec of State 3

It having come to the knowledge of the Nightingale Committee that since the recent change of the Nursing organization at Netley. There are a larger proportion of cases of a very degen. character than have previously been received into the the hospital requiring night nursing & that the present staff is worked to the extent of its capacity without the work having been overtaken, I would beg to suggest that some enquiry might be made into to the circumstances with the view of ascertaining the real state of the

**f99v**

case ~~not the view~~] & of providing additional aid if necessary, and I am to state that should such necessity exist the committee will be glad to assist in supplying it.

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN BY NIGHTINGALE}:

I wrote ~~him~~ to H.B.C. the whole case & told him that you recommended that Mrs. D. should be asked to write to him

**f100**

[ca. 3 Mar. 1870]

I have not written yet to Mrs. Deeble  
Look, here is the ~~statement~~ case. 1

Here 2 is what you recommended me  
to tell her to write to H. B. C.

which leaves out the main feature  
of the case, viz the No of severe cases  
which is now as 255 to 60 formerly.

Here 3 -- what you recommended  
H. B. C. to write to the U. S. of S.

Now what do you really



Add Mss 45754

561

recommend?

**f101v** {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}

~~agre with Sir H.V. as to the~~  
~~5 years, reserve & Indian~~  
~~Army~~

**f102**

[ca. 3 Mar 1870]

I wrote to Harry B.C. about the  
Netley Night Nursing -- & proposing that  
Mrs. Deeble should write to him

He returns me this --

Does he mean that I should now  
write to Mrs. Deeble telling her to write  
to him?

{ABOVE THREE LINES BRACKETED IN LEFT MARGIN}

It was you who said

You said that as we had fixed  
the number of the Nursing Staff  
the course  
should be for Mrs. Deeble to write  
to H. B. C about them.

And I wrote this to H. B. C.

**f103v** {WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON FOLIO}:

I told you she was quite  
incapable of writing a letter

We shall get nothing out of her  
at all comparable to what she  
told me viva voce

**ff104-05v** NOTES FROM SUTHERLAND, embossed War Office DATED March 5 1870. Wd you be so good as to look at this proposed change in the hospitals. I have taken out the main points. The gen hosps are preserved intact in principle. The store keeping of a regt hosp already furnished...[lots of details] ends: I shall see you about it on Monday.

F106 FN pencil notes

**f106**

Dr. Cuningham

March 12/70

[10:105-08]

None --

And the Native Officers are not those whom you could trust.

The Police are the only officials by which anything could be done.

A great deal has been done by circulating Hand Bills on Sanitary matters --

And these have been well received by the Natives --

But Bengalees are distrustful -- And, politically, Sir J. Lawrence declared entirely against a Sanitary or Registration Crusade in villages --

The Punjab has more of the Village Organization remaining than Bengal or any other part. And more has been done there than in any other part

The only way would be to make this District Officer in his cold Weather journeys make a sort of Sanitary enquiry & inspection & get wells & the rest set to rights on the spot

This would entail very little cost            Much of course

1. Are there any Regulations for the cleansing of Native villages?  
Who carry them out?

Could such regulations be carried out under periodical inspection to see whether they are efficiently fulfilled?

How would the local costs be paid?

2. Same about surface drainage
3. Same about water sources & distribution
4. What are the obstacles to the India Govt carrying out the inspections & improvement of Stations as proposed by the R. C.?
5. Seeing that so much has been written & so little done what would be the best practical administrative steps to carry out improvements?

**f106v**

depends on the man. If  
he is a good man, he  
already orders his  
Collector (a native) to set  
about the thing directly

He says -- it would be  
extremely difficult to interfere  
within the natives' houses  
about drainage or water  
supply. Every native thinks  
it his "privilege" to have  
his own cess-pool & his own  
water well, both inside  
his house, & commonly  
close together

.  
. .  
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. .  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

spent And the natives are  
disheartened for years to come

2. As to surface drainage  
He says -- very little at all  
has been done.  
Jubbulpore has just  
been "surface drained"  
But he found the whole  
place under water

Tovey, a capital man of  
the Bengal Staff Corps, went  
to Roorkee College to instruct  
himself in Engineering &  
Cawnpore -- & very well  
but has been handsomely  
abused. The money was  
found by borrowing  
5 lacs of rupees from  
Govt. But in general  
there is no money.  
Umritsir which is the  
richest of all spent I  
forget what in drainage  
The Deputy Commissioner  
(European) did it with  
an Engineer. The drains  
were made to run up hill  
It is a total failure --  
Immense sums have been

**f107** Strachey's plan was  
to have District Municipalities,  
combining a number of  
villages.

But he never carried it out

The money would be furnished by Bridge & Ferry tolls which (when across the Ganges) are very large

He says the main obstacles are: 1. want of money

2. jealousies

They are sinking Artesian wells in the N. W. Provinces He says, pumps are difficult because water is so low down

- 
- 
- 
- 
- 

I learnt for the first time what had become of our Questions sent to the Local governmtns by Sir J. Lawrence --

All the answers had  
come in, except those of  
Bengal & Oude

And Cuningham to whom  
they were referred  
thought it better to  
send them home whole  
to the I.O. without  
waiting for Bengal or Oude

Madras sent home  
direct.

All, without exception,  
declared against any  
scheme of sending home  
Engineers for Sanitary  
instruction

**f107v**

He says -- the reason why  
the Sanitary Commissions  
failed was that the  
Military & Engineering  
members were men  
already with too much to do

They could only attend  
one or two Meetings

They could do not one  
Inspection

And had time for  
nothing but quarrelling.

.

He has scarcely anything  
to propose.

He says he himself has  
had his whole time  
occupied by Lord Mayo's  
Cholera enquiry.

.

that he thinks now he  
might make Inspections  
of Stations & take an  
Engineer with him  
from Calcutta -- or get  
Engineering assistance  
on the spot at the  
Station under Inspection.

.

He says --  
at Stations if the water is bad  
the M.O. complains to the  
CO. the C. O. to the Brigadier  
Commands, he to Head  
Quarters -- that is referred  
to the G. M. G. that to the  
Public Works -- & the  
Answer comes back that  
the water is very good &  
nothing is wanted.

And thus he cannot say  
that at Stations anything  
is done as to water supply  
in drainage

-----

But, he says, he cannot  
admire the young M.O.'s  
doings. They make a  
water analysis -- they are  
incapable of saying how  
the water acts upon health  
or how to improve the  
supply. And the water  
analysis is just thrown  
aside -- And no action  
taken.

This does not refer to the  
2 young men sent out

**f108**

. [2]  
 . He won't have his leave prolonged  
 He says he must go back --  
 . He showed me his notes for to day's meeting  
 ===  
 . He talked (more than I wished)  
 1. about the badness of the young Doctors --  
 He says -- if an Epidemic comes upon them the first  
 . or second year they have not an idea what to do  
 Also that they learn nothing by being with the  
 . Native Corps --  
 He says -- they want an Indian Medical Staff  
 2. about the necessity of putting the 2 young Doctors  
 (Lewis & Cuninghame) directly in communication  
 with himself -- & himself directly in communication  
 with yourselves  
 He says -- the delay in communicating & distributing Reports  
 is beyond all belief  
 . but that they have now a Sanitary Dept a part  
 of the Home Office [end 10:107]

**f109v**

Lord Napier

Regimental Schools -- Native Regiments  
 Bombay -- Native Army  
 Attached to each Regt 24 boys -- sons of Soldiers  
 orphans having the preference -- enlisted at a very early  
 age -- & receive half pay. They wear the uniform of the Regt.  
 paid for regimentally, attendance at School compulsory

Attendance of Soldiers & their children not in the  
 Recruit Boys List, voluntary.

Most intelligent Native Officers & N. C. Officers those  
 brought up in Regtal Schools -- open the road to promotion  
 & remunerative regimental employment.

(good English classes in several Regts)  
 Native Officers -- asking what part of India they come from --  
 answer -- I was born in the Regiment as was  
 my father before me -- I have no other home  
 I was educated in the Regimental School.

**f110** [ca. 17 Mar 1870)

I sent Miss Torrance's letter to Sir Harry  
for Mr. Goschen at your desire.  
but with a heavy heart.

I don't think Mr. Goschen the sort of  
man to understand it or to deal with it.

He will say -- that's just what I told  
Miss N. that, if she sent Nurses, people  
would send their sick into Workhouses  
who otherwise would not -- "to be nursed  
by Miss N.'s nurses".

Well but you saw that Miss Torrance  
said that the cases were as severe as  
those at St. Thomas'.

-----

I understand 3 points from her letter --  
1. that people in waggonettes when sick go there  
2. that all the cases are real severe Hospital cases  
3. that the Steward will bring the place to ruin;  
Why have they vegetables only once a fortnight?

**f111v**

Have you got no further than  
Cunningham's Questions?  
I told him so

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF FOLIO}:

I see that he did the only good thing he  
has done so ignorantly & inconsiderately  
that he has been obliged to withdraw it

The Control has too much power already --  
I would never consent to that.

Why did you bring up the subject at all?  
Wilbraham's letter was "Confidential"



**f112**

[ca. 17 Mar. 1870]

If you wish me to see Lord Napier, [10:108]  
whom you will not see  
{`whom you will not see' WRITTEN IN DARKER PENCIL}  
& to see Dr. Cuninghame ~~this week~~,  
whom you will see  
{`whom you will see' WRITTEN IN DARKER PENCIL}  
you must write down the sort of  
questions I am to ask them --

Am I unreasonable in asking this?  
I exhaust myself & make myself ill for  
weeks in writing sheets & sheets ~~of~~  
for you of what Dr. C. & Ld Napier &  
Sir B. Frere say --

And you will not take the least  
trouble to guide me in return --  
If You say, hear what Dr. Cuninghame has  
to say -- is not that just what I have  
done -- & for 3 hours? --  
What is the use of saying that!

-----  
But am I to agree with him on certain  
propositions for me to write to Ld Mayo?  
and if so what? [end 10:108]

**f112v**

If a bed is constantly occupied (Call  
it 2 bed steads) you may almost have  
a Pupil a bed --

We had at the fated R. C. H. 12 beds  
& 10 Pupils --

Of course if you have 32 beds (call  
it 36 bed-rooms) you may have 30  
Pupils.

If they were not single rooms, of  
course you would want more for a  
reserve

Then you give up Ommanny's plan

Of course  
empirical

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN AT BOTTOM OF FOLIO}:

Many of those he can do as C. in C --  
without Lord Mayo.

**f113**

Lord Napier of Magdala [10:108-12]

March 18/70

He spent the last hours in England with me

But he told me so much I don't where to  
begin.

And the worst of it is -- it's very different from  
Cunningham & from what we have ever heard before

-----

1. He says -- a Despatch has just come to  
the D. of Argyll, curtailing all the Barrack  
accommodation -- all the R. Commission's  
recommendations --

that he has done his best to neutralize its  
effect with the D. of Argyll but that Cunningham  
is for it -- Mansfield is for it, (who will do  
more mischief at home than even out there.)  
both the Stracheys for it --

And he said, quite pathetically, they were like Sir  
I. Newton's dog & knew not the mischief they  
were doing.

The gist of this Despatch is two fold: --

(1.) it is to reduce the sleeping accommodation to

what it would be without sick & married

Lord Napier says: you don't see the gist of this --  
when the sick man comes back to Barracks he  
finds his little corner, his pictures all destroyed

**f113v**

-- & he is crammed in anywhere else -- or among  
 the married men which is very wrong -- Then if another Regiment  
 comes which is not matrimonial or which has a stronger force --  
 there is  
 ? too little room for the single men. And this is a  
 productive of great harm

The second point of the Despatch is: --  
 (2). to curtail the day-room accommodation of course  
 because the great principle of 2 storied Barracks is -- that they

provide you with a ground floor  
 Lord Napier's principle has always been -- have  
 above sleeping-room for your whole number of  
 men (as if you had no sick) -- keep the accommodation  
 below for their Day-rooms -- &c.  
 But, he says, if you have one storied Barracks, make them cool  
 enough for  
 day and night. And in the hills have fire places.

-----  
 {ABOVE PARAGRAPH STARTING `The second point.....And in the hills  
 have fire places.' IS BRACKETED IN LEFT HAND MARGIN}

2. About white-washing --  
 Ld Napier says -- you must plaster & whitewash.  
 the red raises the temperature 5°  
 but you must plaster first & then whitewash.



**f114v**

5.

=== ~~But~~ He says = ~~they~~ the authorities are very bad -- about the  
gardens

The Commissariat won't let the men garden --

B They say -- the men make a mess --

Ld Napier ~~doesn't believe it --~~ He says -- it's  
mere "parochial" jobbing

-----

6.

Sir W. Mansfield has done immense harm by selling  
ground within the cantonments --

Ld Mayo has stopped the sale (at Kurrachee &c  
in deference to Lord Napier --

Civilians thus get into the cantonments -- where  
they like to be because it exempts them from  
taxation -- But you can't bring them under  
Regulations -- & all sorts of Sanitary & worse  
neglects ensue.

And all for £300 000

But this £300 000 Ld Napier employed in Steam pumps  
to lay water on to Barracks in Bombay Presidency.

**f115**

[2]

7:

~~But~~, Lord Napier says --  
 after all (& this is what he particularly wishes  
                   represented to Ld Mayo)  
 the grand mistake in the Barracks is:  
                   no water supply --

e.g. Allahabad \*

Why can't you have Steam pumps, Forcing pumps --  
 -- he put up Steam pumps at Poona, Allahabad  
 &c -- they answer as well as in other latitudes --  
~~But the w=~~, instead of being found enough, they are \*  
 --  
 always found too little. And so the "extravagance" cry

disappears

even among those who have raised it.

He says: you ought to (& you can) have  
 water laid on to ever Barrack in India by  
 steam or forcing power -- with tower &  
 pumps or something.

-----

8. He says --

write to Ld Mayo -- tell him to pause --  
           tell him you must have sufficient accomodation,  
           day & night --

&amp; you must have water supply laid on ==

He says -- everything depends upon what is thought in England.  
 We raised the cry of public opinion in England. And that alone  
 is: what has saved India.

**f115v**

9. He says: --

You can surface drain every station in India  
so as to rid it of all rain water --  
that he has done this himself  
that he used to reckon 4 per cent  
he now reckons 10 per cent  
that ye may have tanks, if no other way --  
-----

10.

He says:

Lord Mayo's convictions are violent in proportion as he  
is weak  
that he has quite changed in the last 6 months  
that this cry about taking cost of accommodation  
out of revenue instead of out of loan is quite  
preposterous & can't stand  
If you were a settler & saw your children dying  
should not you borrow to build & call the  
interest of the loan house-rent?

**f116**

11.

He says -- the cleansing police is efficient --  
when the Commandg Offices & where the  
Cantonment magistrate are efficient  
that the two things which affect the  
health of troops are  
1. the condition of the surrounding native population  
2. the water supply &c.

12.

He says -- you can sell the Sewage -- that he has  
done this -- that he learnt it in China --  
that the Chinese are far before us in  
Sewage farms.

But he says, the authorities are dreadful  
about this --

that they would bury the Latrine matters  
on the slope of a hill where they were  
liable to be washed down by the rains -- &  
he could not get Mansfield to go to the  
farther expence



**f116v**

13.

He says -- undoubtedly you can dry-crop dry? malaria out.

& also you can eat up malaria by fast growing tree planting.

He told me dreadful stories about his surveying parties being eaten up by Fever from malaria in vallies 3 miles from Rawal Pindee, when, if they had but gone 3 miles to Rawal Pindee, they would have been quite well.

**f117**

14. [3]

Lord Napier is extremely keen about the Sanitary engineer plan --

He says -- they are trying in India to invent first principles --

that he himself when he came to England

found that he was blind as to first

principles of Sanitary Engineering

he was blind -- whereas now he sees --

that he would have said send us some

Sanitary Engineers from Chatham

but he thinks now ~~that~~, as he is afraid

several Engineers will be set loose, as

they are stopping ~~all~~ Public Works, that

he will himself examine these men,

select some for Sanitary specialty, & send

them home to learn, like Tulloch

===

He begged me to write to him

===

About "natural head works," Lord Napier says -- of course natural head works are a good thing.

But really are Steam & Forcing pumps to be ignored for ever in India?

**f118**

15. [4]

Ld Napier says that everything in India depends on the tone of public opinion in England --

that the good we did was by arousing the public interest in England or Sanitary India ( -- that we over-stated the Mortality a little & therefore there was a little re-action)

that the Times & Pall Mall Gazette have done immense harm by their glib gossip about "palatial buildings" --

that those articles were inspired by the Govt of India

that, after all, how many "palatial buildings" are there? -- perhaps 3 or 4 --

And the mischief at Allahabad is not because it is a "palatial building" but that there is no water supply, no drainage, no anything.

16

He says Cuninghame is gone quite mad about drainage. He says: you must bring the water in before you can take it out.

I'll drain fast enough, Ld Napier says

**f118v**

17 He says

Books, Sanitary books are what is wanted He says, if a good Sanitary book is sent out, it is lent half over India

He instanced your early Cholera Reports

**f119**

18. Ld Napier says that care must be taken not to make imperative on Commandg Officers "the evacuation of places" threatened by Cholera --

He says -- he was always informed by constant telegraphing (which he took care to enforce of the movement of Cholera --

that if you let a Commanding Officer because he hears of a case of two which may not be epidemic

move out his men in sun or rains  
he may bring about the very epidemic  
you wish to avoid either of Fever,  
Sun-stroke or Cholera.

**f119v**

19.

The Commander in Chief in India is  
a Member of Council -- & in some sense  
a Minister of War --

Lord Napier told me that Sir W. Mansfield  
had insisted on staying for the Budget  
this next month --

but that he, Lord Napier, thinks it as  
well to be out of the way, (tho' he had intended  
to be there) in order not to sanction by his  
presence what he cannot prevent.

**f120**

[5]

What I understood Lord Napier to say was this: --

1. always have separate Dining=rooms &  
either in one or two storied Barracks
2. where you have 2 storied Barracks, one &  
scarcely a secondary object is that you  
secure ground-floor accomodation co-extensive  
with the sleeping accommodation  
for Day Rooms  
Workshops  
Dining Rooms &c
3. where (in the Hills both in Bengal & Bombay  
Presidencies) it is undesirable & unnecessary  
to have two storied Barracks  
still secure Dining=rooms & make the one story  
comfortable both for day & night +
4. secure cool rooms for sleeping even in the  
2 storied Barracks
5. secure a water supply laid on for every  
Barrack (which can be done) --  
The want of this water supply is a main cause  
of unhealthiness

**f120v**

Yes: and Ld Napier says

don't be afraid that they won't take up  
enough & too much of your ground floor  
accommodation for stories & N. C. Officers

Ld Napier says: make them comfortable  
they're not too large, when divided into  
Stores  
Day & Reading Rooms  
dining Rooms (which should be separate  
WORKSHOPS

He says -- there are a great many more than  
"1 dozen" men on their Beds all day --  
Of course if there's nothing in the room but a  
bench, the men won't go there --  
not even "1 dozen".

Ld Napier thinks more of workshops  
than of sending the men out shooting  
which can only be occasional --  
whereas you should ~~make~~ employ the men always upon  
making things for sale

### **f121**

I understand you to say --  
that Col. Greathed's advice is that 70 000 men  
should go out shooting every day of the 365  
days of the year  
& that Barracks should only be used  
for sleeping & eating

I understand Lord Napier to say  
that shooting can only be used for the men  
(as it is for gentlemen) as an amusement  
(he did not say a word against shooting in  
the hottest weather)  
& that profitable saleable employment must  
be provided for the men's daily work  
as for all other working men.  
He himself never failed in success in this  
The men worked at trades  
& sold their work.  
& also the wives --

£1000 worth of work used to be sold the first day  
of sale

**[end 10:112]**

**f122**

[ca. 18-19 Mar. 1870] [10:114]

Ld Napier has written to Lord Mayo  
& shewn his letter to the D. of Argyll --  
He very much regretted not having  
kept a copy for me.

-----

He spoke with great affection of  
Cunningham whom he has known  
since a child

But he says he is a good fellow  
with "a little Sanitary knowledge &  
absolutely no knowledge of the soldier  
-- & that Ld Mayo uses him to back  
his own ignorance.

[end 10:114]

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

That's quite another question

**f123v**

Ld Napier says

Baker is right &  
Cunningham wrong

It may be so -- but I  
don't think Cunningham  
knows any thing about it  
I mentioned Chadwick  
to Ld Napier. He knew  
Tulloch

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN}:

I dare say you will.

~~You~~

Who is to ask them? --

I've plenty to do --

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ALONG SIDE OF FOLIO}:

He says the 2 Stracheys butter (shampoo)

Lady Mayo

& the 2 female Stracheys

butter Lord Mayo --

[or butler]

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ALONG OTHER SIDE OF FOLIO}:

Ld Napier's gone -- went from here --

## **f124**

**[9:643-46]**

Lord Mayo

March 23/70

Present aspect of Public Health question in India.

Too great a tendency in India to invent first principles

Field of India enormous like working at a continent

I Barracks

1.

Too hot --

a. Plaster & whitewash outside to protect walls from seen radiation

b. Fill the tall Verandah arches with the Venetians to protect the room walls. The lofty arches are right enough, but the upper part of the arch of the Verandah should be filled up with broad wooden Jalousies admitting of adjustment to let in light & keep out sun or spaces between pillars even then filled up

These two remedies can easily be tried at any Station -- & a comparison made of the effect in temperature, ventilation & comfort with other blocks

2. New Barrack building alone will not cure the sick, lower the Death rate or guarantee from epidemics

So much enters into the improvement of a Station besides the actual putting up of a new house!

The four things essential to health on which it depends

1. a thorough drainage of ground occupied by Station
2. an abundant supply of pure water distributed over Stations
3. healthy principles of Barrack & Hospital construction,

including

means of employment, exercise & recreation

4. improved Sanitary police of Stations, Bazars & adjacent native towns

**f124v**

These 4 things in reality one as regards health  
 To omit the 3 & build the one is to spend much money  
 with little hope of money's worth  
 For on 1. the condition of the surrounding native population  
 2. the water supply drainage &c  
 depend very much whether we shall have Epidemics or not

Whether it is necessary to construct new Barracks & what  
 their construction shall be must be determined on the  
 spot after competent enquiry into the general Sanitary  
 condition of the Station where it is proposed to build

The construction of the new Barracks does not appear to  
 have had anything to do with Cholera, Fever, or other disease  
 in these buildings The construction may even have  
 lessened the sick rate -- for there are plenty unfortunately  
 of causes of sickness undealt with which lie outside  
 the towns altogether

E.g. Allahabad --  
 what is the condition of the neighbourhood of these Barracks?  
 the filthy towns where Cholera flourishes almost  
 perennially -- where there is neither drainage nor wholesome  
 water -- and this close to the new Barracks --  
 All the Barrack building in the world would make but

**f125**

little difference in the Epidemic susceptibility  
 of troops exposed to malaria day & night -- more  
 especially during sleep --

Is Allahabad a solitary example, and exception?  
 Are there not instances of new Barracks suffering  
 from foul ground covered with filth by work people &  
 others?

Nusterabad nuisance directly produced Cholera.

In India improved construction, sufficient space &  
 ventilation, upper floor sleeping rooms where necessary,  
 have no other object than to remove the depressing  
 constitutional influences of foul air, & to enable the men  
 to resist other Disease causes -- not themselves  
 connected with the Barracks

3. Such causes require to be attacked always outside  
 the Barracks, sometimes outside the Cantonment  
 & it may be at a considerable distance from its boundary.

Filthy towns & Bazaars, or foul native houses & inhabitants inside cantonment boundaries or too close to them are constant sources of danger

Of course the only real safeguard is to keep such population out of Cantonments & at a safe distance to leeward

This is not always possible. And for Civil purposes troops must be near Civil populations.



**f125v**

Then, either the Native population must be put under efficient Sanitary police

Or the troops (& natives too & Civilians too) must suffer

4. No difference of opinion as to men sleeping as far as necessary above level of ground

-- Principle applicable to all climates & countries

Only question in India -- amount of elevation

-- must be determined by local & climatic enquiry on the spot

5. Whatever the height of sleeping room is raised above ground, great principle must never be overlooked.

-- in Indian climates, men cannot be always in the same rooms, inhabiting the same rooms day & night, with safety

[If they do, floors & walls get impregnated with "men" as in European climates is the case with Hospitals constantly inhabited]

Their Day & Dining rooms must be separate from their sleeping rooms.

And there must be means of occupying the men at trades remunerative work or reading or exercises -- instead of lying on their beds, thinking of Cholera, for perhaps 18 hours out of the 24

**f126**

[2]

And there must be Commandg Officers who will devise support & encourage such remunerative employment, such active industry & recreation among the men as will pull them off their beds by force of interest

Such things have been done & may be done again & done more extensively altho' of course there is much talk about impossibility & difficulty

Si, c'est possible &c &c

Road making in India has cured the troops engaged in it

Elementary principle in Physiology that men eat & sleep solely to lay in a store of force to be expended under the action of the will. If the force is not expended in healthy production, it will be expended in unhealthy or diseased products.

Half the diseased predisposition in India -- among the men arises from "lolling" on their beds.

But men can't will themselves active

They must have the necessary room & appliances, the necessary means & inducements for work & recreation in order to have the requisite means of cure

If the lower floors of Barracks are furnished only with a bench or two, if they have neither fittings nor Punkahs, of course the men won't go into them if there is nothing to do in them, of course the men will do nothing in them.

**f126v**

If these appliances are necessary, they must be had --

If not had, the men must suffer

Anyhow there is no saving, for men in India cost  
more than tables, tools or Punkahs.

But all the workshops & appliances in the world will  
of no use, unless the Officers see to their use --  
the men's health of more importance to the State than the  
Officers' difficulties

6. Every man should have his bed

Whether on or off duty

Whether in Barracks or in Hospital

One principle to give by Regulation every bed its quota  
of space, whether occupied or not

A soldier's bed is his home -- the only home he has  
he ornaments it, with his little pictures & things

And not good was ever done to a Briton by destroying  
his notion of 'home'.

At cool hill stations or at damp changeable, other  
Stations the Barrack room would always have its  
fire place for use or comfort.

7. Gardens --

Almost every Regiment should supply itself with  
vegetables -- a prime element of healthy diet in India

**f127**

8. India rather short of pumps --

I will make India a present of a pump

ex maire, il a doué sa commune d'une pompe  
provided I am not thrown into my own will by the  
Bheesties or Coolies whose trade I shall have  
damaged

Might not Steam pumps, Forcing pumps answer  
as well in Indian as in European latitudes?

We do not here depend upon "natural headworks"  
nor upon water carriers.

**[end 9:646]**

**f127v**

JS pencil

There is no doubt local nuisance authority

which can compel the cleaning of the nuisances  
Let the parties apply to it. If it does not  
do the work or refuses then let a statement  
of the circumstances be sent to the Home office  
& an enquiry asked for.

**f128** NOTES FROM SUTHERLAND DATED 26/3/70, embossed War Office.  
 Here is the 250th edition of your est. The architect wants it  
 back as soon as possible as he leaves this office on the 1st  
 April (the better day the better deed) and thinks that firstly  
 you will have to send after him to China. He has a block plan of  
 it in petto like their infallibility, and one must hope that the  
 first may turn out better than the second.

**f129**

March 26/70

[9:646-47]

Dr Cuninghame as you said wanted to see me  
 But when he came he had no "administrative plan"  
 Nothing to propose but -- what do you think?  
 that young Chadwick should be adjoined to him  
 I said I had no idea he was experienced enough  
 He said -- you had recommended him  
 I said -- ask Dr. Sutherland again

==

He says the new Barracks at Morar  
 are all masonry

New Barracks at	Allahabad
	Peshawar
red brick	Rawal Pindie
He says plastering &	Jullundur
white washing will make	Umbala - married quarters
them very glaring	Subathoo
	Kussuthrie

He says the large stair cases which Lord Napier  
 likes are ducts for foul air to the whole  
 building -- as in Hospitals

==

I mentioned Major Gordon to him

**f129v**

He asked me to send out books  
 thro Smith & Elder to him --  
 He says it takes 6-8 months to get  
 books sent out official way

==

He asks --

Would it be best to begin in the Allahabad  
 as a station?

**f130**

I am very sorry to say that each time I have  
seen Cuningham I have hope less from his  
ability

You get all out of him at first --

**f131** BLANK PAGE

**f131v**

Ld Napier sent it to me -- Ld Napier drew it up  
I shewed it you.                      himself.

What Sir B. Frere says is -- & the Supreme Govt now only hasn't "under its consideration"

Sir B. F. says -- they are going to judge at Simla  
as to what is suited for Madras

Sir B.F. approves my letter to Ld Mayo -- but wants me to add something.

I feel quite incapable of doing it to-day --  
He says: they have resumed the Public Works -- But  
he would let the letter go all the same  
shall I send it as it is?

Dr. Cuninghame says those are come home.

**£132**

Is that all?

Dr. Cunningham

[9:647]

He says

that he does not think, if Civil Sanitary Engineers are sent out from England that you can put the time under a year when they can be useful --

He says -- you can hardly tell how useless a man till he has learnt something of the language & the ways --

He must be his own foreman in so many things  
making materials &c.

He says -- he hardly thinks there is any real difference in saving time between sending from India Engineers home to learn & sending from England Engineers out to learn India

I told him I though 6 months in England would  
do for an Indian Engineer

But he was to ask you.

[end 9:647]

**f132v**

Sir B. Frere

March 31/70

But the main thing he came for

**[10:114]**

was to urge, to pray

that we would draw up something like my

letter to Lord Mayo

for him to have translated &amp; sent to India

for general, even for village use thro' the Indian office

He said: that he would have preferred a

supplement (in the same style) to my little red

book -- as he has often said before --

But he now thinks that the easiest thing for me

to do would be an adaptation of my letter

to Ld Mayo --

[JS] Write down what you propose

-----

To go through the red-book just cutting out

such parts as not quite applicable to

the present position - also to do the same with

the remarks in the Indian report &amp; in the letters

recently sent to Lord Mayo. To make such

marginal additions or corrections as are necessary

&amp; then to send the whole to Ld. L.

**[end 10:114]**



**f133** JS rough note pencil

[ca. 1 Apr. 1870]

Will you allow me to suggest an alteration or two

Page 23 & "The general result of the Water supply x at is scarcely correct. If you will read the opinion of the Army San. Com in your last year report you will find that they who are ~~your~~<sup>fr</sup> your advisors ~~of~~<sup>of</sup> in forming sanitary estimates of forts are decidedly opposed to the view in their paragraph. It should read "the water supply in work stations cannot be said to be either good or sufficient and in many places defects in the convincing arrangement" &c.

Page 37 ○ The whole passage which I have bracketted is incorrect. ¶ The cause of epidemics is unknown. The & reasons of the immediate outbreak are very various & amongst these overcrowding is one of the most potent. But it does not follow that because overcrowding in any one year did not act -- it should not act in another year. I should feel [illeg] to stick simply to the facts.

**f133v**

Would it not be advisable to make the report not so much an abstract of other reports as a report on the Sanitary question & progress in India? There is a considerable amount of interesting matter in the Monthly reports from the 3 Presidencies in 1868 & it has occurred to me to suggest that you might make good use of these in raising the interest of ~~th~~ your annual report In instance (but this is in last years reports) how interesting is the experience of India's Sewage farm? A good digest of all these written in a current manner would excite great interest in the British

Add Mss 45754

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public

The facts in your digest are of Great

**f134**

interest & importance to the public service &  
altogether it is very well done. Your  
~~fails-are~~ improvements show ~~none~~  
more than any thing else what can be  
done in India to improve the health of  
troops. But

You see that Plowden's Abstract does  
embrace part of 1869  
~~This-ref~~ 1869 He might therefore embrace  
That is ~~just~~ what I say

**f135**

[Just aft. 4 Apr 1870]

Re Dr Williams & Sir James Simpson's Testimonial

I am not so sanguine as you are nor so confident  
in my own eloquence.

An hour's talk with any man

The thing would have been to have been able  
to put a paper & plans into Dr. Williams hands --

There is no time to be lost --

And perhaps, before my paper is out now, the  
Comm: will have decided upon some monstrosity

-----  
-- an investment in Carbolic Acid most likely

You can't help this. We must take  
advantage of the knowledge & say something about  
it. This is all ~~we~~ can do. The carbolic acid

-----  
is Listing & Sister has  
sent him her paper as he  
did to me.

-----  
every dog  
has his day!

{`every dog has his day!' is written beneath line and directed to  
be inserted after `to me'}

Have you anything more you wish said to him  
on his "subjects" -- pp 425 --

No. His list is quite sufficient & you  
might tell him so. Tell him also he will

Add Mss 45754

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get the A.S.C. reports immediately after  
Friday, & those on the New papers as soon  
as possible

f136 JS letter to FN 5/4/70 JS letter to FN re Ommanney left sketches he now sends, and his comments on space, embossed War Office. Lt O. Has left these sketches wh I now send you. I asked him about the points raised in your note yesterday about distances. He told me that he had tried every method to shorten the distance from the delivery ward to the lying-in division and it cd be done easily enough that the arr in the plan already sent you as short a distance ..cd be contrived. He says that if the lying blocks were used as delivery wards as you stated the distance to be traversed wd be practically as great.

There are many difficulties to be overcome in trying to get all the advantages of isolation in a complicated hosp such as this, w/o undue separation of the bldgs and I fear it will end in the bldgs being more crowded together than wd be safe.

F137 embossed War Office, 7 April 1870, JS letter to FN from Norwood, Mr Frederick has sent him her packet re Plowden

ff139-41 8 April 1870 JS letter to FN on embossed WO, Mr Plowden is quite right about the cholera report abstracts. But in writing to Sir W Baker after our 1st sub-com I did not I believe suggest an abstract. Our view was rather that facts which existed in all Indian reports mt poss be copied out in paragraphs. "The Madras sewage farm" is an illus.

Abstracts must I fear be left to the annual reports, and a nice mess they make of them with their doctrines. The two points you asked Mr Plowden to alter in his report are precisely two of the doctrinal absurdities not borne out by the facts.

However, the raising of the questions will do good, for Mr Plowden will in all probability adopt the suggestions as far as he can.

It is somewhat difficult to reply to his questions, because if one agrees with him, one is adopting the present method of reporting, and if one differs from him it appears like dictation.

I shd feel disposed to answer generally somewhat as follows:

f140 "The medical members of the A.S.C. appear to have arrived at somewhat the same suggestions as that made by me (F.N.) in my note as to extracting interesting facts from any Indian reports which come to hand in time, in order that such facts might receive a more permanent place in the I.O. Blue Books than they wd have in the Indian reports themselves. I had no desire personally to do more than merely state my own impression. Your work has ben so well done that I felt great diffidence in saying what I did say and I must leave the matter entirely in your own

hands, especially as I find from your note that to make the extracts wd antedate their position by a year. I wish with you that the Indian people cd make up their annual reports earlier.

I shall be glad at any time to look at any list of paragraphs you may wish to insert.

I shd scarcely think that the A.S.C. wd expect you to incur the awful labour of first translating Dr Bryden out of Hindi into English and then abstracting him.

One of the best forms of Index for such a report as yours would be like the Index prefixed to the "Suggestions for the Sanitary Improvement of Indian Stations." It gives a catalogue raisonn   of the contents."

f142 blue JS pen Mrs Deeble letter. The view one wd feel disposed to take, will depend entirely on the view one may take of the resps of a supt.

If Mrs Deeble's position is that of a mil officer placed over subordinates who have well recognized duties to perform wh they neglect, then her course of procedure is clear, she must admonish and punish to the extent of dismissal. But if, as her letter shows, the points in dispute with her nurse are not those of obedience or disobedience to a few dimple rules of duty, but errors in judgment as to relative importance of duties which everyone must ack can not be made the subject of rules, then clearly the remedy lies not in dismissal unless the nurse shows unteachable stupidity. My own view is that Mrs D has not shown sufficient ground either for suspending or dismissing her nurse, but that she has shown in this specific case that it we be most admirable to ask her consid of her position in these matters with regard to her nurses. If this is not done then I fear we shall get into the former groove at wh Mrs SS had herself to be removed. The whole tone of the letter is too like that lady's productions sic volo sie jubeo will never answer with free Englishwomen any more than free Englishmen. If Nurse Emm cannot est as yet what her unseen duties are to the sick she shd be taught and led to recognize them. She is one of those people who are apt to lay down for themselves a specific daily course from wh they will not swerve. This will not answer in any hosp esp in a mil hosp, but it is still a defensible position.

You are the only person who can est these real vital points which are at issue. They appear to me to be nothing less than this, viz wh nursing is to be conducted under fear of dismissal or under love to the supt and to the work. In other words wh you are in future to look to the ability of the supt or to the

strength of the WO.

The last resort is the simplest, but it is destructive of nursing. If the first cannot be relied on it is destructive of the supt. If destroyed the former one and her work altogether and depend upon it Mrs Deeble would not escape a similar fate.

ff143-45 War Office embossed 18 April 1870 letter has bronchitis, re stat abstract. Re what to say to Plowden. Fevers. Proportion of admissions 1405 per mille is so excessive that either there is a mistake or else the strength at ...Have you seen Jephson's death in todays Times? He was one of their very best men. I fear there are none coming up to take the places of those who are going.

Ff146-47 embossed War Office 25 April 1870 JS letter to FN has seen "The Hospital Architect" today and told him a bit of my mind. He says he has been ill and looks seedy, has promised with much faithfulness to take the plans in hand, and I have lent him our copy of our big book for the style and sizes. This is all.

After this Athenian business, if I were PM I shd have been able to tell the H of C today either that by this time a fleet has left Malta with troops on board to land at Pireaus and kept hold till every man was found and shot or I shd have been able to say I was no longer PM. When 38 or 40 years ago a Manchester manufacturer and his wife were unintentionally shot and intentionally robbed at Paestun, the then govt simply sent an order to Naples, time after time that the 6 peasants supposed to have been engaged in it shd be found and hanged. Time after time the answer was that they must be found. The Neapolitan govt ordered the six most likely to be found and hanged and it was done and I knew the man who did it, and not a hair of an Englishman's head has been touched since. Will anyone do such a thing now.

F148 embossed War Office 2 May 1870 The architect has just been here and left this. Before sending it to Embley I send it up to South Street in the hope that perhaps you may have come, as I heard you were coming.

If you are not there, will you be so good as send the whole back by the messenger. The architect is going to busy himself in the meantime with the ward plan, but as he expects to be sent to the Admiralty every day, he desires me to say that the sooner he gets it back the sooner will it be finished.



**f149**

Private

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

May 4/70

Minute: Netley Nurses

Dear Dr. Sutherland

Would you wish to look over the enclosed papers, which have been waiting for a decision?

You will see that there are 2 points: -

1. about the 2 additional "Night" Sisters --
2. as to "Emm", x whom Mrs. Deeble wishes to part with. This is unfortunate, because the woman is neither drunken, improper, nor in any way bad.

But she is slovenly, unpunctual, idle, sulky --having been one of our Nurses at Liverpool Workhouse under very bad management for 2 years after Agnes Jones' death And I remonstrated at the time against her appointment to Netley -- but only on this score.

Also Mrs. Deeble is of all persons the one least capable to manage her.

the question is: should Mrs. Deeble write to the S. or S? And how? [For Mrs. Deeble can't write a letter]

Yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

x not mentioned in Minutes  
but only in H. B. C's letter to me

**f150** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND -- DATED 4/4[5]/70, blue War Office embossed. Netley night nurses. The DG says he will take .. Night orderly service is not enough and agrees about the night nurses. This is also settled. Next he says that w/o going to the treas for money the reqd amount for 2 salaries and keep can be saved this year...Quarters. Mr Talbot asks for HBC's concurrence . Emm business most unfortunate, suggests great caution. HBC mt offer to supply the night nurses and revert to his former request that any plans or proposals about their quarters shd be seen by him before being decided on.

**ff151-51v** NOTE FROM SUTHERLAND TITLED `Sister Emm' most  
unfortunate

**f152**

[Bef. 6 May 1870]

Shall I write to him?

When I have them, I shall consult Miss  
Jones on every administrative point  
(on which I have no recent experience)

It is so very extraordinary that he should  
think he knows what is the daily nightly  
constant business of a Lying-in Hospl's School

I understand that ward to be the ward  
where newly-delivered women are received  
for the first 4 or 5 days

**f153v**

{written upside down on folio}

The Delivery Ward must be such as can be  
partitioned off by curtains with room  
for each woman to have 3 or 4 or 5 Pupil  
Midwives round her besides the Head Midwives

No woman under delivery must see any other  
All this I wrote down

-----

Surely you gentleman can decide whether  
4 or 8 beds must be vacant successively

I say 4 that will make 2 periods of  
3 weeks annually vacant for each 4

It was you who said 2 4's not I

~~My question~~

~~has nothing~~

~~to do with~~

~~what you are saying~~

What I am saying is this:

are not 4 Reserves only wanted?

**f154**

**[8:226-27]**

[3(c)]

Lying in Hospital plans May 10/70

Dear Dr. Sutherland

1. Administrative Block 2.A

This is extremely admirable in its details  
And I have but one trifle to criticize  
i.e. that there must be somewhere where  
the Midwife can examine a woman to  
know if labour is imminent.

This may be quite sufficiently provided  
for by "Surgeon's room".

2. Wards & Sculleries 2 B

admirable in all details

3. Delivery Wards 2 A

The more I look into this, the more I find  
the present proposition inadmissable  
If the Covered Way (from Main Corridor to  
there) can be warmed on winter nights -- so

**f154v**

as to be nearly the same temperature  
 as the wards (this is a builder's  
 question) without very great expence,  
 I have nothing more to say about this.  
 there are other objections & very grave ones  
 against the proposed Delivery Wards.

(a) The Scullery accomodation is WHOLLY  
 INSUFFICIENT.

(b) There must be one Scullery to each  
 Delivery Ward. And this should be  
 on at least an equal scale to the Ward  
 Sculleries. [There must be hot & cold water  
 constantly laid, on, night & day.]

(c) It is wholly impossible to cleanse &  
 Lime-wash one Delivery Ward in such  
 close proximity to the other in use  
 All the reasons for having the ordinary  
 Wards completely separate & isolated  
 apply, only with ten fold force to the

**f155**

Delivery Wards.

(d.) As for the Scullery, it never could be  
 cleansed. It would be literally a  
 sink of iniquity & always in use!!

People have little idea (who have never  
 seen anything but a soldiers' Wives  
 Hospitals -- where there are perhaps  
 40 Deliveries a year) what the work  
 is, day & night, day & night, in a  
 Civil Lying in Hospital of even half  
 this size -- where there may be 3  
 Deliveries in a night & where all  
 the Sculleries are constantly at work,  
 night & day Every bed is always full.

4. I suggested occupying a Ward at each  
 end as a Delivery Ward alternately --  
 the nearer Wards being occupied for  
 newly = delivered Women -- the farther Wards

**f155v**

for Convalescent Women -- merely as a  
hint to the Architect for it is an  
Architect's question

Women in labour it is not desirable to  
convey to the Delivery Ward past  
the other Wards

I enclose the note of Miss Jones, who  
has more recent practical experience  
than I have. [in all her observations I  
entirely concur--] including those on the single bed]  
Wards & scullery

-- & also a note of my own to her --  
Please return the whole to me.

ever yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

Dr. Sutherland

f156 letter FROM SUTHERLAND 11/5/70 sends, re her crit, embossed  
War Office

**ff157-58** letter FROM SUTHERLAND 13/5/70 blue embossed War Office,  
replies to her points, re Ommanney and Torrance

**ff159-59v** letter FROM SUTHERLAND 16/5/70 embossed War Office, re  
regimental medical system, Dr Crawford's successor is Dr  
Rutherford, a very good man indeed. Re Reg med system is at an  
end. All med officers are now on a staff. The warrant is not yet  
out but the doctors are no longer borne on the strength of  
regiments. This will necessitate many other changes, amongst the  
rest an extended gen hosp system.

**ff160-60v** letter FROM JS 18TH MAY 1870 embossed War Office, sends  
copy of minute on native army reports, going to Tenby for air,  
then to examine re typhoid fever at Pembroke camp

**ff161-63** letter FROM J.J FREDERICK 16TH MAY 1870 to Sir

ff164-65 letter FROM SUTHERLAND 26TH MAY/70 embossed War Office,  
re "capital letter" of hers, the opportunity, for India, will  
help with changes as she in feeble state, re delay, India, re  
getting translated to go all over India

**ff166-67v** letter FROM SUTHERLAND 26TH MAY 1870 embossed War Office, re how to proceed with work, 3 matters, paper you were to write for Sir MF, lying-in hosp, very desirable that your book shd be out, and have heard nothing of the plans since returned, lastly American paper about prison discipline, note a very large question

ff168-69 letter FROM SUTHERLAND 27TH MAY/70 embossed War Office  
To put 2 more women (12 in all, including the child)

transcribed by G. Watkins (f170 to end)

unsigned note, f170, pencil

**f170**

{archivist: 6 May 1870-8 June 1870}

It was you (Ommanney) who fixed the  
No. at 32

O how you forget.  
You forget that

it was settled that it was impossible  
to nurse a single bed ward Lying-in  
Hospl without Pupil Midwives  
Now I can't discuss any more

Well, as you seem to be in a state of  
absolute vacuity, I suppose you had,  
unless you choose to look at some  
vacuous letters first.

{f171 is blank}

unsigned note, ff171v-73, pencil

**f171v**

No 1 would not do at all -

It is of much more importance *how*  
you place the beds than how you measure  
the space

No 2 would do but is extravagant

No 3 I prefer I don't object to  
corners - provided the bed is not *in* a  
corner

Babies are not put in "cribs" but in  
baskets

It is important to have space about  
the fireplace for the 4 babies to be washed  
{sketch showing placement of beds}

Add Mss 45754

607

22 ft wide  
would be better

**f172**

{sketch}

I should have thought it better  
not to put ~~any~~ in the Ward door opposite  
the Scullery - but opening into the passage -  
**J.S** continues

**f173 {FN}**

It is to be considered that every one of  
those wards & sculleries will be empty for 40 days  
in the year - and each Delivery Ward  
for 182 ½ days in the year -

**[8:227]**

That of course makes no difference in  
the external ventilation questions

But it does in the other - viz. the having  
so many Patients on such an area of ground.

**J.S**

ff174-74v, 8 June, 1870, re the Calcutta Social Science draft JS  
is sending to FN

ff175-80, the Calcutta Social Science draft

ff181-82v, 10 June, 1870, re revisions to the Calcutta Social  
Science draft

f183-83v, 6 St. George's Villas, Tufnell Park, 7 June, 1870 from  
**J. Finch** asking FN's opinion of the use of porcelain baths in  
hospitals. Black-edged. Madam, May I beg the favor of your  
opinion in reference to baths with a porcelain surface, and also  
porcelain sinks, for the use of hospitals. I feel confident that  
if in your judgment porcelain baths and sinks are the best to be  
adopted for the patients in the new St Thomas' Hospital, the  
directors will be so influenced by your statements that they will  
not hesitate in issuing orders for baths and sinks of my  
manufacture. Mr Currey, the architect, has desired me to obtain a  
certificate relating to our baths at the Herbert Hospital, a copy  
of which I beg to enclose. Apologising for thus troubling you,  
and trusting you are in better health than your former  
correspondence announced, I am Madam yours respectfully, J. Finch  
(nice fair copy, J. Finch his own)

ff184-85, JS, embossed War Office 11 June, 1870, re Mr. Plowden's  
report, loss of Dickens, The poor have lost their friend.

I hope to bring the proof on Monday. It will take some  
hours.

Before we can affirm Mr Plowden's work we shd see it in  
proof. All we have seen hitherto has been good and devoid of the  
theories which disfigured the last proof.



## 1. Approve of his proposal for illegs

His selection of subjects appears good but we shd see the proofs. As also his selection separate papers.

## 2. Bengal &amp; Punjaub reports

He might state generally the subjects of these reports. But tell him that the A.S.C. have them in hand and that their practical interest is as closely connected with Dr Townsend's report and with the replies to Sir Stafford Northcote's dispatch, that a separate minute by the commission will very likely be drawn up on the admin points contained in them.

The ...

F185 3. You and I must send them something. I have been thinking over the points and we could do it illeg in the same tone as was used to Ld Mayo, but we want a few hard hits at the theorists, which the A.S.C. col d scarcley deal.

I will either send you this proof back by late post or bring it on Monday and we can talk over other points.....

Oh poor Dickens, what a loss!! The poor have lost their friend.

ff186-87v, 11 June, 1870, re the proof of the report and alterations suggested for it

I have read the proof. It will do with a few alterations, you will find on the other side.

The impression conveyed by it is that movement is being made. But very slowly. Madras itself is in a most backward state and since this proof was in press they had had their frightful river in its worst state and an epidemic of cholera as a consequence.

We must illeg this kind of thing in your paper. J.S.

f188, JS embossed War Office 15, June, 1870, sending FN some plans and reporting his work on Indian papers

unsigned note, ff189-90v, pencil

f189 {archivist: [ca 16 June 1870]}

I would always put anything in a wood cut on the page which will go - & the separate sheets I would bind in at the page - not at the end.

**f190**

To-morrow is India mail-day -  
I shall send my letter to the S.S.,  
whether or no  
I have had a copy made by Vacher, (whose Clerk took 7 hours here to make it)  
That will be for Ld Mayo, if I send it him,  
Sir B. Frere means to translate it in England

He is himself the best Maharatti scholar we have - & has translated several things of mine into Maharatti himself {upside down at the bottom of page}

I think that note was made because the expression did not tally with the expression used afterwards to signify the same thing

ff191-92v JS letter, embossed War Office, 17 June, 1870, re Indian papers he is working on and suggestions for FN to use in the case of Mrs. Coltman's small pox after delivery. You know of course that Mrs Coltman has small pox after delivery. They say they cannot account for it in any way. Now as we have had similar unaccountable cases of scarlet fever it has occurred to me to suggest (as an illus for your book) whether that of Mrs Coltman's case cd not be hunted up. It wd be extremely important for a certain point in your book. The med attendant mt easily do it. The test questions are:

1. Is the doctor quite sure that he was not in attendance on any smallpox case before or at the time of dely.
2. Same question about the nurse.
3. Servants, if any of their relatives and acqs had smallpox at this time and whether were near such.
4. Laundress also to be asked. There shd be categorical answers. The case is a test one and wd clear up one way or other a great deal of stupid opinion.

Re Indian san problem gradually developing itself. The real causes of the mischief are coming to light one by one, and also the real things to be done and the great difficulties to be overcome. Re her social science paper.

ff193-94, JS 18 June, 1870, re Ommanney's plan for a hospital,  
embossed War Office

**FN** unsigned note, f195, pencil **[8:229]**

**f195** {archivist:[ca 20 June 1870]}

We have not one London Workhouse with  
an average of anything like 500 Deliveries  
*per annum*

[For the 5 years it is more like 500  
Deliveries -]

We have not one London Workhouse  
with an average of 500 Deliveries for  
5 years (instead of *per annum*) which  
has not a Mortality several times as  
great as Lpool. **[end 8:229]**

{f196 is blank}

**J.S** f196v, comments on Ommanney's plan

ff197-97v, 24 June, 1870, re Sir B.F.'s work in translation, embossed War Office, to put in Calcutta paper, see in Times today beautiful electric telegraph episode with Lord and Lady Mayo playing a part

printed article on the training of army midwives with FN's comments in bold, ff198-99v, pencil **[8:230]**

**f198**

Title: The **Non=**Training of Army Midwives

**with 2 or 3 good words (at p. 3) for Non-Midwives**

...no woman must be admitted ... at least 20 cases of labour **per week for**

**6 months**

...Outline of Instruction by Lectures **All very good, but accounts for the high Midwifery Mortality in the Army - "to "the satisfaction of" any ordinary person -**

**f198v** (in the left margin after the list of Lectures)  
**A woman might answer all these questions to perfection & kill the Lying-in Patient at the first non-natural labour she meets with - which, it appears, is actually the case in the Army.**

{no comments on ff199-99v}

unsigned note, f200, pencil **[8:229]**

**f200** {archivist: [ca by July 1870]}

*Lying-in paper*

{printed address:} 35 South Street,  
 Park Lane,  
 W.

Do not you forget that you said there must be a Chapter on the *management* of existing Lying-in Institutions & that you specially left a good deal I had collected on *management* which would otherwise have been inserted in the ~~present~~/already written

M.S., because you reserved it, you said, for  
a future Chapter by itself?

**JS** continues

ff201-01v, {ca 5 July 1870}, re consultation despite FN's weak condition on Indian matters, embossed War Office

f202, {ca 5 July 1870}, with information on various papers and give advice Mrs. Deeble when she needs it

unsigned notes, ff203-04, pencil

**f203** {archivist: [7 July 1870]}

**F.N.** *Sir Wm Mansfield*

1. Sir Wm. Mansfield has appointed tomorrow to see me - (He leaves for Ireland in a week) And I shall see him if I possibly can.

What particular questions do you wish me to ask him?

**JS**

See him by all means  
He asked to see you, and you must hear what he has to say first It is difficult to suggest questions Ask him about the new barracks especially what their faults are  
Ask him why they should not proceed at once to grapple with filthy towns near Stations  
Ask him his news about Hill Stations  
Ask him any points in the management of regiments which might lessen cholera

**F.N.**

2.

*Lord Mayo*

I must write tomorrow's mail to thank him for his note & the shawls - ~~What else~~/What else do

**f204**

you wish said?

[You said you wished me to write to him] **JS** I would merely say that you hope he received your paper for the Cal. Soc. Sc. He has not answered your former letters. All he deserves is a florid acknowledgment for his shawls Tell him incidentally as it were that the I.O. people had asked for your views on the present position of the Public health question.

**F.N.**

3. Night Nurses' Rooms at Netley -  
v. H.B.C.'s letter -

Do you ~~know~~/know anything about this?  
[Mrs. Deeble comes to me on Saturday]

**JS** I don't know anything about these plans.  
I suppose they are the best they could do.

---

Sir Richard Airey is coming to the  
Horse Guards again

---

There is to be a committee on all that  
hospital purveying question I talked to you  
about some time ago. They want me to  
be on it.

unsigned notes, ff205-12v, pencil

[10:116-19]

**f205**

1. *Sir Wm Mansfield* July 8/70  
Whether he is different with me from what he is with men  
I don't know - But he has much less of the controversial  
& self-opinionated, much more of the humane fibre  
than I expected. He is gentle & of a coming-on  
disposition & says he may be mistaken - not at all  
dictatorial

1. New Barracks - their faults  
He says that instead of the old sun-burnt brick which  
was cool, they had to build them of solid masonry & red  
brick  
in order to support the upper story & that the upper  
floor ~~is~~ never cools till the cool season comes again -  
that some C. O.'s have actually occupied the lower  
floors as dormitories for the men & *abandoned*  
the *upper* floors *altogether* - that others have moved  
the men back into the old Barracks - as at Jullundur  
He says that the men rising at 4 a.m. - a  
Siesta is absolutely necessary - that you *cannot* prevent  
them from sleeping in their Dormitories during the day  
- that the men, if you do, would drag their beds down stairs  
& injure the building  
He says that *Dining*=halls are necessary - but  
there are really not 5 per cent of the men who work  
at *Trades* - & in Workshops -  
- that he thinks the Trades rather "bunkum" - tho' he  
encourages  
them  
- that the Road=making question is a far more important



**f205v**

one. For men never learn a trade *after* enlisting  
It is only those who have been apprenticed before  
they enter who work at their Trades (not 5 per c.)  
In short he thinks the Day-rooms, except for  
Dining, unworkable  
As to road making on one occasion a Regiment  
struck He would not have it optional  
He would have a clause in the Mutiny Act that  
if the men are offered fair wages, labour should  
be compulsory.  
But he is of opinion that labour can only be in the hills -  
He says the *slated roofs* of the new Barracks  
are intolerable -  
Thatch & sun-burnt brick the only materials for  
India  
Better to have a few Barracks burnt (with thatch)  
than to burn off the tops of all the men's heads.

**f206**

2. Filthy towns -  
He says the towns near  
Stations are not so  
filthy as the other  
native towns -  
The day conservancy is very  
good -  
that, if you introduce  
water, you must be  
very sure of your  
Engineer -  
there being so seldom  
a fall in the ground -  
that steam-pumping  
is so expensive on  
account of coal -  
that all these Railways  
are worked with coal  
from England - & *that*  
makes them so expensive  
that, in irrigation,  
they have not succeeded  
in averting malaria -  
the fall of the Canals

**f207**

3

When he went to India  
for the Mutiny in 1857,  
he insisted on the  
Fort of Calcutta (including  
the Dalhousie Barracks)  
being drained to the  
utmost perfection &  
furnished with the  
purest water -

He says, that is the  
reason why the Fort  
of Calcutta is now  
healthy, much  
healthier than much  
better Stations & much  
better climates in the'  
N.W. of India -

that, as a climate,  
& not 100 miles from  
the Delta, nothing can  
be worse than Calcutta,  
yet the Fort is now  
one of our healthiest  
Stations - (tho' within a  
town & not on open ground)

**f207v**

But, he says, if you wish to use all the modern appliances, (such as are used in London,) good drainage & sewage, good water supply, steam=pumping, gas &c you *must* reduce your Cantonments within moderate limits - Or the expence will, in spite of you, defeat & prevent all you wish to do -

If you spread the Cantonments of one Regiment (say 1000) over a space which in London would be occupied by 100,000, ~~men~~, you cannot, (do what you will,) have

**f208**

these modern appliances  
Because no country  
can bear the expence -  
You must bring space  
within reasonable  
limits - those limits  
to be determined by  
the necessity for healthiness of applying modern  
science without insupportable  
& unreasonable expence

The *cities* in India  
are, he says, not  
more unhealthy - on  
the contrary, they are  
healthier than  
the county & country  
villages - just because these  
modern appliances  
are, in cities, possible -

And Stations in cities  
are actually healthier  
than Cantonments in  
the country - because of the  
difficulty of supplying modern appliances  
over an enormous  
area of ground.  
Add to this, the ground  
the men have to go over  
in the day in those large

**f208v**

Cantonments (a  
Serjeant may have  
10 or 12 miles a day to  
go over) often induces  
Fever & such ~~things~~/like -  
He is of opinion that  
the *square* enclosed  
by buildings, is the best  
sort of Barracks - You  
can then have all your  
modern appliances, your  
shelter from the sun -  
&c &c - which it is  
impossible to continue  
in a Cantonment  
covering perhaps 3 or  
4 square miles -

**f209**

4

3. *Hill Stations*

Approves of them

Established Chukrata  
& one other - new Hill  
Stations -

Thinks however there  
are now enough -

Does not think our  
troops can work at  
road making on the  
plains -

**f210**

5.

## 4. Cholera

*Regimental Management*

Doctors have done  
little or nothing for us  
in discovering the best  
management.

Believes it very  
dangerous to move  
Regiments & camp  
them out at the first  
sporadic case of Cholera

All depends on the  
time of year

From July till Novber,  
he believes, from actual  
experience, that Fevers  
& Dysenteries are the  
consequence of camping  
out the men to escape  
Cholera

In 1863, Sir Hugh Rose  
issued a General Order  
(induced by the Cholera

**f210v**

Commission) that, on  
the first cases of  
Cholera occurring, the  
whole of the troops  
should be camped out.

Fever & Dysenteries  
were the consequence

In Sir W. Mansfield's  
Bombay Command (he  
has been 24 years in  
India) Cholera was  
*endemic* from January  
till June -

"If I had moved  
out the troops the  
moment these endemic  
cases occurred, I  
should have destroyed  
the men with Fevers -

== In the N. W. Provinces,  
the Cholera makes the  
most extraordinary  
jumps - It jumped

**f211**

from Amritsar over  
all the intermediate  
space to Peshawur

== In the valley of Peshawur  
which is 7 miles wide,  
it left the whole  
region at once, Peshawur  
itself, the camp where  
the men had been  
camped out, the  
Cantonments, the Villages -  
And it was in them  
all at once

Doubts the wisdom  
of moving the men - as  
an invariable rule

== Doubts whether  
Peshawur can be  
abandoned for Attoch,  
until there is a  
much better communication  
over the Indus -

Allahabad, on the

**f211v**

contrary, Sir W.  
Mansfield has ordered  
to be abandoned. And  
there are at this moment but 2  
companies in the Fort by his Order -  
The new Barracks he  
ordered to be abandoned  
They were swept with  
Cholera, as well as the  
camp & city -



**f212**

6.

*Primary Education*

Mr. Grey & the Bengal  
party are all for paying  
Universities - (which  
now could very well  
support themselves -  
the people who go to  
them are rich & can  
quite well pay for  
their own education)  
- they oppose primary education

Ld Mayo, Sir W. Mansfield,  
&c &c - all for  
primary education -  
have won the victory  
in the last Session -

But in India  
where there is not  
the public opinion  
which forces even  
conservative government  
in England on - & forces  
them not to undo what  
has been done - you

**f212v**

in India are never safe -  
You find the old  
conservative element  
cropping up & up -  
& recovering its ground  
when you least expect  
it

The D. of Argyll now  
sanctions primary  
education - But the  
old Members of the  
Council almost beat  
him.

**[end 10:119]**

signed memorandum, ff213-28, pencil

**f213**

*Private Netley Nurses Quarters*

July 11/70

*Dr. Sutherland*

I cannot but feel that the proposed [15:216-17]  
Quarters are quite inadmissible -

I do not know the length of the passage -  
but it cannot be less than 60 ft -

There will therefore be a passage  
quite without light & air ~~for~~ except for  
a length of 25 feet *on one side*, where it merely  
receives (over a wooden partition 7 or 8 ft  
high) the light & air of the *Linenry* -

Mrs. Deeble proposes that the *new*  
Nurses' rooms shall be divided only by  
partitions - putting the day Sisters  
into these - & the Night Sisters into  
two of the old rooms - [The exchange  
of course is essential any way, as I  
mentioned to you ] But I don't

**f213v**

think we could listen to this Partition  
arrangement for a moment -

To put very respectable women for  
permanent Quarters into two pens  
to air the Linenry & to air & light  
a dark passage 60 ft long or more -  
is a thing in my opinion never to be  
sanctioned -

The Quarters are quite close enough as it is

Mrs. Deeble has taken in her little girl  
(that celestial little girl!) *and* a servant  
for permanent inmates -

She has divided off the space you  
have marked X & placed the two  
servants there -

[She is clamorous for a separate kitchen  
for herself.]

**f214**

They are now therefore 9 women  
& worst of all a little girl in that  
confined space -

[The little girl has not had a day's  
health since she came]

To put 2 more women (12 in all, including the child) seems  
to me

very like ensuring - for the winters when  
they *can't* have all the windows open -  
a constant course of declining health,  
ending perhaps in low Fever or something  
of the kind -

[How I wish that somebody of authority  
could go down who really understands  
the subject & come to an authoritative  
decision as to what may & what may  
not be tolerated -]

The "Housekeeper's Stores", Mrs. D. says,  
is only 3 ft wide - has a (stone) wall on

**f214v**

the Linenry side, & cannot be used as  
a bedroom - for one of the Nurses - nor  
the wall thrown down -

This may or may not be true - But I  
see she is determined not to give it up -  
And, as she has occupied the space  
marked X (which you marked for  
the "Stores") for her servants, I do  
not see how ~~you~~/she can -

N.B.

[I did not object to the curtailment  
of the Linenry on the ground of too  
little Linen=space but on the ground  
that a long passage already too dark,  
close & unairy (think what a  
passage without windows of 60 feet  
is!) should not be farther blocked up  
& with living beings, - so as to make  
the place, as I fear, almost  
pestilential!]

F. Nightingale

[end 15:217]

**f215**

[2]

Mrs. Deeble says  
that there are 3  
*Engineers' rooms, "close  
to their Quarters"  
which might be given  
up to them -*

But she admitted  
that she had applied  
for these to both  
P.M.O. (Dr. Beatson)  
& Actg Cdt. (Major Rawlins)  
& had been pointedly  
refused -

She admitted that  
she thought they would  
"much rather have no  
"Night Nurses than  
"give up the Engineers'  
"Quarters"

She says that Dr.  
Beatson once answered  
her by: "Write to the Secy

**f215v**

"of the Nightingale Nurses"

Unfortunately, it  
appears she said to  
them, (as she did to me)  
that she "wanted these  
"Engineers' Quarters for  
"a kitchen for herself  
"OR for Night Nurses" -

She says that the  
P.M.O., Actg Commandt,  
& Capt. of Orderlies  
are all disputing the  
necessity of Night  
Nurses (as being a  
slur on the Orderlies)  
-while the Professors &  
all the Medical Officers  
about the sick are  
bent on Night Nurses  
as essential -

**f216**

[Mrs. Deeble seems altered & was in such a singular state of excitement as to be quite incoherent -

(I do not think I have ever seen Mrs. Shaw Stewart more so)

For the first hour she was quite incapable of looking at the plan or of explaining any thing as to Quarters. After fully one hour she did manage just to give me some idea of the state of the present Quarters - But till the last she was incapable of distinguishing one end from the ~~plan~~ other of the plan -

**f216v**

*And I do not understand now on which side, or where, these "Engineers' Quarters" are - She says: "quite close" to & "opposite" the door of the Nurses' Quarters -*

I am afraid that Mrs. Deeble's excitement is not 'singular' to me, for she told me herself, when ~~telling~~ giving her (self= approving) ~~actions~~ accounts of what she had done that Major Rawlins had said to her he was "sorry to see her in such agitations" -]

**f217***Private*

[3]

About the little girl: -

it came out quite  
at last, & only in  
answer to my direct  
question after her child's  
welfare & progress,  
that Mrs. Deeble had  
taken her to live in  
~~with~~ the Quarters -

[Mrs. D. had complained  
violently & repeatedly  
that she had to pay  
the second servant  
herself & had made  
no answer to my enquiry  
whether 2 servants  
were necessary - nor to  
whether her (proposed)  
2 kitchens were necessary]

Of course I made no  
observation to her having

**f217v**

taken the little girl  
contrary to previous  
arrangement - For *I* am  
certainly not her mistress-  
Nor are we her Masters  
in any sense -

But every harm ~~talked~~/to be  
anticipated seems to have  
ensued. The little  
girl (not 6 years old)  
excessively precocious,  
lives in the Wards &  
tells the ~~dying~~/sick men  
(who adore her - as  
I am sure *I* should!!)  
of their approaching  
deaths - & *in the*  
*Linenry* & never  
goes out to play by  
the sea -

It is so natural for  
the poor mother not to  
be able to bear to ~~illeg~~/place

**f218**

~~with~~/out that heavenly  
little girl that one  
could only sympathize  
with her.

But Mrs. Deeble's  
*own account* of the  
child is: that she is  
on the high road to  
one of those premature  
lovely deaths one  
reads of in novels!

I am sure that Mrs.  
D. understood that  
the little *I* did say  
- viz - about sending  
out the child to play  
by the sea & not  
letting such a precocious  
& heavenly creature as  
that, excite herself  
with the Patients -  
was entirely prompted

**f218v**

as indeed it was,  
by love of the child -

But I don't think  
she will make any  
difference -

[She appeared a little  
ashamed when it  
came out about Nelly the  
child being there -  
But, as I truly felt  
that I had no  
business to reproach her,  
I passed it off with  
enquiries about  
the darling child -  
for it is a darling]

She Nelly has had an inflammation  
of the lungs since she has  
been there

No wonder!

[At the very moment that  
Mrs. D. let me urge (on the  
Pension question) the *placing out*  
of the little girl - with the  
authorities - the little girl was at Netley - I did not  
however say this

to Mrs. Deeble



**f219****PRIVATE** [4]

Mrs. Deeble's account of  
Netley Departments is  
deplorable: -

[of course we must take  
it with a grain of salt -  
but much of it we *know*  
*is* true -]

The Commandant's duties  
(Genl Wilbraham's) are  
devolved upon the  
Assistant (now Acting)  
Commandant (Major Rawlins)

{By the way, did I  
tell you that the most  
strenuous interest has  
been made with me to  
get Major (Col.) *Conolly*  
the appointment of  
Commandant?}

The Assistant (now  
Acting) Commandant's  
duties devolve upon the  
Capt. of Orderlies (Capt.

**f219v**

Hawtray)

The Capt. of Orderlies'  
duties devolve upon  
the Serjeant Major -

All the Ward duties,  
strictly committed to the  
Capt. of Orderlies, fall  
upon the Serjt Major -

To all appearance,  
*none* of them are  
performed

Capt. Hawtray, raised  
{written on a slant in the margin} There are suspicions  
of Capt H.'s honesty

from the ranks, like  
a *parvenu* appears  
to be quite intolerable  
in his new responsibilities -

The duties of Capt. of  
Orderlies appear not  
to be done at all -

The Orderlies, Ward  
Masters & Serjeants  
are constantly reported  
for drunkenness in

**f220**

the Wards - & Even  
Patients, (having procured  
drink) for fighting  
drunk in the wards.

The complaints never  
reach the (Acting)  
Commandant - And  
nothing is done -

I own I feel terrified  
at the prospect for our  
Night Nurses -

[Mrs. Deeble, in the  
violence of her conduct  
towards the Capt. of O.  
& Commandt, appears,  
*by her own account,*  
entirely to put Mrs.  
S. Stewart in the shade,  
tho' like Mrs. S. Stewart,  
in the right as to facts]

not concerning herself -]

== In the Hospital, the  
Patients are entirely  
a secondary consideration

**f220v**

If a Ward Master or  
Orderly is found sober &  
competent, he is  
immediately transferred  
to the Writing Depts -  
Both W. Master & Orderly are constantly  
changed - And none  
but the drunken &  
incompetent are left  
about the *Patients*.

Both Patients &  
Medical Officers  
always come off  
*second best* -

The Med. Officers  
depend entirely on our  
Nurses.

N.B.

There is not a drop of  
hot water in all Netley  
for the Patient, unless  
he draws it himself at  
the tap in the *Corridor*  
& carries it himself in to the Lavatory

**f221**

[5]

About Emm: -  
Mrs. Deeble entered  
very largely into the  
case, which appears  
to consist in this - that  
Emm is too stupid  
for the place, too  
stupid to have any  
command over the Orderlies, she is absolutely  
worse educated  
than ~~they~~/many of the  
orderlies under her, but might  
do very well as  
Nurse *under* a "Sister"  
in a Civil Hospital  
- tho' in the very  
responsible place of  
"Sister" over Orderlies  
in a Military Hospital,  
she is always getting  
her Supt into scrapes,  
many of which were  
related to me -  
[My own opinion has

**f221v**

long been that Emm  
is entirely out of place  
in a Military Hospital,  
& will do nothing  
but mischief till she  
is removed.]

Mrs. Deeble admitted  
of her own accord  
that she "had *no case*  
at all against Emm,  
~~with~~/for the War Office" -

She said: could we  
not find her Emm a place?-

But, she said, Mrs.  
Wardroper had said  
she would not take  
Emm back -

I know not how this  
is -

Of course I am not  
the person to recommend  
recommending a bad

**f222**

Nurse -

But the Middlesex  
Hospital are  
"delighted" with the  
two Truemans who  
in my opinion are  
worse than Emm.

As the Middlesex  
have asked us for  
more Nurses, would  
they not take Emm?

Of course we must  
guard ourselves in  
recommending her,  
if we do -

[I think the case is  
somewhat altered by this: that  
we should not have  
recommended Emm  
to *such a place as*  
Netley, directly from  
ourselves, without

**f222v**

knowing a little more  
of what she had been  
recently -

We (justly) condemn  
Miss L. Freeman yet  
we recommend her  
Nurses-]

Mrs. Deeble has  
absolutely no moral  
fault to find with  
Emm - Yet Emm,  
from her stupidity, has  
got herself accused of  
drunkenness, (which  
accusation however  
Mrs. D. entirely  
disproved) & of other  
things -

— The 5 (other) "Sisters" are  
quite as much above the  
Soldiers & soldiers' wives  
as ever we could possibly  
desire - As I glean, quite  
as much as you or I could be

[The Acting SUPT,  
(who "acted" between  
Mrs S. Stewart & Mrs.  
Deeble,) has married a  
PATIENT!!! & now writes  
for a place as Matron -]

I have dwelt thus  
much on all this,  
because it is often asked,  
- what makes the difference  
between the female Nursing  
of a Military & that of  
a Civil Hospital? -  
- & why can we not  
properly recommend  
Emm for a Military,  
& yet might for a  
Civil Hospital? -



== For the same reason,  
I have dwelt on the present  
state of the Orderlies  
(or rather the Disorderlies)  
at Netley - in order to  
shew how essentially  
necessary it must be for  
our women to be quite &  
entirely above them in rank  
& feeling every thing

**f223**

[6]

Dr. Sutherland

1. One of Mrs. Deeble's  
most important  
questions is: -

Shall *she* write  
*direct to the War Office*  
about the next grant  
for the "Sisters" clothing -  
- also telling the W.O. -  
that the £3 allowed  
is not enough but  
£4.4 would be  
sufficient -

or shall she write  
*thro' the Commandant?*

[She appears to have  
had a violent scene  
with the Acting Commt  
about it - who told  
her she must write  
*thro' him.*

She is not Supt Genl  
And my opinion is that  
the Acting Commandt is

**f223v**

right - & Mrs. D. wrong -  
 But I should like ~~to~~/from you to  
 know more -]

2. { Mrs. Deeble's  
 { 2nd question } 2-

The Capt. of Orderlies  
 told Mrs. Deeble,  
 (acting as Assistant  
 Commandt,) perhaps  
 in rather offensive  
 terms, that she ought,  
 when she gave her  
 "Sisters" leave of  
 absence, to notify it  
 to *him* "to be inscribed  
 "in her book".

She told him, with  
 quite unnecessary  
 violence, that she  
 would do no such

**f224**

thing, that he was  
 not her master &c -

I think Mrs. Deeble  
 is right.

But the whole  
 mischief comes from  
 not having a proper  
 Commandt -

It is indisputable  
 that, till Mrs. D. is  
 Supt. Genl, she ought  
 to forward letters &  
 accounts to the W. O.  
*thro' the Commandant,*  
 - & to report to him  
 such circumstances  
 as the leave of absence  
 of "Sisters" &c -  
*if he desires it -*

[The one person at  
 Netley who does *not*  
 understand Military

**f224v**

discipline which  
she so often invokes,  
is: Mrs. Deeble -  
[In the Crimean War,  
I, who was Supt. Genl,  
never moved a Nurse  
from Scutari to the  
Crimea or vice versa,  
without reporting it  
to Commandants,  
P.M.O. &c &c &c]

**f225**

[7]

*Re Emm*

About Mrs. Wardroper  
v. Mrs. Deeble, I had  
better perhaps state the  
whole circumstances, as  
you have heard part -

Emm (not Mrs. Deeble)  
wrote to Mrs. Wardroper  
~~the~~/a letter [Mrs. W. sent it  
to me] telling her of the  
"poisoning" case - For  
heartlessness, for brutal  
selfishness, for abuse of  
her Supt because her  
Supt had done exactly  
what she ought [Emm  
maintained that Mrs.  
Deeble ought not to  
have been in the Hospl  
so as to know anything  
about it - & ought  
not to have told the  
Medical Officers of it]  
I have never, in my  
long Nurse's life, seen

**f225v**

anything like Emm's  
letter -

Mrs. Wardroper wrote  
back, enclosing ~~it to~~/her answer to  
Mrs. Deeble herself, a  
letter of APOLOGY (*of Mrs.*  
*D. to Emm!*) which,  
even had Mrs. D. seen  
Emm's letter accusing  
her, would I think  
have been open to  
objection, - but to Mrs.  
D. who knew nothing  
(& is to know nothing)  
of Emm's letter of  
accusation, must have  
appeared quite a  
lowering of her authority  
as Supt. to her Nurse -

[Unfortunately Mrs.  
Wardroper, who sent me  
a copy of this letter, did  
not do so till after it  
~~she~~ was gone.]

**f226**

answer, -

says,

brusque, -

it

thought

had

*her*

say?]

that

What she said in her  
letter to Mrs. Wardroper she  
was that she (Mrs. Deeble  
had read her letter to  
Emm, had then closed

it &amp; given it to Emm

"without reading it  
(*aloud*) to her" (Emm)

And she (Mrs. Deeble)  
said to me, pointedly  
that she handed all  
intercourse *from Mrs*

*Wardroper* to the Nurses

[Of these 2 things I  
am sure.]

Mrs. Deeble's

tho' like all she

unnecessarily

was not unnatural-

[Mrs. Wardroper sent

to me.]

She said that she

all communications

better be made by

to Mrs. W. about the  
Nursing -

[What else could she

I do not remember

she said either that

"had given the letter

to Emm without

reading it" (she did

read it, as desired)

or that "no communication

had better be made to

the Nurses by Mrs. W." -

At all events when,

(after this,) I saw Mrs.

Deeble &amp; talked to her

about it, she spoke,,

tho' somewhat childishly,

**f226v**

very nicely about it -  
said that Mrs. W. ought  
to have "*shaken* her" (Mrs.  
D.) & "scolded" her, if  
she were hurt, instead  
of being hurt -  
concurred with me  
that every communication  
should be promoted  
between Mrs. W. & the  
Nurses - & that  
Mrs. W.'s influence  
was the main stay  
for their good conduct.

[I have always felt  
that either Mrs. Deeble  
should have been shown  
Emm's letter against  
herself - or Mrs. Wardroper  
could not expect any  
thing but what did  
happen, from her own  
letter to Emm.

It is one of the few  
things in which I think  
Mrs. W. unreasonable -]

**f227**

[8]

*Re Emm (continued)*

However, Mrs. Wardroper  
professed herself quite  
satisfied, when I told  
her the result of the  
conversation between  
Mrs. D. & me - And  
I regret that it should  
have rankled in her  
mind, so that she  
should have given  
you a version (&  
such a very imperfect  
one) of the story.

On Saturday, I had  
another very satisfactory  
(indeed it was the  
only satisfactory part)  
conversation with Mrs.  
Deeble about Mrs. W.

== As to Lennox, she  
took a through Night  
Ticket (a return Ticket)

**f227v**

to Edinburgh & did  
not stop in London at  
all -

All the others are  
talking of nothing but  
seeing Mrs. Wardroper.

I am quite sure, as  
far as you can be sure  
of anything with such  
a very self=contradictory  
person as Mrs. Deeble,  
that she entirely concurs  
with me as to the  
advantage of Mrs.  
Wardroper's continued  
influence over the  
Nurses -

And I do not in  
the least believe that  
she "has intimated  
"that she wishes her  
"Nurses to have as little  
"communication as  
"possible with St. T.'s"  
[One of them may have said so-]



**f228**

She asked me, very heartily, whether I "could not persuade Mrs. W. to go down to Netley" & whether I "could not persuade you" - she wanted so much to see you both there.

[But, as I say, she is self=contradictory & will sometimes contradict herself 6 times in as many minutes.]

I pressed her to go from me to Mrs. Wardroper on Saturday - And I believe she would have gone without my doing so -

ff229-30, 11 July, JS's response about the problems at Netley, embossed War Office

ff231-32v, {ca 12 July 1870} more response to the Netley problems

signed letter, ff233-34v, pencil

**f233**

Copy

No. 2 July 12/70

Abridged

Dear Dr. Sutherland

1. Do you not entirely forget that you wrote me a very severe letter, "cautioning" me *against* refusing Mrs. D. her child at Netley? -

In spite of your letter, I did refuse it. I stipulated that she was to give up Netley or her child -

I wrote a long letter on the subject - & said that we would not recommend her unless she placed out the child.

This year, not only without our consent but without our knowledge - *in secret* from me, who never knew it till Saturday, - Sir G. "Logan" & her "other friends" have given their consent to her having child & servant - I thought

[prompted by you]

I cannot (& I certainly *shall not*) interfere further.

**f233v**

2. One of the very first principles of our Nursing Reform has been: - [15:217]

*all* the Nurses to be under the same roof as the Supt. - *especially Night Nurses* - *especially in a Military Hospital* -

*Nothing* would induce us to consent to Night Nurses being sent, or to have anything more to do with Netley whatever, if the Night Nurses are to be "lodged out"

- *more especially*, in the present disorderly state of Netley -

I ask you, whether it would be *safer* to have the Night Nurses immediately opposite the Quarters - or quite outside in the Married Quarters

To keep them from having anything to do with *Soldiers' Wives*, except as Patients, is a main element of our system. And we shall maintain it -

**f234**

3. Sir G. "Logan" ~~illeg~~ has been, and *is* Mrs. D.'s ~~worst~~ adviser - & her worst -

For me to send her to "Logan" for advice, is to ensure the ruin of the Nursing -

Beatson himself told her to apply to us -

If she is to have Night Nurses from St. Thomas', as applied for, - nothing would induce us to let them go except under our own Regulations - *Certainly not under "Logan's"*

4. The room marked {0 with a dot inside} was proposed by Dr. Whitfield as a Nurse's quarter & objected to strenuously *by yourself* & the Netley Engineers -

5. *I shall send the Memo you have now sent me to Mr. H. Bonham Carter. I can do nothing more*

**f234v**

about it

Please return me *these* sheets.

N.B. I have never had any great  
idea of Mrs. Deeble. She is a weaker, less able  
edition of Mrs. S. Stewart

[You told me she was "far superior  
to Mrs. Wardroper" - !!]

Mrs. Deeble has ~~just~~ been kept straight  
by applying perpetually to us -

As for Col: Ravenhill's opinion, I know  
what that is worth - We shall

not ask his advice about our Nursing [end 15:217]  
yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

I have been writing since it was light this  
morning - the same yesterday -

*This* Memo of yours is rather hard upon me.

JS ff235-36v, more material about the situation at Netley

ff237-37v, July 15, with details of his work and his intention of  
working on FN's proof at her home

ff238-38v, {[ca 15 July 1870]}, re papers he and FN are working on

unsigned notes, ff239-42v, pencil FN, JS in pen interspersed

**f239** [To Dr. Sutherland]

**JS** You must enter into no discussion about this.  
You can't stand it

**FN {in bold}**

1.

**Could your Mysterious Highness tell a donkey  
in plain terms in what way "Dr. Balfour's  
"note commits himself"? JS** 1. He has separated  
between the diseases which many surgeons hold to be one  
& the same 2. His method of taking the ratios is not  
sufficient 3. The experiment is too short. 4 The results in  
the selected states are not such as to justify the cost even if  
evident

**2. What is to be said to Miss Stephen's note?**

**JS** What can you say to this. Louis Napoleon will  
have no volunteers of any kind for nursing & he is right.  
Germany might take them but it would be to make  
political capital. The best preparation for war nursing  
{continued on the f239v}

**3. You propose to me to "come on Saturday" -**

**I should have left London "on Saturday" -**

**I am however too ill to move - *probably***

**But I shall not put off my departure**

**day after day indefinitely - risking**

**my life where others will not risk a**

**few hours' labour. JS.** It is not a few hours labour.

It is doing compulsory work. But there is no reason  
for putting it off. I mean office work.

**4. Then I am to tell Mr. Plowden that**

**he is to wait for your paper till**

**"after the beginning of August"?**

**5. vide your note enclosed -**

**f239v**

JS continues

**f240**

JS continues

f241

Thanks

I am writing to Mr. Plowden to return his papers & to tell him that I will remain here till Thursday - if I can - to receive any proofs from him  
Is there anything more you want me to say to him? JS. No everything is arranged.

[I should have liked much to know the purport of your Minute on the loose "Sanitary papers]

JS You can see this in proof. It is now in the printers hands.

What do you decide about the Lying-in

papers? JS What I wrote yesterday, namely that if you will allow me to pick out the papers, I will complete the M.S for you & you can either go over it before or after it is in type. As to the question about its being printed at all I am afraid you will have to decide this yourself

f241v {JS continues}

f242

You have not enabled me to answer two of Mr. Plowden's questions.

1. What should be the "Heading" if any of my Paper? JS. I have enclosed the best form in Mr. Plowden's letter in Outline
2. must they expect to "receive further papers" from you "after the beginning of August"? JS. Yes.

You understand that the statement that "all the troops were withdrawn from Allahabad except 2 companies" was received by me viva voce from Sir W. Mansfield?

Is it safe to put it in? - JS Yes -  
[M.S. bottom of p. 3 - last but one Parag {edge of page missing}  
He offered to come again to see me "{the?}"  
moment I might send for him" - But  
that of course is out of the question - for  
me now - JS. I think you have got all out of him  
you could get. It is well to see h

f242v JS continues

ff243-43v, {[before 19 July 1870]}, re hospital const and plans

FN unsigned note, ff244-44v, pencil

f244 {archivist: [ca 20 July 1870]}

[8:229-30]

I regret exceedingly that the  
Lying-in paper is not ready -

Dr. C.J.B. Williams (whom  
I was obliged to call in on  
my own account) has  
consulted me about the  
Memorial to Sir James Simpson  
(on the Committee of which he  
is) -

~~They~~/Some are bent on building a  
Hospital

If we had been ready with  
our facts & plans for them,  
we should have been just  
in the nick of God's Providence

[Dr. Williams himself is all

**f244v**

astray about Carbollic Acid  
as the chief remedy in Hospitals - but  
listened attentively for an  
hour to all I said  
(greatly to my bodily  
detriment)

JS replies. I am very glad you have cautioned Williams. It is a  
caution also to us, and we must make the report to fit better  
into the present prejudices. I think the best thing I can do now  
will be to go straight to the office and discharge any work there  
& then go to Hampton and thence home. I will come in the morning.

ff245-45v, 22 July, 1870 advising the acceptance of the present  
plans, news about the effectiveness of hand-washing and rumours  
about the Franco-Prussian War

{f246 is blank}

unsigned note, ff246v-47, pencil

**f246v** {archivist: [ca 22 July 1870]}

What is to be said to Col. Loyd Lyndsay? -

I send you poor Mme Schwabe's enclosures  
as a Supplementary paper

You have seen what Col: L. says in *this*  
morning's "Times"?

JS replies

unsigned note, ff248-49, pencil

**f248** {archivist: [25 July 1870]}

I cannot write another word to-day - **[8:230]**

If you come tomorrow, I hope I may be able  
to see you

We have much to decide -

This is the *third* time I leave London  
leaving the Lying-in paper *in statu quo* -

I shall leave it to you to decide  
whether it shall be abandoned altogether  
- or what is to be done -

only repeating ~~the~~ for myself that the  
only way I can work now is by receiving  
written notes from you & working them  
up into my own language - then  
printing & shewing you the work -

It is just 14 months since you desired me  
to put those great folios in the chair (for the  
Lying-in paper) There they have been ever since

**f248v**

Are they to stay there?

JS replies. If leave to me will pick out the papers I require. Will  
do my very best for you, you may rest assured. I will come at the  
same time tomorrow and shall be glad to see you if you are able.

I see that there is as much coming upon you as you will be  
able to do. And perhaps we may find some way of having it done with  
as little fatigue as poss.

Think of that poor old doting Piu IX declaring himself  
infallible & a God by the

**f249**

JS continues: light of a candle when the darkness of the thunder  
storm was so intense that otherwise he wd not have been able to  
read! That story in today Times will be remembered after this war



is forgotten. It was Belshazzars Feast in the 19th century.

unsigned notes, f250, pencil

**f250**

{archivist: [ca 26 July 1870]}

Settle for yourself

As soon as the India Report is done, I go out  
of town -

I have been so ill for the last 5 or 6 weeks -

And that is the only thing you will do without

being driven, which I am now totally unable for.

I refer you to my book - I say that it must be done  
with the very greatest caution by the Matron  
& hardly at all in the kitchen - but much  
out of doors -

14	19	8
6	14	11-1/2
21	14	7-1/2

JS, f251, 29/7/70, enclosing a rough draft of a minute FN wished to see

ff252-54v JS letter embossed War Office, 29 July, 1870, re JS's recent visit to Netley  
{FN's pencilled note at the bottom of f242v}  
The R.E.s can now move  
into the (vacated) Lunatic ward, if they think fit.

signed letter, ff255-60v, pencil

**f255**

-1-

July 30/70

[15:217-19]

Mrs. Deeble

Dear Dr. Sutherland

You ask me an extremely difficult question.

But how can I interfere? -

She is killing her child -

She is breaking all the most  
essential conditions of her service.

But, if the W.O. & the D.G. allow  
all this .....?

[She has allowed me to stultify  
myself by urging upon the W.O. the  
very reasons - viz. her self-sacrifice  
about her post - for restoring her  
husband's pension - which she knew  
she had broken & nullified]

**f255v**

1. About the Night Nurses' Quarters-  
v. *your sketch plan* -

It is very, very objectionable for Military Nurses, especially *Night Nurses*, not to be all within the same door as their Supt.

Still If the "open passage 4 divided  
"from the hall" "passing on the first  
"floor" *would be for the Nursing  
Staff alone*, - if the "arch X is built  
up, & above all if the R.E.s will  
vacate, the thing might be arranged  
so as to secure the respectability of  
our Nurses.

[But, I am sorry to say, your  
sketch plan only increases my feeling  
of Mrs. D.'s untrustworthiness, since  
it is totally different from all I  
could extract from her.]  
as to the position of the  
Quarters she desired -

**f256**

2. As for her "notion of Supt's duties": -  
I can only repeat what I have said  
before - (you ask me to "judge")

When I was asked: ~~sh~~ might she  
have her little girl with her? -

my answer was: -  
any such arrangement could only  
~~lead~~ end in a Rule that future Supts  
should be either single or widows  
"without encumbrances" - (which  
Rule, tho' not an uncommon, is a  
most objectionable one - because it excludes  
the very class which makes the best Supts)  
And I gave as my reason - 1 - that  
Supt & Nurses in Military Hospls  
*expressly take service* on the condition  
that they may be ordered off at an  
hour's notice *on War Service*

2. certain reasons about Night =  
superintendence  
(none of which apply to "Mrs. Wardroper",

**f256v**

who "has a house of her own & her children in it" "at the Hospital"  
~~But~~/Add that Mrs. Wardroper is a very different person from Mrs. Deeble. Her *duties* would always be first with Mrs. Wardroper - Mrs. Deeble is nothing but a Mrs. Shaw Stewart *without* her ability & without her self-devotion.]

~~The~~ D.G. certainly told Mrs Deeble that there were houses near Netley where she might live (as an Officer of the Hospital) *with* her children.

To this my answer was: - 1. that the Supt must live *with* her Nurses in Quarters - 2. that *no child* ought to live in Hospital Quarters.

**f257**

-2-

[I merely recapitulate this, because you say you "must leave me to judge" - as if you did not know my "judgment" - ]

I consider it *quite* impossible that a Supt can do her duty, *either in peace or in war* (but much more in war when she may be ordered off at nay moment) with a dear little sick child in the Quarters & boys coming backwards & forwards for the holidays -

[But Mrs. D., while urging & accepting all *I* could do for *her*, has *carefully concealed* that she has done nothing of what she, as I understood, accepted as conditions]

**f257v**

But 3 -

the authorities are themselves to blame  
-I presume that she did not  
take the children in without  
their knowledge & consent, tho' she  
did without mine.

And 4

I do not see what *I* can do -  
I have must fought an immense  
battle for her with the W.O. &  
with the Treasury on the ground  
of her *merits* to get her back her  
husband's pension -

Ld Northbrook told my brother-in-law,  
almost brutally, that they could  
get 50 such women as Mrs. Deeble  
at half her price]

*We won -*

**f258**

I can hardly turn round now &  
say: Oh let her go - if she won't give up  
the children -

[*We have no one to replace her*]  
which is another consideration.

===== You ask me to "tell you what  
I think" -

I am afraid I have nothing  
more to say -

We have told all Foreign Powers, as you know  
that we have a nucleus of Nursing  
Staff ~~that~~/which we can always transport to  
the Seat of War, if necessary - !! - at a  
moment's notice!!

I spared no pains to explain this  
to Mrs. Deeble -

And this is how she carries it out - [end 15:219]

**f258v**

I am afraid I can say no more -

I think you must communicate  
with H. Bonham Carter -

And I have no objection to  
you shewing this to him & to Mrs.  
Wardroper, if you wish it.

Yours very faithfully

Florence Nightingale

On Tuesday August 2 Sidney Herbert  
will have been dead 9 years -

And every year his loss becomes  
greater & greater still.

F.N.

**f259**

-3-

P.S.

Since I wrote the above, I have received  
the enclosed from Mrs. Deeble -  
You see the discrepancies between her  
account & yours of your interview -  
[The only good thing in her letter is  
that the children are going away for  
a time to Scotland-]

You see that she is not thinking of the  
awful war *or of anything but her*  
*own accommodation* -

You see that she wants to turn out the  
R.E.s to have their 3 rooms for  
2 "*day apartments*" & a kitchen *for*  
*HERSELF* - *in addition to* an Office &  
Bed room in the Quarters -

In other words, she wants to have  
Quarters for children, "governess", & self  
besides & apart from the Nurses' Quarters.

**f259v**

I agree with you that "she is the only  
"woman who would have asked it."

At the same time, I must remark two  
things: -

1. that, if they are to have the R.E. rooms,  
I suppose it is better that *she* should  
have them for her "day apartments",  
the Night Nurses ~~being~~ to sleep inside the  
Quarters

[But it entirely negatives all our ideas  
of a Supt's occupations -

And, as Supt *Genl*, so far as in  
me it lies, I will never recommend  
her - It is quite out of the question.]

2. that it was Sir G. Logan (the D.G.)  
who put it into her head that she  
was to have "a house" to live in "with  
her children - [*This* is not asking as much  
as he did.]

**f260**

I don't know that I can do  
anything more but to forward  
all this to you - & to ask you  
to forward it to H. Bonham  
Carter, *this* letter of mine  
inclusive - And I will  
send him your letter & sketch  
plan, if you like it, to explain  
the discrepancies between Mrs.  
Deeble's account of your interview  
& ~~her~~ your own

Yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

Some one ought to tell her that this  
is not the way to be Supt *GENL*,  
if it were only on account of War Service

**f260v**

re Mrs. Deeble

signed letter, ff261-64v, pencil

**f261**

-†- July 30/70 [15:631]

Help to "Sick & Wounded".

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I enclose

1. a letter from Sir H. Verney  
[Please tell me what occurs to you  
upon it]
2. My expected & dreaded letter from the  
Crown Princess (Prussia) has come -  
I send an Extract - (separate sheet).  
Now I suppose I ought to make use  
of this (with the different Committees)  
Else how can her request be  
fulfilled?  
[Yet they must not print it -]  
If I keep it to myself, of course I  
frustrate her intention -  
What do you suggest?

==  
What ought I to reply *generally* to the Princess? *She won't*

**f261v**

be satisfied to hear of Col: Lindsay's Association. Yet I ought to  
avoid shewing sympathy to Prussia at the expence of France

---

I sent to Col: Loyd Lindsay

thro' Sir H. Verney

- (1) - an Extract from the "Bulletin" which  
you sent me - (last Para. of p. 718)
- (2) - what Longmore says (whom however  
Col. Lindsay knows) about "no use sending  
"supplies except according to patterns  
"laid down in the Convention" -&c -

[If this is *strictly* so, surely Mme Schwabe  
& Lady Shaftesbury ought to be informed  
They are collecting all sorts of things.

yours v. faithfully  
F. Nightingale

[end]

{f262 is blank}

**f262v**

re Col. Lindsay

f263, JS's response



**f263v**

Cr. Princess

about Volunteer Nurses

ff264-64v, JS's reply. Ink. Next as to the rules. I wd help them by all means. The following points strike me:

1. The nurse must obey rigorously the orders of the med officer in regard to

a admin of diets

b admin of medicines, wine, tisanes &c

2. She must attend the med off and receive his instructions.

3. She must assist at shifting the bedding and in moving the patients.

4. She must assist at ops when reqd to do so

5. She must attend & assist at dressings and obey the directions of the med off

. She must see that all the material removed from a wound at each dressing is immediately taken out of the ambulance and plunged in water with chloride of lime in the open air.

7. She must attend to the state of all syringes and material about to be used either for ops or dressings to ascertain that they are scrupulously clean. The smallest impurity may sacrifice a life. A syringe shd be used for one dressing & then cleansed.

8 She must in like manner see that all vessels are kept scrupulously clean

9. She shd see that the floor and furnishing of the ambulance are kept clean.

10. She shd see that all excretions of patients are immediately removed & the vessels thoroughly cleansed before being replaced.

V

11. She shd ensure that the ventilation is kept sufficient by day night so that no odour is experience in the wards.

12. Similar directions may be obeyed for sick except the special directions for dressings.

13. In both classes of cases the nurse shd so arrange the pillows and under pillows or air pillows as to relieve the pressure from time to time on all parts of the body which are unduly pressed in by constrained position.

14. Much of the usefulness of the ambulance and hosp nurse will depend on her personal character. She must be gentle, firm, cheerful, obliging with her sick, and shd do any little office they may ask of he if not inconsistent with medical and surgical orders. She will always know how she has succeeded by the way in which she is received by her patients.

15. She must be respectful and obedient to all officers from whom she has been directed to receive orders or instructions.

Add Mss 45754

666

End

Add Mss 45755, microfilm, correspondence with Dr John Sutherland,  
1870-71, 280 folios, Adam Matthew reel 9

signed note, FN to JS, f1-2v, pencil

**f1**

Lea Hurst  
Mr. Rathbone Matlock  
*Army Tent Hospital* July 31/70  
Dear Dr. Sutherland  
Would you enable me to  
answer this?  
even by Telegraph?  
Or would you send direct to Mr.  
Rathbone yourself at 16 *PALL MALL*  
to save time?  
yours vy faithfully  
F. Nightingale  
{on the bottom of the note}  
initialled note, JS to FN, pen  
I have written to Mr. R. & told him that  
tents are the best things, but that he  
must apply to the Sec of State.  
J.S. 1/8/70

**f2v**

re Mr. Rathbone

signed note, FN to JS, f3, pencil

[15:632]

**f3**

IMMEDIATE

Lea Hurst Matlock

July 31/70

*Help to "Sick & Wounded"*

Dear Dr. Sutherland

This is the most *immediate* thing -

Will you please answer by  
return of post - what I ought  
to answer to this appeal of Sir  
H. Verney's - what "advice as to  
"the steps to be taken." I ought to  
give - what "suggestions to make"?

If you will answer here, by return of  
post, there is still time for me  
to write.

[Whether I shall have this many  
more weeks of this is another  
question]

**[end]**

Yours vy faithfully

F. Nightingale

initialled note, JS to FN, 4v, pen

**f4v**

W.O. 1 August 1870

Dear Miss Nightingale

I write on your own  
paper for convenience.

Enclosed is a draft of an  
appeal for your development  
It appears to meet Sir Harry's  
points.

If Lady Shaftesbury and  
Mrs Schwabe get up a  
movement the result will  
depend on what they do about  
the supplies. It is open to  
any body to send anything  
to Berlin. You see the  
Paris Committee want money  
& supplies. But I apprehend  
both committees would have  
the supplies made up  
according to pattern. We can't

++ do this because  
we have not joined  
the red cross & have  
not its instructions

Any way if the  
prepared Committee  
went to Paris & Berlin  
they would get the  
advice they want..

---

*P.R.*

It is my committee time  
But I will write either after  
if their {his spelling} is time, or tomorrow  
about the extract from her letter.

JS

signed letter, JS to FN, ff 5-8, pen

**f5**

2 August /70

Dear Miss Nightingale

There is no real discrepancy between Mrs. Deeble's account and mine. On the contrary she has given you the details about her children apparently for the purpose of explaining to you what I saw of them. In doing this she indicates clearly her views viz that whether her children are at school or on visit she wishes their home to be at Netley: And she is desirous of providing for this by ousting the Engineers.

Then as to our interview I told her she would have to apply for the quarters & she said that she placed the matter on me.

Application would of course involve enquiry as to reasons &

**f5**

would enable the matter to be discussed officially. I am very clear however on two points.

1st That the present arrangement of quarters is the only one which has been sanctioned, and that it would be sufficient except for the two night nurses & the children & 2nd servant.

2nd That supposing the children removed & the 2d servant, it would be a doubtful expedient to place 2 night nurses in the quarter

But this is not the present question which is, whether if the two nurses are to be added there is any other way of providing for them apart from all consideration of children & servant except in C.R.Es rooms.

I tried a way which would partly answer but then it involved the removal of the Infirmary room & the house store, & left the children & servant

**f6**

question where it is.

In short. If two night nurses are to be added (leaving everything else aside) I candidly confess that I see no place for them except in removing the superintendent out of her bed room & diminishing the present occupants of the quarter by one & then putting the two night nurses into the superintendents bedroom thereby adding one occupant.

To enable this to be done her two servants must come out of the shut off part of the passage & the partition must be removed.

She could sleep in her present day room, but she would want the C.R.Es room for her sitting room, & then you see that if she gets this, she gets at the same time all the room she

**f6v**

wants for her family        Q.E.D.

I don't like all this a bit.  
She ought to have objected at  
first & not to have acted so.

But as it is, what ~~Mrs~~  
We have to do is to see how  
2 night nurses can be  
accommodated. I don't think  
the present quarters are  
sufficient, but their insufficiency  
must be reported, and I  
can't do it. I have no power.

I don't know how the matter  
stands at present, but if I  
mistake not the question of  
quarters for the 2 nurses has  
been referred to Mr. Carter. If this  
is so the shortest way would be



**f7**

[ for Mr. Carter to report the opinion  
[ of Mr. W. & Mrs. W. if they  
[ were sent down for the purpose.  
I do not ask him to take my  
opinion, for I am not official in  
the matter, and when the report  
is sent here the whole question  
[ will be raised. Mr. Carter  
[ might see all that has been  
[ written, & to enable this to be  
[ done. I return it all to you.

As regards the nursing they  
were all of one opinion about  
it that it was excellent.

---

When Co. Rawlins & the C.R.E.  
& myself were at the door of  
the nurses quarters we rang  
the bell, & at the same moment  
my eye fell on the inscription  
"Ring & wait" placed over it.

**f7v**

I said I thought it scarcely necessary  
to put up such an inscription  
as the bell handle indicated  
the ringing requirement sufficiently  
and as to "waiting" there was no  
other resource seeing that there  
were no handles or other means  
of opening the door. They both  
laughed & explained it in this  
way, that in "Lady James" time  
ringing was of no use & that  
the howling & kicking at the  
door disturbed the hospital. To  
avoid this result they were obliged  
to put up the inscription referred  
to.

---

What Mrs. Deeble says about  
shutting the great Hall door at  
4 P.M. is I daresay true. But  
till that time the Hall is

**f8**

a thing to see. It is as fine  
as the Central Hall at Stafford  
house and if Mrs. Deebles  
plan is carried out, it will  
become the entrance & nothing  
more to her own private rooms.

---

I regret very much all this  
writing. You must not  
reply. It will be enough to  
forward the correspondence to  
Mr. Carter so that he may know  
all about it in case he has  
to report to the W.O.

Of course I should not like to  
be brought into the question  
personally.

I am yours ever faithful  
J. Sutherland.

signed note, FN to JS, f9, pencil

**f9**

[Not Immediate]

Aug 9/70

Miss Carpenter

I have really no time for her, how  
ought I give my reason to her  
proposed Association.

Yours

F. Nightingale

Dr. Sutherland

initialled note, JS to FN, pen

5 8/70

I would like to know a little more about  
this before advising you. You might  
in the mean time tell her that you are  
engaged at present in practical work  
& that you will think of it when you  
have more time. JS

initialled note, FN TO JS, with notes from JS in pen, ff10-11v,  
pencil  
{JS's notes in bold}

**f10**

Dr. Sutherland

*Immediate*

Aug 3/70

7.30 a.m.

*Mr. Plowden*

*My Sanitary Paper*

I have had this by me two days  
literally not having a moment to revise  
it -

I have now looked through it.

I think it reads pretty well - **It does**

Will you look it through & also look  
at more particularly; **I have**

**twice**

**I agree with your**

1.) Page 2. I. 5 (end of Parag) **alteration**

It seems rather awkward to say: "The  
inspectors tell us much &c &c " &  
then not to say a word more of  
*what* they "tell us" till IV. 2. P. 6

Also after " fire of London," it requires  
a word to bring us back to "India"  
Can you put in anything better than  
"our Indian" Inspectors &c ?

**f10v**

- (2) Do not you think that Sir B. Frere ought to be asked, as some of the additions are taken from his letters - and not specially given by him to be put into this paper - whether he approves of all the paper - as it now stands?

**It is not necessary to send it to Sir B.F.**

==  
If you do not see anything on the other hand to be amended or done farther than any little alteration you may make yourself - it would perhaps be better in order to save time for you to forward the packet to Mr. Plowden & my letter *at once to the India Off.* -

**no change needed = the letter has gone to the I.O.**

[Don't put in his own letter.]

or this - **Returned to you instead of being sent to the I.O.**

**f11**

I enclose his letter.  
You may perhaps wish to add or alter something in my answer in which case, I suppose the whole will have to come back to me. **Your answer is too good to spoil**  
I have looked through (as well as

I could but really I have time for nothing) the Proof of your A.S.C. paper - It seems to me as if it would be a good deal the better if a little more about the Sanitary Govt of India papers

yours

**Thanks - I will see to this but the fact is I abstracted all the papers in writing F.N. & the A.S.C. minute contains the entire Caput (mortuum)**

?

Dr. Sutherland

**f11v**

**The Commission meets today at 2 P.M.  
and we shall send it to Mr. Plowden  
very shortly. J.S.**

unsigned note, JS to FN ff12-13, pencil

**f12**

4/8/70

What can you reply to this?  
The poor woman works herself up  
into a state of irritability and then  
finds relief in launching such a  
nuisance as this is. It is the  
work of an ill balanced mind  
without any direct object in  
view. If you reply at  
all I would simply say in a  
few words that you have been  
recently so ill as scarcely to be  
able to handle a pen. That you  
take a deep interest in this present  
war and are willing to help in  
every way. That the worst of all  
help in nursing is writing. that  
the only real help is personal  
help which you cannot give.

that you fear that in many points  
you & she could not agree  
about the questions she  
proposes to introduce into  
her book, and that after reading  
her letter your opinion is rather  
strengthened than otherwise-

---

I scarcely know what else  
you can say. Depend on me  
never telling her again where to  
find you.

---

I am going to Claydon on Saturday  
afternoon & shall return here on  
Monday Morning. If you write  
tomorrow (Friday) please address  
to Alleyn Park.

**f13**

How would it do to tell Mrs. S.S. that as the questions regarding nursing service in connection with the Fund are in the hands of the Committee, it might be better that she should address herself to them as all such questions.

---

I have reread the letter, but I scarcely see my way through it with any greater clearness.

My impression is that she would go to the War if asked, but who would ask her?

signed letter, JS to FN, ff14-15v, pen

**f14** {written vertically in the top margin}

Last nights  
Globe contained  
a statement  
that the Guards  
were to go to  
Antwerp at  
a moments  
notice.

6 August/70

Dear Miss Nightingale

I got your note  
& will write more fully after  
I have consulted with Sir Harry.  
In the mean time I shall state  
what appear to me to be the  
course of proceeding.

1. You only know as yet that Prussia will accept nurses.
2. you have no reason to know whether France will or not. The Committee must learn this.
3. The Committee must advertize for volunteers of hospital experience, and I

**f14v**

expect they must find the means of paying expenses & Salary if wanted.

4. The committee must enquire about applicants (you might possibly help in this) and when satisfied register the nurses.

5. Volunteers must go wherever sent & must be moved by the Military authorities of the Country.

6. They must report their proceedings through the same authorities to the home Committee.

7. List must be sent to ambassadors or Consuls

**f15**

through the Foreign office. & the Volunteers must be specially commended to them.

8. There is I believe a red Cross uniform which it would be necessary to adopt.

These are the chief points  
But if anything further transpires  
I will let you know.

You will see that *the letter* has a distinct political significance if you read a letter of Max Müllers in todays Times.

Germany will accept nothing in the way of backing unless the backing be thorough: i.e. unless we go entirely with her.

France is no doubt the same.

**f15v**

Your letter has for the first  
time placed the neutrality  
question on a proper basis  
& it will tell all over the  
Country M.M. who is an  
out & out German you will  
see accepts it.

The great battle may even  
now be going on. France is  
lost for the present unless the  
battle be indecisive or unless  
she wins. The Prussian  
Generalship is by far the best  
up to latest accounts.

One of our Generals told me  
yesterday that a lady known  
to Louis Napoleon has heard  
him say that if things went  
wrong he would shoot himself

Yours ever J. Sutherland

signed note, ff16-17v, pencil

**f16** {archivist: 8.8.70} {in JS's hand: Returned for reference}

1. *Mrs. Cox*

2. *Mrs. S. Stewart*

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I enclose a second letter from Mrs.

1. Cox, with *the first*

also my answer, which, if you  
approve, will you post in London?

I enclose

2. my answer to Mrs. S. Stewart I ask

Will it do? - or is it too *risky*?

If you approve, will you post in  
London?

==  
I trust that Sir Harry shewed you at  
Claydon a long letter of mine  
written expressly for you & him  
stating in the strongest terms my



**f16v**

horror of sending out women, except  
under &, to be in an organized Department  
under a female Head to be appointed  
by the belligerent Govt.

You *can't* send out women

"neutralized" like supplies

I shall regret I ever had a hand  
in it if anything like this is  
done

Since my letter in the "Times", I have  
been deluged with applications  
from Volunteer Nurses

3 of these & my answers I have  
sent to Sir Harry

Neither you nor he nor the Central  
Comm tell me 1. what to do  
with them 2. whether I am to take

**f17**

such applications for the Crown Princess  
or for the Central Comm

3. who is to enquire into  
qualifications before registering  
yours v. faithfully  
F. Nightingale

Aug 8/70  
7 a.m.

I have just  
received your  
"proposals" ~~and~~ a  
letter from Sir Harry  
dated Saturday. He had  
evidently not had mine  
I look upon these "proposals"  
with perfect horror  
F.N.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff18-21v, pen embossed WO

**f18** {archivist: Max Müller at Claydon? -

8th August/70

I have just returned from  
Claydon, and Sir Harry is now  
in town to attend the sick  
& aid committee.

He shewed me your yesterday's  
letter - the long one which contains  
a considerable amount of  
stick which the said committee  
has earned. We discussed  
the whole matter over with  
Max Muller & his wife who  
is a practical German woman.

But in the mean time  
events as we learnt this  
morning here waited for no  
committee & have taken their  
own course & that course

**f18v**

determines in my opinion what  
ought to be done.

We agreed yesterday before  
knowing what had happened,  
that Nurses should be sent  
to the Ps R. at Berlin to be  
under her direction.

(This is rendered doubly necessary  
by what has happened)

Then we agreed that Sir H.  
should get the Committee to  
act at once on the matter  
of money & supplies & to  
appoint a small sub-committee  
with Longmore in it as a  
kind of director to sense what  
was wanted, where it was  
wanted and to use the

**f19**

Telegraph on purpose. I expect  
Sir Harry here before 4 P.M.  
to tell me what has been  
decided at the committee &  
to consult if any thing  
further is proposed.

so far up till today  
Now, what I told you some  
days ago has happened. The  
Crown prince has turned the  
Right flank of the French  
line effectually. And the  
old King keeping his movement  
a secret has in the mean  
time arrived at Mayence  
& sent a strong force across  
the mountains which broke up

**f19v**

the French line near the  
centre & the entire east  
half of the french line is  
bent back upon itself &  
has of course necessitated  
the retreat of the west end  
of the line & the head quarters

So far as we are concerned  
the result is that most of  
the wounded French are in  
the hands of the Prussians.  
And the Frankfort people  
have sent their volunteer  
ambulance Corps along the  
line of the Prince of  
Prussias march, which  
is to me a clear indiction

**f20**

that it is along that line  
that the supplies  
must go. It is also  
clear that any general  
hospitals will be near that  
line & that there the Princess  
will have her nurses.

In other words the Princess  
must for nearly all the  
nurses (if any!!) we  
send be superintendent  
general.

So far up till now, but  
tomorrow may bring other  
news France is in a death  
grip. She has not since  
1814 been in such a strait  
& no one can foresee the result.

**f20v**

The conclusion is. Immediate  
supplies of money &  
other things to any  
Berlin agency nearest the  
field & to the Paris  
Committee.

Immediate nurses for the  
Princess Royal.

If anything happens  
before this leaves I will  
write further.

Yours ever

J.S.

Since I wrote the above I have  
consulted a military Judge & he  
agrees with what I have said.

**f21**

It appears to me that the best way to avoid offense would be to get the Nurses (when you catch them) to volunteer to go to Prussia and then to inform the P.R. It would be necessary at the same time to offer nurses if you have any to the French Committee.

We thought on Saturday that perhaps the best way would be to get the Nightingale Committee to examine the testimonials & qualifications. I have no doubt that Mrs. Wardropper {his spelling} would help in this & also Miss Jones.

Sir Harry has not come  
so I must close this

J.S.

**f21v**

This minute goes to the I.O.  
this afternoon.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff22-25v, pen

**f22** {archivist: Nurses for the Princess Royal}

9/8/70

Dear Miss Nightingale

I have read the  
two letters and have posted  
them.

The "proposals" with Sir Harrys  
letter were sent before we saw  
your long letter to him which  
came in Sunday. The  
impression produced in my  
mind by the letter was  
what I stated substantially  
yesterday in my letter  
to you, namely that you  
can take no part in any  
nursing aid for the wounded  
beyond simply complying

**f22v**

with the P.R.'s request, and  
in order to save the  
neutrality, to offer to the  
Paris Committee to find nurses  
if they wanted any.

Unless you can suggest yourself  
any via media, I see no  
alternative. As regards the  
questions about the P.R.'s  
nurses in your letter received  
today. One of two courses  
must be taken. Either you  
must yourself make such  
enquiries as are required  
into the capabilities of nurses  
for Her, or you must trust  
to some one else, and who so  
likely as your own Committee

**f23**

to whom you refer all home applications. They might be able to find suitable women for the Princess royal.

All the applications from volunteers which come to you had better be sent to Sir Harry as you have done, with the view to enquiry & register, and whenever you have one, two or any number on whom you can rely you might inform H.R.H.

This course will prejudice nothing & prejudice nothing, But alas! alas! that there should be on the lowest estimate 15,000 wounded & dying men

**f23v**

lying about in villages, stables Cowhouses, anywhere while we have to confess that default d'organization we cannot let loose at least 1000 noble englishwomen to help them.

The work will assuredly pass out of our hands into the hands of German & French women. By this time Kaiserwe is in the field beyond a doubt with its *unattached* nurses, because the work at present does not admit of really organized action. After a while they will withdraw the wounded into general hospitals & then nursing staffs might

**f24**

come into action. But having  
no superintendents & no nurses  
this is a field in which  
we cannot enter.

The difficulty of your position  
is that if you recommend, a  
great deal more will be effected  
than could be obtained. The  
best thing therefore to do would  
be simply to let things shape  
themselves and explain this  
to Sir Harry (unless you have  
any better course) During  
both the Italian, Danish and  
German wars there were plenty  
of volunteers unattached, and  
except for the example of a  
few really good English nurses  
to be sent to the P.R. I don't  
think

**f24v**

that under the Red Cross there  
will be any lack. They  
will get quantity  
enough at any rate &  
if you succeed in sending  
a few really good nurses to  
Berlin the P.R. will be  
sure to make the best possible  
use of them in improving the  
quality.

Your remaining query (1 out of 3)  
as to whether you are to take  
applications made to you for the  
P.R. or the Central Committee?  
is answered above. YOUR object  
will be I suppose, now, only to  
act for the P.R. & to get the  
best nurses you can for her.



**f25**

leaving all others to be dealt with by the Committee without reference to you. In this case send all applications to the Committee. Sir Harry, (if you approve) could send them to H.B.C. for enquiry & nothing further need to said to you except suitable women be found, & in this case you might inform the P.R.

The language is a great difficulty, but it would be least of all with the P.R. because I apprehend that if you sent her really good Nurses she would find means of making them intelligible to

**f25v**

those they were to work with & assist.

I enclose these 2 letters of Miss Cox. & remain your  
very truly J. Sutherland

signed letter, JS to FN, ff26-27v, pen

**f26** {archivist: India & war}

10/8/70

Dear Miss Nightingale

I have sent on your proof & letter to Mr. Plowden. I scarcely think the person needed, but I feel that you would not have recurred to the subject unless it had impressed itself on your mind & so I have let it go.

There has been absolute silence for 24 hours. The first act of the cruel drama has ended. The second is about to open.

Austria & Italy have agreed to act together.

The Times as the Prussian organ is emitting cries. Read today's Viennese letter & the one about Bismarck.

**f26v**

England is flattered as the only possible Mediator. A Neutrality league is wanted of which she is to be chief, the modest result being that Bismarck is to be left to work his will in Europe.

I hope we shall have nothing to do with any such game. If we are deceived, we shall deservedly suffer.

Yours ever truly

J. Sutherland

This sick & aid society appears to be sick & confined to bed. It makes no sign of life, not even that most easy one to English

**f27**

societies of "asking for money".

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff28-28v, pen

**f28**

11/8/70

Dear Miss Nightingale

Lt. Ommanney came here last evening & left the plans & papers about the Lying in Hospital, finished, together with this letter which I forward, waiting your orders about the plans.

Mr. Carter was also here and shewed me the report of Mrs. W & Mr. W. about the Netley night nurses quarters. I suggested, with Col. Ravenhills concurrence an alteration in the doors which has been put on a fly leaf to the plan so that all parties may

**f28v**

be able to judge of which is the better arrangement.

The report itself is very straightforward & in my opinion ought to be acted upon, without taking any notice of the proposed seizure of the R.E. quarters. If any body wishes to enter on these quarters let them make good their own position, ~~not~~ which they certainly will fail to do after this report.

I was glad to see in the "Times" this morning that the Sick & Wounded Aid Society had begun to take practical action. They should advertize for money.

signed letter, FN to JS, ff29-30, pencil

**f29**

Aug 12/70

Madam Henri Mallet

*Comité Evangelique*

Dear Dr Sutherland

Look at this letter.

Now this is what brings the whole thing into disrepute.

How *am* I to answer it?

1. Nurses are wanted because they are good Nurses - not because they are good Protestants -
2. Why *am* I, because I *am* a Protestant to tell her how to nurse ambulances, when Ambulances are just the thing in which the *French* shine & we *don't*.

At least, we have the sense to write & ask the French what they want  
But *she* wrote to ask *me* what they want.

**f29v**

What *shall* I answer her?

Please look positively at Questions 1 and 2.

[Fancy me in the Crimean War writing to ask the French 'mère générale' about beds!!!]

2. Her "Appel aux Protestants" (which I enclose) is to me utterly abhorrent -

No woman should go to the Hospital except as a Nurse  
not as a tract-giver - not as a Protestant.

[The *R. Catholics* tried to play tricks off upon me in the Crimean War -

I will tell you the story at length

**f30**

when I have a moment

When one sees it done by *Roman Catholics*, one knows how hateful it is]

Just as we are neutral for French & Germans, so we ought to be neutral for R.C. & Protestants. The Germans are - The Genevans are.

Please answer, if possible by return of post.

especially about beds.

" " ambulances

Yours v. faithfully

F. Nightingale

signed reply on back of f30 JS to FN, f30v, pen

**f30v**

There is nothing surprising in this. It is simply the adoption of the American Christian Commission which worked alongside the American Sanitary Commission. Dr. Evans one of the best of them resides in Paris. Besides this I have no doubt that the Protestant deaconesses are in the field.

Let them do their Christian work as opportunity offers. What they appear to want are not protestant bedsteads or protestant supplies, so much as a *depôt* of some kind out of which the deaconesses could take things immediately required without waiting for the action of either the *red cross* or the *intendance*.

There is no harm in this, for to all appearance every one will have full work & the need will be great. as to her questions. I would reply.

1. In most cases of wounds a rigid bedstead is the best Trestles. smooth boards. Bedtick stuffed with hay, or chaff or straw are best. The reasons are of course that stillness, absence of motion, facility for cleaning &c are indispensable in ambulances.
2. In a general hospital beds of another kind may very well be used. Iron bedsteads. Fracture beds with double bottom web bottoms instead of wood. Rheoclines are all useful. But you know perfectly well that the bed must be selected for the case as soon as such selection is possible, & that no general rule is applicable. The majority of field cases do quite well with the rigid wooden bottom. The others are exceptional.

signed letter, with notes by JS, ff31-31v, pencil {notes by JS in bold}

Aug 12/70

*Lieut: Ommanney*

*Lying-in Hospital*

Dear Dr. Sutherland

You have often told me that you  
could read a book without  
cutting the leaves -

**But I can't. But you ought!**

I am so stupid that I at Lea  
Hurst can't read Lt. Ommanney's  
paper or his plans at Pall Mall.

**I don't believe it.**

I must ask you therefore to  
send them to me off at once  
if with a criticism of your own so much  
the better. **Here they are. The 4th bed ward  
is very good. The 4 room used is up at Portsmouth & answers  
admirably. The general plan will cost a lot of money (Ommanney  
says)**

**But it would be difficult to make it cheaper. (over XX**

The unfortunate papers (about  
the Lying-in Hospital) I left packed

**f31v**

at 35 S. St. & separate addressed  
to you to be delivered to you if  
you asked for them

I did not send them to the W.O.

In the full confidence that if I  
did, they would remain in your  
"drawer" till I returned (~~if I do~~

~~return~~ **Oh.** guided by the experience

of the last 18 months I am  
to know that they would so be untouched

**Oh yes! Of course they have not been untouched at**

**S o u t h**

**Street.**

Yours very faithfully

F. Nightingale

**XX I don't like the architectural appearance of the general plan,  
but this is not of much moment. It would be totally  
unlike any other building. I think (barring the architecture)  
that it would do. But I would put it in simply as an  
illustrative arrangement.**

signed letter, ff32-35, pencil

**f32**

Aug 18/70

**[15:219]**

Mrs. Shaw Stewart 7. a.m.

Dear Dr Sutherland

I send you this poor  
woman's letter

I have had it by me  
some days.

It is a noble mind  
entirely overthrown not only  
by pride & passion.

Much in the letter is  
so far as I know pure fancy  
& not settled fancy, but the  
fancy of the moment, as e.g.  
that she was refused our Trained  
Nurses because she suspects  
"Sister Accident's" intoxication  
I believe that *she* refused our Nurses  
2. Can you make out from  
the letter? *I can't* whether she  
*means to publish* or not?

**[end 15:219]**

**f32v**

3. But much in her letter is  
soundest sense all that she  
says about *N. Germany Nurses*  
& *sending Nurses to the War* is  
what I have *always* felt myself  
but never so well expressed

I have however now written  
a long letter to Sir Harry (for  
the Aid Socy) which I hope  
you will see

expressing

(1.) The only conditions on which  
I would send Nurses to the  
War

(2) the utter 'bosh' I think it  
to talk of England ever  
pouring "(1000 Nurses" into  
a Continental War)" like  
the French & Germans"

because

**[15:674-75]**

**f33**

a. a N. German is & has been familiar with war, i.e. its women & their mothers have been for centuries  
b. It has a national *civil Army* - its women go into the field to nurse, *with* their men = relations to fight-  
it may possibly have 100,000 women thus volunteering-  
till we have similar Institutions, we never can have similar volunteers.  
It has also numerous Protestant & R. Catholic Orders of Nurses.

b. b. France has, for years, had its religious Orders, its "Sisters of Charity" alone number 15,000 utilized by the Govt. (To its eternal honour be it said!) as Relieving Officers - ASSOCIATES by the Govt. in their services

**f33v**

with the services of  
SECULARS, *women & men*  
France has a whole  
Army of practical  
efficient women to pour  
into the field.

Nothing of the sort  
has ever been done by  
our Govt.

c. C. To this I would add  
that, while the "Times &  
all the press, i.e. the  
whole *man-opinion* of  
England, write up the  
principle that woman is  
made by God "*to suckle  
fools & chronicle small beer*  
they cannot expect that,  
all at once, they will  
find a legion at their  
command of practical



**f34**

-2-

capable, efficient women,  
able to administer & take  
the field- or even to make  
an efficient business-like  
Ladies' Committee like  
that of Madame Canrobert  
at Paris which is a splendid  
administrative body  
My conclusion to all this is: that  
(our trained Nurses are the best  
in the world but we have not  
trained Nurses to spare, &  
trained Nurses don't speak  
French or German) -  
that, unless we exercise the  
most excessive care in  
selection among women  
volunteering, we shall not  
send any *at all equal* to the  
thousands of French & German  
women already in the field

**f34v**

we *may* send women vastly  
*inferior*  
I have not one moment to  
finish  
Mme Canrobert says, to my intense  
relief, that "*no English Nurses*  
"are needed for the French  
"they have already such an  
"enormous number of women  
"applying"  
She does not doubt that our  
"Nurses are infinitely better"  
but "cannot employ them" Aug 15/70  
yours v. faithfully  
F. Nightingale

**f35**

You are fond of sending me  
back my letters- You may  
send me back this.

I hear that nearly the  
whole of the French disaster  
is due to the *Intendance*  
the want of every kind of  
supply & organization.  
And this is what it would  
be with us, were England  
to go to war now (which  
God forbid)-

Our 'Control' is a copy of  
their 'Intendance'

I will send you particulars  
of what I have heard in a  
day or two.

**[end 15:675]**

F.N.

JS note to FN on back of f35, ff35v-39v, pen

**f35v [JS]**

Mrs. S.S.

She still intimates that she will publish, but  
the whole letter is such a ramble of good  
sense & no sense that it is difficult to  
make anything of it. She lets out the  
secret of her failure, however, namely  
that she has been attempting  
to impress her own *personality* on the  
nurses. On the other points raised  
in your letter about the nursing, the  
chief as it strikes me are applicable  
mainly to fixed service in general  
hospitals - while up to the present  
time we have no intimation of such  
a course having been followed. My  
impression is that both Prussians  
& French administrations are profiting by  
the latest american experience &  
treating wounded in the first stages  
where they lie as far as practicable.  
This will sweep away a large part  
of the hospital mortality, But you will  
see that it necessitates nursing  
arrangements of a different kind.

There are nurses at present doing

**f36**

good service who are dressed in  
a kind of                      Zoave uniform  
with the trousers    pushed into  
the boot tops. They go about  
the field doing good wherever they  
can and marching with the  
troops. This is in the French  
service, as I have been informed on  
good authority.

Generally I should say that  
the ideas of nursing in Mrs. S.  
S. letter though excellent for a  
fixed establishment are no longer  
held since the battle of Solferino  
as being sufficient for the needs  
of modern field warfare. It was  
this which made me write to you  
about it. Because it appeared  
to me that the main field of  
usefulness at present does not

**f36v**

lie in Hospitals, but in country  
farm buildings miles from each  
other where    there are one  
two or three wounded. under hedges  
or cartsbeds by the road side,  
any where in fact until a  
Central point is found for the  
ambulance & the wounded can  
be brought together. Far better  
indeed that they never were  
so brought, but without this,  
it would be impossible with  
any amount of nursing or  
Surgical strength to cover the  
ground.

What is really wanted i.e. if  
nursing is to be done otherwise  
than in general hospitals, is

**f37**

some scheme which shall ensure attendance by nurses in the field.

But as I understand your letter & Mrs. S. S.'s you neither of you thing this admirable. The more recent disasters - such as that of the earlier days of this week by which the French have been cut in two, without communication, have no doubt concentrated the nursing & surgical operations within a limited area. Metz included there are perhaps 4 Centres to which wounded can be removed without very great risk, and something like organized nursing would become possible.

But in all the previous operations of the war, the period when nursing & surgical attendance

**f37v**

could be of use, at least of most use in saving life was that in which the wounded were put up in small batches over a large surface of country. We do know from Wm. Russell that wounded lay about in this way for 48 hours within the prussian ground after Würth unseen by either nurse or doctor. This fact is a reply to all Mrs. S. S. has said about the German nurses, or rather it is a reply to past methods of considering war nursing.

If the War continues we shall see how the nursing develops itself. This will be the best future guide. But I should be very chary of saying a word

**f38**

which would interfere with it on the ground that nursing can be best done in a particular way. This war has upset everything - all previous ideas about tactics, organization, hospitals, appliances, nursing. The upshot is the assertion of individual liberty of action as against all systems or methods except those of the very simplest kind.

You are properly informed about the intendance. But the same thing has happened with the Army itself. All rigid methods have simply been shivered to fragments. I have heard it discussed this very morning with reference to the Control. Look what has happened. Half the French Army

**f38v**

is shut up near Metz. The other half is at Chalens. The positions are both good for defensive purposes as against the Prussians. But the Metz half has no provisions & must either fight its way to Verdun or starve, or surrender.

All this has come of want of flexibility. The Red Cross is the only organization which fulfils the conditions of true field service & it does so simply by discarding laws and doing its best. but then, look at the spring - a sense of Christian duty - & every thing becomes plain. I am afraid

**f39**

our lower class women would scarcely  
be able to adapt themselves to this,  
for want of flexibility of nerve:  
But educated women could do it.

Current events all appear to  
point to the fact that the wounded  
will be sent due west from the  
Army. And it is just possible  
that Calais may become the  
great depot on account of its  
direct Railway communication.

If so, And if they apply for  
aid to the Society, it will be  
a noble field for usefulness

They are shredding lint at  
our house and applying for  
aid right & left.

I am yours very truly

J. Sutherland

Miss Nightingale

**f39v.**

P.S.

I send you back your letter as you  
have asked for it. You understand  
my reason for sending the others  
back. It is that you may  
have the "whole correspondence" as  
it is called before you.

J.S.

Other P.S.

Would it not be desirable  
to get from Mr. Carter the real  
facts about the nurses said to have  
been refused? merely to be sure.

Apropos of what I have written  
19/8/70 about the field. I will write  
again as soon as the matter is  
more forward about a request which  
has been made to me to help to  
organize ~~ward~~ "War Dispensaries"

Verbum sap {a word to the wise - GW} You will see  
the radical change in field hospitals  
which this will involve.

Letter Add Mss 45755e ff40-41

[8:475-76]

22 August 1870

7:00 a.m.

*Anti-Contagious Diseases Acts*

Dear Dr Sutherland

What do you advise me to do about "giving" my "name as Vice President." My feeling is this: my horror of this legislation is, if possible, yet stronger than ever, there being, as I believe, scarcely a tittle of evidence in favour of its doing what it promises. But it appears to me that, if anything *could* have supported the objectionable legislation, it is: the blunders of this Association--especially their public protest *against* an enquiry. They and I go on different ground.

Mr Bruce declared himself "much impressed" by my letter. He also declared himself "much impressed" by the Deputation BUT THE OTHER WAY --he said "*they were not up in their facts*"--& "inclined" him rather *in favour* of what they were *against*.

(At the same time, I believe that they are practically right in deprecating an Enquiry--For there is not a single person in the Ho. of C. now capable of conducting an enquiry as we conducted our R. Commissions--And the "enquiry" might very probably end in *confirming* legislation.)

JS reply on back of f41 f41v, pen

**f41v**

I agree that you must decline  
the Vice Presidentship.

I would write to Mrs. Malleson to  
decline, and tell her that you  
do not decline from any falling  
off of interest in the subject, but  
that your health is feeble & what  
little strength you have is at  
present devoted to other objects..

Something of this kind, quite  
short would do. A vice President  
or any office bearer is supposed  
to direct & be responsible & you  
can't.

Yours faithfully  
JS.

signed letter, ff42-43, pen on WO embossed

**f42** {archivist: War}

23rd August  
1870

Dear Miss Nightingale

Thanks for your interesting letter. It makes good every suspicion which people have had about the French Army. Just before this War began facts of a similar nature were stated by a well known German authority to one of our ministers. They in Germany knew everything & they predicted just what has happened.

Well it is natural. The further predictions then was, that France & the empire were both destined to ruin. I did not mean by want of flexibility to criticize the Intendance. But it would

**f42v**

be of such great moment to the country if we could get to know what were the weak points, if any, besides this dreadful dishonesty. One thing is evident namely, that the system of obtaining supplies by Content [?] ceases to operate as one would expect as soon as the enemy enters the contracting district. As regards ourselves, we have no army, and therefore the existing system will do no harm. What we really want is an Army & the things required for an army. From all I have heard & read on the subject, we shall not get an Army, and we would be wise to



**f43**

limit our operations to our own sea shore. If Parliament wished it we might have a superb army, but political considerations will always stand in the way, except in case of danger. The country is gradually waking up, but they have not yet in any way dreamed of the fact becoming more & more apparent as these revelations go on, namely that Europe has to fear Prussia & her designs, and that the French disaster is the first fruits of their long determined Policy.

*Mrs. Cox.* She confirms the other accounts. There is nothing to reply to. She will write as events go on.

Yours ever faithfully

J. Sutherland

PS. Your notice arrived before I left home.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff44-45v, pen {notes by FN in bold}  
embossed WO

**f44**

The story about the 300,000 rifles you mentioned the other day is all true & a W.O. clerk was the authority. He failed to see or to say where the rifles were - an oversight of small importance when the small size of the globe is taken into account!!

**Condy's fluid**

26/8/70

War & wounded      Aid Society  
Not spending enough

Dear Miss Nightingale

I reply at once to your letter.

1st. The Committee appear to have been asked for Condys fluid; which appears also to have been placed at their disposal. It does not appear that they have bought any.

2nd Condys fluid is of no use whatever in diminishing those diseases which are the result of crowding, bad air & dirt. How should it? It does not require the wisdom of Solomon to teach that the best way to prevent the effects of any given cause is to remove the cause.

I would print up on all military hospitals, the old saw, "*ablata causa, tolletur effectus*" Mark the word *ablata*, how applicable!

3. Condys fluid will stay putrescence & remove odour. You will easily remember the cases in which the property might be useful. e.g. Dysenteric stools immediately as being passed

**f44v**

accidental fouling of floors or furniture or bed linen until removal

or cleansing can be effected. In foul wounds applied on dressings & such like. For putting into buckets with water for collecting dressings.

These uses of course are only of importance in rough military hospitals, sheds & the like.

4. Carbolic acid acts in a similar way & may be used for similar purposes. It is now used for dressing bad wounds with advantage. But I should prefer in most cases the "irrigateur" with pure soft water.

5. I would preach to the Committee: that all the disinfectants in the world will not make up for the danger of having one man too many in a ward. That the real disinfectant so far as preventing disease is concerned is *room*, & *fresh air*. (tell them not to send any London air in battles, for fear they should do so)

6. Chlorine gas is sometimes useful in destroying smells. Chloride of lime you know all about. It is still the best material for such accidental occurrences as I have mentioned.

I think this replies to your questions.

**f45**

Thanks for your information. It is what one would expect. MacMahon is off & nobody knows where. L.N. is apparently playing Fabius. It is the best policy just now.

We are sending to the committee today our first contribution of lint, linen, socks, shirts, bandages, &c There is a whole lot of the latter made by a Clergyman's wife out of his surplice. (A very pious use to which to put it in my opinion.) Besides a little money, & we have set other districts to work.

H.B.C. was here yesterday afternoon & he feels with me that the committee is not spending money enough. They have got £30,000, and have spent about £5000. Could not you give them a hint to empty their exchequer. There are hundreds of hospital marquees wanted in order to empty the churches and public buildings which will become worse than Scutari before long.

I have no doubt there is scorbutus. We know here how the Prussians manage. They don't carry much provision. They make requisitions and the Prussian soldier lives mainly on black bread, coffee & tobacco. It is all very well

**f45v**

at the outset and during the heat of a fight, but after serious wounds, there is death. There are whispers also of Cholera in the Princes Army.

Dr. Massey came across France with French officers from Wurth & he says they were loud in their declarations about the complete collapse of the French army and its arrangements. He says Paris looks deserted & he was glad to get away to keep from being *suspect* which every body is.

I see it is impossible for me to make you believe in any woman unless she is a trained nurse. Well I have done my best & intend to give in.

There are many French wounded at Dunkirk where they are quartered two & two in private houses: the people being held responsible for them: and once a day two sisters of Charity come round to do what is needed & to give directions. This is not bad. It is far better at any rate than putting them in a [illeg s] of any building

That's a capital letter in todays Times of Sir Harry. It touches the sore. You will have seen that the frightful sufferings of the German wounded have led to a loud call for peace.

Yours ever faithfully

J

Sutherland

unsigned letter, ff46-47v, pen

**f46**

Return this sheet to me,  
to save trouble.

Sept. 12/70

7 a.m.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I am sorry you are ill. But  
I suppose, as I have not heard  
again, that you intend me  
to believe that you are either  
well or dead.

I am so busy that I have  
not time to die.

Here are three things,  
not immediately pressing,  
which I have been obliged  
to let stand over, but on  
which I should be obliged  
to you to give an opinion:  
1. they have written to me again  
(as per enclosed) to ask me to be

**f46v**

a Vice-President of the Anti-  
C.D. Acts Socy.

The more I see of them, the  
more determined I am in  
future to keep clear of them.

I understand that Mr. Bruce  
has threatened to prosecute  
them for indecent pamphlets  
dedicated to him under  
Ld. Campbell's Act.

[this while he is favourable  
to me.]

Had I better tell them  
that, while more than  
agreeing in their object, I  
wholly disagree with their  
methods but am unable  
to advise or direct or take  
any part?{in pencil } JS: therefore decline  
{pen resumes} FN: [They will never let me alone -

**f47**

2. Please to look at my  
promising pupil, Miss  
Stephen, & her Manifesto?

[12:184-85]

What can I say but that  
if any Hospital admits any  
lady for "one to 3 months"  
as "a test of nerve &c" -  
[oh these tall=talk ladies!! -]  
it can only end in Hospitals  
refusing entrance to ladies  
for purposes of training  
altogether, as was the case  
till I began - & that, with  
regard to St. Thomas;, Mrs.  
Wardroper or any Matron  
would certainly declare a  
real Training School like ours  
an impossibility, if ~~with~~ "ladies"  
are admitted as a "test" of  
"seriousness" qy frivolity? -

**f47v**

[We are *earnestly* requested  
from both German & French  
to send no "ladies" of "3  
months' training" to *them*.]

Oh how these tall=talk  
ladies do waste my time!

3. What *am* I to answer to  
the woman who asks  
"for my life"? I am  
quite sure that no person  
ever dreaded a highwayman  
asking for "their money  
or their life" as I do  
these women asking "for  
my life"? - As if I had  
time to answer such  
letters!!! before I am dead!

[end 12:185]

signed letter, JS to FN, ff48-49v, pen embossed pen

**f48** {archivist: The organization of aid to the sick & wounded in battle}

19th Sept

1870

Dear Miss Nightingale

I write to you an account of the concluding paragraph in your note to Mrs. Sutherland conveying the opinions of Capt. Galton & H.B.C. that the sufferings after a battle are unavoidable, and having read the reports & letters in todays Times.

My object in writing is to point out that if this view be a correct one (and it is to my knowledge held by some military surgeons) the main argument in the Book about Solferino which led to the Geneva Convention falls to the ground. But the recent experience shews conclusively that these sufferings can be alleviated, because they have been alleviated on all the recent battle fields. But it also shews how much the work requires to be improved before the intentions of the Convention are fully carried out. Read for example that awful case in Dr Cormacks letter today. A soldier has had no food for two days before a great battle & receives none & no succour for five days after it. He is then discovered, brought in and



**f48v**

operated on & mercifully dies. Now this is only one case out of hundreds, & the very fact itself shews that what could be done after five days could have been done after five hours. The results in these cases are simply incredible from our ordinary experience. On reaching home on Saturday night I was told on the authority of a Dutch Clergyman now on a visit to a friend that a Dutch Surgeon (30 were sent by the Dutch Government) who had returned exhausted with the work, had stated that no language could express its horrors: that all their amputation cases had died & that this had arisen from long exposure on the ground after being wounded without aid & the want & destruction of constitution proceeding therefrom. This is in fact *the* question.

It is evident from Galtons letter that all-Europe ourselves included has taken *the Hospital idea* as the fundamental one for working out the Convention views. This is a grave error. Hospitals properly conducted are most necessary, but we must not forget that we could deal with nearly every kind of wound better separately

**f49**

in the open air than by removal to the most refined hospital.

Even cases in farm houses do better, but in every such event *supply* becomes of great importance. Today's letters shew a vast amount of good work done by the Aid Society. I have not a word to say except of unqualified admiration. But when the agent tells us that he is now about to do something for the sick & wounded round Sarrebrook (a battle fought *now* time out of mind) what can we say except that it is unfortunate we had not an organization which would have covered the ground the day after the battle. I do not speak without personal experience. I went to the battle of the Tchernaiia & was on the field when the Russian rear guard was leaving it & even then the Russian wounded were being brought in to our side. I sent my servant at night to see & he repeated progress in the work, I went over the field next morning & 24 hours after the battle there was not a wounded man left. They spent their whole strength in searching & carrying the wounded & then next day buried the dead. The reason why this was not done at Solferino was the great extent of the battle field & it is just here where the Aid Societies agents come into use.

**f49v**

It is simply a matter of organization, and we here already had it up on our War office Committee to try what can be done to improve the service of wounded in this direction. The Americans appear to have had no great difficulty & why should other people.

The following is the problem.

1. Sick & wounded in towns
2. Sick & wounded in villages
3. Sick & wounded in scattered country houses
4. " " " in ditches, under trees, hedges, in holes where they have dragged themselves in safety.
5. " " " In ambulances

What we want in dealing with the problem are

Searchers bearers: Surgeons: nurses: supplies for such purposes brought to the ground during or immediately after

battle.

It could be done at once on any field whenever the firing has ceased.

I will tell you how we get on with our discussion, but in the mean time there will be ample room for experimental trial.

Now yours ever faithfully

J. Sutherland

Have you seen this reply of Renan to Strauss? It augurs ill for Europe unless the present efforts lead to peace. Sir Harry told me on Saturday that Thiers had done nothing here & was very low spirited. He left on Saturday night for St. Petersburg via Vienna.

signed letter, ff50-51v, JS to FN, pen, Sept 21/70 {treatment of sick & wounded after battles} embossed WO

signed letter, ff52-53v, JS to FN, pen, Sept. 23/70 {treatment of sick & wounded after battles} embossed WO

I have just come up here and found ou rpencil letter. Sinc eI wrote I ahve been in communication wihtthe R.E. authorities about th e proposal I mad eto you for providing (extemporizing) sick accommodation in the field. They agree entirely with me and say that eerything requisite can be done in the illeg. We have concurred in the opinion that (in legal phrase) there shd e a change in the venue as regards cre of wounded. But henceforht the hwole work shd rest in local capabiltiies including materials in the depot and that officers shd be tuaght how to do the very best with next to nothing as a basis. Everyboyd is away but me at present, but if we had a committee meeting I shd propose a minute on the whoel subject to be printed for public information. I lament

two things, my age and my presednt inaptitude to stave fatigue. Otherwise I shd have prayed to be sent at my own own cost to do the work if they wd give me authroity. All I can now do is to cry out vox clamantis, in deserto.

However, the aid society is doing noble work. Todays' Times leaves little to desre. But oh, how late it is! District inspection is now everthing. Every place where there are sick or woumnded shd be periodically visited and supplied when necessary.

It wd be good to ask the aid soc to make a list of all the places where there are numbers of cases treated. It wd be check and these questons are otherwise important in leading indireclty to local action. We but knew for instance the exact state of matters in the N.W. of France and can send efficient aid in hours notice.

F53 It strike sme that there are several onts in which the existing arrs of all the aid societies may be improved. Every officer besides having the badge or the papers of the bacnh shd have a paper signed or stamped by the belligerent illeg and countersigned by the military authroties on the illeg as ofen as a change in positon is made, and it shd be made quite clear that all persons who have sent the necessary papers as well as the badge wd become prisoners of war. This wd stop those disgraceful proceedings which have made the badged people a by-wrod to the oldiers.

Cd but the crown princess sto that cavalier [?] movemtn of bad cases of wounds which is at presetn adding so much to the mortality? The German hospital illeg all indicate the presence of wounds in these hospitals which oght never ot have moved at all The Prussian military authorities appear to exercise no discrimiantion in moving. They move everybody and dispose of te hhsp attendants as seems meet. Dispersion is a cardinal matter with wounded, only the cases shd be selected. And this can only b edone under medical advfice. The Prussian PMO's shd consult witht he ambualnce surgeons of all nations before moving the wounded.

Sinclair's letter is all stuff. It is like much in the present periodical literature, written in defence of Bismark and everything Bismarkian where the official facts have to be worked in at any expence of logic or ill-logic. The only cure for such amateur casuals is to have trustworthy inspection onthe spot and reproting to the society.

Germans as a body are civlized and humne. Prussians of all ranks are only in the process of development into Germans and their leaving theri prisoners wihtout food is a natural step in the process. Only, we shd cry out.

What an escape they had. Mrs Smith and the boy! I saw them both at your house before they went. It is like escaping death after a flash of lightening, which in pagan times was cosidered to have consecrated whateer it sturck.

signed letter, ff54-55, JS to FN, pen, Sept. 26/70 {nurses for India}

{Army Medical Department ambulance} embossed W0

After the manner in which those Indian clerks treated your former proposals about nurses, it wd scarcely be convenient to argue the matter more at present.

You have said your say. They neglected it and now illeg to Indian official custom they have been trying it in their own hook-- it succeeded; ergo they abolished it and now Mr Cunningham proposes a plan whereby the nurses of a circle wd form one body under a supt who wd send them where they were wanted; regret this proposal; I wd say that it is not quite the manner in wh you wd have desired to introduce nursing into India, that your view had been fully explained but not adopted, but they mt try their way now and that so far as you are concerned you will render them every assistance in tr for them in England. I do not see you can say more and I'll defy you to say much less! You no doubt saw in the *Times* the other day that the Aid Soc are sending out an ambulance under Longmore; re Cardwell, HV, Balfour Lindsay; re Pont a Mousson frightful; Alas appears no end; thinks good mt be done by a public declaration of the neutrals of what terms they think France shd accept. Napoleon and the army are destroyed; hence the danger is past. France itself shd pay the damage and dismantle the fortresses. Anything more than this shd not be proposed. If Prussian on er part were to declare for this so soon as a resp govt was in existence the whole thing mt be arranged;

signed letter, ff56-57v, JS to FN, pen, Sept. 27/70 {AMD ambulance} embossed W0

signed letter, ff58-59, JS to FN, pen, Sept. 29/70 {AMD ambulance} embossed W0: I agree entirely with the points raised in your note about the ambulance and if it were fitted out on the principles you so very properly object to of course the result wd be failure; re change suggested that a sufficient no. of German and French sp army medical officers who had seen filed service shd be allowed to volunteer and the best men selected

signed letter, ff60-62, pencil

**f60**

Oct. 2/70

Miss Stephen

Dear Dr. Sutherland

What *am* I to answer this woman?

1. I cannot, while working for the most dreadful & urgent War history has known, waste my strength in teaching this incurable scribbler this inexpressible doctrinaire for *another* War. She *must* see that *this* war is done

2. She has not a glimmering of the very elements of her question

Even if she turns in ladies into Hospitals "for a year," none but a few geniuses who will be the first to condemn her will profit from it There must be an organization, a Training with [?] tests of learning & of progress

Of all this she has no idea  
And how can I waste my time

**f60v**

in teaching a person who has not the smallest practical insight?  
Please *return this* sheet with your remarks & her letter.

Have you had a pamphlet from *Potts* about Ventilation?

Yours very faithfully

F. Nightingale

JS's answer

Dear Miss Nightingale

It is not necessary to reply to this note unless you like. After replying to your letter, she read it & found out about the years training & then writes a fortnight.

The entire subject of controversy is simply what is meant by nursing? You object to turn women

**f61**

into hospitals of whose training & capabilities for the manifold duties of nursing you know nothing. Now these people don't mean this at all. They mean padding about patients & doing what help lies nearest. I think it is certain that many many lives have been saved by peasant women & peasant men in France not because they knew anything of nursing, but because they brought *in time* the kind of help which would have been useless in an hour or two even if given by the best nurse extant. The battle field of Gravelotte was invaded by all the peasant girls who would reach it, bringing with them wine, water, means of binding up wounds & the like. this is the thing that Miss Stephen & others mean by nursing. All the hospitals I may say have had similar invasions & no doubt useful help has been given. Think of that case where an old decrepit woman & three German students had 40 bad wounds to deal with after Sedan. No doubt when Miss Brownlow & her sister dropt into this awful place things were vastly improved at once; but except the old woman there was no help for 14 days.

I think I would say to Miss Stephen that for really efficient nursing which is the only kind you can recognize you don't believe that less than a year training is of use. But that if ladies can

find entrance into a hospital for a few months it may be better than nothing, only that this must be their affair, not yours & that you cannot advise the introduction of any scheme founded on such an amateur principle, because for all the higher points of nursing they would be not only useless, but they might do great injury by keeping out really experienced nurses & by lowering the standard of training which experience has shown to be absolutely necessary.

One asks why did she not go out & try her hand?

Did you see Saturdays Daily News? There is a leading article about the ambulance. It says that the Prussian system has broken down. Todays news is that some 30 hospitals in the East of France are short of supplies; and that the Prince of Prussia wants £10.000 for his hospital round Paris. He won't let any help go into Paris. The Prussians have 700 wounded in Versailles, besides hosts in all the villages near Paris. They have suffered awfully in the Field & have now added to their suffering typhus & dysentery.

Yours ever faithfully J. Sutherland

{in the top margin of f60}  
P.S. Please write to  
my house as Mr.  
F. is not here for a  
month. If you ordered  
3 brace of Partridges to be  
sent by the S.W. Railway  
they arrived quite  
safe. There was  
nothing on them but  
an address.

J.S.

initialled postscript, f62-62v, JS to FN, pen {more details about the conditions in & near Paris} embossed WO

signed letter, JS to FN, ff63-66, pen, Oct 5/70 embossed WO {note on top of letter: Aid society. Letter burnt according to your desire.

Kept strictly private.}



signed letter, JS to FN, ff67-69v, pen, embossed WO Oct 8/70 {distribution of Plowden's report re India; Hart & Hills' report; conditions in Paris} "I have never seen the document regarding which Miss Blackwell asks your opinion. I can only advise you to tell her the same and further that your time is so completely occupied with more urgent work that you could not enter on any examination of the question." 45755 f68 JS to FN 8 Oct 1870

signed letter, JS to FN, ff70-72v, pen, embossed WO Oct 10/70 {ambulances & supplies}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff73-74v, pen, embossed WO Oct 15/70 {Miss Lees' letter, the PR's good work & Prussian ambulances}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff75-80v, pen, Oct 18/70 embossed WO. Greenway. This letter wh you sent before needs no answer unless you mean to battle a man out of opinions to which he has already committed himself. I sent you a kind of hypothetical reply. Miss Lees letter, ambulances, answers to FN's questions

signed letter, JS to FN, ff81-84v, pen, Oct 29/70 embossed WO. *In regard to Miss Lees*, Col Lindsay's letter shows distinctly that under present circumstances no nursing help is wanted at Versailles. At least in the estimation of the authorities. I don't think you could under the circumstances make her employment there a matter of personal favour.

If you move about it at all, it appears to me that all you can do is to write to the P.R. that it would be desirable to employ Miss Lees on improving work elsewhere when the opportunity rises. You might suggest Versailles. But even the fall of Metz it is that the work most requiring to be done is there. 20,000 French sick and wounded will afford field enough for anyone. She wd go to Metz of course under Prussian colours. You might suggest this to her and if she consents the P.R. no doubt would get her the needful authority.

2. *Col. Lindsay's report*. The point in it, which struck me most was the decortication of the Prussian hospital system. It is a hollow sham. They are just where the French were in the early part of Louis XIVth reign. They have copied this at the time; they then beat the French under Fred the Great in illeg; but their hospitals have still a march a century and a half to keep up with the present times.

This is very much what has come to us from those quarters. Their definition of a soldier is "a man always in the ranks." Out of the ranks he is somebody else who has been unfortunate. The experience of this war will I hope correct much of this insouciance.

On other points the letter seems one of great interest also, but scarcley what we wd have written about hospitals or the fund. It reveals more than it conceals. Prussia is in trouble before Paris. In great trouble as it appears to me. I was told here a day or two ago of 2000 funerals a day in the Prussian Army and 20 percent sick.

3. *As to the Fund.* The Committee report is just what one would have expected. They appear to have kept no definite accounts. Money came in and they spent it. The need was great, the work overwhelming, but still one would think that a day book of receipts and expenditures might have been kept.

The public will accept the names, but without the names there would have been a row. They are prosecuting a man who collected money and did not account for it satisfactorily. It is a police case. We must take it as it is, and it will be very well if they begin now to keep rigid accounts.

A more important point is what ought to be done now? I fear greatly that the whole manner of working of the Geneva Conv will have to be altered. We foresaw perfectly what has happened and I wrote a long letter to the Horse Guards pointing out the dangers. This was before the modifications subsequently made wh removed the worst features of the convention but left others capable of developing themselves into great evils. I think the French will behave honourably. They are indeed on their good beh everywhere, but if they were pressed as the Prussians are there wd be no security against their so manipulating matters that the funds and supplies for wounded and sick mt be used for preserving the efficiency of the ranks. It is a very difficult subject. The only way out of this is the agreement made with the French war minister, viz that the governments are to supply for the sick everything according to their own scale and that the aid societies money is to go to improve the allowances.

We are quite safe in Paris because we have there Englishmen on the committee. But with the Prussians there is only quasi assent, to cover the sick and wounded and the expenditure of the societies funds.

F84 Had it been possible to unite Col Walker with the Prussian authorities in the expenditure, I think we shd have been safe.

Any way it appears to me that the only safe way of doing the work is for the aid society to disburse solely through its own agents, which it cd very well do in cases where there are scattered small hospitals. And when acting with armies there shd be a joint committee. I shd feel strongly disposed, in view of the small remnant of the fund to let it be disbursed solely by responsible agents and in special cases.

You will see in a few days how the public are disposed to deal with the question. If they are satisfied, subscriptions will come in, if not, not. *Wait!*

As to the incorporation, I scarcely see hat wd be got by it at present. We must hope that the war will end and speedily. There will be no balance to put over in trust. And it wd apparently be better to begin afresh with noting when the time came than to have a small vested fund as an excuse for not contributing.

I wrote to you long ago about the mis-use of the Red Cross and the only way to prevent this.

signed letter, JS to FN, embossed War Office ff85-86v, pen, Oct 31/70 nursing affairs

Letter No. 1 I cannot find anything in this letter that differs from an ordinary everyday gossip about nurses in ah hosp. I fine it most difficult to lay old on any points on which you could hang a letter to the nurses.

One would say that after having written it all, she might have ended by saying that she did not writ e alter. But then you are so much better a judge. And if you will indicate in any way the things to be written about, I shall b very glad to help. She seems to be going on fairly and with fewer hitches than one wd have expected.

Your own letter gives the only hint, namely that it mt be desirable seeing that the est is now completed to say something. But I am afraid I am even worse off then you. You say you have run dry. Now I never had it in me and I am in worse case.

You might touch on the following points.

1st. The importance of the Highgate nursing est to the future nursing in workhouse infirmaries.

2nd the paramount advantage of faithful discharge of duty and of discipline and obedience to orders.

3. That every nurse when out of sight of her superior becomes invested with greatly increased responsibilities and shd try to discharge them as in the sight of God.

4. That this work is in one word self-denial, but that it brings with it under all disappointments and trials the quiet assurance of having rendered services wh nothing in this life can be recompense.

2nd. The RC question. They are all wrong. No priest shad have been allowed within the bldg except by permission of the vestry. This rule is one of ordinary discipline. Usually the priest wd be allowed to pay visits when called for. But for any official to give a pass, is to incur the risk of his situation.

The clerk in any body shd inform the clerk to the Guardians that such a thing has taken place or else they are all liable to censure. It wd be the same with Methodists or anybody else in any properly governed union.

Maclean. We don't get any journals here, but the reply is clear. There is not a word about the cholera enquiry. The point of the passage is the theory. If it be true in cases to be theory, but it is not found. of

signed letter, JS to FN, ff87-87v, pen, {arch: ca Oct 31/70}  
{Mrs. Deeble} WO embossed

signed letter, JS to FN, ff88-89v, pen, Nov 3/70 {letters of Miss Rumpff re expenditure of money for hospitals?} WP embossed

signed letter, JS to FN, ff90-90v, pen, Nov 8/70 [Cunningham's report re Cholera] WO embossed

signed letter, JS to FN, ff91-92, pen, Nov 11/70 {about letters from Mrs Cox, conditions in French hospitals} WO embossed;

Thanks many for letters returned. They are very interesting and show clearly what an amount of good is being very quietly done. What interesting peeps they give into the hospital economy, so much so that one regrets that Mrs Cox, who fulfils Mr Wellers' idea of perfection, viz "of having a very good ration" of nursing matters, has not entered more into small detail. For instance, what an insight into non-human nature is that of obliging men dying of exhaustion to faire maigre because it was Friday! and their abhorrence of French people in the hosps; index facts that are very precious to put on record. I wish she wd give us many more.

A corresponding fact was state to us the other day by a young lady who wishes devote herself to the crèches question (But I think I have heard it from you before). This lady was in Enfants Trouvés and she says the thing which struck her most was that the nuns there appeared to consider that it was well for the poor things to die and get out of this sinful world. Her idea of the cause of the great death rate was simply that she never saw the babies half fed. Is this correct? for if so it is a great fact in child mgt.

Did you read the speeches at Guildhall? There is only one opinion about them and that is that they were an extremely eloquent defence of ministerial incapacity. And I have heard that the country is beginning to feel that they have somewhat neglected their ministers, or trusted them too far.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff93-97, pen, Nov 12/70 {about organization of the Aid Society, FN's questions}

Your letter and papers open up the whole Geneva question. It has 2 quite distinct aspects, 1 and most important, how best to do during this war, 2, deducing the experience for future use. Some time ago you asked me question, and I sent you replies to No. 1. Every one of the replies of those replied I cd if I had been at the head of the Aid Soc here worked into practical and immediate action. I still hold of more importance to work with your present opps as they are than to set about framing rules and a scheme.

The experience of French, Prussian and English has already shown that all schemes are disastrous. As regards Prussia, this was shown to be the only result of the boasted Prussian organization during the Sadowa campaign by Mr Rogge who served as chaplain. He says everything is schemed even to the length of the chaplains coat tails, and that one practical result was that in that war, there were no sanitary work (hospitals included) done and that he himself had seen 250 cholera cases under an assist surgeon and entire houses filled with dead because they cd not be buried according to rule. This same plague afflicts the Prussian army at present, and I feel very strongly f94 that what we shd do is simply to obtain a few leading general principles for present guidance and future help.

Now the only source of this is in the corr you mention and the

only way to get it fully out is to let someone (yourself) (and I will help you) see it and mark out the proper passages to abstract.

So far as questions are concerned, nearly all you have written cd be replied to generally from the published letters. The questions are so very full that I scarcley cd add to them. And besides unless one sees the facts in writing one could scarcley rely on the abstracted answers which in many, very many points, must be the abstractors opinions

What I wd like to see done therefore wd be that Miss V shd get the letters in detached and let you have them and then you mark out the points. Let her abstract them and show you the abstract. Mrs L.L. might then have any amount of credit she wants. What we want is simply a copy.

I can get that done for you. In short if you were to mark the passages. We here cd make the copy and then you send them back to St Martins Place or 32 S. St.

*Cui bono.*

1. We shall see exactly f95 what the experience has been.
2. We shall deduce the rules if any such appear.
3. We mt obviate at once existing difficulties, i.e. providing the committee will act on the rules.

Lastly we must bear in mind that other countries may be doing the same thing, and that any general rules for future guidance will have to be agreed to by all.

Now you will see at once that what we shd *do* is to deal with common sense and judgement with the case before us. Lately the committee has been doing much better and I think there is evidence that we have done more good than all the orders acting under regulations.

1. Money, supplies, surgical skill and illeg can cope with every existing difficulty successfully. Without these and esp the last, regs are of no use. With them neither sick nor wounded ought to lack help.

2. But then the committee or directing head must have technical knowledge and skill, and the want of this was *the* want here.

These two leading principles and necessities came out of the past experience clear as day. But a careful overhauling of the correspondence might suggest points of detail that mt be attended to in future.

Suppose you send your sheets of questions just as they are, I think the necessary result wd be that the corr wd come to you. Because many of the questions involve as much experience in their reply as if possessed by many many men of long standing. And on the other hand there mt be invaluable hints all bearing on the replies wh the abstracter mt overlook from want of technical experience.

If you see as I seem to do on the subject you mt keep the questions until you get the abstracts and then answer them. And it is poss that the abstracts mt answer questions wh we cannot put at present.

I have gone over your questions again. I wd not add to them. I wd only suggest that you mt in sending them say that you wd

gladly help the committee to an answer if you saw a precis of the letters. I am certain nobody there cd answer them from the corr.

I am sorry Galton can't go. You have no hold on Furley, else you mt get him quietly to inspect and report the state of hospitals and sick but then you could not use the info except for private guidance.

I don't know Clode's book and cd not help Galton unless I did. You know of course that there is no controller-in-chief and that *all* the bricks are fallen down again.

Pray let me hear as soon as you like on any other points about the society.

F97 JS note One word more.... no prospect of peace. It is now fast becoming (as the Times begins to seem a war between two principles, democracy and clan government.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff98-99v, pen, Nov 14/70 {about FN's letter about Pettenkoffer's theory of cholera; Army administration; ambulances under the Geneva convention} WO embossed Your letter will do with a slight alteration in the past page but one. re passage about Pettenkoffer shd read:

Another of Dr Lewis's practical results appears to be that the central points of Pettenkofer's theory of cholera and ground water are not sustained by observed facts, but the enquiry is still elementary."

Either this, or simply to take out the passage altogether will do.

I am so sorry that illeg has given you all this trouble for nothing. The only comfort is that it enables you to protect against theories once more. And to place our work in its true light.

There are one or two points in your Saturday's letter to answer.

Galton. The more I think over the army admin the more I think our original plan was the best. Viz complete each dept within itself and hold the head responsible and then have an able undersec to keep all the threads tight, but not to meddle with deptal details.

F99 The Dutch ambulance you mentioned was sent by the Dutch govt and I have no doubt that part of the sending was that the Prussian PMO shd be over the Dutch ambulances as a brench [?] of the ambulance to which he the PMO was attached.

On the general question raised on their point in your letter, we must bear in mind that the Geneva convention takes for granted that when voluntary ambulances are called into play at all, it is because the ordinary ambulance est of the army or armies is insufficient for the number of wounded. They can only therefore take the excess.

Our WO ambulances ought to be at Orleans instead of dawdling with the Prussians who have help enough of their own at Versailles.

I will return your books when I have gone over them. ... PS I have just looked at what Cuninghame says about Pettenkoffer and he leaves it undecided. Hence I have taken out the passage.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff100-01, pen, Nov 14/70 {W.O. ambulance}  
WO

signed letter, JS to FN, ff102-03, pen, Nov 16/70 {the Cunningham  
report from the I.O.; the W.O. ambulance to Tours} WO embossed

signed letter, JS to FN, ff104-07, pen, Nov 16/70 {more about the  
proper use of independent ambulances} WO embossed, and re Rumpff  
and Johanniter; can anything be done about Miss Henderson, who does  
she belong to? hard to forage on Miss Rumpff

signed letter, JS to FN, ff108-09, pen, Nov 18/70 {Mrs. Cox & the  
French} WO embossed

I took these letters from Mrs Cox home last evening and read  
them quietly. They are very interesting. The result in my mind of  
their perusal was that the French authorities have a very different  
idea of the needs of sick and wounded than we have, and that  
practically what they want are:

- more and better food
- more medical comforts
- more clothing and
- more Mrs Cox's

I think you may safely leave her to follow the bent of her own  
judgment in these matters.

As to any hints. One would like to know what is exactly the  
economy of these hospitals? I.e., the nature of the bedding, the  
amount and kind of food, ditto of stimulants, ditto of clothing.

And what additions are made in the case of men suffering from  
exhausting purulent discharges.

These are the points for future reference which appear to me  
to be of most use. But she is so observant that anything she writes  
will be useful.

Do you see in today's Times that the Prussian doctors don't  
like the treatment adopted by the English surgeons of the  
ambulance. I shall ask Logan to learn why.

Ff110-11 JS letter 21 Nov 1870. War Office embossed

I am going to the com and will endeavour to reply to your  
query about Sir B.F. tomorrow. In the meantime, I am very glad your  
letter has appeared. It is of great importance and will strike a  
deep gash into the theory-fetish. I must say that illeg wd have  
induced me to *have prefixed such a letter to yours*. You cannot make  
a silk purse out of &c &c. You know the rest. Pray send it to Sir  
B.F. Send a copy also to Cunningham. He is now director of the  
enquiry in India.

The reports came on Saturday and will be referred to us. But  
we must restore Sir B.F. his copy. This can be done if you will  
help. I can send you mine which has my name on it. If you can send  
him your copy which I suppose has no name, and then .... written  
the committee name or Sir B.F.'s copy. It can remain for our work.  
I can get my copy returned when the others arrive.

Col L.L. There is nothing now in what has happened about the

Prussians. If anybody ever thought that international surgeons doing ordinary duty were to be other than subordinates under Prussian officers there was a mistake. This can never be altered.

The Geneva Convention provides for all this. As I told you, the mistake here was in sending a *complete* ambulance where the existing ambulances were *complete*. I proposed that the WO ambulances shd omit at all the illeg until its services were required and then proceed.

I return you your Lancet with thanks as you may need an additional copy.

Ff12-13v signed letter, JS to FN, pen, Nov 22/70 {India, Sir Bartle Frere, ambulances} WO embossed

I have been thinking over how you can deal with Sir B.F.'s request as to "how things look to you and what we cd try to get done," and find it very difficult to give you the practical advice you want.

On our present evidence, we have drawn up the minute on Sir Stafford Northcote's dispatch which says all the evidence justifies. I believe I may say that we all think, and Mr Chadwick agrees in this, that the minute is hopeful for the future.

We have stated in the minute the things to be done, and perhaps Sir B.F. might be able to say from these in what direction he cd help the doing. The one positive thing which occurs to me is to seize on some one place or station with the grasp of a mastiff and not to leave hold until the place and its vicinity are thoroughly improved.

But then everything wd depend on what Sir B.F. would himself say. A discussion which we had in your room led to every practical step since taken. He knows so much and so well that he clears away obscurities and shows where the light is to be looked for, and what he has done he might do again.

I am reading Duncan's book which appears very able. I shall tell you about it by and bye.

After yesterday's meeting, under a new chief, Genl Haines, Dr Massy told me about the ambulance as he got it from Porter. The first day the Prussians just looked in (there were 80 fever cases). The second day they went over the ambulance. The third day they prescribed for the sick. I asked Massy if a Prussian ambulance had set itself down beside him in the Crimea, whether he would have handed over a single patient entirely to them. His reply as "not for an instant."

The dept justifies the Prussian authorities and complains of St Martin's place.

You will see that Russel says they did but introduce themselves to the crown prince, who wd have removed difficulties. But this is not the point. The real point was whether any international ambulance help was wanted at Versailles and the reply of the Prussian doctors was No!

signed letter, JS to FN, ff114-15, pen, Nov 22/70 {hospital design, Mrs. Deeble,} WO embossed



ff116-17v signed letter, JS to FN, pen, Nov 24/70 {FN'S reply to Mr. Pears about Army Medical organization; Sir B.F.} WO embossed

signed letter, JS to FN, ff118-18v, pen, Nov 26/70 {improvements in India} WO embossed

signed letter, JS to FN, ff119-20, pen, {archivist: Nov 26/70} {more about Sir B.F.} WO embossed

After I sent you today's letter, it occurred to me that I had perhaps not been sufficiently explicit on some points to help you. I have the points in mind every day and do not make allowance for your isolation.

Here is the difficulty.

We want Sir B.F.'s views on the present position of matters with special reference to the improvements I mentioned in my note today: with the view of asking further questions, the final objects being to be able to advise him on considerations of all the facts and views he might express as to what he had best do to forward the objects.

It is precisely the same course as that which we took about Sir S Northcote's dispatch. We first got the facts, then we discussed and formed our opinion, then we made recommendations, which have resulted in great good.

The same or a similar course is now required and Sir B.F. has given the opportunity by asking to see you.

You may hear of great disasters to French and Germans by the time this reaches you. There has been great bloodshed by tonight's news, but nothing known about results.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff121-22, pen, Nov 29/70 {Netley nurses; room arrangements} WO embossed

letter rough pencil draft in JS hand, ff123-24 very faint pencil re trained nurses, central London

**f123** {archivist: ca Nov 1870}

1. Plead excuse for writing
2. Having seen his name on the list of managers of the Central London Sick Asylum district and being very desirous ~~that~~ to enlist the good will of as many good men as possible in giving a fair trial to the new system of trained nursing you write to ask his kind ~~ass~~ Countenance & assistance for the staff of nurses trained at your School for the new Infirmary at Highgate. It need scarcely be pointed out that

improved buildings are only  
the basis on which  
improved management and  
especially improved nursing  
& other attendance is to rest

**f123v**

and that or the ultimate  
object is to get the sick cured  
~~well~~ and out of house  
in the shortest possible time  
and on this mainly *depends*  
on the management of them  
while in the infirmary. You  
need scarcely say another word  
in proof of its importance to the  
rate payers. One great cause  
of the heavy & costly sick rate in all  
large towns has been the long  
time the sick poor have been  
detained in the Workhouse  
Infirmaryes & the imperfect  
cures or non cures effected  
but that now a fair opportunity  
will be afforded of introducing  
a thoroughly efficient system  
which though apparently

**f124**

more costly in the first  
instance will in the  
end not only greatly  
benefit the sick poor but  
will save the pockets of the  
rate payers. Should the  
present  
partial trial of the new  
system succeed as I have  
no doubt it will, I would  
venture to ask your aid  
in extending it over  
the whole building. Our  
committee will most readily  
do all they can to help you  
in so good a work & will  
produce such addition to the  
existing trained staff  
as may be necessary.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff125-26v, Dec 1/70 on embossed WO {death of FN' s uncle; conditions in France; Miss Torrance} so many family troubles scarce like to write about business;

Any loss is better than the loss described in Mrs Cox's letter. What a picture it gives of the final result of caput mortuum of trying to do for people what they shd do for themselves. One must hope that personal govt and all its belongings have ceased for ever in France. What wd even Prussia be w/o Bismarck? The ambulance is now in its proper place. Much useful experience will be gained by it for guidance in improving the Geneva Conv arrs.

*Miss Torrance:* I think she wd only be obliged to train if directed to do so by the hosp board, i.e. if she remained an officer of the board. I am surprised the work has progressed so well. The best proof of this is the request to train nurses for other workhouses.

The following points occur to me: 1st who to pay the board and other expences of the probs? Suppose this to be satisfactorily arranged,

2 who is to select the material? Cd your com do it with most advantage? or wd it be better to leave the nom in the hands of the board and the selection in the hands of Miss Torrance? A tr sch esp for wkh nurses requires more experience than Miss T. has yet had. It wd be better to be more sure about her existing staff. I shd begin with a few, 5 or 6 probs to see how the matter would work. I am afraid the existing structure wd scarcely do in a tr place where truth and discipline are so desirable. If he is a Josephite there is no babe, for they belong to the Iqudentir tribe.

6. Miss T. shd state plainly her difficulties when the tr is proposed to her and offer simply to make trial of it.

7. I don't think you cd advise her to do better than to train on your own plan and with your own rules and books.

proposal, FN to JS, ff127-30, pencil & pen

**f127**

[FN]

*Proposal*

*Night Nurses Quarters Netley*

Please criticize-

I concur with Mrs. Deeble

in thinking the curtailment

of the Linenry "objectionable"

[The noise of the Linenry in the  
dy would effectually

prevent the Night Nurses

fro sleeping. Also]

But they might exchange ]

Linenry is the chief point.

Dr. Sutherland.

[HBC: ask Mrs Deeble to suggest any better arrangement]

**f128v**

{pen} It appears to me that the only thing which can be done is to adopt this ~~ist~~ plan with its manifest disadvantages unless the space marked X can be divided off by a glazed door & used as a house store? room & then the house store room made into a small nurses room which would enable one of the proposed new rooms to be retained in the Levering [?] & thereby add 7 feet to its length. My decided opinion is that the quarters will be too crowded, but what can be done

**f129** {this f has FN's writing on the left and JS's writing on the right; I have done FN's writing in bold}

**1. The Estimate is nearly £80**

{there is a plan sketched here}

objection

corridor

their

{pencil{ This is not in my opinion  
there is

any objection - It is  
better opening out of the Kitchen. HyBC

**2. It is impossible for me**

**to determine, of course,**

**whether the Superintendent's**

**present bed-room, or one**

**of the two rooms proposed**

**(28C, 31C) is the quieter**

**for the Night Nurses**

**[The most contradictory**

**opinions have been**

**should**

**expressed on the spot.]**

**3. But there can be**

**absolutely no question**

**that the extemporized**

Netley Night Nurse's Quarters

1. Mr. Carters letter was  
sent down

for remarks & estimate

2. C.R.E. says that he  
thinks

the proposal to divide 28c into  
two rooms is open to the

that there is a stop in the

over this room, and down that  
step the Candidates pass from

quarters making at times a very  
great noise. *and that*

*no W.C. for the nurses.*

3. Dr. Beaton proposes that  
the

night nurses quarters  
should

be in room 31C mainly as  
it

appears on account of the  
W.C.

In this the C.R.E. concurs,  
but

as the room will not  
divide

longitudinally into two  
quarters

on acct. of the W.C. door,  
he

suggest that the partition

be run across the room  
where

the dotted line is. **Very  
objectionable,**

*I think. FN*

4. This room 31. C. has a  
passage

as you will perceive on  
tw  
o  
si

**Quarter for the Servants**  
**(in the Nurses' Corridor)**  
*should be removed.*

**4. There is also no question**  
**that Night Nurses should**  
**sleep in separate**  
**complete rooms or**  
**compartments.**

de  
s  
of it above, and along  
one side  
on the same floor - The  
passage  
length making noise on *both*  
*floors*  
will be nearly 5 to 1 in  
31. C as  
compared to 28. C. Dr.  
Beaton  
thinks the rooms can,  
neither

**f129v**

{FN's comments now appear on the right, with JS's notes on the left.}

of them be quiet on account of  
the candidates. **Very likely, I think**

{ **But I cannot decide.**

**F.N.**

5. The C.R.E. considers  
that the present Superintendents  
Bed room (in the nurses quarters)  
would be the quietest night  
nurses room, but that  
if the present servants room  
made out of the end of the  
corridor is removed, the

best room for the servants  
so displaced will be the  
present superintendents bed  
room. All agree that it  
would be advisable to have  
a single woman servant  
through the night in 31. C.  
6. The point to be decided  
is whether the room 28 C is  
to be divided where the line is: -

each division having part of

a window; and room 31 C  
to be the superintendents  
kitchen, The W.C. being taken as sufficient

or whether ~~28/~~ 31 C is to be  
divided as ~~originally~~ proposed by the C.R.E.

& 28. C. retained for Superintendents  
kitchen & the W.C. accommodation

taken to be sufficient -

7. The C.R.E. proposes a  
moveable screen as a division

**Very objectionable**

**I think.**

**F.N.**

**5. If one of the rooms,  
(28 C, 31 C.) is taken  
for**

**the Night Nurses, I  
should adhere therefore  
to the proposal  
divide 28 C so as to  
have part of a window  
to each Quarter -  
the partition not to be  
a screen but a  
partition  
up to the ceiling  
each compartment to  
to have a door -  
& a common lobby for  
for the two - so that  
neither Nurse should  
pass thro' the other's  
room**

**6. 31 C should be the  
Superintendent's  
kitchen**

**7. [N.B. It appears to  
be  
not a disadvantage but  
rather the reverse, that  
the W.C.  
should  
be in Kitchen, &  
not in  
Nurses' room]**

**8. Superintendent's  
present**

**bed- room in this case  
to be given for Servants**

{in a third hand} X concerned,  
but no doubt it

wd be better for the  
Servants to  
be within the old  
Quarters. ie

in the Supt bedroom - In



be divided

longitudinally & up to ceiling

either  
case the Bursar's room shd  
as it can be,

**f130** {in another hand}

5. Dr. Sutherland got a  
plan made by War Office N.E. for a *similar*  
*division* of Supt Beds  
room in view of the  
one originally proposed  
by C.R.E

{at the bottom of the page}

{in pencil}

7. Certainly

Hy B.C.

{pen}

The true solution of the diffi-  
culty would be to give the two  
rooms 28 C & 31 C to the Night  
Nurses & ~~commit~~ Supts present  
bedroom to two servants. There  
is no necessity for a 2nd Kitchen.  
It is true the Supt. wd be in some  
respects worse off than she is now.  
If this cannot be done either  
28. C or Supt. Bedroom should be  
given to the Night Nurses, not 31. C.  
It is not very material which  
of the two, so far as Nurses are X HY BC 2/12

signed letter, JS to FN, ff131-33v, pen, Dec 5/70 {Sir B.F and  
reports on sanitary conditions in India} WO embossed

signed letter, JS to FN, ff134-35v, pen, Dec 6/70 {more about  
reports from India} WO embossed

signed letter, JS to FN, ff136-37v, pen, Dec 10/70 {reply to a long  
letter of FN's about India} WO embossed

incomplete letter, JS to FN, ff138-41, pen, Dec 16/70 {more about  
India & the night nurses's quarters at Netley}; Col Gordon of  
Scutari is the new CRE at Jersey

signed letter, JS to FN, ff142-43v, pen, Dec 19/70 {Indian  
Engineering College} embossed WO

letter, FN to JS, ff144-45, pencil

**f144** {archivist; ca 20 12 1870}

I do not agree with the disparaging criticism I am ordered to send on to you [15:751]

I think if the conduct of the French *for the last 3 months* had been shewn by any other nation, it would have been called, *as it is*, sublime.

The uncomplaining endurance, the "sad & severe self restraint" of Paris under a siege now of more than 3 months

f145

would have rendered immortal a city of ancient Romans - [end]

The Army of the Loire, fighting 7 days out of 9, hungry, barefoot, cold & frozen, yet unsubdued, is worthy of Henry V & Agincourt.

And all for what? To save Alsace & Lorraine, of whom Paris scarcely knows.

Dec 20/70

F.N.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff146-v, pen, undated {aid to wounded in Franco-Prussian war} Did not Sam Laing call the military success of Prussia a "wonderful dispensation of Providence" and is not all this bloodshed the consequence of it. We can in my opinion know only sick and wounded me apart from quarrels or nations. If Mrs Schwabe wants help for German wounded because french wounded are illeg let her get it. But an offer ought to be to from a fund under trustees for both Fr and Germans. I think I wd say to her that under the present calamity you can take no pol part. But you are ready to give your name (if you are) to any com for supplying the wounded of all the parties who may be dragged into the contest irrespective of the cause of it. Balfour note commits himself

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff147-48, pen, Dec 22/70 {complaints about behaviour of English arms & powder people; American arms} WO embossed Whatever America has done is no excuse for us. Our work

signed letter, JS to FN, ff149-50, pen, Dec 24/70 {workhouse regulations} WO. I have read this letter, nothing discouraging in it. My wonder is that so little of the old wkh element has shown itself. The only practical point wh occurs to me is that it wd be well to have a set of regs drawn up for the internal admin of the hosp. You shd see those to which Miss T. alludes before they are agreed to. This wd enable you to see what the MO thinks necessary and then by comparing them with ours and by consulting Mrs Wardroper a case mt be drawn up which the bd mt issue, at least provisionally to see how it works. The whole thing is new and at present experience is being obtained.

signed letter, JS to FN, f151, pen, Dec 28/70 {letters about conditions in France and the Red Cross Society} Many many thanks for these painfully interesting letters. The poor french are just as they have always been hitherto in lost campaigns. Very selfish some of them, very noble and heroic others. I am afraid it will all end in the Red Cross being a mark to abort at.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff152-52v, pen, Dec 30/70 {accommodations at Netley} embossed WO I don't like this. Your pr has been to go in when everything was ready. It seems to me that you must take one of 2 courses, leave the matter entirely in Mrs Deeble's hands, accept the temp arr, or state that it wd be better to incur the delay than to run any risk of not satisfying the nurses just at entering on a very arduous duty. You have the only experience to enable a decision to be come to.

unsigned note, f153, pencil

**f153** {archivist: 1870}

{printed address:} 35 South Street,  
Park Lane  
W.

I should be very glad to be left now  
for I have three people coming at 2.  
But if Mr. Goschen comes tomorrow  
or before I see you again, we shall  
not have settled what I am to say.  
practical useful industrial training  
& ~~employment~~/ education as distinct from  
reading & writing  
the old system? What?

unsigned note, f154, pencil

**f154**

{archivist: [ca: 1870]}

I won't have the Coll of Physicians represented  
Nor the Apothecaries  
What - give the franchise ~~a vote~~ to the greatest  
credibility in the world- to the blindest  
adherence to prejudice & predestination  
-to the most obstinate opposition to all  
fact & experience-  
Give the franchise to the Ragged  
Brigade of Shoe-blacks- And you  
give it to intelligence  
But don't give it to the Physicians  
Or I'll get up an Examination  
And every one of them will be  
plucked.  
You may give it to the surgeons, if  
you like--Because they are better  
but only because Mr Paget has  
made them so.

signed letter, ff155-56v, pen

**f155**

{printed address:} 35 South Street, Jan 3/71  
Park Lane,

W

Netley Night Nurses' Quarters

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I cannot tell you the reluctance with which  
I read & forward to you these extraordinary  
letters -

You will see that the writer entirely ignores

1. that having already placed two more  
persons a child and a servant, into  
Sleeping Quarters which were certified as  
healthy for 8 *at the very outside*,  
she now proposes defying every warning,  
or rather ignoring every caution she has  
received, to put in 2 more - Thus she  
will have 12 *people* sleeping (by night  
& *by day*, which makes it worse) in  
quarters not quite enough for 8 -
2. that, having herself (most properly) stated  
(a.) that to place one more woman *opposite*  
the present 6 Sleeping cells was to block  
up the little air they quarters might have, she  
now actually proposes to place 4 - viz. two Night Nurses

**f154v**

& two servants

(b.) that having stated *that* was a Quarter too noisy for Night Nurses to sleep in by day, she now rebukes others, in ~~most~~ inconsiderate & unjustifiable language, for *not* placing them there, apparently solely because she wants to have *the whole of the Quarters on the other side the Museum*, for her own day= use, with the W.C..  
& because she wants the Nurses (whose superintendence she has undertaken) *not* "to pass in front " *of my Apartments!!!*

I could point out other things (in these unfortunate letters -) ~~but~~ which are contrary to every principle of Sanitary & administrative superintendence - & to every profession with which she began  
But they will not escape your notice

**f156**

And I have no time or strength  
[Part of these letters is indeed unintelligible to me - & part is contrary to fact.]

Will you kindly tell me what part you think *I* should take, & also what comment you think I should make in forwarding the enclosed to Mr. H. Bonham Carter, to whom I have not yet sent it?

Perhaps you had better return me this (my letter) as part of the corresponde.

Might I suggest that, IN HER OWN INTEREST the W.O., (in answer to her letter which she has addressed to them, *without taking counsel of any one*) should write her a *dignified & gentle rebuke*, shewing her (indirectly) that a person entertaining such views, if they can be *called views*, *can never be fit to be* Supt. Genl, as she desires? {Without this,

**f156v**

I really question whether she can go on another year without some great mischief.]

The least mischief of the matter is that I am so totally unable to read or answer these unreasonable perpetually self-contradictory, letters that I am afraid I shall be obliged to decline such a waste of my small strength - overladen as it is already, beyond measure.

Pray believe me

yours very faithfully

Florence Nightingale

N.B. You will doubtless remember that the main reason for granting her the "*Engineers Quarters*" on the other side the Museum was: because we could not possibly consent to giving 2 Night Nurses to sleep in already overcrowded Quarters - & that the "*Engineers*" Qurs." were therefore to accommodate 2 at least of the party to sleep.

This from some unaccountable oblivion, the writer chooses to ignore - notwithstanding your visit to her at the end of July - last. F.N.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff157-58v, Jan.3/71 {Mrs. Deeble} embossed WO

signed letter, JS to FN, f159, Jan.4/71 {archivist: re Agnes Jones} embossed WO

signed letter, JS to FN, ff160-61, Jan.9/71 {about the Franco Prussian war, field food} WO embossed thanks for the perusal of this most sorrowful letter, what has become of the £20,000 given to the Prussians at Versailles

signed letter, JS to FN, ff162-63v, Jan. 20/71 {an epitaph, reference to Mr Rathbone} embossed WO

signed letter, JS to FN, ff164-65v, Feb. 4/71 {archivist: Franco-Prussian war & "Barrack construction question has come to us from India".} embossed WO many thanks for letters, re Embley, first impulse, a blessing if cd send another Mrs Cox to help

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff166-, Feb.10/71 {water supply in Sierra Leone} embossed WO



Extract from a letter, ff167-68v, Jan 4, 1871 {E.H.V.'s letter on Sierra Leone} 30 Montagu Square, London W. Please make known to Papa and to Miss Nightingale this fact about Sierra Leone, which is often said to be so unhealthy. There's absolutely no drainage whatever in the town. The town site measures 65 acres. In this are upwards of 500 cess pools. Not one of these cess pools is covered in and trapped. Not even the one in the governor's house. With every convenient means of bringing to the town, the finest water supply of any town in the world, there are no water works. There's not such a thing as a water closet or a drain in the colony. The very water use in this house (govt house) is carried up daily by hand, by the convicts. There's no sort of attempt to have the cess pools regularly emptied, and many have not been emptied within the memory of man; in fact I think it wd be difficult to find trustworthy evidence of 12 having been emptied within the last year.

These cess pools are merely holes in the ground, not bricked round or cemented; their contents percolate thro' the soil and porous rock. Lately it was found that they were contaminating a spring, and actually affecting the colour of the water of the spring from which many people were drinking. No town in the world could be more easily and cheaply drained and supplied with magnificent cold water from the mountains close by. Please make known to the British public why Sierra Leone is unhealthy, but do not use my name as long as I am out here. Just fancy having 9 or 10 cess pools on every acre of a crowded in a tropical climate. There's no such thing as a public fountain, so people must drink what they get in the grog shops, and frightful stuff most of it is.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff169-70v, Feb. 22/71 {response to water problems in Sierra Leone} embossed WO

signed letter, JS to FN, ff171-72, Feb. 23/71 embossed WO Miss T. Wyatt

signed letter, ff173-80v, pen black-edged paper [8:233-37]

**f173**

March 6/71

*Lying-in Hospitals*

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I was much obliged to you for sending me this MS paper. I have gone through it all, tho' with no little difficulty, for it is my case, as I believe it is that of all much- worn Invalids, that examining & revising a M.S. is far more laborious to them than writing one from notes which notes, existing in several hands, you have not sent me. To proceed -

1. It reads like an introductory Chapter - and, when I wrote the M.S. which is its basis, you said that *that was to be the introduction*.

I think ~~it~~ /the title should be "Introductory Notes" rather than the proposed Title.

**f174**

2. There are besides more than two or three allusions in it, (one or two in the ~~matter~~/part in your own hand,) to matter which never comes. E.g. One in your hand alludes to "proposals" supplied by "Miss Jones" which never come. And there is not a word from "Miss Jones" there.

[red pencil] (This was a guess that something might come because it was in the original preface in your own hand I merely copied it.)

3. I feel nevertheless so entirely unable to go over & over again the matter of the present M.S. which has already been gone over & over again for 2 ¼ years that I propose as follows:

to publish this M.S. (with some additions & corrections which are indispensable & which I will presently detail) as I published the first & second 5/ Editions of my "Notes on Hospitals", leaving it to my chance of life & work to publish a future enlarged Edition like Longman's of my "Notes on Hospitals".

There should therefore be a very small number of copies of *this* Edition, if published.

I would almost prefix a very few words saying that *this* is merely thrown out as a nucleus or hook to obtain accretions or to catch other fish - altho' the facts themselves, the nucleus have been made as correct as it was possible & as would have been done for a finished work.

**f174v**

4. The corrections & additions which are indispensable - tho' there are more which would be desirable - are -

{written in the side margin above address}

JS: Mr. Rigden does not give the cause the death took place the day after delivery (no doubt it was an accident)

I have corrected the statement.

{printed address: vertical} 35 South Street,  
Park Lane,

W.

(a.) there is some confusion about Dr.

*Dr. Rigdon's "9 deaths"*, (put in in your hand-writing.) It is put in as "8 deaths" & as "9 deaths" - & the percentage appears to be calculated on the "8", in the place where it is put in as the "9" - or rather the

Puerperal=Disease=Death=rate appears to be calculated on the "8" - And the 9th Death

is then added, without giving its *cause*.(?)

(b.) *Aldershot* - I obtained last year with much labour an account from the Chaplain of the working of the "Sisters" of last years in the Lying- in Hospital from whom it appeared that the Matron's & Midwife's

**f175**

[2]

duties are not as you have stated them {pencil} in the M.S. {pen} His letters (Rev'd J.E. Sabin) are among the papers. - But you do not appear to have consulted them - And you have not sent them to me - JS: You have done this.

[We never could get any account from the A.M.D. of this matter.] JS: Done

(c.) Should there not be ~~an~~ second allusion to the *Waterford* Hospital ? at p. 46a. We obtained their papers - you said their Statistics should go in - And there is a second place where it would seem as if ~~they~~/ an allusion to it had dropped out by mistake - in the Recapitulation

This is not however of any consequence -

p. 46 2nd  
side

**f176**

(d) *Description of Lieut. Ommanney's plans*

This is defective & ~~full of~~/sometimes in error - [Indeed I was obliged to go over & over it again before I could recognize my old friend.]

The most important omissions are: -

(1) no notice taken of the plan of using the wards *in rotation* which was the most elementary feature of our reform.

incidental allusion is indeed made to frequent "aeration" - (what word is that? - I don't know it) which might mean, opening the windows.

(2). no notice taken of our plan of moving all ~~Patients~~/Lying in women 3 times - from Delivery Ward to (8 hours

to Lying-in Ward (5 or 6 days  
to Recovery or convalescent  
Ward - till discharge

I thought this was an elementary feature in our plan too - tho' not so much so as the other.

Done [in pencil in another hand]

(3). This reminds me that the element of "average number of days" in Lying-in Institutions, [which is of great importance 2 ways], appears not consistently treated in this paper - It is emphatically stated in the *Military* Lying-in part, & altogether overlooked in all other parts.

Now it is not at all certain that the persistent refusal of the Soldier's wife to stay more than 10-12 days in these Lying- in huts is not a great element of their healthiness -

**f176v**

King's Coll. Hosp. boasted itself that it kept our poor women a full month. And they were too glad to stay. It is certain that this increases the elements of danger - It had speedily to be reduced to 16 days.

Marylebone & other Workhouses keeps ~~its~~/ their Lying-in {printed address: vertical} 35 South Street, cases an average number of 18-21 days

Park Lane, Liverpool Workhouse, I think, states

W. Its average number of days - as

14

But the only number, stated in the M.S., besides the Soldiers' Wives, is Dr. Rigdon's - [Of course the other way this is of importance is that the captious will say: Yes, but you do not know the Deaths which happen *after* discharge.]

**f177**

*Description of Ommanney's plan.* [3]

(4) The part however which puzzles me most is the alteration of the *numbers* of beds which we strictly limited to 40 - because we strictly limited the *middle* Pavilion on each side to one floor - One Pavilion always to stand empty in rotation for cleansing & lime washing - so that only 32- 36 beds are ever occupied.

The numbers have been altered in your Description & in your hand even on Lt. Ommanney's Plan - & raised to 48 - a second floor being apparently added to the two one floor Pavilions inside the Court.

[This runs throughout the "Description" in your hand] - tho' not in Ommanney's.] I have erased the 48 in your hand & restored the 40 on Lt. Ommanney's Design.

**f178**

Those are the main indispensable ~~alterations~~/additions & corrections on the existing M.S. which as it appears require making -

I could do the ~~latter~~/ additions, for it is really less painful to me ~~from~~ writing from notes, than examining & revising a M.S. (which is in effect what I have been doing) *if I had but the notes* -

But these *are not* - at least, here -

They consist of my letters to Lt. Ommanney, a letter to me from Miss Jones, & *his* paper on his own plan - part of which at least should go in as a quotation from him -

Also: E.g. there is not one word in the Description (in the M.S. before me) about the system of Reliefs for Pupil Midwives, which is so important that it modified the whole idea of the Administration block -

Lastly: - there must (this is *must* not may) be some slight sketch of the management of Lying-in women & of a Midwifery Training School, *in so far* as this determines some constructive arrangements as imperative & others as to be avoided

~~As is~~ And in nearly every page of the M.S. this is alluded to as coming - & never comes -

**f178v**

Enough exists to form this indispensable Chapter in my letters to Ommanney & in that one of Miss Jones' to me - I should not propose to put *more* (at least not in this Edition, which I look upon merely as a feeler.)

But this again I could write with my Notes & cannot without -

N.B. The parts (a.) and (c.) about *Dr. Rigdon* & *Waterford* I should not choose to put in *without you*, even if I could - these being as it were professional. The addition about Waterford not essential -

**f179**

[4]

5. I have indicated the additions & corrections manifestly indispensable -

There are besides (in the sheets of the M.S. in my handwriting which are not come) pencil indications of things which had been omitted & which I thought should come in later - that M.S. being, as I was told, merely an Introduction -

*But it is, I believe, simply impossible for me to go over that M.S. again.*

And therefore I propose, as above said, to publish this fragment, when corrected & when it has received the indispensable additions - perhaps only calling it **Introductory Notes** -

**f180**

I know not whether to send you back the M.S. ~~as~~ with this letter (which it has taken me 2 days to write.)

But on the whole I think I had better keep it till I have your answer to this

I had better see *this* again, as I have no other note of what the M.S. appears to require - altho' I have freely corrected it as I went on, as far as my memory served me - without the papers referred to - & have indicated (in red) some lacunes which must be filled up -

I wait your answer.

Thank you for this trouble you have taken about this M.S.

PS and N.B. I will only just ~~add~~/say that, in the very title written in your hand mention is made of a "proposal", "for organizing &c" - which never comes -

Even if I add the small Chapter I propose this must, I think, go out of the Title.

[The last sheet of the M.S. in my hand which is not come left off with the beginning words of this "proposal" which was at last about to be "proposed"]



**f180v**

yours v. faithfully  
F. Nightingale

It is perhaps worth while just to say that the expression: - at Lying- in Institutions should be "instantly closed" - comes 3, if not 4 times over - It is somewhat of an irritating expression, even if used only once -

But this is a matter of taste -  
F.N.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff181-82, March 20/71, pen {return from Dublin, improvements there} embossed WO

initialled letter, ff183-84v, pencil & pen [6:305-06]

**f183**

*Agnes Jones* March 24/71

Dr. Sutherland

Would you kindly look at an Advertisement p. 12, of to-day's "Times" under Strachan & Co. *New List* of Memorial of Agnes Jones "by her Sister" - *with my name*

No leave has been asked of me  
- no notice given me -

I see this Advertisement  
accidentally

The "Memorial" by her Sister fails so entirely to picture Agnes Jones as *she was*. I will say more, they are so disgusting to me that I entirely decline to be concerned with them in my love of Agnes Jones.

I suppose this "Introduction" is taken from my "Una" in "Good Words" - But, if even I cannot

**f183v**

help this, they must not  
put me in the Title in  
this way.

Indeed they *must not*

WHAT SHALL I do?

It is so hard to make me  
write another letter  
And I have no one to act  
for me

F.N.

**f184v**

{JS reply to FN}

I saw this advertisement, & could arrive at no other  
conclusion than that you had authorized the use  
of your name. It is abominable to have used you  
in such a way. There is a course commonly  
taken in such cases, viz to write to the ~~ed~~ publisher  
and complain that your name has been used  
without your knowledge or sanction & to ask him  
to send a note to this effect to the newspaper. It  
is not unfrequently done. I should not threaten to  
write yourself until you see what he does.

But he may have reprinted Una entire. In which  
case the falsehood would be in the wording "with an  
introduction & "by F.N." We ought to correct this, (if it  
be so) by stating that the "introduction" is simply a reprint  
of the paper in good words. I fear you will.

**f184**

have to write. It would be no use complaining to  
Dr. Macleod because he is my Editor of good words, although  
I have little doubt he would tell Strachan a bit of  
his mind.

initialled letter, f185, pencil blue paper

**f185**

24/3/71

*Dr. Sutherland*

I enclose 2 letters from  
Dr. Alex Smith -  
the "amended copy of his  
Sanitary Report  
& the Memorial & Correspondence  
Could you be so good as to tell  
me what I ought to say about  
his "Sanitary Report" which  
I have not yet even  
acknowledged -  
Also whether anything could be  
done about his "Memorial"?

F.N.

x If you don't, I shall tell him that the  
"War Office" never forwarded his letters  
& parcels to me.

initialled letter, JS to FN, f186v, 24/3/71 {JS's reply to FN, f184}

signed letter, ff187-96, pen & pencil black-edged paper [8:237-40]

**f187**

*Lying=in papers*

35 South Street, March 28/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W. 7 a.m.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

You are kind enough to invite me to send you back these papers in order to "finish my book" - with my observations "additional points", & "an additional chapter" or "sketch of proposed Administration".

I have written the additional Chapter & now enclose it with the whole -

I tried to enlarge, add to & modify the three {inserted in pencil} or 5 {pen resumes} last pages of your M.S. (pp 49-50) - But after several attempts, I failed - or rather found it impossible - & so wrote ~~the whole of~~ what I had to say on management as bearing on construction in the 41 new additional pages now sent.

**f187v**

I have erased two or three passages in your last page, (p.50) which come word for word, or are treated differently, in mine. But there must be more {inserted in pencil} such passages - {pen resumes} And this work of renewal comparison & weeding is quite beyond my powers - I do not think that I can do more to it. After it has received your proposed "finishing" I think it must be published, if at all - & merely as an Introductory Note or feeler (I have put a few words on the reverse of the Title=page) - for this reason: -  
I believe it to be impossible for *any* one to produce *any*

**f188v**

work of exactness in the way this {inserted in pencil} M.S.{pen resumes] has been done - viz. spreading it over 2¼ years, *not* as during that period acquiring fresh information & so working it in - but as has really been done, which I will not farther characterize [I never ~~open~~/go through the papers without finding fresh information in them which has *not* been worked in - & corrections of former information, where the old has been taken & the new left.] But for me, an Invalid and a busy Invalid, I am *sure* that it is simply impossible to do a work of exactness in this way -

**f188v**

And therefore I propose what  
I have said; to publish this, after  
it has been made as correct as  
possible as a *mere* Introduction  
- And possibly some day, if life  
& strength are renewed - from  
the printed work may be  
written a larger & more complete  
work like my Longman's "Notes on Hospitals".

There are no degrees in the  
*impossible* - And I am sure it is  
simply impossible for me  
to work much more on *this* M.S.  
I proceed to a few observations -

**f189**

[2]

1. Would it not be well to  
insert the sheet of Kings Coll.  
Mortality (marked by me a "insert + p 3")  
{blue foolscap)

omitting the *names* of the  
unfortunate sufferers -  
(tho' perhaps it would be better  
to put it in at the end of the  
Appendix if at all)

Upon it would hang a  
most curious, tho' painful  
enquiry - [Which I thought  
we were to have made but  
of which I find *no* trace  
in the M.S.]

The Deaths in that  
melancholy foolscap- sheet  
are often 3 or 4 weeks later  
than the date of Delivery  
The date of *attack* (of Puerperal  
Fever) is not given - perhaps it

**f189v**

cannot be found to be a fact that a woman, after going on well for 5 or 6 days is *then* attacked by Puerperal ~~or other~~ Fever - It would throw important light upon the question both upon the *necessity* of removing women going on well after the 5th or 6th day to a Convalescent Ward - And upon the danger of associating women in different stages of recovery in the same ward - i.e. women in the first day or two after delivery & ~~in~~ /after the first week or so -  
 I have studied that sheet with painful interest - tho' not

**f190**

much can be made out of it - owing to the want of the date of attack of Puerperal Fever. [In the last year the Erysipelas case which by Dr. Priestley's own showing did the mischief appears to have *died* before the Admission of the 2 cases whose Deaths from Puerperal Fever he attributes *directly* to it.]  
 {in pencil} In all Statistics, it would be most important to have  
     Date of              Date of              Date of  
     *Delivery*          *Attack*              *Death*

--	--	--	--	--	--

2. Without going into this larger point, I have, under "Sites", p. 25 of my new M.S. - {in pencil} (white thread) {pen} merely stated the average of days of Patients' stay in certain Institutions, not giving any conclusions from it - tho' it is one of the most

**f190v**

important elements & ought to be known at least, for Q. Charlotte's & the Paris Maternité in addition to these ~~and~~ The place where I have inserted it is not a good place

But in the body of the (green string) M.S., I can only find it even noted for 2 Institutions -

And no attempt at any general summary or conclusion on this point is ever made

I have done what I could - & do not feel I could enter upon this discussion now, not for *this* publication at least.



**f191**

{pencil} [2a]

At the Paris Maternité, pregnant  
women are admitted weeks  
& even months beforehand  
- wait upon the Accouchées -  
- are mixed up with them -  
a proportion of pregnant women  
& a proportion of accouchées  
are placed under the care of  
one & the same Elève Sage femme  
in each case at one & the same  
time

All this is a most important  
element in the case of the  
Paris Maternité Mortality  
It would not be tolerated even  
in a Workhouse in England  
where pregnant women are admitted  
Yet I find no mention  
made of it in the M.S.

**f192**

[3]

{printed address;} 35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
W.

3. Would it not be well to insert  
Mr. Barnes' "Summary" of Lying-in  
cases in Lpool Workhouse  
for 1868-9

(marked by me X x 34 a)

{pen} perhaps in the Appendix?

I say this because it gives  
some valuable information -  
especially about proportion of  
unmarried mothers in Workhouses  
- because one or two of its  
points ~~appear~~/are treated in your account  
of Dr. Rigdon & *nowhere else*.

On the other hand there are  
some points in this "Summary" of  
which we have not treated  
in regard to other Institutions -  
And therefore it might be as  
well to ~~admit~~ omit them.

**f192v**

4. I send Dr. Rigdon's letters,  
that you may correct, if you  
please, what appears  
ambiguous at p. 8 of the  
(green string) M.S.

5. I return my own old letter  
of March 6, because you have  
twice written to me: "let me  
"have it again without fail, as  
"I could almost from it  
complete the M.S." -

and

"I think we might make the M.S.

"better before sending it to Longman"

(in which *indeed* I agree)

and "Your letter contains many points

" I could make use of".

**f193**

6. I have inserted corrections  
from Mr. Sabin's letters  
as to Aldershot - & from  
Dr. Balfour's letters -

I have *not* verified a  
*single figure* - [(I could  
not go into all that again now.)]

I have corrected some  
inaccuracies - but cannot in  
the least vouch that there  
are not many more -

Let me here just caution  
against hastily erasing or  
correcting without  
reference to the original documents -  
of which I see some traces in  
the M.S. - or without ascertaining

**f195v**

that it does or does not come  
in somewhere else - of which I  
also see some traces -  
[One point I saw stated one way in  
one page & the reverse in another -  
This I corrected.]

7. I have not even *looked*  
at the "unused pages" of  
my ~~own~~/original old M.S. - in my  
own hand - {pencil} which you returned to me.

This is quite *impossible* to me.

Nor have I consulted by any  
means all the original papers  
& information collected, tho'  
enough to see that we have  
dropt many stitches -

But it would be impossible  
for me, in the way this M.S.  
has lingered, been patched, lingered  
again, re-patched again,  
to make this general overhauling now -

**f194**

[4]

8. some *minimum* of cubic  
& superficial space necessary  
for each Lying-in woman  
    *must* be given *somewhere* -  
I can find it nowhere.  
[I have put it in for Delivery  
Wards]

    Please put it in for  
Lying-in Wards - at p.p.  
5,6, of my new M.S.

    Also - it does not even  
appear in Lt. Ommanney's  
description of his own Designs  
Perhaps we told him to  
omit "Dimensions"

    But a *minimum must*  
go in to my Additional  
Chapter (the new M.S.)  
if nowhere else.

**f194v**

9 I send Lt. Ommanney's own  
Memo., of which in justice  
to him some part must  
go in - & I believe we now  
think, *all*.

    I have made a few annotations  
    on the Memo. {pencil} sheets  
{pen} 10. There must be many  
repetitions between your  
own last 4 or 5 pages,  
(green string M.S.) -  
& Lt. Ommanney's Memo., -  
& my own *new* M.S. or  
Additional Chapter  
which is in fact the original  
of them all the whole of  
it dating from notes of mine  
of January 1869.

**f195**

But I can give no more  
head to considering  
these repetitions -  
inevitable in the way this  
work has been done, i.e.  
without consulting what  
had gone before  
And I would again caution  
against hasty corrections  
or erasures, without  
having the whole in one's  
head -

---

I do not know that I can  
say more because I don't  
know that I can *do* more -

I enclose the whole M.S.S.,

**f195v**

put up in a sort of  
consecutiveness tho'  
painfully aware how  
bad this is. {pencil} It *must* be amended  
{pen} And I enclose no other  
papers but Dr. Rigdon's  
letters (& my own of March 6),  
{pencil} for your reference.  
{pen} I am much obliged to  
you for the trouble you have  
taken & are willing to take  
& am yours very faithfully  
F. Nightingale  
I have made an insertion at  
p. 41 a of your (green string)  
M.S.

**f196** [in very faint pencil]

*Dr. Sutherland*

Please insert on p. 1 of my own M.S.  
 the proportion of *Births to 100 women*  
 from Farr {in large writing JS} Done}  
 & also if possible the proportion of Births  
 to Surgical Operations if rough data  
 28/3/71 {large writing, JS} Could not be done  
 with any degree of  
 accuracy [end 8:240]

initialled letter, ff197-97v, pen blue paper [8:240-41]

**f197**

*Lying-in papers*

35 South Street, March 29/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

No sooner was my packet to you  
 gone than there arrives  
 the enclosed *for 1870*  
 from good Mr. Barnes  
 of Liverpool -

I think IT OUGHT TO GO IN -

It is ~~very~~ remarkable the  
 freedom from Puerperal Fever  
 that ~~For~~ I really do not see how  
~~that~~ the badness of the *locale*  
 differs from that of King's Coll:  
 with the sole exceptions  
 of 1. Absence of Post Mortem Theatre  
 2. " " Students  
 3. { Removal of women after  
 { 5 or 6 days to Convalescent  
 { Wards

All these things are important

I think there is some mistake

**f197v**

in the copy

E.g. No. of Women	441
Twins	<u>7</u>
Children	<u>448</u>
No. of Males born	280
No of Females "	<u>213</u>
Children	<u>493</u>

Also: I do not see the

Causes of the 2 "Deaths"

I *must* write to thank him

especially as he has been

ill - & would ask him

these or any questions you like. [end 8:241]

F.N.

initialled note, f198, pen

**f198**

{printed address: vertical} 35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
W.

{archivist: note to Dr. Sutherland}

{Dr. S.' reply in bold}

Census paper 31/3/71

Give me a good hint as to how this should be filled up?

1. (Col:2.) Am I "Head" of this: Family"? (**See my note.**)
2. (Col:6)- As I think that everybody ought to have a defined "Occupation", I should like to put what mine is

But I don't know how to define it -

Also: I should like to put "War Hospital Matron, or

Hospital Matron retired from illness" - (**See my note**)

But that is a small part of my life -

<b>Need not</b>	{	[I returned this house as "House and Office"
<b>be returned</b>		in a previous return I had to make
<b>at all in</b>		Nothing else would have been true]
<b>the Census</b>	}	

3 (last Column) - I shall return "Imbecile & Blind" And

**Dont** { if every body did the same now, it would true -

**you are an** {  
**exception** {.

F.N.

Please send your answers on this sheet.

census form, ff199-200v, printed; draft answers in pencil except 2 names out of order

am I head?

Temperance Hatcher Hampshire Sherfield

Florence Nightingale Hospital Matron retired from illness. Director of Nightingale Nurses. Former Superintendent General of Nurses in the Crimean War. Italy. British subject. Imbecile and blind.

Sarah Henderson Yorkshire Beverly

Harriet Hoare servant housemaid upper housemaid Hampshire Lipp

Jane Dowding housemaid Hampshire E Wellow

signed letter, JS to FN, ff201-02, March 31/71 {re the book published with FN's name without her authorization, and the census form} WO embossed; no family no head, but put in "head" Col. 6 simple word "None." the object is to classify the industrial occs for the Census report. "The best filling up wd be "Gentlewoman. None." Re her reply to Smith, he was obliged to open it to reply to you. It is very good and will answer every purpose

list: draft answers

Temperance Hatcher, age 27, Hampshire, Sherfield

Florence Nightingale: Hospital matron retired from illness; Director of Nightingale nurses, formerly superintendent Genl of Nurses in the Crimean War; Italy; Imbecile & Blind

Sarah Herdsman age 38, Yorkshire, Beverley

Harriet Hoare age 38 upper housemaid, Hampshire Liss

Jane Dowding age 22, " Hampshire, E. Wellow

signed letter, JS to FN, ff203-04, April 4/71 {re a report of the Nightingale fund} embossed WO

initialled note, ff205-06v, pen blue paper

## f205

{Dr. S. reply in bold}

*Dr. Sutherland*

Transmitted for your reading

*if you like!! Of course I always like and feel  
greatly obliged both to you & the  
noble women who write. J.S.*

4 3 letters from Mrs. Cox

1 " " Mrs. Inglefield

{printed address, vertical:} 35 South Street  
Park Lane

W

I will send Messenger for them at 3 -

If you read them, please say what would

be the *principle* as to that "distributing of

"Testaments" or not.

13/4/71 **I like you, have long looked F.N.**



**below the surface in this awful war.**

**f206-06v** {JS reply to FN continues}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff207-08, 14/4/71 {re the Herbert Hospital, articles in Nature, attacks on Darwin} embossed WO. Re article masterly squelching of Darwinianism last Fri and Sat. Don't know who wrote it, one of the very best sc articles of our time, either Owen or Wallace. However one must hope that after this thunder has been heard over the world men will do 2 things, 1st be more sure of their ground, 2 give a little attention to mental phil. We can live neither by Imagination or by Caution. We must learn to mind the depths of our own mental const to know better what we need in the way of truth. ...I am sorry for Darwin. A greater naturalist has not lived in any time. but what can one say. If a man will go on asserting in the same breath that exceptions are and are not, proofs of the rule he must be respectfully asked to study a little logic and to put a decent curb on his imagination. Great good will come out of the whole fight. We all want sharpening.

signed letter, ff209-09v, pen

**[8:241-42]**

**f209**

LYING- IN PAPERS

April 15/71

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I send you the Liverpool Workhouse  
Statistics for 1870 & Mr. Barnes' note -

You see that they have had but 2 Deaths {printed address: vertical}  
32 South Street,  
in 500 Deliveries - ~~both~~ from Diseased Heart Park Lane,  
& Dropsy & no Deaths from Puerperal W.  
Disease or Accident -

[I call it 500 because they had 55000  
Deliveries in 11 years - But it is only 442/1.]

It continues to me the most extraordinary  
phenomenon - because their numbers are 3 or 4  
times as great as those of the largest London Workhouses  
I think (you have all my papers so that I cannot refer.)

**f209v**

& certainly 3 or 4 times as great as we had at King's Coll. Their *locale* is in my opinion worse than at King's Coll: -

And the only favourable conditions are - as to *locale*

1. no Post Mortem Theatre -
2. no Students
3. removing the women 3 or even 4 times

viz. Delivery Ward

to Lying In "

" Recovery "

" Body of House

4. And (I suppose) no one having the wickedness to send in an Erysipelas case in Labour from the general Wards to the Lying - in Dept. as Dr. Priestly did in our case -  
(for which he ought to have been dismissed, instead of his dismissing us - in his Lecture.)

II . In the present confusion of Women's minds about Medicine, one current wishing for "men's education", another believing that they can "pick up" Medicine in a Nurses' or Midwifery Nurses' School to "practise" in India or the Colonies [you would hardly believe how many applications I have had of this sort -],

I think I could not conscientiously close my paper without stating in an Appendix Note what are the rights of this question

But I wish particularly not by raising "a storm in a tea-cup" on a contested point, to injure the effect of this *incontestable* points as to Lying-in Mortality

{top of f209, end of letter}

I would therefore put in only a meek little Note - of which I have written two rough Drafts (which I enclose) - not as wishing at all to put in either of these - but simply as specimens of what I think it right to say -

As I am treating the question of a Midwifery School for women, I do not see how I can well avoid the point of what a complete Midwifery education *is*, whether for women or for men -

But again I say I do not wish to arouse opposition to *Sanitary* truths, which we wish to press - & which we wish to invite others to *add to* -

Also: I do feel it so impossible to write a paper as we have done this - in patch work - you *can't* patch *paper* - it *tears*.

Perhaps you had better return me *this* note, when you return the papers.

yours v. faithfully F. Nightingale

signed note, f210, pen black-edged paper

**f210**

*Bill for the Better Protection of Infant Life*

April 15/71

Dear Dr. Sutherland

Would you at your leisure kindly tell me what you think of the enclosed "Memorial" to Mr. Bruce? -

It was not sent me by the Ladies.

yours v. faithfully

F. Nightingale

You never told me what you thought of the Nurse's "dressing-case" - from Dr. Kendrick of Warrington which I sent you by Mrs. Sutherland - I only accepted them at your desire - F.N. {archivist: see Dr. K's letter}

initialled note, JS to FN, ff210v-11v JS's response to f210 on back 17/4/71

signed letter, ff212-17, pen blue paper

[8:242-44]

**f212**

April 18/71

*Lying- in Hospital Plans*

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I think you forget (which cannot fail to be the case  
where a paper like this has been hanging fire for  
nearly 2 ½ years) how every question you {printed address, vertical:}

35 South Street,

have now started has been discussed ~~or~~  
& re-discussed & settled & Lt Ommaney's

Park Lane,

W

.

plans sent back to him again & again  
(his patience has been beyond praise)  
for the very reason that they did not  
sufficiently embody the essential principles  
which you are now again calling in question  
1. One of these & the most absolutely essential  
was: that every floor should have two Delivery

**f213**

Wards, entirely pavilionized with all ~~its~~ Ward Offices, Scullery &c) under separate roofs so that each should stand entirely empty with all its offices alternately, to be turned inside out by cleansing -

A plan of Mr. Ommanney's where the two Delivery Wards were in a sort of double Pavilion with Scullery between was entirely rejected merely on this account that the one could not be cleansed properly while the other was in use -

And nothing would induce me to admit any block plan into my paper which did not provide for two Delivery Wards entirely pavilionized for each floor

But indeed it is impossible for me to *re-open* these questions - so entirely settled -

2. There is an objection to having "Delivery Wards" *in the same line* with the others

And the *Corner* is far the best place for them as was settled after much discussion

3. There is an objection to having more *than 3 Pavilions* to a side owing to the constant necessity of being able to summon instant help by Night bells (even with the most perfect management of Matrons & Midwives) to the farthest Pavilion

Were the service of Lying-in Wards regular like General Hospitals, there would be a very obvious

**f213v**

advantage in having the Sleeping block of each  
 set of attendants attached to its own side  
 But I believe that such a division of attendants  
 would be practically impossible in a Lying-in  
 School

This again, was entirely discussed & settled

4. *About one floor Pavilions*

for 2 months in 1869, for 3 months in 1870,  
 this was discussed & re-discussed

I really have nothing more to say

The conclusion was this -

for a Lying-in Institution of 8 or 10 beds, I  
 have not a doubt that 3 (4 = bed) huts would be  
 the best - one always to stand empty in rotation -  
 - the Delivery bed to be in one compartment of each hut

**f214**

[2]

If you have the Delivery Ward in a hut to itself  
 you *must* have warmed Corridors  
 And that increases expense amazingly

But, when you come to a Lying-in Hospital  
 of any size, & when you dismiss the idea {printed address, vertical:}35  
 South Street,  
 of rough Army huts, it would be  
 on account of cost, very difficult to  
 propose *one storied* regular Pavilions  
 connected with warmed Corridors

Park Lane,  
 W.

And we dismissed the idea -  
 [No doubt the common hut is preferable -]  
 but scarcely applicable for a Midwifery School

**f215**5. *Number of Pupils*

All this was discussed *usque ad nauseam* {even to the point of (inducing) nausea - GW}

In a large Lying-in Institution say 30 - 40 beds -

you may have almost *a pupil per bed*

Because it is not desirable to take up the pupils' time with the mere mechanical

processes of after=Delivery - mother & infant -

They must have time *for theoretical instruction*

And this cannot be given unless there is an

ample number of pupils, *more* than is enough

for mere drudging about the Patients -

But it is obvious that *one Pupil per bed* would not

do in small Lying-in Ins. because there would

not be Deliveries enough to practise them -

[We reckoned at King's C.H. - 6 pupils to 10 beds -

which gave us only about 130 Deliveries a year,

I *think* - But you have all my papers.]

But I have given all these reasons at such length

heretofore that I really cannot be called

upon to give them again

Also: the difficulty is enormous of answering

your questions when you have all my

papers & plans at the W.O.

It is mere waste of my strength -

**f216**

[3]

I must repeat

1. that you forget that every one of these questions has been discussed, not for days but for months, & settled

2. that it is quite impossible for me to {printed address, vertical:}

35 South Street,

re-open them any more -

Park Lane,

[I have certainly written what I

W.

have said now & at much greater length

nearer 30 times than 20]

3. *that I repeat my proposition of yesterday*

*that Mr. Thomas should be so good as to make*

*a Block plan sketch* for a Wood cut

(in a page *between* the printing) *as an alternative*



**f217**

[I return your letter for reference -

But I should like to have it back again]

*For the latter part of it:* I must refer you to my two long letters  
of March 5 (or 6) & of about 3 or 4 weeks ago -

- because I am quite unable to write the  
same thing over & over again -

In answer to those, you (then) stated that  
there was a great deal more to do than  
mere "stringing together" - that you were  
struck with the badness of ~~your~~/the "Conclusions" -  
& wished to "re-write" them "before going to  
Longman's" which you have repeated since  
& in which I concurred.

Also: that you recognised the necessity of  
putting in something about "Average Days in  
Hospital" & *its effect on Patients* -

& of working the "Summary of Deaths at K.C.H."  
which I sent you (in the papers) about 3 or 4 weeks  
ago -                      Also: &c &c -

But I cannot rewrite those 2 long letters

[You state *in this letter* "the last Chapter will have  
to be written" in which I concurred.]

I am really unable to do these re-discussions  
of a 100 times told tale -

**[end 8:244]**

Yours v. faithfully

F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff218-21, pen blue paper

[8:244-45]

**f218**

*Childbed Statistics—Form Record Book 19/4/71*

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I am unable to look thro' Duncan -

therefore return him to you for the object in view -  
(with the "heads", in Mr. Frederick's writing) {printed address,  
vertical:} 35 South Street,  
(enclosed in this. Park Lane,  
I think that, after "8. Date of Labour"

W

should come 9. *Duration of Labour in hours*

An important element

and after or before "21. Date of Discharge"

should come ~~Not~~ *Period of stay in the Institution*  
( *Lying -in Department in days*

This is useful as checking accuracy of "Dates of  
"Admission" & "Discharge"

**f219**

I do not think it would be possible to Dr. Farr  
to give time to this now -

He told me some weeks ago that he regretted  
he could not help me more - but that he should  
be so taken up with the Census for months to come  
that this year he could not

that next year he hoped to give his  
serious attentions to organizing Statistics  
for me -

[I sent you this letter -]

I believe that if I wrote to him, now as you propose,  
he would not answer for a month & then  
would say he could not answer

I propose therefore that we should do the best  
we can for this Edition, hoping, please God,  
to insure a much more complete one next year.

2. *Lpool Workhouse Statistics*

I send you all I have, as I believe -

[But again I say it is almost impossible for me  
*here*, to answer you *there* with papers & plans  
*there* -]

Blue strip "1868" I believe is only an imperfect  
one of what you have perfect under "1868-1869"  
(together)

In the three letters of Mr. Barnes I send you,

I believe there are all the Data, altho' confused  
that we have

**f219v**

3. *Your third question "Note in Appendix*

If you will please consult my previous letter (last Saturday's I *think*) you will see that I stated expressly that my M.S. (about the she=Doctors) should go as a *Note in Appendix*, & nowhere else, if it went in at all.

[And there is even written at the top of the M.S. "Note - Appendix"]

It would be wholly out of place in the "Preface", as it has nothing to do with *sanitary* matters or with *Construction* - the two matters treated of. It is simply an explanatory *Appendix*, because I cannot let people think that a Midwifery Nurse

**f220**

[2]

is a Midwife - still less a Physician=Accoucheuse - & because this distinction has been long recognised in France & Germany where there are *real* Physicians=Accoucheuses -

But as it will excite opposition - and I do not wish to prejudice my paper - I could not consent to its going anywhere except in the *Appendix*

[And I stated this, tho' not so plainly, in my letter to you]

The note about Midwifery Nurses & Midwives should stay where it is -

[I have known Q. Charlotte's & others give a Midwife's

**f221**

certificate at the end of *1 month!* while we at K.C.H., at the end of *6 months*, would only give a Midwifery Nurse's certificate.]

[end 8:245]

yours v. faithfully

F. Nightingale

initialled letter, with JS's reply, ff222-23, pen [6:452]

**f222**

*Training School proposed by me at  
Highgate for Workhouse Nurses*

35 South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane, 19/4/71

{archivist: To Dr. Sutherland} W.

Could you kindly give any  
hints, such as the  
conditions we should impose  
about this? - before we give our  
money

There is not Medical Officer  
who would be of the slightest  
use, there - like Mr. Whitfield  
in helping us to train

F.N.

{JS's reply}

This is evidently entirely tentative -  
You have Mr. Wyatt with you and you  
have a matron, but you have no Agnes  
Jones to die if necessary for the work, and  
you have no Mr. Rathbone nor Mr. Cropper.

It is true that you have no cantankerous  
vestry, but you don't yet know what  
the hospital Board is made of.

There are so many elements wanting -

**f222v**

that your arrangements should be of the simplest kind.

1. The Board to supply lodging  
Food, fire &c
2. In return for this the Board will save something in nursing & they will have future Nurses trained for them.
3. You to supply as Mr. Carter says  
Salaries  
Costs of training  
Uniforms (if need be, but the Board should do this.)  
Gratuities  
Certification by your Committee
4. In return for this ask them to permit visitation from time to time & also that the Matron should report to you in order that you may know whether the money is bearing fruit & whether you can certificate

**f223**

This is all you can do at present as it appears to me. JS  
19/4/71

initialled letter, with JS's reply, ff224-27v, pen

**f224**

*Registry of Midwifery Cases* 20/4/71

I scarcely know what to say about this

I could have judged better, if the first strip had been returned to me

It seems to me *very good* - {printed address, vertical:} 35 South Street,

But I should have thought it better  
to put together all the columns which  
regard the woman & then all the  
columns which regard the child

Park Lane,  
W.

Especially, ought not the column "Dead born"  
(9 from end) to come next "the column - In infant dead -  
cause of death"

(1 from end.)

[You have not put in: "*days of stay in Lying-in Depts*"-] I do not

**f225**

know that it is necessary

Also there may some misunderstanding arise from

"Date of *Discharge* from Lying-in Ward-" (column  
4 from end)

If, as at Lpool Workhouse they have,

(& everywhere ought to have -)

Convalescent Wards - in

the Lying- in Dept,

apart from 1. Delivery 2. Lying-in Wards -

- do you mean to ask the "date of" *removal* from

"Lying-in Ward" - or the "date of" *discharge*

"from Lying-in" *Department*?

I think you must alter either the word' "Ward" for

Department or the word "*Discharge*" for

Change or Removal

**f226**

*What shall our "National (Red +) Socy" do with its Surplus?*

Have you any observation to make

in answer to the enclosed Questions?

F.N. {printed address, vertical:} 35 South Street,

20/4/71

Park Lane,

W.

{JS's reply}

The chief reply comes from the question itself.

The money was subscribed solely and only for relieving

sick & wounded in the late Franco-German war

and not for either widows or orphans. That is the status in  
quo, and there is no way out of it for the Committee.

That the Society will exist whether there is an English

Branch or not there is no doubt whatever {pencil again}

**f227**

It is by no means certain that we are at the end of the war. No man can say what this Red Commune may do. Look at what took place the other day. The Versailles army or part of it attacked a *single house* at Courberoi and there fell or killed & wounded 500 men half on each side before the house was taken. With this infernal spirit abroad it is not certain that something may not be done to bring back the Prussians.

I should say let the Society exist as a standing protest against war, let it organize its agents so that if called into the field they may be more ready for work - Let it correspond & meet with other national societies discuss, amend, arrange, collect experience, decide on some common object and retain its friends until they are wanted. I would even go for an act of incorporation or a charter. I should have aided the Versailles committee beyond a doubt. This is war in its worst form & the sufferings of the wounded now transcend those of the previous battles. The Commune has abolished the Society in Paris, but that is no reason why it should not exist at Versailles. I am certain that every subscriber would have gone for aid being given to Versailles. The committee has declined, but depend upon it, other committees won't decline -

**f227v**

I got your note with the Table & will go over it carefully. I am busy with the M.S. & will I hope make it better. JS  
24/4/71

[end 8:245]

signed letter, ff229-30, pen

[8:245-46]

**f228**

{JS's comments in bold}

*Lying-in papers* April 24/71

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I am much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken.

I have gone over it, with all the attention of which

I am capable, again but, have merely {printed address, vertical:}

35 South Street,

corrected some literal & verbal errors, Park Lane,

(of which. pardon me, there are many) W.

and a few graver ones, where the premiss does not bear

or contradicts the conclusion as e.g. in the text; "a Lying-in woman

should never enter a *General Hospl*" - interpolated "*because of the Mortality in Lying-in Hospitals*"

I feel quite incapable of doing anything more on this M.S.

No one in perfect health could or ought to do a

Statistical & practical paper in the way this has



**f228v**

been done - And for me - it is impossible.  
 The paper now is *all patching* - And patching,  
 observe, is not adding to or working out. No  
 artist ever patches, tho' he works out & adds to  
 his sketches.

The original colour is now quite lost -  
 And patches, losing all proportion to each other,  
 now cover & tear it out of all shape -  
 I will only mention one or two instances - and this  
 for improvement in the Proof -

1. The Liverpool Workhouse part has now lost  
 all point - & is given in a manner contrary to  
 everything *you have ever taught* - (**CERTAINLY NOT.**) i.e. the  
 whole 13 years are lumped together **quite right** losing sight  
 entirely of the extraordinary fact that the  
 Mortality has *progressively diminished*, /**NOT SO** instead  
 of increasing **it has increased & diminished in 13 years** till for the  
 last 4 or 5 years,  
 it has been as low ~~healthy~~ as that of women  
 delivered at home in the country. And this  
 last year there has been none - no Puerperal  
 Mortality - **{It would be unsafe to use Liverpool evidence in any other**  
**{way. Next year there may be 10 deaths from Puerperal fever.**  
**{The real explanation is that for several years past there has**  
**been**

**{no epidemic**

I shall, when the Proof comes back, while  
 retaining your Table of the 13 years, print a  
 Table from Barnes' data of Nos. of Deaths, Causes of  
 Death, year by year - **{You may do this, but the practical conclusion**  
**{will clearly be that there has been no epidemic.**

I would insert it *now* - but that I am utterly  
 unable -

It brings me almost to the verge of Brain Fever,  
 as it has often done before, to go thro' this patching again.

**20 April 1871**

**JS: I got your note with the table & will go over it carefully. I am**  
**busy with the MS & will I hope make it better. J.S.**

**f228 top**

this undoing - this re-doing now **{There is no necessity for  
{re-doing in this matter.**

Penelope's web was nothing to it. {During Ulysses' 20-year absence at the Trojan War, his wife, Penelope wove by day and unpicked by night in order to avoid having to choose a successor to her absent husband; she had been compelled to promise she would do so when her "web" was completed. -GW}

2. I have looked over the original Q. Charlotte's papers. with a view to obtaining the "average No. of days" - which however is not given -

But their case makes the Liverpool case the more

extraordinary - E.g. (1) the Q. Charlotte's construction

(which we have condemned) is better than **No!** {there is an arrow  
from this point down  
to the margin of  
the beginning of the  
letter} theirs

**Liverpool is to**

**Queen Charlottes as far as regards fresh air**

**as-~~Qu~~ if Queen Charlotte were moved**

**from its present location to Highgate**

**\*Everything depends on the meaning of the word**

**"fever"**

**If there has been puerperal fever a month's**

**vacancy**

**would be of little value**

**by itself. In any given**

**space where one/a case has arisen another may**

**if the cause is left.**

(2)Q. Ch's annual Numbers average less than half of

theirs **certainly not** (3) Q. Ch. says that after every 3 *Deliveries*

the Ward is left standing vacant "for a week or

10 days" "if there has been Fever", "for a month "{But there

**is no**

**cleansing**

**& lime washing**

This is a precaution even above what we have \*

recommended -

There must be something radically wrong in Q. Ch.'s management.

f229

[2]

which we have not got to the bottom of -

The absurd writer attributes it to the "unmarried women", as Brodie did! **{I agree with you that in no single instance**

**{has the bottom of the question been obtained - All**

**{we can do is deal deal with it on general**

**{principles.**

3. The want of proportion in the paper lies in the "Management" (my part) being much too heavy, detailed & long for the bulk of the paper {printed address, vertical:} 35 South Street, the Sanitary & Statistical part - in which so much

P  
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carelessness is obtrusively visible & in which **{I deny this) You OUGHT TO SHEW IT W.**

there are important omissions besides -

And the Appendix Note (mine) which is nothing but a Note assumes a disproportionate importance, as it has nothing to do with the bulk of the paper - & as the offensive part, beginning "My dear Sisters" (which I had meant merely as an alternative) is put first - tho' I have cancelled the objectionable paragraph

**f230**

However, such as it is, it must go to the Press, if at all.

I can do nothing more to it as it is  
You say " the first thing is to give a Proof"

But I, upon whom all the Preliminaries are thrown, must ask you to say something more than this -

- Am I to write to *Longman's*, enclose the M.S., & ask him to publish it?

If so, *in what form? type? &c wood-cuts? Plates?*

[Am I to ask him on what terms? If so, he will, I suppose, take time to read it.]

The "N. Fund" have constantly asked me to write such a paper - & wished to print & circulate it at their own expence - Am I to write to *them*?

The "Statistical Socy" have asked the same. Whatever you decide upon, you must, please, remembering how ill I am, save me as much trouble as possible (I shall have trouble enough in correcting the Proof -) & adopt the speediest method possible, as if not speedy, I shall be very likely not able to do it at all.

If you decide *upon Longman's*, please write *Draft*

- saying exactly what I am to propose to him -  
yours v. faithfully

F. Nightingale

**f230v** {JS's reply}

Note referring to Matters in this sheet

I beg of you to let me help you  
in getting the paper through the press as much as you can. I know you are very ill. I will help you either here or at your house as you may decide.

The best type would be the same type as in your notes on Hospitals. You need not have so large a paper, 8vo size would do. But ask Mr. Carter what they would like. The sketches should be sent at the same time as the M.S. They will take some time to do & will require correction -

**f231**

-3-

P.S. I add one or two other little things -  
merely as reminders for the Revise -

1. some of the most important minutiae out of the

Mortality List in K.C.H. were dropt out of the  
copy. I have replaced same **(I left them out purposely for they have  
nothing to do with the question)**

The point I proposed, viz. that the Erysipelas {printed address,  
vertical:} 35 South Street,  
case, to which Dr. Priestley himself

Park  
Lane

ascribed the last year's Mortality

,  
W.

was entirely isolated in a ward to herself **(I am sorry to say there**

P  
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,

**was no isolation possible  
in the case**

& that the two cases (who died {pencil} both on the same day {pencil} a  
month after)

{pen} were not *admitted* till a week after the death

of the Erysipelas case. **This does not alter the relation between the  
cases.** & not into the same

Ward

**n o r**

**this**

- you have not touched upon - perhaps wisely

But the impression on my mind was confirmed that

**f232**

isolations of Patients & even thorough cleansing of Wards  
 are useless almost, *if under the same roof*  
 or rather are impossible    **all they did was to move the case into**  
                                   { **another ward within the same floor**  
                                   { **The fatal mistake was in bringing in the**  
                                   { **case at all.**

I cannot find the original plan of our Wards at  
 K.C.H. with explanation in Miss Jones' hand.  
 In the plan for Wood-cut, the figures are all  
 changed to letters, so as to make the account of  
 the isolation of this poor case unintelligible.

**It is quite sufficient to know that  
 the case was in the Lying in wing.**

{pencil} You have also not touched on the point of the long period  
 which generally elapsed between Delivery & Death  
 in the K.C.H. fatal cases. - **This is a Midwifery point better omitted  
 because you have no means of valuing the fact by comparison with the  
 mass of statistics within the paper itself.**

{pen} Now I must leave off, tho' I have much more  
 to say.

Please return *all* this letter to me, as I  
 shall want it for correcting the Proof.

{pencil} F.N.

2. I think part at least of Lt. Ommanney's specifications  
 should go in the Appendix **not necessary**  
 [You have docketed it yourself in this sense]

As it is it is scarcely fair to him

Also - his Estimate/**I would say nothing about this** which you make me  
**written. It is quite**

allude to & which never comes.

F.N. **suffici  
 ent**

**Y e s !  
 B u t  
 y o u r  
 o w n  
 c h a p t e r  
 t h e n  
 n o t**

signed letter, JS to FN, ff233-34, 27/4/71 a good draft, but PMO acting gov has advised the supt to list procedure she has no resource left but not do it; re "Lady Jane" quite right about official chopping and changing. Re a report on the work of the Aid society during the Franco-Prussian War embossed WO

initialled note, f235, pen blue paper

### **f235**

{JS's reply in bold}

*Dr. Sutherland* {archivist: [see to Elizabeth Blackwell 3.5.71]}

Please, what am I to say to the enclosed?

3/5/71

F.N.

### **Response**

**all this is well intentioned, but the** {printed address, vertical;} 35 South Street,

**only practical matter in it (which I hope**

P  
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,  
W  
.

**she will adhere to) is the cruelty of forced**

**examinations. Be a woman ever so vicious  
she has inalienable personal rights, which none  
but such idiots as our social legislators would have  
to interfere with.**

**As to suggestions, I think as follows: -**

ff236-36v continue with his reply}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff237-39v, May 5, 1871 {having to do with a report & the Geneva Convention; Mr. Talbot leaving the office due to a "Scandal"

Gounod's cantata, more about the Proof}

signed letter, ff240-41, pen blue paper [13:616-17]

**f240** {JS's comments in faint pencil in bold}

*Highgate Infirmary Rules* {archivist: [see Miss Torrance May 8 & 16]}  
May 9/71

Dear Dr. Sutherland

These have come for our revision, as you proposed.  
And the writer, as 4 other people have done this week,  
gives me "Tuesday and Wednesday" - to do the work of 5 people.  
~~in~~ {printed address, vertical:} 35 South Street,  
[Poor thing! how very sorry I am to read her Park Lane,  
letter - a "pearl of great price" she is W.  
She is out of health & out of spirits]

I send you our St. Thomas; rules - merely for suggestion

1. *Highgate Rules for Night Nurses*

We think the hours for sleep better taken in the afternoon -

Also I think 8 full hours necessary - for undressing, sleep,  
dressing, 'doing' rooms **certainly**

**f241**

~~2. Ward Assistants~~

~~Add to~~

4 hours' leave every afternoon I think too much to be  
desirable **It would appear so I should call attention  
to this**

2. *Ward Assistants*

Add to rule against noise - no noise after retiring to rest  
[This rule was found essential at Liverpool] **Certainly**

I should be inclined to put

the Hours for Meals on each set of Rules - **Yes**

But I feel that it is more in the way of *Additions*  
than of Criticism which may not meet her possibilities  
that she wants our help -

What ~~criticisms~~ *Additions* should you propose?

Could you return me the whole *with this sheet* this afternoon?

[I agree with you so little - that "we have not a  
Matron at Highgate who would die for the work,  
if necessary, like Agnes Jones" - that I began  
my private Report to the Comm. about the  
Training School proposed as we have a Matron who  
would die for the work, if necessary - it is the  
more necessary that we should not let her die,  
(or something to that effect) yours v. faithfully

**[end 13:617]**

F. Nightingale

signed letter, JS to FN, ff242-43v, May 9/71 {JS's reply to the previous  
letter; more about the report of the Aid society} embossed WO



signed note, JS to FN, f244, May 23/71 embossed WO FN has unearthed the fox, re works com not the san com, many thanks all the same

initialled note, f245, pencil blue paper

**f245** {JS's reply in bold}

*MR. RATHBONE'S NOTE* (enclosed) May 24/71

Please give any considerations to me.

which may occur to you on this, *Mr. Rathbone's*  
 note, to me. {printed address, vertical:} 35 South Street  
 Park Lane,  
 F.N. W.

**I think if Mr. Stanfild [Stansfeld] will take the matter up  
 the London board will very likely listen and thus Mr.  
 Rathbone's proposal may receive a hearing. He proposes  
 I enclose also a note to train at the General cost  
 from Mr. Wyatt (for reference) not at the cost of a particular  
 to H.B.C. Board. The points to**

{f246 continues with JS's suggestions}

initialled note, f247, pen

**f247**

*Mr. Rathbone: Workhouse Nurses* May 27/71

{archivist: to Dr. Sutherland see reply on back}

I enclose some new notes

Mr. Rathbone to FN

Mr. Cropper " Mr. R.

Mr. Hagger " "

F.N. " H.B.C.

H.B.C. " FN

& your own previous note

Have you any considerations to urge?

If so, please let me have them to day -  
 as tomorrow I shall write a Preliminary Note  
 to Mr. Rathbone -

F.N.

{f248 JS's reply}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff249-50v, May 29/71 {re the Cawnpore papers; reaction to events in Paris (the Commune?) embossed WO; re note got on return from inspection; re IO Cawnpore, wrote to Chadwick that we know too little as yet of relation of rainfall and drainage to say whether this pr wd answer in all cases; wd not throw cold water on the paper; wd like to see M Mohl's diary. What an awful end. The Daily News has official info that there were 50,000 unburied dead in Paris at the end of last week. How little do we know of the secret spring s of events. It now, after the catastrophe, appears that the atheism and retrogressive destruction barbarism of all Europe have been concentrating themselves in Paris for a general ruin of enlightenment, that L.N. knew it and did his best to prevent it, that by seducing the army they calculate don the fall of the empire in the war wh they were the means of declaring, that after that they counted o keeping paris and organizing France for a raid on Europe and now the end is come. There will I fear be a reaction on the side of despotism everywhere.

initialled note, JS to FN, f251, undated {archivist: before 31 May 1871}  
{a sheet sent to FN}

initialled note, JS to FN, f252, May 31/71 {Working on the Aid Society report, not yet the India proof} embossed WO

signed letter, JS to FN, ff253-54, June 1/71 {archivist: Indian Papers. Parisian workmen & rebuilding on embossed WO I have gone thro the abstract and I may safely say that they are very good and very well done. curious misplaced decimal point p 5 of abstract of Bombay....

initialled note, JS to FN, ff255-56v, June 2/71 {Hospital Ambulances} embossed WO re delay her reply until sees his digest, hopes to send soon

signed letter, Dr. Fitzgerald to JS, ff257-58v, no date {archivist: 2 June, 1871 {re a report on nurses at Hambourg}}

unsigned draft, ff259-60, pencil

**f259** pencil, faint, corrected at the BL

*First Draft Private*

35 South Street June 5/71

Park Lane {printed address:}

W.

Dear Dr Sutherland

I send my remarks believing that you  
are in haste

I gave up nearly all yesterday & all this  
morning to the consideration-

[I know you will not read my remarks-  
Or read them only to contradict them-  
Still as you have asked me, I send them.]

Sir Harry V. has asked me to let him see  
~~him~~ me (on the part of the Committee) as soon as I  
have seen your "First Draft."

I could only tell him something of what  
I have written to you

But I will tell him also anything you  
wish whether that the letters sent to you are  
so deficient that it is impossible to make any  
Digest from them with which *you* or *they*  
cd be satisfied- whether that they *must*  
~~procure~~ wait till the information asked for  
& promised you is arrived  
or &c &c

**f259v**

With regard to suggestions as to '*subjects*' which you ask for:

I send you a very few of my own letters (which you have seen before) merely to make *suggestions* as to subjects to be 'treated of', as you say

And you shd ask Capt. Galton for my "Questions" (which you approved)

Please return me all these my own papers enclosed ~~{I know you will~~

You need not read them

I know you will not ]

I take for granted that the evidence to be taken & the thing to be ~~done~~/précised

is rather the *result* or practise of Regulations than the Regulations themselves. [It is said that Mr. F. has given too much of Regulations- too little of *Practice*]

**f260**

I will try to send you this afternoon a note on Mr. F.'s note to you on Nurses

The only question present to his mind appears to be:

Are women to nurse in Field & Stationary Hospitals?

Whereas there is a much prior question: what woman *is* a "Nurse"?

Are *all* women to nurse in all Hospitals?

Please answer my question as to what I am to say to Sir Harry  
- & return me my two sheets of Notes on the "first Draft" -

both at your convenience

Yours v. faithfully

F. Nightingale

**£261**

3. Mr. Fitzgerald is no doubt a valuable witness  
But, if he is *called*, then must also Capt. Brackenbury  
- whose experience is ~~illeg~~/much larger & whose  
opinions are strongly developed on all & very *different*  
on ~~all~~/some of the ~~o~~ subjects treated of -  
and a host of other witnesses who could be named  
without difficulty at once & who would (& have

**f261v**

said they would) contribute their opinions on paper  
if they have not done so already and if not  
viva voce [Among these are 8, if not 10 "Medical Officers"]  
As it is, this "Abstract" reads as if in our two  
R. Commissions, we had examined Sir John Hall  
& not Andrew Smith, nor Alexander, ~~&~~ nor a host of others  
Or as if we had examined Col. Greathed & not Lord  
Lawrence, nor Durand, Muir, & all the Stations in India.

4. Again,

e.g. the "Giant" Ambulance (Dr. Guy's) the largest  
International Ambulance ever set on foot, not  
only by England but by any nation is not  
so much as referred to - its existence is ignored  
No conclusion can be come to as to Ambulances  
without calling for its experience which  
represents as to cost & size of undertaking  
quite one half of the whole

Again

e.g. the question as to efficiency of Johanniter  
is represented as lying between Dr. P & Mr. F.  
(in which Mr. F. is certainly the heavier witness)

Now there is more evidence about those than  
on almost any other subject

22 names of witnesses, agents of the Socy, could  
here be mentioned, besides those of English ladies,  
besides those of German Medical Officers *not* agents of  
the Socy.

**f262**

It is very certain that the Committee will not & ought not to accept the evidence of one witness, alone, however competent & valuable, (not its own Agent,) - when it has or might have all the evidence indicated above, to add to it.

[I give these two e.g.'s only. But I have carefully read the "First Draft" & cd mention 20 more.]

5. Again,

very many essential subjects are not treated of at all

Capt. Galton has in his possession a copy of "Questions" by F.N., approved by Dr. S.

If asked for these, he would o doubt furnish them to Dr. S., which wd suggest to & ~~remind~~/recall to Dr. S. subjects then seemed essential & now omitted - F.N. has no time or strength to write these Questions anew.]

But e.g. (a small example)

Dr. S has himself asked Sir H.V., thro' F,N,, "to delay" his "proposal" about "Hospital Ambulances", "till he "sees my (Dr. S.'s) "Digest" Now there is not a word in this Digest which could help on that subject.

**f262v**

6. this "First Draft" is, no doubt, a very good paper indeed -  
(i.e. it is the valuable ~~sketch of~~ evidence of Dr. S.  
examining himself & examining Mr. Fitzgerald  
with a few references to Society's agents)

But it is very good - more as indicating to the Society  
what it wants & what it ought to have in its  
Reports & papers - what are its deficiencies of evidence  
how to come to any conclusions - than as giving it  
a Précis of experience already obtained.

7. Some subjects e.g. stores are of such immense  
importance even "Medically", principally Medically,  
& found so enormous an item in the Society's  
operations (when one considers that, before the  
second week of November 1870 the Socy had  
sen tout nearly £165,000 worth of Stores  
contributed, Stores bought by request, & money  
to buy Stores to Germany & France  
that, if the subject be treated of at all, it  
cannot be dismissed without the fullest enquiry  
& examination -

[Indicated on the next sheet are a very few  
of the complaints constantly referred to in letters]  
{printed address, upside down:} 35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
W.

8. *Female Nursing*. This is essentially "medical" -  
but no evidence worth the name is given on this -



**f263***z**Stores*

Some of ~~the~~ great draw-backs from efficient action by the Socy, most complained of by Recipients of Stores were: -

1. Many of the packages contained Miscellaneous articles & no plan had been adopted for sorting or repacking them
2. The Committee at home had no regular information as to the amount of Stores from time to time in hand at their Depots
3. in forwarding stores to the Hospitals printed invoices or Lists of Articles had not been given
4. nor was any table or Estimate of the quantities of various articles required for a given number of men per day ever either given or received.

N.B. It can scarcely be repeated too often that whole field Stations, often the most necessitous, as e.g. round Metz, never received *from first to last* anything from the English Socy - so little was there of ~~organization~~/organized distribution - Miss L., who was with her station ~~at~~/ near Metz till it was broken up, never *heard*, while there, of the existence of the English Socy - [German Surgeons in charge of enormous Stations in the Field, tho' temporary

have stated the same of the *Johanniter*]

signed note, JS to FN, f265, pen, June 6/71 {thanking for a pamphlet}

initialled note, f266, pen

[6:306]

**f266**

*Angel of Resurrection*

This is already put up at Lpool  
Workhouse Church "in memory of  
Agnes Jones" -

arch & pedestal to be the same  
as original as in sketch  
except "halo" (supposed not to be  
in original)

Any remarks, please -  
I will send Messenger for it in  
afternoon -

F.N.

7/6/71

JS note to FN, f267 nd pen on Tenerani. Ecco! halo, farce

f268, pen re Tenerani {Lunatic asylum} [6-8 June 1871]

unsigned note, Dr. Lockhart Robertson to FN, embossed Athenaeum ff270-  
71v, pen, June 5/71  
{about his Paper} replies to her letter

unsigned note, JS to FN, f272, undated, [archivist: ca. Mid-June, 1871]  
{about a noble letter "Sidney blood will out"

unsigned note, ff273-74v, pencil

[8:702]

**f273** {archivist: Extract from letter from Ld. Pembroke}

Dec 4/70

I feel as if the news of Reggie's death had quite  
stunned & broken me. I cannot write  
about it. It is beyond all words.

All thro' the Leeward Society islands our course was a  
perfect triumph almost worshipped by the  
people & loaded with valuable presents. It  
all seems now like some beautiful dream  
that I can hardly realize with this sorrow  
freezing my heart

Levuka capital of Fiji group 150 islands  
wrecked on the 21st October on

one of the group S. of the Namako passage  
everything pathetic or tragical has something  
comical about it

nine days Robinson Crusoe life on this  
island 21st to 30th Nukuni Varanga  
near Ringgold Islands

We must have looked like a gang of firemen from the lower world

**f274v**

as for Mitchell you wd think he had  
been brought up to the ship wrecking  
business all his life

Nothing but sorrow every where  
yr loving son  
Pembroke

The behaviour of the men to us was so nice  
that I feel a lump in my throat  
whenever I think of it  
I cd give 100 little instances if I had room

f275 Galton note to JS re lunatic asylum 17 June 1870

unsigned note, f276, pencil

**f276** {archivist:[Bef: 22 June 1871]}

{very faint pencil; JS's comments also in faint pencil in bold}.

I wonder that you like Parkes or Sir J.C.  
The main merit of Sir J.C.'s life, the Sanitary  
is scarcely treated And I shall tell  
John Clark so. **You are right. I mentioned the**

**Sanitary work specially**

I am very sorry not to be able to see you  
to day - But I am too ill.

Am I to keep my Proof till you come  
again? and how long? **(I will write on Monday**  
**The reason is that I am bound to attend a W.O.**  
**whenever summoned & I shall not know till**

**Monday x.**

I may be compelled to go out of London  
any day now by illness. And I ask  
like Mr. Plowden - how long you expect  
me to wait?

1. **I could finish your Proof on Tuesday -**
2. **I should want all the Lying-in papers & plans to**  
**complete the book & I could forward it to Longmans**
3. **I can soon write you notes for the [Geneva?] paper**
4. **You may safely fix your own time.**

**x If I am not summoned for Tuesday I could see**  
**you on Tuesday.**

initialled note, f277-278v, pencil blue

**f277** {JS's comments in bold}

*Plan for Lying in paper* June 22/71

Longmans asked to have these back as soon as possible for  
correction

[They came by a different channel from the proofs - ]letter press}

I have cursorily looked them over & made some trifling  
correction in these Plans I have not *second* Proofs of the  
{printed address, vertical:} 35 South Street,

Plans These are Park Lane,

1. Ought Lt. Ommanney's 3 plans to go to *him* for W.  
revision? **not necessary. will be done here**

2. Ought not his signature to appear on his 3 plans?

**Yes! He has put his name. But it can be left out in the plans &  
placed in the text.**

If you cannot correct them without the letter proofs,  
I suppose they must wait as you desired me not to  
send you the letter press till it was complete

I have all the letter press except the *last* Tables  
& the Preface without Table. F.N.

**f278v** {JS's reply}

f279, James L. Thomas to JS, pencil {a criticism of the Proofs}. I have  
..proofs, there are very few corrections beyond those already noticed.  
See pencil remark on original of Plan IV respecting the doors which you  
can rub out....JS This criticism had better not be noticed. The door  
opens on scullery 9 feet away, better than into the passage. J.S.

ff280-89v, signed letter, JS to FN, June 27/71 {accepting an invitation  
to go to the Exhibition with her father} embossed WO. Won't take lunch  
because I never do, but if you offer me a cup of tea...I shall also do  
my best to aid in executing your commission. I have not seen the French  
annexe just opened but there is plenty to see, & very much that is very  
good.

I am your ever faithful  
J Sutherland

end

Add Mss 45756, microfilm, correspondence with Dr John Sutherland 1871-72, 282 folios, 101 pages, Adam Matthew reel 9

signed letter, ff1-1v, JS to FN, pen 3/7/71 embossed War Office, has read this, interesting, contains some useful info about German hospital service if such illeg shd ever be reqd. I think she shd have an opp of adding to this and correcting it if it is printed  
see f167 in London, FN very faint  
{German Hospital conditions}

unsigned letter, ff2-5v, pencil, pale blue paper

## f2

"Notes on Lying-in Inst." July 8/10/71

Dear Dr. Sutherland

Just as I was sending off my own working Proof (*for Revise*) came in these Wood-cut Proofs

And I send them to you with *your* Proof, ~~in~~ as you said you could not put in some corrections till {pr. addr. 35 South Street

you had seen the Wood-cuts.

Park Lane

Please return me the whole *by to-night-*

W.}

And also ~~return~~-correct the Wood-cuts - *for Revise*

1. pp. 25-6 Clinique (Wood-cut)

The same fault remains *in the letter = press*

I do not *myself* understand whether the letter -press description (which appears to describe "*what is*") is the

## f3

description of the Wood-cut - which "shews' what  
"until recently was"

[It makes no difference altering "what used to be"  
~~for~~/into "what until recently was"]

I am sure you will see this at once!

Is the letter =press p. 25 the description of  
the Wood-cut p.26?

If so, the tense must be altered.

2 - p. 28 K.C.H. Wood-cut

Miss Jones has seen this & judges it correct

(1)At my request she has put in "No. 4 Ward" (b) - which  
I wish inserted

(2)And she herself has put in another (a) - being another  
door "cutting off communication"

(3)She also wishes to note: that the "roof" at end of Court  
"does not rise above Basement"

**f4**

-3-

4. { P. 95 Table H  
P. 38. P.9 No. of Deliveries in LPOOL WORKHS

It is quite impossible for me to re-open all, or any of the questions in my Years of letters

The Revise must now do as it can -

But there is one point of accuracy in numbers -

- the No. 6353 of Deliveries in the "13 years" *Lpool Workhouse*  
- to which I must again call your attention *once more*

[I spent a good afternoon - or rather a bad one - the worst - on Friday afternoon - endeavouring to find out how you came at that, number, "6353," from Mr. Barnes' papers

which I return to you for this purpose]

By manipulating Mr. Barnes' figures in various ways,

**f5**

I come to 6491?

or 6434? or 6396

or 5877? or 6471

or 6401?

or 6416?

but never to ~~illeg~~ "6353"

which can only be attained by imagining a year {in pen} the year 1868  
 {pencil resumes] of

434 Deliveries. {pen} Now 1868 had 515 {pencil} or 511 according  
 as you  
 suppose  
 "Premature Births"  
 included in 1st line  
 is not Labours

[I do not know where you found these]

All that can really be entered from Mr. Barnes' figures  
 is: -

Deliveries supposed to be 500 a year average up to 1868

511 or 515 1868

443 or 444 1869

442 or 457 1870

which would be (for 13 years) 5000 10 years

511 515 1868

443 444 1869

442 457 1870

---

 6396 6416 ?
*Or: Please turn over* {NEXT PAGE}

I must devoutly hope I am wrong, - since, if I am  
 right, it will involve a recalculation of  
 percentage & an alteration in much  
 more than P.p. 9, 38 95 -

[But, if I am not wrong, the discrepancy will appear  
 to any reader who really sets to work with the  
 figures when the Table you sent is added -]

Please answer *by to-night* F.N. July 10/71



**f5v**

Do Or:

Deliveries supposed to be 500 a year average  
 up to 1865  
 1866 450  
 printed address: vertical} 1867 625  
 35 South Street 1868 515 or 511  
 Park Lane 1869 444 or 443  
 W. 1870 457 or 442  
 which would be for 13 years  
 4000 8 years  
 450 1866 [Mr. Barnes himself (in  
 But there is such a 625 1867 2 letters) puts 515  
 Deliveries  
 confusion between 511 or 515 1868 for 1868 511  
 Deliveries  
 Deliveries & Births 443 or 444 1869 4  
 Premature  
 Births  
 prior to 1868 442 or 457 1870 515  
 & even afterwards 6471 6491 This wd make a discrepancy  
 of 20 (but only 20) for  
 the 3 years 1868 9 70

signed note, f6, JS to FN, pen, 25/7/71 embossed WO paper  
 {C's letter & report}

signed letter, ff7-8, JS to FN, pen, August 1/71 embossed WO paper  
 {archivist: National Health Society Prospectus, sent to FN by Dr Eliz.  
 Blackwell} {JS's recommended response to them}

signed letter, ff9-10, JS to FN, pen, 16 August embossed WO paper  
 {affairs at Netley, Cawnpore drainage}

signed letter, ff11-12v, JS to FN, pen, 22d August 1871 embossed WO  
 paper  
 {advice on cleanliness for some woman}

signed letter, ff13-15v, JS to FN, pen, 1/9/71 embossed WO paper  
 {a new board for Sanitary administration, Chadwick, Miss Lees}

signed letter, ff16-17, JS to FN, pen, embossed WO paper {Mr. C.'s  
 paper}

signed letter, ff18-19v JS to FN, pen, 21st Sept embossed WO paper, Miss  
 Lees's paper, she returned it w/o change and he sent it off to the aid  
 soc and told them it cd be printed; I don't admire the Deal lady because  
 she gets some hints for Deal and doesn't use them but wishes to use them  
 for London or Mrs Raynard [yes]; had to write a critique on a book about  
 cholera, but cleanliness and good water the answer; causes of cholera}

letter fragment, f20, pen, black-edged paper

**f20**

The mistakes pointed out by v. Blumenthal, & others, as e.g. the placing men in positions where every man of them would in real War fall under fire are natural & will be remedied by practice & when Umpires become more practised & severe.

The mistakes & inefficiency of the Control, incredible even by me who have seen the Commissariat work both of war & of peace seem hopeless because they are unnatural against the business habits of Englishmen which penetrate every thing. Commerce, Trade, Demand & Supply, foreign occupation, India - every thing *but* the War Office - & because they are the mistakes not of war ~~but of~~ (from the conditions of which the Control have been

**f22** an unsigned note, in pen, on letter from a relative, with FN's note to JS on the bottom

Dearest Flo -

The mother of one of the pupil teachers has a slight attack of scarlet fever. the boy has not been near his mother & is himself quite well. The master wishes to have him into the school house & to keep him living there, doing his usual work in the school -  
I am going to say, if you do not think it wrong, that he may do so, taking all precautions about clothes -

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I have given my consent to this. Please make any remarks on precautions to be observed either by those out of or in the sick house -

FN

Lea Hurst 25/9/71

signed letter, ff23-24 JS to FN, pen, 25/9/71 {JS's reply about precautions; Miss Lees' proof}

signed letter, ff25-25v, JS to FN, pen, 30th Sept. 1871  
{rules for Probationers}

initialled letter, ff26-27v, JS to FN, pen, 3 Oct 1871 embossed WO paper; epidemic small pox is at Oxford notwithstanding vaccination. They have done all they can at present. You may hence approve if you think fit and tell them to take good care that all the college rooms are thoroughly aired by open windows as much as the weather will permit. Say also that this epidemic is a new warning to them to press forwards their sanitary works. There is no reason for discontinuing the schools....

f27 JS: These 8 hints about Cholera will do for Greenwich. But then, both at Greenwich & Woolwich they have very active Boards. If you have no objection you may allow her to send these hints in your name or with your... to the Local Board; they must be enlisted in the work. And if they choose to print them good and well.

My point is, that you should not be personally responsible for the issue of an incomplete document which might enable the fellows to turn round & say you were blame & completeness can only be secured by careful local enquiry which is impracticable. Voila tout.

initialled letter, ff28-29, JS to FN, pen, 14/10/71 embossed WO paper {a paper about Muskoka & emigration; photographs of the first hospital for soldiers' wives} Free Grants pamphlet; This *free grants* pamphlet is an omnium Gatherum [] from McMurray's newspaper. The subject of it is a healthy rattling discussion about Muskoka s against other townships which has excited the wrath of these. It is just the sort of book that pleases emigrants and he knows it.

The most important point for us in it is the point that the passage we made in traces [?] that area of land shd be prepared and huts put up for intending emigrants has not only been successfully adopted in the United States but is a local law in Canada since last year. Who will say now that we did not propose anything practical?

There will be such an impulse given to emigration by this, that other colonies will be obliged to adopt the same law in self defence.

These photographs are really beautiful, especially the interiors. This is the first hospital for soldiers wives that was built. And you may remember that the plan was settled by you and Galton and I at Hampstead in cold winter weather "long, long, ago."

signed letter, ff30-33v JS to FN, pen 14/10/71 embossed WO paper {emigration & the land question} I shall look into this pamphlet, which with its irregularities is still apparently of good authority on emigration.

I may say that I have frequently reverted to our former work in this matter to see if we cd advance it, and I have several times and different dates reread the Fraser article, besides watching closely the course of public opinion helping it gently when I saw a way.

The present position is this. In the article there were certain

proposals as to pauperism, work, emigration, criminal discipline, &c. The question are all *one*. They must be treated together.

F31. Everyone of the principles in our article is part of the public creed. And more that the ministers have promised as soon as possible a revisal of the home land laws and an inq into pauperism is also hinted at. You would see at the Social Science meeting that the doctrine of making thieves pay for their crimes was boldly enunciated and sustained. My own view has been for some time back that the subject of the first article requires to be brought up at the proper time because we cd not deal with the home land question after the rebuff you got from Mr Gladstone when you directly proposed to spread working class proprietorship in towns. He sees clearly enough now what he did not see then, viz that unless all land monopoly is done away with by law, it will be done away with without law and that the best way to increase the numbers of loyal subjects is to increase independently the number of landed proprietors. This of course has altered th aspect of the question on the emigration side and has made emigration less desirable for the present until the new land question is settled. What we are doing is this. Emigration is drafting away our best population; these pay for their own passages and have money. These are the people that shd be left at home on the land. The weaker go into towns and form a new puny fading race out of whom come paupers and aided emigrants. ABLE men are wanted everywhere and cannot be got. They are going or gone. The puny class remain and largely from our present army. The real cause of all is the accumulation of land in large amounts and reducing the man who if he cd get land would form a noble independent pillar of the state into a mere day labourer, reviving in illeg the old "villenage" under another name and without coercion. This being the present aspect of the question the only thing we cd do at present wd be to strike at that form of snobbery which thinks that numerous acres from a title to respect and worship.

We cd no longer continue our former argument altho that argument has helped us into the present position. We are in the midst of a fie and everything personal and inconsistent with th general good is being slowly and surely burnt. The present ministry has the grandest task ever put into the hands of a govt it is to direct the flame and to reconstruct after it as it burns. With this view I cd scarcely say what had best be one. My own feeling ha been to wait for next ...If appears we are to have as little of politics as possible and that the govt will be mainly occupied with social subjects. We mt aid them when we see their hand.

notes, ff34-35, JS to FN, pen embossed WO paper {notes on letters}

initialled letter, ff36-37, pen, pale blue paper, JS's notes in bold

F.N.'s book

India

45756

**f36**

Derby Infirmary

35 South Street, Oct 23/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

Have you any remarks to make?

(paper & letter enclosed)

**This account shews the need of studying  
economy in work. It appears that  
£300 per bed have been spent in mere  
building & fitting. This is more than the  
2. Herbert Hospital cost, they build  
new lock hospitals at 4d a cubic foot.**

Do you wish to see the Bombay

(Municipal Emeute) papers

again?

**No! I understand quite what it  
is all about & the cause.**

FN

3.

I had a copy sent, as you desired,  
to Editor of "Nature" of "Notes  
on Lying in Inst."

**It will likely come to me -  
but I have not see it yet.**

FN

Dr. Sutherland                      **over**

f36v

I have not yet seen any notice  
of the book, But one  
man who reviews such books  
told me that it was most  
excellent. Col Murray  
himself gave me the same  
opinion - on the evidence as I  
have often given you. Namely  
that here must be no cure  
lying in institutions.

We are going down when  
Dr. Massey returns to see the  
Portsmouth Hospital built on  
the separate room plan (4 rooms  
per block) They speak of it in  
the very highest terms. But  
time will show. By the  
way if you are writing to  
Lord Napier or Ellis between  
this & March you might  
with advantage to India say  
"that you have heard Dr. Massey

f37

is coming out to Bangalore. that  
 he has been head of the Sanitary  
 Branch of the A. M. D. & a  
 Member of the Army San. Com  
 & that he is a capital sanitarian  
 qu and quite fit to be an Indian  
 San. Commissioner if there be  
 a vacancy"

You will see in todays Times the  
 fact about the *Social Revolution*.

It is all true but premature.  
 The error was in publishing the  
 fact before Scott Russel (the  
 great engineer & Builder of the  
 Great Eastern) who knows all about  
 the want of the Working Classes  
 had organized the movement.

It is one of great importance  
 & may stop the republicans  
 altogether

Your ever faithful  
 JS

unsigned letter, ff38-39v, JS to FN, pen, 24/10/71 embossed WO paper  
 {women as naval nurses}

initialled letter, ff40-41, JS to FN, pen, 28/10/71 embossed WO paper  
 Wirtemberg Ambulance; a decoration for FN from Serrurier, I wd reply  
 thanking him for the medal and stating your regret that the state of  
 your health had rendered it impossible for you to do anything to merit  
 such a distinction. I think this wd cover the case w/o offence. But all  
 this decorating the Belligerents for doing a simply human duty is  
 unhealthy. Germany is just as bad as France & they are all as bad as  
 Palikao who kept to himself a valuable Chinese necklace tooled at Pekin  
 and took a necklace of common stuff from a mandarin which he got blessed  
 by a popish bishop and presented to the Emperor Eugenie as a most  
 acceptable "aid to devotion" (is it not written in todays Times"?)

signed letter, ff42-43v, JS to FN, pen, 31;/10/71 {Cholera commission;  
 Sidney plans; regimental hospitals; Bangalore report}

initialled letter, ff44-47v, JS to FN, pen, 31/10/71 embossed WO paper  
 {N.C.O. clerks; Mrs. Cox & the situation in France; Col Crommelin &  
 India}

signed letter, ff48-49, George Allsop to FN, pen, Oct 11/71 {Memorial of  
 the N.C.O clerks} embossed London Romsey

initialled letter, ff50-53v, pencil, faint

**f50**

Miss Osburn P. RETURN to FN

Sydney

{printed address:} 35 South Street, [12:42]  
Park Lane, 1/11/71

W.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

As you saw in 1868 -9 a great many of  
this lady's letters & transactions  
have you anything to suggest on the difficult  
point of what *H.B.C. should answer to*  
*this?*

Upon the showing of this letter (which  
however is almost in direct contrast to  
every other - as every one has been to each other  
she is getting on very well with her  
Australian trainees & Probationers  
having got rid of all the "Sisters" but one  
she took out with her

The best thing to *save the work* is  
(& always has been in my opinion) that  
she should therefore *go on* with the  
*Australian Nursing Staff & School*

*That is my earnest desire*

[No word that I know of has ever been said



**f50v**

to her of "responsibility" for her having  
"sent away" our Sisters

tho' her letters to me ~~about them~~ were  
intolerable, unwomanly to the last degree  
about these women of whom she had taken such  
*solemn* charge.

For the first 3 years of her being at Sydney, her  
letters to me were a constant threat to resign  
Mine to her (for I answered her punctually)  
a constant attempt to put some sense into her  
& to keep her in her place by such help as I could give  
Then came a sudden change.

For the last year I have had constant letters  
urging me to write her such a letter as  
she could share saying that she remains in  
her post *for my sake* at my desire *in spite*  
*of persecution* - then asking my advice whether she should  
stay &c

[I have no kind of information as to her doings  
except from herself, Mr. Dees Thomson & all my Sydney

**f51**

correspondents - *lately* positively avoid mentioning her -

I should be insane if, under these circumstances  
I were to undertake any such responsibility  
as that of her staying "for my sake" "by my desire"

Nevertheless I diligently answered her letters  
to the last 2 or 3 - when, by the advice of  
Hy.B.C., he wrote to her in my name saying  
that I did not feel myself competent to offer  
advice *as to her decision* under the circumstances

Mrs. Wardroper also was of this opinion  
[I thought ~~her~~ Miss O's letter disingenuous as ~~the~~ self centredness  
It appears to me that she wished to keep a place  
lucrative & very conspicuous - feared to lose it  
& wished (*then*) to bolster herself up as staying there "by  
"Miss N.'s command]

But the question is now?

*What is H.B.C. to write?*

[This letter is in flagrant contradiction to all her others]

I wish I could read them to you -

But H.B.C. has that fault of a man of business  
(like some of my other friends) that he *keeps* or mislays  
my correspondence - then expects *me* to remember  
what he does not remember himself -

**f51v**

to the best of my recollection *his* last letter to *her*  
(which I saw) was only to say that neither he nor  
I cd give advice under the circumstances

I am most extremely sorry for this poor woman -  
And while declining all further responsibility  
most earnestly wish not to seem indifferent to her -  
[I think I have shewn this by giving her for 4 years  
the time & strength I could so little spare & which  
was so useless bestowed upon her.

*How then can H.B.C. express these three things* [und red pencil]  
desire that the Australian work should continue  
- a kind interest  
- decline responsibility of advice

[I shall not write to her I cannot  
But I *shall* send her my Notes on Lying-in Insts  
by this mail as a favourable sign]

Please remember that she has told us over & over  
again she will "pack up" to leave - that she was  
starting for Canada that &c &c

Please *return* this with your suggestions.

F.N.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff52-54, pen 1/11/71 embossed WO paper  
{JS's reply to the foregoing}

initialled letter, with JS's reply, ff55-58v, pencil

**f55****[8:334-35]**

"Notes on Lying-in Inst"

35 South Street, 16/11/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

I have received a great many letters  
about this book of which I mean  
to send you a selection - none of  
them however is much to the purpose  
- I mean that I had hoped for  
a good many suggestions, criticisms  
& informations - & have not  
found them

The enclosed, from a Birmingham {in another hand [J.D. good man see his  
letters]}

man whom I do *not* know & to  
whom I had *not* sent a copy,  
gives some information of the kind  
of which I had hoped for much  
more -

You see he offers more and in

{JS's reply in bold}

1

**f55v**

**This is very curious. The reform appears to date from the discussion about the King's College Ward.**

**The chief thing to get now from Birmingham, is a carefully kept record. I would suggest that your table be modified to meet their case. It would require only to take out the lines about lying in Wards & substitute a column**

**State of health I would suggest 30 days after that they draw up delivery a form if requested & ask him to send the form (alluding to the required changes indicated above) & you will look over it for them**

**f56**

answering I will say anything you may suggest -  
I will not write to Dr. Farr (or send him the "B.M. Journal") in the sense you propose till you see his letters & others which I hope to be able to send you when sorted - in a day or two

Mr. Chadwick appears to me to make the most valuable suggestion. which is get out the rate of Mortality among *rich* Lying in women  
" " *poor* "

[N.B. It is well known that the Death rate is higher among the rich - As it is *only* the poor who go to Lying in Institutions, this makes *their high Death rate the more*

f56v

2

This Birmingham case if well  
worked will do much good.  
You might ask for a return  
shewing 1 The total deliveries  
up to present date  
since the home practise  
was instituted.  
2. The deaths & causes  
of death with dates  
3. The number of Midwives  
employed

This would give you a grasp  
over the immediate facts. Besides  
in future statistics we have  
yet to decide what deaths  
are to stand on the puerperal  
register.

f57

35 South Street, {printed address:}  
Park Lane,  
W.

atrocious]

[N.B. again

A rough calculation of Wrong  
Presentations Forceps cases  
Craniotomy & Instrumental cases  
shews that these vary from 2  
in 100 to 3 in 100 in most  
Lying in Institutions which  
keep any Statistics at all

How wicked then it is to  
assign "25 Deliveries" as the  
*education* of a Midwife  
for, from 97 to 98 Deliveries out  
of 100 are natural & give her no  
real practice.]

F.N.

Please return me this note with the Papers

f58

The book will cause great wrath & will do an immense deal of good. It will seal the fate of lying in hospitals & will prepare for the funeraillles of some other benevolent idiots.

The Birmingham report leads to the following results.

1st that you can work such a charity with ordinary Midwives & skilled surgical aid when required. But this is really the method in use among the paying working people over a large part of Europe. It is of course specially applicable to towns, But I know it

f57v

is also in use in English country districts -and I have also heard of frightful consequences before the surgeon was called in.

The whole argument is in favour of fully training the women to fit them for emergencies.

f58v

Mr. Chadwick - Yes! But how can you distinguish *rich* from comfortable, from upper class workmen - from lower class ones?

The only way you could do would be for Dr. Farr to take London & run through the Births & deaths, taking out empirically the streets of good name in the west end. But what can be done when ladies with London homes are confined in the country? If a few of the west end accoucheurs would send a list of deliveries among the class & the deaths, this might do. But we must consult Farr.

The thing now to get is the

real normal death rate, & the  
class " " if  
possible

initialled letter, f59, pen pale blue paper

**f59**

*Mrs. Finnerty*

35 South Street, 16/11/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

What am I to say to this poor  
woman?

I recommended him Capt. Finnerty before,  
because I had known him at  
Scutari. Now it is 15 years  
since I have known anything  
of him - The proper  
person to recommend him  
is the man who is doing it.

F.N.

{JS's reply in bold} **Yes! The Governor is the man  
to recommend. I would tell her  
so & say that any interference  
of yours would be useless. There  
are many interests to be considered  
in such cases. JS 16/11/71**

**f60** signed letter, Mrs. Finnerty, 23 Lawford Road, Rugby, wife of Capt  
Finnerty of Staff officer of Pensioners West Australia, to FN, ff60-61,  
pen, 2 Nov 1871 {Asks for FN's recommendation for her husband}

initialled letter, ff62-63v, pen

**f62** {JS's reply in bold}

*Notes on Lying in &c*

35 South Street, 18/11/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

I send you "Medical Times"-  
on it -

Read also on Dr. Le Fort's \_\_\_\_\_

Ambulances, French Medical

Service -&c -

I have ~~the~~ /his Article (Revue  
des 2 Mondes) a very  
remarkable one - on this.

& will send it you  
if you like -

F.N.

**Many thanks for this Gazette -  
The notice is droll & good &  
will help efficiently (better than  
the Lancet to direct attention**

**f62v**

to the book & help to sell it.

I don't agree that you should  
have sided with Evory

Kennedy or taken him up.

He committed a capital  
mistake about the Rotunda

& gave the enemy cause of

great rejoicing. The fact is

none of them had any knowledge  
of the real sanitary principles

involved in the question &

they went floundering about  
amidst misunderstood

facts. Now it is evident

the question is settled.

They may flounder away

if the{y} like but I don't think



f63

they will make any more  
philanthropic hospital builders.

I should like very much  
to read Leforts article.

He has the truth, but scarcely  
the whole truth. To do  
exactly what Lefort wants  
would be to undo the French  
army system. The real  
question is whether a better  
system could not be devised  
& to include in it the liberation  
of the Medical Dept from the  
Intendance. I think it  
could be done. But then  
Thiers & Co must increase  
the estimates.

f63v

If you want to see exactly  
& truly & temperately where our  
army has been landed by  
the abolition of purchase &  
other reforms!! Read William  
Russells speech at the  
Westminster meeting in  
todays Times. We have  
yet to learn a lesson from  
French experience: \_ that change  
does not always = improvement

unsigned note, ff64-66, pencil

[12:192]

**f64**

*Admission of Probationers* Nov 20/71

*Obligations as to Service &c* {archivist: [to Dr Sutherland]}

- *new St. Thomas's*

Could you kindly look at the enclosed Memo of  
H.B.C.'s?

& say if you have any suggestions to make  
It is a very difficult question to settle -  
much more difficult than appears at first sight

It is *not* the best who wish to be free from  
the "Obligation"

And they are generally *extremely* difficult to  
manage & troublesome to Mrs. Wardroper  
& upset the others

[Miss (Canon) Gregory is one of these

& very untidy & unbusiness-like.]

On the other hand it is rather hard upon the  
good ones whom we have refused to take;  
unless they would sign the "Obligation"

& *who have done so* how excellent it is *Over*  
vide this Miss Barclay who wrote the enclosed Extract.

{f65 is blank}

**f65v**

{written horizontally in the middle of the page}

Please return

the whole

of this

**f66***Please**return to F.N.*

{in another hand or FN?} I had intended to ask what advantages I should especially lose on being merely taken on sufferance for a year, & not being thoroughly associated with your Nurses.

but I seem to see for myself that the loss would be absolute and also that the sort of work cannot be shilly=shallied with. It is a simple question -

'All in all or not at all'

and if ever I may be of any use wide world of sorrow & suffering I must be ready to cut my cables & devote myself altogether to the work & not try to compromise matters.

Miss Barclay

[end 12:193]

July 9/71

When I look dispassionately at my own position in life, I see that there is nothing which I can ask for any exception being made in my favour

unsigned response, JS to FN, ff67-68v, pen, admission of probationers

**f68** FN pencil note on JS letter

"Lying-in Notes" 20/11/71

Would you say whether you think what Hy B.C. proposes is desirable? -

If so how the "List" should be selected:

[I have given away about 50 copies.]

& *shall* have ~~done~~ given about 70.

F.N.

JS response: agrees with Carter that committee and the 3 men shd have copies....

initialled note, H.B.C. to FN, f69, pen

unsigned letter, ff70-72v, pencil

**f70**

*Miss Florence Lees' papers*

*PRIVATE* [underlined 3 times]

*Capt Burgess*

*F.P. Verney 24/11/71*

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I *can* only turn this over to you.

[It must be remembered that Miss Lees wrote these *at the request of the Committee* with great reluctance - & with great trouble to me who had to draw every word out of her by written hints -

For me to enter *besides* into a controversy with "Lady Verney" & Capt Burgess upon them is absolutely impossible.

I would not have done this for *any* papers *I* ever have written nor admitted their competency for criticism.

And I certainly cannot do it ~~for Miss Lees~~,/now

**f70v**

[I do not say this out of any ill nature

But probably the two persons above named are as incompetent to estimate evidence from character, from inclination, from previous habits of life, - as any that could be named.]

I do not gather from *Capt. Burgess'* letter that "Miss Florence Lees papers are to be published *separately*"

*That* I should think very objectionable - And I am sure *she* would.

Capt. B is himself a member of the Malteser - Johanniter & "as proud as a peacock of it" (as I have been told by his best friends)

"Hinc illac lachrymae" {Hence there (are) tears - GW} Still he admits the paper is ~~very~~/ a most valuable"

*which indeed it is* -

**f71**

It is the *only* paper we have which gives (from an eye witness) the least idea of the real state of the Prussian War Hospital-- in the field (under every advantage)

The criticisms in the other letter, F.P.V.'s are scarcely worth reading -

being made without any insight, - almost it would appear without taking pains to compare any two passages criticized

Besides, she is as it were, " sold to support the Prussians" as good in every thing -

What she can find that I should "like" in the Article of yesterday's (Thursday's) "Times", on the Doctors' Report, is hard to say.

I scarcely ever read anything in my life which gave me SO MUCH PAIN

**f71v**

I must now turn over the matter to you only remarking further that most people might think that Capt. Burgess's note on (p. 3) about the necessity of "four grand parents" to make a good Hospitaller!!! considerably strengthens Miss Lees' case

instead of invalidating it.

& that she must be very much obliged to him - & the Knights - very much the contrary of 'obliged'

O ye Gods what fools there are!

With regard to his "by whom?" p. 4 - of course it was out of consideration for the man that she would not say, in order that we might not trace who he was -

She would not tell (very properly) even *me* [But I know very well.]

With regard to the Hospitals managed by the Knights, they are worse than any in *Germany*

SO THE CROWN PRINCESS TOLD ME -

**f72**

-2-

[Emily Verney told me that Capt. B. was quite a "psychological curiosity" ]  
You had better either BURN or return me this my letter

A Silesian lady has been with me ~~to-day~~ here, who did the whole of the work of the French prisoners in Silesia - Her account of the execrable Silesian Hospitals for the prisoners & of the Breslau Station (150,000 French prisoners passed through her hands there) would be almost incredible did she not support it by documents.

I took Notes of her conversation & sent them to Capt. Galton-

When they come back, I will send them to you, if you like it -

N.B. Of her own personal

**f72v**

knowledge, warm clothing sent for the prisoners, was given to *Prussian employés*.

From her, from Flo Lees, from Mrs. Inglefield, from all women who really observed I gain but one idea of the Prussian Hospital organization or rather *administration*

And that is, that, even at its best, it was *infamous* - worse than anything within our cognizance.

{JS's reply, ff73-73 24/11/71

v, continues written the other way on this sheet and the following}

initialled note, ff74-75v, pencil {JS's reply in bold}

**f74**

*Birmingham Lying in Charity*

27/11/71

I send "answers" to our Questions  
we shall get some good facts in this way  
also newspaper

(which latter I have not had time yet  
carefully to look at)

**I have no doubt we shall get many  
good facts of the same class. J.S.**

F.N.

Would it be any use to tell Mr. Goodman -  
of the Guy's Hospital practice under

Mr Hicks - where Medical Students  
quite safely practise at the Lying in  
bed=sides at the woman's own home  
*being entirely excluded from all attendance  
at the Hospital or at the Dissecting Room  
for the time & if a woman has Puerperal Fever  
from ANY attendance anywhere for a time  
(over)*

{f75 is blank}

**f75v**

**There is a Mr. L. [?] Tait who has  
abused you in the paper for "a  
few indiscretions" save the mark & for [?]  
"enthusiasm" & he says that students  
must be taught "which nobody can  
deny". Write to Mr. Goodman & tell  
him that it was scarcely fair in  
one of their speakers to charge you  
in this way especially as you  
had never said ~~an~~ a word against  
training students. And then tell  
him Mr Hicks plan.**

initialled note, ff76-76v, pencil {JS's reply in bold} [8:481-82]

**f76**

*Female Suffrage* 27/11/71

What am I to say to these women?

F.N.

**This is very much a matter of personal feeling. I am sure you ought to have a vote. And Mrs. Butler ought to be in office**

**The only point is whether you should have a political iron in the fire seeing that iron of this kind is very hot just now, & you require all your strength for other matters.**

C.D. Acts

As you have read the Contagious Diseases Acts evidence, could you tell me whether you think "we" (the Anti-Acts people) have established our point viz - that the Acts do *not* diminish the disease.

**Response There is so much assertion on both sides & so little fact on any side that the question you put admits in my opinion of but one answer, viz, that the advocates of the act have failed to prove that these acts have done any good, or at least that the changes**



f76v

which have taken place under them are due to them. Mrs. Butler, has clearly proved that other far more important agencies have been stirred up & have done admirable work. The only statistical facts are Dr. Balfours, but he misses the point in my opinion by giving the statistics of "protected stations" in contrast with those of "unprotected stations", both in a lump, whereas the law of syphilis requires for its investigation that each station should be given separately

It would then be seen whether the average is made up of periodical local excesses & local deficiencies, which is really the law of syphilis where no acts are in operation, as for example in India.

The Contagious diseases results for which the Acts were past are "not proved" & this is quite sufficient

27/11/71

initialled note, ff77-785v, pencil {JS's reply in bold}

**f77**

*Knights of St. John*

35 South Street, 1/12/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

Capt. Burgess has sent the enclosed to Sir Harry to prove to him his case. I suppose *against* Miss Lees & me.

Unfortunately it is the one which

I saw (& irreverently made game of) when, 3 years ago, Capt.

Galton, solicited by Sir . G. Lechmere, asked me whether he should "become a Knight"

[The Knights Hospitals are notoriously the very worst Hospitals in all Germany; of which the very best are

**f77v** [pencil]

worse than the very worst  
in France, Belgium or  
England.

And an Imperial personage told me  
they *must* be stopped]  
Please return me the book  
for Capt. B

F.N.

[JS] I have seen this rascal before too!  
I believe at the time you did  
& I too, profanely laughed.  
Just look what it is!  
Away in the middle ages this  
Knighthood of St. John was constituted

**f78**

to fight & take charge of sick &  
pilgrims whose only defense they  
were. All this is in the  
past eternity now, and in  
this age of unoriginality these  
people revive the order from  
various motives. Prussia  
for influence (You will always  
find thrift of every sort & of all  
opportunities a feature of the  
Brandenburg house). The nobles  
for position & a cross, others  
from sheer snobbery, & the  
practical result is that while  
all Christians as such are  
equal, & while the Eastern &  
especially the Western church  
have managed to plant over  
Christian equality an unchristian  
clerical nobility, so the practical

f78v

result of this order is to place  
an aristocracy over the humble  
& useful workers in the cause  
of Christian charity & humanity

You will see from the memoir  
who it is that does the work  
& who have the honour. This  
knowledge will enable you to  
judge of how far such an  
organization is likely to be effectual  
in dealing with human necessity.

The grandest part is the  
Title page. It has few  
equals in the annals of  
Laqueydom & ought to be  
framed, glazed & thrown into  
Military fools paradise.

J.S. 1/12/71

unsigned note, ff79-80v, pencil pale blue paper {JS's reply in bold}  
[8:337-38]

*Notes on Lying in*

35 South Street, Dec 1/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

I am now going to collect accounts  
of the *course of training* at  
Paris, Vienna & elsewhere  
chiefly from ladies who have  
been 'extra=pupils', at those places.  
Will you propose a set of

Questions?

I send you a sketch of the sort  
of Questions I wish to ask  
(not that these will do, for  
some are leading Questions.)  
I do not wish to put *Sanitary*  
questions, of which they  
know nothing nor

**f79v**

*Statistical questions* of  
which we know more  
than they  
Nor of course *technical* questions  
as to the *Surgery* of the Midwifery  
- but simply to get a  
plain simple account of  
the training & officers.

I have been told that the  
Midwives' training at Paris  
Vienna & Berlin is far  
better than anything  
Students can get in England  
in Midwifery.

**f80**

Le Fort's account of the  
Midwives' training at Paris is  
defective.

== At one time all the Professors  
but one were ladies - & the  
"2nd year's Pupil Midwives" became  
first rate Accoucheuses  
at Paris.

== The Crown Princess while  
detesting the unsanitary  
practices, of which some were  
on her own person - she has  
been attended by a Midwife  
- of German midwives, says  
that our "Wissenschaft" is their  
'Unwissenschaft' - their  
Midwifery is so good.

f80v

I return your own note with  
a brief draft of points such  
as your note appears to indicate

They scarcely differ from  
your own except in the manner  
of putting them. Mine contain  
what I think could afford  
sufficient ground on which  
to form an opinion as to the  
training & its results.

After you have re-  
considered the subject & drawn  
up a form would it not  
be advisable to submit it to  
the most intelligent lady midwife  
you know for suggestions before  
it is finally adopted?

J.S. 2/12/71

I daresay you could get the rules of Paris  
Vienna & other schools.

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff81-82v, pen, 5/12/71 {comments on FN's book  
& midwifery} on embossed WO

initialled note, ff83-84v, pen, black-edged paper, JS's reply in bold on back

**f83**

*Notes on Lying in Inst:*

35 South Street, Dec 6/71

[8:338]

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

I send you 3 critiques: -

how one does wish for real criticism,  
-for either blame or praise, from  
some one who knows anything at all  
about the subject. or who at least  
has read the book, so very defective  
in so many places as it is -

I do not understand whether  
you intend the Draft or hints  
for answer to Dr. Hicks for  
the "Medical Times" or not.  
It appears that my own answer  
was better. Does not yours seem to say  
"I don't wish for a specialty,  
because I wish for a specialty?" F.N.

f84v

*Critiques* Two are mere notes. the third is in my view written by some pupil of Mathews Duncan and is a paying off for your notice of him. the man who wrote it does not understand either the book or the points at issue or the method. I would keep it with the others because there are some ignorances which may be dealt with in a second edition. But how absurd to recommend a book as he does after shewing it to be so full of error.

As regards the draft letter -  
- I feel with you about it. And after reconsidering the subject, it has occurred to me to suggest whether it would not be better to say nothing. If you answer one you might answer all.

The thing is to collect as many facts & opinions as possible with the view of improving the next edition. You see what we want are more facts regarding home practice. If you agree

f84

- Nothing more may be said -  
The book is defective just at the point where the criticisms tell namely in the scheme of Midwifery teaching - and if you can get together good information as you propose, this point will be met.

In short I would reply to all in the 2d edition.

Dr. Hicks reports are very good & very interesting & the points you have marked may be safely used afterwards - They are herewith returned.

I am busy with Cunninghams [Cunningham]  
report but cannot yet give you the heads of a letter. The scientific part by the other C, is what I am busy upon & it is hard reading. I have just had a note from Cunningham who has left Simla on a 5 months tour.

f83v

The Edinburgh critique will no doubt excite much just anger in certain quarters. In order to take the edge off your proposal for training midwives the author attacks the morals of men who are above suspicion It is abominable, and will I hope lead to replies. In my time unsuccessful men have generally attributed success in high quarters to untruthfulness, but my experience has been that the highest success is well merited. Of course cultivation and good manner has its effect, but this is perfectly legitimate. A thorough gentleman will make his way & he will certainly not be untruthful.



unsigned note, ff85-86v, pen & pencil pale blue paper

**f85**

*Dr. Williams' papers* {archivist: No 1}

{pencil} *Sent for reference*

35 South Street, Dec 8/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

Please advise as to what  
should be said

I need not tell you that  
I dislike the whole way  
the thing is done -

Still it is doubtless a thing  
that ought to be done -  
Sidney Herbert's work  
ought to be remembered.

There are a hundred  
criticisms to a page -  
as e.g. 1. the "*Director Genl*"

did not {pencil} "warn" or {pen} remonstrate - {pencil} p. 10 2nd side  
2. the "*Times*" Commissioner

**f85v**

{pencil} p. 11(2nd side  
{pen} distributed but a small  
part of the funds subscribed

3. among the *Commissions*  
you ought to be mentioned  
by name. {pencil p.11 (2nd side)

{pen} 4. "*military despotism*" was  
certainly not the prime  
cause of the evils {pencil} (p. 13)

[And at *this* time the C. in  
C. is a good deal more  
enlightened than the S. of S.  
or Under S. of S. or Premier.]  
But I think we should limit

**f86**

ourselves to improving his  
*facts.*

He is a good man with  
much power in the  
Medical world -  
& his curious confusion  
between the Sanitary &  
the Medical may do good

unsigned note, ff87-88v, pen

**f86v** {JS' reply in bold}

Dr. W.

I think the best way is to simply write to  
him about this and offer to look over  
it again if he thinks good. I send you a  
few notes as follows: -

Before the Crimean war Sanitary knowledge  
existed in the army & navy among a few  
very few men: But the army Med dept  
as such did little or nothing in it. I was  
the first person who proposed that Med officers  
should be Sanitary officers & I had to fight  
every step as you will see in my evidence.  
The prevailing idea was to have special  
Sanitary officers. Then, the immediate  
reduction of deaths from Chest & zymotic  
diseases was due to the improvements in  
Barracks & hospitals made by the Bk &  
Hospital improvement Commission. The A.M.D.  
had nothing to do with it. There was  
when Dr. Williams wrote, no improved  
administration. It was being organized &  
is now efficient. Then we all learned  
what Sanitary work they *did not do* in  
the Crimea & at Scutari. Sir j. Macneils  
commission improved the supplies, my  
commission did the Sanitary work, and  
when the work of both kinds was begun  
the different departments took their share.

There was your own special work which  
had a very important bearing in need on  
the results of cases.

**f86**

{at the bottom of the page, after FN's letter}

**You might tell him this: because in reality obstructiveness had not so much to do with the question as want of practical skill & knowledge. The men of that time are not the men of today. Can you send him a copy of Chadwick's printed letters. I will replace them. They show the extension of the work to India which is of greater importance.**

**A general statement will enable him to recast his paper so as to be correct, but you should see it again. J.S. 8/12/71**

unsigned letter, ff87-88v, pen {JS's reply in bold}

**f87**

*Miss Lees' papers*

**(The Prince of**

**Wales is**

**much worse**

**& in danger** 35 South Street, Dec 8/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

*Private*

What a worry this Capt. Burgess is! with his knighthood!!!

This is the fifth time the papers have come back to me -

I can only refer it back to you

What do you advise?

That precious absurd book? Could you imagine a man such a fool? - And they

**f87v**

want me to organize a  
War-Nurses under him!!!  
The first thing I should do  
wd be to put him to death!  
NB I wrote to Sir Harry  
exactly what we agreed  
viz. that Capt. B. should  
refer the matter to Miss L.  
Then Sir H/ came again  
to me, re-opening the question.  
But I answered again  
the same thing -

**f88**

*Please advise me as to what  
Miss Lees should do.*  
If one had but time & strength  
to laugh!

---

**I have gone over this  
and you will find I  
have drawn my pencil  
through some lines: - the  
result being to leave the  
cat o nine tails just as**

f88v

it was, except that the little  
bits of lead are taken out  
of the points.

Miss Lees might add to  
her letter "that nevertheless  
she had modified the  
expressions to meet Capt.  
Burgess views & hoped  
he would now be satisfied"

The passage about the  
English surgeons is not  
of consequence & might be  
left out

JS. 8/12/71

Thanks many for the extinct  
bird which I found on my desk.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff89-90, pen, 8/12/71 {drainage & health of  
houses' powers of local boards} embossed WO

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff91-94, pen, 9/12/71 {drainage & health of  
houses' powers of local boards} embossed WO

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff95-96, pen, 11/12/71 embossed WO paper  
{Mr. Hicks' report}

unsigned note, ff97-98, pencil {JS's reply in bold} [8:340-41]

**f97**

*Notes on Lying-in Institutions*

*Dr. Farr Dec 12/71*

You will probably like to see these  
extremely interesting papers of Dr. Farr's,  
just as they are  
You will see *he asks for remarks -*

**These papers are very interesting, But  
I would say to Farr that they appear not  
altogether to reach the points at issue.  
These are**

- 1. The number of deliveries within  
a given time. (say 6 weeks, DF's time)**
- 2. The number and causes of deaths  
not only within the 6 weeks, but  
the number & causes of deaths  
due to delivery within a month  
after delivery.**

**You will see that in any given 6 weeks there  
may be deaths due to delivery in a preceding**

**f97v**

**6 weeks; and there may be also deaths due  
to deliveries in Dr. Farrs 6 weeks which come  
into the subsequent 6 weeks.**

**This is the way I would do it.**

- 1. I would obtain the total deliveries  
as nearly as possible for a given 6 weeks.**
- 2. I would obtain all the death and  
causes of death due to the puerperal  
state registered as occurring within the  
same 6 weeks, together with the dates  
of deliveries.**
- 3. I would eliminate from the return  
all deaths due to the puerperal state in  
which deliveries had taken place at dates  
anterior to the typical six weeks.**
- 4. I would then obtain a list of all  
deaths & causes of deaths of the puerperal  
series taking place within a month  
after the termination of the typical  
six weeks.**
- 5. From these deaths I would abstract  
all puerperal deaths taking place among  
women who had been delivered in the  
typical six weeks.**
- 6. The first and last death number would**

**f98**

give the total deaths with their causes among women for a month after delivery in the typical six weeks, & I would on this number calculate the mortality.

I would suggest this, because his present figures are still open to comment. As for the Manchester paper, What can be said. There is no law to prevent a man discussing statistics whether he understands them or not. The one point of importance has been known ever since vital statistics had an existence. i.e. that averages over large areas do not meet the necessity of sanitary work. But the Manchester proposal is just as defective as the Registrar Generals method.

Dr. Duncan of Liverpool & myself shewed the true but laborious method of getting the absolute mortality about 30 years ago.

J.S. 12/12/71

initialled note, JS to FN, ff99-99v, pen, 15/12/71 {an "honour" for FN; papers mislaid} on embossed WO

incomplete note, f100v, pencil

**f100v**

How I thank God every day  
of my life that we are not  
at this moment in all the  
agonies of war, as we were  
at this time last year.  
when the words while wishing  
the Govt New Years blessing  
as I now wish you with all  
my heart died upon our lips  
What a mockery!

Again I pray you my  
apology - the old one & *only* one -  
- that of overwork & increasing  
illness for my long delay in writing

initialled letter, ff101-02, pen {JS's reply in bold}

**f101**

Miss Lees' papers

& Capt. Burgess

35 South Street, Dec.15/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

Can you *conceive* of such an *inconceivable* idiot as this?

And this is our "Society's valued Secretary."

At the same time, I think Miss Lees takes much too much to heart these things - [I laugh at her -

She talks of "storms upon her devoted head"--  
If she did but know what *real* "storms" are!

what a *life* of storms is!

However the thing is now to help her - not to moralize upon her.

I send you her last 2 packets.

[You must not believe what she says (in her long {archivist; No F2} letter) about her short-comings - We have never trained a Supt. of *anything like her skill*

And I know from excellent judges, e.g. M. Lévy of Val de Grace, & the Cr. Princess, *what her work is*.

But she is subject to fluctuations of spirits - & she fancies them to be fluctuations of energy.]

The second letter, just received, is the one upon which



**f101v**

she wants our advice.

She adopted all your pencil corrections [I told her I had referred the paper to you]

But you made no answer to what she should do as to 22 opposite to which the "Knight " of the Geese had written - "by whom?" - i.e. by whom sent the Dr. "who could speak neither German nor French."?

And it is over this, I imagine, that Capt. B. is still worriting -

It would not have occurred to me that Capt. B. meant to "print" his "Memo" (enclosed) - But I dare say Miss Lees is right

*At all events, WHAT ARE WE TO ADVISE HER TO DO?*

F.N.

**f102**

Depend on it, Capt. B intends to put this as a foot note, & if I were Miss Lees I should write at once somewhat as follows.

~~"excuse surprise that~~

ask if he intends to print. And if so express surprise that after her trying to meet his objection he should introduce such a passage That she is ready to make any further concession not inconsistent with truth. & that if he prints his remarks as a memo that she too will print a statement which will not tend to the & attaining of the object she is quite sure he has in view as well as she.

\_\_\_\_ Let her keep a copy of her letter  
As to her other letter, I read it as you do.

There is now a prospect of recovery for the Prince. The lesson taught is the supreme utility of intelligent nursing care. But when we think what has happened already in the case one is disposed to say that the Almighty had permitted the best, in order to shew that under any strait he can redeem life.

JS.

15/12/71

initialled letter, ff103-04v, pencil pale blue paper {JS's reply in bold}

**f103**

*Dr. Snow Beck*

35 South Street, 17/12/71

[8:340-41]

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

I send you his curious letter - & 2 papers

*What shall I answer?*

[I don't know him]

Is it not curious that a man, who  
has evidently got hold of some  
good points of observation -  
should have come to this  
conclusion from them all: -  
that a dose of Ergot of Rye  
(which Midwives are justly  
blamed for giving - & which  
I believe it is an invariable  
rule in all Lying - in Charities  
that neither Midwife nor Student

**f103v**

shall ever give without the  
Physician's order)

that a dose of Ergot of Rye should  
be the real preservative from  
all puerperal diseases, all  
Hospital influences even King's  
College's?

f104v

Dr. Beck has his heart in his  
work which is a great thing.

His paper is carefully written  
and his pamphlets are interesting  
to me mostly because of the  
authorities he cites & the  
points raised by them. The  
impression produced in my  
mind of them all is "how  
much requires to be learnt."

I would thank Dr. Beck  
for his papers. You see how  
much you have stirred up the  
great question. You may  
say to him that questions  
of medical management papers  
so called are beyond your  
sphere, but that his views  
about the Ergot of Rye differ

f104

{on the bottom of the page, after FN's letter}

from those of other people, and  
that you could only deal with  
his proposal practically if  
the profession as a body  
went with it.

J.S. 18/12/71

initialled letter, ff105-16, pencil {JS's reply in bold}

**f105**

*Madame Werckner of Breslau*

35 South Street, Dec 17/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

I send you the Notes I made  
from this excellent woman's  
conversation. They have  
been in such request (tho' not  
half she told me) that I have  
only just got them back.

[Our Committee will publish no  
information of this kind" And  
the Loyd Lindsays have even  
declined - *not to me* - seeing her]

Please return them to *me* - unless  
Mrs Sutherland would like to  
see them - as I have other  
requests for them.

**f106** JS comment 8/12/71

**f107** FN pencil

*Madame Werckner*  
*Breslau Nov 5/71*

PRISONER-TRAINS

150,000 French prisoners  
passed thro' her hands  
at the *Breslau Station* -  
These trains always arrived in  
the night & appeared to be  
kept as secret as possible  
Mme W. could find no other  
means of doing her good work  
but to go herself to the Station  
every night at 10 & remain  
at the Station the whole night  
This she did for months  
together, taking with her every  
thing that was necessary for  
the prisoners passing through  
She obtained entrance to  
the Station by private means  
- & was more than once  
insulted by Prussian Generals  
who found her stooping over  
dying Cholera-cases, getting  
them to drink & told she  
had no business there  
A German lady, a member  
of the *Hülfe-Verein*, attended  
at the Station pretty regularly  
to administer to the wants  
of the German escorts to the  
Prisoner-trains. But she  
never gave anything to the  
Prisoners - not even to the

**f107v**

sick & Dying ones -

She said: 'she dared not -  
she should be mobbed -  
such was the feeling against  
the French -

Once when a sick French  
officer was fainting & wine  
was called for - she told  
Mme. W. she dared not give  
it & they would not let  
the fainting man out of  
the train Mme W. came  
up & gave it.

These Prisoner- trains  
scarcely ever arrived  
without some being found  
dead. And others were so  
far gone that they  
actually refused what  
Mme. W. offered - 'for fear  
it should prolong their  
lives'. 'Let me die,' 'Merci  
Madame' 'but let us die',  
they said, & actually  
turned away their heads  
from the tempting hot  
coffee & wine which  
she tried to pour into their  
mouths. Others

Their uniforms were so torn  
& worn (& *they had* no clothing  
underneath) that those who  
were dead - or could not  
speak & give their names  
could not be identified

Many were old men  
Many Turcos

**f108**

would take it - just swallowed  
it & died

[She burst into tears  
when she came to this part  
of her story & could not  
speak for some minutes.]

The French prisoners in  
the trains were as a rule  
without clothes except the  
ragged coat & trousers  
They had parted with every  
thing, shoes, shirts, &c, for  
a cup of warm milk or beer.

The trains (especially with  
the prisoners from Orleans)  
had been 8 or 9 days & nights  
on their way sometimes  
more - Bread & water  
once a day was all they  
had had sometimes  
not that When the trains  
were late at Breslau  
they had often been 30  
hours without anything at  
all - never allowed to leave  
the trains which were open -  
- in rain, the prisoners literally  
streaming with wet but  
more often *frozen* (in their  
*own dirt*) to the floors of the  
carriages & the straw -

They have literally had to

**f107v**

be cut out with hatchets.

Numbers of these unhappy men were frost bitten - on both feet - above the ankle - toes dropped off & sometimes the entire foot, in fragments quite black.

[She described to me what I have seen in the Crimea]

Dead & dying & sick of Cholera, Spotted Fever Typhus Fever, Dysentery, Frost bite, were dragged out sometimes - sometimes not - sometimes they were left to go on in the trains, some with wounds undressed.

She tore up her pocket handkerchiefs - every bit of linen she had to send on with these poor creatures

Of the 150,000 prisoners who passed thro' Breslau, about 57000 remained in Silesia - Most of the worst sick remained in Breslau.



**f109**

z So much for *Breslau Station*  
*Breslau* We now come into *Breslau town*  
*Prisoner=Hospitals* The worst sick cases were  
brought from the Station here  
[They had besides 1000  
Officer- prisoners & men in  
proportion -  
57000 in all *Silesia*]  
No *German* lady but one -  
(*Css Stalberg* - & she begged  
that it might not be known  
as she should be mobbed)  
- no *German Hülfe Verein*  
in all *Silesia* did any  
thing for the French prisoners  
*Mme Werckner* used to  
receive threatening letters  
& be insulted by Prussians  
for 'doing anything for the  
enemies of her country"  
*Coblentz Erfurt* It was very different at  
no criteria for *Silesia* places like *Coblentz Erfurt* &c in the  
eye of the world - or  
places near *Berlin* where  
a certain coquetterie was  
put, to do good to the Prisoners  
But in *Silesia* where  
nobody comes, where there  
was nobody to look after

**f109v**

what was being done,  
economy & economy only  
ruled the provision  
made for the Prisoners -

*In all Silesia*, there was  
not a Hospital with  
common care or even with  
common necessities for  
the sick Prisoners.

The Doctors made the  
most cursory visits

It is true they ordered  
things "on the Cards" But  
these things were never  
supplied for the Diets.

E.g. roast meat was never  
supplied, tho' "on the Cards"

The German Sisters of  
Charity (who never spoke  
French) were all that  
was given to the largest  
Hospitals - & not always  
that.

These Sisters never  
entered the Small pox  
wards, which were locked  
- a jug of cold water being  
placed on the Table for  
the sick to get up & drink  
if they could!

**f110**

Mme Werckner remonstrated  
but to no avail.

[The Sisters told her they were  
afraid of infection]

Of the Spotted Fever cases,  
whom Mme W. nursed herself,  
*all* died.

Typhus & Cholera were very  
fatal

On reckoning up (but no  
accounts of Death could be-  
had - the Burials from  
a French 'maréchal-des-logis'  
were all that could be  
obtained - it appeared that  
1 out of 5, or in some places  
1 out of 6, of the whole  
57000 in Silesia died.

Very many died of "Heinweh"  
- got up to the last - just  
drooped their heads - refused  
food & died in their chairs -

The Metz cases were very  
fatal So many came with  
ulcerated stomach -

"They *could* not eat the  
bread" Mme W. said,  
"if they eat it, they died of  
stomach complaint - if they

**f110v**

did not eat it, they starved" -

Mme W. used to carry them  
large provisions of bread  
under her petticoat.

She was always rudely  
stopped - made to swear  
that she was not carrying  
in 'books' or 'papers'  
but generally continued to  
smuggle in her bread.

"If, she says, a different  
bread was baked for the  
prisoners, she never saw it  
in Silesia"

She is sure the 'black bread'  
was fatal for their exhausted  
frames - reduced to skeletons  
- frost bitten - with no  
digestion left.

At first she was entirely  
alone without funds but  
her own. [She said she took  
all her husband's clothes]  
Then our *Aid Society* gave  
her - in all I think £400 -  
Then after the surrender  
of *Schlestadt*, (most

*Aid from England*

**f111**

3 fortunately) its Commander  
Aid from the Baron de Reinach  
Baron de Reinach (of the "Garde Mobilé)  
a rich man & an Alsatian,  
was brought prisoner to  
Breslau.

From that day he seems  
almost to have supported  
half the prisoners in  
Silesia with the help  
of other French Officers

Mme W. does not at all  
~~share~~/set the blame on French  
Officers for neglect of  
their countrymen. On the  
contrary, she says those  
in Silesia did *all they*  
*could*.

The Baron de Reinach  
established a French

Committee with a Vice President  
*in every town in Silesia* -  
where there were Prisoners,  
Glogau, Neisse, Cosel  
Glatz Schweidnitz, Oppeln  
[No French Officers were  
allowed to go to the men  
to speak to or to see them

**f111v**

Mme Werckner took M. de Reinach  
in with her to Breslau  
Station without a permit  
He was roughly spoken to  
but by this time Mme W.,  
partly from her character  
of 'English' woman  
did pretty much as she liked

The Prussian said: it  
was no use trying to hinder  
that woman]

Over & over again she  
would have written to the  
"Times" or to me to put  
her accounts before the  
Aid Society of the  
cruelties committed  
but that she was 'afraid  
to injure her husband  
who is a Prussian.

[No Times was allowed  
to reach Silesia - They  
were all stopped in the  
German post - and at  
last she desired her friends  
not to send her any  
as they were only  
confiscated]

**f112**

I had forgot to say that  
some Polish ladies had by this  
time joined Mme. Werckner -  
But these were not of much  
use in the way of funds -

*Aid from Vienna*                      However, the Hülfe Verein at  
                                 Vienna for the French was  
                                 now in full activity. and  
                                 most liberal, most kind,  
                                 most active, sending such  
                                 very good things, were these  
                                 Austrians

*Did the stores sent reach the Prisoners?*      Now, as to whether the  
                                 warm clothing &c sent  
                                 by the English & Austrian  
                                 "Aid Societies" reached  
                                 the Prisoners - on this point  
                                 Mme. W. spoke with great  
                                 caution.

*She knows of her own  
personal knowledge  
instances where these  
were entrusted to the German  
R.C. aumônier in charge of  
the Prisoners - & where  
the things were given to the  
Prussian employés -!! Not one*

**f112v**

or perhaps 12 suits out of  
200 reached the Prisoners.

*Mr. Treffey* asked her to find  
out whether what he *Mr. Treffey*

brought from our Aid Socy  
to Breslau & Silesia (*he* was  
ordered away for speaking  
to a French soldier) reached  
the Prisoners.

She could not say that  
they *did* -but also she will  
not say that they did *not*.

At Magdeburg she knows  
that the things brought by  
*Mr. Swain* (from the English  
Aid Socy) did reach the  
Prisoners. But this is the  
only place of which she is  
sure.

[*She* did not say - but *I*  
could not help feeling: oh if  
our "Aid Socy" as the Austrian  
did had made this woman,  
& persons like her, their  
Agents in the matter of the  
*Prisoners* whom no man  
was allowed to see, how

The first box which  
reached her from the  
Austrian Verein (~~of~~ 200 shirts)  
[she had 600

prisoners *without*  
*a shirt*} she gave

to the *German* R.C. Chaplain  
in charge of them: to distribute  
- saying it would only be  
1 in 3 -

When she went to his room,  
she found half the shirts gone  
A friend a *maréchal des logis*  
told her they had been

given to the *Prussian employés*

The Chaplain grew very red  
& admitted it

She then said to which Prisoners the  
remaining 100 shirts were to go.

*Only 12* reached them!!

After this, she said

she distributed everything  
*with her own hands* - aided by  
a *maréchal des logis* -



**f113**

- 4 Much good they might have  
done - how much waste or  
misappropriation saved!]

*Departure of the  
Prisoners*

The last French prisoners  
did not leave Breslau till  
Sept. 27 last - barely 6 weeks  
ago.

[They were most if not all  
sick]

And they would not have  
been gone now but for  
Mme Werckner

When after the conclusion  
of peace the French Officers  
(prisoners) began to return  
home, the Silesian French  
Committees - with their President  
Baron de Reinach - turned  
over the care of all the  
French prisoners remaining  
in the Hospitals of Silesia -  
very numerous & the  
remaining funds to  
Mme Werckner

From that time she had  
a Prussian permit to  
visit Glogau, Neisse & the  
rest

**f113v**

The disappointment  
of the French sick prisoners  
when, time after time,  
they were told they were  
going home - & time after  
time fresh delays arose  
was such that some of them  
actually lay down & died  
- some tried to escape  
& were shot or condemned  
to punishment - & a  
few committed suicide-

Mme Werckner, seeing  
this would not do, went  
to M. de Banneville  
the Ambassador at Vienna  
And through his means  
she has at last procured  
the release of all, (who  
were not undergoing  
punishment)

1600 left in September  
by the French "Sanitary trains"  
(of which the last, carrying  
800, did not leave, as  
above mentioned, till Sept 27)  
fitted with bed &  
accompanied by Doctors

**f114**

& Soeurs -

These trains, she said,  
were capital -

She herself supplied the  
wine, beef tea &c for them.

They went to Vesoul.

I had forgotten to state  
the great distress of a  
large portion of the French  
Officer prisoners

They were allowed 18-20  
dollars a month (8 drs  
being paid by the English  
Ambassador on account  
of the French Government  
Out of this they had to find  
their quarters. The poorest  
rooms could not be had  
for less than 10-12 dollars  
a month in Silesia -

The Germans "did" them  
in every way she said

And these Officers were  
often without food towards  
the end of the month.

Many went to live in  
the prison camp with the  
men from sheer necessity.

**f114v**

Mme Werckner began by lending these Officers money from her own funds (many were Turcos) - & she never knew one attempt on their part to escape their debt either to her or to the Traiteurs at the beginning of their next month's pay.

When Baron de Reinach came he & his Committee helped the poorest Officers extensively.

Another Frenchman (whose letters to her I have seen) M. Boutons the Director of the "Southern Railway" at Vienna & President of the Verein for the French, whom she saw when she went to Vienna next took up not only the lending money to the Officers but after peace was signed the getting the poorer Officers home, who might otherwise be there still

Mme Werckner sent them to Vienna; he to Turin by his railway - to Chambéry from Turin & so home.

f115

5. [This good M. Boutons wrote to Mme. Werckner letters (which I have seen) telling her never to worry herself about getting back the advances made to the Officers - & only to tell them, - if they could not pay back before all the Committees & Aid Societies were broken ~~back~~ up to give the money, *when they could* to some "victime de cette malheureuse guerre"]

Without going into too much detail ~~this~~ I could not add much more -

Alsace  
another Poland

Upon another subject, Mme Werckner expressed her conviction that Alsace & Lorraine will always be "a Poland" to Prussia -

She bases her conviction upon her intercourse with these French

Baron de Reinach of Alsace, a man of large fortune, the possessor of the Château de

**f115v**

Niedernai in Alsace,  
is going to sell all his  
estates & go in order to  
remain a Frenchman -

{She showed me his letters]

So, with all she knows -

She went to Paris and  
Châteaudun (the destruction  
of which she describes as  
frightful) to see old  
Prisoner friends of Breslau  
after their return

She says there is no talk  
but of another War -

She cannot see the least approach  
to reconciliation with Prussia.

Lastly, she said the *Prisoners' Camps*  
*Prisoners' Camps* in Silesia  
were very bad indeed.

Even when they had  
constructed huts, these  
were 2 feet deep in the  
ground - cold & damp - in  
winter - very hot in summer.  
But no one, least of all  
their own officers, was  
allowed to go into these  
camps - From first to

**f116**

last the want of clothing  
among these Prisoners was  
frightful. And NO one  
ever had more than ONE shirt  
which was given him

She says: the remittances  
from home both of money  
& clothing to the prisoners  
were frequent

But she knows of one Camp  
at least of her own knowledge  
where the remittances  
were kept back (by the  
German R.C. Chaplain) &  
never given

R.C. Chaplains      The German R.C. Chaplains  
French              who came under her notice,  
German              were all indifferent & cool  
They *never* went at night  
when sent for to administer  
the last Sacraments, to  
dying men often *not at*  
*all*. They would speak  
roughly to the sick, even  
when they did go to them.

Some of the French R.C.  
Chaplains who had  
constituted themselves  
prisoners to be with their  
men were very good -  
especially one from the  
Madeleine at Paris.

unsigned letter, ff117-18v, pen & pencil

**f117**

Dr. Williams  
& his papers

PRIVATE

35 South Street, 17/12/71

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

Tho' perfectly aware that he was quite incapable of making use of any "general statement" & that it would only put him into a more complete ~~hopeless~~ state of confusion, yet I did as you suggested - & see the result.

*What am I to say?*

You see the poor man is in a perfectly hopeless condition of confusion, bewilderment & darkness [I really cannot profess to disentangle him]

You see that 1. he has no idea that the R. Commission of 1857 is *not* the "B & H Improt." Comm 2. that the present "Army San Comm" *is* a development of the "B. & H.I." Comm (altho' these two things were *specially* explained to him) - 3. he has made an inconceivable blunder in his "Note" about a passage on "Hill Stations" which, by the way, we ought never to have left in at p.65 of the I.O. Annual (Mr. Plowden's) Blue Book - (which I sent to Dr. Williams -) of last year -leaving out all the really important Sanitary improvements - in it - as unworthy of mention -

[But he is quite right in saying that he cannot "re-cast" a *delivered* Lecture.]



**f117v**

What I wrote to him was mainly what you suggested (I enclose yours for reference)

- *plus* what you suggested in a subsequent note (enclosing Mr. Chadwick's paper) - which note of yours I cannot send you, because, after your usual fashion, it was written, without even the separation of a page, (in *continuation* of ~~your~~ /some remarks on DR. Hicks!!)

- *plus* a reference by me to Alexander whom I could not bear to leave out but who died, I *think*, some 18 months before S. Herbert (v. Dr. Williams' blunder in his "Note")

- plus an explanation of what *you* did both in the Crimea & on the standing Commissions - [You will see how he has blundered it all (tho' he was actually too in daily attendance on me at the time & also partly on S. Herbert.)]

- plus a short explanation about the distributors of the public subscriptions -

{He chooses to assume - in opposition to every published accounts that Sir J. McNeill's ! & your!! Commissions distributed these funds!!! - (There was the

**f118**

"Times" Fund - Egerton & Tower's "Fund" - the Subscriptions entrusted to me personally - were there any others?

I mean for Camp & Hospitals] The "reformed Staff" had nothing in the world to do with the "funds subscribed" - XX  
[I cannot tell you the waste of time & power this is to me from more effective employment - Indeed you may say *this* is wholly *ineffective* employment That is why I always avoid discussion now - which only exhausts me.]

Lastly: what shall I say to him about "the Queen & Pr Albert having granted me my request as to ~~the~~ /appointing R. Comm" at Balmoral in 1856.

As a rule, what passes between oneself & one's Sovereign should never be re-told, especially not for publication.

Still it is a "fact" what he states - & a "fact" well-known by S. Herbert & others at the time -

You must, please say *exactly* what is to be said in answer to this most worriting epistle - And please return me *this* -  
^

("marking anything erroneous in fact")  
for him "to correct"

XX Is this the way that history will be written?

**f118v**

[faint pencil] I would I were more punctual in corresponde but, in the press of business & illness, I find less & less room alas!

(I will not say for friendship or relaxation those I have long since had to give up) but for any but the most necessary claims

Forgive me.  
did you but know how I have been interrupted for days & days before even these few simple answers cd be written down

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff119-21v, pen, 16/12/71 {his reply to ff117-18} on embossed War Office paper

f121 Suggestions JS ink

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff122-23v, pen, 23/12/71 [Mr. Chadwick's proof]

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff124-25v, pen, 23/12/71 on embossed War Office paper, Le Fort's article is very interesting, but in many particulars not complete, e.g. he adopts the American estimate of their own doings while their statistics show that their best military imputed mortality was 10 percent. Then he ignores altogether the British medical regulations. Like other Frenchmen he likes drill sergeants & he finds the Prussian method the most to his taste because they

initialled letter, with JS's reply & Dr Beigel's letter, ff126-28,  
pencil [8:341]

**f126**

*Dr. Beigel of Vienna 23/12/71*

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I have not answered this letter  
- For your advice did not help me much  
And it is rather hard to make me  
ask for it a 2nd time.  
I am asked to write in a newspaper Article  
the essence of several Volumes  
If I were able to write a series of  
Articles, of course it would be good -  
But I think I should be using power  
& time which would be taken away  
from more effective employment -  
And I cannot do more than I am  
doing -  
If you chose to put down a series of  
little Axioms for me to enlarge upon

**f127**

& write in my own style; (as I did  
the India letters) that would  
be a different thing - And I  
would undertake that.  
Otherwise I should reply that it would  
be impossible to write to any useful  
purpose in the way proposed -  
& that my health & regular work  
does not permit me to undertake  
the additional labour which a  
really useful communication would  
involve - I should refer him to  
my published works all of which  
are known in Germany - & send him  
by way of compliment the "Notes on  
Lying in Institutions"  
Please answer.

F.N.

[T.O.]

f128 H Beigel letter to FN from Vienna 9 Dec 1871 asks FN for a paper on  
her hospital work, which they will translate, in English

{JS's response follows, then Dr Beigel's original request}

unsigned note, ff129-30v, pencil [corrections added Oct 2006] JS hand

**f129**

{archivist: [ca.1869-1871]} [8:218]

Q. Charlotte has no Delivery Ward

We should think it impossible to  
manage cleanliness in such a case  
Endell St. does not have more than 10

Deliveries a month  
We think that enough to account for a low  
Death rate. And more shame for her  
that it is so high  
Liverpool is not after all not the  
tremendous difference we at first  
thought

**f129v**

11 years ending in 68

Deliveries	Deaths
341	3
320	26
256 <del>Liverpool</del>	18
369	20
351	14
386 Queen	6
384 Charlottes	13
225	9
408	7
412	8
464	5

<hr/> 3916	<hr/> 129
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death rate 33 per 1000

Puerperal
55
15
1
6
3
<hr/> 1 per 1000
81 000
20/7 per
<hr/> 832
<hr/> 868

f130 [see my note]

General	Puerperal
---------	-----------

6	1
---	---

1	4
---	---

3	6
---	---

2	5
---	---

1	6
---	---

2	-
---	---

3	2
---	---

-	3
---	---

-	4
---	---

3	-
---	---

1	1
---	---

<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
----------	----------

11	<u>22</u> = 2 a year	<u>11</u>	/	32	2.9
----	----------------------	-----------	---	----	-----

11	22
----	----

	<u>12</u> years	11	54	4.9
--	-----------------	----	----	-----

44
----

average deliveries	<u>501</u>	Death rate per 1000
--------------------	------------	---------------------

Death { General	2	4.
-----------------	---	----

per { Puerperal	2.9	5.8
-----------------	-----	-----

annum { Total	<u>4.9</u>	9.8
---------------	------------	-----

City of London	Endell	10.9 per 1000
----------------	--------	---------------

British	14.4
---------	------

Healthy districts	4.3	Childbirth illeg
-------------------	-----	------------------

10 Large towns	4.9 per 1000
----------------	--------------

Childbirth & illeg	{8.3 per 1000 all causes
--------------------	--------------------------

Military	{7.2 Puerperal
----------	----------------

f130v

10 Large towns

1851-60

140 2 30 4	/ 6862 000	4.9 per 1000
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/ 5609 216
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/1252 784
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unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff131-31v, pen, LeFort

I return the Revue with best thanks. I have looked again at Lefort, but still if his adoption of the Prussian proposal were as fully carried out as it was in Germany during the late war. It would not under similar condition, meet all the suffering. There is nothing in it which alters the conclusions of my report in the Aid Society's book.

Tell me, have you seen the official confidential reports of Fitzgerald, & Gordon & Wyatt?

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff132-33, pen, 6/1/72 embossed WO paper  
{Miss Blackwell's paper; midwifery & male doctors} [8:342-43]

6 January 1872

What a very interesting paper this of Miss Blackwell's is! It was worth all the trouble to bring out the information. I must say that I agree with her. After reading this the idea of a specialte must be given up unless it is connected by law with the aid of male practice as in France.

They simply propose to train women to do with comparative safety what they would otherwise do most dangerously and their education has for one of its objects to let women know when there is danger, and then the law holds them responsible if they do not call in male aid. Practically, the bearing of the information on your school is very important.

The law will not compel any women you may train to call in male aid, and hence you must either confine your work solely to nursing at the bedside where the patient is delivered by a man, or else you must make [illeg] for training in midwifery on a basis of previous medical education laid either by your institution or in a medical school. If you adopt this latter course you will have to require certificates of medical competency before you admit women to your midwifery training.

The additional question Miss B. proposes are [illeg] but I believe the reply will be that half a century ago or more there was less difference in knowledge between female and male accoucheurs than now, and this simply because medical training has been making great strides among men, and women here been kept simply to midwifery work.

J.S.

unsigned note, ff134-35v, pencil {JS's reply in bold}

# **f134**

PRIVATE

8/1/72

{archivist: [see Sir W. Codrington 26.12.71 & 3. 1.72 &

Sir H. Verney 29.12.71]}

Sir W. Codrington sent me his Report on  
the Aldershot Manoeuvres last year  
(of course in confidence)

Do you like to read it?

Of course this is *in strict confidence*.

The best criticism in it seems to be  
that in consequence of the undisciplined  
un="control"=led Transport Service  
"strategy" must be subservient to a

previously arranged delivery of food & fuel

"Control" à non 'control' lends.

*Please return (& this too)*

**f135v**

**This appears to be a good critique. I can form no opinion on the purely military part. but as regards the commissariat, it must be borne in mind that neither the Prussian nor any other army ever did or ever can keep up a sufficient commissariat force in peace to take the field in war.**

**One of the criticisms made by the Prussian officers at Aldershot was "of course in time of war you would requisition all the carts drivers & men you wanted." This is what both German & French did in last war.**

**The writer is however quite right about the subordinating military manoeuvre to commissariat. During the Aldershot war last autumn the Control carried supplies through the enemy lines & the enemy did not seize them!!**

However this will be amended next time.

J.S. 8/1/72

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff136-38v, pen, 15/1/72 {Mr. Chadwick's paper; city sanitation in England & India}

initialled note, written on an envelope, f139, pen

**f139** {in another hand} Portsmouth, note in FN hand, ink, on dark blue envelope

Can you tell me anything about the wants at  
Portsmouth set forth within? - or of Miss Robinson & the  
"Aldershot Hall"

**X** Miss Torrance (who is more like Agnes Jones than any one)  
gives a very high account of *Miss Robinson's* powers  
~~tha~~ as a worker.

How should I help this undertaking? -  
[I know nothing of this Miss Hopkins  
nor does Miss Torrance]

29/12/71 F.N.

{archivist: [see Dr. Sutherland  
16.1.72]}

[on the envelope flap] FN note:  
Re-sent for reference

F.N.

15/1/72



initialled letter, JS to FN, ff140-41, pen, 16/1/72 embossed WO paper  
{JS's reply to f139}

unsigned note, ff142-42v, pencil {JS's reply in bold}

**f142**

*Dornbusch*

35 South Street, 17/1/72

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

What am I to say?

*Patroness* indeed!!!

& in such company!

**I should simply say that without  
expressing any opinion on  
one side or the other that as  
you have to do practical work  
with persons holding opposite  
views in such subjects you have  
always made it a rule**

**f142v**

**to withhold your name from  
any organization such as this  
is.**

**Write quite short &  
decisive, but of course as you  
will do, civilly, or else they  
will print you.**

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff143-43v, pen, 23/1/72 embossed WO paper  
{an unidentified man's letter about disease}

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff144-47, pen, 24/1/72 embossed WO paper  
{Mr. Clark's paper- drainage in Calcutta; asphalt roads}

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff148-48v, pen, 6/2/72 embossed WO paper  
{Malta fever. Miss Verney}

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff149-49v, pen, 10/2/72 embossed WO paper  
{Dr Barnes' paper}

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff150-51v, pen, Mr. Crawford & the Bombay  
enquiry}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff151-52v, pen, 12/2/72 embossed WO paper  
{Mr. Campbell- Sir Bartle Frere's opinion sought}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff153-54v, pen, 22/2/72 embossed WO paper  
{land reform & the Lord Mayor's assassination}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff155-58v, pen, 26/2/72 embossed WO paper  
{Dr Acland & examinations};

signed letter, JS to FN, ff159-60, pen, 7 March/72 Alleyn Park, {advice  
concerning a letter wanting FN to join something, got her letter last  
night

initialled letter, JS to FN, f161, pen, 8/3/72 Alleyn Park

uninitialled letter, f162v, pencil [6:551-52]

**f162v**

*Anti-Compulsory Vaccination League*

March 6/72

Are not these the two points

1. Vaccination is only ~~healthy~~/safe from *healthy* Vaccines
2. While Small pox with other zymotic diseases  
is known to disappear before Sanitary  
measures, it is not known, without  
Sanitary measures, Vaccination does more  
than transfer to other Zymotic diseases the  
numbers it may preserve from Small pox  
- while it *is* known that Vaccination from  
unhealthy Vaccines is a source of disease.  
Hence the argument is for Sanitary measures  
- not for Vaccination

Are not these the points - & should I not, as  
they have sent me their most ill-judged Manifesto  
make some effort to shew them this?

I will not write to them till I have heard from  
you in reply to this. Please return me *this*.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff163-63v, pen, 8/3/72 embossed WO paper  
{Brochard's pamphlet & inspection of nurses}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff164-65, pen, 8/3/72 embossed WO paper  
{Sir W. Gull's view; Darwinianism, JS thinks Darwinianism simply a  
misunderstanding of facts. re admitting foreign bodies that can't get  
out

initialled letter, JS to FN, with notes by FN, ff166-67, pen {JS letter in bold}

**f166**

**Alleyn Park**

**18/3/72**

**Dear Miss Nightingale**

I return you your sheet with the reply. I would lay down the following propositions.

1. that Cottage hospital like all other hospitals ought to be **quite unnecessary in a Christian country.** The same rule holds good in regard to all such establishments that nothing can compensate for home care & nursing in sickness  
(aided by a well trained Village Nurse & good food)  
**either in its advantages or in its moral lessons.**
2. That while holding that home care of home sick & the possibility of this are objects to be aimed at **in all Christian countries,** & which are to be arrived at not by charity, but by justice first & charity afterwards; - and admitting that in the present state of our labouring classes these things cannot be obtained;- hospitals of all classes ought to be considered quite subordinate & in no sense as substitutes for improved dwellings home education & the like which are the real antidotes for ill health. Looking however at the case as it stands Cottage hospitals

f166v

may be beneficially introduced in places out of reach of ordinary hospitals. But as multiplication of charities is an evil care should be taken that no existing hospital is interfered with.

3. That inasmuch as a Cottage hospital is intended to receive several cases at the same time the accommodation, cubic space &c must be of a better character & much larger than would be necessary in a Cottage home & consequently more costly.

4. From 800 to 1000 cubic feet per bed is the smallest space which could be given in a hospital for 5 or 6 beds. There should be a Matron nurse & servant for this number (Query you to decide this). A kitchen small surgery & star [?] W.C.

Half the beds for men, half for women. & this necessity is a great evil. It would be better to have two cottage hospitals, quite separate with two establishments & hence great cost would be needed to do the thing properly.

5 Mr. Birmingham's proposal is avowedly a substitute for deplorable sanitary defects & it might be better to spend the

f167

money in removing these or in legal proceedings for removing them than to sanction the continuance of such a state of things by providing a remedy for their consequences.

6. It would be better under the proposed new sanitary legislation to have local societys for putting the law in force than to gather subscriptions for enabling the law to be dispensed with.

J.S.

[16:769]

Cottage Hospitals are *good* where they are *good*.

i.e. at a distance from any good County Hospital

- where there are many accidents, especially machinery operations as in Mining districts

- where they are by the sea for Consumption or for Scrofula &c

- especially of course for Convalescents -Here they are essential

Cottage Hospitals are *bad* where they are *bad*

i.e. when they interfere with a good County Hospl

within easy distance with its efficient Medical, Surgical & Nursing Staff

- where they are expressly urged on the ground of defective

labourers' dwellings making the fevers &c which the Cottage

Hospl is to cure & thus interfering with our first paramount

duty of reforming the bad drainage, bad ventilation, bad water,

bad crowding, *bad everything that can be bad* of (many)

parishes & country villages

To make/have the people's dwellings fit for sick or rather such

as will not *make* sickness - & not to have a Cottage

Hospl to cure such sickness when it is made is of

course our first duty.

[end 16:769]

**f167v** unsigned letter, f167v, pen, FN upside down on JS letter

*Cottage Hospitals* Embley

March 15/72

[16:769]

Dear Dr. Sutherland

H.B.C sends me the enclosed but does *not send* me his own letter which gave rise to this.

The conclusion to which he comes is the conclusion of universal mankind viz: that I must write another letter

saying (in this case) "what are the objections to Cottage hospitals?" & how to be obviated?

But Cottage Hospitals are good where they are good -

And in this case ~~they~~ one may be good.

It would very much oblige me if you would give me any general suggestions as to in what cases they are good & what are the conditions for being

so

[end, see above]

signed letter, JS to FN, ff168-68v, pen, 18/3/72 advice to FN, on back of her letter to him, the course she took in the matter the best: If you are asked to write the best way to put it would be on the ground that you are naturally most anxious for the success of the hospital and of the nursing arrangements & that knowing the kind of men usually elected y Ratepayers for such purposes it has occurred to you to suggest whether the selected members should not be men not only of knowledge but of large minds. It is risky, but I don't see what else you could do. What a good man Mr Wyatt is.

initialled letter, f169, pen

**f169**

Mr. Wyatt

March 15/72

I send you this letter of the  
excellent Mr. Wyatt, partly  
because I think you would  
like to see it

[I have written to a M.P. friend  
of mine asking him to set  
forth verbally to Mr. Stansfeld  
the desirableness of "judiciously  
filling up the vacancies" (marked  
in red]

But I think Mr Stansfeld will  
probably ask to be written to by  
me - And in that case I should  
be glad to have your suggestions  
as to how I should write to him]  
And this is partly why I send  
you the letter.

F.N.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff170-71, pen, 18/3/72 {Dr Acland &  
registering training nurses} Dr Acland has got his committee appointed,  
on back of FN letter

signed letter, f171v, pen

**f171v**

Dr. Acland. March 15/72

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I never received any answer  
from Dr. Acland, not even an  
acknowledgement, to the long letter  
which in all respects tallied  
with your suggestions & my  
conviction.

But I now receive this  
from H.B.C. (who apparently  
does not know that Dr Acland  
wrote to me) with a request  
for advice -

What do you think of it?

yours

F. Nightingale

letter & paper  
enclosed

signed letter, JS to FN, ff172-73v, pen, on embossed WO 22nd March/72, has looked through Mr Hawkins' papers with great pleasure, the right man. re poor lunatics. I have had something to do with lunatic patients and I can state that there is nothing more sorrowful than the lot of a humble hard working family on whose hands a partially restored lunatic comes home. In the very poor the workhouse is the only resource. I entirely agree with Mr Hawkins that the care of poor lunatics requires more attention than has been bestowed on it....re nurses, agrees with her on the address. It contains very briefly all that need be said on such subjects; glad the Xtn knowledge

signed letter, JS to FN, ff174-75v, pen, 25/3/72 embossed WO paper {powers of local boards for sanitation} replies to her and HV's note as follows: re objects of clauses sd give power to local boards not only to examine and sanction plans as at present but to include in their sanction the internal sanitary arrs of the house: drainage, WCs, water supply etc. re existing houses, local bds have the officials

initialled letter, f176, pen {JS's reply in bold} [March 30/72]

**f176**

*Green Serjt major*

*Netley A.H. Corps*

*wants to be a Clerk*

*in W.O.*

Would you kindly enquire  
how this can be done?

The man, I believe, is just the  
right man for it

F.N.

[He married one of  
our Crimean War

Nurses - a respectable

Dr. Sutherland woman]

**Mr. F. says that Green  
should apply through  
his commanding officer.**

**The A.M.D. would  
probably be asked its      March 30/72  
opinion & a note  
from you to Sir G. Logan  
would secure that  
every attention &  
consideration was  
given to the application. J.S.**

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff177-77v, pen, 8/5/72 {Mrs. Cox & soldiers' wives} embossed WO



initialled letter, JS to FN, with FN's comments, ff178-79, pen & pencil,  
{JS's letter in bold} embossed WO paper 9/5/72

I have just had time to look  
through these papers, and as  
we shall have a meeting  
tomorrow I return them in  
order that you may have them  
at hand. I can have them  
again afterwards for other purposes.

This is what I think of both.

1. The methods at Vienna &  
Berlin are practically the same.
2. The Vienna Oath is a kind  
of university Oath & for what  
purpose or good it is administered  
one fails to see.
3. One misses the element of  
conscience both in the training  
& management. Or it may  
be ignorance or uncivilization,

f178v

anyway the manufacture is  
just what it is made.

4. I don't think it likely  
that the present systems  
can be improved much.

What they want is pulling  
down & rebuilding on another  
foundation.

5. Every one knows that  
a college of young men would  
go to wreck if conducted in  
this way, and (saving your  
presence) I fear a college  
of young women would fare  
rather worse than better.

6. Is it possible to build  
up a real training school  
in which you might have  
religion & conscience as a

**f179**

basis on which to build sincerity,  
seriousness of purpose &, of  
life, education & skill?

This is the question?

If it cannot be answered  
in the affirmative then either  
of these Vienna, Berlin or  
Paris systems is just as  
good or as bad as any other.

This appears to be the  
moral of the whole matter.

J.S.

At least it is less easy to educate [8:57]  
a woman out of a man than  
a woman out of a woman  
I therefore think women Physicians will  
not come out of men Physicians  
so likely as out of Accoucheuses  
or Midwives.

initialled letter, ff180-81, pen [archivist: [Ld Lansdowne became  
Under-Secretary for War] pale blue paper

**f180**

*Most Private* {archivist: [see Dr S. 10/6/72]}  
& Confidential

35 South Street, May 9/72

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

I have been asked to tell  
Ld. Lansdowne (indirectly)  
any thing I "should  
"deem it desirable for  
"him to know" about  
the W.O. - (not 'Sanitary'  
particularly.)

I was about to decline this,  
as without seeing him &  
seeing him frequently I  
am quite sure I can  
do no good. And I am  
not at all prepared to

**f180v**

undertake this (Govt) coaching  
again under any  
circumstances - certainly  
not under these.  
Still it occurred to me  
(particularly on seeing  
Dr. Muir's arrival)  
that I might be  
reproach-able afterwards,  
did I not use this  
opportunity, with Ld  
Lansdowne now -

**f181**

And if you had anything  
(short) that you  
wished me to write  
(indirectly) to him,  
I would do so--  
F.N.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff182-83v, pen, 11/5/72 {Change in plan of  
work of the ASC} embossed WO

signed letter, ff184-87, pen & pencil pale blue paper [8:352]

**f184**

*Berlin & Vienna Midwives' Cliniques*  
35 South Street, May 13/72  
Park Lane, {printed address:}  
W.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I was at a loss to  
understand your Critique  
on these papers, till I  
perceived 1. that you  
had not read them  
2. that you had forgotten  
the purpose for which  
they had been procured  
& the previous corresponde  
You say: "is it possible to  
"build up a real training=  
"school" with "religion &  
"conscience as a basis" &c  
&c "This is the question?"  
This is *not* the "question" *at all*

**f184v**

You do not think that *I*  
    should go to Austria &  
    Prussia for "questions"  
of "religion & conscience"  
We *had* "religion & conscience"  
at K.C.H. under Miss Jones.  
And if I form a new  
Midwives' Training School,  
I shall be thankful if I  
obtain as much "religion &  
conscience" as she did.  
You do not think that *I*  
    am trying to reform the  
    *Vienna & Berlin* Training

**f185**

Schools for Midwives on  
a "basis of religion & conscience"  
or on any "basis" -  
I should be only fit for a  
Lunatic Asylum if I did.  
And they never asked me  
    They asked me to give  
them an organization for  
a Nurses' Training School  
    And I did so.  
    - & have been thanked.  
(& as Ida (née Mohl) is to take  
it in hand, I have some  
faint hopes -)  
{pencil} As to *Midwives' Training*: -  
{pen} *I asked, in accordance with*  
*what you & I settled*  
*together,* for information,  
merely for information, as to

**f185v**

the Berlin & Vienna *Midwives'*  
training, in the form  
of answers to *Questions*  
*prepared by you & me*  
*together*, to be  
published in the 2nd Edit:  
of my book - for us  
or any to gain practical  
knowledge from as to  
the training necessary, if  
we (or any) formed a School.  
{pencil} These I sent you  
{pen}2. The method at Berlin  
appears to me slightly  
better than that at Vienna.  
But in this point I should  
not venture to give an  
opinion.

**f186**

-2-

But I cannot conceive  
what you mean by  
classing *Paris* with  
Vienna & Berlin as to  
*training*, since I have  
your own letter on Miss  
Blackwell's last January  
3. I have not the least idea  
of "improving the present  
"systems" at Vienna & Berlin  
- still less at Paris.

Is it likely?

N.B. I cannot conceive the  
extent of deterioration  
which, as Miss Blackwell

**f186v**

hinted, must have  
taken place. Since  
none, not even the  
Paris School, *as they are*  
could possibly produce  
Midwives, such as we  
know have existed at  
Berlin & Vienna as  
well as at Paris, quite  
rivalling men, both  
in skill, in theory & in {pencil} extent  
of {pen} their ~~exter~~ practice.

This continues a mystery.  
And it is rather awkward  
for me after I have  
said - no more than the truth  
{pencil} as to German & French Accoucheuses

**f187**

- in my book - *then* to put  
forward these miserable  
abortions of Schools  
at Vienna & Berlin  
yrs v. ffually  
F. Nightingale  
{pencil} Please return this note to me  
with your Answer.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff188-89v, pen, 13/5/72 embossed WO paper JS's answer to the above} on midwifery, re next edition. The answer is very simple. When a very large question like this has to be discussed in a brief note there will of course be difference of views as in this case....I was perfectly aware that the information was in reply to questions. And after reading it I arrived at the concl that for any purpose of a midwifery training school which you had in view, it had just as much value & no more than the value of similar information from the Hottentots or Caffres. The replies merely shew the amount of incivilisation ignorance, carelessness & worse that exists in the two German capitals. Of course I read the replies in the light of the information provided by the letters. And the greatest result is just what I stated or left to be inferred. I would not publish them without a very severe critique: on the absence of all moral purpose in the training (I think you might in your next edition make quite the use of the facts just as you would of similar facts at home, as illustrative of defects to be remedied. I do not think it would be so awkward for this. If you publish them s/o there are plenty of insts who will ...on them because they are German).

In you, they are useless. They do not even shew all that shd be avoided and still less do they shew what is necessary.

My point is this. You wish to establish if you can a good tr sch for midwives. An my part I have a very decided opinion as to what is wanted for this. What is wanted as a whole is neither in the Paris, Vienna nor Berlin method. Out of any of them you can draft women who wd be able to get drunk, play procuress & deliver most cases. But I apprehend that what is needed is not this. Of all professions moral rectitude is most wanted in this, & must be provided, for which it is not in either or all your correspondents show. This is what I mean. Paris is better because more civilized. As to the falling off of higher class midwives. This part is not the consequence but the key. In any of their systems a lady in the highest sense of the term wd come out a faithful midwife & to be trusted. The lady in this case make the midwife not the system. And what is wanted at least as it appears to me is that by the course I propose din my last, means shd be taken to convert ordinary material into good honest product. This is all. Of course I never dreamt of your waging war with all Germany for such a purpose. Only to learn of the enemy. May indignation has been very hot indeed ever since I read the papers, to think that human life shd be at the mercy of such people. J.S.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff190-90v, pen, 13/5/72 embossed WO paper {conditions at St. Thomas'} re Dr Stallard just here, has examined St T, pyemia so common occurs after minor operations, he says he thinks due to the difficulty or impossibility of managing & keeping clean so vast a place. and he does not conceal his view that it is ... w/o referring to this you might ask if they have had pyemia

initialled letter, JS to FN, f191, pen, 14/5/72 embossed WO paper {ventilation in hospitals} Stallard examined the ventilation and proposed that they shd appoint a committee to enquire into the whole subject. not seen the bldg

signed letter, JS to FN, ff192-93v, pen, 16/5/72 embossed WO paper {Dr Cornish's India report} I have just completed going over these abstract, and having read the reports I think them quite sufficient. Taking for granted tat the figures are correct, I have nothing to suggest except one rather important addition. Re Cornish, ASC Angus Smith

initialled letter, JS reply to FN on her letter, ff194-95v, pen, see below JS in bold [FN only in lying-in] pale blue paper. JS: I quite understand your point. My reply was this. The only evidence we have as to midwifery instruction in Paris, Vienna, Berlin is in your possession. But it is certain that the kind of training given would not make out of any material an "empress" midwife nor a laChapelle. Whence came they? My reply is, not from the school, but from natural qualification & character. The school merely gives the elements to all alike: the future user depends on the character of the recipient. Of course the practical concl is that with moderate technical tr you may have a succession of first class lady midwives if you can get the highest material to train. The falling off I attribute solely to the falling off not of the inst but of the best material. I see nothing further you can get unless you could obtain from the "empress."

This is upside down on above

**f195**

*Midwives' Cliniques*

**Please send the papers I have not  
seen. J.S.** 35 South Street, May 16/72  
Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I understood your 2nd  
note as little as I did the  
first. but I suppose that  
you wish to have the  
papers again (as you  
said you would) - now  
increased by the *Berlin*  
*Midwives' Manual* -  
which is come -  
also: by a *Vienna* lady's  
letter which I did not  
send you (Frau v. Littrow)  
in which she mentions  
the "Empress' Midwife",



**f195**

who sends a message  
to me - & does not  
approve of the Vienna  
Midwives' Clinique -  
Now what I want to know  
is, where did *that*  
"Empress Midwife" get  
her education?

For she & a number  
of high class Midwives,  
like her whom we  
know to exist on the  
Continent, are just  
the sort of women I mean,

**f194v**

whom I wish to exist here - (with improvements)  
not these wretched Späth Midwives  
Do you wish to see the  
papers? {JS's reply begins f194 & continues below}

**conclusion is that with moderate  
technical training you may have  
a succession of first class lady  
Midwives.**

**if you can get the higher  
material to train. The falling  
off abroad I attribute solely to the  
falling off not of the instruction but  
of the best material. I see nothing  
further you can get unless you  
could obtain from the "Empress"**

Please return me *this* note  
**some account of how she was  
trained. It may be some physician  
accoucheur F.N. did it. France  
has only produced 2. Lachapelle  
& Boivin. England none.  
Your proposed school intends to  
improve existing average material & train it. Yours ever J.S.**

**f194****16/5/72****Dear Miss Nightingale**

**I quite understand  
your point. My reply was  
this. The only evidence we  
have as to Midwifery instruction  
in Paris, Vienna, Berlin is  
in your possession. Now it is  
certain that the kind of training  
given would not make out of  
any material an "Empress" Midwife  
nor a la Chapelle. Whence came they? My reply is, not  
from the school, but from natural  
qualification & character. The  
School merely gives the elements  
to all alike:- the future user  
depends on the character of the  
recipient. Of course the practical** [letter continues not transcribed]

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff196-96v, pen, 18/5/72 {re Petition to  
abolish the use of the cat}

signed letter, Josephine Butler to FN, ff197-98v, pen, asking for her  
signature on a petition to abolish flogging in prisons, black-edged  
paper

copy of the petition, f199, printed

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff200-00v, pen, 18/5/72 embossed WO paper  
{the Bombay memorandum re drainage}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff201-01v, pen, 20/5/72 embossed WO paper  
{Calcutta works}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff202-03v, pen, 24/5/72 embossed WO paper  
{water supply at Bangalore}

note cross wise at top [FN poss?]

There is a fine  
statue of Sir B.F.  
in the exhibition  
& a half silly  
portrait of  
Sir J. MacNeil  
with a muff  
fox in its hand.  
Well painted however

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff204-05v, pen, 27/5/72 embossed WO paper  
{hospital floors}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff206-07v, pen, 10/6/72 {Dr Farr's  
amendment re death certificates; Hospital induced illness}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff208-09, pen, 12/6/72; embossed WO paper  
{Indian water supply}

uninitialled letter, JS to FN, ff210-11, pen, 17/6/72 embossed WO paper  
{school prizes; hospital space for patients}

uninitialled letter, JS to FN, ff212-13v, pen, 22/6/72 embossed WO paper  
{land reform- freeholding in England}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff214-15v, pen, 24/6/72 embossed WO paper  
{Angus' book on Sanitary measures}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff216-16v, pen, 25/6/72 {problems with a  
cesspit near FN's house} Alleyn Park

signed letter, JS to FN, f217, pen, 26/6/72 embossed WO paper  
{midwifery papers}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff218-19, pen, 26/6/72 embossed WO paper  
{midwifery... will keep Frau v. Littrow's letter and the Lehrbuch with  
the others in order to answer any points you may raise....returns  
Shrimpton's letter with remark, he has judged rightly about the effect  
of the book, and also as to the probably course which the question will  
take. must work its way into public opinion before action is poss.

The Lehrbuch is so far as I can see good & simple, and poss out of it  
the Berlin Hebammen book a brief manual mt come. In Austria a  
subdivision in the medical profession. Acland some years ago wanted one  
similar in England, so that a humble and less costly attendance mt be  
available in country and other poor insts. but in England profession in  
favour of 1 grade only.

These facts give the key to the Vienna practice, about helpers male  
& female. Natural distinction in this country wd be midwives, general  
practitioners, physician accoucheurs...empress's midwives. good textbook  
needed.

embossed WO paper initialled letter, JS to FN, ff220-20v, pen, July 1/72  
{causes of cholera} Secunderabad, a good letter, we have taken the same  
view as he has. Cornish

signed letter, JS to FN, ff221-22, pen, 4/7/72 embossed WO paper  
{various papers} Varrentrap here yesterday

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff223-23v, pen, 6/7/72 embossed WO paper  
{Mr. Clark's arches; Highgate plans} Varrentrap

initialled letter, ff224-25v, pen & pencil  
[12:211]

**f224**

PRIVATE

*Pyaemia**St. Thomas'* July 8/72

Mrs Wardroper & I have as I believe  
discovered the cause.

All the refuse of the Hospital,  
of all the Officers' houses, had  
been ever since the occupation  
conveyed to a dust-hole between

No. 7 Block & the *Steward's* house  
& only emptied twice a week.

The 8(*first*) fatal cases of *Pyaemia*  
occurred in No 7 Block - & in no  
other.

A few weeks ago the *Steward*  
(not liking the smell) transferred  
the dust-hole to the *basement*  
under No. 3 Block & close under  
the windows of our Probationers' Home

**f224v**

& of Mrs. Wardroper

A fatal case of Pyaemia appeared immediately in No. 3 Block - & several cases of illness among the Probrs & next Mrs. Wardroper had an attack of illness exactly as if she had been poisoned - but on going out of town for 2 days entirely recovered.

No case of Pyaemia has appeared in No. 7 *block* since the dust hole was removed from there -

All this time no one, neither Doctor nor Officer, made the least enquiry or remonstrance - tho' the smells have been appalling

**f225**

And it has remained for 2 women (one a sick woman in her bed  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour's distance off) to make the enquiry to ascertain the nuisance to investigate the dates to make the remonstrance

The dust hole is now to be removed to the ground beyond the Medical School

It seems that neither Architect, Builder nor Treasurer ever thought of where the refuse (including poultices!) of between 500 & 600 sick & surgical & ~~between~~/about 200 ~~& 300~~ well people was to be put - & that it was left to an ignorant old Steward to appropriate any *Basement* he liked to the purpose!

In the whole course of my experience I never heard of such a case - beastly, barbarous wretches!

**f225v***Floors*

There is still a great difficulty -  
 No one to look [pencil begins] after it but Mrs. Wardrr & me

The bees-waxing ought to be removed (this can  
 only be done by men) every 3 weeks, Mrs. W. thinks,

It is often done not once in 3 months  
 In the Infectious block - it came off  
 quite *black* upon the women's clothes -  
 not having been renewed for 3 months  
 The wet & dry rubbing is now done (this is  
 done by the women) according to my  
 instructions -

But - it takes off the polish - what polish  
 there is - at once - ~~men~~

[N.B. The floors ought to be varnished -]

Please return me *this*

with any comments

**[end 12:211]**

F.N.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff226-27v, pen, 8/7/72 embossed WO paper  
 {JS's response to the preceding}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff228-29v, pen, 15/7/72 embossed WO paper  
 {Dr Haller's pamphlet: ventilation in hospitals; midwifery papers}

initialled note, JS to FN, f230, pen, 18/7/72 embossed WO paper  
 {Mr Plowden's abstracts}

uninitialled note, JS to FN, f231, pen, 19/7/72 embossed WO paper  
 {Mr. Bracebridge's death, seems but yesterday he and I rode together to visit  
 the spot of Polycarp's martyrdom}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff232-33v, pen, 19/7/72 embossed WO paper  
 {discussion with Mr Clark about India, came here from you}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff234-35, pen, 24/7/72 embossed WO paper  
 {Mr. Oldham's letter re fevers}

uninitialled letter, JS to FN, ff236-37v, pen, 27/7/72 embossed WO paper  
{books for a school; Stanley finding Livingstone; admiration for Lee, an  
American, the first to enter Paris after the Franco-Prussian War}  
note added cross-wise at top [poss FN]

If they consult  
either Miss  
Blackwell or  
Mrs. Anderson  
they might  
ask them about  
Books. Miss B.  
has written one  
herself.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff238-39v, pen, 2/8/72 embossed WO paper  
{anniversary of Sidney Herbert's death; Arthur Arnold & fallen women; JS  
remembers the day, FN at Miss Mayo's house. epoch. If Sidney Herbert had  
lived, there is every possibility that the political face of Europe would not  
have been what it is.

"The word of power" went with him. Our quiet work however has gone on. Who  
would then have thought that the army mortality if India wd have been so low?  
We must, however....

Arthur Arnold's [?] letter correct. Many women are fallen when they marry  
and they continue so after. Many also fall after marriage and continue so  
because they are so very poor....ex of gent being stopped at Chatham...she  
was married w/o leave, her husband ordered to another station and she cd not  
follow until had means. He paid her railway fare.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff240-41v, pen, 5/8/72 embossed WO paper  
{Hewlett & health work in India}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff242-43v, pen, 16/8/72 embossed WO paper  
{carbonic acid test for air purity}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff244-44v, pen & pencil embossed WO paper  
{JS's letter in bold}

**f244** {archivist: See Memorandum of Army S.C. 10.8.72 on Dr Macnamara's  
/analysis of potable waters!} on embossed WO

22/8/72

Dear Miss Nightingale

Perhaps you may  
like to see this. I did not  
intend to print it, but at  
the meeting of the Com=  
mission they considered  
that it ought to be printed.

However it is of more  
importance that Sir. W.  
Baker & Sir R. Montgomery  
the ex-governors of the Punjaub  
have promised to press  
the question both here &  
in India. It is an  
abominable exposure, but



**f244v**

**from the few facts out of many  
which I have introduced  
I hope you will not think  
the case too hardly pressed  
ten years after your own  
attack on the Indian water**

**pipes.** [FN: The truth of it so fully acknowledged then

[JS pen] *And nothing done*

**Your ever most faithfully**

**J.S.**

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff245-49v, pen, 31/8/72  
{St. Thomas hospital} embossed WO paper

signed letter, JS to FN, ff250-52v, pen, 4/9/72 embossed WO paper  
{death of Miss Verney; drainage & ventilation problems}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff253-54v, pen, 5/9/72 {Institutes for soldiers}  
embossed WO paper

signed letter, JS to FN, ff255-56v, pen, 7 Sept/72 embossed WO paper  
{Balfour & recruiting}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff257-58v, pen, 9/9/72 embossed WO paper  
{Mr. Plowden, Mr. Wylie, Sir J. McNeill, Berlin trilogy, peace when  
no...sketches out, hierarchy [same as FN's] for answer to Wylie. re MacNeil,  
what a nice fatherly letter from. By all means get his remarks on the book  
(lying-in) he is always sagacious

initialled letter, JS to FN, f259, pen, 12/9/72 embossed WO paper  
{advice not to have anything to do with a society}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff260-61v, pen, 24/9/72 embossed WO paper  
{letters from Cunningham & Hewlett} [Cunningham?]

signed letter, JS to FN, ff262-65v, pen, 25/9/72 embossed WO paper  
{financial problems in India}

initialled letter, f266, pencil

**f266**

*Proposed Russia Accoucheuses' School* Sept 25/72

Dear Dr. Sutherland

This is the very *first* proposal

I have seen which aimed at *anything*

but (on the one side)

- training an ignorant Midwife to know

nothing

or (on the other)

grabbing at purely *Male* Medical

knowledge for *women* - making

women into Medical *Men*

I shall write at once to claim the  
promised information -

Tell me if you wish for any particular  
*questions* asked.

Yrs m. affectly

Please return *this* -

F.N.

signed letter in German from St Petersburg, ff267-74, pen, stylized 10 July 1872 Befehl an das Kriegsministerium, Befehl of Kaiser, re medical St Petersburg 10 Juli 1872

signed letter, JS to FN, ff275-76v, pen, 26/9/72 embossed WO paper  
{invitation to Embley, response to Russian letter}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff277-78v, pen, 27/9/72 {married quarters plans}  
embossed WO paper

signed letter, JS to FN, ff279-80v, pen, 30/9/72 embossed WO paper {Mr Clarke; Mr. Chadwick's letter; the Herbert Hospital; Galton grates for school room}

unsigned letter, ff281-82v, pencil, poss not FN hand,

**f281**

On dit after govt have  
bought the telegraph for  
so many millions it was  
discovered that in many  
cases the Companies to  
whom they paid the money  
had only leases from the  
Railway who had put  
up the apparatus, & hence  
4 ½ Millions more must  
be paid. This is so much  
more than is the "Alabama"  
that somebody should be made  
a duke instead of a Marquis  
On dit that Scudamore  
is to be made good for the whole  
& to be dismissed !!!!! & a

**f281v**

Shall I answer them -  
& what?  
JS: *No hurry*  
F.N.

incomplete note, f282, blue pencil

**f282** {archivist: [ca Sept 1872]} blue pencil

to whom so remarkable a portion of this little book  
is due  
with the earnest request & hope that he will  
begin with the first word he reads - to note  
on the margins - the omissions to be supplied -  
the additions to be added  
& that, having contributed so much valuable information  
he will afford you more - for a future (& it is  
*is* to be hoped) better Edition

{archivist: Dedication to Dr Sutherland of  
Notes on Lying in Institutions  
answer from Dr S. 11/10/71}

Add Mss 45757, microfilm, correspondence with Dr John Sutherland, 1872-74, 297 folios, 102 pages, Adam Matthew reel 9

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff1-2v, pen {arch: [See Mr. Clark 1.10.72]} embossed. Letter requires a reply. JS told W Clark that an engineer shd deal with every separate town just as a doctor deals with every separate patient. He must apply the prs of his art to his case. . W Clark shd have told FN facts about these sewers he saw, now has. He holds by a pr not by an applic. Like Metro san com of Chadwick, arrived at their views about sewers. London was sewered by great sewers; they had these sewers gauged after heavy rains and then they calculated what size of drain pipe wd carry away the sewage and they found that quite small tubes wd do, and then they laid down the same pr as of universal appl. Clark's case quite different from London

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff3-4, pen {report on Public Health issues in India, arch: [About 3.10.72 See Mr. Plowden's letter 2.10.72]} embossed, has JS corrections for FN

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff5-5v, pen {arch: [W. Clark, Calcutta drainage]} 4/10/72 embossed

signed letter, JS to Lord N, ff6-7, pen {W. Clark, Calcutta drainage} 4/10/72, FN and Clark and drainage work

note, f9v-8, pencil

**f9v**

I send you this letter from Sir  
Bartle Frere *in the strictest*  
*confidence* -

As I am to see him &/and see  
him early this week  
please to make no use whatever  
of the enclosed till you  
hear from me again -  
Return me the letter with your  
comments. I will send  
for it at 3 o'clock.

{JS's postscript in bold}

**P.S. I should say about Hewlett  
that the duties of officer of Health as  
we understand them cannot be  
fully laid down not their cost**

Oct 7/72 **estimated until Bombay is**

**drained & that at present  
any arrangement must be temporary**

{written the other way round at the top of the page}

X

E.g. I have heard one of the present Cabinet  
say repeatedly that an Army wanted nothing  
but 'drill' to make it a perfect instrument of

Add Mss 45757i

909

War. This of course is as if you were to call

**f8** {this is written in pencil in the top margin of JS's letter, f8} 4/10/72

A man perfectly educated who cd say his  
letters but not read words or sentences  
Is not the present Civil Examn & other such  
theories of Govt much the same

initialled letter, ff10-10v, JS to FN, pen Oct 8/72 {hospitals & drainage}  
8/10/72. I know about this hosp qu. The medical opinion is I believe against  
it as being a bad hosp. If you write I shd simply say that the character of  
a hosp has greatly to do with the result of cases apart from drainage, that  
if this hosp is considered not to be of good plan and constr by the  
profession, it wd be better to let them take their own way with it, but that  
whether th present hosp be used or a new one, in either case the site shd be  
effectually drained. You see he is going to work out the subsoil problems  
which will be of great use. There is nothing more to say to him. We must wait  
for his further reports.

initialled note, f11-11v, FN to JS, pencil

**f11** {JS's response in bold}

*Mr. Plowden's Report*

[See Indian Sanitary Blue Book / 72 Oct 9/72  
page 48 & 49]

I enclose the Draft &  
Mr. Plowden's letter

You see what he asks us to do -

Sir B.F has also asked it  
more than once -

Tho' I have really not one moment  
of strength to spare, I should like,  
(as they are in trouble,-)

to do as they ask  
if you think proper & will  
write something for me to recast

If not, not.

**Put in the words "for distribution"  
in your pencil foot note p. 45.**

F.N.

Dr. Sutherland

**When you told me this before it was in  
a somewhat different form. I understood that  
you were expected to write some such paper  
as you wrote two years ago. There was  
room for it then - there is none now, simply  
because it has been said once for all on the**

**f11v**

**status in quo, which has in no sense altered. I said I believe that the subject was in transition. i.e. as a whole in India. Details have now to be dealt with and these details are just beginning to develop themselves. ..**

signed letter, JS to FN, ff12-13, pen Oct 10/72 embossed  
{Lourdes pilgrimage, improvement in public health in India}. Don't you know how many parishes and others in India there are, even popish sanitarians. What will they say to this onslaught on the beautiful Lourdes pilgrimage wh even I have made. I declined carrying a candle and when I was reproached thereat I rubbed the end of my nose, what was blotch in order to satisfy the lady who offered me the candle, and I am sorry to say it has been worse ever since. I won't go to Lourdes again, but please don't be personal to me. Besides, it is good for the health of these poor people to go into so beautiful a country and to drink pure water. I hope besides that I am an "educated public man." I wd leave out this passage. If you wish a contrast it wd be better simply to say that "the old helpless days of the old Indians" had nearly gone, great discovery had been made in India that the diseases of which so many of these "old Indians" had unfortunately died were to a large extent mitigable or preventible. Dr Frazer had also

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff14-15, pen Oct 12/72 embossed  
{arch: Farr's report, "Statistical pic-nics Col Tullock's report on the Water supply of Bombay}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff16-17, pen Oct 14/72 {arch: Tullock & Bombay Water supply} embossed

initialled note, f18, JS to FN, pen Oct 16/72 embossed

signed note, W. Muir to JS, ff19-19v, pen {arch: See Dr. Sutherland's letter of 16/10/72}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff20-21, pen Oct 29/72 embossed  
{arch: Letter from Dr. Cunningham Cholera Commission Sir B. Frere sent to Zanzibar to negotiate suppression of slave trade}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff22-23, pen 2 Nov/72 {arch: Mr Chadwick's paper & the Princess Royal, Fozzo & his paper} embossed. This is a very good paper of C's. It states the case very well and requires no improvement. If you do what he asks about the P.R. (Who has written a capital letter, just the thing) you might say that he had showed you the paper which contained a very interesting disc on the general principles of city and house drainage and appl of town sewerage to aquaculture and that to all appearance they wd be as applicable at Berlin as at Hamburg unless the climate be much more severe at the former.

I would say however that, as she will see, drainage and water supply are only means to an end, and that end is to enable healthy dwellings to be provided, that they will not reverse the disease causes incident to overcrowding, want of fresh air, dirty houses and dirty habits, but that when works of drainage and water supply are carried out the way is at once prepared for improving the people and their dwellings, while at the same time typhoid and other fevers are directly diminished by drainage works.

Thank Fozzo for his paper by all means. He is a man of common sense. As far as I know he is the only one at least on this subject except myself and you who are not a man, and perhaps Chadwick and Rawlinson.

However we had a fling at these cattle plagues as you will see in the India O. Blue book when it is out.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff24-24v, pen {arch: [re Herbert Hospital Woolwich] [2/11/72]} I send the whole back. This as you will see has all come of not having a complete staff. One for linen and one for sick won't do to have all these fine quarters which were built for a complete staff for 650 sick.

It seems to me that unless you are prepared to back up the two women as representing a staff you must either let them go or you must provide a staff complete. This appears to me to be your position. How then to do this. Cd you write out a statement of what was the original intention and what you wd proposed (250 sick incl venereal) address it to Sir Harry in reply to his letter and let him forward it to Mr Cardwell. As the matter of nurses rests with the DG

signed letter, JS to FN, f25, pen {arch: The India office book - acknowledgment for game} embossed

initialled letter, ff26-27v, pencil

## f26

*Prince Alfred's Hospital* Nov 7/72

[16:744]

*Sydney*

I return the whole packet

in case you wish to make  
some further addition -

You will see, if you look at  
"Details of Ward Pavilions" -  
that there is some misunderstanding  
in your (5) and (6)

Only g - is meant for a "small Ward"  
[d e f are quite necessary for



their respective purposes -]  
But Mr. Roberts has a mania  
for small wards for all that -  
He wishes "*the broad part A*"  
to contain *on the first floor*  
an *operating Theatre & 4*  
*small* (single bedded) *wards*  
*for minor operations*

**f26v**

*please say what you think of*  
*this -*

His *cottage block H.I.* with  
2 (single bad) wards &  
Sister's Room  
*for capital operations*  
no power on earth will  
turn him from -  
(and as the difficulty of  
administration is altered by  
the fact of their having so few  
capital operation,  
I have not tried -)  
Say what is necessary & healthy  
*as to sink, scullery, W.C.* for  
*this cottage block -*  
[He wished to consult Capt.  
Galton as to *cottage temporary*  
Sections in general - he  
thinks *THIS* cottage might be *TEMPORARY*]

**f27**

I propose  
if they at the Surveyor's Dept  
will have the goodness to  
make a *copy*  
    *of the RED plan*  
(only the red plan - I will  
not re-open the question of the  
others)  
& of the 2 *foolscap sheets*  
    to send back  
by next Australian post  
all his plans & papers  
    to Mr. Roberts of Sydney  
    *with your remarks*  
    *retaining the copies to*  
obtain the farther information  
he desires -

**f27v**

This will enable him to  
send us back (in 4 months)  
more detailed plans which  
as you justly say, are necessary  
for us to give him the  
real advice he wants

Also, please say whether  
you approve of the *bow-window*  
he has drawn *at the end*  
*of Ward a a (red plan)*

F.N.

I will gladly pay for the copies, I need  
    not say **[end]**  
Dr. Sutherland

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff28-29v, pen Nov 6/8 1872 {arch: Indian Sanitary Blue Book} embossed. As you have asked me to state my opinion abut the passage in your addition to the IO report, I must say that the part of it which I have marked with + + in pencil does not represent the feelings of any one of our investigators of cholera or epidemics. They wd all on sc grounds declare against it. In sc we only know what we know. What we are totally ignorant of is the final cause of pestilence: what we are seeking and just getting a spark of light here and there about are secondary causes. It is odd but true, that we know more about these because we know less. I shd certainly say "leave us to ourselves and to the silences just at present." The remark about the pilgrimages becomes also out of place. If you will first read the whole over with the obnoxious passage and then wo it, you will see how strong a case it injures. *I wd advise its being left out.* Perhaps next year we may know more about secondary causes. (By the by the tribunals did not condemn the "virgin fetish" they declared *the witness* to be an impostor.)

I have strengthened the reference to Dr Frazer. By a word of p 49 I have brought your remarks into closer corr with Acland's but he only looks at the sc points in the report wh bear out what he says. His testimony to the efficiency of our work in India (incl your corr from the very beginning) must be illeg humiliating to the Privy Council people, but true. India will eventually supply England with trained officers.

I have read over our reports at the end. I have not had time to correct everything but they are shockingly incorrectly put up. You might say to Plowdon that if he will look a these papers he will see the need of correcting them, you will find a footnote ...

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff30-31, pen Nov 12/72 {quarters for nurses at Netley?} embossed. They say the quarters are too good for the wee staff but good enough for the cadets. Suggests small com to deal with question. Nurses and linenry

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff32-32v, pen Nov 18/72 {various projects in hand}

unsigned letter, JS to FN, f33, pen Nov 19/72 {more about nurses' quarters at Netley} nurses and cadets

initialled letter, ff34-35, pencil

**f34**

Mr. Roberts            Embley  
P. Alfred's Hospl    Romsey            [16:745]  
Dr. Sutherland 19/11/72  
Would you kindly look at the  
enclosed, & return it to me  
with your *remarks* -  
I will then forward it to Capt.  
Galton - who now has the plans.  
Even if I fully admitted ~~his~~/ Mr. Robert's  
principle, I do not like  
this adaptation -  
It is surely monstrous, when  
or though the hypothesis is that  
neither patient is able  
to leave his or her bed - that the

**f34v**

only ingress to the Scullery  
for emptying slops  
- warming food & drink  
- & for all appliances  
is *through* the Patient's ward -  
As ~~he~~/ Mr. Roberts expressly told me  
that the 2 wards  
would generally be for  
different sexes - it is  
still more monstrous -  
so that there is actually a  
Common W.C. or sink & common  
Scullery by entrances  
*uncommanded* by the Sister's  
room to the two sexes -

**f35**

[I have never seen this in  
any. the worst Hospital I have  
ever known -]

so that an ill-conditioned  
Australian bush-ranger might  
actually *if he chose* to  
risk himself reach the woman's  
ward or meet her in the  
Scullery -

Such things ought to be ~~of~~  
impossible in construction -  
2. Also - the Sister's room ought  
to *look into* both wards -  
Please return *these* remarks  
F.N.

[end]

initialled note, f36, pencil red

**f36**

Could you get this  
properly settled  
if not already done?  
This is the *fourth* letter  
I have sent you since  
I left London -  
2 through Mr. H. Bonham  
Carter  
2 direct to you -  
F.N.  
20/11/72  
Dr. Sutherland

signed letter to FN with underlinings by FN, ff37-37v, pen [faint]

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff38-38v, pen Nov 21/72 embossed. Re quarters

signed letter, JS to FN, ff39-40, pen Nov 22/72 embossed. I have read your  
letter and burnt it as you desired. I of course knew something about the  
lady's characteristics, but after what you have told me (inviolable) you have  
exercised a most wise discretion in keeping her out of it. I have also read  
your letter to the D.G. and agree in it. There are several reasons which induced  
me to ask you to write, which I cannot state in writing. If he agrees he will  
put the matter in train....Lady V invited us to spend a day or two at  
Claydon, going this aft

note written at the end of a letter, f41, pencil

letter to FN from Margaret Pennington, 17 Hyde Park Terrace Nov 22 p 1872]  
re Mrs Butler recently wrote to the secy of Committee for the Repeal of the  
CDA that she had recd from her a letter with passage: "That the law should  
put the power of compulsory examination even in prison in the hands of any is  
monstrous" As your influence is so great we are very anxious to make use of  
this extract in The Shield as showing that you are still as heavily opposed  
to the acts as ever. Will you allow us to make use of it. Still a hard battle  
before us. FN note on:

**f42**

*Dr. Sutherland* 24/11/72

Please say -

It was you who approved  
this sentiment

But "lately" is not the word

signed letter, JS to FN, ff43-44, pen {arch: Mrs. Pennington's letter of  
22.11.72 re C.D. Acts, Mrs. S. Stewart & Herbert Hospital cadets} I would not  
advise you to comply with Mrs Pennington's note. All this is past. You cd  
safely say that your opinion remains unchanged, but that from your peculiar  
position you find that you must keep clear of controversies. Say also that at  
the proper time you mt be more useful by taking other steps than by complying  
with her desire.

Mrs S.S.'s letter is more hopeful. You see she thinks the cadets are  
temporary tenants. Sir Harry has the same impression from what he heard at  
the W.O.

advises not to comply with Pennington note, All this is past, she cd safely  
say that her opinion remains unchanged, but from peculiar position must keep  
clear of controversy. Say also that at the proper time you might be more  
useful by taking other steps than by complying with her desire.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff45-46, pen Nov 28/72 {arch: Crawford Municipal  
Commission Hewlett's paper} embossed.

signed letter, JS to FN, ff47-48, pen {arch: Hewlett, Sir John McNeill's  
letter, Indian Sanitary work. "I.C s"?} embossed

initialled note, JS to FN, f49, pen Dec 20/72, blue paper, embossed

signed letter, JS to FN, f50, pen 23 (?) {arch: See D. Cunningham 28.11.72}  
blue, embossed.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff51-52v, pen Dec 27/72 {Indian Sanitary  
reports} blue, embossed. Thanks for offer of Cornish. Madras jails. Lessons  
learned in. That you are not quite satisfied with the cholera part of the  
report That the existence of "contagion" a London invention, is taken for  
granted as a product of India and that there is laid on the supposed  
transport of this "germ"?? As a cause of cholera while the notorious local  
causes which of themselves would but for the mercy of providence cut them all

off in India are very little dwelt on. The evidence in these reports is when properly looked at gradually undermining the importation doctrine. That you have just seen a letter from an officer (Cunningham) engaged in a cholera enquiry regarding the last epidemic in wh he says that the facts are quite irreconcilable with any contagion hypothesis. Then you may conclude, it will be enough and it hits all the. C's letter to you is helpful.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff53-53v, pen Dec 28/72 {arch: re Aden Water Supply Mrs. Mr? Cox's letter}. Chadwick?

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff54-54v, pen {midwifery} black-edged. I return Mrs S. Stewart. What she says amounts to this. 1. Women make as good midwifery attendants as men except in special cases in wh superior strength may be required (this we knew). 2 If you admit ladies to be accoucheuses, you will under our existing civilization have a race so weak that male accoucheurs would still be reqd for special cases (we mt accept this). 3 You will never get lady doctors to become lady midwives to do the work of ordinary midwives. They wd pass over the "menial" parts of duty to midwifery nurses so that instead of 2 orders in the hierarchy you wd have three, viz. Midwifery nurse as basis, lady midwife a column, doctor as capital, to deliver in cases req strength. Hence her argument is against your proposal that lady doctors shd become accoucheuses.

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff55-56v, pen Dec 31/72 {St. Petersburg School for Midwives arch: [Referred to by FN in her letter to Dr. S. June 9 1873]} The stats are very interesting and so far as I can see they provide better than any other method I have heard of for training women. The proposal is however very wisely made experimental. Its execution is peculiar, but still in entire accordance with Russian admin work. The emp addresses his order to the war min, who in his turn addresses the illeg of academie, a sum of £8000 Is set aside for prelim expenses. The supce of the dept is under an officer who corresponds to our DG and also under a female insp. The regs carefully lady down the pr that the female students are to be dealt with precisely as the male students are, neither more nor less, they are to be taught in all the preliminary sc branches and are instructed sp . ... (lots more)thoroughness. Quite different from FN's proposal, adapted to Russia. It does not mean Miss Jex Blake or Miss Blackwell. It does not propose to form mere midwives, still less female physicians too haughty to soil their fingers. It means as I have said English practs of the old school. These Russ women wd be called into courts of justice to give evidence in cases of female jurisprudence, they wd make up medicines and visit women and ch in illness, besides following midwif practice. It is taken for granted that they wd be robust enough to stand a Russ winter and strong enough to for any emergency....staff of professors.

Much sense in Dr Arneth's letter as bearing on the practical issues of the whole movement.

initialled letter, f57, faint pencil

**f57**

*Proof* (enclosed) (see back) 35 South St. W

Jan 2/73

Could you kindly look over this  
& make an suggestions  
for alteration, omission, or  
addition that you think  
well? as soon as convenient?

[If you approve note at  
bottom of last page but one,  
perhaps it ought to go in  
text - as there is not room  
for it at bottom of page]

F.N.

Dr. Sutherland Many thanks  
for St. Petersburg  
criticism  
(midwives)

initialled letter, f58-59, faint pencil [8:358]

**f58**

*Queen Charlotte's Hospital*

35 South St.

Jan 24/73

It is singularly unfortunate, I think  
that the answer shd have  
been put off so long -

I have only just received the  
enclosed from Hy B.C. -  
& think it better to forward  
the whole to you -

Certainly it seems as if the W.C.s  
were different from those  
in the plan of Q.C.'s in my  
"Notes" - & outside the wall

In their printed paper wh I enclose  
you will see that they carefully



**f58v**

omit "Mortality" -  
But since the reconstruction,  
some of the highest Mortalities  
81. 2, 70 . 3, 54 - 2.  
have been recorded  
see p 40 of my "Notes"  
i.e. since "1857, when the New  
Hospital as built" -  
see their printed paper)  
That is, I have given tho' incidentally as one  
reason a reason wh no  
longer exists - & still the  
high mortality exists  
They had better have let it  
alone -

**f59**

Please return the whole  
to me  
with your suggestions [end 8:358]  
F.N.

{f60 blank}

note, f60v-61, faint pencil

**f60v**

Basket lined with zinc 1½ inch  
                     Book Charcoal 2 or 3 or 4  
 {sketch} filled up with inch  
                     Silver Sand  
                     Moss on top  
 {The following is written diagonally at the bottom of the page}  
 Slippers - urinals - bedpans  
 Glass Urinals for fractured femur  
 leaving Bread & Butter in Locker  
 Vestiary for out of door things  
 {Pegs for Vestiary in Lavatory with Curtains {1½ ft  
   no shoes  
   [illeg]  
 Shoots never used: zinc boxes or baskets with key  
 No closet linen, basket with lid in her private  
 Open spittoons W.C.  
 Lockers  
 Pinned Counterpanes

initialled letter, f62, faint pencil

**f62** {arch: [See Mrs. Senior's letter Jan 24. 1873]}

Mrs. Senior

\_\_\_sister of Tom Hughes (Tom Brown)  
 most efficient worker at St.  
 \_\_\_Martin's Pl: with Emily Verney  
 also: with Octavia Hill & Emily  
 \_\_\_Verney at Lodging Houses  
 also: at Boarding Out Workh  
       Orphans

Can we help her?  
 I am very glad she has this to do -  
 25/1/73 F.N.

{JS's reply follows ff62v-63}

unsigned note, f64, pencil

**f64** {this is written at the top of a note about the Indian Blue Book }

Could you kindly enable  
me to answer this? 13/2/73  
*Dr. Sutherland*

signed letter, ff65-67, pencil

**f65**

*Miss Lees' M.S.* 35 South St.  
(to be *published*) W.  
19/2/73

**[12:248-49]**

Dear Dr. Sutherland  
Could you kindly look  
over this sketch?  
[She wants to publish it]  
It seems to me so very little  
to represent her real  
knowledge, capacity, experience  
& I may say Hospital genius.  
In a single conversation,  
she gives me more idea of  
what she knows than  
in all this -  
If it is intended for a Manual

**f65v**

for Training Sisters to train  
others, nothing can be  
more wanted, nothing could  
be more useful - no one  
could do it better than she -  
I would take 50 copies of  
her at once -  
But I ask myself: What  
could our very worst  
Sister learn from this?  
Nothing -  
And the great subjects  
in wh: our very best Sisters  
are deficient, such as  
training Probationers to

**f66**

observe symptoms, progress  
of diseases, to take  
notes of Cases, &, generally,  
to be able to give "the  
Doctor" an accurate &  
intelligent account of  
what has happened to every  
case in the Ward since  
he last saw it -

of these things Miss Lees  
takes only the barest notice  
Then, she betrays such a want  
of experience of *English*  
Hospitals that English nurses

**f66v**

will be always taking her  
up sharp -

Of course I could say a  
great deal more -

If you will be so very  
kind as to look through  
the M.S.

& make your remarks on  
a separate paper -

criticizing every thing -  
also: title page & Dedication,

I will send for it at 12  
to-morrow - But if

**f67**

-2-

you would kindly give it  
 a longer time, I would  
 let you have it till *tomorrow*  
 night  
 It is more worth having your  
 criticisms than any hurry -  
 Miss Lees comes to me to-morrow-  
 But she wishes to come again  
 on Friday for a final word  
 I told her she ought to have let  
 me have it a week beforehand  
 to give an Yrs ffully  
 opinion of any  
 value F. Nightingale

**[end 12:249]**

{ff67v-68v JS's reply}

initialled note, JS to FN, f69, pen {arch: re Miss Lees Manual (with her letter Feb 12 1873} embossed. If you accept ded, shd contain no word whi in any way connects you with Miss Lees's views.

signed letter with pencilled notes & underlinings by FN, JS to FN, ff70-72v, pen. embossed. Dr Muir's, you give deaths wh he does not. Greenway's proposal for dividing hosp wards into glass rooms

**f70** {FN's notes in bold; underlinings are hers}

10/3/73

Dear Miss Nightingale

The passage in  
 inverted commas in my  
 paper was copied by me  
 from Dr. Muir's. *You give*  
**He** *deaths which he does not.*  
**gives** anyway the facts are  
**2.** most lamentable. They came  
 up in this way. We had  
 Mr. Greenway's proposal for  
 dividing hospital wards into  
 glass rooms before us, &  
 he himself was present. His  
 object is to prevent hospital  
 diseases altogether, and  
 Dr. Muir had the statement

**f70v**

about *St. Thomas'* {written in the top margin with a line to here} **It refers to St. T's at Surrey Gardens** with him.

Mr. Greenway had been over **new** *St. Thomas'* and considered it a confirmation of his case.

Of the two statements I should take yours. But what has pressed itself so strongly on my mind ~~was~~/is that I called forth from Dr. Muir a statement at the committee that a case of pyaemia in an army hospital would stand as a charge against the Medical officer as it undoubtedly ought.

If I as a surgeon was

**f71**

satisfied that my patients died of hospital diseases because of the hospital, no power on earth would compel me to have anything to do with it.

initialled letter, JS to FN, f72, pen

**f72** {written in the top margin}

Please return

with remarks

to F.N.

{letter follows}

{at the bottom of the page}

x 7 Deaths

note, JS to FN, with underlinings & comments by FN, f72, pen

ff73-74 JS to FN, with FN's pencilled comments in bold; underlinings hers

**Please** HG 15/3/73

**return to**

**FN**

Dear Miss Nightingale

[12:255-57]

It is evident that  
Dr. Muir not having been acquainted  
with facts from recent return from  
India has not separated the cases  
due to the old & new hospitals.

I suppose we should take either  
November or December 1871 as due  
to the new building & all preceding  
these months as due to Surrey Gdn

If so the case would stand thus  
*Erysipelas* Case ~~111eg~~ 21.x 23. New St. Thos

Case 23 is Curries Servant Hospital

*Pyæmia*, Case 5. appears to be the  
same case as No 23 (*erysipelas*)  
only that the date of death  
9th August is before the  
opening of New St. Thomas?  
The dates of all the other  
cases are anterior to the  
New St. Thomas".

Tetanus, All the cases anterior  
to the New St. Thomas.

To me these facts appear to throw  
x i.e. on the assumption that the 6 last cases  
took place in Oct. Nov & Dec 1871

**f73v**

grave doubts on former statements

**Why?** It appears as if the years  
Pyæmia & Erysipelas cases had  
been all lumped together &  
credited to New St. Thomas'

I do not see any way out  
of this mess, except by a  
careful analysis of the Erysipelas  
table at the Hospital - The  
dates of the cases are not given  
in this piecemeal report -

One scarcely dare think that  
there has been falsification of  
the returns.

Their 1872 *returns* ought  
by this time to be ready. Could  
you get a copy?

Or what would be far better  
could you get a return of all  
cases of Erysipelas, pyæmia &  
**If I can, it can only be in private**

**f74**

tetanus which have taken place  
within the new hospital. To  
be complete the table should be  
like the Pyæmia table in this  
report. It should give besides  
the *dates*, **all these I sent you (as to Pyæmia), the injury or disease**  
*operation, date of attack* x just  
as these are in the Pyæmia  
& tetanus table. Query *why*  
*were the dates not entered on the*  
Erysipelas table? **Because they are**  
**all for August.**

You will see that at present  
there are no accurate statistical  
data on which to found proceedings.

It will be better to wait **Why?**  
until we know exactly what  
are the facts *before going down*  
*to look at the hospital.* Last  
year I asked for information of  
this kind & about the *affected*  
*beds*, but I never got it. **I sent**  
**it all except the no-of "beds affected"**  
**impossible to get**



**f74v****impossible to get**

As soon as we have data to warrant  
an examination I should ask you  
to let me have your *remarks* {There is an arrow from here to the following  
paragraph}

**It would take me some hours to  
copy out my Notes in the most  
abbreviated form. I could  
not do this but for a definite  
good - I cannot see why you  
should delay your "Examination"**

about management **They are not all about management** & then we

**Some are about construction**  
could see *what is to be done*.

**Why put it off?**

Yours ever faithfully

J. Sutherland

**Dr. Sutherland** {written across the foregoing paragraph red pencil}

**I will try to get the above thro**

**Mr. Croft our new Medical**

**Instructor & my new friend**

**But it can only be by degrees**

**& only in private**

**Why "wait" before going down to [blue pencil]  
"look at the Hospital" till you "get"  
this?**

initialled letter, embossed JS to FN, ff75-76, pen {arch: Dr Farr's report,  
Cholera} 15/3/73

f75 When I was younger than I am I promised to look through the last report  
of the Reg Gen & tell you what I thought of it. I have done so, and I can  
safely say that it is one of the most important for practical purposes which  
has yet been issued. It will be most useful for reference on many questions.

I wish Farr's pathology were as good as his stats. If you will turn to p  
403 3rd pr you will find him reiterating again Dr Snow's fallacy about the  
destructib[ilit]y of the "propagating fluid of cholera." All this is long  
since past & is considerably laughed it. In the last report of Dr Cuninghame  
you will see that cholera excreta have the same power in causing death as  
non-choleraic excreta, and that to ensure death with either there must be  
putrefaction. The very latest pathology from India denies in toto that there  
is any specific disease in cholera, that in short it is only a phase--with  
intermittent, remittent, and continued fever of certain lesions of the gt.  
Lymphathetic nerve and that the diseases pass into each other in India before  
all which are open. [so, in 1873 still a continuation]

initialled letter, ff77-79, pencil [12:257-58]

**f77**

*St. Thomas' Report 17/3/73*

Please

return to

F.N.

sorry for the trouble to you &  
myself - in sending back this  
once more -

I tried to explain that,  
altho' the "Report" seems intended  
to mystify, the whole of the  
cases of Erysipelas

Pyæmia

Tetanus

appear to have been *previous*

to the move from the old

Surrey Gardens *in August*

(in September there were already

beds occupied in the *new*

Hospital - *in October it was*

nearly full)

**f77v**

-where do you find

"Oct Nov - & Dec 1871" "as

"due to the new Building"

in these Lists? -

The last case "23" in "Erysipelas"

is obviously the same as

Case 5. in "Pyæmia".

wh:, it is expressly stated

died on Aug 9 - 1871

["Curry's servant was ~~am~~putated

of breast in Alexander Ward

some time in 1872 (*new*

building) -

I sent you the dates]

{In JS' hand, in bold}

**P.S. Suppose we went now to**

**examine, we should have to go**

**back when we get the statistics**

**Better wait till you get what you can**

**& then we must make the best of it. J.S.**

**f78**

Why do you make the  
 "assumption" that the  
 "6 last cases" of Erysipelas  
 "took place in" "Oct. Nov. Dec. 1871"?

Please say

[Even supposing it to be done  
 by mere rule of thumb,

*Medical beds occupied*

in Surrey G.	74
in new Building	____186

*Surgical in Surrey G.* 116

" in new Building ~~280~~

*Total Beds occupied in Surrey G* 190

" " " \_\_\_\_\_ in new build: 466

If you have done it by an  
 average you see that there  
 can be none -

but the fact is, these Lists for  
 "year 1871" are only till August -

**f77v** {JS' reply}

**f79**

	Cases	1871	Fatal	
Erysipelas	23		5	But the Report calls Fatal Cases 3. because 2 were "cured" of "Erysipelas", to die of Pyæmia
				<b>[end 12:257]</b>
Pyæmia	7		7	(including the above)
Tetanus	5		3	

initialled letter, f80, pencil

**f80**

Dr. Acland March 26/73

Immediate

Dear Dr. Sutherland

*Please help us*

*Bearer will wait*

F.N.

{JS' reply follows, ff80-81v}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff82-85, pen March 29/73 {arch: re St T. Hospital} 29/3/73 embossed. I met Sir Harry & Mr Carter at 3 yesterday acc to your desire. We were together with Mr Croft nearly 2 hours and we deemed to have scarcely begun to enquire. The place is so vast and complicated that we only did part of one pavilion, besides the prelim investigation.

I was somewhat nervous from my late illness and what I saw made so deep an impression on me that it cost me a night's rest.

Mr Croft is a very good man and knows and feels his work but he is powerless. I have reduced the result as it struck me to a practical shape in the enclosed paper. Perhaps Sir Harry and Mr Carter may be able to add to it. I do not see what else can be done. To those who know what hosps are, the case is all clear enough. But there are physicians and surgeons and stewards and gobs all of whom exercise the glorious privilege of our country of holding their own views and opposing everyone else's, and I fear the public wd take too little gen interest to care about the matter....gen mgt is very far from good and there are things about the wards which ought not to be. We saw foul linen in the W.C. compartment and brushes and pails there. It seems next to imposs to keep so enormous a place clean as it ought to be for a hosp. It is not like an mil hosp nowadays.

Ff84-85 JS notes 29/3/73 on St T. On general plan nothing more to say than said after previous visit. You and I know that the utmost simplicity is necessary in all hospitals because the inevitable contingencies to be met even in the simplest hosp bldgs are enough to tax the powers of most administrators. What must they then be in a great hosp wh combines in itself a vast outdoor work besides a medical school? Now under these conditions, except in the formal adoption, but by no means the complete adoption of the pavilion structure, I think the new hosp may be classed amongst the most complicated in existence.

2. Imposs to alter this great disadvantage. All that can be done is to remove such parts of the evil as can be done at least cost. 3. According to a list prepared by Croft, there have been 20 fatal pyemia cases in the new hosp besides non-fatal cases. They occurred after accidents, after surgical diseases, but mostly after ops. In one ward 6 deaths. 4. These cases all directly or indirectly due to the hosp, and I do not see any prospects of rooting out the evil entirely. Cd diminish. How, get com of appt to investigate. Money will be reqd for certain structural alterations, if com has power of execution whole mt be completed w/o disturbance. Croft pointed out toes to be trodden on. 6. Complete isolation of every ward from general atmosphere common to bldg. Each ward shd have to do with the outer air only and with none other. Each ward also must be kept quite separate in its vent from every other ward or room. Every source of foul air outside the wards and yet within precincts shd be swept away....All changes of linen and everything likely to be injurious to the air of the ward to be at once removed away from the pavilion. No refuse of food or cooking to be retained, but to be immed removed. 8 I think all the ventilators leading from the wards into the shafts at the fire places shd be closed (those at the ceiling). Paste paper over in meantime. 9 A thorough good stringent govt evidently wanted 29/3/73  
Encloses paper on Madras water

signed letter, JS to FN, ff86-87, pen April 23/73 {alternative hosp plan} embossed. H.G. I have just had time to run over this paper. She is very curious for she sees no difficulties. These proposals will never be carried out as she has put them. The practical difference between your St T s plan and this is infinite. When the St T. plan was under consid you may remember how carefully we discussed the extent of instr to be given and we cut out some proposals wh cd not have answered and wh were simplicity itself when compared with all this. You have besides the long experience now of St T. with this before you, cd you say to Miss Lees, "go on and ? You will succeed far better than we with all our advantages have done." what she has done in this and in the former paper is to sit down and think out with your papers and others before her every conceivable detail of work and instr, a very easy way of conquering the world. It is just what wd please our Oxford friend. But as she has asked for advice it surely is nec to say that the first thing to do is to consider who are the subject of our instr and what their capacities are likely to be.....The beginning, middle and end of nursing is the "mens sana"

signed letter, ff87v-88, pencil

**f87v**

Miss Lees 35 S. St

April 23/73

[12:293]

Dear Dr. Sutherland

Could you be so kind  
as to look over these  
papers of Miss Lees  
(the sequel of what you saw  
before) intended for  
publication -

& give me your valuable  
remarks upon them  
{JS' remarks in bold written in the side margin}

**If she sends them to  
press be sure to  
get a proof before  
you concur**

Yrs v. ffully

F. Nightingale

**f88**

N Schools

We have made the reverse  
mistake of what is  
usually made -

We have considered that a  
Supt. only requires a good  
Nurse's certificate  
(not that she requires  
a good Nurse's certificate  
after one year - then a  
good Supt's after another  
whereas the usual belief/mistake  
is that the Supt requires  
no Nurse's certificate at  
all

[end 12:293]

signed letter with JS's reply & FN's underlining, ff89-90v, pencil

**f89**

Dr. Acland 35 S. St. [8:364-65]

April 26/73

Dear Dr. Sutherland

H.B.C. has restored to me  
the last note I had from Dr. Acland  
And I think it worth while to  
send it to you, because you see  
it involves the whole question  
raised by you in your note  
of yesterday, for which I thank  
you.

You see *Mr. Stansfeld* wants  
"Registration" -

*Dr. Aveling* says so well  
(in fact it is the only truth in  
Dr. Acland's Report)  
"Unless this is done (i.e. Midwives  
INSTRUCTED) "it is USELESS to provide

**f89**

"for their (Midwives) examination,  
licensing, REGISTRATION, &  
supervision -"

This seems to me a matter  
not of discussion but of *fact*  
Suppose an Oxford Professor  
were to go to Khiva, &  
propose a system of  
'examination' ~~into~~ &  
'registration' of Graduates  
in Classical Literature & Philosophy!  
*It is much the same thing -*

I will not answer Dr. Acland  
till I have heard from you -

Please return me *this*  
yrs mo: ffully

F. Nightingale

**f90** {JS' reply in bold, FN's underlining}

-3-

**Dear Miss Nightingale**

**The reply to Dr.**

**A's note is given by the  
Committee. After the reception  
of the report it does not appear  
to me that *the question of  
registration* except in the  
case of Lady Physicians  
desirous of entering themselves  
as midwives *can be entertained.***

{vertical lines FN's}

**If Mr. Stansfeld must  
have an answer it must  
be that except in these cases  
*there is nobody to register.***

**Sinclair is the only man  
at all eloquent on the prowess  
of his uneducated women &  
*surely they would not advise  
Mr. Stansfeld to register these.***

**Now if they - (the Committee)**



f90v

will take the common sense  
course of enquiring into the  
teaching capacities of the  
existing midwifery schools  
& will select from among  
them those who give a  
proper education (*if any*)  
then let the council on its  
own responsibility recommend  
a form of register to Mr.  
Stansfeld. But up to the  
present time we have no  
knowledge, & *neither have they*  
~~that~~ that there are any  
women except Lady doctors  
*who ought to be on a Midwifery*  
*register.*

I will return the other  
barbs &c as I have gone  
over them

Yours ever faithfully  
J. Sutherland

initialled notes, ff91-93, pencil

f91

-2-

I send Dr. Aveling's little book  
- not because it is to the  
purpose but because it is *not*  
It is a good little book but  
much more *gossippy* than  
I expected not at all  
terse & to the point  
like the Extract in Dr.  
Acland's Report which  
was ~~so~~ eminently so -  
Do not return this book  
for a day or two, if you  
want to glance over it  
26/4/73 F.N.

{ff91v & f92 JS' response} April 26/73

**f93**

I send Dr. Farr's copy  
 of "*Obstetrical Transactions*"  
 He wants us to look over  
*Infant Mortality Report*  
 p. 132 -  
 & return it to him  
 (no hurry for a day or two)  
 That is a curious fact, if  
 a fact, at p 138, that you  
 can't keep "3 or 4" nurse= children  
 together without their suffering  
 - "even with the best food &c  
 attendance & cleanliness  
 26/4/73 F.N.

initialled note, ff94-97v, pencil

**f94**

Dr. Farr 35 S. St -  
 April 26/73  
 Please say what I should  
 say about this -  
 I have delayed too long  
 sending it you -  
 Take a day or two there is  
 not hurry -  
 F.N.  
 Dr. Sutherland

{JS reply ff95- starts here upside down & continues to f97v; Haller's stats,  
 ventilation

28/4/73 JS to FN obstetrical society. Indirect infanticide

ff96- JS to FN aft 26 Ap 1873, embossed. P.S. Committee's report will not  
 help. Stansfeld. Fragment from Contemp. Positivism in science. The real truth  
 is that all kn involves faith in large measure, much of it involves a stretch  
 of faith far beyond the grasp of a humble ploughboy who has faith in his  
 Bible. "Positivism" indeed presupposes an amount of faith quite equal to that  
 which led the French pilgrims to Lourdes ...A fact est by experiment has  
 always been preceded by an effort of faith and in sc we may say as in Xianity  
 "by work in faith made perfect."

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff98-99v, pen May 1/73 {re Mr. Croft & disinfecting bedding} embossed. I don't believe in the least in "disinfection of bedding." But I believe enormously in "cleansing bedding." Disinfection rests on the existence of "germs," or of certain "catalytic" matter which has become deposited somehow in the texture. Now if any such exist you must either get rid of them or destroy them. If heat is used you just have the temp sufficient to decompose or destroy the texture of the matter a germ as well as of the material. Chlorine has never been shown to act in this way. But suppose you boil, wash, scour with much soap and ? And say chloride of lime, then dry and expose to air. The whole noxious matter will have been removed entirely. This is what ought to be done in a hosp with all sheets, blankets, coverlets, bedticks, towels, rollers, bandages etc. The main difficulty is with hair. (I put cotton quite out of th question; if used it shd be burnt.) With hair the only thing is heating to about 350 degree, teasing, exposing to air.

I am very glad about his san com. You much leave them entirely to their own devices in the meantime and if they want help they must... You might send them any points...

initialled letter, ff100-01v, pencil

**f100**

*Draft Report* May 21/73

Would you kindly look over  
this Draft Report?

& let me know what you  
think of it? any suggestions?

I will send for it at 3 -  
Our Annual Field Day at St. Thomas'  
for the School is on Friday

I suppose as Mr Croft was  
not appointed till Christmas  
he is not much mentioned - Otherwise  
~~that~~ /he is our great event - He  
has already given us 2 courses  
of admirable practical Instruction  
& otherwise worked us up vigorously  
FN [T O]

**f100v**

Miss Gregory

will do very well at Highgate  
never would have done any thing  
but very bad at St. T.'s

Miss Hall is a wonderful woman  
N.B. Miss G. not so much of a  
gentlewoman as Mesher or Lyons  
or even some very inferior women -  
- no idea of the influence she ought to have  
& never therefore will have any -  
- so obvious that, when she talks of her  
fellow P.s (e.g. Miss Bourne) at St. T.'s -  
much her juniors & much her inferiors in  
rank - she had no idea but of abusing  
or amusing herself with them  
Anything less of a clergy daughter I  
never saw -  
but much good in her - &  
Miss Hill brings it out

**f101**

Miss Gardiner

that brings out defective side  
of Highgate training

Miss G. much more of a moral  
power than any of our present St. T's  
Sisters

but so awfully inaccurate -  
never without more training, could  
report cases to any of our St. T's  
Doctors as Sister of Ward

initialled note, ff102-03, pencil

**f102**

35 S. St. W June 7/73  
(See Mr. Chadwick 2.6.73)  
What shall I answer to this  
pathetic note of  
Mr. Chadwick's?  
F.N.

Dr. Sutherland

{his reply begins here & continues ff102v-03

initialled letter, ff104-05v, pencil

**f104**

*Midwifery Training Question*  
June 9/73

*Dr. Sutherland*

I enclose a letter from Miss Firth [June 7] -  
That who 'Miss Firth' is may be  
recalled to you I re-inclose  
Dr Acland's Report - [The  
copy of the letter *she* incloses  
is printed therein, p 21

I also enclose your own letter  
about the "Russian School" [31/12/72]  
for reference - [Please be  
particular in returning this  
to me]

I agree with Miss Firth (& with  
you) that before long  
*something* will be done - (tho' not

**f104v**

by Dr. Acland)

What do you think should  
be answered to Miss Firth?  
Please say - (returning me all the  
documents) F.N.  
to-day if possible -  
{his reply begins here & continues ff105-05v}

initialled note, ff106-06v, pencil

**f106**

*My Annual Address to Probationers*  
14/6/73

Would you criticize add to  
or omit in this. \*  
[You will see that the printing  
- especially as to punctuation  
is infamous - But that I  
have already corrected - in  
another proof]  
14/6/73 F.N.  
{his reply begins here & continues f106v}

initialled note, ff107-08, pencil

**f107**

*Mr. Chadwick* 8/7/73  
{arch: [See Mr. Chadwick 5.7.73]}  
What do you think of this?  
F.N.  
Dr. Sutherland  
{his reply begins here & continues ff107v-08}

initialled note, ff109-12v, pencil [6:552-53]

**f109**

24/7/73

*Edinburgh Infirmary*

Could you kindly ask Dr. Sutherland  
this:

after all our Sanitary bargaining  
with Mr. Fasson

this is the result:

1. the drinking water (1)  
in our Nurses' Home  
has been poisoned  
by infiltrations it is supposed  
from the sewage of the Fever  
House

our Nurses have suffered  
severely from Diarrhoea

our Head Nurse over the  
Fever House has been at  
death's door with Typhoid

3 Nurses (not ours) have died

**f109v**

2 the Cess-pit, just outside  
Miss Barclay's door  
Infirmary

Cess-pit {this is written in smaller letters, the Ce  
enclosed in a circle}

{ Miss Barclay  
& Assistants

Nurses Fever House

Home {Nurses Home, written in smaller letters, enclosed in a box}

is seldom emptied till it  
overflows (2)

& when it is emptied (tho' by night)  
the nuisance is tremendous

And it is mopped out not with  
earth but with horses' dung

It is emptied now (in consequence  
of Miss Barclay's remonstrance)  
a little oftener

Would Dr. Sutherland give any  
hints

**f110**

-2-

- as to how often Cess-pits should  
be emptied  
(v. Military Hospitals)
- & by what *carts*?
- & in what *manner*?

Mr. Fasson is doing all he  
can about the first matter  
- the polluted water

Would you tell Dr. Sutherland  
that I have given our Probationers  
the new Edition of  
Dr. Murchison on Fevers, (3)  
Tho' it is not in our 'Course of  
Reading' -

**f111**

*Edinbro Infy* 24/7/73

The Nurses' drinking water  
as I understand is  
from a *Well* within the enclosure  
And Mr. Fasson makes no  
difficulty at all in confessing  
that the ground may be so  
infiltrated from the *Cess-pit*  
as to pollute the *Well*  
There is *no drainage* at all. as  
I understand - And  
they *will* keep the Cess- pits  
till they move into the  
new Building  
[The Mortuary was in a *room*  
*in* the Nurses' House!!!  
till after our Nurses went  
down!]

[end 6:553]



**f112 & f112v** {JS' s reply} July 24/73

initialled note, f113, pencil

**f113**

35 S. St Aug 2/73

[to-day Sidney Herbert  
has been dead 12 years]

[12:281]

Could you kindly look over  
this book on Ventilation  
& give your opinion upon it?  
[also whether it would be a  
help for Lessons to our Probs  
at the Training School?]

[end 12:281]

F.N.

Dr. Sutherland

{JS's reply follows, ff113v}

initialled note, f114, pencil Aug 6/73

**f114**

35 South St Aug /73

Park Lane W

Mr. Stansfeld is coming here  
on Friday to see me  
by his own appointment  
Please advise me if you  
want me to say anything  
or as to what I ought to  
say to him

F.N.

Dr. Sutherland

{JS's reply follows, ff114-15}

initialled note, f116, pencil

**f116**

35 S. St            Aug 8/73

*C.D. Acts: MANAGEMENT (reformatory)*

*Dr. Sutherland*    {arch: (See Mrs. Grant 2.8.73)

      "            H. Cameron 1.7.23

      ^ Sir H. Verney}

      You will remember the            **[8:484]**  
correspondence with

      Miss Cameron

      Sir H Verney

      Mr. Bruce &

      you -            & what you said

What do you say to the

      letter enclosed? -

What should be said?            **[end 8:484]**

      F.N.

{JS's reply follows, ff116-17v}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff118-19, pen

**ff118** {FN's comments in bold}

**[see Mr. Campbell 14.7.73]**

**Please**

**return to**

**F.N.** 13/8/73

This is a good letter of Mr. Campbell. When you write to him you might say that the fever districts in England & Algeria & elsewhere have been cured without subsoil drainage under - merely by trenching, & in Holland the same thing is done below the level of the sea & the water pumped up above the sea level to be discharged.

This is really what Burdwan requires at first, After a while it has been found necessary in some cases near towns to lay pipes in

**f118v**

the trenches and fill them up.  
The reason is that where there  
is population they defile the  
trenches & cause disease.

The Calcutta people are in a  
sure grip. The Campbells  
don't usually let go of anything.  
A word from you now & then  
will have power.

You see if one's better half  
runs away in this fashion &  
leaves poor Mr. Stansfeld and  
the Cabinet in the lurch. what  
can one do but run away  
too. I want fresh air for a  
week or two and purpose to  
go away on Saturday. I

**f119**

thought of Normandy.  
When I return I will tell you  
and then I could see CA  
King, but he would naturally  
begin by saying that I was  
not FN & that made all  
the difference!

{underlining in pencil by FN} *As soon as we get the  
revises of the Memo from the  
I.O. I shall send you copies.*  
Mr. P. should be well on with  
his report. He has got all  
our papers for it.

JS

{with a line back to the underlined section}

**have never come  
to my great  
inconvenience**

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff120-21v, pen Aug 15/73 {re a Prussian  
conference on cholera}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff122-23, pen {comments on his trip to France}  
Sept 4/73

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff124-25, pen {arch: [See W. Clark 4.8.73]}

JS to F.N. 5.9.73]

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff126, pen {arch: {at the end}      Sir B. Frere  
C. ?  
Ellis  
Hewlett  
Berlin Cholera

signed letter, JS to FN, ff127-28v, pen Sep 19/73 {arch: Galton's paper  
Memo on Cunningham's 8th Report  
Cholera death rate amongst Indian Troops}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff129-30v, pen 20/9/78 {arch: See Capt Galton's  
16.9.73 Col Hay's scheme  
Lincoln County Hospital      Capt. Galton's paper  
F.N.'s paper.      [See F.N. 24.9.73]}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff131-32, pen {arch: [See Cunningham 24.8.73]}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff133-33v, pen Sep 24/73 {arch: F.N.'s paper &  
Galton's address}

envelope addressed to JS, postmarked BRADFORD 5 SP23 73 YORKS, f134, pen  
{not in FN's hand}

signed letter, JS to FN, ff135, HG pen Sep 26/73 {arch: [India]}

initialled letter, f136v, pencil

**f136v**

*Sir Bartle Frere* Lea Hurst  
Matlock

Sept 23/73

My dear Dr. Sutherland

You asked me to send you  
again

Sir G. Campbell's &

Mr. Clark's

letters as soon as Sir B. Frere  
answered

in order that you might

"draft for me letters

"to Sir G. Campbell & Mr. Clark"

Here they are

I have kept Sir B. Fr a day or  
two: but think it better

now to send them all, at once

yrs v. ffully

F.N.

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff137-40, pen Sep 26/73 {reply to f136v} embossed

signed letter, f141-43, pencil

**f141**

*Please return to Lea Hurst*

*F.N. Oct 10/73*

*Mr. Stansfeld {arch: [See Mr. Stansfeld 7.10.73*

*" Dr. Sutherland 17.10.73]*

*My dear Dr. Sutherland*

*May I send you this?*

*- Dr. Bridges does not seem  
to me very luminous -*

*Nevertheless it is clear that  
they wish to do what we  
want.*

*1. The "International Letter"  
is what they chiefly want*

*our suggestions for -*

*What do you propose?*

*2.N.B. With regard to the last*

*Para (in clerk's writing) they*

**141v**

*seem to me quite at sea -*

*It is because "Medical  
Officers" & ex "Matrons" & all  
sorts of people give Testaments  
(& these T.s are taken,) that  
the mischief is - vide Burdett -*

*The rule at Highgate Infy  
an excellent rule: (which I  
have heard Miss Torrance who  
now has broken it praise)  
was that the *Managers'*  
*stamp* should be put  
on *all* Testimonials received  
or given -  
(but if other Infirmarys will  
~~take~~/accept Testimls without the  
stamp - - - ?)*

**f142**

As for asking "MEDICAL OFFICER"  
 as to "NURSING efficiency"  
 What M.O. really knows  
 anything about it? **xx** You might  
 as well ask the Cook

[I never took a Nurse  
 from a M.O.'s certificate:  
 I have heard Miss Torrance  
 say the same & laugh,  
 as I should at Dr. Dowse's  
 certificate!]

**xx** This really must not be; else *how is she (the Matron)*  
"the head of the Nurses?" "the head of her Dept.

2.3.

"P.S." last Para. in Dr. Bridges'  
 hand.

Please look at this

[Miss Hill goes on Tuesday away  
 for a fortnight's holiday]

**f142v**

Unless you write *by return*  
 of post,  
 please write  
 to 35 South St.  
 where I shall be on  
 Monday

ever yours ffully

F. Nightingale

4. Also please look at the blunder **[6:322-23]**

last page but two [Liverpool  
 Workhouse] It is because it is  
 the GOVERNOR & *not* the Medical  
 Officer: the Governor "who is  
 "supreme over the whole Establishmt"  
*Medical Officers & all* - that it  
 "works harmoniously" - And the *Hospl*  
 Committee is the head of the



**f143**

-2-

"Lady Supt" - (her real masters, as  
they *should* be) *not*  
the  
Governor

Really Dr. Bridges is  
blundering -

The *Medical Officer* at  
Liverpool Workhouse has no administrative  
authority whatever over the  
Nursing Staff - and when  
there was a *bad Governor*  
we know the result to poor  
Agnes Jones

F.N.

memorandum, ff144-63, pen stylized printing {Dr. Bridges's memorandum re  
Liverpool Workhouse, on top of f157 in FN's hand, incorporated into my Memo  
to Mr. Stansfeld, 'ditto' written at the top of the following ff}

excerpt from printed regulations with comments by JS, ff164-76, on top of  
f175 in FN's hand, incorporated into my Memo to Mr. Stansfeld, 'ditto'  
written at the top of the following ff}

signed memorandum, ff177-91, pen & pencil {copperplate with comments by FN in pencil and is signed in pencil by her} and Clendening [6:469-73]

**f177** {arch: [Oct. 18. 1873]}

On "Memo by Dr. Bridges" {in FN's hand} by F.N.

The cases put are:

1. The Medical Officer is always there  
he is an educated man: and in many  
cases the most able man of the set.  
Ergo make him supreme.
2. The Governor is always there: but he is not  
Master  
necessarily a man of sufficient power or  
education.  
Ergo he cannot always be trusted with  
Supreme jurisdiction.
3. The Committees are difficult to get  
together; and in some cases cannot  
exercise supreme control.

[This is not however the case at  
Highgate] {pencil} And there are first rate men  
on the Committee ~~of Managers~~ or Board

{pen} Ergo they cannot be trusted.

Conclusion: that Matron and her Nurses

1.

**f178**

must virtually be under the Medical Officer.  
 an experiment which has been tried since Hospitals  
 began and has always ended ill, either for the  
 moral or the efficient element

A Medical Officer has quite other things  
 to do than to be head of the Nurses.

A Man can never govern Women -

{pencil} No good ever came of Medical Officer doing Matron's duty,  
 And even the efficient  
 treatment of sick  
 is thereby sacrificed.

{pen} The fight has been fought out in Military  
 Hospitals since Military Hospitals existed  
 owing to warning experience, the following is  
 now the System:

(1.) At the central Military Hospital (Netley)  
 the Nursing and the Nurses are obliged to do  
 the bidding of the principal Medical Officer

But he can't stop their beer if they don't.  
 (a notable expedient formerly adopted in  
 India.)

The Matron (Supt.) only can do this: i.e.  
 wield discipline

2.

**f179**

And there is a Governor over all.  
 With appeal in certain cases to the Secretary  
 of State.

(2) In another large Military Hospital  
 the principal Medical Officer is also (unfortunately)  
 the Governor.

But precisely the same relation exists.

If (in the case 1.) the P.M.O. got up a  
 'row' with the Matron (Supt) both sides  
 could come before the Governor.

If (in second case) the P.M.O. got up a 'row'  
 With the acting superintendent, both could come  
 Before the P.M.O. as governor

With appeal in either case to the Secretary  
 of State

[N.B. I would observe that this anomalous state  
 of things (2) is what it is sought to make law  
 and System at the Metropolitan Workhouse  
 Infirmaryes. \_\_\_\_\_

3.

**f180**

If the Matron and Medical Officer differ on a point of Nursing morality or discipline or on what are the best internal arrangements to carry out the Medical Officer's orders, - (Which if she does not know better than he does, she is not fit to be head of the Nurses and ought not to be there at all - any more than he ought to be there, if she knows Medical treatment than he does - (a thing which has happened)

then the Medical Officer and Matron go before the Medical Officer as supreme Head -  
Is this administration?]

II. As regards the application of this to Metropolitan Workhouse Infirmaryes.  
is it permissible that the whole administration should be under the Medical Officer?  
If he does his duty as Governor,  
must he not neglect his duty as Medical Officer?

— 4.

**f181**

[N.B. He is not like the principal medical officer at a Military Hospital:  
he has to attend with one assistant on 500 sick perhaps or more]

Must there not be some supreme power with appeal?

And must not the Guardians (or their Committee) be that supreme power?  
and the Appeal court the local Government Board

[N.B. If the Guardians won't attend or won't act,

Mr. Stansfeld can appoint, can he not?  
ex officio Guardians to watch over the interests of the rate payers.]{pencil} I may add that

first rate men won't act unless they have the power as well as the trouble. If the power is visited in Medical Officer & Lo: Govt Board,  
the best men will not serve as Guardians

III It would seem as if the application of this to Metropolitan Workhouse Infirmaryes were

1. You must trust to your Committee of

5.

**f182**

Managers

2. Your Steward must be their Officer.
  3. Your Medical Officer must be their Officer
  4. Your Matron must be their Officer
  5. If the committee choose to appoint a Governor - as in the case of Liverpool to represent them, altho' *under* them, let them: [but don't let the *Medical* Officer be implied Governor.]
  6. If they appoint the Medical Officer as Governor, let them do it subject to approval as to *administrative fitness* by Local Government Board - taking care however that the attention of the Medical Officer, withdrawn from the sick be supplied by additional Medical assistance, and taking care that duties and authority of the Matron - {pencil} over {pen} ~~the Nursing Staff~~ is properly defined and guarded {pencil} The Nursing Staff
- {pen} They must be under the Matron  
They must be amenable to her alone  
in discipline  
and for the discharge of duties.
- 6.

**f183**

Subject to appeal to the Guardians or ~~(better)~~  
to the Local Government Board thro their  
Guardians (in the same cases in which in {brackets are in pencil}  
Military Hospitals, Nurses have right of  
appeal to Secretary of State.)

The Matron and Nurses must be obliged  
to obey the professional orders of the *Medical*  
*officer*: subject to complaint against *Nurses*  
*solely to the* Matron: and against the  
Matron to the {pencil}—~~Guard~~ Managers or thro' them to the {pen}  
*president* of the Local  
Government Board.

~~such complaints to be transmitted  
through the Committee or Guardians~~

The Matron must look to the Medical  
officer for professional instructions {pencil} which {pen} she  
must obey: but for nothing else.

She should be supreme over her Department  
so long as she discharges her duty and sees  
that her Nurses discharge theirs -

She loses her supremacy only when she  
neglects her duty or fails to see that her  
Nurses discharge theirs: and this

---

7.

**f184**

only until the complaint is investigated (and  
appealed about to the Local Government  
Board if thought necessary.) {pencil bracket}

The Matron must be admitted, censured  
suspended {in JS's hand} solely by the Managers {pen} and {pencil} if  
{pen} discharged ~~solely~~  
by

the sanction of the Local Government  
Board.

---

8

**f185***Liverpool WORKHOUSE case*

I might say that it is because it is the Governor and not the Medical Officer: the Governor "who is supreme over the whole Establishment", Medical Officers and all: that it "works harmoniously" and the *Hospital Committee* is the real practical head of the "Lady Supt." - (her real Masters, as they ought to be) not the Governor.

The Medical Officer at Liverpool Work House has no administrative authority whatever over the Nursing Staff.

And when there was a bad Governor, we know the result to poor Agnes Jones {pencil} the first Lady Supt who died there {pen} But I should prefer to ~~say~~/{pencil} /add {pen} that the success of a great and hazardous experiment at Liverpool was due mainly to Self-devotion, to forbearance, to sinking personality in work - to the good wishes of the Committee - to the action of Good Men

**f186**

and true privately

Mr. Rathbone, Mr. Cropper, {pencil} xx {pen} and the like - and not to any law or Regulation that there was in fact no ground on which to rest either and that this example shows clearly that not much can be expected if a cut and dry plan is laid before Boards of Guardians to make or to mar.

"Make slow haste."

Better to get it done and a tradition introduced. *at one place at a time* is it not?

{pencil} xx There are equally good men at Highgate (Central London Sick Asylum Board) Mr Wyatt a prince of men Sir Sydney Waterlow &c &c will these men "come when you do call for them", if you don't give them power?\_\_\_\_\_



**f187**

IV. On the "Certificate" question: viz: to Nurses leaving.

It does not appear to be quite understood that it is because "Medical Officers" and ex="Matrons" and all sorts of people, give Testimonials (and these T.s are taken) that the mischief arises.

The rule at one great "sick asylum": an excellent rule: was that the Managers *stamp* should be put on *all* Testimonials received or given. [but how if other "sick asylums" *will* accept Testimonials *without* the stamp - - - -?]

At that very asylum, upon a Nurse being dismissed very properly, by the on Matron for insubordination the "Medical Officer" (whose Certificate it is now proposed to take) and the ex=Matron gave the Nurse such excellent ? "Testimonials" that she was immediately taken on at higher wages at another "sick asylum"

**f188**

As for asking "Medical Officer" as to  
"nursing efficiency" - how can the Matron  
be the "*Head of the Nurses*" the head of  
her own "Department" *if this be done?*

If the Matron is not the best judge of  
her Nurses' Nursing, {pencil} if she is not directly responsible for  
carrying out the Medical Officer's  
directions,{pen} she had better not  
be there at all.

and we had better give up trained {pencil} nursing  
{pen} Matrons and revert to the old Housekeeper=  
Matron: the decayed cousin of some Green  
Grocer Guardian.

[I have known - and not once only  
a Nurse of my own receive an  
excellent Testimonial from the  
very Doctor, an excellent Man,  
upon whose report I had (rightfully)  
dismissed her.]

{pencil} And it may be added with at least equal truth as what has been said  
of good men acting as Guardians: that you cannot get educated women,  
gentlewomen, trained  
women to act as  
Matrons: unless power  
is given them to  
fulfil their responsibility:  
Unless they are  
really the Nursing  
heads they have been  
trained to be: And that successful  
Medical treatment depends mainly upon successful organization  
of Nursing

{pen} If however the Local Government Board  
object to the War Office plan,  
would not the best way about Certificates  
be to prevent their issue altogether. and

**f189**

for some authority say the Board of  
Guardians to grant a statement of services

only on the application of persons  
wishing to employ the Nurse?

[One does not give Certificates to  
servants to hawk about.]

V. *On the "duties" question* v. Dr. Bridges'  
{pencil} proposed {pen} "letter".

If the above pages be at all acknowledged  
as true, Must not these "duties" be recast?

Will all that mixing up of authorities  
and "aidings" do?

Is not the first thing wanted  
a common=sense set of rules,  
putting everybody's saddle on every  
body's own back?

at present they have one saddle for the  
whole household: and it is expected that  
every one will put it on when so disposed.

Is it possible to ingraft a really good  
Nursing system on these Rules?

Do as you will - will not every body  
with any authority interfere with Matron  
and Nurses?

If the president does not see his  
way to alter this. Would it not be better  
that he should, by attracting the

**f191**

enemy in detail and carrying one fort  
after another - introduce the Nursing  
element completely and successfully?  
{pencil} Florence Nightingale

London October 18/73

signed letter, JS to FN, ff192-96v. pen {arch: [See F.N. 10.10.73  
" Mr. Stansfeld 7.10.73]} embossed My dear Lady re org. Gov, med  
officer, com, workhouses. F196 I don't think you can ingraft a really good  
nursing system on these rules. Do as you will, everybody with any authority  
will interfere with the supt and nurses. (Compares workhouses and mil)

unsigned letter, ff197-98, pencil

**f197**

*Herbert Hospital: Nursing Quarters* Oct 21/73 [16:463-64]  
{arch: [see Mrs. Shaw Stewart]}

Do you know anything about this?

I mean about)/what is in the letter marked "Confidential"  
It is the continuance of a correspondence (which I  
showed to H.B.C. - - you were abroad)

saying that there was a probability now  
of its being ~~ultimately~~ decided once for all  
whether the Nursing Quarters now occupied  
by Sick Cadets, should be permanently alienated to other

**f198**

purposes  
that the present P.M.O. avows himself  
anxious to have a complete Nursing Staff -  
but if he cannot have this to have  
no Nurses at all

Our Secy & Commee are not the least anxious  
to fight the matter with the W.O.

Or to take any initiative with them.  
They say: it would be different if  
Muir were D.G. & if I would fight it  
with *his help*.

Do you know whether or what has  
been decided about the *Sick Cadets*  
or the *Nursing Quarters*? [It was  
said that on the removal of the Sick  
Cadets, if we did not re-appropriate the qrs  
vi et armis, they wd be made into  
M.O.'s quarters]

**[end 16:464]**

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff199-200v, pen {comments about Dr. Pierce,  
Herbert Hospital, Netley, Norwich paper & Red Book} embossed. Cardwell  
requested N com to train a supt for HH, and nothing was done. F200 It will be  
years before the health law of India is made out. It is scarcely made out yet  
for London.

initialled note, f201, pencil

**[15:498]****f201**

*Nurses: Ashantee* 24/10/73

Is it possible that they are going to send out Lady=

*Nurses*, or any Nurses to the *Ashantee War*?

Ladies have applied to me: but mainly, it  
appears, on account of my letter on *Prison*  
=*Treatment of Thieves* x !!

Dr Sutherland F.N.

{JS's reply follows}

x wh: it seems appeared in the "Times" **[end]**

initialled note, f202, pencil [8:981]

**f202**

*My little maid: Jenny: Pills 24/10/73*

Could you tell me what the enclosed Pills are? - or could you have them *analysed*?

Would you believe it that the maids of the mistress of ~~the~~ supposed greatest authority on Nursing take Quack Medicines?

this for a pain described as filling the whole bust inside & catching the breath -

Her mother died early of consumption: her father early & suddenly of heart disease - This makes me very uneasy *What should you do?* F.N.

initialled note, f204, pencil

**f204**

*Electioneer's Charities* {arch: [letter to Sir Sydney Waterlow]  
(see his reply Nov 1) 30/10/73

My dear Dr. Sutherland

Could you read & suggest improvements on this letter & return it to me this afternoon by your Messenger if possible?  
F.N.

{JS's reply follows}

initialled letter, ff205-08v, pencil [*Times* "Voting Charities" 4 November 1873 10F

**f205**

*Private 30/10/73*

Dear Sir Sydney Waterlow

You have more than once invited me to the privilege of corresponding with you in your many wise & benevolent undertakings.

In none more do I wish you God speed than in what I believe you have now in hand: viz the considering the nuisance of the system of *election* of Candidates to Charitable Institutions.

My experience (which has been, as you may suppose) very large,) would induce

**f205v**

me to describe it as the best  
system for electing the  
least eligible: or at best  
~~of~~ the system ~~of~~/for preventing  
the discovery of the *most*  
eligible

You who are the master of  
all the facts & all the  
arguments relating to this  
unconsciously nefarious trade  
need not be troubled by  
me with these:  
I call it trade, for I conclude  
that many contributors must  
sell their votes, from the  
number of ~~10~~ applications I  
have (not to sell mine but)  
to give money to buy others'-

**f206**

I will only add that for  
very many years my  
experience has been such  
as to compel me to contribute  
to no Charity except anonymously  
which gives me a vote, i.e. which elects by vote the  
poor who are to benefit by it.

In one instance the Charity  
insisted ~~my name upon~~ keeping  
my name ~~on~~ as a Subscriber:  
& upon my withdrawing my  
subscription in consequence,  
~~they~~ it wrote to me, (rather  
impertinently, you will allow)  
that my name was worth  
more than my money.

And - my name still figures  
on their List of Subscribers.

**f206v**

Of course I am deluged with applications for my vote x what is worse my ~~&~~ "interest"

I know other persons whose judgment is to be esteemed as much higher than mine, but whose experience of this great evil of the day cannot be larger: names well known in your world of active benevolence who have adopted the same course that is, of giving no ~~no~~ contribution except anonymously which brings with it a vote.

As to the evil: I scarcely know whether it is greater to the Canvassers or the Canvassed - to the Canvassers in absorbing

**f207**

-2-

time, money & energy which would ~~support~~ /nurse, relieve or educate a Legion of applicants

to the Canvassed for, in that they who want ~~it~~ most are they who get ~~it~~ least

Permit me two illustrations & let me stop there:

1. A now aged & experienced philanthropist once said to me, quite simply: "when the lists of sufferers (candidates) are sent to me, I look/~~go~~ them thru ~~down~~ for those who have fewest or smallest or no names to canvass for them or look them up.

*Of course these are they who are most in need"*

Would that all followed this example:



**f207v**

2. A lady of noble name once  
gave me the ~~abridgement~~/summing up  
of her exertions in the  
Canvassing line:

for about 6 weeks:

12 or 13 hours a day spent in it

£30

180 letters within a day -

nervous fever ~~which ruined~~  
~~her health~~ at the close

Upon my expressing my  
vigorous & grieved astonishment  
that such energy which  
might have organized &  
supported the whole Institution  
should have been wasted  
thus in canvassing for it  
she added - Yes, ~~it~~/these things have ruined my  
health ~~too~~ for life.

**f208**

Vigour run to waste  
which might do what these  
Charities profess but don't do  
~~at their best~~

applicants in wretched ~~need~~/suffering  
of whom those whose ~~sufferings~~  
need is the greatest are those  
who are most often disappointed ~~in this~~  
~~help~~

this is the sum ~~of~~ & substance  
of Electioneering Charity

One more illustration & I have  
done -

I have lately been consulted  
upon a proposed Charity  
where the poor applicants are to  
subscribe but the annuity

**f208v**

promised is still to go by vote  
of the rich contributors  
This on the ground that otherwise  
the rich would not contribute!  
How ingrained must be our  
gambling propensities!  
Pardon me this letter: ~~I only~~  
~~wished to~~ Would I could strengthen your hand.  
But I am myself unable from  
illness & business to suggest  
remedies - ~~But I am~~  
However, your hands are thank  
God strong enough already  
F.N.

initialled note, f209, pencil

**f209**

Nov 3/73

*Dr. Sutherland*

Please say what you think  
of Sir S. Waterlow's request  
& return it me if possible  
by your own messenger this  
afternoon -

I enclose my original  
Draft for reference  
F.N.

{JS's reply follows} The ld mayor has altered your letter so that it is now a simple protest. [?] You must leave it so, as he is the best judge of the case. I have no doubt that after his experience of the meeting he does not wish that a red rag shd be shaken in the face of the mad bull. Look at line 12...

unsigned letter, JS to FN, ff210-11v, pen Nov 4/73 {Indian questions} embossed

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff212-12v, pen Nov 18/73 {arch: [Re Gordon Balfour "Lord Mayor's Day" /73]}

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff213-14, pen Nov 21/73 {Mr. Clark}

45757 incomplete note, f214v, pencil

**f214**

Mr. Clark Nov 2/73

I am very sorry about this  
*Can you suggest what to do  
about an Engineer to replace him?*  
`[I have written to Capt. Galton's  
& Mr. Clark ~~filed~~ to Mr. Rawlinson.-]

*Reformatories*

& C.D. Acts

[8:488]

Sir H. Verney is coming up to see  
Mr. Lowe about this:

specially about the *Portsmouth*  
Lock Hospl that you know of -  
*Can you tell me whether or what  
'Refuge' or 'Home' there is already  
at Portsmouth?*

I cannot imagine that Govt. will go to  
the Ho of C for fresh powers: nor  
of course, do I wish it.  
If they do anything for Sir H.V., it might  
be a small grant in aid

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff215-16v, pen {Mr. Clark; arch: [See Sir B.  
Frere 25.11.73]} embossed

initialled letter 5 Dec 1873, JS to FN, ff217-18v, pen {arch: [See Mr. Clark  
2.12.73]} embossed

initialled letter, 9 Dec 1873 JS to FN, ff219-20, pen {Miss Cameron} Alleyn  
Park

unsigned letter, ff221-25, pencil

**f221**

{bottom of the page}

C.D. Acts 35 S. St [15:500]

Portsmouth Dec 15/73

Dear Dr Sutherland

I have been embarked in this cruelly against my will: as I have not an oz. of strength to spare, & have no hope of good to carry me on: besides being quite overworked in almost every direction already.

I did not understand your *first* letter about Mr Cardwell: & had drafted a letter (for Sir Harry Verney) to Mr. Cardwell before your *second* came.

Messrs. Cardwell & Lowe *expressly*, (as I sent you the documents to show,) *refuse* any "*Legislative*"

**f221v**

changes: but Mr. Cardwell assured Sir Harry that he *desired to consider the subject: in view - of making a grant, & of any administrative changes--* In that view I drafted the Letter

~~But~~ Mr. Vernon Lushington, Secretary to the Admiralty, (whom of course I could easily reach,) would probably be very glad to *entertain any suggestions* in the same way--

He goes down to inspect: & is very accessible to influence.

Last week I had *the Matron* with me for 4 hours: she is full of zeal & ability, (& knows it well:) conscientious & energetic: but with a strong vein of worldliness & humbug cropping up in unexpected places (which she does not know at all) She is a hard, clever, religious little Scotchwoman: a person whom one can trust the more - because she has no *sentimental* views, but a strong horror of the sin - to give a very plain unvarnished account: [She was a St. Thomas' Sister] She wants more salary: has only £40

I enclose what I have written down - at what cost to myself no one can tell

I also enclose (for reference) the papers you

**f221**

{top of the page}  
saw before

[I did not think that any thing was wanting  
to give me a greater horror of the Acts.]

Tho', if I were to publish what I have written, I  
do think it would almost suffice *to set the women* of  
England up *to repeal the Acts*,

yet I repeat I have no purpose of a "legislative" kind.

Please consider what is to be done *in this view*.

[Please to send me my papers back when you return them by  
a messenger: in order not to crease them: I can't rewrite them.]

**f222** {arch: [ca. 1873]}

I could not hatch their eggs - I had more than enough of  
my own: & theirs did not strike my fancy **[end 15:500]**

I have a great aversion of monopolizing every thing in  
Nursing

I decline all responsibility for a plan which I never  
approved nor blamed, but had taken no part whatever in

{at the bottom of the page, upside down}

Gas	18	9
Wool	4	
Draper		6 4
	8	

incomplete letter, ff223-25, pen

**f223** {arch: [ca Jan. 1874].}

{JS's comments in bold}            -2- The only disadvantage is the  
                                     : summer heat & the north  
                                     exposure. Vide what Hun [Hew?]  
*due South:* or nearly South                                     said

even then I should open a large dormer window to the *E.* over the *Infants' Room*: tho' to give this a flat roof is so objectionable -

This could be done but a pitched roof might be preferable

[I do not think any sufficient good is to be obtained by opening a Dormer window to the N.W. OVER the Class Room (present proposed Block plan retained) as to light & air. the 3 aspects proposed S.W., N.W., N.E., for a room of this size ~~is~~ are nearly as bad as possible and, at the present price of coal, most costly are not they?

4.

Boys' Park

appears to me so objectionable as proposed  
that a *Passage Porch between School & Class*  
Rooms altho' draughty & uncomfortable is  
preferable **I concur, vide my plan.**

5.

### Infants' Rooms

The giving 2 *good* aspects to this does not compensate for the great loss to the School Room

6.

*Girls' Porch:* I see much objection & no sufficient gain in the

**f224** {arch: [ca Jan 1874] re {illeg Mount? Town} School?

- 3 -

proposed projection to *Girls' & Infants' Porch* -  
The opposite corners of School Room are thus both blocked up  
by the 2 *Porches*.

Why cannot the *Principal or Visitors' Entrance* be thro' the *Girls' (Passage) Porch*?  
not thro' the *Boys'*?

**f224**

-4-

*W.C.s* Are they not *too near* the building?

**yes decidedly. They  
should be away from  
the effective playground**

*Master's House -*

I think the suggested alterations are improvements,  
if "*Cupboard*" & "*Stores*" have *each a window*.  
So serious do the present difficulties of appeal  
appear that if the *present site* does  
not conveniently admit of *another disposition*  
of buildings - would it not be adviseable  
to recur to the former sites proposed?

envelope, ff226-26v, pen

**f226** {JS's comments in bold}

(with a roll) with a Wild-duck  
& a Teal

{edge of sheet is missing}

{*Priv*}ate

**A great deal better adapted  
to their purpose than the  
Roll I keep the one &  
send back the other with  
with thanks & amazement**

JS.

Dr. Sutherland  
Horse Guards

21/2/74

**f226v** {pencilled note in JS's hand}

unsigned note to Dr Sutherland, Add Mss 45757 f227, pencil

**f227**

Feb 21/74

[8:783]

Dear Dr. Sutherland

The enclosed plans are plans for the Ladies' College at Cambridge, under the "principal" Miss Clough -

They earnestly ask for your advice  
The plans seem to be nearly as bad as they possibly  
can be made in almost every respect  
Please send these *my 8 pages & the plans* back to-day, without fail, *with your criticisms* - They *must* have them tonight.

initialled letter, ff228-28v, pencil

[16:799-800]

**f228** {at the bottom of the page}

Wellow School 35 S. St

Feb 27/74

Dear Dr. Sutherland

1. Would you be so very kind as to look once more at these miserable plans?
2. They have now ~~proposed~~/chosen a new *site* to the *N.* instead of to the *S.* of the *same road* - In some respects this is a great improvement but if it is to entail the objections I have pointed out (in the 4 enclosed pages) *which please return to me* does it not become inadmissible?
3. Please be so good as to make your remarks.



**f228v**

& suggestions on *all* these points

4. & on *any other that may occur*

5. also: as to whether the *W.C.s* are not too *near*?

6. [I cannot conceive Beatrice suggesting the

*Boys' Porch* on the *only sunny* side

Some weeks ago when Mrs. Empson

suggested it - the *long School room* having

(as you will perhaps, I hope, remember) *then*

2 good sunny aspects *S.E. & S.W.* (the *Infants' Room*

being as in *pencil plan B.*)

Beatrice violently, - &, as I thought, justly opposed it)

"Tantaene animus coelestibus"

caelestibus irae" changes?]

7. The *Coppice* may be *grubbed up* leaving

4 or 5 good trees a nice addition to the

*Boys' Playground*: but as unfortunately

the largest of these trees is in the green line

*between Coppice & School* this would

overshadow the *School* if placed too near:

& *the School* overshadow the *Play-ground* -

8. On the *other* side the *Coppice & Road*, but

within the 7 prevailing Winds, there is a nearly

**f228** {top of the page}

used up *Brick field & kiln* -

They say this will be *extinct* by the time  
the School is built -

Are there any precautions necessary  
with an extinct *Brick field* ?

9.

N.B. The specifications Mr. Thomas so kindly  
overhauled will be almost the same for  
any alterations we may pass

We shall be truly obliged to you for your  
suggestions *to cut our knot - Please return me*  
all this yrs v. ffully F.N. **[end 16:800]**

initialled note, f229, pen {arch: [Wellow School] March 2/74}  
**[16:800]**

*Dr. Sutherland*

This, & this only - viz -  
the *two* ridiculously  
small *windows* to  
the S.W. in the gable  
of the General School=  
Room (above the  
lower pitched roof  
of the Infants' Room)  
which are all that  
is possible - makes  
one think that  
one must give up  
Plan A.A. What do  
you say?

**[end]**

{pencil} 5. {there is a pencil sketch}. JS: Plan B gives the master's house  
the really best site. If I were he I wd stick to it. Plan B places all the  
school rooms in a decidedly inferior exposure. Plan AA is much better, but if  
the ...Lines on AA far better than on BB wh is indeed a complicated plan. [so  
FN consulted JS on, this his reply]

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff229v-30, pen {JS's comments on the Wellow  
School plans}

initialled letter, ff231-32, pencil

*Lock: Portsmouth 35 S. St March 7/74*

**f231**

I think that this is pretty well:  
considering that Sir Harry goes down with  
the *Admiralty* Inspector at their, the  
*Admiralty's* invitation, they having written a  
letter to show that my whole statement is  
"gross misrepresentation, injustice & inaccuracy"  
that, under these auspices, this is all they can  
disprove - In fact a good deal of what

**f231v**

they disprove ~~is~~ actually tallies with  
my statement viz. that the reforms  
have been made "*since June*" by the  
personal influence of a Matron who  
cannot stay because she is not  
paid enough (she has an old widowed  
mother}  
& has only been there since January 1873.

**f232**

Please make your comments & point  
out any further subjects of enquiry  
on a separate sheet  
(~~but~~ NOT on Sir H's rough Draft to the  
*Admiralty*)  
& return me all these & *this*:  
for I have to see Sir H.V. about it  
tonight

F.N.

Dr. Sutherland

initialled letter, ff233-34, pencil

**f233**

Wellow School          March 13/74          [16:800]

Dear Dr. Sutherland

Could you look once more at these  
& return them to me to night?  
their last invention (see plan pinned  
on "Block plan")

appears an unmitigated evil -  
giving no more sun to *Master's House*  
& cutting off BY *Master's House* the whole

**f233v**

free line of School rooms to the W.

But I don't object to the *Boys' Porch*  
[I am quite weary of this]

Please say          F.N.  
{JS's reply follows}

I send you the *OLD* Elevation  
for you to judge about roofs

**f234**

I don't object to Master having a sun:

but he must not have *my* sun          [end]  
{JS 's reply follows}

signed letter, ff235-37, pencil

**f235**

*Wellow School* Embley  
Romsey

April 10/74

[16:801]

Dear Dr. Sutherland

Please let me ask you a  
last 'vero ultimo" - question  
about this -

Shore and I are really  
at last breaking ground

The *last* plan, accepted  
by all the Great Tycoons, is:  
- to build Master's House &  
School *separately* -

The question I want to  
ask you is about the *School*:  
*Please answer by return of post:*

**f235v**

We have reverted to this plan:  
{plan follows}

The lie of the ground (in the new  
site) favours this plan: &  
gives a very good play-ground  
on one side & on the other  
(planted out) Yards & School  
Offices -

**f236**

{JS's replies in bold}

The questions are:

1. Will that *corner* between  
*Boys' Porch & Infants'*  
Room be *dark*, looking  
as it does to the N? **Yes**
2. do you like the *S.W. & S.E.*  
aspect of *Long Room*? **No**  
or do you think the *S.W.*  
*long side* will be hot? **Yes**
3. do you think there will  
be a deficiency in light  
& air on opposite side  
of *Long Room*? (*N.E. side*)?

**To some extent yes**

N.B. We get rid of *Passage*  
*Porch* wh: I always thought  
a nuisance - yrs v. ffully  
F. Nightingale

**[end 16:801]**

{ff236v & 237 are JS's reply & plan}

initialled letter, ff238-39v, pencil

**f238**

*Pleasley School* 35 S. St.  
May 11/74

Dear Dr. Sutherland

We are going to build large Schools at Pleasley  
for 200 to 250 children -

Sir H.V. put this plan into my hand, requires  
an immediate answer.

I dislike parts of the plan very much

1. I think the Infant School perfectly intolerable  
with only *one S.E.* and one *N.W.* window  
and I propose to turn it round with *long side* to

**f238v***S.E.*

& to put *Master's House* somewhere next  
the *Class-room*

- 2 I also think the *offices* & *Walls* & *Gravel*  
yards blocking in the whole corner of the  
building (& is completing the parallelogram)  
pestiferous.
3. The large School room a right angled room  
has a good *S.E.* & *S.W.* exposure

**f239**

but the *Porch* must be moved up to the part  
adjoining *Class-room* Else it blocks out sun

4. The Class room will have no sun all the  
year round: *S.W.* & *N.E.* exposure: but I  
know not how to improve it  
[And this is a Government plan!!!]
- N,B, The ground slopes rapidly from the  
*S.W.* (Class Room) side down to a  
brook below the (present proposed) *Master's*  
House so that unless we put the

**f239v**

*Master's House* on a much lower level, we  
could not move it farther out *this* way  
The new *Colliery Works* are about 150 yards to the  
*S.W.* [The Railroad was to have run  
*between* them & the School: but this has been  
prevented]  
The large *School-room* is the only portion of this  
plan intended to be carried out *this* year.  
Please return me *this*:

F.N.

initialled letter, ff240-41v, pencil [16:772-73]

**f240** {arch: [see Capt. Galton May 2 sending these plans to F.N.]}

*Glamorganshire Home for Convalescents* 35 S. St.  
May 16/74

Dear Dr. Sutherland

You will remember having ~~this~~ before a previous  
plan for this; from that Dr. Lewis

I hardly know how to criticize it

1. "It is like a *cottage Home*", because it is not
2. I think I never saw so much *complication* with  
so little *accommodation*
3. It has all high wrought accessories of a *Hospital*  
*without* its means: of *supervision*.

**f240v**

4. And it has all the inconveniences of *sub-division*,  
*without* its advantages
5. The *wards* are like the famous *goose*, too much  
(for a *Home*): too little (for a *Hospital*)
6. If the "Central Pavilion" is meant for *sick* (relapses)  
then they ought not to be ~~in the same block as~~/separated by  
*Day & Dining Room: & each Ward ought*  
*but by a Nurses' room -*
7. Every arrangement seems to be made for  
*something else*

**f241**

8. The appendages are those of *St. Thomas'*:  
*the site's plan wild country*
  9. The blocks are like *Pavilions* seen thro' the  
wrong end of a Telescope & called *Cottages*
  10. You might as well diminish the *Herbert Hospital* to  
one hundredth of its size & say: now I  
have built a *Cottage* for *Convalescents* because I  
have omitted the Corridor
  11. The *Matron's* Room must not be in the *Offices*  
& the *Manager's* Room must not be by the  
*sick*
- [I should recommend the Architect to go & see



**f241v**

the Liverpool Convalescent Home built by  
Worthington (I do not like the plans:  
but it is far better than this:) it has 3 *bedded*  
rooms: like Vincennes - 6 or 8, I think, - besides others  
Miss Leslie, a most intelligent woman, trained  
by us, is its Matron: She would frankly tell its  
success & its defects from experience. ]  
12 There is *no supervision whatever* for Ground  
Floors of *Side Pavilions* [26:773]  
Please return me *this*: F.N.

initialled letter, f242, pencil

**f242**

*My small Notes on Nursing* 35 S. St.  
*for new Edition* May 22/74  
I not only thankfully send you a copy for  
*additions & Corrections for a new Edition*  
but a copy interleaved  
I would however suggest that you should  
kindly make your additions & criticisms  
*on separate sheets* & leave me to enter them  
*on the interleaved copy* F.N.

unsigned letter, ff244-45, pencil

**f244**

*Notes on Nursing* 35 S. St  
*New Edition* June 15/74  
Dear Dr. Sutherland  
After keeping me & Harrisons *a year and a half*  
waiting, you keep the copy sent *one hour*  
& return me about *half an hour's* work in  
suggestions (on my own little sheet)  
I have rather more to do each day than can be done  
in the 24 hours And this is my busiest time  
Unless you can do something more for me - I think  
I shall give up the idea of furnishing Harrison's -which

**f245**

I only promised upon *your* suggestion & *promise*  
repeatedly renewed to help - with a new  
Edition. He has sent for it again & again

I now send you back these poor little 'scrimped duds'

I think p. 2/ M.S. that a most effective & useful  
addition might be made to *Chapter "Health of Houses about Sewer Air*  
*Schools, Houses, Fever, Pr of Wales,* if you would  
give me the data, I would put them into form

If not, not [*Indeed I thought that this was to have been the*  
*main part of the addition.*]

You can take out your own story of the handkerchief  
if you like it Je n'y tiens pas

Nightingale asked her colleague for data on sewer gas

ff246-46v letter to John Sutherland, black-edged. Pencil

35 S. St.

June 18/74

"Notes on Nursing"

New Editn.

Dear Dr Sutherland

Excuse me for trying to ~~coming to~~ you once more:

If we ~~you~~ would give me the *base data*

know about *Sewer Air* coming into our ~~the~~ houses  
*how it comes*

*how it can be preventible?* Briefly & generally

-as exemplified too often alas! In *London*

in our ~~my~~ own houses

or in a *grand country house by the sea*

where the heir to the throne was all but

v

~~murdered~~ killed

in what should be /was attempted to introduce as *Legislation* via Mr Stansfeld  
in ~~Caius~~ College ~~Cambridge~~ at Universities

~~or some similar instances~~

in some of the numberless instances of *Typhoid*

& *Typhus*;

this cause:

~~saying briefly~~ how the *Sewer Air* come sin

& generally & how it is to be prevented;

you wd much oblige yours to command

we must seek the cause of the sewer air in bad sewer drains. F.N.

18 June 1874

Notes on Nursing. New Edition.

Excuse me for trying you once more. If we would know about *sewer air*  
coming into our *houses*, *how it comes*, *how it can be prevented*, briefly and  
generally, as exemplified too often alas! in *London* in our own houses, in a

*good country house by the sea, where the heir to "the throne" was all but killed [murdered], should be was attempted to introduce as legislation, in [Caius College] colleges [Cambridge], at universities, in schools [like the R. Hibernian], in some of the numberless instances of typhoid and typhus, [like Lord Chilvers], even among noblemen's children, from the cause, finding out how the sewer air comes in and how it can be prevented, yours to command,*

F.N.

We must seek the cause of the sewer air in bad sewers and drains.

initialled note on embossed WO stationery, JS to FN, FN to JS, ff250-51, pen & pencil  
[6:556-57]

**f250**

Quetelet 23/6/74

my own opinion is in  
favour simply of a portrait such  
as Dr. Ian proposes. It appears  
the best *sequitur* to the Brussels  
Bust. One has to look  
into the future & see whether  
in raising a high class  
monument one is not raising  
a low class monument to  
one's self in after- time.

I was once placed on a  
committee for a memorial to a  
dear friend of my own who  
served faithfully his generation  
in his own line. Although I  
knew most of him, I proposed

**f250v**

simply a bas relief portrait in  
white marble as a memorial  
that {underlining in pencil - FN} *such a man had*  
*lived & that such work*  
*had been done.* (He was amongst  
other things, the father of Night  
Asylums for the houseless poor)  
I was however overruled by the  
whole Committee & we put up  
a statue sculptured at Rome  
by Gibson (the younger) I believe, and  
at the funeral day no one  
except those who knew him  
here any idea of why it is  
there!!

I scarcely see the force of  
medals in such a case. or  
scholarships. We have as  
you know an absolute ~~of~~  
plethora of statistics &  
{FN's pencil}} *literary*

**f251** {JS's pen} Statisticians, and the only  
medal I would found would  
be one to encourage young  
men {FN's underlining} *to take existing statistics*  
& tell us *what on earth to*  
*do with them.* We want  
a similar medal for  
Meteorological observations  
FN I never read Q's Phys Soc  
without being astounded at the force  
of genius & of accurate observation  
wh: has produced such a work  
but also never without feeling that  
such a man shd have lived 150/twice 75 years  
instead of 75: that the work is  
but an Introduction & even/ but an  
imperfect one - & that the  
world might be reformed & transformed  
almost into the fabled Millennium!  
there will be no heaven unless we  
make it.           if it did but

**f251v**

know how to make use of the Statistics  
wh: Quetelet has given us in  
reforming Legislation, Government,  
Criminal Law, Education, Institutions  
Sanitary practice &c &c  
{in JS's pen, written between the paragraphs, upside down}  
The sous letter is beautiful.

Quetelet's short Chapter on  
Medicine alone is a book for a  
whole Profession to work out  
May you & I & this generation  
now springing up be called  
more & more to the sacred duty  
of applying Statistics to reform  
the world!

**[end 6:557]**

My Preface to  
Quetelet  
{written in small writing in the bottom left corner}  
Trustworthy  
Punctual  
Quiet & orderly  
Clearly & healthy  
Patient Cheerful  
& Kindly  
p. 7  
& 8

**f252**

In memoriam  
To  
Quetelet  
F.N.

**f253 [6:557]**

## Preface

I write this less to indicate any results than to  
 shew the way to find them to those who  
 have the leisure &/ the power & the will  
 Aim less to treat the subject radically than to shew how interesting  
 & how necessary to be treated radically  
 For facts of this kind, there can be no expression too lively,  
 too raw or too strong  
 My aim not to present a complete picture but to shew how  
 our political Institutions & our philanthropy  
 may influence - our whole being, physical & moral  
 Prophets the first Protestants

initialled note, ff254-55v, pencil

**f254** {arch: see her letters, July 30- Aug}

*Miss Schuyler* 35 S. St.  
 31/7/74

What would you answer this woman  
 How can I write her a Poor Law Treatise?  
 F.N.

PS.

Dr. Warburg is "living" - And if you had  
 read Genl Cotton's Memo which I sent you  
 You wd have seen that it was on that very account I was  
 {continued up the right hand side of the page}  
 asked for advice

{ff254v-55v JS's reply}

initialled note, ff256-57, pen

**f256**

*Mr. Bright: Liverpool* {arch: [See her letters re Liverpool Lying in Charity,  
 Sept 4 & 11] **[8:370]**}

Claydon  
 8/9/74

What should you say in answer to his 3  
 questions?

[Dr. Steele does not seem to have gone  
 much farther than our book for his figures]  
 F.N.

{JS's reply follows, & on f257}

initialled note, f258-58v, pen & pencil

**f258**

*Mr. Barnes of Liverpool* {arch: [See her letter May 22/74] sending "Notes on Surgical Nursing"}

Claydon Ho:  
Bucks  
8/9/74

What can I say to this?

{pencil} I do not see what I can do but order a certain

number (which I don't want) {pen} F.N.

{pencil} & pay him 2/ a piece for them

{JS's answer follows to f258v}

initialled note, f259-60, pen

**f259**

Lea Hurst

Matlock

Sept 23/74

I have brought my poor mother down here, after all.

{JS's comment}

What shall I say to this Mr. Wray?

F.N.

{JS's answer follows to f260}

initialled note, f261-64, pencil

**f261**

*Moscow Children's Hospital* 4/1/75 [16:804-05]

Dear Dr. Sutherland

The enclosed gentleman came to London at the end of August with plans of the above as he said to consult me

At the same time, came 2 Canadian gentlemen from Montreal with proposals to us to send a Canadian lady we have in training (an admirable one) & Nurses to their *old Hospital - improvements* to be made - at Montreal

The collision was in the nick of time since



**f262**

the *Russian* declared that what the *Canadians* said was *impossible* was *perfectly easy*:

viz - ventilation by *windows* open

- open ~~coat~~ fire-places

- W.C.'s in outside wall: apparatus to prevent water & soil pipes from freezing -

[Every body was out of London but me:

so I made what strife I could by myself -

You were abroad.]

± The *Russian* has now written me the enclosed letter, in answer to my written (August) criticisms:

I have from memory put down a slight sketch of one of the 8 Buildings

There was much that was really beautiful: but the administrative & Nursing arrangements were fabulously insufficient

F.N.

**f263***Proposed MOSCOW Children's Hospital*

[ from memory ]  
 [ Jan 4/75 ]

One Building (out of 8) for "Surgical & Internal Diseases"

{sketch follows}

[1 story this wing] Boys'

Ward

for 16 beds

Play room for Girls & Boys

2 Stories

Ward

Vestibule

W.C.

30 beds

[ 1 Story

Bath

for infants

this wing]

etc

both sexes

{written horizontally} 1 bed

Operating room

1 bed

2 beds

1 bed

1 bed

1 bed

1 bed

1 bed

W.C. Bath

& Vestibule

Girls'

Corridor

Ward

for 16 beds

Porch &

[Nurses' rooms above

Entrance

2nd Story]

[I think there was more *outside* Wall - in this Moscow plan than in any plan I ever saw]

The advantages of plan were enormous:

- *outside* windows & ventilation by windows:

pipes & water prevented from freezing by warm

water apparatus

But

[over]

**f264**

-2-

there was no W.C. Bathroom, Nurses' Room or Scullery  
to *any* of the *Wards*

The *one* bed Wards all opened out of one another:

& into the Corridor: which Corridor was  
closed at both ends: at one end by a  
darkish Vestibule (& Wing): at the other  
by W.C.s (&Wing) -

Over the centre building are the Nurses' Rooms

One of my criticisms to the most intelligent

Projector (Dr. Rauchfuss was that *all*  
the Nurses' rooms were away from the Wards.

He concludes from this that I wish *all* the  
Nurses' Rooms to adjoin Wards.

Like a man, he does not see (all the Nurses, it  
appears are under him) at St. Petersburg: as under a  
Director at Moscow) the absolute necessity,  
rather *more* in a *Children's* Hospital than  
any where else: rather more where *mothers*  
are admitted to nurse their own children in  
*one*=bed Wards than under any other circumstances  
- of having a *Head Nurse* or Sister *sleeping*  
*off her own Ward* in command of her own Ward or  
Division day & *night*: & of having a Matron -

[It is rather disheartening to be having always to repeat this self-  
evident

axiom]

**[end 16:805]**

initialled letter, JS to FN, ff 265-66, pen {re Lord Northbrook} black-edged  
H.G.

initialled note, f266v, pen

**f266v**

*Lord Northbrook's answer to my letter to Lord Salisbury*

What should I say to *Ld Salisbury*?

And what should I write to *Ld Napier of Magdala*  
at whose instigation (& Sir B. Frere's) my letter  
was chiefly written ?

[It is a real misfortune that Sir B. Frere (who is in France)  
has never returned to me *Ld Salisbury's* letter to me -  
You can judge of its kindness by what he must have  
written to Lord Northbrook: but you cannot  
judge of its ignorance.]

5/1/75 F.N.

{JS's reply follows}

unsigned note, f267, pencil

**f267**

Moscow

{JS's notes follow}

initialled note, f268, pencil

**f268**

35 South St

Will you say what you think about this

& *return it to me to-night?*

[It is obvious that Sir B. Frere thinks I should  
write to Lord Salisbury at once: so that  
Lord S. may, if he pleases, write to Lord  
Northbrook by *this weeks' mail*,] ~~if he likes?~~

Could you get *Ld. Northbrook's letter* COPIED in the  
Office & *returned to me to night?*

F.N.

{ff 268v-69 JS's reply}

initialled note, f270, pen

**f270**

Could you give a judgment upon the enclosed

(impracticable if desirable

& undesirable if practicable)

{ They propose an  
Act of Parliament

20/1/75

F.N.

{JS's reply written in the top margin & f271v}

**f272** {arch: [aft. 24 Jan. 1875, Jan 24th 1875 date of Salisbury's speech at Manchester]}

there were many blunders as to matters of *fact*  
such as the Ryots not taking the water &c &c &c  
in Lord Salisbury's Manchester speech.  
but the great blunder of all was a worse blunder  
than one of fact: a fundamentally wrong feeling,  
For ever they prate of our "awakening" the Hindoo  
from his "ancient & secular torpor",  
of the Bengali's want of enterprise  
want of elasticity  
of India's "torpid state":

**£273**

I conclude that you have received both

- poor Mr. Plowden's Annual &
- Dr. Cunningham's Report.

2. Also; one of Sir P. Martin's: Fever:  
rejected because we thought we could have  
got Chinnery's

One of the Photographs you will see is merely a Village School

**f273v**

With regard to your letter:  
 there were many blunders as to matters of *fact*:  
 such as the Ryots not taking the water &c &c  
 in Lord Salisbury's Manchester speech:  
 but the great blunder of all seemed to me  
 a fundamental one: a worse blunder than  
 those in matter of fact -  
 For ever they talk of our "awakening" the  
 Hindoo from his "ancient & secular torpor",  
 of the Bengali's want of enterprise, want of  
 elasticity, of ~~the~~ India's "torpid" state:  
 This seems to be the very reverse of what is  
 the real state of the case:  
 I must finish this another time  
 F.N.

{JS's reply follows & on f274-74v}

unsigned letter, ff275-76v. pen

**f275**

Dear Dr. Sutherland

35 S. St.

Jan 27/75

[Please join this on to the letter I send you yesterday: which  
 I had not time to finish] This, Lord Salisbury's statement: **[9:748-49]**  
~~This~~ seems the very reverse of the real state of  
 the case: (about "awakening")

In Bengal we have the most industrious peasantry  
 & artisans in the world. ~~who~~ in spite of serfdom  
 bowing them to the earth: in spite of the  
 Zemindar yoke which we have put (&crushed  
 down) upon their necks: - in spite of our  
 having done little or nothing with all our  
 great Western invention to improve or  
 stimulate theirs: see Sir George Campbell  
 in the very same "Times" who says that in  
 100 years we have introduced no improvement  
 in Eastern agriculture or breeds of cattle  
 Nothing but indigo has improved by our boasted  
 "enterprise": [altho' Lord Salisbury ~~says~~ draws  
~~that~~ a disparaging comparison, ending in this  
 most gratuitous assertion that it is no use  
 setting Indian trade free, for they have not  
 British ardour.]

Nor have we at all done for them what  
 might have justly been expected from Western  
 capital, Western Engineering, English Public Works.  
 It is doubtful even whether in proportion

**f275v**

we have done for them more in some cases  
than their old rulers. Lord Salisbury  
says (untruly) that the only remunerative  
Irrigation works are those engrafted on  
old native works

Yet these people whom it is said we have  
to "awaken" - go on in spite of the heavy  
~~yoke~~ burdens our rule lays upon them:  
in spite of the still heavier atmosphere  
which our opening no career, or a career  
not much more than a drop in a bucket, for  
natives of education & intelligence to rise to, -  
lays about them, like Dante's leaden hood  
in spite of all this these people go on  
with incredible energy & industry almost  
unknown to our working classes, who drink  
or play their 3 days in the week -  
husbanding every drop of water for cultivation:  
keeping up the struggle for life against  
almost every draw -back that can be imposed

Instead of "awakening", the word should be:  
lifting off the burdens of an industrious &  
energetic people: allowing free course to  
their enterprise: enabling them to work without

**f276**

an incubus: ~~or~~ lifting off a ~~hindrance~~ system depriving  
them of the fruits of their labour:

Read in the "Progress of India" 1874 - just out -  
of the "extraordinary increase" (this relates to  
jute) "due solely to the energy of the ryots of  
Bengal": this is official testimony:

of their "creating the trade":

these are Government words:

of the "native cotton manufacturing industry"

& of the "excellence & durability of the clothes  
manufactured in India" so superior

[it is an I.O. official who writes]

of & "Manchester goods so "inferior":

of "rapid deterioration" of "Manchester imports"

this is a curious commentary coming out of

the I.O. ~~o~~/in the same week on the

speech of the master of the I.O. at Manchester

Read these things: & the jargon talked by

the highest quarters about India

seems like the Nursery song sung by the

Nurses ~~s~~ to their infant not intended

to have other meaning than a jingle to

put the baby to sleep -

But is Manchester a baby?

**f276v**

With all this, I think like Sir B. Frere

Ld Salisbury's worst better than any other

S. of S. for India's best -

And Ld Salisbury's kindness to me is almost

overpowering. I had two letters from him

yesterday & day before

**[end 9:749]**



signed letter, ff277-80v, pen

**f277**

*Nursing at the Herbert Hospit* 35 South St.  
Feb 2/75

Dear Dr. Sutherland

You might think well to bring this  
before Sir Wm Muir {arch: the Dr. Muir there were 3 Sir W. Muir's}

The only reason why I do not trouble  
him directly is: that I should have to  
tell him a long story, - and I, and I have  
no doubt he is too, am so overwhelmed  
with work that I find this quite out  
of my power.

I entirely concur that, if women Nurses

**f278**

(trained Nurses) cannot be in Military

Hospitals *under the "Regulations"* framed  
for the employment of Nurses in such Hospitals,  
they had better not be there at all:

that the two Nurses now at Herbert Hospl  
are not under such "Regulations":

& particularly that a Nurse in charge of linen  
*under a Capt.* of Orderlies is in quite an  
impossible position.

That part of the Linen business which is under the  
women must be adjoining their own quarters:  
& under their own Matron- Superintendent.

2. *A FROTTEUR for St. THOMAS' Hospital* 3

We have failed in finding this very  
necessary, indeed essential, Article: tho' I  
have made all sorts of enquiries at the  
Board of Works & elsewhere

It is possible that Sir Wm Muir would  
bear us in mind in case a superannuated  
N.C. Officer or Orderly from the Medical Staff  
Corps who has really been a good *frotteur*  
at Netley or the Herbert would 'take office'  
at St. Thomas'? He would find it a  
good berth there, if efficient.

**f278v**

Pray believe me  
yours very ffully  
F. Nightingale

**f279**

-2-

N.B. I dare say that you notice that all the  
foreigners without any exception who  
come to England to inspect the Herbert  
for a practical purpose & who  
communicate with me speak of  
instantly detecting the absence of women  
at the Herbert from the want of  
cleanliness & neatness *about the Patients*

I sent you one Russian letter, the writer  
of which came to London to consult me  
about a Moscow Hospital, in which you  
would observe that he forcibly sets this forth.

{JS's reply ff280-80v} Feb 2/75

signed letter, f281, pen

**f281**

*Herbert Hospital Nursing 35 South St.*  
March 15/75

Dear Dr. Sutherland  
You will see that it is impossible for me to  
say anything about the Draft enclosed,  
~~because I have~~ /it does not as yet appear whether we  
may/~~shall~~ not be asked to send a Nursing Staff  
in the only way which will make it ~~im~~  
impossible for us to comply with the request  
according to their own Regulations, including provision of Quarters  
yours very faithfully  
F. Nightingale

initialled note, ff282-83v, pen & pencil

**f282**

Liverpool District Nurses 35 S. St. [8:371]  
13/3/75

{pencil}

Would you look at this sheet  
prepared in accordance with our instructions  
It is very curious that they should have so high a  
Mortality from Puerperal Fever  
& Childbirth

*at their own homes\**

& so low Mortality in the *Workhouse*:

the *number* of Childbirth Cases (400) being but a few  
less than what the *WORKHO*: has had of late years

Other ~~things in it~~ /figures are also unexpected

I suppose the "Deaths" do NOT include F.N. \*N.B. The same Nurse  
those of Cases "Removed to Hospital" nurses Fevers & Childbirth

{ff283-83v JS's reply}

initialled note, ff284-93v, pencil

**f284**

Montreal General Hospital 35 S. St. [16:814-15]  
June 2/75

My dear Dr Sutherland

*Could you kindly look over these plans: &  
make any suggestions?:*

I enclose a few of mine: (very imperfect, as yet.)  
We are requested to make haste: but this should  
not prevent the most careful scrutiny.  
I am staying on purpose: yrs v. fully  
F.N.

{ff285-85v JS's reply}

**f286**

-1-

*Ground Floor*

1.  
*Probationers (& Nurses in general) should never be compelled to use a Lavatory*  
*A neat Wash stand in each compartment essential*  
*& the compt must be large enough for this:*
2.  
*How are the Nurses' ~~illeg~~/Compartments to be warmed?*
3. *Lady Supt must have an Office*  
*& also Matron*  
*should not be near Furnace Room &*
4. *Post Mortem Room should be quite removed from Hospl. It is almost under the Lady Supts room & the Nurses' Day room: Another window looks down upon its roof*

**f287v**

-2-

*1st Floor*

1. *Not desirable to have a P.P. Ward adjoining Night Nurses' Dormitories;*  
*Preferably one Nurses' Sick Ward may be required*  
*e.g. for a Lady Probationer who does not like being warded*
- Operation Room*  
*2 Operation Beds may be useful: but*  
*(generally) carry your Patient back to his Ward*  
*as soon as possible*

**f288**

-3-

*1st Floor*

1.

*Private Paying Wards: off Night Nurses' Dormitory*  
would require a *W.C.*

Or all slops would have to be carried *thro'* either  
the Dormitory which is impossible:  
or the Female Ward: which is undesirable

2. The objection applies to *ALL* the *P.P.* Wards:

& no *P.P. Patient* would go *thro'* a Ward  
to his *W.C.* supposing him able to use it  
her her

Nor should it be required. They should have a  
*private W.C.*

**[end 16:815]****f289v**

-4-

1.

Will ~~not~~ the *Private Paying Patients* come, unless  
their Wards are in a *separate block* or cluster  
from the mass of Patients?

*General Hospital*

2. I conclude that ~~these blocks~~ this Hospital can be so warmed  
as to admit of *open fire-places*  
*open windows*

of the *W.C.* & other *Pipes not freezing*  
& Hydraulic machinery ditto

& so ventilated that when windows can't be  
opened there will be *fresh air* provided

**f290**

-5-

*Out Patient Dept.*

1 It is certainly undesirable to have this *under* the Wards: tho' it appears well cut off

ACCIDENT RECEIVING WARDS

2. doors too narrow; & an awkward turn for carrying in Patients: *if from Corridor*

Or are they to pass *thro' In Patients Waiting Hall?*

3.

Undesirable to have *Stores under Wards*

tho' Kitchen being under Chapel ~~it so~~ is well contrived

**f291v**

-6-

1. Where are

*Nurses**Probationers* to dine?

2.

Please say whether it would not be undesirable to place *another story (for Probationers)*

OVER the *Ground Floor buildings* (one story)

of Entrance Hall &amp;c

3. *Fireplaces:* Is it not intended to give open Fireplaces to Lady Supt's Rooms, Day Rooms, Medical Officers Rooms,

**f292**

-7-

*Small Pox & Fever Hospital*

1. I should not like to be the *P.P. Patient* in the *small Polygonal Wards*

they are terribly built in with only *one corner* squinting out to open air:

& *Small Pox & Fever* ought if possible to have the open air ALL ROUND them as in Bath-room

I had much rather be in *Bath-room* jutting out at end

Also: I should have thought *Private Paying* ~~P/Small~~ *Pox & Fever* would peculiarly have objected to not

**f293**

-8-

having *their Small Wards* in  
Clusters to themselves:

Any how: they must have a *W.C. & W.C. sinks*  
to themselves: as there *is a* strong  
objection to carrying all their *W.C. slops* THRO'  
the Wards.

2.

And the *Nurses* ought *not* to be required  
to use the *Patients' W.C.s*  
especially ~~of~~/ in *Small Pox & Fever Patients*  
*General Hospital* -9-

1. This objection occurs elsewhere in the  
Hospital

The *Lady Supt* must have a *private W.C.*  
& the *Nurses* - of the *Men's Wards* at least  
a *private W.C.* on each floor

And all these *W.C.'s* so contrived so that  
the pipes shall not *freeze* -

2. The provision of *Baths* for the *Nurses* is good

They should also have a *Housemaid's Closet*  
to the *Dormitories*

**f293v**

-10-

3. I think the *Dormitory* for the *7 Day Nurses*  
would require a *W.C.* or they would so  
disturb the *16 Nurse Dormitory* in passing thro'

4. The *windows* of all the *Dormitories* should  
be so constructed that one woman could  
*open her half* without *opening her*  
*neighbour's half.*

signed note, f294-94v, pen & pencil Sept 15/75

**f294**

"*Temperature: Childbirth*": Dr. Moore {pencil] Lea Hurst  
Cromford Derby

Aug 14/75

- What do you think of this little book?

- *And what* should I say?

{JS's note: Book returned by post - JS}

You know, I suppose, that Capt. Galton has  
resigned: I think I never was so sorry  
yrs ffully F. Nightingale

{f294v JS's reply}

signed letters. ff295-98, JS to FN, pen {replies to her various letters}  
Dublin 15 Sept 1875, Mrs S has sent me the contents of the various letters  
recd at our house from you thro the WO, shall reply as I best can. 1st HH  
nurses. In a gen (mil) hosp the ward furniture wd be under the gov, but HH is  
now a quasi reg hosp....If Oakes resigns the WO is quite certain to advertise  
for a nurse. S of S asked N com years ago to provide a supt and this is the  
only peg on wh you can hang interference even at this late hour of the  
meeting. Dr Maclean--truly glad you write to him. ... re art

f297 JS to FN from Dieppe 23 Sept 1875. Paris, re Woolwich, more on Netley  
nurses [end]



Add Mss 45758, Correspondence with Dr Sutherland 1876-87, ff1-288, and Mrs Sutherland ff289-324, microfilm, 326 folios total, 141 pages

initialled letter, f1, pencil

**f1**

*Tabulated Form for District Nurses* 35 S. St.

Jan 11/76

Dear Dr. Sutherland

You probably know that we have started since August the *London District Nursing* under Miss Lees on its only real basis: i.e. *real Nursing* apart from Relief & cooking [The longer I live, the more I see that the Nurse will degenerate into a mere *Relieving Officer*, cook & Almsgiver: if *relief* & *Nursing* are not administered by distinct organizations: (tho' co-operating): the Nurse simply to nurse, to teach care & *cleanliness* by her *direct work*, & to forward all *Sanitary & Health work*:† not alms - giving or cooking]

===

We shall want some sort of *periodical* (weekly or

**f1v**

*monthly abstract*) *statement of Nurses' work*  
*for the information of the Committee:*

& Mr. Wigram propose the enclosed -

(He is our Vice-Chairman)

*Will you please consider it & make suggestions?*

It must be decided *this week* -

As you & I made the suggestions for Dr. Trench & the Liverpool District Nurses. No one could help us so much as you:

I enclose 4 Liverpool Reports  
1 Preliminary " of our own  
1 Nurses for the Needy

merely as suggestions.

Please return them all: & *this sheet*: & the *M.S. form enclosed*.

Yrs v. ffly

F.N

chart drafts & notes, ff2-4, pencil

**f2**

1. Superintendent's Cheque Book

enters: when case first visited: the

1.DATE /2.NAME /3.AGE /4.RESIDENCE /5.OCCUPATION /6. *Nature of Case:*

*Disease or*

{8.HIST...may be struck out} *Injury*

7. *Under Care of:* /8.HISTORY /4 a. *Number &* 8.Nursing Treatment

*name(of Doctor)*

*Relationship* biggest expence

*of Room=mates:*

--- {arrow points for 4a to go under 4. Residence}

{*Death & Date*

blank lines for *Result* - - - - - {*Recovery* "

{*Discharge* "

--- {*Transferred*} "

{*to Hospital*} "

Cheque ~~Book~~ delivered to Nurse who completes

*history of each case:* & returns it to *Superintendent*

to enable her to fill up Ledger

**f3**

A copy of these 2 books

in each Home

would give any member

of the Comm who desired

it at any time

All the information with

regard to the cases

that could be desired

**f3v**

2. {vert. on page}

*Nurse's Summary*

	to be given to her Superintendent every week	Total {vert. on pg.}
<i>Cases remained</i>	end of last week	
<i>New Cases</i>	during week	{4 columns drawn vertically}
<i>Died</i>	" "	
<i>Discharge</i>	" "	
<i>Recovered</i>	" "	3 {no.s in 1st col}
<i>Transferred to Hospital</i>	" "	2
<i>Remaining at end of week</i>		

A copy of this filled up by each Supt= would give  
 Committee at weekly (or monthly) Meeting signed  
 together with Supt-s filled up Form by Sup ~~Genl~~  
 an exact account of week's work countersigned by Sup  
 Genl



I think the MOs report very good About the relief part of it. This is a great difficulty. Look at the ragged school discussion. Lord Shaftesbury appeals for the schools and one fact is the want of shoes. Sir C. Reed replies that the school bd get the children or the parents find shoes! In so utterly demoralized a state as many poor are in, one scarcely knows what to say. If they have any self denial left, sickness in the family might be expected to turn part of the money wasted in drink to buying food Is not one use of sickness this very thing? If you feed the sick, the others will rejoice over your goodness in the public house. But there must be cases where food is the great want and where proper food cannot be got. I am afraid you cannot draw a hard and fast line. But the whole matter requires very careful consideration.

Mr R's book is most interesting. Only thank Rendal for his paper there is not much in it.

Thanks for the pheasant and with every good wish,

ff7-12v, Sutherland, February 22 1876, summary of health of the troops, civil population, public economy, appointment of Indian Sanitary Commission and it's abolishment, local Sanitary Commissions &c. I got your note at home last night and now reply to it. There are no books you cd show the new V. We have only reports to the understanding of which much other knowledge is necessary.

I think that personally you will do all that can be done, and you must take it for granted that He knows nothing. I wd put the case in 2 lights--first as regards the health of troops secondly as regards the civil pop. In both instances I wd dwell not only on health, but on public economy.

You mt say that no doubt he had heard about the san com of 1857 presided over by Ld H, the measures taken on the advice of this commission and the reduction of the home army death rate to one half.

That fact brought out before this com led you to propose to Lord Stanley then sec of st to issue a com for the Indian army (Show Lord L the page we wrote together at the end of your own fat book at Malvern) that in consequence Lord Stanley issued the com and it examined witnesses, ....at every station in India. [long letter, much underlining, presumably for Lytton]

ff13-14, Sutherland to FN, embossed WO, March 6 1876, placing of Nurses in other hospitals besides Herbert Hospital, illness of Dr. Parkes; saw Muir on Saturday and the nursing question is settled all except the nursing with which the matter at present rests.

No change in the Dept will lead necessarily to all large hospitals being general hospitals, or that I hope you may eventually be able to place nurses in three or four besides Herbert Hosp.

I am very sorry to tell you that Dr Parkes has been very ill. Pneumonia, expected to rally in summer. If you see your way, you might write him such a letter as you only can write and this might give him a beneficial turn.

ff15-16v, Sutherland, March 9 1876, Longmore's proposal letter re Parkes. About the school. You see that in this country there is no continuity in improvement. Everybody thinks he can do better, & does worse. I have no doubt the proposal mentioned by Mr Longmore has cropped up in the brain of somebody totally unacquainted with our reforms and their reasons. I told the D.G. the other day that I would never assent to abolishing the arrangements we entered into with Lord Herbert. I don't know what you can do. There are now three parties to the school. The army, the navy and the I.O. Could you in any way influence any of these to consider the question in all its bearings before so fatal a step is taken? The D.G. you could write to & he would no doubt oppose any change.

Could you write to Dr Acland and show him Longmore's letter privately and ask whether he could help with the public journals. It would have to be treated as a rumour.

Balfour. Women's hospital. and quarters for married soldiers, Windmill Hill and its epidemics due to sanitary neglect, now being drained and supplied with water.

About the Dept. Everything has changed with the abolition of purchase. The A.M.D. will henceforth be a staff. The new warrant is not out yet, but Balfour will have seen the outline in Mr Hardy's speech. All who enter will get £250 a year for 10 years. Then there will be a selection for permanent promotion and those not selected must go out with £1000 bonus. .... Pat him on the back. His representations should never cease. In time the best will bear fruit.

initialled note, f17-v, pencil

# **f17**

Gibraltar [archivist: To Dr Sutherland] 13/3/76

Sir H Verney will ask Mr Whitbread to ask Dr. Balfour's question in the Ho: of C.

Sir H.V. proposes the enclosed:  
I doubt his first two lines:

& propose the other enclosed  
I send you Dr. Balfour's letter: again: for reference:  
& ask you to write the question -

-----  
--- P.S.

You do not say anything in your letter to me as to whether Dr B. is justified in fearing that the M A s

will all be put back to looking after stores  
see pp. 6,7

-----  
Dr. Parkes: actually better: letter from Longmore this morning /Over

**f17v**

but needs a Trained Nurse  
I telegraphed immediately  
Sad Telegram from Longmore in return -  
he is sinking -  
F.N.

13/3/76

note, f18, pencil

**f18** {archivist:} [ca. 15 March 1876 See Dr Sutherland]

Whether it ~~can be possible~~ is the fact that in so large a Garrison as  
Gibraltar no provision has  
been made for a Hospital for the wives  
& children of the soldiers  
and if Married Soldiers Quarters for the whole strength  
are to be built: {next 2 lines have 5 vert. lines drawn thru}  
and whether any representation has been made  
on these subjects by the local Military authorities

f19-v, Sutherland, March 15 1876, Sutherland's feeling Balfour will not lead  
to results

f20-v, Sutherland, March 16 1876, how long will there be married men in the  
army to need married quarters

signed letter, f21, pencil

**f21**

Gibraltar } 35 S. St.  
Mr. Whitbread} March 16/76

Dear Dr Sutherland

It would be so very convenient if you would be  
so very kind as to answer the question:  
Is the recommendation about ~~the~~ new Married Quarters  
& Women's Hospl= in the B. & H. C. Report  
on Gibraltar &c (Yours & Capt Galton:)?  
If yes, then please give exact Title of Report, date,  
& reference to page:  
& oblige

Yrs v. fully F. Nightingale  
Please send answer to this at once *by hand*



f22-v, Sutherland, [16 Mar 1876], responsibility of P.M.O. for stores

ff23-24, Sutherland, March 21 1876, Netley training, influx of 10 year men

f25-v, Sir W. Muir to Sutherland, March 20 1876, re: thanks S. for "commission re Medical School" which will be useful when it comes up for consideration 45758 f25

ff27-28v, Sutherland, March 31, Oakleigh, concern for the future of the 10 year men and measures needed to be taken to reassure the plan a good one

ff29-30v, William Aitken to Sutherland, March 29 1876, Woolston, the threatened Army Medical School. I presume you to know already that the existence of the Army Medical School is threatened, and that we are called upon to show cause why it should any longer exist We hear it is wanted to extinguish it (1) on the ground of cost (2) because hygiene is now taught in Edinb, Dublin and London and can therefore be acquired by those who desire to enter he services. We also hear that in place of the school it is intended to subsidize those teachers of hygiene in those towns and (2) to send the men when they first enter the service to the stationary or depot centre hospitals to learn in detail the routine of duty. You are now the last survivor of those who called the school into existence and hope you will be able to help us still to maintain its existence.

Ever since the death of Lord Herbert we have been constantly fighting for existence, which has been constantly threatened from one quarter or another, so that we have really been working under a kind of sufferance....

ff31-32, Sutherland, April 3 1876, Oakleigh Alleyn Park, does not feel a female hospital can be worked. Re Balfour's letter, sends on Aitken's

ff33-36v, William Aitken to Sutherland, April 1 1876, Woolsten, problem of managing to defer a senate meeting & discussion until May and return of Fayrer and Sutherland himself to be well

ff37-38, Sutherland to FN, April 5 1876, Oakleigh Alleyn Park, difficulty in getting the number of candidates required to fill up the ranks, and need to abolish the school as a result of the increased expense but with a little management cost would be minimal; Judging from these letters I expect little good. There has been at the bottom of the whole movement something of this kind. They could not get the number of candidates required to fill up the ranks and to enable this to be done they increased the pay and ... proposed to abolish the school. What the senate must do is to show that the school with a little re-arrangement will cost very little.\ e.g. men educated at Glasgow would have to go to Edinburgh or London to hear lectures on hygiene at their own expense. Well then why should they not go to Netley at their own expence and get there not only hygiene but all the necessary practical training.....only salaries of the profs. If the WO arranges that the pay is to begin at the concl of the Netley course or that a small part only should be given during the course, I don't see that anybody need complain. If you don't save the school personally, yourself, it is lost.

ff39-40, Sutherland, April 15 1876, Oakleigh Alleyn Park, writing from his

sick bed with a bleeding larynx, with the desire to help with a proposed hospital by sharing his copy of "the book" to give the Committee and Galton access to. Saw notice of proposed hosp in the Times. There is now no doubt that the "book" over wh we fought is destined to do its work. I have a copy here so you need not send one. The shortest way wd be to send your commissioner down with the plans here and let him wait for them. I think Galton shd also see them.

I rejoice over your letter to the Times of yesterday both on account of what it told and of the great help it will doubtless give to this work. One requires to be ill and helpless to estimate the great necessity everywhere among the poor.

f41-v, Sutherland notes to correspond to FN, [April 1876], proposed Lying in Institute St. Johns House, details on building. Better 2 floors of wards over ground floor

This is the main defect in the plan both on the side of health and admin. If they cannot get the funds for 2 floors they must do with these plans. Their open windows are intended apparently to avoid the danger which no doubt they would diminish but at the expense of high winds and drafts if cold. All these open windows must have ventilating ... handles.

As a whole this plan shows a great advance on the part of committees, architects and doctors in grasping sound principles.

Advise them to be sure that each room is ventilated by a separate shaft above the roof and by a ventilator. [red und by FN]

f42, Sutherland, July 7 1876, embossed WO, to find something disagreeable to say about [archivist Proofs of the Sanitary Blue book]

ff43-44, Sutherland, July 8 1876, embossed WO, returning the proofs, apparent blunders by the draftsmen ignoring Army Sanitary Commissions & its advice & services and requesting FN to send a note to Mr. Hill to show that she has observed a defect

f45, Sutherland, July 8 1876, WO embossed, asking her to write regarding the report above, that the few defective principles copied from Indian documents unless corrected might lead to the idea that they expressed the views of the I.O. while they are opposed to sound sanitary procedure

initialled letter, f46, pen & pencil, red und [15:514]

#### **f46**

*Gibraltar: Coffee-room & Home for Soldiers*

Could you tell me what has become of all

Capt. Pilkington Jackson did?

or generally of what is the present state of

*Gibraltar Recreation-room Accommodation?*

[I could not see these Officers: but I am bound to try & help]

[end]

F.N.

You know Dr. Balfour}

is in England }

11/7/76

f47, Sutherland response to f46, H.S. favours regimented rooms rather than general recreation rooms, soldiers did not support the Jackson day room so it failed

ff48-49v, Sutherland, WO embossed, August 12 1876, Mr. Hill's revised report a good one. Advise you to tell him that he has improved it.

ff50-51v, Sutherland, August 28 1876, Alleyn Park, Mr. Hill's 1<sup>st</sup> report very defective, the second after Sutherland's opinions was better, with opinion that the form needed to be altered or to combine the report to a detail of practical work he hopes to be done

ff52-53, Sutherland, embossed WO November 14, 1876, safe arrival of plans, regrets trouble to her as the people concerned will take nobody's opinion but their own. The plans [arch Johns Hopkins] have arrived safe. They are somewhat old acquaintances of mine and I really regret that these people have given you so much trouble and though on a matter which cannot be improved, and on which they are certain to take nobody's opinion but their own.

These were sent to me along with others by someone in England, and I saw in a moment that not one of the plans ought to receive one word of sanction from me. I simply said that the architects had taken every proposal they had heard of, and strung them together w/o any attention to economy or necessity.

When any dyspeptic patient came to Abernathy he used to take his fee and dismiss him with a rec to read his book. I shd feel disposed if I were you to commit yourself in no way to these plans, but to say that you were thoroughly aware of the requirements of hosp constr and that if the plans admitted of criticism you wd gladly have helped to perfect them. Such however not being the case you beg to refer them to your book on hospitals wh contained an amount of those fundamental prs reqd to be embodied in hosp plans. As it is one might suspect from the plans that they were intended as a mauvaise plaisanterie. To show how the sick might nurse the attendants. I have sent the plans to Captain Galton.

ff54-55, Sutherland, November 18 1876, embossed WO., returning plans with Galton's remarks. I return the plans with Galton's remarks in which I concur. I have read the speeches you sent me and wish to keep them for the present with reference to the Madras mun report not yet recd.

signed letter, f56-v, pen

**f56**

{vert. at top of this folio has text by Sutherland re: hospital dust and principle of beds and linen to be shaken in open air, not in the wards}

"Art in Hospitals" } 35 South St.  
Dr. Lawrence Hamilton } Park Lane W.  
Feb 15/77

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I wrote to this man, declining to be on his Committee -  
telling him that "bric à brac", "old armour",  
&c &c in Wards would not do: & the reason why.

Would you revise the enclosed Extract from my letter telling him *what would do*, & say what *you think would do*?

And would you also tell me whether you think I should let him publish it?

And would you also send me *for myself*

**f56v**

not for publication a sentence of yours (which you sent me about 3 years ago for Miss Lees, defining the evils of Hospital dust

What it includes, viz. flakes of skin,  
& what is the beau ideal of removing it, from bed clothes &c &c  
-- to which we are to come as near as we can in practice?

yrs ever ffully  
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff57-59v, pen {text vert. on page} [8:493-95]

**f57**

Geneva Congress: Abolition of Govt-Regulation of Prostitution:

Dear Dr. Sutherland

[blue pencil] 35 Sa. St. W.

June 22/77

I enclose you 4 papers to show what is the question:

I took no notice of No= 1 till the other day,  
when I rather unwillingly gave my name:

I told them it was quite impossible I could give  
a paper: [I am at least two years in arrear of  
things which I am engaged to do:

but I wrote Mrs. Butler a few lines saying that  
experience confirmed me every year in &c &c &c.

Then comes Mrs. Butler's letter No= 3:  
I do not know what she alludes to p.3

To this I made no answer:

**f57v**

This morning comes printed paper No= 4  
in which you will see I am pledged to  
a " Lettre sur les institutions hospitalières":  
which I have never been asked to do: &  
when I had declined writing any: it is a pure  
imposture:

I should simply write complaining of their want  
of faith, & desiring them to strike out my name:  
at all events:

But, would you like to do this?  
would you like to put down a few words  
such as you & I have often said together  
upon the subject: as to evidence  
adding as to every year's experience confirming  
it as she puts on her p. 4  
& as I did wrote to her  
& send it to me  
for me to do as she wishes?

[I do not care about it: I mean I do not  
care about putting in an appearance at Geneva  
- it may be exactly as you wish.]

yrs v. ffully

F. Nightingale

*Madras Drainage* Id Salisbury has put what I  
asked in train. And I have seen Mr. Ellis, who

{at top of f57} is now as you know on the India Council:  
he was most zealous: F.N.

**f58**

Are we "to contend against the social evil of Prostitution"? Every woman who takes the trouble to think & to feel answers: Yes. And is "Government Regulation of Prostitution" successful, even in the one matter in which it professes to be successful viz the prevention of disease? My Official experience which can be quoted says. No. While 'regulation' increases evil by a fancied & false security It is a gratuitous assumption ~~& a false one,~~ in my opinion, that the consequences of immoral action are or can be prevented by equally immoral legislation

Experience confirms me every year in the opinion I hold so long ago: Overworked & all I will cite only one fact: but a large one: viz. the result of "Contagious Diseases" legislation, in ~~our large~~ that ~~vast~~ greatest of dependencies of India. where ~~we can enforce~~ it can be enforced by absolute government. ~~These are the facts~~ Here it is after about 13 years of work:

"In spite of a very general introduction  
"of the rules for the prevention of (venereal)  
"disease among European troops, the results  
"hitherto have been a failure. x x x

**f58v**

"The stations with Lock Hospitals have  
"established no decided superiority over those  
without them It is argued that the  
"disease is now of a milder type than it  
"used to be: but no facts have been  
"adduced in support of this statement -  
"nor does it appear how such a result  
"could have been attained unless it be  
"admitted that the disease is contracted  
"from the registered women, for the others  
"are under no surveillance, & cannot have  
"been affected by the system. It is very  
"disappointing to be obliged to acknowledge  
"that the Lock Hospitals have failed -  
"They were introduced at the recommendation  
"of the Sanitary Department; and year by  
"year their working has been carefully watched  
"and suggestions have been made by that  
"department in the hopes that success would  
"yet be attained: but so far these hopes have  
"not been realized, & it is very evident either

**f59**

"that the women who are the real source of  
"the evil still escape detection. -- Or - and  
"this is a danger which does not appear to be  
"sufficiently appreciated - that registered  
"women to all appearance healthy are yet  
"capable of propagating disease". x

This is the *Government* which speaks: no private  
person: this is ~~the~~ the Government's evidence:  
~~the very Government which~~ about its own measure -  
Fact & authority cannot be denied And ~~this~~  
it is a test fact.

"Contagious Diseases" legislation like some other legislation of a  
similar kind has been founded  
on a limited & one-sided appreciation:

And the sooner it is ~~abolished the better:~~ &  
succeeded by a careful enquiry into causes &  
remedies : ~~& an active application of the trust~~ the better both for our  
sense & for these poor victims

~~remedies~~ - Other means should be sought &  
actively applied for remedying these social  
evils & their consequences to society than such  
false principles of legislation

As the matter stands at present, much of  
x Twelfth Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner  
with the Government of India: just issued:

**f59v**

so called Sanitary Law might have been  
suggested by the enemies of all improvement;  
for it stands directly in the way of Sanitary  
progress & of true morality & civilization  
Florence Nightingale

London June 1877



signed letter, ff60-61v, pen & pencil

f60

*Madras Drainage Private* Lea Hurst  
Cromford: Derby  
Sept 7/77

Dear Dr. Sutherland [10:137]

I have no copy of the long letter which I  
addressed to Lord Salisbury on I think  
June 2.

[I sent it to you: but you were absent.]  
Lord Salisbury it seems sent it to the  
D. of Buckingham: who replied in  
the long letter which Ld Salisbury  
sent to me with a note from  
himself.

I send you copies of

**f60v**

- the Duke of Buckingham to Lord Salisbury
- Lord Salisbury to F.N.
- the A.G. of Madras to F.N. on the Duke's  
letter.

All are *strictly confidential*: please  
return them to me -

I shall await your remarks with anxiety :  
This is a crisis

If you chose to draft me a letter to  
Lord Salisbury I think it would  
be wise.

But it should go in as soon as possible,  
in order that if there is time to send  
out 1. first rate Sanitary advice from  
England before the Drainage scheme is  
decided upon

2. a first-rate Municipal President,  
these persons should be sent out at once: [end 10:137]

yrs v. ffully  
F. Nightingale

ff61-62v, notes in FN hand on the Duke's letter {copy referred to in f60v},  
need for scientific opinion about the city drainage problem

f63-v, Lord Salisbury, {copy referred to in f60v}, August 22 1877, India  
Office, gave FN's notes re the Duke's letter to the governor of Madras who is  
considering the questions requiring his expertise

ff64v-70v, Buckingham to Salisbury, {copy referred to in f60v}, July 24 1877, Government House Madras, Clarke's scheme and problems of water supply for an underground sewage system

initialled note, f71, pen

**f71**

*Madras Drainage*: Lea Hurst

*Private* {up at an angle} Cromford: Derby  
Sept. 23/77

Private

Lord Salisbury's answer:

Please return to

F.N.

{other text on page not FN}

f72-v, Sutherland, Sept 19 1877, India Office, reasons for the indecision of the Madras Government in selection of plan of drainage

ff73-74, Sutherland, Jan 12 1878, WO, sanitary measures to follow re prevention of wound poison

signed letter, ff74v-75, pen & pencil

**f74v**

St. Thomas': Sanitary} 35 South St  
Park Lane W  
Jan 12/78

Dear Dr Sutherland

The enclosed printed Report comes on for  
*consideration* immediately.

[The copy is not mine: nor Hy Bonham Carter's:  
& must not be written upon]

Would you be so very good as to criticize it  
freely on a separate sheet of paper?

But I must have it back on Monday at  
latest: with your remarks, if possible  
if not, without.

I send an *old printed sheet* of mine  
which you have seen before)

& a *new M.S. sheet* of mine -  
to assist your criticisms.

*Neither, please, must be written on:*

Now is the time if we wish to do anything  
at St. Thomas'.

I trust you are better:

yrs v. ffully

F. Nightingale

I send you 2 letters of Col. Yule to me (confidential) -which please return - They are not very hopeful. [10:141]

Can you suggest anything else to be done?  
I have had so much correspondence lately  
on various subjects with Lord Salisbury  
that I would rather abstain from  
writing to him on one which I know  
he would bestow so little thought upon:  
Still that is not a reason for doing nothing. [end 10:141]

8/3/78 {the remaining text is not FN, but JS}

**£76**

Please return me THIS & all the 4}  
papers } 15/2/79  
sent }

You tell me that you are now 'doing' the Famine figures. [9:826]

I have been in communication with the India Office about this & at their own request furnished them with a *Memo-* of my own, ~~a copy of~~ which I enclose: [I have no copy of it] They replied with a *Memo-* signed by the Under Secy- Mr Stanhope, (entirely Confidential) ~~a copy of~~ which I also enclose [I have no copy]

If you could enable me to answer Mr Stanhopes Memo= by means of the figures I send you, it would be most important at the present junction

To enable you more readily to turn to the reference,  
I add the following [end 9:826]f76v

with Table p. 14

- the "3" are obviously *Kistna, Trichinopoly,*  
*Tinnevelly* -

I don't understand I.O remarks:

but neither do I *Cornish's*

comparing decrease of popn- Table p. 14

with increase mentioned p.p. 9, 10

p. 5 Chingleput combines 3.  
remark about Chingleput p. 10 (*Cornish*)  
& Table p. 14

p. 7 loss of 5 per cent refers to Table p. 14  
I don't understand remark but could not  
answer it because I don't know how 5 per cent  
was got on these 4 *Districts*

p. 8 I too could form no opinion on N & S. Arcat  
[So far I.O. note on my Memo- studiously fair,]

p. 12 "Decrease of births: unable to give an  
opinion as to the 'million'.

f77

p 13 *Epidemic diseases*

[9:826-27]

This excites my ire. *Epidemic* diseases are one of the worst results of famine - *Therefore* they are not to be considered a result of famine at all

"Unusual *epidemics*" are the inevitable consequence of "unusual" famine. *Therefore* they are not to be reckoned to famine at all. Instead of their being added in the awful total, they are to be deducted.

[It is like the former fallacy: '*Cholera* is the worst result of insanitary conditions'. *Therefore* Deaths from *Cholera* are to be deducted, in judging of any increasing mortality due to want of Sanitary measures]

I gave the I.O. an Abstract of that part of Cornish's Report, where he gives the want of accuracy in the (village accountant) Registrars, putting down *famine* Deaths to Fevers, to "Bowel Complaints", & all "Other Causes"

The orders of the Govt- of India are, as you know, to ignore any Deaths but the following 6 Headings

1 *Cholera*: 2 *Small Pox* 3. *Fevers*: 4 *Bowel Complaints* } 5 *Injuries* 6 {*Other Causes*

But the I.O. evidently thinks that *whatever Deaths* can be *properly* put down to *Fevers*, *Cholera* *Bowel Complaints* &c are to be deducted from *Famine Deaths* (instead of the reverse)

I cannot say what grief this causes me. It falsifies

**f77v**

the whole history & argument from the history  
["Unusual Epidemics are a thing quite apart  
from "unusual famine" in *their* estimation,- just  
as much so, *they* think, as a storm-wave or  
inundation is a thing quite apart from a drought]

Sir M Kennedy, whose famine work in  
Bombay was prodigiously good, has yet  
done enormous mischief in this way.

*If you could by facts & arguments, enable me  
to dispel the mischievous delusion, it would be an  
invaluable service.*

*p. 16* I cannot conceive how they could present  
the "registered" Deaths as the *actual Famine*  
Death, without any qualification, to an  
ignorant House of Commons

[You see too they look the Famine Mortality  
only up to *October* 1877 - whereas it certainly  
existed & was severe all over Madras & Mysore  
even in *January/78*].

I asked the question at the time *what is* the  
estimated proportion of *registered* Deaths to  
actual Famine Deaths?

No answer was given

Mr. Elliott estimates the *registered* Deaths for

*Mysore* as *22 per cent* of the actual Famine Death{s}

-Cornish as under *50 per cent* for Madras **[end 9:827]**

**f78**

p.p.1, 2 refer to Table p. 14 of Statistical paper  
p. 7 of my Memo-  
p.p. 3 3 other Distts- compares Table top of p. 9  
in Stat. paper & Obsns- middle of p. 10  
with Table at p. 14  
3 are Kistna, Trichinopoly, Tinnevelly  
I don't understand I.O remarks -  
but neither Cornish's comparing decrease of pop.  
Table p. 14 increase mentioned p.p. 9, 10  
p 5 Chingleput combines remark about Chingleput  
p 10 & Table p. 14  
p 7 loss of 5 per cent - refers to Table p. 14.  
I don't understand remark but cd not answer it  
because I don't know how 5 p c was got & thru  
4 Districts  
p 8 I too cd 'form an opinion' on N. & S Arcot  
So far note on Memo- studiously fain  
p. 12 "Decrease of births unable to give an opinion as  
to the "million"  
p. 13 Epidemic diseases  
This excites my ire Epi. dis are one of the worst  
results of famine. And therefore they are not to be considered a

f79 {blank}

**f79v**

result of famine "Unusual epidemics" are the inevitable consequence of "Unusual" famine. And therefore they are not to be reckoned to famine at all - instead of their being added in the awful total, they are to be deducted [It is like the former fallacy: Cholera is the worst result of insanitary conditions And therefore Deaths from Cholera are to be deducted in judging of any increased Mortality due to want of Sanitary measures.]

I give an abstract of that part of Cornish's Report where he gives the want of accuracy in the (village accountant) Registrars putting down famine Deaths to Fever, to Bowel Complaints & All "Other Causes" - But the I.O. evidently thinks that *whatever Deaths* can be PROPERLY put down to *Fevers, Cholera, Bowel Complaints &c* are to be deducted from *Famine Deaths* (instead of the reverse.)

I cannot say what grief this causes me - It falsifies the whole history - & argument from the history ["Unusual Epidemics are a thing quite apart from "unusual" famine, just as a storm wave or inundation is a thing quite apart from a drought] Sir M Kennedy has done enormous mischief in this way

And if you could by any facts or arguments enable me to dispel this mischievous delusion you wd be doing an invaluable service



**f80**

[3]

p 16 I cannot conceive how they could present the  
"registered" Deaths as the Famine Deaths without  
any qualification, to an ignorant H. of C.

I asked the question at the time what is the estimated  
proportion of registered deaths to actual Famine Deaths

No answer was given

Mr Elliott estimates the registered Deaths for Mysore  
as 22 per cent of the actual Famine Deaths.

And Cornish for Madras at under 50 p c

What estimate of Famine Mortality has been  
*officially* presented by you?

Or what estimate *officially* accepted by the Madras  
Govt-? I trust you have presented one: & that the  
Stat paper does not form the only one.

Does it not form a part of your completed Report?  
It is essential that Famine Mortality Statistics should  
be *officially* sent to the I O

x You see they took the Famine Morty only up to Oct /77  
whereas it certainly existed & was severe even in Jan /78 -

**f81**

Please return the *whole*  
of this - viz

3 M.S.S. and

3 printed papers

(I have no copies of any)

as soon as possible

WITH YOUR REMARKS to

Florence Nightingale

19/2/79

**f82**

[2]

I do not know what estimate of Famine **[9:827-30]**  
Mortality has been *officially* presented by Dr. Cornish  
or what estimate *officially* accepted by the Madras  
Govt=

[The I. O. do not dare now to stand up for theirs]

*Bombay*

I have read the Bombay Reports most carefully:  
& have but 2 long interviews with Mr. Hewlett  
(who is yet more of a hero than ever:)

No reasoning can however be made founded  
on *Bombay* for *Madras*  
e.g as to what Epidemic Deaths should be  
deducted from Famine Deaths &c

&c &c &c

To shew what I mean,

**f82v***Famine*

## Madras

Population affected 20 millions

" severely " 17 "

Famine from November 1876}  
to March 1878} 17 months*Mysore*

in Jan /78

Death rate still high

REGISTERED Deaths not 50 per cent  
of actual DeathsRegistered Deaths  
22 per cent of  
actual Deaths  
according to Mr. ElliottVillage Accountants (Registrars) thought  
Famine Deaths at all events not to be  
recorded.

Cholera = anything result of Famine

Small Pox = result of overcrowding &amp;c &amp;c in Relief camps

Fever = famine Fever

Bowel } = generally (always &amp; nearly always in children)

Complaints} the internal state due to starvation

Other = anaemia innutrition

## Causes

European supervision neglected or impossible:

native petty official corruption hideous: both in  
the Relief works & in distribution of relief : All kinds  
of bribes taken by the native official he who could not  
bribe got nothing - Relief did not reach persons it  
was intended for: people could not get on Relief  
Works even without a bribe

**f83***Famine*

1 {a large '1' written between crease of f82v & f83}

Bombay

Population affected 8 millions

" severely " 5 "

Famine from January 1877}

over in November 1877} 10 months

Registration of Deaths better than in ordinary years -

more accurate: due to increased supervision

The village headmen (over Registrars) were afraid of

not having Deaths enough on their books:

thought their English masters wanted deaths

Cholera = real Cholera

Small Pox = worst where Famine was least

Fevers = malarial Fevers

Bowel } = anaemia innutrition & other direct results

Complaints } of Famine classified under these two heads

Other Causes =

European supervision made effective by being multiplied

thro' the higher native officials: native gentlemen:

Not an anna but reached the hand it was meant for

- if a bribe was taken to get a man put on relief works, it was detected, & bribe-taker instantly dismissed or punished

**f84**

[3]

**f84v**

## Madras

Relief camps & houses models of Sanitary defects,  
overcrowding, want of conservancy &c &c  
Cholera & Small pox the result:

[In Bombay the people on relief works seem  
to have been actually better off in Sanitary things  
than at home] but it is not denied ~~that~~ officially  
that even in Bombay Small Pox & Cholera Patients  
succumbed from being half starved by the Famine  
who would not otherwise have died

speculation immense: almost unchecked or uncheckable  
the poor nation had no reserves of money or grain  
- utterly exhausted & in the last stage of emaciation they  
were put on relief works & on the insufficient pay or ration  
no "special treatment" (including any food judged suitable that  
could be had)

appears to have been given or was perhaps possible  
children's allowance appears to have been neglected or not  
seen to: children wandered away & perished in vast  
numbers

Villages deserted by the thousand  
headmen & Village Accountants disappeared  
perished, wandered away.  
Registration dropped

**f85**

{a large '2' written between crease of f84v & f85 at top}

Bombay

Sanitary supervision of Relief Camps, Relief works, splendid

If a native official neglected the conservancy, European Officer was riding up & down the lines: & the petty official was instantly dismissed

Grass huts erected every 200 or 300 yds for babies whose mothers were at work on the lines - where the babies were under the care of an old crone

Even chupathis sold by a trader appointed by European Officer that they might not have to ~~sell~~ cook their own food

Conservancy of Relief houses very bad at first  
no speculation possible -

European or high native official saw the daily pay paid into the people's hands:

the poor natives had generally reserves of money or grain  
- without these reserves relief works pay would not have been sufficient - where they had none, they were put on "special treatment" till able to work -  
children under 7 years had also their allowance

& it was seen to that they *had it* -  
also: that they ate their food in a place where parents could not see them & take it away

No deserted Villages  
headmen always remained  
Registration not suspended

**f86**

[4]

**f86v**

Madras

Europeans have counted 90 corpses by the way-side  
in a morning's ride

Inquests impossible either on one corpse or on 90 -

3 fourths of the Deaths in a relief houses were from innutrition (starvation) - They were so starved when they came in that no food could do them any good

As a rule women's ornaments all gone(sold)  
1 lb rice not worth 1 lb. jowari

Sir R. Temple as Delegate in Madras different from  
Sir R. Temple as Governor of Bombay

~~It was~~ Normal increase of population at / per cent  
included in calculations of loss of population  
shewn by Test Census

**f87**

## Bombay

Only 5 corpses ever seen by way-side by Sanitary  
Comms- - Inquest held upon every such death

corpses had money in its pocket

they *would* try & wander home as wild animals do  
to die

Men & women would come to the works with their  
ornaments on

1 lb jowari much more nutriment than 1 lb. rice

Sir R. Temple's Famine Policy very different as

Govt- of Bombay from Sir R. Temple's policy as

Delegate in Madras

Increase (normal) of population forbidden altogether

by Secy- of State (to be included

Results of partial Census ignored

**f88**

[5]

I have carefully gone over the Bombay Reports

I cannot help repeating: Mr Hewlett is as brave a  
soldier against Sanitary evils & Famine as the bravest  
War Soldier that ever held a post against overwhelming  
numbers.

The grandeur of his success (& Sir M. Kennedy's too)  
in the Bombay Famine deserves its place in a  
higher history than ours

Also the Bombay Registration of Deaths appears  
to have been more accurate than in ordinary years

Epidemic Deaths at least as far as Cholera &  
Small Pox go, appear to have been *Epidemic* Deaths  
& not *Famine* Deaths

In Madras all this is altered  
Still as I look over the Bombay Mortality Returns

I find my pencil notes on the margins

"But there is no evidence of *famine* Deaths in any  
part of this."

"The famine might not have been at all -  
*Famine* Deaths might not have been at all,  
for any evidence there is here.

"What are *real* Famine Deaths then registered under ?

"where are the *Famine* Deaths?"

&c &c &c

**f88v**

x See notes

next page {up at an angle}

It is understood that an authority who is, I believe accepted by the I.O., does not accept Sir Richd= Temple's figures or conclusions.

And others, among whom is one great authority at least, considers as quite inadmissible the separation of Cholera & Small Pox as *unconnected* with famine in Bombay:

The first authority also considers that '*ignoring the results of the partial Census* makes the Bombay 'facts unreliable & that they have yet to be subjected to impartial review'.

[Both these authorities are unconnected with Madras.]

At the same time, it is quite obvious that there was success in overcoming the Famine - in registration - in everything in *Bombay* that there was not in Madras

And it has done no little good in softening the bitterness felt by those who knew that the *Registered Deaths* in Madras were not 50 per cent }

in Mysore                      22                      } of the Actual  
- bitterness felt at what appeared like an ~~ab~~ official  
attempt to represent to an ignorant Ho. of Commons  
*registered* as actual Deaths  
to know that in Bombay they were more nearly so



**f89**

But it remains that it is quite impossible to  
eliminate Cholera, Small pox, Fever &c &c &c  
in Madras from Famine Deaths -

Do you remember the Rhine legend of the Archbishop  
who said: "let the villagers burn like rats" And a long  
line of rats swim the Rhine, & silently enters his island  
Castle & - - nothing is left of the Archbishop -

Sometimes it seems to me as if we were bringing  
upon ourselves in this ignoring of the Famine Deaths  
of India, a similar awful ghostly retribution

Parlt- has entirely obliterated the Famine  
Note to x {up at an angle}

I will gladly give these authorities but - - -  
I thought I was old in official ways - but I have discovered  
in my old age how like official [Indian ways are to the  
ways of *Vatican Councils* on Papal Infallibility. The  
Bishops go into the Vatican Council, not only convinced  
but prophets of the one way of thinking - & come out  
prophets of the other a parody of  
'they that have gone to scoff remain to pray'

So is it with official ways of the Govt= of India. [end: 9:830]

F. Nightingale

notes, ff90-99, pen & pencil

**f90**

**[9:830-33]**

Memorandum on ~~Madras~~ S. India *Famine Mortality of 1876-7:*

greatest since 1770:

includes 9 Revenue Divisions of Bombay:

14 Districts (out of 21) of Madras:

nearly all - Mysores-

S & N. of Nizam's dominions-

2. no connection between famine & excessive population

- districts with sparse populations as

*Pop per sq mile*

Kurnool 130.4

Nellore 162.7

Cuddapah 161.5

Bellary 151.5

suffered the severest famine

while

Tanjore 540.1

saved by Canvery irrigation

Godavery 255.9

not only grew enough for their own populations |

but for material help to the famine Districts. |

{at an angle @ |} refer to Inspector Genl's Report Irrigated Districts

So with Malabar 376.7

saved by S.W. monsoon

Trichinopoly 341.5

saved wherever there was Canvery irrigation:

~~those saved themselves~~ but crowded with famine stricken

wanderers from Coimbatore & Salem

1. money famine consequence of grain famine

**f91***Madras Famine*

3. Defective Registration -  
except in Municipal towns:

in the country no legal power compelling people  
to register births & deaths. Every village is a commune  
- more than 50000 villages - each village has a  
separate 'accountant' who is *ex officio* registrar=  
[the village accountant is the man who keeps the  
accounts of the Govt= for the lands cultivated by  
each ryot & the tax due on them-]

in ordinary times about two thirds of Deaths  
registered in famine times, not one half-

village accountants suffered starvation with  
the rest & went away in search of food & work  
- thousands upon thousands of Deaths occurred  
of people dropping down by the wayside or in  
desert places which were of course unregistered  
The Registration has no absolute but much relative value  
{x up at angle:}      \*Non famine Districts

x can give                      per 1000

these figures  
in detail, if  
desired

*Births* decreased only from      19.9    Mean Ratio of 5 years  
   to      19.5    in 1877

*Deaths* increased only from 18.6    Mean Ratio of 5 years  
   to      24.8    in 1877

*x Famine Districts*

*Births* decreased                      from 20.0    Mean Ratio of 5 years  
   to      14.4    in 1877

NB decrease of Births much greater in 1878

*Deaths* increased                      from 19.7    Mean Ratio of 5 years  
   to      70.2    in 1877

[2]

**f92***Madras*4. *Previous famine of 1833 - 4*

practically arrested all development of population  
for 4 years after famine ended:

In the area now included in the 8 Districts of  
Godavery, Kistna (these before Irrigation Works,) Nellore,  
Cuddapah, Chingleput, N. Arcot Madura & Salem, the  
population in 1838 (next Census 4 years after famine)  
was less in these 8 Districts by 1,153,000 souls than  
the ascertained population of 1822 (last Census before:)

[It is not pretended that these numbers are accurate

- the ascertained numbers only are given.]

But from 1851 to 1871 (Census) the population  
had increased 35.8 per cent in these 20 years.  
And from 1856-7 to 1871 2 the Revenue had  
increased 58 per cent in these 15 years.

in 1856 7 Revenue £4.880.093

71 2 " £7.125.581

there was no material check to the increase &  
prosperity of the people during these years,  
except a scarcity in 1853 & 1866,

there was none at all between 1871 and 1876

[3]

f93

## Madras Famine

5. Areas selected for Famine Census: March 1878

Salem : whole District censused- (a Pop. of 2 millions)

*Total Pop. in 1871	Total Pop. March 1878	Decrease
1,966,995	1,559,896	- 407,099

Salem : Total loss of Population thus -- 20.7 per cent

(without allowing any increment for normal growth of popn- during a prosperous 5 years.)

\* 6 "Selected" Taluqs : in Famine Districts:

to wit, Bellary, Kurnool, Cuddapah;  
Nellore, Coimbatore, Chingleput

Total loss of Population -- 15 per cent-

[These Taluqs were "selected" as fair averages: neither the best off in the District: &amp; certainly by no means the worst-]

\*4 "Selected" Taluqs in non-Famine Districts -

to wit, Kistna, Trichinopoly,  
Tanjore, Tinnevelly:Total increase of Population: + 6.1 per Cent -  
since 1871 -or, allowing for villages transferred  
since 1871 to another boundary} + 8.2 per CentN.B [The increase of population was thus more than the estimates  
7.5 per cent-, in the 5 years before the beginning of the famine;  
or the estimated 1.5 per cent per annum-]

\* can give the actual numbers for each of the Taluqs, if desired=

[4]

**f94***Madras Famine*

6. Decrease *not* accounted for by migration :  
 all natural population-movements in definite  
 directions to find food & work -  
   e.g from the districts surrounding Madras to Madras:  
     from Coimbatore to Malabar or Trichinopoly  
     from Salem to Tanjore (the great irrigated Canvery delta  
        & Trichinopoly:  
     from Kurnool & N. Nellore to Kistna (irrigated)  
        &c &c &c  
 e.g. in Madras out of some 130,000 in relief camps  
   not 12 from Salem:  
   the great bulk from Nellore, Chingleput & N. Arcot =  
 [N.B. from Bellary & Cuddapah, emigration was encouraged  
 to 'Buckingham Canal' Works on Nellore Coast: but  
 this was out of the usual (population) course: It was full  
 of disaster to the people & had to be abandoned.]  
 Again: Madras Famine Districts: pop. 20 millions  
   they did not go to Mysore, for all Mysore was famine  
     nor into Bombay,  
   nor into Nizam's dominions, for these were worse off  
        than our own -  
 Nizam's & Mysore people came into Bellary for relief.  
 Before end of 1877, the great surplus of emigrants,  
 including even those who went to Ceylon & Travancore,  
~~all~~ ie those who were not dead       had returned to  
 their villages :

[5]

**f95***Madras Famine*

Mansion House fund hastened resumption  
of village life by grants for repair of houses,  
purchase of implements, seed grain, cattle &c

We have in actual ascertained figures  
that children under 10 years disappeared  
in double the proportion of persons over 10  
years. Now these children could not have  
emigrated: they must have died .

This disproves the Migration theory as  
explaining the decrease of population:

**f96***Madras Famine*

7. In the partial Famine of 1833-4, upwards  
of 2 millions of the population disappeared  
(2,205,578)

but for Government relief the losses of population  
in the greater calamity of 1877 extending over  
14 revenue districts, would have been nearer  
5 million than 3.

8. decrease of Births:  
they diminish month by month in exact  
correspondence with the intensity of famine  
9 months before -

but causes of diminished Birth-rate continue  
to operate for a long period after famine: **[end 9:833]**  
[N.B. In January 1878 Mr. Elliott gives Mysore  
Birth-rate where actually enumerated  
as only 7 per 1000.]

f97

*Madras Famine*

9. Mortality *Returns* alone cannot be trusted [9:833-34]

to show whole absolute Mortality

But - the 17 months' RETURNS

from November 1876 to March 1878

show an EXCESS of *Deaths* of 1,140,048

over average of same months

in former years:

while Test Census would indicate

a probable decrease of population

of at least 3 millions 3,000,000 {u/l twice}

Such was the disorganization of village

life & communal administration that

not one half of the actual *Deaths* were

ever recorded -

May be reckoned roughly as *Deaths*

rather more than two millions 2,000,000 = DEATHS

accounting for one million 1,000 000

as DIMINISHED BIRTHS

Facts *ascertained* do not account for more

than 100000 of the missing people by *migration* =

Famine cuts away population at both ends

& it will be well if the Census of 1881 does not

show the losses to be greater still than are here

estimated:

[9]



f98

*Madras Famine*

10.

\*Causes of Mortality from 1866 \* to 1878 June

	Total	Small	Bowel	Other	
<i>Years:</i>	<i>Deaths:</i>	<i>Cholera:</i>	<i>Pox</i>	<i>Fever</i>	<i>Complaint Causes</i>
1876	680384	148193	23469	230092	31876 240454
1877	1556312	357430	88321	469241	133366 507934
1878	409151	18926	41506	181610	25602 141507

Jan to June

*Famine Deaths* were sometimes registered under "All other Causes": because it was announced that 'no Death was to be allowed from Famine' -

- sometimes under 'Fevers': yes, but famine Fever: altho' it may have spread among the well-to-do:
- sometimes under "Cholera" or "Bowel Complaint": affection of the Bowels being, especially among children, the very type or characteristic of the famine state -

These methods of registration are to be expected among the village accountants, ex officio registrars, non-professionals: whose only rule of Registration often is how to please the English Masters.

In camps & relief houses at least *three fourths* of the Mortality was the direct result of innutrition (starvation)

[10}

\* could furnish the numbers for each year from 1866 to 1878 June, if desired -

**f99***Madras Famine*

11. Food x rose to 400 per cent - above  
its normal ~~prices~~, value, & under this enormous  
rise wages were reduced by Government  
25 per cent.

N.B. Roads & rail roads & increased facility of  
communications have very much reduced  
the practice, before universal, of keeping  
reserves of grain enough for 3 or 4 years -

It is obvious that the usual tests of market  
prices cannot hold here

**[end 9:834]**

go on to 12      Relief corruption  
                         native officials

x could furnish, if desired, Statistics of the kinds of  
food eaten, amount of food required &  
of the Madras populations [11]

statistical report, f100, pen  
f100

## Madras Famine=

Probable Decrease of Population due to Famine up to March 1878

District	Population in 1871	Population of Loss in 1878, in census ed subdivision	Numbers Missing	Remarks
Salem	1966995	20.7	407099	Actual
Bellary	1668006	15.8	263544}	
Kurnool	959640	19.7	188049}	
Cuddapah	1351194	20.1	271589}	
Nellore	1376811	18.1	249202}	Calculated
Coimbatore	1763274	12.6	222172}	on Census of
2 Chingleput}				subdivision
& Madras }	1335736	3.1	41407}	
Madura	2266615	10.0	226661	No Census=district suffered nearly as much as Coimbatore
N. Arcot	2015278	20.0	403055	No Census=district suffered as much as Salem
Districts of <i>Partial Famine:</i>				
S. Arcot(4 distressed) Talugs	817223}		40861	No Census=proportions
Tinnevelly (3 Talugs)	630192}	5.0	31509	estimated on
Trichinopoly (2Ts=)	544354}		27217	distressed talugs only
Kistna (6 Talugs)	563972}		28198	

---

17259290

---

Total 2,400,567

\*Add for 5 years increment of population of distressed}  
areas from 1872 to 1876 at one per cent per annum }

---

862 960

---

3 273 527

\*Tho', without doubt, the population in these 5 years increased in the ratio of at least one *and a half* per cent per annum, yet, to be well within the mark, it has been assumed that in the 5 years ending 1876 the population of Famine area increased at rate of one per cent only per annum:

1. (Coimbatore) Area Census-ed of Coimbatore did not give average of calamity

high enough for District

2. Selected area in Chingleput did not fairly represent distress.

Thus 3 1/4 millions are given as loss by famine by March 1878. But, as famine Census taken before Famine distress ended, & before Birth:rate became again anything like normal, probably Census of 1881 may give for whole of Presidency a loss of 4 millions:

ff101-10, [notes by Stanhope], Madras Famine Mortality

**f101** {at top right FN} Florence Nightingale

ff111-20, printed article by W.R. Cornish 'The Influence of Famine on Growth of Population {F.N. has underlined text 'in part' throughout the article}

**f111** {at top right FN} Florence Nightingale

**f115** {printed number 19.7 crossed out and changed to:} 20.0

**f118v** {table showing probable decrease of population due to famine, annotated by F.N. in the left column, with numbers possibly as her own changes to the totals that were printed: these numbers are not transcribed}

**f120** {printed text not FN:} I should be inclined to reckon, roughly, the losses by death at {insert here} two millions, and the diminished birth rate as accounting for one million.

{FN inserted words:} rather more than  
{in left marg.:} Madras Presy=

signed letter, ff121-24, pen & pencil [8:374]

**f121**

*Birmingham* }

*Lying-in Charity*}

{added up at an angle:} for reference

3/3/79

10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}

PARK LANE. W.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

First of all I send you what  
you asked for: the *Causes*  
of Deaths of the 18 Mothers  
who died, during the years  
comprised on the Report,  
in Childbirth 1870-8 (9 years)

*Please return it to me -*

I also send you a Birmingham  
paper with the Report. [end 8:374]

----- *Indian Barracks*

2. Did you see the extraordinary  
(mis statement concerning me  
& the 12 millions £ for the  
*Indian Barracks* by Mr.  
*Onslow* in *Friday's* debate  
reported in the "*Times*" of  
March 1 -

I suppose I shall be made

**f121**

to answer it in the Times:

I think it would be a

very good *opportunity*

to do some good -

you know that Hewlett

says: the *Indian Engineers*

have not the *Suggestions*

nor the Army Sanitary

Commission's works: nor

the Notes on Hospitals :

that they build Barracks,

in defence of all that has

been therein laid down:

e.g.

on the *ground* instead of

on a raised basement :

against a hill: the water

bursting up under the floors:

&c &c &c

that they build Hospitals

with wells all fouled

by neighbouring cess pools

&c &c &c

you know the other errors

**f122**

Now, *if you will give me*  
a statement, I think I would  
say: that in consequence  
of the revelations made  
1. by the *Royal Comm.* on  
the Sanitary state of Army  
2. by the R.C. on the Indian Army  
1859-63  
presided over by Sidney Herbert  
& Lord Stanley  
& of the *principles* laid down  
by the *Army San. Comm.*  
in such & such papers &  
books (state what)  
Lord Lawrence took ~~up~~  
10 millions £  
but that the principles of  
building Barracks  
laid down in (state what)  
were not adhered to -  
that such & such errors  
were made (state what)  
in building "palatial Barracks"

**f122v**

but that nevertheless  
the *Death-rate* had been  
brought down *from - - - -*  
*to - - - -*  
*state by what measures:*  
A letter made as short  
as possible might do  
some good  
For [This is not the first  
I have heard of this:  
A friend of mine told me  
that an Indian Major  
had said: "that old  
woman" - meaning me  
"she wrote to the Queen"!!!  
& got 18 millions & built  
Barracks which were  
huge mistakes" - &c &c &c]  
Please return me this letter  
it may be useful to me:  
& believe me mo ffully yrs  
F. Nightingale

initialled letter, ff123-24, pen & pencil

**f123**

*Mr. Onslow's statement in the Ho of C. 5/3/79*

{up at an angle:} for  
reference

Dear Dr Sutherland

Sir Harry Verney means to answer Mr. Onslow  
in the Times.

He says, (& I concur with him,) that, tho' he believes

"Mr. Onslow to be a member of very little

"authority, a false statement made in the Ho. of C.

"ought not to be left uncontradicted -

"that the false statement is believed, & that

"people may act upon it - indeed I think that

"they are justified in acting on it.

"I think further that the right construction

"of Barracks is so important & their sanitary

"arrangements: that, whoever may be in fault, the



**f123v**

"mistake ought not to be ignored: that, on the  
 "contrary, for the sake of future Barracks,  
 "attention ought to be drawn to the subject."

x x x

"I should insert in the Times a short note to some  
 "effect like the enclosed"

And he sends me the enclosed  
 which I transmit to you.

It is not exactly to the effect that I intended  
 I thought something might have been said as to  
 the *principles* of constructing Barracks -

Would you kindly look over Sir Harry's note?  
 I re-inclose my own proposal, (which I sent  
 you before:) *for reference:*

The last Para - page 1 in Sir Harry's would have  
 to be corrected: somewhat thus:

"and in 1859 {overtop 1869} Lord Derby, then Lord Stanley, S. of S  
 for India, appointed the Royal Commission on the  
 Sanitary State of the Indian Army, presided  
 over first by Sidney Herbert ~~& after his death~~ then by Lord  
 Stanley, which sent out questions to India (*Please*  
~~& invert~~ arrange this) & thoroughly sifted the subject in the  
 country. The R.C. reported in 1863"

"And the permanent Army San Comm keeps up the good tradition" of  
 principles laid down by the R.C. &c &c" (*Please arrange this.*)

And I would *decidedly* put in *What the Death- rate*  
 of the Army was and *is* in such & such years  
*Please put in* send me this at all events for other use

There is no occasion to attack Lord Lawrence  
 or any one under him.

{this para at the top of the f123 goes here:}

But I think I would draw attention to the  
 Army San. Comm's "*Suggestions*" which no one  
 in India has.

Sir Harry sends the Times of Saturday  
 & has marked Mr. Onslow's observations

I wish you had kept my *Monday's* communication  
 in order to think it over for a day or two,  
~~but~~ (instead of answering it by Bearer):

but I am afraid I must ask you to *return*  
 this TO- DAY with YOUR REMARKS, as Sir  
 Harry leaves London tomorrow:

yrs. mo. ffully

F.N.

*Please return me the whole boutique:*

**f124** [pencil]

I think you will like to see this account of the Madras Junction Canal & the deepening of the river Cooum -

But please return it to me to-day with your remarks:

Is the Cooum improved *sanitarily*?

[end 10:156]

F.N.

7/3/79 [the text from here to the end of the pg by Sutherland re: unable to express opinion, the above being a local matter} This is purely a local matter that I cd express no opinion about it, as regards the comm the canal opens into it, but whether the bar was removed or not is another matter. I shd think not. Does it not seem odd to make a canal as a means of transit along the sea shore? What is the sea about? I suppose there is no go in it in the hot weather.

initialled letter, f125, pencil

**f125**

Answer to Mr. Onslow 7/3/79 [10:156]

*Please say how Mrs. Sutherland is*

My dear Dr. Sutherland

Sir Harry Verney insists upon making full answer the "Times" - & *from your letter* I made the following enclosed 2 Drafts for him - of which I think the 2nd is the least objectionable as *not* connecting me (as Sir H had done in *his* Draft) with the appointing of the R.C

But I pointed out to him (& he concurred) how very open to controversy the *69 per 1000* was [you remember what Lord Sandhurst personally said to me about it.] I am sure you think so too: more especially as we give, in the same letter, the Death Rate of 1861 as 29.3 (*two years before the R C reported*)

And people will say: -- how did the *R.C. of 1859* manage to get the Mortality down *from 69 - to 29 in 1861*? They began to write [illeg] in 1859

Could not you kindly give us the Mortality for say the *2 previous five years* from [No J.S.] 1856 to 1860 [No J.S.] & from 1851 to 1855?

Or, if the Mutiny of 1857 interferes, for some similar period? And *alter the two* calculations of 4145 recruits

It would lead to controversy {& 3030 " dependent on the *69 per 1000* accordingly -

I have (positively) *kept this back till to day*, on purpose to ask you to do this

in great haste as this is my India mail day yrs ffully FN

[end 10:156]

ff126-27v, notes by Sutherland, death rate among British troops in India, & response to FN for f125

**f126** {FN hand, vert. down in r. marg.} For reference f127 in JS rough hand pencil

drafts, ff128-32, pen & pencil

**f128**

In the debate on Mr. Fawcett's motion on Indian [10:154-56]

Finance on Friday Feb 28            Mr Onslow said

"He believed that the waste of money x x x

x x in pursuit of this philanthropic object"

The Barrack & other improvements have (saving the costly character of the buildings) followed from the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Sanitary state of the Indian Army issued by Lord Derby in 1859: whose Report showed that altho' the Death rate among British troops serving in India had varied year by year, yet in past time it had "oscillated round 69 per 1000"

Since this R C was at work, improvements have been in progress    The Barracks have been costly on account of a style of construction which might well have been avoided

Altho all that may be done in site, in construction, in pure water supply, & drainage or in Sanitary arrangements has by no means yet been done, Still the result of the measures taken for the sanitary improvements of ~~the state~~ of the Army in India has been a saving of life, stated in a Resolution of the Govt- of India, October 1878, on Dr. Brydon's Statistical Returns as follows  
Over

**f129***British Troops*

<i>5 years</i>	<i>Death Rate per 1000</i>
1861 - 65	29.30
1866 - 70	27.48
1871 - 75	18.50

These are facts about which there can be no dispute: Any body can calculate the difference in the number of recruits required to keep up the present strength of 60000 men at these different Death rates, and as every man saved is valued at £100 to the State, the Barracks ~~or other improvements~~, costly as ~~they have been have~~ the architecture has been ~~paid for themselves~~ & need not have been & the other Sanitary improvements have paid for themselves

And the saving will be greater as the improvements become more complete

Florence Nightingale was never in India: She was in no sense responsible for the expensive character of the Barracks which have been built at some Indian Stations

**f130**

In the Debate on Mr Fawcett's motion on Indian Finance on Friday, Feb 28. Mr. Onslow said

"He believed that the waste of money x x x x x in pursuit of this philanthropic object".

The Barrack & other improvements have (saving the costly character of the buildings) followed from the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Sanitary state of the Indian Army issued by Lord Derby in 1859: whose Report showed that, ~~in past time~~, altho' the Death-rate among British troops serving in India had varied year by year yet in past time it had

**f131** {almost word for word repeat of f128}

[1]

In the Debate on Mr Fawcett's motion on **[10:]**  
Indian Finance on Friday Mr Onslow said:

"He believed that the waste of money x x x x

x x in pursuit of this philanthropic object"-  
Miss Nightingale was never in India -

It is true that ~~the~~ information on the condition of the  
barracks & Hospitals in India induced her to devote  
time & thought to the sanitary condition of the Army  
in India: and in 1859 Lord Derby issued the Royal  
Commission on the Sanitary state of the Indian Army  
presided over first by Sidney Herbert & then by Lord  
Derby- from the recommendations of which R.C.  
the Barrack & other improvements, (excepting the  
costly character of the building) had followed -

The Report of the R.C. showed that in past times  
the losses from Death alone among British troops  
serving in India had been 69 per 1000 per annum  
from preventible diseases - a Death rate which,  
on the present strength of 60000 men, would have  
involved an addition of 4140 recruits per  
annum to make up the losses from Death alone.

Since this R.C. was at work, improvements  
have been in progress, but the Barracks have  
been costly on account of a style of ~~arch~~ building  
which might have been well avoided.

Altho' by no means all that might have been done  
either in site, or construction, a pure water supply, or drainage  
or Sanitary arrangements has yet been done, still

[1]

{sgl. vert. line thru center of pg, thru lines no.15-21}

**f132**

the saving of life has been great - as may be seen by the following statement in a resolution of the Govt- of India October 1878 on Dr. Brydon's Statistical Returns.

*British Troops*

5 years	Death Rate per 1000
1861 - 65	29.30
1866 - 70	27.48
1871 - 75	18.50

On an Army of 60000 men it requires 3030 recruits fewer per annum to fill up the gaps by preventible Deaths now than would have been the case under the old rates which rated before the time of the R.C. And as every recruit is worth £100 to the State, the Barrack & other improvements, costly as they have been, have paid for themselves.

{at bottom} this draft I think the least desirable  
[2]

initialled letter, f133, pencil

**f133**

Mr Elliott's Report

Dear Dr Sutherland

As you wish it, I hasten to send you this Report [I am sending it myself & have not read above a third Please return it me *as speedily as possible therefore*]

If you have not received a copy, this is the only copy in England besides the one at the I.O., *which they will not lend.*

It is strictly private till Mr Caird's Report comes out

I suppose they attach considerable importance to my having it as the person at Calcutta who sent it paid between £2 & £3 postage to let me have it *via Brindisi*

Yrs mo ffly

F.N.

17/3/79 {Sutherland's response to this FN letter, starts here to end of folio}

ff133v-34, response by Sutherland {continues from f133}, returning of Mysore Report

f135, Sutherland, March 17 1879, FN not being responsible for costly architecture of the Indian Barracks

initialled letter, ff135v-36v, pen

**f135v**

17/3/79

Dear Dr Sutherland

I have never had more difficulty in [10:157]  
anything than in this little Draft for Sir H Verney

The matter of importance is: *not* whether  
the R.C. made a "careful examination" *not*  
whether F.N. was ever in India *nor*  
what she has to do with expenditure  
*but* the condition of the men & the  
progress of the Sanitary improvements

2 You know when we say what a *saving*  
there has been, people say *where is it?*  
show it me

No doubt you saw this strongly expressed  
in a leading Article of Saturday's "Times".  
(I enclose a copy, which please return) It says  
"the Army charges *never showed any reductions*  
*on this account*" - And this no doubt  
is true: But should not Sir H  
Verney notice this in any letter we draft for

**f136**

him? I enclose a Draft I  
made from yours, *before* I saw Saturday's  
Times But I own I could not make  
head or tail on it -

Please send your opinion

as soon as possible

[end 10:157]

yrs ffly

F N

**f136v**

To day  
17/3/79

envelope, f137, pencil

**f137**

Private {up at an angle} 2  
Mr. Onslow's statement on Barracks  
in the Ho. of C.  
Dr. Sutherland  
Army Sanitary Comm  
Horse Guards

17/3/79





**f138v**

6 The P says that 'to have a strong opinion about it is 'not to understand it'.

Does he mean that Ld Lawrence, the highest authority about India, does "not understand it?

7. Sheet 4 is simply Mrs Hominy declaiming.

Is Ld Lawrence "ranging far & wide for provender for his political hatred to feed upon?

For M. C's own sake the letter ought to be burnt N.B. 8 Lastly what is said about the "2 Strachey's"

& "F. Stephen is begging the whole question. Ld Lytton is to be trusted because these 3 men trust him, & these 3 men trust him because he does with them what he likes *What he likes* is the very thing wh constitutes the gravamen of the charge, if any charge there be, agst- Ld L. viz. that he has 'enquirlande' a "clever man like Sir F. Stephen & made him write just what he, Ld L pleased in the Times - as also the "2 cleverest men in India - I thank thee, Jew,

I have no knowledge how the blame is to be distributed between Ld Lytn- & Sir J. Strachey (whom I know & admire & shd- never dream of attacking) as to what is called his Famine budget -

But it is certain both that the appropriation of the Famine Fund for the War after Ld Lytton's most solemn

**f139**

protestations, is a step wh wd ruin the credit of & destroy confidence in any Bank or Govt- in the world - & that even India has been so roused by it that the almost unprecedented step is being taken of sending home petitions to Crown & Commons against it.

As to Genl- Strachey, he is a diplomat - And he will have to answer questions enough asked of his Diplomat ship now he is come home: (I am told), by the I.O

Pray for the Famine Commission

& Mr Cunningham 6/5/79 [end 10:149]

9 Cock a doodle Sidney Herbert at the end

But this is all cock a doodle

**f140**

Mr Rathbone: [subscribed £200 to the Aug 23/79  
Memorial]

Mr Fawcett would himself tell you that his labours in behalf of India were purely in the financial aspect & that he had avoided systematically social questions as being what he could not undertake

But as it is impossible to separate the two the consequence has been that Mr Fawcett has, not choosing his own advisers or searching out these questions for himself has fallen very much into the hands (small blame to him) of paid agents of Zemindars in Bengal, of those who could shout the loudest who were best able & ~~most~~ least-unwilling to pay taxes, all over India, -of a few noisy rich in Bombay - & generally of those in all India who don't want to be taxed & who are the only people who can bear taxation & the only people who can make their voices heard.

Pray God that the poor tens of millions who will now be worse off than ever, while the rich ~~tens~~ ~~of~~ thousands will be rather better off for these retrenchments, *may* be heard some day.

Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose (~~for~~ at whose Meeting Mr. Bright spoke) is a paid agent of the Zemindars.

Without knowing this you could detect it at once by his, Mr. Ghose's, complaining of the increase of taxation on the Zemindars, the only people who can bear it, *the* people upon whom taxes have least ~~scarcely not~~ been raised & ought to be raised.

The real labours of Lord Lawrence during his *Governor Generalship* are not at all known, his pacification

f141 {blank}

**f141v**

of disturbed Northern India, i.e. Bengal  
his upholding of some measure of justice  
for Ryot against Talookdar in Oude &  
Zemindar in Bengal & Baboo

Unsupported at home, he was allowed to carry  
~~them~~ out his measures in Oude, merely because  
they knew here he would resign if they did not  
This was told me on the highest authority

I knew the man who proposed an address  
to him on leaving the S.S. ship: No, the Zemindar  
steadily said No.

It is absurd to speak of the Baboos, (as Mr  
Fawcett does) as likely to contribute to the  
Memorial. Ld Lawrence disposed them for  
their odious indifference to the Ryot's claims.

Have you seen the papers in the Calcutta  
Gazette published in reference to the Commission  
now sitting for revising the entire sent Law of  
Bengal, beside which (the land question) all  
other questions pale into insignificance

It is not often that one has the luck to have a  
High Court of Judicature on one's side. These are  
the witnesses to the illegal practices, the systematic  
frauds & forgeries of the Zemindars. It is the High  
Court of Judicature that speaks -

{vert. in r. marg.:} where Harriet Limb got the water she was drinking

draft, ff142-v, pencil in JS rough hand **f142** {extremely faint}  
[ca end 1879-beg 1880]

There is really no difference of opinion among us. There are two aspects of the pauper question one theoretical the other practical. When theoretically we have dealt with all pauper children so as to make them realize the sin of living on other people's labour & the sin of not providing for their own we still then require neither: poor law nor Charitable societies. The world is wide enough for all & we must *Cente qui Cente* aim at giving every child a fair chance in life. The practical question however is the present one Here we have sick & aged & imbecile who on account of our ~~fix~~ most culpable neglect would die if we did not care for them. These we must care for. But every man woman & young person who can contribute even a farthing in the pound to their keep should be

**f142v**

made to contribute it. If we get  
a farthing on the pound this year we  
shall get a halfpenny next year  
& so in time we may extinguish  
the pound. As for children we  
must train them as Christians  
in other words we must teach them  
the duty of work & the way of work &  
we must then help them to help  
themselves here or in the Colonies

The year 1880 will be judged of by other tests of  
national prosperity than those which continue, in spite  
of the awfully suggestive fact that whilst capital is  
being steadily accommodated pauperism is being almost  
as steadily extended side by side with it to be  
resorted to down to this day -

a nobler national life than one to be expressed in  
a sort of Trade Circular General to be hoped for in 1880  
the town criterion of a thinking nation to be sought  
not alone in the magnitude of the imports & exports  
but to a much greater degree in the proportion in which  
the value created by labour is partaken of by those who  
contribute labour

signed letter, ff143-44v, pen

**f143**

Children's Hospl=     }  
Grand Duchy of Baden} May 24/81  
    10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}  
        PARK LANE. W.

**[16:862]**

Dear Dr. Sutherland

The Grand Duchess of Baden  
begs her best thanks to you  
for your kindness in revising  
the Sketch plans of her  
proposed Children's Hospl=  
at Heidelberg.

You know that I obtained  
for her the plans among many others of the  
Pendelbury Children's Hospl-  
at Manchester: by far  
the best there is

Would you read the enclosed  
letter?

**[end]**

I thought the things he so  
wisely mentions were  
now acknowledged everywhere:

**f143v**

& that they were in my  
"Notes on Hospls" &  
every book on the subject  
1. What shall I say to  
her? And  
2. Should I warn the  
Gd Duchess's Architect  
on these points?

Whether they are acknowledged  
every where or not, it is  
certain they are not acted  
upon

Would you believe it that  
in the new Edinburgh Infirmary  
the drainage of especially  
the Nurses Quarters, &  
worst, the Quarters of our

**f144**

invaluable *Miss Pringle*, the  
Lady Supt- are so bad  
steampipes, waste pipes, soil  
pipes all inter communicating  
-ventilation, so called, forcing  
the sewer gas *into* the rooms  
instead of *out* that Typhoid  
has arisen even in a Visitor  
& her *Miss Pringle's* health has been almost  
ruined  
A lady called the R. Sanitary  
Inspectors did it, re-did it,  
inspected it, & now *report*  
on their *own inspection* -  
And *no* radical reform is  
~~done~~ made.

What is to be done?  
Please return me my own  
note with your answer:  
Pray give my kindest love

**f144v**

to Mrs. Sutherland  
It is long since I have  
heard ~~of~~ from her  
ever yrs faithfully  
F. Nightingale

incomplete, signed letter, ff145-46, pen

**f145**

[2] [ca. 29 June 1881]

3 Thus, what I beg of you  
to be so kind as to do  
is: 1. to give us a *résumé*  
*of what the A.S.C has done*  
*since 1864*  
2. a *résumé* of the *Sir*  
*Stafford Northcote enquiry*  
& its results ~~as~~ of 1868-70.  
- I mean of the circumstances,  
as bearing upon what we  
now ask *Ld Ripon* to do.  
Please let me have an  
answer to this letter  
by *Tuesday morning*  
with your suggestions.  
But by no means trouble  
yourself to prepare the two

**f145v**

résumés, by that date.  
Take time about them -  
Do not hurry.

4. Is there *anything* you would  
wish me to ask Sir  
R. Temple further  
on the subject of my  
Memo-?  
Please let me know soon

**f146**

5. Above all, please  
tell me particularly  
how Mrs. Sutherland is:  
& give her my very best  
& tenderest love:  
in haste  
ever yrs ff=ly  
F. Nightingale

note, f146v, pencil

**f146v**

{printed address:} 10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE. W.  
{vert:} I return this  
in case you  
need it  
29/6

To Dr. Sutherland  
Refers to Lord Lansdowne  
letter of Aug 7 1893

f147-v, Sutherland, June 29 1881 WO embossed WO, HG, sending FN a draft and suggests she ask V. {Viceroy?} for his opinion. Enclosed s a draft. It is better to make it tentative. Ask the V. His opinion. Urge the present state of matters as strenuously as you like. You cannot unless you try Welsh exceed the facts and then the V. Wd prob not understand you. We can discuss this again if you like. I have only filed up the argument as it has occurred to me. We must not allow the local people to interfere with Dr C. I know all about it. It is only a question of the right of seniority not to be scolded, which i for one deny. I have corrected the stupid word in my last letter from "state" into "stay"



ff148-49, Sutherland, July 18 1881, HG embossed WO, difficulty of nursing scheme for Indian Nursing being in the training. I can quite see that the main difficulty with this nursing scheme lies in the training. If ear that the Indian govt in its present financial position will be indisposed to est any training school it seems doubtful wh you shd meddle with a point wh mt be rejected. Except this point I think the rest wd do. It is merely suggestive and raises matters to think about. The whole matter mt be arranged if an English hosp sergeant were attached to each regiment going and then he cd pick out of the ranks a man or two to help. I shd feel disinclined to raise simply the following....European soldiers and native nurses.

You are right about the volunteers. There s to be another turn out in Scotland. Why all this.

initialled letter, ff150-51, pen

**f150**

*New Native Army Hospital Corps*

**[10:180]**

Answer to Lord Ripon

6 Sheets

July 18 1881

Dear Dr. Sutherland

Enclosed is my *reply*  
to Lord Ripon, written  
as you suggested.

Please to look it over  
very carefully & let  
me have it back *to-night*,  
not crumpled,

*with your suggestions -*

- to be shown to Capt Galton

- & then you can see it

again: if you please -

Probably it would be better

**f151**

you should -  
 [But I must make the  
 letter 'do' as far as I  
 can without copying.]  
 Please look over *particularly*  
 sheet 2 side 4  
 to  
 " 3 " 2

severely - this is Dr. Evatt's suggestion, in consequence of my telling  
 him how bad & untrained  
 the *home* Army Hospl= Corps  
 is.

But criticize *generally*  
*as severely as you can.*  
 I have put in Dr Evatt's  
*minor* suggestions, as you wished.  
 But they seem not exactly things  
 for me to write to the Viceroy about

**[end 10:180]**

{up diag.:} ever yrs fflly

FN

f152, incomplete letter {Sutherland}, [July 1881], India's desire for Native  
 Medical Education

ff153-55v, Sutherland, June 13 1882, [printed address] Oakleigh Alleyn Park  
 Dulwich S.E., Mrs. Sutherland's pneumonia, his conjunctivitis, condition of  
 army, his need for FN to find him a Nurse....I have seen Crawford and like  
 him very much, as I have always done. The AHC enq I have heard nothing of.  
 Unfortunately our AMD member is ill, the only person I know. The DG is  
 commanding officer and he is the proper person (Muir) to call to account. A  
 separate enq begins by inflicting a censure on the CO and if they enq into  
 this they ought logically to enq into much more. It is of at least equal  
 importance to ascertain who sent the men down to the coast by the deadly  
 route, and if this why not into the causes of the whole humiliation we  
 experienced there. I shd trace it all back to our so called army reformers  
 who altered the wise arrs we made under Lord Herbert so that we have at  
 present really no army and this being so the poor army unfitted... The best  
 thing for us is never to go to war for we are sure to break down. If I can  
 hear anything on the subject I will write to you. I have a case before me  
 where they actually camped a new regiment for 2 months under canvass--the men  
 sleeping on straw in one of the most malarial districts in India and typhoid  
 fever broke out among them.

If you and I were a quarter of a century younger we shd have plenty of  
 work to do. If you look back to old days so do I often, I was ... But alas!  
 As the wise man said "what is crooked cannot be made straight" and I am  
 becoming crooked too. I hope when I am better in health to have the pleasure  
 of seeing you sometime, but just now I almost need your aid in finding me a  
 good nurse. This is a joke with a grain of reason in it. I shall work here  
 tomorrow and go to town on ...

**f156**

Please PRIVATE {up at an angle}  
return to June 28 1882  
F.N. 10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}  
PARK LANE. W.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I earnestly hope that your  
eyes are quite well again:  
& that Mrs. Sutherland is  
entirely restored to health  
by Eastbourne: my very  
best love to her-  
Can you help me in this:--

I am asked whether *Night  
Nursing* by *Sisters* should be allowed  
in the *Herbert Hospital*  
on these terms? - - [It is Dr.  
Crawford who asks me.]  
- that another Sister should  
be put on the Staff to nurse  
at night *not* continuously

**f156v**

but when there are *bad* cases

I was told ~~out~~ of two bad  
cases only - one of  
Heart disease, dying: & one,  
I think, of Pneumonia:  
[I asked the number of *bed-  
ridden* cases in proportion  
to the whole - (they are now  
full) & I could not learn it,  
but was told: "very few."

"A female Night Nurse was  
"only wanted occasionally  
"to a *special* case."]

I said: it was impossible  
for one woman to sit up alone  
in that vast place of men with  
no other woman within call:  
& was told that Miss  
Caulfield, the Lady Supt=,  
would supervise her.

[This, I am sure, will be only  
*nominal*]

**f157**

I asked whether there were not enough sick for a Night Sister's supervision to be always useful - & another to be put on to any special case - making two women -

to which I received no answer.

[At Netley where there is a much greater proportion of bad cases than at Herbert the Night Nursing - you know Mrs. Deeble some years ago applied for two Night Sisters - ... thus managed: (very bad): One Sister patrols for the whole Hospital from 8 p.m. till 12 the other 12 " 8 a.m.

Often there is not one case wanting anything: the sick sleep the whole night.]

**f157v**

Now *what is to be done* about *female* Night Nursing at the Herbert?

It seems cruel to deprive those bed cases of a Nurse at night for the Orderly Nursing is nearly as bad as bad can be: & the supervision of the Wardmaster is absolutely nil. [That is an immense subject.]

But it is like pulling down one woman to watch in a vast Convalescent Hospl- of men: a thing we never should think of -

Advise me *what to ask* & *what to say*.

As for additional Nurses' sleeping accommodation at the Herbert for such Night Sisters, if granted

**f158**

[2]

a room was partitioned  
into two for two of the  
National Aid Socy-'s Probrs=  
[but these were afterwards  
sent to Netley because  
they asked = 'where were the  
Surgical cases?' And there  
were none.]

These two beds could therefore  
be devoted to Night Sisters:  
And the Nat. Aid Socy=  
would lend one or two  
of their trained Probationers  
for the purpose

*This is the case:*

*Advise:*

**f158v**

[It is difficult for any thing  
to be worse than what  
is known at Netley  
about Mrs. Deeble's superinte=  
She is not in the Wards  
once a week: the Nurses,  
the Probationers ~~never see~~  
(placed under her care  
by the Nat. Aid Socy=)  
never see her: even at  
meals She does nothing  
for them - She is  
entirely occupied with  
her daughters & her sons  
And Professor Longmore  
pronounces that all is  
perfect.  
God help us!]

**f159**

Do you know anything  
about the *Museum* at  
Netley?

No use is made of it.  
It is deserted.

And Dobson, the Curator,  
stuffs bats & hedge hogs,  
& makes mischief.

**f159v**

2. They are going to elect [10:184]  
 a *Professor of Physiology*  
 at *Oxford* either  
 Prof *Gamgee* of *Edinburgh*  
 (brother of the Veterinary)  
 or *Dr. Burdon Sanderson*.

It is a matter of great  
 importance at *Oxford*  
 because this Professor ought  
 to give *Sanitary* lectures to  
 the Civil Service candidates for  
*India* Which is best?

Can you recommend a  
 Lecturer on *Sanitary Engineering*  
 for the same? *not* to make  
 them Engineers, but to show  
 the Candidates the importance  
 {printed address 10, SOUTH STREET, of Sanitation for  
 upside down:} PARK LANE. W. India [end 10:184]  
 ever yours sincerely  
 F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff160-61, pen

**f160**

June 30 1882

10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}  
 PARK LANE. W.

My dear Dr. Sutherland

The following question [10:184-85]  
 relates to the Civil Service  
 Candidates for India.

Is it better for men to go to  
 India at the ages of *20 and 21*  
 or at " *23 and 24*?

As you know, the maximum  
 age at which these young  
 men can enter now as candidates  
 is years  
 19

- most enter at 17 or 18

The course is 2 ½ years.

This brings most of them to  
 India under 20 or 21.

And the maximum 21 ½ years  
 old

**f160v**

It is strongly desired now  
- and Lord Hartington has  
been sounded upon it -  
(but Dr. Andrew Clark  
refuses ~~her~~ to give an opinion -)  
it is strongly desired, in  
which I take an active part,  
to make the maximum age  
for entering                years  
                              20  
minimum                    18  
& to make the course  
    3 years & 4 months  
This would make for arriving  
    in India                years  
    maximum age            23 1/3  
    average                22 1/3  
    What do you say to this?

**f161**

A delegation will go to Lord  
Hartington about it.  
    Thanks for your news of  
    Yourself & Mrs. Sutherland  
to whom my very best love  
    ever yours faithfully  
    F. Nightingale  
For the Indian R. Sanitary  
    Comm: we had an ample  
discussion as to best age  
for arriving in India,  
for acclimatization, &c &c  
as I need not remind you                [end 10:185]

incomplete letter, ff162-63v, pen

**f162**

PRIVATE {up at an angle} Nov 23/82 [15:945]

10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}

PARK LANE. W.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

Thank you for your note.

But the question (you kindly ask) which you have *not* answered is: how far the present Regulations embody the *Sanitary* Office which was constructed with so much trouble in the Regulations of 1859.?

I do not know how far we can get this subject under the present W.O. Committee of Enquiry It could only be done in this way: that

**f162v**

the subject of the Regimented system against the present must come up: & with it the duties, *Sanitary* & other, of the Regimental Medical Officer - & how far they are performed by the present Medical Officer & were performed in the present Egyptian Campaign.

*What is your idea about this?*

[I hear it said: the Army Sanitary Comm: might as well not exist at all for any good it has done us in



**f163**

the Egyptian campaign].  
You saw, at the Egyptian  
Medical dinner on Tuesday,  
Dr. Marston - [do you know  
him? what kind of a man  
is he?] he was the Sanitary  
Officer at Ismailia & is  
spoken of as the "coming man"-  
entirely ignored the Sanitary  
subject altogether & dwelt  
on there having been *NO*  
*wants* of stores &c.

My idea is that never  
(for so short a campaign)  
was the Sanitary Authority  
more wanted- & never  
more ignored- even by  
those in whom it was vested

**f163v**

1. At *Ismailia* itself, the very  
Station of Dr. Marston, the  
*ground was polluted* to such  
an extent *round the Hospital*  
that tents could not be  
pitched

1.a. The *Barracks* were in  
such a state when ~~illeg~~ our  
troops were put into them  
at *Cairo* - that the men  
had to be turned out in  
24 hours, (not by Sanitary  
but, by Commadg- Officer),  
& bivouack at first without tents  
in the Square. And the C.O.  
had to go (poisoned) on  
board ship. [C.O.s told  
me this themselves].

*Where was the Sanitary Officer?*

note, ff164-65, pen

**f164**

Indian Contingent  
Native position  
27/11/82  
10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}  
PARK LANE. W.  
whether there was food & forage [10:182]  
for man & horse especially  
during the first 3 days  
what were the advantages  
& what the disadvantages  
in practice  
of the Commissariat & Transport  
arrangements  
& especially what were the  
Hospital arrangements  
As to Medical comfort  
food & cooking  
transport & tents  
& most especially as to  
Sanitary arrangements -  
were there pioneers to cleanse  
the ground  
round the Hospitals?  
how did the new (enlisted) Native  
Army Hospital Corps act  
and

**f165**

were all the stores  
landed with each Regiment  
& separate transport  
with each Regiment  
& each Field Hospital [end 10:182]

signed letter, ff166-67, pen

**f166**

*Strictly Confidential* [15:952-53]

Jan 5 1883

10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}  
PARK LANE. W.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

In the STRICTEST CONFIDENCE

I send you Dr Marston's  
evidence before the  
Committee of enquiry.

Please read particularly those parts  
which refer to his *SANITARY*  
duties: (a little bit of  
bread to an "intolerable"  
"deal of sack.")

And please give me  
your remarks upon the  
Sanitary business- so  
important: ~~how it has~~  
~~been fulfilled~~

**f166v**

how\_ it has been done:  
how\_ " neglected-  
what ought to have been  
done:

what " not to have been done

Please return me  
the whole *this evening*  
& mention to *NO* one  
that you have seen  
this evidence -

You remember of course  
your capital letter to me  
on the Sanitary subject

[end 15:953]

**f167**

2 I send you a letter  
of Grant Duff's -  
Please let me have it  
to morrow or Monday  
*with your remarks:*  
Have you seen the despatch [blue pencil]  
he refers to?  
ever sincerely yrs  
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff168-69, pencil [6:567]

**f168**

Bangor 10 South St  
Ap 27/83  
Dear Dr. Sutherland  
I enclose the reply  
of the Bangor Sanitary  
Board to the Government  
Commissioner's Report -  
and also a note from  
the Chairman of the  
Sanitary Board, to be  
submitted to you to  
whom I submitted the  
original document  
They seem to Mr Rathbone  
to confirm the view that

**f168v**

"the outbreak was owing  
to the state of physical  
health in the  
neighbourhood being  
prepared for such an  
outbreak by defective  
Sanitary arrangements,  
& not to the water".  
How is Mrs. Sutherland?  
to whom my very best love -  
I am pretty bad --- {line overflows into next folio}  
ever yrs ffully  
F. Nightingale

**f169**

I am very sorry. One at a time  
bad is quite enough for me

signed letter, ff170-74, pen [6:568-69]

**f170**

July 30/83

Dear Dr Sutherland

I know not whether you [9:921]  
know what has been  
passing in your absence -  
- about "Precautions against  
Cholera" - Before he left England,  
Dr. Cunningham attended a  
Meeting at the Local  
Government Board, in  
which Buchanan & Jenner  
carried all before them -  
& Dr. Cunningham & Sir  
Joseph Fayrer were left  
absolutely alone in  
protesting against "Germ"

**f170v**

measures & "Isolation"  
measures - & *for*  
Sanitary measures -  
Dr. Cunningham whom  
I saw twice was  
positively broken hearted-  
He left with me a letter  
which I got into the "Times"-  
And you see his excellent  
Epidemiological lecture is  
in full in the "Medical Times"  
of July 21 [end 9:921]  
I offered him to reprint  
& distribute this -  
It is however too scientific  
for the general public -

**f171**

2. I have had a  
C. Harry Meltzer of the  
New York Herald, who  
is come to England to  
learn all he can for  
his newspaper about  
Cholera, & *practical* advice  
about prophylactic measures  
& *c and quarantine!!!*

Hearing of your return,  
*I have addressed him to*  
*you - Please keep him straight*  
*about Cholera*

It is of such terrible  
importance that America  
& England should be put

**f171v**

right on such subjects -  
I have written him a  
letter which he wants  
to publish in the N.Y.  
Herald x

& have sent him Dr  
Cunningham's Epidemiological  
lecture -

x I shall ask you to overlook/him to return ~~illeg~~  
~~overlook the~~ my letter before  
it is published, if I  
consent

*Put Mr Meltzer on the right*  
*tack about Cholera*

**f172**

[2]

[15:961]

3

But *the* thing of importance  
is that the Foreign Office  
should send out a  
Scavenging Staff- to Cairo  
Had we done this when  
we determined to stay in  
Egypt, Cholera would  
never have been -  
Do you see that, tho' the  
attacks among our own  
Officers & men have  
been few, two thirds  
have died?  
Could anything be done  
now with the Foreign Office

**f172v**

to send out Inspectors  
& men for a Scavenging  
Staff to undertake  
the cleansing of Cairo?  
under Dr. Hunter -

**f173**

[3]

4. I have had a Mrs. { '4' is overtop of a 3 }  
Sheldon Amos here  
who was all last winter  
working at Alexandria  
among the ~~poor~~ natives- & who  
has now been telegraphed  
for out to Cairo to work  
there among the Cholera  
She wanted me to send  
for Lady Dufferin &  
to organize Doctors &  
Nurses to be sent out  
for Cholera at Cairo -  
Twelve Doctors have

**f173v**

been sent out - I can't  
see my way to the *Nurses*  
tho' one excellent Sister  
has volunteered to me. [end]

**f174**

My very best love to  
Mrs. Sutherland  
I feared she would be  
over fatigued  
ever yrs ffully  
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff175-76, pen

**f175**

Most Dec 3/83  
*Private* {up at an angle}  
10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}  
PARK LANE. W.  
Dear Dr. Sutherland  
You probably know that [15:254]  
a Committee is sitting daily  
at the W.O. converting  
the recommendations of  
Lord Morley's Committee  
into a scheme -  
I have been asked  
about many things: but  
especially now about the  
proposed extension of  
Female Nurses - And  
a Proof of the proposed  
new Regulations for Nurses



**f175v**

has been sent me with a  
request that I will  
return it at once with  
my remarks & suggestions  
I enclose the whole,  
including some remarks by Bonham  
Carter: & two sets of old  
Regulations for reference  
- entreating you to be so  
good as to furnish me  
with your criticisms &  
remarks -  
& to return the whole  
by 3 o'clock to-day  
at latest -

**f176**

Pray help me [end 15:254]  
& believe me  
ever yours faithfully  
F. Nightingale

notes, f176v, pencil

**f176v**

no distinction between Supt- & Sisters  
122 Supt- will dismiss  
strict out  
nowhere is it said: who is to remove  
the Nurse from Hospl-  
123 She will exercise control  
128 Supt- will fix the hours  
under the instructions of M O  
138 last words left out  
necessary steps taken by Supt-  
omit 138 new Regls-  
what are the duties of Supt- to Nurses  
what her ~~relation~~ with regard to Medl= Offr-  
not put in at first  
not systematic  
Age - not under 30 nor on appt-ment over 40

f177, Sutherland, Dec 5 1883, embossed War Office, packet being sent and encourages her to lay down principles and to ask them to embody them in regulations

incomplete letter, f178-v, pencil {text vert. on page}

**f178**

& the Supt of N on the other hand giving  
implicit obedience to all Medical directors  
& paying due respect to the M.O. as the  
Superior Officer of the Hospl=  
both of pg 2

And here I may say generally that in a  
Nursing Service as elsewhere success  
will not depend upon Regns= but upon  
whether those who have to carry out them out  
- the Nurses on the one hand & the M.O.s  
on the other - are imbued with the proper  
spirit in their relations to one another  
- the M.O. having confidence in the Supt-  
that she will loyally require her Staff to carry  
out his instructions - & therefore not interfering  
with her proper control over the nurses -

**f178v**

to the ~~instruments~~ 5a  
In framing such Regmts due regard must be  
had to the fact that the Nurses are women & the  
~~M.O.S.~~ a service has to be organized in which  
women are to be subordinate to men in their  
specific duties with regard to the sick

signed letter, ff179-81, pencil

**f179**

PRIVATE *Burn* [2]  
{both words up at an angle} Dec 17/83 [9:659]

Dear Dr. Sutherland

There are but two  
objections to your (& our)  
plan about the A.S.C -  
1. There is not the  
slightest probability or  
possibility, as far as I  
know, of "Capt G." being  
"appointed in your place"

He does not think *if*  
he will accept it, because  
~~of this~~ he knows this -

Also: No one would attend  
to him, *IF* he were, because  
he is a R E., not a Doctor

**f179v**

Alas! alas!

2 The Comm: is a "W.O.  
"Committee", as we all  
know. But that does not  
"prevent" its "clashing" with  
the A M D. They simply  
ignore it, that is all.  
Has any one since Irving  
"consulted" you? Does  
the W.O ever "refer any  
"thing to you as a Comm"?

No S. of S. has any  
idea of its difference  
from the A. M D -

If you resigned, ~~they~~ he the S. of S.,  
would, if {UL 4 times} he did not dissolve

**f180**

the A S C . altogether  
consult the D G - &  
appoint an Army Med: Offr=  
in your place -

~~The jealousy is enormous -~~  
This is *as far* as I know, of  
course -

-----  
Dr. Cunningham told me  
distinctly that he *would*  
accept your post, IF  
it were offered him -  
on his return -

This seems the only chance.

The I.O. would, I think,  
appoint him -

I can say nothing about  
the W.O. There is no one

**f180v**

there with any of Sidney

Herbert's traditions - Sir R  
Thompson is quite useless -

Pray think again & inform **[end 9:659]**  
ever yours most faithfully  
F. Nightingale

*Most*

*Private* {up at an angle}

Could you find out  
in strict confidence  
whether ~~Dr.~~ the D.G. is  
a R. Catholic?

I have never seen any  
signs of it

[This has no reference  
to the fore-going]

F.N.

**f181**

[3]

*Military Nurses*

Would you read &  
criticize these two  
printed papers?

Kindly do so -  
ever yours faithfully  
F. Nightingale

My kindest love to

dear Mrs. Sutherland

I hope she is well

{last 2 lines is Sutherland responding, cont. in f182v}

f182 {blank page}

f182v, Sutherland, {response to f181v} Nurse papers are results of compromise  
between necessities and means of training

signed letter, ff183-84, pencil

**f183**

*Private* {up at an angle}

**[16:474-75]**

*Malta* Oct 5/84

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I have no doubt that  
you have been consulted  
about the following, & shall  
be very glad if you will  
kindly tell me what you  
have advised

"Mr. Bell, a very  
gentlemanly middle aged  
architect," went out in  
August in the same ship  
with one of our Sisters who  
was ~~going~~ returning to her  
post in Cairo Military  
Hospital "he has been sent

**f183v**

"out to *Malta* for a few  
"weeks by Government to visit  
a site (which has already  
been settled upon) for a new  
Military Hospl=, & to draw  
the plan of it, with every  
*modern improvement* so that  
"it ~~is~~ may be the most *perfect* Hospl=  
possible        Mr. Bell says  
"that it is to have a Training  
School for *female Nurses*  
attached to it: but we  
"can't help thinking he must  
be mistaken on this point  
"All that I am telling you  
he of course told us in

**f184**

"confidence -

"The Hospl= is to contain 240

beds only. Not enough, I  
Should have thought. He  
thinks the Building will be  
commenced early next year.

" Mr. Bell has been getting  
*our opinion* upon several  
points with regard to his  
plan of this Hospital."

N.B. Our Sister is  
quite first rate as a  
Hospital Sister but not  
as a Sanitarian

I hope that you have  
given your best advice

ever yrs ffully F. Nightingale **[end 16:475]**

signed letter, ff185-92v, pen & pencil

**f185**

Lord Reay} 10 South St

*Bombay* } Jan 23/85

Dear Dr Sutherland

- A thousand thanks for **[10:307-08]**

yours of the 16<sup>th</sup> on the  
subject of incensing Lord  
Reay -

I hope you are now  
very much better -

You were so kind as  
to say that you would  
"refer" me "*to the facts*"  
"in the XVI Vol. of the  
"I.O. Reports" *as soon*  
"as" you received your  
copies - Doubtless you

**f185v**

have received them now.

[I have had a copy  
some weeks. But I did  
not like to trouble you -]  
~~filed~~ I now send you a new  
copy.

You kindly say that  
you "will ~~find~~ look out in them  
"most of the points to  
"which Lord Reay's  
"attention should be directed"

Will you be so good  
as to do so now?

(1)

**f186**

You also say that you  
will show "in the Blue  
"Book that Dr Hewlett  
"has laid his hands on  
"the worst Military  
"Stations & laid down  
"the principles of the  
"remedies" - (2)

I shall be extremely  
obliged to you to *mark*  
these. & also to  
tell me what to say  
to Lord Reay, who is  
most willing to be  
taught.

**f186v**

You also mention that  
"Neemuch  
"Nasisabad  
"Mhow"  
what "others"?  
"ought to be taken in hand  
at once"  
& that "there is a good  
"deal to do in this way  
"of inspecting & improving  
"many towns" - say what?  
Would you be so kind  
as to *point* me to all  
*these things in the*  
*Blue Book*, & to put

**f187**

[2]  
*me in the way of telling*  
them to a man, perfectly  
ignorant of Sanitary  
things, but laborious,  
& conscientious & willing  
to learn (4)

I shall be extremely  
grateful -

And would Mr. Frederick  
send me a spare copy  
of Vol XVI?

Doubtless I shall have



**f187v**

some more questions to  
ask you -

You said that I had  
asked you questions  
which would or "ought  
"to take you 3 days to  
"answer"

[I have already introduced  
Dr. Hewlett to Lord Reay  
as much as words  
could, telling him of  
~~his~~ Hewlett's work in Bombay]

**f188**

Pray kindly say how  
you & Mrs. Sutherland  
are

(3)

N.B Dr. Hewlett -  
One of his greatest works  
is: that he *has*  
"aroused the interest  
"of the people in Sanitary  
"things" is it not?

{text to end of folio is by Sutherland, responding to (3)} I cannot say as to  
this. Hewlett's value, knows the subject, is the most practical of all of  
them and did first rate hard san work in Bombay city.

f188v {response to FN's letter by Sutherland to correspond with the numbers  
(1), (2) and 4. in her letter thus far ff185-88}

**f189**

[3] {FN's letter continues}

You say that "an attempt  
"should be made at once  
"to find *some persons*  
"to do work of this class"  
i.e in "villages where  
"nine tenths of all the  
"important work has to be  
"done" - (5)

what '*persons*'?  
*Engineers?* or *headmen*?

-----  
Please remember that I  
have no eyes, or rather  
I *have* eyes & they are

**f189**

neuralgic- You must  
not, please, tell me to  
"look in the Book", but  
mark the passages  
for me - & give me  
yourself the moral -  
I have been laid up  
all the winter  
{text to end of folio Sutherland's response to (5)}

**f190** {Sutherland's response to text (5) continues re: cleansing and  
protection of water sources}

**f191**

‡ [4] {FN's letter continues}  
It seems to me that one [16:871-72]  
must always repeat the  
most elementary notions  
of Sanitary things again &  
again  
Do you know that in  
one week we have  
18!!! Probationers at  
St Thomas' "down"  
with Diarrhoea & Sickness  
"& in a "Typhoid condition" [end 10:308]  
To-day we completely  
empty our "Home" -  
send all the really sick

**f191v**

Probationers into two  
special sick wards -  
send all the well ones  
into an empty Ward  
fitted up in haste for  
them -  
Send the Convalescents  
to their homes -  
& then -- thorough inspection  
It is believed that the  
same cistern supplies  
drinking water & sinks - [end 16:872]  
It is believed that the

**f192**

waste pipe of the sink  
 goes straight into the  
 drain without being cut  
 off

It is known that the  
 tap for the drinking water  
 is over a sink

And Mr. Currey is  
 our Architect!

And Dr. Bristowe  
 is Sanitary Officer!!!  
 to the Hospital!!!

I think I ought to  
 be hanged & Dr. Bristowe  
 {line of text by Sutherland}

**f192v**

Mr Currey, his

Builder & Plumber  
 shut up in a Sink!!!

{text to end of folio by Sutherland responding re: not to hang him as he knew  
 no better, & the problem of crooked people in relation to building hospitals}

signed letter, ff193-94v, pencil

**f193**

10 South St

Nov 17/85

My dear Dr Sutherland

I have never had time to [10:312-13]  
 tell you of the very successful  
 interview I had with

Sir F. Roberts. But I will

*Dr. Hewlett's 5 6 points:*

1 Village Sanitation & the  
 best means of carrying it  
 out {vert. word:} Yes

[This I am to write to  
 Ld Reay upon]

{vert. in left marg.:} ? Pedder --

2 The desirability of the  
 Bombay Govt= being informed

**f193v**

that their views regarding  
the contagion of Cholera  
are opposed to proved  
facts, & are likely to  
cause embarrassment to  
true Sanitary progress &  
England's action regarding  
Quarantine {vert. in left marg.:} ? Pedder Yes  
[You will help in this;  
- and how can I?  
3 The importance of the  
Bombay Govt= giving every  
facility to Municipalities  
to take advantage of  
Col Ducat's Services as  
Consulting Sanitary Engineer {vert. in left marg.:} ? Pedder Yes

**f194**

[This, I think will be done  
without us]  
4 The advisability of Indian  
Engineers being encouraged  
whilst at home on furlough  
to take every opportunity  
of studying Sanitary  
engineering as a speciality {vert. in left marg.:} ? Pedder Yes  
[This I think I have  
nothing to do with]  
5 The desirability of  
employing Civil Surgeons  
in each Zillah as Sanitary  
Officers who should work  
under the direct control {vert. in left marg.:} ? Pedder Yes  
of the Sanitary Commissioner

**f194v**

as in the Punjab -  
Would you kindly give me  
hints as to all 5  
points - how I could  
help - & particularly  
what view you take &  
how you are helping -  
& what I should say to  
Dr Hewlett  
if possible by Thursday  
morning [end 10:313]  
ever faithfully yrs  
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff195-98v, pen & pencil

**f195**

Nov 27/85  
10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}  
PARK LANE. W.  
Dear Dr. Sutherland  
1. I have received the proof  
as usual from Mr. Hill  
of the I.O. Sanitary Blue Book,  
with the *usual request* for  
*criticism &c &c*  
Now is the time if you  
want anything strengthened  
or corrected.  
*Please tell me what.*  
I believe that you are  
very much better. There is a  
blessed change in the weather  
to day. But I also hope that  
you use common prudence

**f195v**

Sanitary TRACTS FOR INDIA

I am very much obliged  
for the parcels I have received  
from the Ladies' Sanitary -  
2. bed also I should be very  
much obliged *for a List*  
*marked by YOURSELF &*  
*Mrs. Sutherland* of those  
which you think might  
possibly do, adapted, for India  
I am also grateful for the  
caution conveyed in Miss  
Adams' letter about  
translation or adaptation  
which I will carefully

**f196**

transmit to Lady Dufferin

But I could very much  
have wished that nothing  
had been said to Miss Adams  
or Jarrold about leave to  
translate or adapt till  
we had decided whether  
we should have even one book  
or tract to recommend to Ly D.  
~~her~~ for translation or adaptation  
At present I have not one -  
And I had made up my mind  
to tell her so. Now, if  
she puts that "Cleanliness is  
necessary to health," Jarrold  
will say it is "adapted" from  
him. I have other books

**f196v**

to send to Lady Dufferin  
which I have just  
ordered from my Bookseller  
but without any intention  
of asking for leave ('leave' is blotched} to  
translate or adapt till we know  
whether we want it.  
I have got together such a  
mass of information &  
advice for ~~her~~ Lady Dufferin that I  
hardly know bow to arrange  
it for her - from Dr.  
Hewlett, from Mr. & Mrs.  
Man Mohun Ghose. (She is  
like a highly educated  
English lady) from Mr. Hume  
& others.

**f197**

[2]

3- Dr. Hewlett recommends  
that in each province should  
be selected an Indian native  
to write, under the Superintende=  
of the Sanitary Commissioner  
of that province, a *Sanitary*  
*home-Manual for women*  
& *girls*

But what Sanitary  
*Commissioner* is there besides  
*himself* & Dr. Bellew of  
the Punjab, who is fit  
for the task?

No one know so well as  
you. *Please tell me.*

[The Madras Sany- Commr=

**f197v**

is nobody. Dr. Cunningham's  
successor with the Govt- of  
India is much worse  
than no one.]

3 Could you kindly send me  
a List of the present  
Sanitary Commissioners  
whom you would consider  
fit for supervising the writing  
a home Manual for women  
each for his own Province?  
& I shall take care to include  
in my letter to Lady Dufferin  
(when it gets written)  
your excellent suggestion  
for teaching home Sanitary

**f198**

practice in any proposed  
Ladies Medl- College, that  
the Lady Doctors may  
lecture to the women - one  
of the principal suggestions  
of Mr. Man Mohun Ghose  
(a very superior brother  
of Lal Mohun's)  
Every one of my advisors has  
considered adaptations or  
re-translation from any  
English books as useless  
except that, as you say,  
hygienic *principles* are  
the same everywhere; but  
we need not ask Jarrold  
for these.  
According to Dr. Hewlett, it is



**f198v**

also ~~perfectly~~ useless to send  
these kinds of things to "Parsee's,  
whose women's habits & superstitions  
are unknown to English  
people -

God bless you both:  
& with great love to Mrs.  
Sutherland, believe me  
ever yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

We are 'cast down but not  
destroyed! about the  
Elections -

signed letter, ff199-200v, pen

**f199**

*Bombay Village Sanitation*

Dec 9/85

10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}  
PARK LANE. W.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I am so glad that you **[10:316-17]**  
are so much better. But  
pray be careful. The weather  
in London has been detestable

I send you Mr. Pedder's letter  
in answer to one of mine  
asking for a Despatch on  
Bombay Village Sanitation -  
You see he will do it; you  
see he waits to do it till  
your Memo= on Dr. Hewlett's  
*last Sanitary Report is*  
*received.* You see he  
wishes to come & *talk* to me  
about it.

**f199v**

You see that he forsees  
"difficulties" -  
Could you tell me what line  
your Meml- will take?  
what line I ought to take  
about his "difficulties".  
[By the greatest chance, I  
who have never time or  
strength to make Drafts  
or copies of my letters,  
find I made a pencil  
Memo= of my letter to ~~Mr~~ Lord  
~~Pedder~~ Reay which I enclose,  
as that to Mr. Pedder was on the same pattern,  
in order that you may tell  
me what to modify or  
strengthen in conversation  
with him.]

**f200**

Please return me the whole  
'boutique' & give me  
*all the hints* you can -  
We *must* support Dr. Hewlett's  
& Mr. Crawford's experience  
& practical judgement on  
this Bombay Village Sanitation  
against the altogether obstructive  
views, for they are nothing  
more than views, of Messrs.  
Melville & Nugent (on Lord  
Reay's Council) whom Mr.  
Pedder calls the "Bombay  
Govt=". [~~I have written~~  
~~to Lord Reay~~]  
~~After all, I cannot find the~~  
My letter to Mr. Pedder, to which  
his is an answer, was on the same  
topics, Mutatis mutandis, as the one I  
enclose to Ld Reay. [I did not of course tell  
Mr. Pedder I had written to Lord Reay]

**f200v**

You know, I dare say, that Dr. [6:570]  
Hewlett left 5 out of his 6 children  
ill of Scarlet Fever, from the  
abominable Bedford drainage -  
one, a boy of 9, apparently  
dying - his wife quite worn out  
with Nursing - & he obliged  
to start for India - He & she  
were more to be pitied, I think,  
than almost any one I ever saw.  
However, I have heard from her  
that the little boy has taken  
a turn for the better - & that  
all are making progress.

Dr Hewlett seemed almost  
broken hearted at having  
to leave them. Thank God  
they are better -

with great love to Mrs [end 10:317]  
Sutherland ever yours faithfully  
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff201-08v, pen & pencil

**f201**

Private {up at angle} [10:317-20]

Despatch }  
to Bombay }  
Govt= (Mr. Pedder) Dec 19/85  
Your Memo on Hewlett's }  
Sanitary Report }  
10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}  
PARK LANE. W.

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I am so very glad that you  
are able to resume your  
tri weekly visits to the Horse Guards.

Your letter shall now be  
answered as well as I can,  
having had a long conversation  
with Mr. Pedder.

The IO is fractious &  
quarrelsome: every one who  
enters in there becomes an  
Office man, & not a service man  
- loses his undivided devotion  
to the cause of India, & becomes  
defensive, warding off troublesome  
reformers. This being the case,  
we must do our best:

**f201v**

Economy is the order of the day,  
in all except the Army,  
frontier defences & frontier Wars,  
(10000 men to be kept at  
Quetta at an enormous expence,  
for all their supplies must be  
brought from India] &c &c  
Every official in India who  
~~goes against~~ dared to hesitate about this policy - to  
be spoken of with good natured  
contempt, especially at Bombay =  
"Ray" (meaning Lord Reay)  
"old Hewlett"  
"Willie Wedderburn"  
(meaning Sir W. Wedderburn)  
&c &c  
But we must do our best =

**f202**

I. As to pleading for a  
"complete executive Sanitary  
"organization", we are  
specially warned to do no such  
thing. 1. We are told that the  
answer from India will be =  
'give us a hundred millions,  
& we shall be too glad to do it'.  
2. We are told that an "Executive"  
means: the power of levying  
money by raising fresh taxes,  
& that nothing of the kind  
can be sanctioned.  
3. We are warned to begin at the  
bottom & restore the Mhars  
& Mangs as a "Village Sanitary  
Organizn-" (sec. Crawford's Note)  
Paras 12 and 13  
[Of that more anon: we will  
hope that we are not to end  
there]  
And actually at their own request

**f202v**

I wrote to "Ray", by last mail,  
to restore these Mhars &  
Mangs, re instate them in their  
village perquisites (grain 'huks')  
& their service lands.

4. We are told this - (by the way)-  
but please observe this that we  
must on no account speak  
of Col. Ducat by name but  
only as the Sanitary Engineer,  
*because!!* he has the  
misfortune to be "old Hewlett's"  
brother- in law, which *I* did  
not know till the other day,  
& *you* I dare say do not  
know it all.

5. We are told that we must  
on no account urge the Govt-  
to "instruct" the Municipalities  
to carry out the "Sanitary Engineer's"

**f203**

[2]

"requirements" still less to  
act with other Municipalities  
as with "Calcutta", which  
has made a dreadful "row" -  
[I do have a word to say  
about that anon]

6. Also: that the Municipalities  
themselves will not stand a  
too energetic native Sanitarian  
member, because that entails  
raising money. (just like  
our Town Councils & Boards)  
You remember that excellent  
Sanitarian Native Chairman  
of the Ahmedabad Muny=  
whose letter Dr. Hewlett  
inserted in his last Annual  
Report but one. He would  
not have been elected in the

**f203v**

new Municipal Board, &  
he asked to be *nominated*,  
which was done - But he was  
not elected as Vice Chairman,  
& he threatens to resign [We  
are doing all we can to  
prevent this.]

According to your desire  
I was to find out what you  
could put in your Memo- on  
Dr. Hewlett's last Sanitary  
Report, to strengthen their  
hands, i.e. the hands of their

**f204**

Despatch which is to be  
written to the Bombay Govt=  
on your Memo=, when it  
comes in:

they were profuse in their  
acknowledgements of the  
excellence of your Memo-,  
& suggest as pegs to hang  
their Despatch upon =

1. that you feel convinced the  
system of Village sanitation  
must begin from the bottom
2. para. 294. [Dr. Hewlett's Report]  
- that you quite agree with  
Dr. Hewlett that Village Sanitation  
is all the root of removal of  
epidemic disease - & are  
very glad to understand that  
some legislative measures are  
to promote such Sanitation

**f204v**

& would be glad to hear the result.

[Upon this, put more strongly & better by you, Mr. Pedder says, they would be able to hang their Despatch]

p. 126. Dr. Hewlett speaks of Local funds spent on Sanitary purposes. Mr. Pedder says a great deal *has* been "spent on wells - the main thing". I think he would be glad if you would notice this [He says that "old Hewlett", "rightly" "notices the defects", & does not say much of what has been done]

As an irrelevant reflection I am ~~so~~ struck with Dr. Hewlett's superiority to all these I.O. men-

**f205**

[3]

[Mr Pedder is not half the man he was when I first knew him]

3 [This by the way] Mr. Pedder asks you to use the word "village organization", (not "Panchayat"): he says Panchayats do not exist, & they the I.O., want to encourage the village HEADMAN.

[I am sorry he is wrong, because Messrs. Crawford & Hewlett on the spot speak incessantly about Panchayats. But till it is Mr. Pedder who has to draft one ~~on~~ which the S of S will approve & permit - And we must let him dictate his own terms, à la lettre]



**f205v**

4. para 303. Mr Pedder asks you to say a word in favour of the Leper Asylum & its advantage

5. I now come to a thing which it is most difficult to me to formulate Mr Pedder begs you "not to suggest" anything ~~about~~ based upon the "NON contagiousness" of Cholera". He says it actually has the opposite effect ~~fro~~ on foreign Govts- from what we wish for, & Drs. Hewlett & Cun{n}ingham suppose -

He says the I.O. entirely approve (*without* believing in "Cholera contagion") Para 14

**f206**

of the "Resolution" of Govt= (end of Bombay Sanitary Report, now under your hands) which has so distressed Dr. Hewlett - that the I.O. has signified or will signify as approval to the Bombay Govt= of this Para 14 In vain I urged that the I.O. has done, as you told me, exactly what we wished - that the Govt- of India has instructed Bombay to clean its ships, as Dr. Hewlett wished. - & that we made no complaint. Mr Pedder went into this at great length - I cannot re capitulate his arguments; you have heard them 50 times. But I suppose we must take ~~illeg~~ him at his word in this:

**f206v**

that European contagionist  
Govts=, IF we harp upon *non -*  
contagion, say: ~~if~~ "you ~~are~~ will be  
careless about sending clean  
bills of health with your ships,  
& therefore we will stop our  
ports against your ships."

I only tell you what Mr. Pedder

says: we cannot go against  
him when he asks you  
not to dwell upon Cholera  
'non-contagiousness' as a  
*reason* for the *Sanitary*  
measures recommended

[As I wrote to you, I did not  
feel Dr. Hewlett's indignation  
against Para 14]

**f207**

[4]

6. I come not to Zillah Surgeons:  
we can do nothing. Mr. Pedder  
says it will only make a "row".

[I have told you my opinion of  
the spirit of the I.O.]

He says "that the Zillah Surgeons  
"should report on Sanitary things  
"direct to the *Sany- Commr*="

would be as if, in joint  
operations of Army & Navy,  
the Army Surgeons were to  
report direct to the *Naval*  
Commander in Chief or vice  
versa I can only tell  
you what he says.

7 To return to Village Sanitary  
things: *this* is the tone: -  
'The cultivators & agricultural  
populations & agricultural  
population are all *underfed* -  
& *this* is the cause of their great

**f207v**

'mortality'. To account for Army health:

'It is possible to have orders  
carried out in the Army which  
it is not possible to have carried  
out in the Villages'

'Sleeping on the ground & not  
on a charpoy one great cause  
of Village Mortality

'We do not believe in the  
Great decrease of *native* Army  
Mortality. But, if it is so  
it is because, tho' native troops  
have a great tendency to  
*under feed*, C.O.s watch  
against this to prevent it,  
& against sleeping on the  
ground &c'

[I think you might combat these  
prejudices very gently &  
indirectly dwelling in the  
Great decrease of Native troops  
*Mortality*] which they don't believe

**f208**

8. The I.O. ~~do not~~ say

Koch's discomfiture is not believed in -  
N.B.

(Now please do always put the  
names of the Sanitary Commissions  
of each province at the  
head of your Memo= of each  
Province The I.O. asks  
me the name of the Sany Commr-  
of Bengal - And I ask *them*  
The Sany Commrs= ask one  
another And no one knows.  
Who is the Bengal Sany- Commr?

And is he good?

Who are the good Sany- Commrs-  
besides Drs. Hewlett & Bellew?

**f208v**

I think I had better send  
this letter as it is,  
containing as it does the  
chief points without  
waiting to write more - as you  
may be doing your Memo=.

I send your own letter for  
reference which please  
return -

With great love to Mrs-  
Sutherland [end 10:320]  
ever faithfully yours  
F. Nightingale

f209, Sutherland, Jan 1 1886, giving up hope for {Cunningham's} aid

ff210-13, Sutherland, June 30 1886, Oakleigh Alleyn Park Dulwich, Medical  
training to ladies, likely to lead to spreading sanitary knowledge among  
native women

incomplete letter, ff214-15v, pen

**f214**

10 South St. July 9/86

Dear Dr. Sutherland

You will see that Dr. [10:747-48]  
Murdoch makes me almost  
the same request that Lady  
Dufferin did.

It is curious & hopeful  
this awakening desire for  
teaching the girls & boys of  
India, European & native,  
(& the women) Sanitary things.

Let us try & help them  
[You probably remember Dr.

Murdoch. He has travelled  
40 years in India at his  
own expence, urging primary  
education. His "letter" to Lord

**f214v**

Ripon on "Education"

urging that, as we had  
the text=books of the Schools  
in our hands, we could,  
without interfering one tittle  
in religion, have the minds  
of the future native  
generation in our hands, -  
& showing the way by  
illustrations, - Was the very  
best practical thing I ever  
saw. I sent for a number  
of copies from Madras, &  
gave them to Ld Reay, Ld  
Dufferin, Dr. Hunter & others]

**f215**

Now, *what shall I answer  
him?*

Very much the same that I  
answered Lady Dufferin?

~~But~~ No, for you see, he has  
begun already, (which  
she has not done,) publishing  
a native Sanitary Primer,  
& touching on the principal  
disease-causes of India,  
just as you advised -  
/ Will you look at the  
Primer which I enclose, &  
tell me if it is very good?

**f215v**

2 Will you kindly send  
me again a *marked List*  
of the *Ladies' Sanitary Assn*=  
tracts, that I may give  
them to him as illustrations  
& also of any *others* that you approve  
3. Will you *suggest* how he  
*shall go on* to publish  
*more tracts* in the style of  
the one I enclose? as he  
wishes

I shall see him next week  
~~& will~~, if I am able, & will tell  
him all you suggest- [end 10:748]

[I wrote to Lady Dufferin a  
hasty letter last week, but

ff216-17v, Sutherland, July 12 1886, Oakleigh Alleyn Park Dulwich, Murdoch's  
and Cunningham's primers for children

ff218-20, Sutherland, July 15 1886, problem concerning a marked list of LSA  
tracts

signed letter, ff221-23v, pencil

**f221**

10 South St July 20/86  
Dear Dr. Sutherland

My immediate object is to [10:748]  
ask you whether, as I propose  
to send to Lady Dufferin,  
Dr Murdoch's "Way to Health",  
which you approved. I  
shall send her the two other  
little Tracts I enclose,  
(which please return by  
return of post as nearly  
as you can) - also given me  
by Dr Murdoch - He has  
given me a quantity of

**f221v**

little books, which appear to  
me admirable:

Thank you for your letter -

He, Dr. Murdoch, sued  
hard again for a marked List  
of Sanitary books - But, as  
it is not to be, it is not to be  
He asked at least for the  
Ladies' Sanitary List (for **[end 10:748]**  
April) to be marked for those  
which are fittest *for children* -  
He asked that "Dr. Sutherland"  
should do *this*, & that, & that  
But I supposed it is no use  
asking - or recapitulating

**f222**

what he told me -

He goes to Scotland on  
Wednesday (to morrow) - &  
returns to India in October  
[He has been ~~there~~ in India  
40 years - travelling over  
the whole, including Ceylon,  
for 6 months of every year]  
He is a man whom one  
might utilize to an  
extraordinary degree -  
his knowledge of the natives,  
his extreme acuteness &  
activity his devotion

**f222v**

If you can give me any  
hints either for him or  
for Lady Dufferin, to whom  
I write again this week,  
they will be gratefully received

Would you kindly send  
me another copy of Report (the last)  
of the Ladies' San= Assn=?

My very best love to Mrs.  
Sutherland - I trust she is  
pretty well

ever yours faithfully  
F. Nightingale

**f223**

[2]

I grieve exceedingly for [9:660]  
the state of your health  
As for your remarks about  
the Army San: Comm: What  
else have I been painfully  
doing (among all my other  
business) for the last 2  
years, & am still?

The possible collapse of  
the Army San: Comm: is ever  
on my mind & heart -

During the political  
earthquakes of the last

**f223v**

8 months, still continuing,  
no permanent interest  
can be expected in those  
who are so little permanent

The subject excruciates  
me -

I wish you better with  
my whole heart [end 9:660]  
F.N.



signed letter, ff224-27v, pen & pencil

Aug 18/86

**f224**

10 South St

Dear Dr. Sutherland

I hope you have returned [10:749-50]  
from Scotland a great deal better.

- & Mrs. Sutherland not the worse

While you have been away, events

have been marching. But I  
have no time to {overtop of 'no'} recall my  
recalled letters - I write now  
to Lady Dufferin every mail:  
a very bad plan -

1. Dr. Murdoch who asked,  
as you know, to have hints given  
him as to the best English Sanitary

**f224v**

Primers & Tracts -

who himself prepared the best

Indian Sanitary Primer, (which  
I sent you in English) -

who knows Indian native

Schools & life as no other  
man does, having spent 40  
years in travelling into every  
corner of India

proposed to draw up the  
"Hints", of which I enclose  
a rough 1<sup>st</sup> Proof, & wished  
them to be freely criticized,  
pulled to pieces & revised -

He would of course if I

**f225**

wished it, omit the

2<sup>nd</sup> line (of "prepared for"  
me)

My feeling is I. that there is

so much about MEDICAL

works, of which I have

always steered clear,

except where Lady Doctors of India -

that my name is inappropriate

- as also his suggestion

of 5 R. Commissions -

Also: 2. that he assigns so

very little to Ly Dufferin's

Assoc"= to do -

**f225v**

At the same time, his remark

1. that "Medicine" is the only  
"Hindoo science", is striking,  
as, that Hindoo *Medical*  
Literature is enormous -  
& perhaps one must  
hang Hygiene on that -  
At all events, one cannot  
ignore it

And in his little Sanitary books, (of  
which I sent you two more  
while you were away but  
recalled them), he gives  
the simplest receipts for  
Fever &c - *not* medical at  
all, ~~chiefly~~ simply Hygienic & Nursing - quite right

**f226**

[2]

I think these *Hygienic* rather than Medical  
receipts are what he  
means for his proposed Medical Manuals  
His remark about Hindoo  
resentment against our  
meddling with their drains  
is characteristic  
& upon the most "illiterate  
"coolly" expounding "medicine"  
His knowledge of Indian  
native books is probably  
unrivalled  
& we must not cast it  
aside

But I confess I wish first  
& foremost to get what I can  
out of this Proof to help me how  
to do *Lady Dufferin's* work

**f226v**

Will you help me?

2. It would not do at all to assign so small a place to Ly Dufferin's Assocn= -  
-especially if my name is to be mentioned - I am in fact her agent

What was it that she asked me to do last winter for her, & I did? It was not solely for "women" His remark that the "work" "must be self-supporting" & therefore cheaply done is important -

**f227**

Now, will you be so good as to criticize largely, fully, this Proof? I wish we had Hewlett at hand -

God bless the work  
ever yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

I had perhaps better add: I  
1. think Dr Murdoch has mixed up Medicine & Sanitary things, but unintentionally: as I say, in his little books he puts in excellent Sanitary treatment for Fever &c

**f227v**

& that, I think, is what he  
means by what he ~~sometimes~~  
calls Medicine in Manuals -  
2 when he first spoke  
about writing & sending me  
this Proof, I understood it  
was for the "diffusion" of  
*Sanitary knowledge* by  
LADY DUFFERIN'S Assocn= -

And it was *that* which  
I encouraged him to do  
3. p.4 He told me that he was F.N.  
going to collect from every province  
in India every thing, both in English & in  
the vernacular, that had been written  
on *Sanitary* things. Here he calls them *Medical* [end 10:750]

ff228-33v, Sutherland, Aug 19 1886, Alleyn Park, the concepts of appointing  
publication commissions and prizes, preparation of tracts on Domestic  
Cleanliness for Lady Dufferin's Committee, and consolidation of management to  
save money

signed letter, ff234-39, pen

**f234**

10 South St Aug 22/86 [10:750-51]  
{Dufferin}  
{Sanitary}

Dear Dr Sutherland

Thank you very much for  
your letter on the Murdoch proof -

The issue of the whole thing  
is rather changed by a letter  
from Lady Dufferin last night  
And I need to consult you  
again how it affects our  
criticisms.

[N.B. Another man whom I {vert. line drawn down l. side of this para}  
consulted on the plan of  
"Commissions" &c said that  
they were necessary for the object

**f234v**

of introducing the teaching  
systematically by the  
assistance of the "high authorities  
"in the Provinces" - specified  
as to be on the Commissions.]  
- that they had nothing to do with "works"]  
1. Lady Dufferin has referred  
her scheme to the "Home  
Office" [I presume the H.O.  
in *India*] & has now what  
she calls her "definite answer  
from this "Home Office". And  
the "Home Office" answer is  
"that I, (Lady D.) "Should  
"get the best books on these  
"subjects, & that a prize

**f235**

"should then be offered  
"for the best Primer - the  
"compilers being provided  
"with a list of the books  
"we wish to recommend to  
them"  
[I am more sorry for this than  
I can say: the "Prize" plan  
has never answered: & she  
has the names of those who  
are capable of writing  
Sanitary Primers &c to her  
hand]  
2 Farther, she says:  
"as the Inspectors of Schools  
"have taken it up, it is

**f235v**

"now a *Govt- matter*, but

I am helping to push it on  
That it is a "*Govt- matter*"

"now," is doubtless necessary  
for success in a bureaucracy  
like India. But, if it is  
to become a mere Clerk &  
Bureau & Aide de Camp  
"matter", it will fail.

[She does not know as  
we do that the "Home Office"  
in India means Clerks & Under  
Secretaries that Under  
Secretaries & Clerks know  
nothing of India beyond  
their own desks]

**f236**

[2]

But how does this affect  
the "Commissions"? - I suppose  
the answer is that these,  
the Commns=, to which you  
so direfully object,  
concern the great question  
of Sanitary manuals for the natives of  
the *Province* - & that  
her "Govt- Inspectors" concern  
(for the moment) her  
"European girls'" schools only  
3. I think it is clear that  
the "compilation" of the  
"Primer" concerns the "European

**f236v**

"Girls' Schools" only - But  
it is always difficult to make  
out from her letters whether  
she is speaking of these -  
or whether of her former  
larger plan of Sanitary  
Primers & tracts for *native*  
girls & women & *their*  
schools *all over India* -  
4 She further says that  
we "in England exaggerate  
"the difference between a  
"book appropriate for  
"England & one for India  
I wonder whether she has

**f237**

ever been in an Indian village  
or a poor native house  
5 Farther- & more important -  
she says that I am to  
send her all the books  
that will be useful for  
her plan I presume for the "*European Girls' Schools*".- Would you be so very  
good as to send me *a marked List*  
- mark them *all*, if you like: & *Report*  
of the *Ladies' Sanitary Association*: [I  
only wish we had done this before]  
And if Mrs. Sutherland would be so  
very good as she did before as  
*to direct Miss Adams to send me*  
*two complete sets to be paid for of*  
*course?* Must I say anything about  
their being *copy-right*?  
I *have* sent Lady Dufferin all the books  
which Girls' High Schools & Female Training Colleges  
recommended

**f237v**

that she has written to Mr  
"Hart, of the National Health  
"Socy=" also for books.

And she sends me a  
printed List of subjects,  
drawn up by herself, very  
numerous - *Irish, not*  
Indian - upon all of which  
I am to send her books.

[Murdoch's List is much  
better]

This, she tells me, is for  
the "European Girls' Schools"

She says: "I have now  
"received permission to get

**f238**

[3]

"the books from which our  
"Primer is to be compiled  
"The Govt= wish to offer a  
"prize for the best  
"compilation" &c &c  
5. Farther, she says: "The  
"health Socy- of Calcutta  
"is trying to get the subject  
"taken up in *boys'* Schools  
"& Universities" -

So it seems there is a  
stir - And this is good

But oh that it could be  
kept out of the hands of Clerks  
& Aide de Camps !



**f238v**

6. Farther, she says that she  
 "hopes it (the Primer) can be  
 "adapted to suit *native*  
 "girls- "adapted for India  
 "& ~~the~~ for natives".

But she winds up with  
 "the grand principles for  
 "health are the same every  
 "where".

Yes: but not their application

7. Farther, she says: "we  
 "also wish to have *one*  
 "book & not many, so  
 "that our Primer must  
 "be a compilation" !!!

**f239**

[So much the greater risk  
 of failure]

A Primer to comprise all  
 the subjects in her own  
 printed List would be  
 as big as a London

Directory [end 10:751]  
 ever yours faithfully  
 F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff240-41, pencil

**f240**

10 South St Aug 24/86  
 Dear Dr. Sutherland

Thank you for your letter, [10:751-52]  
 which simply says what I  
 can't say to Lady Dufferin:  
 'Don't teach & do execute' -  
~~quite the contrary~~ -  
 Thank you very much for the  
 marked List -

But if you read my letter  
 to Mrs. Sutherland, you would  
 see that I sent over a  
 Messenger expressly with  
 that printed paper of Lady

**f240v**

Dufferin's in order that  
 you might mark or recommend  
 "the *best books on all these*  
 "subjects for the Manual  
 "to be compiled from" -  
 "adding to this List of subjects  
 "which is incomplete" if necessary  
 She did not at all want

us to say whether or what  
 part of the List of subjects  
 was to be 'issued'-- but

[end 10:752]

"to recommend books &  
 "tracts which should include {'e' overtop 'ing'} instructions

**f241**

"as to all these things -  
 (- not to say whether  
 'the marginal headings simply  
 'should be issued'-]

in great haste

ever yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

{response from Sutherland to end of this folio and into f241v re: suggests FN  
 tells Lady Dufferin the ones she had named for her, will answer the general  
 principles}

ff242-46, Sutherland, Aug 25 1886, Alleyn Park, Native Schools (India) and  
 Sanitary plans

f247-v, Sutherland, Aug 31 1886, the failing of Lord Ripons municipal scheme

ff248-53v, Sutherland, Oct 19 1886, adheres fully to recommendation that was  
 made that the sanitary administration should be placed in sanitary  
 commissions. I have ready your letter and think it better to reply at once.  
 As a member of the RC of 1859 I adhere fully after 25 years experience to the  
 rec we made that the san admin shd be placed in properly constituted san  
 commissioner, not commissioners. The Indian authorities set aside our advice  
 and took their own. They appointed simple medical officers to do work for  
 which they were incapable for the most part and now they wish to roll up  
 these offices with the local med staffs to save expense. Last summer Fayrer  
 sent me some papers in wh the present commissioners objected to this  
 operation as they had too much to do already and he asked my opinion. I told  
 him what the RC had advised, that med san commissioners were a purely Indian  
 invention with which our commission had nothing to do--only we had felt bound  
 to accept such material as the govtg gave us to work with, and to make the  
 best of it. Some years ago I was asked if I wd object to try the amalgamation  
 in several very ltd areas and I assented as a trial. But the result was not  
 satisfactory.

3. Let us now enq where we are in san work? Disease and death illeg have  
 done their work, but practical procedures on the results have still to be

taken.

They have been taken in the British and native armies and are being taken in the jails (autocratically and not in the way of local self govt) and death rates in all these cases have gone down (in Eur troops to one sixth). In the cities they have tried local self govt and Madras after 20 years work returned in 1884 a death rate of 5 percent.

4. The san commissioners have shown stat that for nearly 200 millions of our fellow subjects nothing of any consequence has been done and that India suffers enormous death and property losses from epidemics.

We have called attention to the facts year after year and we have sent them instructions how to act.

5. But the executive is wanting and the real function of the present san com is really to tell us how many people die of preventable diseases.

Would then the union of the two offices, med and san, do good or evil? Of course I told Fayrer that if an opinion were asked we shd prob object. To the change as it was the first step downwards to non-entity. If the offices were abolished altogether I don't think India death rates would rise, but he govt wd cease to rest on a false security. Better it wd be, if they would discuss whether a san exec mt not take the place of the present commissioners... more

ff254-55, Sutherland, Oct 18 1886, will respond to Mr Ronson's report later, and the need for real sanitary work in forwarding sanitary education

f256-v, Sutherland, Oct 22 1886, embossed WO, reply to Mr Ronson's report re san executive

f257-v, Sutherland, Nov 3 1886, Alleyn Park, enclosed sketch to fill and comments on the Midwifery Book **[8:387]** The midwifery book has done its work partly by info partly from envy and strife. If done now wd take a different form and as it is it.

f258, Sutherland, Dec 6 1886, WO, business with 1885 Indian reports and disappointment of increased death rates

ff259-60, Sutherland, Dec 12 1886, inquiry about a reduction of childhood mortality **[8:387-88]**

signed letter, ff261-62v, pen

**f261**

10 South St Sept 19/87

*Private* {up at an angle}

[10:191-92]

Dear Dr Sutherland  
Mr. Hill has just sent me the  
Annual Sanitary Blue Book,  
marks it "Urgent", & asks  
me to make remarks -

I am sorry to see your  
Addendum, signed D. Galton,  
in such very small print -

Could you kindly point out  
to me what additions were  
made *after* the Proof was  
sent in to the I.O ?

And if you are dissatisfied

**f261v**

with any thing, or think any  
remarks could be  
enforced with advantage,  
here is an opportunity  
by which you can strengthen  
any you have made or  
wish made thro' me -

I was rather in hopes that  
there would have been  
stronger reprobation of  
Calcutta,  
some notice of the terrible  
increase of Venereal disease,

**f262**

& above all a stronger  
advocacy of *Executive*  
Boards, call them what you  
will.

Please suggest to me  
what I shall say to  
strengthen any part.

I have been back in  
London some little time  
but overwhelmed with  
business -

[end 10:192]

My best love to Mrs -  
Sutherland -

**f262v**

I hope you & she are  
pretty well Believe me  
ever yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

{note at bottom of folio upside down from Sutherland}

note, f263, pencil

**f263** {archivist:} [ca. 1880's]

I did not ask him for "a Draft"

I asked him for a "very brief"  
statement of what the A.S.C. had  
done:

& the same of the history of  
Sir S. Northcote's enquiry

-----

Is an "enabling Act"  
"requiring Sanitation"  
needful

besides Sir R. Temple's

"Imperial" Act?

ff264-67, notes by Sutherland, [1888], for consideration on future  
organizations of sanitary work [good material]

draft, f268-69v, pencil

**f268**

Belgium (La Crèche  
Establishment administered by a Council of gentlemen  
who visit individually & frequently 35 South Street {pr address}  
Regular & systematic visitation by Park Lane,  
ladies, a week in turn London. W.  
In reply to my enquiry whether the  
regular Lady Visitors had any  
voice in planning the arrange=  
ments of the house, the clever  
directress congratulated herself  
that no one of them had any power  
to issue any orders whatever  
during her visit, for in that  
case, she sagaciously observed,  
no business would ever be done  
at all; but, she added that, if  
any one who visited them had  
any complaint to make against  
existing conditions, or any suggestions  
to offer with a visit to improved  
management, a book lay open on  
the table for the entry of it, which  
book the gentlemen of the council  
would have before them at their next  
Meeting

**f268v**

God has sent her.

f269 {blank}

**f269v** {vert.} All proposals made to the Council should  
be immediately submitted by them to her.

I have found this quite necessary  
with my fools -

[They were going once to entertain the  
most absurd proposal from

Univ: Coll Hospl]

Council = fools - (synonyms)

f270-v {Sutherland}, views that nurses of midwifery would be of help to the poor. It appears to me that much of this corr relates rather to matters of detail than of pr. I can quite understand that clergymen and even medicos may not at the first blush see their way to introducing trained nurses, esp midwives, into their parishes. That is not the question however. The real point is ought women to be trained as nurses and midwives? All appear to agree in this and indeed the poor are admitted to employ midwives unfit for their work. All trained midwives are not expected to go to unions, very likely ...

f271 Sutherland, to leave suggestions out of an appendix in JS rough hand draft, f272, pencil

**f272**

I heard the other day from France that in consequence of the Emperor having established a mess for the Guides (who correspond to our Guards) that Corps from the excessive expence of it had become virtually exactly like ~~the~~ the Officials of our Household Troops -

They complain excessively of the expence - But they have virtually come to be filled by the wealthy & aristocrats

f273, unfamiliar hand, cooking instructions, part JS?

draft, f274-v, pencil

**f274**

They are going to send 10 to us next year  
But 10 is nothing, except as Trainers -  
And Trainers can only train in a Hosp -

**f274v**

I did not expect  
I thought you would lack the general climate of the  
South of Pall Mall  
I suppose the lilacs are in flower there - At Pall Mall  
Am I to return this

f275, in Latin in JS ink hand, re: the infinite universe in foreign lang. Newton Principia p 528. Hic (the infinite universe) omnia regit (daes) non ut anima nundi, sed ut uni... with Greek Newton's Principia p 528

**f276** note, pen

a text for *Her* next Sunday

incomplete letter, f227-v, pen {text on front of black-edged envelope}

**f277**

Messrs Briggs & Co- (Limited

Methley - Leeds

Messrs Greening & Q (Limited

Salford - Manchester

have turned each their concerns into a company  
- the men sharing profits. It was  
not profitable before = now it is very  
profitable.

The growth of improvement is much  
retarded by the backward condition of  
popular education which does not progress  
any thing like so fast as it should owing to  
the foolish dissensions of the religious bodies.

**f277v** {back of black-edged, blue envelope}

To give the workman an interest in the results  
is the way to end strikes & many other  
evils

f278-v, printed envelope to Sutherland from India Office

**f278** {FN hand vert. down on right side of envelope} I think  
Major Marvin

draft, ff279-80v, pencil

**f279**

But there's also another answer. *Always this*  
When there's not an average sufficient number of  
Patients requiring Night Nursing by trained women,  
Night Nursing by trained women is not  
required

When there *is*, it *is*

They will *never* have a proper Night *Orderly* Service  
Therefore the only thing to do is to have a Night  
Nurse over them - removing *no* Orderly.

This will only make one Night Nurse to from  
120-150 bad cases (viz 1. to each Division)

~~And it~~ in 8 wards!!

And it is madness to think of removing the Orderlies,  
such as they are



**f280**

She'll be up here with  
the letter this afternoon --  
or to morrow -  
And it will kill me -  
I should have gone to day  
if I could  
I think that H only means  
fit for Hospitals

**f280v**

I've heard again  
But she has heard nothing  
from the H.O.  
I stay in bed because I  
can't sit up -  
~~And because I~~ Otherwise  
I should have gone away  
to- day

If I be not dead I go  
away next week  
{printed address upside down:} 35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

f281 {blank}

ff281v-82, Sutherland, Mr. McKinnell's ventilator. Plan

f283, drawing of ventilator

f284-v, printed ad for McKinnell's patent ventilator

ff285-86, Wm. T. Conn ?? to Elizabeth, [1859], a letter of recommendation of  
Major Earl of the 14th Dragoon

ff287-88, Mrs Sutherland to My darling, Sunday, drawing room curtains

note, f288v, pencil

**f288v**

Do you know who  
Bedord is  
This is the whole set -  
I wanted to order some  
for those Australian  
Sisters to sell, Some  
for myself -  
to the tune of £7.7

f289-90v, Brook W. Bridges to Madam [FN], Dec 12 1862, Little Baddon Rectory Chelmsford, rental of a house, with note to Mrs S by FN

**f289v** {FN text in pen added at the end of Bridges letter}

Dearest

You know it is too  
bad of this man  
consulting his own  
interest & not mine.  
At first I felt  
inclined to jump at his

**f290**

offer. But you see he  
insists on me going  
in directly tho' how  
I am to take his house  
for the month of  
December, when we  
are half thro' December  
already I don't know.

I do think it  
would be better for  
me to take lodgings  
over the Stationery Office,  
at least till the  
India Report is thro'  
the press. And see  
if I did not drive  
thereby McCulloch  
into a Lunatic Asylum

**f290v**

in 6 weeks or  
compel him to resign  
His intellects never  
could stand me.

ff291-92, Glanherville to Madam, Dec 21 1862, Chillingham Castle Alnwick,  
apologizing for unavailability of house in town for rent

incomplete letter, f292v, pen

**f292v**

Dearest I was so shocked  
to find that you had gone  
& come back again about  
Lord Delamere's last night.  
I am sure it must have  
done you harm

I think it would be as  
well to enquire after that  
house in Cleveland Row,  
if you are not too tired of  
the business. Because it is  
such a very eligible situation  
for me: next best to living  
over the stationery office  
But I don't believe in Gillieses

I shall go & see 14 & 12  
Hereford St, as soon as I am  
able to go - I will  
go on Thursday or Friday

ff293-96v, W. Wood to Madam, [1863], Bishops Hall Romford Essex, rental of a house

**f296** {added in FN hand following Wood's signature}

be had later than May 1,  
and after that Sussex

Place, *if not let* {these lines to go after f296v}

**f296v**

I was too ill yesterday even  
to show your letter. And  
to day comes this from Col:  
Wood [It must be 5 days  
post to Essex]

I could not stay here  
conveniently beyond Jan  
10 so I think it better  
not to think of the Campbell  
house, particularly as you  
don't think it so very good

Unless you were to think  
5 Audley Sq. rapturously  
desirable the disadvantage  
of turning out on April 1  
is something. And in that  
case it rests between  
Cleveland Row & the Pacific,  
which however drunken  
Sambo did not think could

ff297-99v, Mrs Sutherland to Dearie, Dec 28 [1864], 1 Finchley New Road

ff300-01v, Mrs Sutherland to Dearest, [Dec 31 1886], Derby business not worth  
her effort both think

ff302-03v, draft in Mrs S's hand, improving Nursing efficiency

f304-v, Mrs Sutherland to Dearest [March 13 1868], had received Mr.  
Whitfield's message through Sutherland regarding the mother of a child

f305, [Dr. Sutherland to Mrs. Sutherland & Mrs. Sutherland to FN], May 30,  
Netley, enquiry being longer than expected

ff306-07v, Mrs Sutherland to Dearest friend, March 19 [1878], Alleyn Park,  
Norwood, requesting advice on whose lectures for Nurses, would be possible  
for ladies of the association to attend

ff308-11, Mrs Sutherland to Dearest friend, April 4 1885, Oakleigh Alleyn  
Park Dulwich S.E., delay in writing due to Sutherland's illness and issues of  
the Army Sanitary Committee to be under the control of the Army Medical Dept.

f312-13v, Mrs Sutherland to dearest friend, June 5 1885, Alleyn Park,  
possible successor for Sutherland to be Galton

draft, ff314-15v, pen & pencil [8:602-03]

**f314** {archivist:} To Mrs Sutherland

Nov 14/85

10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}  
PARK LANE. W.

Dearest kindest old friend

I have not been able to [10:730-31]  
write. But it has not been  
weather for you to come into  
London I am so sorry for  
your domestic troubles.

Now I am going to ask a  
great favour:

the little simple Sanitary  
tracts which I hear are  
exceedingly good published  
by the Ladies' Sanitary Assocn=  
in Berners St to which  
you used to belong -

how should I get them?

what ask for?

which are the best?

**f314v**

What I want is Sanitary tracts  
~~they are~~ to send out to India  
to undergo a process of  
translation, revision &  
adaptation there,  
according to Lady Dufferin's  
rather exacting request to me,  
as the basis of a Sanitary  
catechism & simple  
Sanitary class books & tracts for  
women & girls' Schools.  
It is to be an adjunct to Lady  
Dufferin's scheme for providing  
"female Medical aid for the  
"women in India" .

It seemed to me (what  
she asks of me) so wild a

**f315**

scheme, considering the absolute  
difference between Eastern  
& Western female habits,  
& the immense difference  
between the habits & houses  
of different provinces of  
India

that I took the opportunity I  
had of asking 3 men who  
happened to be in England  
Dr. Hewlett  
Mr. Hume (returned to India  
Man Mohun Ghose (of Calcutta

The last says that there are  
no ~~poor~~ ryots' Girls' Schools in Bengal, -  
that the ryot women can't read -  
that native ladies lecturing to  
them would be of use, (and  
he gave me the names of two  
educated native Lady Doctors,  
one of them a cousin of his own)

**f315v**

who could teach & address  
ryots' women on Sanitary  
subjects For Christian  
women to address them he  
says would be of no use  
Dr Hewlett says that one of the  
best Sanitary books is written  
by a Punjab native -  
that Lady Dufferin could  
get good advice for her scheme  
in India what? {added in pencil}  
& he told me some extraordinary  
habits of Bombay women  
which certainly no English  
ideas could reach  
he also spoke of the extreme  
difference in different  
parts of India &  
commented on the same  
Barrack plans being  
given for all parts -  
he also says Mahratta women *can* read

**[end 10:731]**

signed letter, ff316-17v, pencil [8:603-04]

**f316**

10 South St      Aug 24/86

*For Lady Dufferin*

Dearest friend

I ought to have taken the  
blessed opportunity of your  
being here yesterday to give  
you the enclosed paper  
(which is by Lady Dufferin  
& she says is incomplete)  
for Dr Sutherland as the  
List of subjects for the proposed  
Manual for the EUROPEAN  
Girls' Schools

[I was afraid of sending

**f316v**

it by post on account of the  
delay And I was so dazed  
by the pleasure of seeing you  
& the fear of your being tired  
that I missed the opportunity  
of sending it by you]  
She Lady Dufferin wants the *best books*  
on *all these subjects* for  
the Manual to be  
compiled from  
I thought the Ladies' Sanitary  
Association books would  
furnish a great many  
She says we in England must "aid to

**f317**

this List of subjects" - which is  
"incomplete"

[If I can have this List  
by tomorrow morning it  
will do

The thing is: to give *time*  
to *Dr Sutherland* to look  
it over & recommend books  
& tracts "including instruction"  
as to all these things - & return it  
to me]"

I *must* send my packet  
by next Friday's mail  
to Lady Dufferin  
God bless you & God help

**f317v**

the work -  
with kind regards to  
Dr. Sutherland  
ever yours

F Nightingale  
You did not stay after all  
yesterday to write.  
I am afraid you will  
have been so tired



typed copy of initialled letter, f318, original RP 7462, copy FNMus

**f318**

COPY 10 South St. March 9/87. [8:604]

Dearest ever dear friend

I am so grieved that you are so poorly & suffering - I reproach myself, because they let you go away from my door without a cab, tho' I told them to call you a cab. And that must have added to the over-fatigue from which I fear you are suffering every-day - How I wish that you could get away to Bath or somewhere with Miss Cowie, & rest completely for a time, as Dr. Sutherland says you are suffering from "nervous exhaustion," which is, I am sure, but too true -

May our Almighty loving Father give you the rest you have so well earned - "for he giveth his Beloved sleep" -

I think of our 30 years of friendship & thank God for having given me such a friend. How I wish we were nearer -

We have had a fright about Sir Harry: but thanks to a little common sense & Sir Andrew Clark he is now wonderfully better.

How I wish you were: I pray God to give you His peace -

Do you know a little book called "Like Christ"? May I send it you?

God bless you again & again

With my kindest regards to Dr. Sutherland, ever yours,  
dearest & kindest of friends,

gratefully & lovingly  
your old (Sgd.) F.

typed copy of signed letter, f319, original RP 7462 [8:605]

**f319** {archivist:} Original owned by D. Cowie Scott

COPY 10 South St. April 10/87  
Easter Day

Dearest ever dearest friend

Easter greetings, love & blessings from my whole heart deep down, to you. May we "rise again" this morning here with new life & new heart from the Lord & Giver of life - as you, I believe, do every morning -

I so very much wish I knew how you are, dear friend.

God for ever bless you is the fervent prayer  
of your ever loving & grateful old friend, poor

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

How is Dr. Sutherland? My kindest regards to him.

copy of signed letter, ff320-22, typewritten

**f320** {archivist:} Original given by D. Cowie Scott Mrs. Nash  
[to Mrs Sutherland] original is Woodward A.72

COPY  
May 13/93  
10 South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

Dearest ever dearest old friend

I was so glad to hear from you. So often I think of you, &  
hope that you are happy, you who have so done your duties in love.

And thank you for remembering your old friend's poor old  
birth-day - & your dear kind note.

I am glad if you are able to go to your sister's & to  
Edinburgh.

You say you like to hear of our "family events."

You know perhaps that Rosalind, Shore's elder daughter,  
married last June a man, Mr. Nash, who has everything to recommend  
him except money. They have taken a small house at 12/ a week to  
the East of the East of London - where they are enormously busy -  
Workshops - visiting all sorts of trades - & writing about them.  
They travel all over Scotland, England, & are now in Ireland on the  
same quest. They telegraphed to me from *Donegal* on my birth-day.  
If Rosalind had but health! They were married at Embley.

Shore was very well in June in London, & quite unable to go to  
the marriage.

He has never recovered that illness, tho' a great deal better,  
but he still has a Trained Nurse - & Sam, the elder boy, who is a  
Doctor, still lives temporarily with them to take care of him  
medically. They are now at Embley till they can let the place -  
Shore's wife & Barbara are, of course, included in "they." They

**f321**

describe the place as being most beautiful.

Lea Hurst continues let.

Arthur Clough was married the other day to a delightful person, Miss Freshfield, daughter of the Traveller. I hope they have every prospect of happiness. His mother was delighted with the marriage. I have always seen a great deal of Arthur.

But I have not seen him since his marriage engagement. For my Doctor has strictly forbidden my seeing anybody I could help.

For the last 4 ½ months (you kindly ask after me) I have been almost entirely confined to bed - & sometimes hardly able to move - But I am better.

I saw Sir Harry Verney the other day. He is in his 92<sup>nd</sup> year. But he came up to town like a young 'un. I am sure he enjoys life. His buoyancy is as great as ever.

I venture to send you a Report of what we did at Claydon last year - It is not a sinecure being at Claydon.

And now dearest old friend, thank you again & again for all you have ever done for me, & for our faithful friendship - never changeable - never forgotten

ever yours

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

Our Sanitary & Nursing affairs are *up & down*. Princess Christian's scheme for the Registration of Nurses is a great misfortune -

People call the decline of life a going *down* hill. But

**f322**

[-3-]

surely it is a going *up* on the contrary.

I had forgotten to mention Sanitation in India. I think it *is* making progress, tho' slow. But it is such a large subject. Chicago - At their request I have written a paper on Health - Nursing & Sick Nursing - But eyes & hands are failing me now -

The Empress Frederick, full of cleverness, came to see me - she is very pathetic - such a great career *manquée*.

The Shore Smiths have taken the name of Nightingale -

copy, f323, typewritten

**f323**

COPY of an inscription in a little booklet called:

At EVENING TIME  
given by F.N. to Mrs. Sutherland.

-----  
Mrs. Sutherland dear old friend  
With best Christmas love  
from  
F. NIGHTINGALE  
1894.

f324-v, E. Sutherland to Darling, gift of oranges received to be shared with  
Florence Nightingale

**f324v** {FN has added upside down under signature:}

HAVE  
you done anything to enable us  
to go on with those Medical  
Dist papers?

draft, f325, pencil

**f325**

Dec 17 - 4.30 Mrs. S -

This is the word of the Lord unto thee:-  
say: --

Dearie I don't think you would say so if you knew the whole  
But I have no breath & you have no time to tell you  
the whole now -

And I should be acting unfairly by her if I were  
to wrangle about a little bit of it now - without  
being sure that I had given the whole so that you  
could understand it -

Part of it is the exact reverse of what you have been  
told

{archivist:} [Perhaps refers to Mrs. Sutherland's having said something  
about Mrs. Bracebridge's grievance

note, f326, pencil

[8:1038]

**f326**

In holiest most loving remembrance  
of the dearest of old friends

Mrs. Sutherland, ~~this wreath~~  
She was the friend of God  
She has crossed the dark river  
and is with her Lord

Who follows in her train? Sept 17 1895  
Florence Nightingale

Add Mss 45758

1149

offers these flowers