

Add Mss 45768

1

BL06 Add Mss 45768-45778 microfilms, some typed copies of RAMC, 1029 pp

Add Mss 45768, microfilm, correspondence with Sir John McNeill, 1855-59, 256 folios, 22 pages, Adam Matthew reel 16

signed letter, f1-v, pen

**f1** [Heights] of Balaklava  
th Hospital

May 21/55

{illeg page torn} Sir John

I can hardly tell  
what brings me to you -

Last week a Persian  
adventurer appeared  
to me like a phantom  
showed me papers by  
which Mr. Bracebridge  
seemed to have drawn  
upon me for £300 000,  
I sent for him - He  
said very little, neither

**f1v**

denied nor {illeg page torn}  
but said no {illeg page torn}  
would ever be {illeg page torn}  
that I had se{ illeg page torn}  
the papers there for  
the first time

This is all, Dr Sir John  
I have to say

Have you any  
advice to give? I  
come to you because  
you have shewn me  
so much kindness  
{up at an angle} Dr Sir John  
yours truly

Florence Nightingale

signed letter, f2, pen

**f2** Heights of Balaklava

May 22/55

[page torn] Dear Sir John

Could I see you?

This too presumptuous

request seems necessitated

by the nature of the

circumstances - I have

no one to consult with

Pray forgive me

& believe me -

yours gratefully

Florence Nightingale -

envelope not by FN, f3, pen

typed copy of signed letter from Parthe Nightingale to Sir John, ff4-5  
Feb 1856

typed copy of incomplete letter, ff6-7, {archivist:} [extracts in Lady  
Verneys hand McNeill Papers see Correspondence]

**f6**

Balaclava,

General Hospital.

April 17<sup>th</sup>, /56.

Suffice it to say that now at the eleventh hour, peace  
concluded, flags flying, army supposed to be next door to  
perfection, I have had a three weeks bout in the Crimea worse  
than anything we have had since November '54.

On our first arrival here last month, we were ten days  
without rations by Mr Fitzgerald's malice. When I moved into? {to? by hand}  
this hospital the day of Mrs Bridgeman's departure, Sir John  
Hall gave the nurse's huts over my head to Purveyor's clerks.  
I sat down before the door, being then dark, and said quietly  
that I should stay there till the keys were brought. In about  
two hours they were produced. Every day for the last week it  
has been a repetition of the same thing; a contest for stores  
for the patients, for food, lodging, "leave to toil", for  
ourselves.

Your pigstye is cleaner than our quarters or than the  
wards of the Hospital as left by Mrs. Bridgeman. The patients  
were grimed with dirt, infested with vermin, with bedsores,  
like Lazarus. I have never seen but one similar scene to it.

**f7**

†2†

Mrs Roberts and the Scutari nuns whom I brought with me, were horrified.

After two days hard white washing, and cleaning, after three days washing and dressing, the patients, one of whom takes Mrs Roberts six hours daily, being one mass of bed sores, Sir John Hall visited the Hospital and {...added by hand} wrote an angry letter,

saying that he was "disgusted" at the state of the Hospital, and ordered it all to be put back into "the admirable order it was in previously", instructing the P.M.O. of the Hospital who shewed me the letter, "not to interfere with the Purveyor, Mr Fitzgerald's arrangements."

This is the man on whom the lives and health of the army in great measure depend, (for he is clever, and this is all temper).

f8 typed copy of note by Samuel Smith for Sir John McNeill, from The Athenaeum 24 July 1856 not by FN, that Mrs and Miss N. (mother and sister) earnest wish to have an interview with him before he leaves for Scotland. July 24 [1856]

typed copy of signed letter, f9 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers see Correspondence] original roll 1) H1/ST/NC/SU65

**f9**

Lea Hurst,  
Matlock,  
September 4<sup>th</sup> '56

My dear Sir,

My father and I shall be at Edinburgh about the 10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup>. It would give me so very much pleasure to see you, and also so much help to ask your advice upon a matter of business. If I might find a line from you at the P.O. Edinburgh, my father would call upon you, if you were at home.

Do you know whether Colonel Tulloch is likely to be in the neighbourhood about that time?

I am like an outlaw, playing hide and seek, and will ask you not to say that I am coming to any one but him, if you see him.

Pray believe me, My dear Sir,  
Yours faithfully and gratefully,  
F. NIGHTINGALE

typed copy of signed letter by John McNeill to FN 5 Sept 56, ff10-11

typed copy of signed letter, f12 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] original roll 1) H1/ST/NC3/SU67 [14:447]

**f12**

Lea Hurst,  
Matlock,  
Sept 8/56

My dear Sir,

I know not how to thank you and Lady McNeill for your very kind invitation to my father and myself. We both very much regret that owing to the uncertainty which was crept into our plans occasioned by the illness of a friend in Scotland, we are obliged to decline your kindness. But we shall still hope to be in Edinburgh time enough to have the pleasure of catching a meeting with you.

Believe me,

My dear Sir,  
Yours very truly and gratefully  
F. NIGHTINGALE

typed copy of signed letter, ff13-15 {arch} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] roll 1) H1/ST/NC3/SU68

**f13**

Birk Hall,  
Ballater,  
Sept. 27/56

My dear Sir John McNeill,

We were to have gone South on Monday, but the Queen was here yesterday and expressed her wish that I should remain to see Lord Panmure, in such a manner that I could not decline. She said that she thought I could do more with him here with her back to me than in London. The terrible Secretary for War does not come till the latter end of next week, and we do not know whether he will desire more than one interview with me. Therefore we are quite uncertain as to what day after the 6<sup>th</sup> October we shall go South. But it will be the first day we can do so.

We are very much gratified at Lady McNeill's most kind repetition of her wish to see us on our way, which I have just received, and as soon as we know our fate, I shall certainly try our luck with you by writing to Lady McNeill to know whether she can still receive us. It would give us such very great pleasure to spend a couple of days with you if you are still at liberty.

In the meanwhile, might I ask you to write me a few lines if any hints occur to you which you can give me as to my inter-

**f14**

[2]

view with Lord Panmure. I was in hopes to have seen you again before I saw him.

My hopes were somewhat raised by the great willingness of the Queen, P. Albert and Sir George Grey, all of whom I have seen together and separately, to listen and to ask questions. But I am somewhat alarmed at the Prince's predilection for the Horse Guards. The points on which I would particularly solicit your attention if you would give me your advice, are

1. The distribution of authority and of accountability in Military Hospitals.
2. The checks on their expenditure.
3. The division of labour.
4. The whole system of Army Medical Statistics.

I tried to *insense* the Prince with the fact that there are now 8 Departments at work in our Hospitals, none of whom have any responsibility. How many Departments would you have and what should be the responsibility of each?

The Queen accepted with great grace my proposition which I derived from you of writing to Lord Panmure and sending H.M. the letter, and indicated immediately a member of her household through whom I was to send it. So far so good. But I know how many are the chances against any reform being actually put in practice, to my cost.

In the meantime, there is no man in England who could give me such advice as yourself, if you will kindly interest yourself to do so, and with our most grateful remembrances to you

**f15**

[3]

and Lady McNeill,

Believe me ever,

Dear Sir John,

Yours very truly and gratefully,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

Pray do not forget to thank Lady McNeill for me for her letter.

Prince Albert alluded to Filder's excuse, (as to *want of transport*) for not giving us fresh meat, *as if he believed it*. I answered generally that you had supplied us with fresh meat immediately. But I should like much to be able to give him an accurate and detailed answer as to the transport, for the subject will come up again. Would you furnish me with one?

Typed copy of signed letter by P. Nightingale to Sir John Sept 1856, ff16-18

typed copy of signed letter by P. Nightingale to Sir John Sept 1856, ff19-20

signed letter by John McNeill to FN 8 Nov 56, f21, pen, sorry to cause trouble, but she shd see letter recd from Dr Cumming as concern yourself, and his answer, with the following written on back

incomplete letter, f22-v, pen

**f22**

My disposal

I have seen the brooch destined by the W.D. as an ornament for the Ladies who came in for the distribution of the Sultan's gifts. I thought it extremely pretty & appropriate.

I understand that the delay in the distribution arises from a communication to Ld S. I have reason to know that every effort has been made to hasten the distribution by the W.O.

**f22v**

No part of the Free Gifts ever returned to this country. With the concurrence of the G.O.C. & the I.G. all those which were not exactly disposed of to our own troops on war=service were divided amongst the three British Stations in the Mediterranean, the Naval Hospital at Constante, and the French Hospitals at Pera, which included the Polish Legion in the British Service - Had any of them been returned to this country, I should certainly not have considered them at

extracts from letters from Dr Cumming to Sir John McNeill 5 Nov 1856, ff23-25v, pen

typed copy of signed letter, ff26-27 {arch} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] roll 1) H1/ST/NC3/SU71 [14:471-72]

**f2**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
PRIVATE London,

December 15/56

My dear Sir John McNeill,

Thank you very much for ten most valuable Memoranda, which you have so kindly sent me, relating to the Government of General Army Hospitals. You will see how largely I have borrowed from you.

I am not yet nearly ready, but I shall certainly avail myself of your most kind offer to look over and criticise without mercy, my *Precis* when it is finished. And you will not find it an "thankless" office, at all events, to give advice, - though, I fear, a very troublesome one.

Everything goes on very slowly. Gout is a very handy thing, and Lord Panmure has it in his *hands*, whenever he is called upon to do anything. The three things which he himself commissioned me to do for him all hang fire. There are, a Report on the plans of the new Southampton Hospital, of which the Sanitary defects are many and important. This is still on his hands.

2. An army Medical School.

3. The Commission of Inquiry into Army Medical and Sanitary things in general, which, although he has already

**f27**

[2]

offered the Chairmanship to Mr Herbert, does not get itself named. I believe he is driving it off till Parliament meets.

I hope that Colonel Tulloch has sent you his Pamphlet. He has sent me the Proof, and it concerns me much. I wish someone of more authority than I am would tell him that it must be shorter, calmer, more like your Report, in fact, and less like Lord Lucan himself, whose case, by the bye, I should dispose of were I Colonel Tulloch, by merely printing in three columns (in a Tabular Form) Lord Lucan's own "General Divisional Order", his Evidence before the Board, and the finding of the Board side by side. This would convince the public more than any words. I would refrain from any comment whatever. Colonel Tulloch looks very ill.

You will, of course, observe that Lord Panmure's doings with me are *for yourself alone*, and believe me ever,

Yours most gratefully and faithfully,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

I was much obliged to Sir J. Richardson for valuable information.

**f28** signed letter by A.M. Tulloch to Sir John 21 Feb 1857

signed letter, ff29-32v, pen, similar letter, but not identical in roll 1  
H1/ST/NC3/SU75

to Sir John McNeill 1 March 1857

**f29**

30 Old Burlington St. W.

London March 1/57

My dear Sir John McNeill

I have often thought of Lord  
Dunfermline's words since we parted, &  
what I am now going to say will be  
only a sad commentary upon these -

I think our cause is lost. And that  
those who deny it feel it even more than  
those who acknowledge it.

Colonel Tulloch will not see that  
the H. of C. is against or rather indifferent  
to him, & that he "disquieteth himself  
in vain."

I see less hope of Reform now than  
before the War, & I think the history of  
the last three weeks in the H. of C.  
proves it - (The country is all the  
other way, as the tone of the "Times" proves)

Eight months ago, had Lord Palmerston

**f29v**

chosen to play the great game, & to say,  
"I will have the Reform of the Army, &  
if the H. of C. will not support me, I go  
to the Country" - he might have won -  
But he did not do so - And the opportunity  
now is gone by, & none of us will live to  
see another -

The Army is now strong enough in  
the H. of C. to turn out any Ministers who  
do anything it does not like, & has, I  
suppose, always been so in the H. of Lords.

For, besides the aristocratic weights  
& influence it always had, it has now  
the prestige of the late War -

Col. Tulloch cannot keep his fort  
out of the mess, tho,' at every successive  
failure he promises he will. I am sorry  
he will write the letter to Lord Palmerston  
which he now proposes to do. Ld Palmerston  
knows the truth just as well as you or I do.  
And the real meaning of what he said in



**f30**

the House was, "I would make the Crimean Commissioners both Dukes, if I could. But I cannot do anything to throw odium upon the Army without displacing myself - And I am not man enough for that -"

There were some hopes of Messrs. Herbert & Gladstone - but now there are none - These gentlemen say that, to make a motion in Parliament which they are quite sure to lose would only be damaging their cause - Politically, they may be right. But aesthetically, they are wrong, & would stand much better with the country 10 years hence if they did it & lost it, ~~in the House~~ than if they do nothing. I fancy that this is the game Mr. Roebuck intends to play.

Mr. Herbert is ill & going abroad. And so ends all chance of a "Commission" to enquire into the Sanitary State of the Army, of which he was to have been Chairman -

**f30v**

More than any other previous Ministry, these Ministers - & Lord Panmure most of all, (as proved by the Army Estimates) - seem to have no other rule of conduct but staving off every question likely to give them trouble till the public interest in it subsides, leaving to the Aristocracy their honors & to the people their money, & "keeping in."

The Army Estimates cut down every thing that has to do with this scientific element, with the health, efficiency & morality of the soldier, & nothing that has to do with Staff appointments.

Lord Panmure has broken all his promises, defeated the Army Reformers on every point, simply by the principle of passive resistance, the most difficult of all resistances to overcome, the most easy of all games to play -

Silently, all over the country, this may be sapping the country's trust in the Aristocracy more than any thing else could have done,

**f31**

& ten years hence we may see the results - But practically & directly, Reform was never more desperately out of heart than now -

Had Lord Palmerston been a younger man, this never would have been. But he has sacrificed the great interests of the nation for those of his Order, for which, at heart, he does not care a Corporal's button -

Till they are convinced that, with our present amount of Sanitary knowledge it is as criminal to have a mortality of 17, 19, & 20 per 1000 in the Line Artillery & Guards in England - when that of Civil Life in towns is only 11 per 1000,- as it would be to take 1100 Men per annum out upon Salisbury plain & shoot them - nothing can be done with these Ministers. And when one thinks that there is nobody of men so much under control, & none so dependent upon their employers for

**f31v**

life, health & morality as the Army, it makes such indifference really wholesale murder -

I want to be out of the Government service as soon as I can, when there is little good to be done at present.

All the materials of my *Precis* are ready. But I can get no criticism on it which is worth having - Dr. Sutherland has kindly read it all - But his criticism was "that" I "must confine" myself "to *facts*, because the Army would not stand opinions" - & that I "must give nothing but Propositions, because my *evidence* would be torn to shreds, whereas opinions were a matter of opinion" - This Analysis of his criticism does not sound very logical - but it is not the less true for that.

I would willingly, either be excused sending in the *Precis* at all which I am quite certain will, like so many

**f32**

better & more profound Reports, do as good - Or I would willingly re= write the whole - But I want a sound opinion upon it- And into a Civil Hospital, within three months from this, I will go, & take service -

I am going to Malvern tomorrow for a week for change of air - Would you write to me, P.O. Great Malvern, & kindly say whether you would now give me that criticism I so much want & which you so kindly promised. I shall, of course, submit to you the official Letter demanding my Precis, which I did not receive till Feb. 18. last -

I very much wish you could have been in London these last three weeks, both because I think it would have prevented a great many people making

**f32v**

a great many mistakes (& myself among the number) - & because I think you would better have been yourself how the ground lay -

I have heard but one voice in admiration of your answer to the address of Liverpool & to Ld Panmure's letter -

Believe me always

dear Sir John

faithfully & gratefully yours

Florence Nightingale

Pray lay my best respects at the feet of Lady McNeill & Miss Ferooza.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff33-34 {[archivist: McNeill Papers see Correspondence]} H1/ST/NC3/SU76 [8:635]

**f33**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
London, W.  
March 28/57

My dear Sir,

I feel that I cannot do otherwise than accept your kind invitation to me to come down and hear your candid criticism, if it were only to save you the trouble of writing to me or coming to London.

I think I could come Wednesday or Thursday, and shall only bring a maid. But I will write again to Lady McNeill to apprise her of the burden put upon her and the day. I only trust that she will not make it a burden, but will just treat me as a campaigner, who has long been happiest to be put anywhere, and to let business always come first. [end]

I shall be guided entirely by your judgement as to re-writing the whole or any part or suppressing it entirely. I am but too grateful that you will take the trouble to give that valuable opinion entirely and openly.

I have little hope of Reform. What is politically fun to our Masters is death to us. The disgraceful state of our Chatham Hospitals, which I have been visiting lately, is only one more symptom of a system which, in the Crimea, put to death 16,000 men, the finest experiment modern history has seen upon a large scale, viz: as to what given number may be put to

**f34**

[2]

death at will by the sole agency of bad food and bad air? But a deeper tragedy is being played every day to home, viz: by Lord Panmure's indifference, by Andrew Smith's ignorance, by H.M's Opposition's party spirit. While the heads of the War Department have men's lives absolutely in their own hands and care not.

I write in great haste and can only add my deep gratitude to you and to Lady McNeill for your kindness and protection and your true support, and

Believe me,

Dear Sir John,

Ever faithfully yours,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of {incomplete} signed letter, f35 {archivist: [Original owned by J. Compton Bracebridge 44a]}

**f35**

COPY

Dr. Glen candidate for the office of medical lecturer in the Birmingham School -

(Signed) JOHN MCNEILL

Could you strongly recommend the above Dr. Glen to Dr. Hodgson of Birmingham. He is deserving of your very highest recommendation - a struggling young man - a very remarkable scientific aspirer, destined Sir. J. McNeill thinks, to hold one of the highest places in Medical Science - too modest - I am sure you will run no risk in recommending him - and Sir John McNeill answers for him - Had I known Dr. Hodgson, I should have written to him without fear -

I dare say you know that Salisbury is threatening us, backed by Stanley, - with an "earthly tribunal," I suppose because they can't find the heavenly

ever yours

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

30 O. Burln. St.

April 20/57.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff36-39 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence], H1/ST/NC3/SU76

**f36**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
London, W.  
April 22/57

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I have so little time to write now, that I cannot give myself the indulgence of telling you how much good you did me, body, soul and mind. Yours is another atmosphere from what I am used to. And, reckoning the life of a man at £120, which is my manifestation of "Spiritualism", if you value your Crimean expedition at the number of lives you have saved, and will save in our army, you may add one more for mine.

But what I write for to-day is to say:

The question of "uniform stoppage" is now under consideration at the War Department. Now is the time to get the Ration and Diet question tacked on to it.

I have urged a Civilian Commission of Professor Christison Dr Letheby and Dr Sutherland to settle it. But I doubt whether I shall obtain it. (I fear to, that Lord Panmure wishes the Stoppage question to be decided before we have our Medical Commission).

If Professor Christison has sufficiently the interest of our Army at heart to give his valuable time, and write us the Schemes of

**f37**

[2]

1. Rations and  
2. Hospital Diets,  
it would be of the utmost importance just now. His name stands highest in Europe upon the Dietetic question, and would carry public opinion with it for us.

I have been urged to present a separate Memorial upon Diets, now immediately. And if Professor Christison would condescend to give his two Schemes with his authority, I believe it might carry the point.

Could you explain to him,

1. The immense confusion of the present scheme of Stoppage.

It is now proposed to have an uniform stoppage of 7d. Hospital Stoppage excluded.

I want to *include* it, shewing that the (undoubtedly) greater expense of Hospital Diets over Ration would be compensated to the country by the reduction of Office, - Clerks, who are now necessary to keep the accounts.

2. If you could explain to him our cumbrous machinery of "Extras"?

I have studied the Edinburgh Diets, which you were so good as to send me, and shewn them to Dr Sutherland, who agrees with me that they are admirable for our purpose.

Some modification, however, would be required for a *Military Hospital Diet*, as -

**f38**

[3]

Female  
Children  
Aged people  
would be excluded.

Nine Diets would probably be unnecessary, (the Edinburgh number), - and porridge would probably not find favour in our sight. Also, I think the Costs, 2½d, 4¾d, 4½d, 3½d, 3½d, 4d would be greater in England.

I am sorry they have pitched their Stoppage 7d. so high. But it is better than Colonel Tulloch's in 10d.

If Dr Christison taking all these things into consideration, \*would construct the two Schemes required for us, and give them the weight of his signature, he would be doing us a national benefit. And I would take care to work the question, with your help.

I have seen Colonel *Sir Alexander Murray* Tulloch who is well. I never saw a man so happy or so changed for the better. I asked myself (but not him) somewhat sadly, if a civil K.C.B. - ship did, after all, settle the question between him and his persecutors, which is purely a *military* one. However the vote \* As also the effects of climate upon constitution in our men suffering from Colonial service, as affecting Hospital diets.

**f39**

[4]  
of the House of Commons is the main thing, and I think your  
Privy Councillorship is the best thing they have done

I have put my MS into Harrison's hands, and I shall grate-  
fully avail myself of your most generous offer to take the  
trouble of cutting up the proofs, which I will send you when I  
get them.

I shall never forget your kindness, and believe me, dear  
Sir John, ever most faithfully, and most gratefully yours,

F. NIGHTINGALE.

P.S. 1. I hope you will not forget me when you come to London.

General Cameron is to direct the Officers' education, a  
very honest man.

P.S. 2. I have seen Captain Laffan and Co. upon the Southton  
Hospital. They are very amenable. Could you tell me of any  
Hospital of Workhouse where the Encaustic Tile or other imper-  
vious floor has stood the test of experience.

If I could cite an example, I should do better. They  
will have wood.

P.S. 3 I think Dr Christison's estimate of space necessary  
for Patients was

9 ft from head to head

10 ft " to middle of passage

14 " high.

Am I right?

F N



typed copy of signed letter, ff40-41 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] H1/ST/NC3/SU79 [14:507]

**f40**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
London, W.  
May 3/57

My dear Sir John,

I have ventured to send you one Proof Sheet, and herewith come two others, though I doubt if you can judge, without seeing the whole at once. I mean, consecutively. Dickens's Monthly Numbers are my abhorrence.

I thought you were too indulgent when you were so good as to read the MS with me. Pray be so good as to cut and carve this as you think best.

I have been much worried by making the acquaintance of Kinglake the historian (to be) of the late War. He has no judicial mind, not much feeling, not much conscience, and takes a superficial view of the whole thing. But his history will be as clever as everything he writes, and everybody will read it, and be deceived. He repeated to me all the *fadaises* of the Staff, and he gives the whole fund or unexamined commonplaces, (which one has heard so often about the non supply of clothing etc., and the G.Q.M.G's Dept.) as historical material.

I have cut up your Blue Book and that of the Chelsea Board, pasted the Extracts on opposite sheets, and sent them to him without comment. I do not expect that he has the power of

**f41**

[2]

obtaining information or of estimating its *relative* value when obtained. And, therefore, though I have no doubt he is a good Counsel, he strikes me as a very bad historian. Colonel Tulloch's temper and discretion are not to be relied upon or I would have referred Kinglake to him. But Kinglake questions Colonel Tulloch's accuracy, which shews his own want of it. Nothing is so worrying as this affair.

Our Commission is out and Drs Sutherland and Alexander and I are drawing up our subjects. I have not one witness to summon for Scutari General Hospitals on our side.

Ever sincerely and gratefully yours,  
F. NIGHTINGALE

typed copy of signed letter, f42 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] H1/ST/NC3/SU81 [14:508]

**f42**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
London, W.  
May 12/57

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I send you with very many thanks another sheet.

Yours ever gratefully and faithfully,

F. Nightingale

I direct my letter with a very great deal of pleasure. I consider that you and Sir Alex. Tulloch have been borne on the arms of the people. A much higher triumph than a mere ? of honours by the Crown. The poor Crown has been worsted, I am sorry for it. But it was not our fault.

I have been guilty of every kind of official subservience and cringing to those in power. But I have never yet been able to direct to Lord Panmure, "the Right Honble", for fear of its creeping out some day, "the Right Dishonble", a breach of decorum which would be as awkward as getting up in church to answer the preacher.

Typed copy of {incomplete} signed letter, f43 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence], LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC1/SU82

**f43**

14<sup>th</sup> May, 1857.

I venture to send another sheet.

We "messed" the Commissioners yesterday. I think it is getting on swimmingly. But I know they will break down at the mode of organizing supply.

Wish we had your advice in this matter.

Mr Herbert is nervous about it. They begin examining Purveyors to-morrow.

Ever faithfully yours,

F. NIGHTINGALE

May 14/57

typed copy of signed letter by Sidney Herbert to Sir John McNeill 18 May 1857, ff44-50,

archivist note, f50v, pen

**f50v**

[The letters of which the copies are fastened together in this sheaf were pierced in the left hand corner as were those in parcels No I & II but had been untied & the string removed It is not possible to say whether the parcel is complete especially as some detached letters have been found separately.]

typed copy of initialled letter, ff51-52 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU84 [14:542]

**f51**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
London, W.

June 4/57.

My dear Sir John McNeill,

This is very nearly the end. This private Mem. pp. 270  
288 about the women I feel more than doubtful about inserting.  
You know so much more of human nature than I do that I need  
not remind you that what we get into scrapes for is (not for  
saying what nobody believes, and everybody says, but) for saying  
what everybody believes and nobody says. If my Mem. about  
women were only for the Queen, it would not signify. But, if  
it should come out before the H. of C. I should not like it at  
all. It would do harm. The part about "Nurses in Civil  
Hospitals" may, at all events, be cut out as irrelevant.

Also, you know better than any one, perhaps you only know  
how "scabreux" it is for me to get upon the subject of Religion,  
and how easily I shall be misunderstood.

2. I have looked more at the double columns and I think  
they *must* come out.

3. The question whether I should put "Chapters and verse"  
to the quotations, is, I think, just as broad as it is long.  
You know how even educated men will go off upon a word. One  
does not like the Roebuck Committee, another does not like the

**f52**

[2]

Stafford Committee; one distrusts this Commission, and another  
distrusts that, till all thought about the truth is merged in  
a discussion of authorities. Socrates says something to the  
effect that nine truths of our belief comes from Sympathy,

Antipathy,  
Authority or  
Blind assimila-

tion.

I do not know therefore whether to put references or not.  
Please tell me. As it is it may look as if I were quoting  
from private letters or conversation.

4. I conceive that some remodelling of arrangements must  
take place, to put all the "as it is" together, and the "as it  
should be".

Sutherland and Alexander are still in France. I have  
been down at Netley inspecting. I will report progress.

Ever yours gratefully,  
F.N.

typed copy of signed letter, ff53-54 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] original LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC1/SU85

**f53**

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I am very sorry to be "at you" so soon again. But Sir John Hall is to be examined next week. And I have been asked to request you to give some hints as to his examination, founded upon what you saw of him when in your hands. My own belief is that Hall is a much cleverer fellow than they take him for, almost as clever as Airey, and that he will consult his reputation in like manner, and perhaps give us very useful evidence, no thanks to him.

It is necessary to examine him, and how is it to be done? is the question we could ask you.

I would only recall to your memory the long series of proofs of his incredible apathy, beginning with the fatal letter approving of Scutari, October /54, continuing with all the negative errors of non-obtaining of

Lime Juice

Fresh Bread

Quinine etc.,

up to his *not* denouncing the effects of salt meat before you. To my mind, with the exception of Gordon, this man is (morally) the worst of the liars.

We do not want to badger the old man in his examination, which would do us no good and him harm. But we want to make

**f54**

[2]

the best out of him for our case.

Please help us.

Yours ever sincerely and gratefully

F. NIGHTINGALE

29 Old Burlington Street, W.

June 12/57

I understand that Dr Smith says that he was much afraid of "the Commission" at first, and "thought it would do harm". But now "thinks it is taking a good turn." Is this for us or against us?

Typed copy of {incomplete} signed letter, ff55-56 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU86

**f55**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
London, W.

June 27/57

I do not remember how far I sent you already in the Revised. And I believe I am now sending duplicates. But this is the end, - all but a very few pages, p. 368 to p. 374 on the Scutari defects. I will send that on Monday and then it will be done.

I question much whether it do for me to put in the Commissariat part.

I heard with the greatest pleasure from Dr Farr that he had seen you well and brisk at the Oxford Commemoration. I was almost in hopes you would have come on to London.

We are terribly driven about this Commission, and what with that, and the Netley plans, I have not had a moment for anything else.

Mr Herbert has been ill, and down at Dover since Wednesday, which gave me time just to finish my Revise.

On Monday he re-examines Tulloch and Sutherland. Sutherland does not carry the weight in the Commission which his brains ought to give him, and he lets very inferior men put him down, owing to his want of pith. It vexes me and upsets the

**f56**

conclusions I want to impress upon Mr Herbert.

Sir J. Hall's evidence fell harmless. It broke down utterly from want of truthfulness and perpetual doubling.

Believe me, ever with my love to Lady McNeill and Miss

~~Varovza~~ Ferroza who, I hope, is better, sincerely and gratefully yours,  
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff57-58 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC1/SU87

**f57**

My dear Sir John McNeill,

This is first to say, please come to us, if you come up to town for the 17<sup>th</sup>. 1. It would be of great use to me.

2. I think we could take better care of you. We should be back in the house we had when first you came up for swearing in.

I hope Mr Herbert has sent you the Evidence. I reminded him to do so.

Secondly. Mr Herbert has given in to examining me by writing. But he limits his questions to Hospital Construction.

I am quite as well aware as he can be that it is inexpedient, and even unprincipled to go back now into past delinquencies.

What is more, I feel for him who was victimized by a system of which he could know nothing, till the results appeared.

It is easy for me to be wise after the fact; me who saw these results.

But it would be untrue and unconscientious for me to give evidence upon an indifferent matter like that of Hospital construction, leaving untouched the great matters which will affect (and have affected) the mortality of our sick more than any mere Architecture could do.

**f58**

[2]

People, Government and Sovereign all think that these matters have been remedied. While I think that nothing has been done, save a relaxation of all rule and discipline and a violent expenditure.

It would be treachery to the memory of my dead if I were to seem to give in to this popular error.

I have no idea what to do. But I see most evil in the plan of examining me so as to make me say nothing. Please advise.

Ever faithfully and gratefully yours,

F. NIGHTINGALE

July 7/57

typed copy of signed letter by Sidney Herbert to Sir John McNeill 13 July 1857, f59

typed copy of signed letter, f60 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU90, typed copy 45768 f61 [14:527]

**f60**

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I have settled with Mr Herbert that you shall come to me, please, and that we shall both meet him on Sunday, in order that you may indoctrinate him, either at his house or here.

I do not think that you are at all more "nervous" about the Indian affairs than the best informed here. I speak like a parrot. But my impression is from all I hear that this "row" is but the beginning of things. As the revolution of '93 in France was but the beginning of what ended in the total overthrow of the Feudal System. So this affair in India must end in the entire doing away of the caste system or in the overthrow of the British power there. We may have to reconquer India. I should like much to go out; we shall have dreadful sickness there, but I have no one to advise me.

I want to see you about this.

Also Mr Herbert wants to ask you about my examination. They cannot at all make up their minds how far it is to go. It is to be a written one.

I shall wish to go into business as soon as this Commission is over.

With my kindest love to Lady McNeill and Miss Ferooza,

Believe me ever faithfully and gratefully yours,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

30 Old Burlington Street.

July 15th/57

typed copy of signed letter, f61 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] H1/ST/NC3/SU90

**f61**

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I am very sorry that you are so far from well. I am afraid you have done too much. [14:527]

Thank you very much for the Sanitary questions. I understand that Sir J. Hall's point is to prove that there cannot be, without collision, a Sanitary Officer besides the P.M.O. and that the P.M.O. ought to be Sanitary Officer.

What a Sanitary Officer did Sir J. Hall himself make !

Mr Herbert' talks about closing his evidence, July 17.

His great difficulty seems to be the formation of the Army Medical Board.

They are talking now of a Military Director General. [end]

Believe me,

Ever most faithfully and gratefully yours

F. NIGHTINGALE.

July 15/57

draft, ff62-63, pen

**f62** (No. 2.) {archivist:} [Draft Warrant for Establishment of Medical Council]

{illeg} Army Medical Dept [ca. July 1857]

- 1<sup>st</sup> The medical department of the Army to be under the direction of a Council consisting of three members
- 2d- A Director Genl ~~shall~~ to be named during H.M.'s pleasure who shall be President of the Council & shall have a salary of £
- 3d- Two members of the Council ~~shall~~ to be named by the Queen during H.Ms- pleasure who shall each have a salary of £ & who shall be entitled to know and to express their opinions upon all matters affecting the efficiency or welfare of the Army Medical department -
- 4 The Director Genl- & the two members of Council so named to take an oath to administer the duties of their offices with fidelity and to the best of their knowledge & belief to give advice for the benefit of Her Majesty's service. -
- 5<sup>th</sup>- All opinions or advice tendered by the members of the council where they shall not be of accord to be given in writing in the form of minutes on the questions or matters brought before the Council -
- 6 The Director Genl- after stating his opinions & after having revised the minutes of the other members of the Council thereupon shall be at liberty to act in his own responsibility in opposition to the recorded opinion of his colleagues if he shall consider it



**f62v**

if for the advantage of H.Ms- Service ~~sh~~ so to do, but in such case he shall record in a minute his reasons for disregarding their opinions as advice. -

7 The Director Genl- ~~shall~~ to take especial charge of the purely Medical arrangements including Hospitals - Attendance & equipments and all correspondence connected therewith and ~~shall be prepared~~ to submit to the council his ~~opinion~~ advise upon all such matters for their consideration -

8 The second member of the Council named by the Queen to take especial charge of Sanitary matters and the instructions and arrangements connected therewith and ~~to be prepared~~ to submit to the Council his advice upon all such questions or matters for their consideration -

9 The third member of the council named by the Queen to take especial charge of Statistical matters and the instructions  
and

**f63**

and arrangements connected therewith and ~~to be prepared~~ to submit to the Council his ~~opinions~~ advice upon all such matters for their consideration

10 The Council to meet at least once a week ~~and~~ when the Director Genl- shall lay before it a record of all acts which he may have carried out or ordered on his own responsibility since the preceding meeting of the council and to ask for the concurrence of his Colleagues in those acts or orders which shall in all cases be minuted with the opinions thereon of the other members stating their assent or dissent, and if depending their reasons for such dissent. -

11 A Secretary to be named to the Council with a salary of £ per annum who shall be removable by the Secy of State for War on the representation of the Council

typed copy of signed letter, ff64-65 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU92

**f64**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
London, W.

Aug. 7/57

My dear Sir John McNeill,

The re-constitution of the Army Medical Department as to its Government has been carried by the Commission almost in the form which you recommended.

I have been requested by Mr Herbert, who went out of town last night for a few days, to draw up a scheme as to what these new men are to do. And I now venture to enclose it to you, earnestly begging you to consider it and send it me back with your remarks in as short a time as you possibly can.

Could you let me have it by Monday, in order to shew it to Mr Herbert, we should be very grateful.

We have carried the Sub-Barrack Commission with Panmure. Dr Sutherland to be the Sanitary Head. But the Engineers Department have stated their incompetency to put a qualified R. Engineer upon it. And we are standing still at this point, asserting the necessity of a Civil Engineer. What a confession for them to have to make.

**f65**

[2]

Your evidence did us the most momentous service, and we only regretted it was not longer.

You will see its fruits in what I now enclose.

With my most grateful love to Lady McNeill, believe me,

Ever most sincerely and gratefully yours,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff66-69 {archivist: McNeill Papers see Correspondence]} LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU93: (Cook 1:365)

**f66**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
London, W.

October 10/57

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I was so very glad to see your handwriting and hear from you again that I am going immediately to profit by it.

I will not say a word about India. You know so much more about it than anybody here. We have seen terrible things in the last three years, but nothing to my mind so terrible as Panmure's unmanly and stupid indifference on this occasion! I have been three years "serving in" the W.D. When I began there was incapacity but not indifference. Now there is incapacity and indifference. What are the murders committed by these miserable Hindoos compared to the murders committed by an educated Englishman?

Panmure's coming up to town last Thursday week was the consequence of reiterated remonstrance. I have heard men in office say that he deserved to be impeached. And he is going away again after the next Indian mail!

That India will have to be occupied by British troops for several years, I suppose there is no question. And so far from the all absorbing interest of this Indian subject dimin-

f67

[2]

ishing, the necessity of immediately carrying out the reforms suggested by our Commission, I am sure you will agree that they are now the more vitally important to the very existence of an Army.

I came up to town on Thursday week and met Mr Herbert for this purpose. Panmure had not done a thing. It was extracted from him then and there that the four Sub-Commissions (with executive powers and Mr Herbert as Head of each,) viz: 1. To put the Barracks in Sanitary order. 2. To organize a Statistical Department. 3. To organize a Medical School. 4. To re-constitute the Army Medical Board, and revise all Regulations, should be issued *immediately*. The instructions had been approved by Panmure seven weeks ago.

A week, however, has elapsed and we have heard nothing. I shall not however leave Panmure alone till this is done. Mr Herbert's honour is at stake, which gives us a hold upon him. Without him, of course, I could do nothing.

The ad interim Report has been presented (unofficially) to Panmure. But the Appendix and *Final* Report are not yet out. And your Poorhouse Building Returns, for which we most sincerely thank you, will come in with great effect.

Also, I want you to do us a favour with Professor Christison. Mr. Herbert thought he had written to him, at my request, four months ago, for a Scheme of Rations and Hospital Diets. But it seems he never did. He has now desired Dr Balfour to do so. I do not know whether he has. (Perhaps you know that

**f68**

[3]

neither is very business like). I now enclose two papers of Tulloch's proposing a Ration. (Both refer to the same and explain each other).

If Professor Christison will be so good as to criticise these and give his opinion upon them, I will take care that it is officially used. And this Commission must really not put forth a scheme of Rationing, without the sanction of the first authority of the day on this point. If Balfour has written, it will still be mo[s]t amiss that the request should be in duplicate. And you will know best how to apologize to Professor Christison for the request not being made more officially and in form.

We have a most valuable Appendix, which will be a Manual for the Army.

I am writing in haste. You are kind enough to ask after my health. I have had nervous fever, which lasted me six weeks, but as soon as I can get these Commissions out, I shall be obliged to go back to Malvern.

I should have proposed myself to Lady McNeill as she was so kind as to ask me, if I could have borne the journey, for I am most anxious to take advice from you as how to cause to march our points of Reform, which concern the existence of an Army and therefore may concern our holding India.

I am so glad to hear a good account of you and so glad of your holiday.

Pray remember me most gratefully to Lady McNeill and Miss

**f69**

2

Ferooza and believe me,

Ever yours sincerely and gratefully

F. NIGHTINGALE

typed copy of incomplete letter, f70 {archivist: To Mc N [Nov 16 57]} LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC1/SU94

**f70**

[3]

execute repairs?

2. How is the authority of the Medical Officer in demanding Transport to be arranged with the discipline of the Corps?

---

2. What Department should furnish the Hospital Equipments and supplies in the Field and how?

3. Would it answer for all Hospital supplies of every description, except Medicine, to come direct from the Commissariat?

3. And all Hospital equipments, of whatever description, to come from the G.Q.M.G ?

(The two Departments being left to their own discretion as to when they procure such supplies ? The scale to be laid down).

4. Would you do away with the Purveyor altogether in the field? Even as to medical comforts and to bedding?

I think I know what your answer will be pretty well. But we want your authority. I wish we could have yourself.

The Ho. Of C. meets on the 30<sup>th</sup>, - a great advantage to us, as it keeps Mr Herbert and all these men in town till the Saturday before Christmas, - time to work our Commission.

The Report and Appendix are to be out by the end of December.

Ever faithfully and gratefully yours,  
F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, f71 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU99

**f71**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
December 12th/57

Mr Herbert, in virtue of his Commission, put the Sanitary Correspondence of the Army Medical Department into my hands to analyse.

This is the result.

I send it to you in order to show you how completely it bears out every word you ever said in your report.

Please return it as soon as read.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed {dictated} letter, f72 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] original H1/ST/NC3/SU100

**f72**

Dear Sir John,

We are very much obliged to you for your letter, which will be of great use to us. You will receive by the Book Post a copy of our Diagrams of the Mortality of the British Army, which we have just received from the Printers. It has been inserted in the Appendix to Mr Herbert's Report for the sake of the last line upon the cover. It is our flank march upon the enemy, and we might give it the old name of "God's revenge upon Murder". Be so good if you please as not to make any use of it until Mr Herbert's Report is out, which it will be about the middle of January.

(Dictated) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

I have had two thousand copies printed in order to circulate it among the Medical and Commanding Officers. I mean to get, through Mr Herbert, copies of the diagrams framed and glazed, hung at the Horse Guards, War Department and Army Medical Department.

Great Malvern.

27<sup>th</sup> December. [1857]

typed copy of incomplete letter to Sir John {possibly by W.E.N.} Jan 1858, f73

typed copy of signed letter, ff74-75 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] original roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU102

**f74**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
March 16th/58

My dear Sir John,

I hear with heartfelt interest what you tell me of your dear child, and rejoice to think of your not being separated from her. If while she is in town she will call here as you kindly propose, if I am able to see anyone on the day she comes most gladly I shall see her.

I am sorry to be obliged to ask the friends whom I should most rejoice to see, to excuse my uncertainty on any day of what it may be possible to me to do on the next.

I thank you very much for your efforts about the "North British", and may I ask you to thank the Publisher for his readiness to help us. I have communicated with Mr Herbert and with Mr Chadwick and you shall hear their answers immediately that I receive them.

You will be glad to hear that General Peel, urged by Mr Herbert, is doing extremely well for us. We are to send in before Easter for his approval.

First, the Draft instructions for the Army Medical Board which I enclose for your corrections, if you will be so

f75

[2]

very good as to look it over and return it to me as soon as possible. In drawing it up I have kept as nearly as possible to your own advice.

The other three things which we are to send in to General Peel are the "Regulations", which you have already seen, the Forms for the Statistical Department and the scheme for the Army Medical School. We are very anxious to get in the Hospital Diet Scheme which Professor Christison was so good as to undertake to construct for us, out of the materials already used in Military Hospitals, and which he said were ample. If you could be so good as to remind him to let us have this Scheme, then we should be very much obliged to you, as it is to be incorporated into the Regulations.

I hope Lady MacNeill {McNeill} and yourself are well, and that you are not suffering as usual at this time of the year.

I remain,

My dear Sir John,

Most truly and gratefully yours,  
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.



**f76** Typed copy of signed letter to Sir John by W.E. Nightingale 14 May 58,  
typed copy of letter by Mary Smith to 'dear Madam' from Roslin House, Great  
Malvern 29 July 58, f77-78

typed copy of signed letter, f79 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and  
Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU/105

**f79**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
London, W.

October 2nd, /58

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I send you a Copy, as you permitted me to do, of my report  
to the War Secretary, of which so large a portion is due to  
you.

It is "Confidential", of course, as I have no right to  
give away any Copies.

It has only recently been sent in to the War Office, al-  
though finished long ago; the English of which would be that  
the state of health, not of me but of their own Department,  
has caused this delay. But it does not signify. Because they  
won't understand it. And we are doing their work without them.

Believe me, dear Sir John,

Ever faithfully and gratefully yours,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff80-81 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence]

**f80**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
London, W.  
December 2/58

My dear Sir John McNeill,

Your very kind letter cheers me on my path beyond *anything* I may say which betides me.

It is of the greatest value to me to have the opinion of one so thoroughly a master of the subject, and at the same time able to take a more comprehensive view of it (than I do I am aware), from the very circumstance of not being in such constant immediate contact as I am with the evils to be remedied, with the perpetual harassing delays in remedying them, and with the (sometimes total) disappointment in the persons who are to apply the remedies.

As La Rochefoucauld says of the Fronde (I don't recollect the words, I dare say you do) so I can truly say of the War Office, and Horse Guards, there never were so many fine words with so little good sense, - so much enterprise and so little effect, so much action without design and so much design without action.

Your hopefulness of future and lasting benefit upholds in me the hope you once created.

I accept thankfully your criticism, so long as I can secure some hold upon the minds of those who hold the remedies,

**f81**

[2]

we want in their hands, it is only under this aspect that style can be an object to one crying for relief from suffering so urgent.

While it is possible to me, I must pursue these objects. But I see before me a long perspective of work which I can never hope to be permitted to carry through. Your word that the seed which is to bear fruit is actually sown is the best comfort I ever had, or can have, when I am called to bid farewell to interests so absorbing.

What you say of those near and dear to you is ever interesting to me. May you have a happy meeting with your dear child and may your best hopes come to pass!

With affectionate regard to Lady McNeill and Mrs Stewart believe me to be ever,

My dear Sir John,

Truly and gratefully yours,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

I shall send you in a few days an answer which has been forced from me by divers anonymous and cowardly attacks, circulated without printer's name, by authors who were evidently traitors from our own camp. F.N.

typed copy of signed letter, ff82-83 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] H1/ST/NC3/SU107

**f82**

Great Malvern,  
January 7th, /59

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I hope the green Pamphlet is likely to do good.

I agree altogether with the general principle you so strongly lay down that the Military Officer should know how to preserve the health of his troops.

The subject has been already considered and it has been proposed to make the military officers. ? {? added later by hand}

Many months ago I tried to put Mr Herbert into communication with General Cameron, the President of the Council of Military Education about this. Nothing has been done yet. Until our new professorship of Military Hygiene at Chatham is established, I do not know that anything can be done.

Till we can offer the Military Officers means of instruction, I do not know that we could press for an examination and farther than this we must make the new lectures sufficiently interesting to induce military officers of all ranks to attend. We propose in our "regulations" to make commanding officers write reasons for not complying with medical officers recommendations, with an appeal to Horse Guards and Army Medical Department.

**f83**

[2]

I trust that we shall carry the day with the military officers, but until this be done, we must do what we can with the Army [Army] Medical Department.

We have carried the Warrant, and the Army Medical School as you know, but the Medical Council are still hanging fire in the War Office.

Do you know who wrote a very remarkable article in the Edinbro' Medical Journal of December on the new Army Medical Warrant ? We thought it was yours but there are some things in it which I hardly think you would have written although they may be Editor's interpolations.

Ever yours gratefully,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

My kindest remembrances to Lady McNeill and Mrs Stewart. F.N.

typed copy of signed letter, ff84-85 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence]

**f84**

Great Malvern,  
February 7/59

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I was so very glad to hear from you. I had looked in the paper every day for the arrival of your grandchild with much more interest than for that of the Queen's grandchild, though I don't despise the little Prince either.

I was so glad to hear that Lady McNeill and Mrs Stewart continue well.

I am sorry to have given the Treasurer of the Infirmary and above all you so much trouble. In many hospitals the information specified is made up at the end of every year as a matter of course.

I don't think it will do the Treasurer any harm to make it up for his own information.

I am very glad to hear such a good account of Sir Edward Lugard.

My impression is, though I do not know him, that he is much such a man as Tulloch: able, honest, energetic, but believing that all progress and knowledge have culminated with himself, and therefore not very likely to encourage any new lights.

**f85**

[2]

I rejoice to hear that you and Lady McNeill are coming to town so soon as March or April.

I want to talk over many things with you, if you will allow me, and especially a plan for utilising the Nightingale Fund, which I want very much to put Mr Herbert in the way of doing.

I am intending to go back to London every day. I do not think I am any better, thank you, being now almost confined to my bed.

Please give my best love to Lady McNeill and Mrs Stewart and believe me, ever yours very truly and gratefully,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff86-87 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] roll 1 SU110

**f86**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
W.

March 19/59

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I was so very glad to hear from you again, and glad to hear that Mrs Stewart was out of her troubles, which, I am afraid, have been rather severe. The same thing has just happened to one of our family.

Thank you very much for the Hospital data. I will not trouble the Treasurer to do any more, as I can quite well make out all I want out of these. They are very curious. I hope I may keep them.

I trust you or Lady McNeill will kindly send me a little note when you come to town. I have a great deal to talk to you about. You know Ministers are insecure. You know a Committee has just been appointed on the re-organization of the War Office Mr Herbert is Chairman.

I hope I shall be able to see both you and Lady McNeill if you are kind enough to let me choose my own time. But I am not able to see more than one person at a time, especially of those who interest me so much. And I am not able now to sit up at all.

**f87**

[2]

Our Medical Council is appointed.

Sanitary	Logan
Medical	Mapleton
Statistical	Balfour.

We are not satisfied with the terms we have got.

I was very sorry to hear of Lord Murray's death.

Ever yours most gratefully,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff88-91 {archivist:}[McNeill Papers and Correspondence]

**f88**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
London, W.

March 24/59

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I am very glad to think that we shall see you next month.

I want the more to put you in possession of the facts regarding the Army Medical Board, (of which you were the original inventor, and which Alexander has cruelly mangled), because I think when you come to town, you may tell him something of your mind, which will do him good.

When we wrote the "Instructions" for it, (of which I sent you a copy, which you approved with some alterations which we adopted), our main object was to lay the axe to the root of the old "Minuting" system, by which an Army may be lost at any time.

This old "Minuting" system is the vital breath by which the War Office, and its hundred Clerks lives, and which really make it a perfectly irresponsible body. I am not governed by the House of Commons, I am governed by Hawes, and his Bureaucracy. The House of Commons thinks it has done wonders when it has turned out one Minister and put in another.

f89

[2]

It has done nothing, at all. Because the Bureaucracy remains, which lives by this "Minuting" it was invented chiefly by Hawes.

Your object in advising a Council, was to secure to the Director General independent and responsible advisers, while giving him entire responsibility as to action.

Now Hawes and Alexander have ejected out of the "Instructions" all that laid down the three Councillors' separate duties. {there was a coma after 'laid down' struck out by hand}

And then Alexander goes and surreptitiously (without saying one word to Mr Herbert) recommends two of his own creatures to General Pell [Peel], who are forthwith appointed; so that the Board is nothing now but one more of the old hugger-mugger Boards of Andrew Smith's *plus* Balfour. And the Director General's office consists, as before, of the Director General and his creatures, *plus* Balfour, who is no creature.

(There are clean and unclean "creatures" Alexander's are by no means *unclean*. At least one of the two is not. But they are nothing but his clerks to do any odd jobs for him. Balfour's *not* inclusive).

We look upon the whole administrative Reform as completely lost, *unless* the H. of C. Committee I mentioned to you re-organizes the whole War Office. (The Sanitary and Statistical Reform we are carrying on outside of and *without* Alexander).

He has betrayed his own Commission to whose Reports he set his hand. He has jobbed the thing in his own office, and

f90

[3]

he has converted those friends, who have proved themselves his most efficient ones, into very lukewarm ones. He has ruined himself and his Department for the present.

We can give you abundance of evidence that Mapleton and Logan are "creatures". But I will not bother you with it now.

I hear that Alexander is heartily ashamed of himself. But it is too late now.

He has made himself another example of the regular official, who does not like able or independent men about him, "et surtout point de zèle."

I am not at all of your friend Socrates' opinion that it is better to perish by other people's folly. I think nothing is so provoking. If Lord Panmure had done this thing, now, I should not have minded.

I cannot conceive how the "Regulations" are to be carried out with these two men, and without "Instructions". We shall come to grief.

Ever yours truly and gratefully

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

I begin heartily to wish for a change of Ministers, - not because it makes the least difference (as to what I want, viz: administrative Reform), who is on and who is out. But just

**f91**

[4]

only for the sake of having Mr Herbert in the War Office. Lord Stanley, with whom we are quite out of conceit, wrote to me to-day that they think they shall be out of office next week. (This is between ourselves of course). But the Opposition don't believe it.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff92-93 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] original is roll 1 SU140

**f92**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
W.

April 8/59

My dear Sir John McNeill,

Would you look over Lord Panmure's evidence, which I enclose, only that it is "confidential".

I should like very much to hear what you think, when you have read it, of Mr Herbert's plan.

It seems to me that the first part of the Evidence is like a porcupine's, which does not choose to be disturbed in its hole especially after it has made that hole itself.

But the latter part is by far the most important, and does not seem to me to bear out Mr Herbert's idea.

It deals frankly with the relation of Horse Guards and War Office. It does not conceal the supreme importance of the latter as compared with the former. It draws a very important distinction as to the different relation of War Office to Commander in Chief at home and to Commander of the Forces abroad, who, it says, I suppose justly, must be entirely under the War Office. It shews the difficulty of drawing a line of demarcation between the duties of Horse Guards and War Office, and says that, in some cases, the War Minister must over rule the Commander in Chief even in his own field. It is not in



f93

[2]

favour of a Council because (amongst other things) the C. in C. now communicates directly with the Sovereign, which he would cease to do were he a Councillor.

How would a weekly Conference do, instead of a Council? It would at least while preserving the Departments distinct give the required unity.

Mr Herbert's fear of any antagonism does not strike me in the same way, in these kinds of things. I think it is rather desirable on the contrary, i.e. at home and in peace. In War the Commander of the Forces must pass under the power of the Cabinet which moves him.

If you could appoint any time which will suit you either to-morrow, or Sunday or Monday, when you could kindly spare me an hour, there are many things I want to consult you about. And I shall be curious to hear your opinion about this too.

Ever yours most truly,

F. NIGHTINGALE.

signed letter by J. McNeill to FN, embossed 11 April 59, ff94-95v, pen, re N fund, I have read your memd about the Fund scheme and feel that I am quite incompetent to give any opinion upon matters regarding which I shd naturally look to you and you alone for guidance.

It wd seem as if you had only the choice--supposing St Thomas's accepts yr proposal--of either beginning there speedily or of waiting till you have trained a suitable matron for some other hospital. On this all I can venture to say in addition to what I said yesterday is that I would not sacrifice any one object affecting the ultimate sweep for the sake of having done something a year sooner towards carrying out the plan.

If St Thomas's does not agree to your proposition there will I presume be no alternative.

I see you propose to undertake the whole nursing of the hospital. Wd you propose to recruit and introduce a complete corps of your own or to make the substitution by degrees? If by degrees how would you manage it? by occupying successive wards to how? Wd there be danger of any kind in allowing your nurses to be mixed up with the nurses your matron may find in the hospital and if there would how would you propose to guard against it?

Your propose to make nursing a respectable profession and to give the public the security of a certificate. Must not all who gain certificates be left at liberty to pursue their profession in the manner and on the filed that may be most advantageous to themselves and must not the mil hosps go into the market and secure the best or at least good nurses by holding out superior inducements of some sort? Or would it be poss to enlist mil nurses--without great risk of getting an inferior corps--unless the advantages ere such as wd secure them w/o enlistment?

You have prob considered and settled these matter & I refer to them merely because the solution of them is not obvious to me....

signed letter by J. McNeill to FN 4 May 59, ff96-97v, pen, embossed, 2nd part of his notes, private

typed copy of signed letter, ff98-99 {archivist: India quote [McNeill Papers see Correspondence]}

**f98**

West Hill Lodge  
Highgate Rise,  
N.

May 9/59

My dear Sir John McNeill,

Sir E. Lugard has declined to serve on the Indian Sanitary Commission on account of the present pressure of business at the War Office. And we are again at our wits ends for a "Queen's Officer of acknowledged Indian experience". And again it is left to us to choose.

I mentioned Brigadier Greathed, now in England, the man of the wonderful march from Delhi (?) And Mr Herbert seems inclined to have him, merely because I cannot name any one else. But I know nothing of him but his reputation. Nor do I know any one through whom to get his measure.

In this dilemma, could you help us again? Both by saying what you think of Greathed and by mentioning any other Queen's officer now at home, whom you think well of for this purpose.

2. Would you look at the enclosed list of Heads for enquiries to be sent out to the stations in India and tell us your opinion as to the different queries therein? Would you also kindly give an opinion as to the general direction which

**f99**

[2]

the Enquiry should take?

3. Thank you very much for the fortaste of the scheme for the N. Fund. I entirely agree with every word you say in it.

Believe me, dear Sir John,  
Ever truly and gratefully yours,  
F. NIGHTINGALE.

signed letter by J. McNeill to FN 25 May 59, ff100-01, pen, embossed  
signed letter by J. McNeill to FN 25 May 29, ff102-03v, pen, 31 Cambridge St., sent letter to Herbert, now sends heads of a proposal to St T, slightly modifying those she sketched out; going to Highgate: May 25/59. I sent you today my letter to Mr Herbert and I now send you heads of a proposal to St Thomas's slightly modifying those sketched by you which I also return. You may perhaps have time to look at them before I go to Highgate on Friday. You will observe that I have put the main proposition alteratively. For my own part I wd rather see them select the latter alternative because I believe that all the best nurses in the hosp wd desire to enter your corps and by degrees the whole of the wards wd be in it s hands--with the advantage of a discipline and organiz more perfect than cd well be secured if the whole were to come at once into our hands.

I begged of Mr Cough to ascertain in what form and through what channel any formal proposal ought to be made to the hosp magnates also in what shape they wd propose to intimate formally their decision.

the proposal whenever it is made ought to bear your signature on your own behalf and that of Mr Herbert on behalf of the council.

If the heads that you may ultimately resolve to send are agreed to then no doubt some expl of details may be necessary and when that whole is arranged it ought I think to be at once reduced to writing by men of business. Mere understandings almost always turn out to be misunderstandings.

I do not know that I can be of any further use or annoyance to you at present....goes north Sat, talk Friday

typed copy of signed letter, ff104-05 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence]

**f104**

Highgate,

June 11/59

My dear Sir John McNeill,

Enclosed is the list of proposed queries for the Indian Stations.

Could you be so kind as to look it over and make any corrections and additions you think fit. Also noting in the margin the person to whom the query ought to be addressed.

These queries are printed only for correction and are to be re-arranged according to the respective officers to whom they are to be sent, and printed on larger sheets with spaces for the replies.

Tabular Forms to be filled up and also to be added, as well as a set of purely Military questions for Military Officers, and a circular letter.

Sutherland has been studying at the India House, and the result is incorporated in these questions. As well as Martin's information. Farr is drawing up the Statistical Forms.

You will see the result of this morning's Division. My satisfaction is of a very limited nature. Mr Herbert told me that if he were S. of S. for War, he would turn over this Indian matter to Lord Stanley. Now I can say that a Lord S. which Mr. H. cannot because as I read somewhere the inferior

**f105**

[2]

details the superior ignores.

I am sure that Lord Stanley has neither the grasp of the subject nor the faculty that some men have of putting themselves into the right hand, as to detail and seeing who knows and who does not.

I believe the Sanitary salvation of India depends upon Mr Herbert doing it. And I should say the same, and a great deal more if I were dead, and there were no question of my work.

Do you think we could make any proposal to Mr Herbert by which, saving him, all labour of detail (which we could do), we could keep his hand over us for the Meetings which might even be deferred till Parliament ceases to sit, and for the final Report.

Or we might have only (say) an hour of his time per week at a weekly Meeting for parole evidence.

I am not afraid to say that Sutherland, Farr and I could do all the detail work for him, Sutherland and I did it for the last.

Believe me, dear Sir John,

Ever yours faithfully,

F. NIGHTINGALE.

**f106** Typed copy of signed letter by Sidney Herbert to Sir John 15 Dec 59,  
f106

typed copy of signed letter, ff107-08 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU124

**f107**

Hampstead, N.W.

Jan. 19/60

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I heard from Mr Clough that you had been ill, (which I should not have found out from your letters) and that you contemplated coming up to London soon.

I hope that if the other business for which you may be coming up, allows any margin, that you will not hurry yourself to come on account of mine.

The weather here (though variable) is generally exceedingly bad. I scarcely ever remember such a "dirty" foggy winter.

And I see no reason for hurrying the formal part of my business. Mr Clough is himself hardly recovered. He has been ill.

And I think what you would be of such essential support in, that which indeed hardly any one could do but you, the having an interview with the St Thomas's Authorities is as well done a little later as now.

I should think it quite worth while to put off the first "Sub-Committee" meeting, (none of the men are House of Commons men, except Mr Herbert, who can't act anyhow), and the first formal interview with St Thomas's authorities till it was con-

**f108**

[2]

venient for you to come.

Time will not be lost thereby, as I must see the Matron, and Mr Clough must see Mr Whitfield, (the Resident Medical Officer) informally.

Thank you very much for your letters and pamphlet.

I trust to hear you are better.

Pray give my love to Lady McNeill and to Mrs Stewart, and tell her I am glad to hear there is another little "Prince to be born to the House."

Believe me, ever

My dear Sir John,

Yours very truly and most gratefully,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

I am going (*daily*) to 30 Old Burlington Street. If, as I hope, you will not, you are coming immediately, I would go up at once, as I should like to be on the spot. I trust you will come there and leave it to us to find rooms for you in the house, fit for a person not very strong. If you would give us a day's warning.

I imagine Mr Herbert sent you a copy of the Minute of the first meeting of my "Council".

F.N.

typed copy of signed letter, f109 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU126,

**f109**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
London, W.

Feb. 2. 60

My dear Sir John McNeill,

You will have seen in the "Times" what an irreparable loss we have had in Alexander, the Director General. I say *irreparable* because it really is come to this: that Mr Herbert asks who is to be his successor, and it seems as if there were not one man in the Department whom one wished to see Director General.

Taylor of Chatham (who was in the Crimea in Medical Charge of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Division) and Balfour are the only two I can name, who have shewn any administrative talent.

I know how low has been the rate of ability shewn by the Doctors in the Indian affair. Lord Clyde has been beside himself with their stupidity. Linton, the Senior, he would not allow even to come up to Head Quarters. And Gordon is nothing but a bone-cutter.

Can you help us? What do you think? Whom should you fix upon?

Yours ever sincerely

F. NIGHTINGALE.

Alexander's death was almost sudden.

**f100** typed copy of signed letter, f110 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU127

**f110**

30 Old Burlington Street,  
London, W.

Mar 9/60

My dear Sir John,

You know that for you to wish me to be the Godmother of one of your grandchildren is the greatest pleasure I could have.

I have always declined being Godmother to any of Mr Herbert's children, or of those of a very dear friend of mine (who is now dead), because

1. I felt that they would think my religious opinions, if they knew them, very unorthodox, and 2. It is undertaking to do what neither law nor custom authorizes one to do.

But you know (I believe) pretty well what my religious opinions are, and if neither of these things deter you, I can only say that any connection with Mrs. Stewart's child will be most dear to me, and that I am very grateful to her for having thought of me. Pray give her my best wishes, and believe me

Ever yours gratefully and truly,

F. NIGHTINGALE.

**f111** Typed copy of signed letter from A.H. Clough to Sir John McNeill 21 April 60

typed copy of signed letter, ff112-13 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU130

**f112**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
London, W.

May 17/60

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I sent you by post yesterday a packet which will puzzle you.

Do you remember (I am sure *you do not, but I do*) a conversation we had some three years ago at your house about religion one evening?

Eight years ago I had a large and very curious acquaintance among the Operatives of the North of England, and among those of what are called Holyoake's party in London. The most thinking and conscientious of our enormous artisan population appeared to me to have no religion at all.

I then wrote the first part of what I have ventured to send you, without the least idea of ever publishing it. And it was read in MS by some of them.

The conversation I had with you awakened all my thoughts of the Artisans. And, about 1 ½ years ago, I wrote the second part (Man's Will and God's Law") in the packet sent you.

Till last spring I never thought for a moment of printing it. But just now I have had six copies done of which I send you one. No one knows of it. And, till my death, I would never have it published, certainly now with my name.

My reason for sending it you is to ask you, should the

**f113**

[2]

subject interest you enough, to be so good as to say *at your leisure*, whether you think it would be, after my death, at all useful among the "Atheist" Operatives, as they are called.

Believe me,

Ever sincerely and gratefully yours,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

I need not say that the half margin is made to be written on, if you will be so good as to write any remarks of yours upon it.

F.N.

signed letter by J. McNeill to FN 18 May 60, ff114-15v, pen re Suggestions The work is not one which any honest man will pretend to judge of at a glance. It requires careful & deliberate perusal and thoughtful consideration. I shall not venture therefore to say more at present than that I like what I have seen of it very much and I have dipped in here and there at random as is my wont--just to catch some notion of the tome--of the key on which a book is pitched. When I have examined it more carefully



Add Mss 45768

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I shall let you know what may occur to me regarding it.  
re Fund. Clough keeping him well informed. Ferooza and her 2 boys

typed copy of signed letter, ff116-17 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU131

**f116**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
London, W.

July 24/60

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I hope that you and Lady McNeill will not think me very unreasonable if a Dr de Baumhauer, "Delegate" from Holland at the "International Statistical Congress" here, and Director of the Statistical Department of the Ministry of the Interior in Holland, presents himself to you with an introduction from me. With him perhaps may come H.E. Baron Czoernig "Delegate" from Austria, Privy Councillor, and Director of the Imperial Statistical Department at Vienna, also M.G. Hopf, "Delegate" from Saxe Cobourg, Financial Councillor, and Director of the "Life Assurance Bank for Germany" in Gotha, and L.A.M. Friendland.

(I feel as if I were giving you a list of their names, titles, "rank and regimental number".)

Do not be alarmed. They are not going to stay in Scotland

But I am sure they will be pleased by any civility from you.

Czoernig is quite a man of the world.

Believe me to be,

Ever yours gratefully and sincerely,

F. NIGHTINGALE

**f117**

[2]

Perhaps these people will only be able to call upon you at your Board of Supervision, as they are hurried for time.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff118-19 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU133

**f118**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
London, W.

Aug. 29/60

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I send you Parts Second and Third of the religious "stuff" (Confidential) of which I sent you the first part some time ago. I don't expect you to read it. I am afraid you will be terrified at the bulk of it. But I could not refrain from sending you what (the printing of it at least) was the result of a conversation with you, an untoward and undesirable result, I am afraid you will say, when you see it.

Would you thank Lady McNeill very much for the photographs she was so good as to send me? I like them exceedingly. But tell her the *faint* likeness of you in the background of one of them is what I like the best. It is not like a picture but like a real shadow.

I send per book post to Mrs Stewart (which will you present with my love?) a copy of Mr Clough's translation of some of Plutarch's Lives, for the infant original of the photographs, when he can read it. I believe there are much worse "Saints" in the Calendar than there are in Plutarch. And did French boys read Plutarch as we used to, when I was young, I don't believe the present Emperor could be on the throne.

**f119**

[2]

Mr and Mrs Clough are going North on Thursday (to-morrow) for their holiday.

They will be at Edinburgh on Wednesday the 5<sup>th</sup>, at the Caledonian Hotel in Princess [see] Street opposite the Castle. I have persuaded them (they are shy) to call upon you, and they are good enough to bring for me a little offering to my own peculiar "godson", your younger grand child, and the printed "stuff".

Ever my dear Sir John, Yours gratefully and affectionately,  
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

signed letter from J. McNeill to FN 31 Aug 60, ff120-23v, pen, from Granton Ho, re her letter, Cloughs came Wed, Ferooza delighted you sent a copy of Plutarch's lives for Lorn; your godson Archibald promises at present to be a large strong fellow.

**[11:35-36]**

Do not doubt that I shall read with deep attention what you are sending me confidentially as I have read...I doubt whether it is now in such a form as to be extensively studied by the classes for whose use and benefit it is chiefly designed but I do not doubt that it is a mine which will one day be worked by many hands and that much precious metal will be drawn from it. I

know that amongst the more intelligent of the artizan classes are to be found men of large capacity--profound thinkers capable of mastering abstruse subjects and it may be that some of them might be fit exponents to their fellows of the views which you advance, but my experience of the masses leads me to believe that with rare exceptions they are mere imitators and that even when they reject dogmatic teaching they do so in imitation of someone else and thus only substitute one set of dogmas for another. When I speak of the masses I by no means confine myself to working men--I include the wealthier as well as the less wealthy. With rare exceptions all are following some leader--believing on the authority of someone's dictum and there may arise men who will extract from your pages the dicta which their disciples will be required to accept & believe. But until such exponents are at work I do not think that any system of religion or of morals can be made to exercise any practical influence on the masses.

But the time may come when the rational and intelligible will be accepted in religion but so far as I can see that time is yet distant with reference to the great bulk of our people. They love mystery and are apt to think meanly of what their reason fully comprehends and above all they are cold in their feelings towards any teaching that does not make strong and even extravagant appeals to the imagination. In England it may be different but in this country which I know better I think that I am not mistaken in believing that it is through the imagination rather than through the reason that the masses are influenced, especially in matters of religion, and that without appeals to the imagination and a certain romance of mystery it would at this time be impossible to produce any considerable impression. At the same time now towards more rational views and therefore the time may come when these will prevail. When that time comes--though neither you nor I may see it--what you have written will be reverted to and commented upon and will find fitting exponents as well as bitter assailant [end 11:36]

typed copy of signed letter, ff124-25 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU134

**f124**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
London, W.

Sept. 15/60

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I have ventured to-day to send you (by Book Post) if you could find the time to glance over it, and to see whether it meets your requirements, a first Proof of the Purveyor's "Regulations", which we have been preparing by order of Mr Herbert.

It is intended to meet all the points you have raised.  
(I am afraid it meets none of them.)

It ought to tally with the Report of the R. Sanitary Commission, and with the new "Medical Regulations" of which I think you have a copy.

Without troubling you to look over the lists of Stores, etc., would you consider whether this Code is in conformity with the wants of an Army Hospital Service, especially as to Field Hospitals, and as to Banking or Accounting questions?

The Proof I send you, although it has undergone considerable discussion (from the Purveyor in Chief downwards) will certainly want much amendment.

But I send it with the hope of obtaining your criticisms, additions and alterations on the margin.

**f125**

[2]

The first page contains the proposed re-organization of the Purveyor's Department, which if agreed to will be made the subject of a Warrant.

We shall be truly obliged to you for any trouble you will take with regard to this. Because we feel that no one else has anything like the authority and the judgement which you bring to bear on these matters.

Were Mr Herbert not taking holiday in the North I am sure he would ask you himself.

Ever yours sincerely and gratefully,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

P.S. The list of N.C. Officers for the Administration given at P.O. by the Purveyor in Chief, appears to me quite exorbitant.

In a Civil Hospital, all this would be under one Steward with Servants. In a Military under your Captain of Orderlies, with Privates under him.

F.N.

typed copy of signed letter, f126 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU135

**f126**

Hampstead, N.W.

Oct 13/60

My dear Sir John McNeill,

Could you, by means of your Inspectors, tell me anything about the enclosed lady and Convalescent Hospital ? Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to help on, as far as I could, such a project. But, as set forth by Miss Wedderburn there does not appear to be any project at all; at least not definite, except that of getting subscriptions.

I am sorry and glad to hear that Mrs Stewart is going abroad. She will be a great loss at home.

I trust that you will not pass through London either going or coming back without sparing me a few moments.

Till the end of this month I shall be here.

Mr A. Jackson's

Upper Terrace,

Hampstead,

and we could take in your whole party if you would give us a day or two's notice. After October I shall be in London, 30 Old Burlington Street, and if you and Lady McNeill sleep in London on your return, I trust it will help with us.

Many thanks for your efficient help about Purveyor's Regulations.

Ever sincerely and gratefully yours,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff127-28 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU136

**f127**

Mr A. Jackson's,  
Upper Terrace  
Hampstead, N.W.  
Oct. 16/60

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I hear from Mr Clough that you are coming up on the 22<sup>nd</sup> till the 28<sup>th</sup>. So I make haste to say that the littlest Clough, who with his sister, is here, has got a thing which I call tooth rash, but which the Doctor call measles. (Perhaps there is a new kind of measles since my time).

However, I always support Mothers and doctors against myself. And, therefore, although the child is perfectly well, (saving his rash and his teeth), and hurra-ing at this moment, I think it right to tell you.

Even if Mrs Stewart had been good enough to think of coming here with her children, she would not have liked to have had the rooms (for them) in which the hurra-ing youth is now segregated. And perhaps he may not be let out before next week. Or perhaps the rooms may not have been aired long enough to be safe, if he is.

I hope, however, that you will at least let me see you.

We don't consider "cutting the teeth" catching." And I hope that you and dear Lady McNeill will stay in our rooms at

**f128**

[2]

Burlington Street where I shall then be, on your way *back* to Scotland.

Ever yours sincerely and gratefully,

F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff129-30 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU137

**f129**

Mr A. Jackson's,  
Upper Terrace,  
Hampstead, N.W.  
Oct. 23/60

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I am very sorry for Mrs Stewart's suspense and yours.

I hope to see you on Wednesday, as you kindly propose.

Any time after 3 o'clock would do for me. My father is coming on that day. And if you would stop and dine with him, he would be so glad.

I don't know what to say about your little grandchild. I am afraid I must take the part against myself.

The two little culprits are still here, and running and crawling about. But the Doctor won't say that one has not had, or that the other is not going to have, the measles. I am perfectly incredulous. But I think it might be a source of anxiety to Mrs Stewart afterwards if her child were to be brought into the house, although she might kindly consent for my pleasure.

Ever yours sincerely and gratefully,  
F. NIGHTINGALE.

**f130**

I sent your letter, about Corfu to Mr Herbert, and he told me last Sunday that he had referred it to the Barrack Commission, so that I am in some hopes of something getting done.

F.N.

Typed copy of signed letter, f131 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence]

**f131**

Mr A. Jackson's  
Upper Terrace  
Hampstead.

Friday morning. {arch: [October 26, 1860]}

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I shall hope to see you to-day at two o'clock as you so kindly propose.

The people at 30 Old Burlington Street were very remiss, if they did not give you a letter which I sent there for you.

Ever yours gratefully,  
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.



Typed copy of signed letter, ff132-33 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU139 [12:707]

**f132**

30 O. B. Street,  
London, W.

Jan. 17/61

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I am really very sorry (for myself) about the German translation of my notes in Nursing. I gave it last April to Miss Bunsen by a written form at her own request. Since then, yours is the fifth, out of many more, to whom I would much rather have given it. Poor Miss Bunsen has had all her troubles since April. And, unable to do it herself, gave it out of charity to some one who has done it so imperfectly that she herself says it is unfit for publication.

I shall send your note to Mr Clough, in hopes that he may communicate with Miss Bunsen, who herself may be glad to turn the thing over to Dr Ross.

I have not liked to trouble her myself about these matters, having felt her father's loss almost as much as she has done herself.

Our scheme of re-organization is at last launched at the War Office. But I feel that Hawes may make it fail. And

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there is no strong hand over him.

Ever yours gratefully and sincerely,  
F. NIGHTINGALE.

signed letter from J. McNeill to FN 26 March 61, ff134-35v, pen, on embossed Granton House, sends some obs on sany matters in the navy, from son in law Duncan Stewart, you will see that our ships require sany reform quite as much as our barracks once did and as some of them still do; effect of her Notes on Nursing, lower deck of the "London" taught to regard state of things as normal and natural condition of men of wars men, reads the Notes, "and the scales fall from his eyes. He begins to see that the men are prematurely old and worn out and takes his brain to find a remedy." when put sanitary matters in India in train, "there is the whole Br navy waiting to be rescued. What a blind and perverse gen we are!", my blood boil... India

typed copy of signed letter, ff136-37 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU140

**f136**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
W.

April 7/61

My dear Sir John McNeill,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 26<sup>th</sup> and for Mr Stewart's remarks.

It is very much to the hopefulness of the Service and very much to the honour of so young a man that he should be so awake to the state of things.

With regard to what he says about a standing Navy, it certainly would have advantages over the present system, which would be brought out on an enquiry. Among these would no doubt be the possibility of arranging the Service according to Stations, and so saving much health and life.

There are many things which ought to make one very hopeful for the Navy. And I am sure, if ever I had time and strength to help, I should be too glad to be allowed to do so.

I am too ignorant to make any remarks worth having on what Mr Stewart says. Dr Johnson use to say that in his time a Man of War was a gaol with the chance of being drowned. And we all know what gaol fever was in his time.

The Navy has, however, (in spite of all its detractors may say) improved much more than the Army in proportion. No

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doubt since the introduction of steam, the Sanitary state of the ships has gone back a step. There is no reason however why with the additional power supplied by the steam, there ever should be a breath of anything else than pure air in every part of the largest Warship by day or by night, as Mr Stewart seems to be well aware. Much has already been done in ventilating ships. And an enquiry if followed out in practice, would shew how the most unpromising ships could be ventilated, as well as improved in another important Sanitary point.

Believe me to be,

Ever sincerely and gratefully yours,

F. NIGHTINGALE

signed letter from J. McNeill to FN 18 June 61, ff138-41, pen, embossed Granton Ho, *Private*. re her letter recd this morn. ...wd have depressed me very much if my faith in the progress of what is true and right had been founded in my faith in any one man. I had great hopes of Mr Herbert but I confess that I have not expected so much from Lord Herbert. That change was almost avowedly an admission of weakness perhaps mainly physical but still of weakness--such as was likely to make him shrink from the Herculean labour of cleansing that Augean stable and what you tell me but confirms

the misgivings which we both felt and tried I believe to combat hoping against hope and trying to persuade ourselves of what in our hearts we felt wd not be. No one in my day has I think thrown away or at least failed to play out with success so noble a game of which all the winning cards were in his hand. But I do not believe, and what you say confirms me in the belief, that the causes are physical--that the state of mind which prevented success was and is but a symptom of functional or of organic disease- if it were not so and one wished to see him punished for his failure it wd be difficult to devise any penance more humiliating than the admission that he had been beaten on his own chosen ground by Ben Hawes. But the truth I suspect is that he has been beaten by disease & not by Ben and we must admit whatever may be his shortcoming that he has been the means of promulgating and ventilating opinions and views which no one else whom we know of was in a position to put forward so well or in a manner at once so clear and so acceptable to the persons whom it was most important to influence and to indoctrinate. The man has for the present at least broken down but the truths which he did much to propagate remain. They have not broken down and be assured they are too valuable to be left on the road where he is leaving them. To a man who has a reputation to make they are invaluable- To a man who had a reputation to lose they were perhaps too perilous a venture to be carried with comfort and confidence. The man who had already won a position and reputation is rarely a hearty reformer. He is too much afraid of losing what he has won. Your true reformer is the man who has to make a reputation and sees in reform the means of making it. Let us hope that Lord de Grey is such a man. If he be he will do what Ld Herbert did not venture to attempt or at least he will make progress in the right direction. But whether he does or not I have faith in the cause and I am not at all discouraged because it may seem to have had a check or because I may not live to see its perfect triumph. The seed which you have sown will not die. It has already taken root and if this generation shd not reap the harvest another gen will. It is rarely given to man or woman to do more. To whom in our times has the power been given to do so much? It wd be pleasant to see the result but can you doubt that it must come? You greatly undervalue your own work if you imagine that it is to exhibit its full effect in this gen.

I condole with you very sincerely on the danger you are threatened with. ....re writing her life....danger re what she writes, warning re her letters. the "bold woman who contemplates such a work" is she capable? kept every scrap except re Ferooza's marriage. your life must be written some day. wd it not be right to let someone--Cough or any person you please who is near you--be collecting the materials for writing it truly....Remember that your name will be identified with certain views and opinions and that all who entertain those.... interest [the inkbottle]

I hope if Ld Herbert is to resign that he may do it at once for the sort of interregnum that must otherwise ensue wd weaken the next head of the office

typed copy of initialled letter, ff142-44 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU141

**f142**

30, Old Burlington Street,  
W.

June 21/61

My dear Sir John McNeill,

Among the few practical things which I hope to succeed in saving from the general wreck of the War Office is:

The organization of one General Hospital on your plan.

Colonel Wilbraham has consented to be appointed Governor, (if offered him), of Woolwich Hospital.

(It has been offered to him informally.)

And last week we made up a complete list of officers for the Staff, including a capital Sergeant-Major, who is to receive a Commission as Captain of Orderlies.

These names have been approved by Lord Herbert.

There has been an immense uproar, perhaps no more than you anticipated, from the Army Medical Department of the H. Guards.

Lord Herbert will send me the Governor's Commission upon the framing of which every thing will depend, before signing.

If there is time to send it to you I shall. But if not, could you say what points ought to be especially guarded in the Commission? I send you a copy of the Regulations, in case you have not one by you, v. Section VIII Pp 40 - 42.

I will answer your kind letter more at length another

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day. What strikes me in this great defeat more painfully even than the loss to the Army is the triumph of the bureaucracy over the leaders, the political aristocracy who at least advocate higher principles. A Sidney Herbert beaten by a Ben Hawes is a greater humiliation really (as a matter of principle) than the disaster of Scutari.

Yours ever truly,

F.N.

I saw a *private* letter to-day from Sir James Hudson. He says, "We must pull through as well as we can. At present the team is all right, the Coachman has a good hold on the reins and the nags are willing."

About the "Governor", the following are the questions likely to arise:

1. If the Governor in exercising discipline orders a man of the Army Hospital Corps to seven days cells how is he to have his sentence carried out?

Will the Officer Commanding at Woolwich necessarily give effect to the sentence? Or must he be ordered through the H. Guards?

2. If a Convalescent in Hospital makes a "row", does

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the Governor proprio motu send him to the Prisoner's Ward?

3. (By the new organization of the Army Hospital Corps the Director General is Head of the Ward Orderlies, the Purveyor in Chief of the office Orderlies, and each reports separately to the Horse Guards).

Should the Governor inform the Director General or Purveyor-in-Chief as the case may be, of his having sent an A.H.C. man to prison, the object being to let the Heads of the Corps know where the men are? Should he also report the case to the officers Comm. the Corps at Chatham? Or should he report only to the H. Guards?

Ditto ditto ditto in the case of this expelling an A.H.C. Man?

4. Is the Governor a Lines Officer under the Artillery Commandant at Woolwich, (Sir R. Dacres) ? Are there any points where risk of collision might be avoided in drawing up the Commission?

Has the Woolwich Commandant right of entry into the Hospital at all times?

In the relations between the Governor and Officer Commanding, what should the Commission define as to 1. What each should do. 2. What each should not do.

The Governor is supreme in his Hospital administration according to the Regulations. What points still, at issue must be defined by the Commission?

signed letter from J. McNeill to FN 25 June 61, ff145-48v, pen embossed Granton House, re hers of 21st, pleasure for no better man than Wilbraham for first hosp governor. but of course the horse Guards if they desire it can make the experiment fail, or appear to fail, by preventing its being fairly tried, if they shd resolve to do so. I doubt however whether the duke of Cambridge wd lend himself in any measure to such proceedings wittingly. The danger is that he may be misled by his being allowed to see only detached parts or fragments.... has tic. garrison. re governor's supremacy [long letter on this], followed by typescript: Governor of General Hospital June 1861, ff149-52

signed letter from J. McNeill to FN 2 July 61, ff153-54, pen, embossed Granton Ho, not sent you memo intended, re hosp gov

signed letter from J. McNeill to FN 2 July 61, ff155-56v, pen, Granton; writes by Ferooza's desire that she has lost her younger son, your godson, died 29th in room in which he was bn 29 Feb 1860. He fell a sacrifice, as I believe, to the senseless conduct of the nurse, who though cautioned by me in the morning not to keep the child in the sun but to take him to walk in the shade of which there is enough here took him out in the afternoon to the public road where there is not a particle of shade and kept him exposed to the fiercest sun we have had this year for about two hours....she came in pale and almost senseless, rallied, but attacked with remittent fever; JM lost 5 children, she the 6th;; I am grieved to hear that Lord Herbert is

so ill--I fear dying rapidly--but so are we all

signed letter from J. McNeill to FN 25 Aug 61, ff157-60, pen, black-edged Granton Ho, loss of Lord Herbert. He was the only statesman in the country who had made the defects in our system of military management his special study or who was sufficiently advanced in the knowledge of those matters to appreciate their importance or to be capable of understanding the measures proposed or required to remedy the flagrant defects that were constantly eating out the heart and the life of the best soldiers in the world. But while he laboured not unsuccessfully to improve the condition of the soldier no one knew better than he did that to ensure the permanence of the vast ameliorations which he was instrument in effecting and which but for him cd not have been effected--as well as to give the nation some security for efficiency and progressive improvement in its mil admin it was indispensable that the War Office (which from its first formation had been and remained a fortuitous aggregate of good and bad material) shd be properly and permanently organized. The time and the strength to accomplish that which he felt to be the primary object of his admin was denied him, but his mind and his thoughts had been anxiously given to the subject and to record the results of his deliberation .... legacy. re her letter of the 21st, confirms his previous convictions. It wd be very lamentable if Ld Herbert were held up to the public as having been satisfied with the present organiz of the War Office. It wd be however unwittingly a misrepresentation on point of fact... [goes on a bit on this] whole est fortified in their present system. he was emphatically a truthful man and an upright statesman who wd not have desired to claim credit even for what he had actually accomplished...wd be injurious to the natl interest ....re memoir [this goes on about what FN consulted him on. keep the papers. I wd not destroy one scrap. If you are to tell the story they must remain in your hands and ought never to leave them while you live.

...Your memoir of Ld Herbert's admin of the War Dep (of which you have had so large a share) wd, I verily believe, not only raise him in public estimation but constitute one of your most valuable contributions to that cause to which you have devoted your life. To that cause his death has been a terrible blow--but not a death blow. When the nation comes to know in what manner he wd have desired to put right what they know to be wrong you will have an amount of support that you have not counted.

**f161** typed copy of signed letter from P.E. De Strzelecki to J. McNeill 5 Nov 61 LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU144

typed copy of signed letter, ff162-63 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU142

**f162**

32 South Street,  
London, W.  
Nov 7/61

My dear Sir John,

I hear that you have been asked to the Duke of Cambridge's Meeting for the "Herbert Memorial" on the 28<sup>th</sup>. And if you could make this house your own I should be too glad to try and make you comfortable.

*If you can come*, I do think it would be of the very greatest importance for carrying out the work of our dear lost friend.

Lord Palmerston is to move the first Resolution and Lord Derby to second it. Mr Gladstone to move the next and General Peel to second. Lord Russell the next and Bishop of Oxford to second.

It is doubtless quite right to nail the Ministers to a recognition of the worth of their lost comrade. But in all these names I see none who in the least knew his real work, or who will in the least vindicate his real title to gratitude, which is that he perished in the midst of a great work which he knew himself to be *unfinished* and his last words were to recognise this.

Nor do I know any one but yourself who would or could hold

**f163**

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up the *human* side of this work to the world, or assert his real title to Statesmanship which Mr Gladstone and poor Lady Herbert expressly deny. I mean his settled plan to renew the soldiers, morally and physically, *and his intention to re-organize the War Office*, which death cut short.

Therefore I think it most important, if your health will permit, that you should take this part at the Meeting.

I send you my little sketch, printed only because I had not the power to copy it, of what he did do in office. (It is quite private).

I am come up here to do the Indian Sanitary Commission work.

Ever my dear Sir John,

Yours gratefully and sincerely,  
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

signed letter from J. McNeill to FN 9 Nov 61, ff164-65v, pen, Granton Ho, {at top up at an angle in FN hand: To be returned to F.N.}, obliged for her proposal to take up quarters in South St if go to London for 28th meeting, will attend meeting, but go to a hotel

typed copy of signed letter, ff166-67 {archivist: [McNeill Papers see Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU143

**f166**

32, South Street,  
London, W.

Nov 18/61

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I should be sorry that you should see first in the newspapers our great loss, you who have been so kind to us.

Arthur Clough is dead at Florence on Nov. 12. His wife had rejoined him some months before and his sister three days before.

He seemed not to realize the danger till a very few days ago. And there is something unexplained about the rapid end.

He had been so much better at first for going abroad.

He was a man of a rare mind and temper. The more so because he would gladly do "plain work". To me, seeing the blundering harasses which were the uses to which we put him, he seemed like a race horse harnessed to a coal truck. This not because he did "plain work" and did it so well. For the best of us can be put to no better use than that.

He helped me immensely, though not officially, by his sound judgement, and constant sympathy. "Oh, Jonathan my brother Jonathan, my love to thee was very great, passing the love of women."

Now, not one man remains (that I can call a man) of all

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those whom these five years I have worked with. But as you say, "we are all dying".

Ever, dear Sir John,

Yours sincerely and gratefully,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Bertha Coltman, Blanche Clough's younger sister, who is slowly recovering her confinement, has not yet been told this heavy news. By excess of precaution I tell you this, although it is hardly likely that you should be writing to her family.

If you will change you mind about the meeting on the 28<sup>th</sup> (Lord Herbert's) and come here, you know how glad I should be.

F.N.

signed letter from J. McNeill to FN 19 Nov 1861, ff168-69, pen, black-edged Granton Ho, her letter recd this morn, has distressed me, re Clough; It is a small matter to die a few days sooner than usual. It is a great matter to work while it is day and so to husband ones powers as to make the most of the days that are given us. This you will do. Herbert and Clough and many more may fall around you but you are destined to a great work and you cannot die till it is substantially if not apparently done. You are leaving your impress on the age in which you live and the print of your foot will



be traced by generations yet unborn. Go on--to you the accidents of mortality ought to be as the falling of the leaves in autumn. ever respectfully & sincerely yours

typed copy of signed letter, ff170-71 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU145

**f170**

9, Chesterfield Street,  
London, W.

Ap. 15/62

My dear Sir John McNeill,

It is a very long while since I have heard from you.

It is four months since I have been much worse and not able to leave my bed, which is the reason you have not heard from me.

Pray tell Lady McNeill that it was not want of interest which prevented my acknowledging her letter about the new daughter which I hope is thriving.

I work on still for the War Office. But it is a guerilla warfare, of little profit although Lord de Grey is entirely on our side.

I have written the greater part of the Indian Sanitary Report for Lord Stanley and am doing the Digest of the Stational Reports. That for the Bombay Presidency I have finished. Lord Stanley has asked me to write answers to written questions, under my own name. But these I have scarcely begun.

I hear from M. Mohl that he has "got lately from Teheran an enormous folio, containing the last additions," (to the fables on Alexander the Great), "and they are strange enough and illustrated by lithographed vignettes, where Alexander

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pays court to an European princess who is represented sitting in crinoline on a rococo canape. He is a Mohammedan in this wonderful book."

I send you papers of the two Training Schools for Nurses, to which the whole income of the N. Fund is now devoted. I wish they were more widely known out of London, especially the one for training Midwifery nurses.

Ever dear Sir John,

Your affectionate and grateful,  
F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff172-73 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU146

**f172**

9, Chesterfield Street,  
London, W.

Ap. 22/62

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I shall be very much obliged to you if you will kindly as you propose send the papers (about the two Training Schools for Nurses) to your various parishes.

I send copies by this day's post of each.

With regard to the Midwifery Nurses, we have a small fund, which could easily be enlarged for paying the £10, (excess for board and lodging for 6 months) for those parishes which are really too poor to pay.

We also give a general Nurse training besides the Midwifery training, to those for whom it is desired, (but who must be willing to stay longer than the 6 months) in the general wards of the Hospital, and also among the Out Patients visited at home.

Kings College Hospital is so poor that, although it generously gave us the services of its officers gratuitously, (excepting the Midwife who is ours), it was unable to pay anything towards the beds. And we therefore are unable to board the Probationers quite gratuitously as we do at St Thomas's.

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I am well satisfied with the way in which Mrs Wardroper does her work and her duty by our Probationers there. But I do not think that the quality of the Probationers has been such as the advantages offered would have procured us, were it more known out of London. They cost us £70 a piece.

Believe me,

Ever yours gratefully,

F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff174-75 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU147

**f174**

Hampstead,  
N.W.

Aug 8/62

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I venture to send you by this post for your criticism my "Observations" on the Stational Reports from India.

If you are so good as to look it through, will you note your remarks on the margin and return it to me?

It is only a proof.

We have failed, owing to the dilatoriness of some of our members in getting our Report "Indian Sanitary" presented this Session, as would have been most important.

But next month Lord Stanley holds a Meeting to consider the Report.

It now stands thus.

1. All the replies to the printed books of queries have come in from India, have been abstracted and are in print.

My digests of these for the three Presidencies are all written. Bombay is in type. Bengal and Madras not yet come back from press.

Would you like to see these three Digests?

2. Our part of the Report (Sanitary) is written and in

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type; and corrected by Lord Stanley, who pledges himself to carry it through the Commission next month. This embraces the oral evidence of course, rather more than or quite as much as the Stational Replies.

My "observation" ordered by the Commission (and which I now send) were limited to the Stational Replies.

I have little new, nothing good to tell. Lord de Grey and Captain ~~Gallow~~ Galton miscalculated their powers or their intelligence when they promised to re-organize the W.O. The administrative work they do well.

I trust Lady McNeill and Mrs Stewart and the children are well.

Ever yours gratefully,  
F. NIGHTINGALE.

**f176** Typed copy of signed letter {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU148

**f176**

Hampstead, N.W.

October 16/62

Dear Sir John McNeill,

I hope, when you have a minute to spare you will be so good as to tell me how you got home with Mr Stewart: and that you have good hopes of a speedy recovery, or (if not speedy) of a complete one.

It must be an anxious time to Mrs Stewart and still more to you, who have to be his support instead of he yours.

I would not trouble you to write at once.

Is it the disease of which you once told me?

Ever yours thoughtfully,

F. NIGHTINGALE.

I hope you did not think that I expected you to come down here. I sent up a messenger to tell my father on Saturday that you were at Fenton's. And I was in hopes he would have caught a glimpse of you. That was all.

My love, please, to dear Lady McNeill and tell her I am with her in her trouble; though that is poor comfort.

signed letter from J. McNeill to FN 12 Feb 1863, ff177-79v, pen, Granton Ho. has gone carefully over your Indian san report and evidence on which it is founded and I need hardly tell you that I think your whole positions are made out in every essential particular. This I am satisfied will be the opinion of every intelligent person who fairly examines the grounds of your opinions. The whole case appears to me to be clearly and incontrovertibly made out--you have made natural the ... long letter on

typed copy of signed letter, ff180-81 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU149

**f180**

4, Cleveland Row,

S.W.

July 9/63

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I am distributing a few copies of our Indian Army Sanitary Report to newspapers and Ministers, before the general issue. And I cannot forbear sending you a copy. You will see that your advice about a working organization has not been neglected. And I am now busy in pressing it upon I.O. and W.O. No one knows better than yourself that a Report is not self executive and when the Report is ended, the work begins.

Our object is to obtain the immediate appointment of three Commissions in India, one for each Presidency; and a home working Commission, to be attached to I.O. or W.O., as they prefer, on the basis of the Barrack and Hospital Improvement Commission, and simply consultative, of course, consist-

ing of,

Sir Proby Cawtley [Cautley]

Sir Ranald Martin

Captain Galton

Dr Sutherland

Mr Rawlinson, C.E.

It is to advise till the Presidency Commissions can walk

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alone.

Sir C. Trevelyan has provided £300,000 for us in his Budget which he thinks is as much as we can spend in the *first* year. But if more is wanted, he says it shall be forth coming.

I am sure if you can do anything for us in reviewing or pressing this Report on the public, you will.

Pray my love to all yours.

Believe me, ever gratefully and affectionately yours,  
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

**f182** typed copy of signed letter {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA H1/ST/NC3/SU150

**f182**

Hampstead, N.W.

Oct. 12/63

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I am so exceedingly sorry to have missed you in London. I cannot think how it could have happened. I am afraid your visits to London are generally unforeseen. Otherwise, if you could give me a line but the day beforehand, with your address in London, it would infallibly reach me.

I am very much obliged for your kind note.

Could you, if you see Lord Brougham and would you, deliver the following message to him? Asking,

Whether if he is coming to London for more than a day or two, he would allow me, not to introduce myself to him (for I now rarely leave my bed and never my room, except for a periodical migration) but to introduce to him the Lady Superintendent of King's College Hospital? And whether he would permit her to ask him to call upon her at the Hospital?

In his address he mentioned the question of Hospital Nursing, and as great weight deservedly attaches to every word he says, I trust I may be excused in making this request.

Ever sincerely and gratefully yours,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

On November 2. I return to 32 South Street, W.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff183-84 {archivist: [McNeill Paper see Correspondence]} LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU152

**f183**

115 Park Street,  
W.

May 17/64

My dear Sir John McNeill,

You will regret, as I do, our dear friend Sir A. Tulloch and may perhaps wish to see some account of his very rapid illness. The end, so soon, has been a great shock.

It seems so long since I have heard anything from you.

I saw the birth of another little grand child. I hope it and all yours are well.

You will wish to hear how our Sanitary affairs are going on. Sir John Lawrence's appointment gave us a most unexpected hold on India. He was so good as to see me during the short time between his appointment and departure. And he has carried out everything then suggested, - a Commission of Health appointed for each Presidency, etc. etc.

But few have had such extraordinary chances as I have had, twice a Secretary of State and a Governor General delivered, as it were into my hand. And few have seen such disappointment as I have.

I remember well your saying that no man had ever had so noble a game to play as Sidney Herbert, and had not played it. It was true.

And now no War Office has ever had such an opportunity with such a Governor General actually asking, What would

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you have me to do? and has not used it.

The instructions for his Health Commissions which he positively solicited, are still pending, as they were 5 months ago, and except my private suggestions, he has had nothing.

I am entirely a sick prisoner now.

Pray give my love to Lady McNeill and believe me,

Ever yours gratefully,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.



Typed copy of signed letter, ff185-87 {archivist: {McNeill Papers see Correspondence}} LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU154

**f185**

115, Park Street, W.

July 21/64

My dear Sir John McNeill

The War Office is always planning and never doing.

The following is a point, which you understand better than any one and which I have often consulted you about.

At every foreign station of the British Army there are four heads of Departments, all to a certain extent independent in money matters, viz:

Commissariat

Stores

Barracks

Purveyor.

As the Stations are beyond the immediate control of the W.O. the men holding the appointments are all highly paid men, in order to secure a efficiency and responsibility, especially as regards expenditure. But, beyond this their other duties would not warrant a large outlay for salaries.

Would it be advantageous or otherwise (looking to war exigencies) to appoint at each Station a Controller of Military expenditure, through whose hands all payments should go, and who would act as head of the various departments in all matters of expenditure, and to fill up the head appointments in

Commissariat

Stores

Barracks

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Purveying  
by a lower paid class of Officers.

It would be substituting one highly paid Financial Officer to regulate the finance of all the departments, and restricting the duties of the special heads of departments simply to details.

Would this diminution of highly paid Departmental Officers be injurious (or not) to the service in case of war?

Would it limit too much the field, out of which good officers could be selected for special War Service?

Would it be practicable, if the present system were altered to provide out of the W.O. at home a sufficient number of excellent Commissariat Purveying and Store keeping officers for field service?

In case of war, a controller of Army expenditure would go with the force. He would provide funds for,  
Governor of General Hospitals,  
Purveyor in the Field,  
Commissariat and Stores (if necessary).

The chief point raised is whether Departments, when in the field, would suffer by having inferior men for their heads in time of peace, and, if so, how this could be prevented.

If you would be so very kind as to answer this question, it *would be very kind*.

Believe me,

Ever yours grateful and affectionate,  
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

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[3]

You used to be much interested about our Mediterranean Stations particularly Corfu. I know not whether our Report which I send, would reward you for glancing over it. Perhaps not; especially now that Ionian Islands are given up.

I hear Sir E. Storks who is in England, is to have Malta.

F.N.

**f188** typed copy of signed letter, ff188-89 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU155

PRIVATE Hampstead, N.W.

Aug. 4/64

My dear Sir John McNeill,

So far from your remarks not answering my questions, they touch the real point at once, as you always do, almost without knowing it. And I have this day communicated with the W.O.

I send you by this day's Book Post one of the first (signed) copies of the first offspring of the joint W.O. and I.O. Commission, appointed to carry out the recommendations of the R. Indian Army Sanitary Commission. (7 ½ months it has taken them to sign it, while Sir J. Lawrence has been constantly writing home for it with his own hand.) It is expected that, in the course of the present century, the I.O. will send it out to Sir John Lawrence officially. But in the meantime copies are speeding out to him direct from me by Her Majesty's book post.

You have no idea how heart breaking much of my work is. Sidney Herbert has been dead three years on the 2<sup>nd</sup>., and these 3 years have been nothing but a slow undermining of all he has done. Sir J. Lawrence writes discouraged; "difficulties" he says to me (but this is quite confidential) he "could scarcely understand or anticipate". This, I think, breaks my hear, more than anything.

**f189**

[2]

At the same time I bear in mind how extraordinary are the chances I have had. To have met with three men like yourself, Sir John Lawrence and Sidney Herbert, while so many people wiser and better than I, have gone through life without ever any one listening to their plans.

I think Sir J. Lawrence is a really great administrator, do not you?

Ever yours sincerely and gratefully,  
F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff190-92 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU156

**f190**

PRIVATE 27 Norfolk Street  
Park Lane, W.  
7/2/65

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I always fly to you when in difficulty.

I have had the most enormous order from Sir John Lawrence for Matrons and Nurses for India, of which a trifling item is:

66 Head Nurses

112 Assistant "

for female "Regimental Hospitals. These are already "sanctioned".

He wishes, besides, to nurse all Military General Hospitals, of which 10 are named, and to establish Training Schools in all Civil Hospitals. He does not, like a wise man as he is, positively engage for or desire any particular specified thing. But he asks for advice on the largest scale and "the Governor General in Council" states that "whatever expence is requisite must be met."

(There is a private and most pressing invitation to me myself to go out. If the Doctor would give me six months there I would go. There is nothing in the whole world I should like better).

Of course I lost no time in consulting our Training Schools as to what we could do. Of this more hereafter.

**f191**

[2]

But they in India ask for a printed paper. And I venture to submit to you the first rough Draft of one, knowing that you if you have time to glance at it, will help me more than any one.

Of course conclusions and some other things must be added to the paper.

All the rest I think had better be written privately to Sir John Lawrence, not the "Governor General in Council".

As to what we can do in sending out women.

We have now 23, an unusual number, at St. Thomas'. We would keep up this number if we train for India. All those now at St T's are engaged. In fact, it is impossible for us to meet our engagements, even combining King's Collage and St Thomas'. Between the two we are training 19 for Manchester, Liverpool has not take away its Nurses yet. Mr Villiers, the Poor Law man, called upon me last week, by his own appointment about a scheme for nursing Workhouses.

(And I was just about to write to you as the "Board of Supervision" head; about this).

But it is the material which is wanting. The more chattering and noise there is about "Women's Mission", the less of efficient women we can find. It makes me mad to hear people talk about unemployed women. If they are unemployed, it is because they won't work. The highest salaries given to women at all, we can secure to women trained by us. But we

**f192**

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can't find the women. They won't come.

Both our Training Schools are most anxious to help. The Superintendent of King's College Hospital would take another Hospital to train women for us: but she cannot admit more in King's College.

If we send women out to India, we should, of course, engage them expressly for this purpose.

I am writing most disconnectedly. The fact is I am quite "used up". I have had to see Mr Massey who replaces, as you know, poor Sir C. Trevelyan, and Lord Stanley on Indian Sanitary things, about which I wanted very much to write to you.

Pray remember me most affectionately to Lady McNeill.

I believe Mrs Stewart is not with you.

Believe me,

Ever yours truly and gratefully,

F. NIGHTINGALE

signed letter from J. McNeill to FN 9 Feb 1865, ff193-95v, pen, embossed Granton Ho, re her letter of 7th, great pleasure, re Sir John Lawrence, the man I believe him to be... It is pleasant to have lived to see the seed that you have sown fructifying and spreading over great and populous regions from whence it is not visionary to suppose that the sentiments and rational sympathies from which it originally germinated may cause it to be diffused to countless population even amongst barbarous tribes in Asia those sentiments & sympathies are active tho' the means of organizing their dev are wanting.

No wonder then that you shd be ready to go to India for six months if the doctors wd let you. But this is the true centre both of power and organisation and even if the doctors did not object to your going I must doubt whether at Calcutta you cd do as much to promote the success of Sir John Lawrence's plan as you can do where you are.

The means and instruments by which those plans are to be carried out and mad effectual must be sent from hence. What is wanted is really to see in India a series of great schools to teach what has not hitherto been taught. The first condition of success is thus to provide good teachers and in sufficient number. But they do not now exist--they must be made and carefully selected after they are found fit for the work.... must begin with a normal school ....wd like to go to London but too old.

signed letter from J. McNeill to FN 20 Feb 1865, ff196-97v, pen notes not in FN hand, ff198-201, pen, Granton Ho, sends some notes on Indian nursing, fear can be of no use to you, absolute necessity of having a tr school for nurses. must tell JL not only that the nurses he wants do not exist but how they are to be called into existence and he must provide the funds reqd; ff198-201 McNeill's notes, with FN note: Set this up across the page in the same type as the text.

typed copy of signed letter, ff202-09 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] original roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU157

**f202**

PRIVATE 35 South Street  
Park Lane,  
London, W.  
Sept. 10/67

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I should have trouble you before this, and on a point in which you alone can help me, if it were not that I heard that you were absent in the Highlands, and I did not like to pursue you there.

The matter (on which I want to consult you as to what my answer should be to the India Government) is that of Trained Nurses, upon which you were so very good as to help me before.

You will see by the papers which will accompany this that I adopted your suggestions in full.

If you will be so very good as to help me again, I shall esteem it as I always do, the greatest favour I can receive.

I enclose a letter from Major Malleeson, who is now sole

Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal and the papers which accompanied it. No. III. You will see that they have constructed an immense scheme upon mind, or rather ours. And then they condemn this scheme, which is in some respects the opposite of mine, and call it mine. e.g. they propose to put Nurses in all Regimental Hospitals, which is what we never would consent to {at bottom of page:} No II appears to contain pp 1-32 of N. III and nothing more. No 1 pp 136 - 146

**f203**

[2]

and never have consented to. And then they write that my scheme is condemned, when, in fact, I made no scheme, but simply pointed out methods of training and offered to begin.

Our paper (of which yours was the best part) was a reply to the letter of the Secretary of the Bengal Sanitary Commission of Nov. 21, 1864, which I also enclose, with the papers which accompanied it, asking me to send out suggestions for the organization of trained Nursing in India, and stating that "whatever expense it is requisite to incur for this purpose, should be met as willingly", etc. etc. This as an "intimation" of the "G.G. in Council."

Our paper, while doing the best we could at a distance, and without local knowledge to furnish the desired information, at the same time advised that a small tentative experiment should in the first instance be made. And we offered to help in this. The cost would not have been very great. And I must say that, after reading over all the papers, I still adhere to that opinion.

I cannot but feel how unwisely they have begun by rearing up in the first instance (on paper) an extensive superstructure of Nursing for all the Military Hospitals, (e.g. I have always urged that it is quite a question whether Convalescent Depots should have Female Nursing at all. *I think not.* At the utmost, when Female Nursing is established in every *Sick* Hospital, it may then be considered.



**f204**

[3]

Whether you should put for the *sick* during 6 months of the year in the Convalescent Depots a Matron and Assistant Matron as also for the linen etc., of the Convalescent Depot. But Nurses among Convalescent soldiers in the wards are quite out of place and always will be. They would become playthings and very improper ones.)

There are not half a dozen Military Hospitals in India to which female Nursing would be applicable. Certainly not at first. The object would be to induce India to begin as N.S. Wales is beginning and many other places, viz: To send to us for a small trained efficient staff to take charge of one Hospital and to try the work of Nursing and training nurses.

(I think I mentioned to you that for this very purpose, we are going to send out to Sydney in December a Lady Superintendent and 4 Head Nurses for 3 years' engagement at £150 rising to £200 for the former, £50 rising to £70 for the latter, board and lodging and free passage out via Panama, for all, etc. etc., an arrangement which I have just concluded with the Government).

I think I also mentioned that I have had a similar application from the Madras Government and one from the Bombay Parsees.

Now why cannot the Bengal people do the same, instead of making gigantic cut and dry systems on paper and then condemning them, where as of all things nursing in Military Hospitals

**f205**

[4]

requires painful, careful trial, because it must always be an experiment, and a new experiment very time you try it, to put down a few women among a parcel of men, this being the only occupation where a woman is really in actual charge and control of grown up men. So much depends on the discretion of the Superintendent on the character of the Medical and Military Officers, etc. etc.

As to the proposal concerning Protestant nuns in Major [3:474] Malleson's MS letter, enclosed, he falls into the common mistake, viz: of believing that if he would but lay aside religious prejudices, we should have 15,000 Protestant Sisters of Charity as the French have 15,000 R.C. Sisters of Charity.

Now, this is not a matter to theorize about. It is already a matter of fact and experience. I should have *more* difficulty in sending him an efficient Nursing Staff, composed of "Sisters" whether R.C. or Protestant, than in sending him a Staff out of our ordinary materials at St Thomas', great as that difficulty is.

In these "Orders" the material is always doubtful, and the number are far too few.

And the best women do not choose to enter "Orders". Also it is found that women who had really entered the service of God in Hospitals, (e.g. Miss Agnes Jones of Liverpool Workhouse) are just a little likely to marry out of "Orders" as in them. (Miss A. Jones is remarkably pretty and attractive).

There are now four London Hospitals, nursed by Protestant "Orders". Of these, the Nursing of two is beneath contempt, and

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therefore shall not be mentioned here, other than to show that so far from the prejudice supposed by Major M. being in active existence, every facility is given to the rising up of Nursing "Orders" in Hospitals. The other two, King's College, and Charing Cross, are nursed by St John's House, of which my dear friend and "pupil" Miss Jones is Superintendent, (At least she calls me her "mistress".) I have taken at least as much pains about her "Society" as I have done with my own. We have our **[end 3:474]** Midwifery school under her. I have consulted her and Mrs Wardroper equally about the India Nursing. I cannot therefore be supposed to speak as an enemy. But her system of Nursing which is first rate, has taken even less extension than our has.

**[3:474]**

The fact is that Orders in England ( and this is quite as much the case with the R.Cs who are exactly in the same difficulty as we are), do not extend for this reason: the best women women fit to be heads, do not enter Orders in England, which generally consist of one good head and a number of fools, or rather a very few fools. Add to which: women who wish to marry will marry (and have married) from our "Orders" because we can't take the same "vows" as R.C.s and women who don't wish to marry won't marry, even if not in "Orders". [3:474]

I should wish to be guided entirely by your opinion as to what reply I should make to the Government of India, if you will be so very good as to take it into consideration.

**f207**

[6]

My impression is: what they want in India is a well considered small beginning, and that we should advise them still to try this, and again offer our help, in training.

(Would you advise me to do or say anything with regard to offering to try also to send out a small number of "Sisters" from St John's? That there is not one to spare at present, I know. They had to stretch their personnel to the utmost to spare 2 Sisters to take Charing Cross, and were obliged to decline a Workhouse, also, to decline putting a "Sister" over our Midwife and Midwifery Ward (when requested by the Physician Accoucheur) for there was not one to spare

Please consider all this a "private".

Would you advise me to say that the scheme to which Dr Farquhar takes objection (vide papers end of No. 111) is not mine, that I have no scheme, that if the Government of India wish for my advice regarding a scheme (vide Major Malleson) it is for them and not for me to propose one; that I consider (and experience has always led me to advocate) female Nursing as applicable only in General Hospitals, in the Army, and not in either Convalescent Depots or in Regimental Hospitals, that as to have "Assistant Nurses" in Military Hospitals, the thing is totally and entirely out of the question, whether in Europe or in India, and as fast as one can see, always will be so. (The place of Assistant Nurses in Civil Hospitals must

**f208**

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always be filled in Military Hospitals by men. And no women below the class and education and position of a Head Nurse in a Civil Hospital should ever be suffered in Military Hospital.

As to that stuff about the "enthusiasm" of the Nursing in the "Crimean Campaign", that is all bosh. We had unfortunately for us, scarcely one woman sent out to us who was even up to the level of a Head Nurse, and we suffered for it. And, even now, when I look back, I cannot think how we dragged through. But, instead of taking that time as an "enthusiasm" which cannot now or again be equalled, we have learnt from it a great deal as to what ought to be the principle and routine of female Nursing in the ordinary General Military Hospitals and as to what ought to be avoided and sought.

I am throwing a great burthen upon you to read through all these papers. I have read many tons of papers in the last 11 years. But I don't think I have ever seen such a farrago as this. They send our Nursing scheme to a Captain of Engineers and to a Major in the Army to discuss. I hope when next they have a war in Bhotan, they will send the proposed Artillery to Mrs Wardroper to criticize.

(Perhaps I need hardly say that such rules as are here proposed, e.g. that as a punishment, the Nurses beer should be "stopped" would completely and always "stop" (not the "beer" but) any chance of raising the Service to that of good and respectable women.

**f209**

[8]

It shews how wise we were to insist upon, at first and as a sine qua non that the Nurses should be under a Superintendent of their sex, and not under the Medical Officers.

If you treat Nurses like female convicts, you will have female convicts for your Nurses.

The only idea these papers appear to have of business is: to print my paper over and over again. To mount upon it schemes which have nothing to do with it, and then to renounce them as too expensive.

See the "Resolution" of Government. First sheet of No. III

I was about to write to you as to another matter, our Public Health Service in India, but will not deluge you all at once.

Pray give my best love to Lady McNeill. I trust her health is restored, and to Mrs Stewart my best congratulations. Forgive this immense letter from

Ever yours sincerely, and gratefully,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

signed letter from J. McNeill to FN 14 Sept 1867, ff210-13v, pen, embossed Granton Ho, re her letter of 10 and enclosure and printed papers, re India, long letter

signed letter from J. McNeill to FN 17 Sept 1867, ff214-15v, pen, Granton Ho, summary of his long letter re trained female nursing

typed copy of signed letter, ff216-18 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU158

**f216**

PRIVATE Sept. 21/67  
35 South Street  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Sir John McNeill,

I had received your first letter, on the subject of Female Nursing in India, which as everything you always do puts "the situation" clearly before me. And I had written, according to your advice, a simple Protest, without proposing anything anew, to Sir John Lawrence himself.

But, rather luckily for me, I think, I could not get my letter ready for the mail of the 18<sup>th</sup>, because by desire of some members of the India Office, I had to write him a long letter and paper on the introduction of a Public Health Service by that Mail.

Then came your second most clear and emphatic letter. And I somewhat recast mine to Sir J. Lawrence, to go by next mail, when, yesterday arrives this letter from him, enclosing the paper from Dr Farquhar, which I also enclose.

I am quite ashamed of troubling you again, when I had already received so lucid and comprehensive a sketch from you of the view I ought to take.

But I will only ask you now to be so very good as to look over the enclosures in the light of the previous correspondence and to tell me whether they in any way alter your opinion, as expressed on the whole question in your last letters, or your view of the answer I ought to make.

**f217**

[2]

The matter is certainly quite hopeless at present.

I believe you hit on the right solution of the extraordinary proceeding, as it seems, of a Government taking and giving all this trouble, not only to me but to a number of its own officers, for the pure pleasure of doing a great deal of utterly useless writing.

But you can have no idea of the degree to which this has gone in every Department of the India Government. What we have gone through in wiring on the Public Health Service no one can tell, during these last 3 ½ years. I should think myself impatient and restless, (though I am not much of a novice) did I not hear what Sir B. Frere says, which is much stronger than what I say. He thinks that this very kind of administration or no-administration is bringing all Government in India to a dead lock.

I could give you the most extraordinary instances derived from our own branch of administration alone.

Any foolscap is sent all over India to see how many foolscap heads it will fit. Of course it fits a good many. Then there comes home to us a mass of papers, incredible to say who did not see them. And we have to answer them all seriously. Then answers come back from India. It is so easy to answer, if you don't want to act. Latterly, a proposition about doors versus windows in Barracks was sent round to every British Department, 6 (six) in every British Province in India, only one of which Departments knew anything about it at all, and then

**f218**

[3]

came home to us with all the opinions of all the Cooks printed.

With Sir B. Frere's assistance, however, I hope now that we shall have a regular Department organized for ourselves at the India Office, and in each administrative division of India for itself, - to save some of this fearful waste of time.

Before Sir B. Frere came home, I was getting quite desperate. He is to us what you are or would be if we had you here. I have often intended to trouble you about these Indian Public Health affairs, but it was entailing such an immense amount of "papers" upon you.

Pray remember me most heartily to Lady McNeill and believe me, ever most gratefully and sincerely yours.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Please burn.

signed letter from J. McNeill to FN 23 Sept 1867, ff219-20v, pen, embossed Granton Ho, re her letter of 21st and enclosures re India

signed letter from J. McNeill to FN 25 Sept 1867, f221, pen, from Bd of Supervision, Edin, adds to hints to JL

typed copy of signed letter, ff222-25 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] original LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC3/SU159

**f222**

35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
W.  
Christmas Day, 1868

PRIVATE

My dear Sir John McNeill,

In memory of an old love, very deeply felt for dear Lady McNeill and for yourself, and of gratitude as deeply felt for great kindnesses received from her and from you during very difficult and trying portions of my life, I trust that you will not think I am breaking in like a stranger upon your grief, if I try to tell you, however feebly, how much I feel personally, and far, far more for you, the intensity of the loss.

For she was one of a great and rare spirit tried in the fire, a fire which English ladies in general with their easy complaining lives so little know, and through which you and her great love for you carried her so cheerily. I have never thought of her since the year that I had first the blessing of knowing her, in 1850, without thinking how unlike she was to other people, the ignoble, useless ladies of fashion (of whom I see so much, not in my room, but from my windows), the people who have always a moral reason for doing what they like. Like herself to the last, she seems to have never had any other thought but of providing for others' comfort, and of not being separated from you, at least on this earth.



**f223**

[2]

I think the only comfort in thinking of such people is in thinking that the loss is irreparable. It is the test of a really great sorrow that every day makes one feel it more and only more. Though it is 7 years since I have lost Sidney Herbert, I feel more and more day by day what I have lost, as day by day teaches me that there is no one to take his place, no one to carry out his plans. But at least you have not the misery in your case as I have or seeing how his children and welfare is affected by his absence, how the Army suffers, by the "work unfinished"- (His last words, "Poor Florence, our great work unfinished"). And I, though I have lost A.H. Clough for 7 years can say the same thing of him, - no one to take his place. I feel then that I can feel something of the great grief which otherwise would make it seem almost impertinent of me to approach you, did I not know something of what she was, how "worthy"; as the good old Scripture word says, a very present help in time of trouble, and in time of joy. And of what she is, (as I most firmly believe).

In your constant care and interest for the good of human beings, for which you can do so much, for which you have done so much, more than any man I know, in your love for those whom she has left you, you will find, I know, that which will carry you even through this sorrow without any weakening or corroding effect you your great powers. I do not like to dwell upon things which you know so much better than I do, lest that might seem like one intermeddling with your grief. **[end 8:639]**

**f224**

I do not hope much (perhaps because I am tired of hoping) [10:92]  
from present Ministers, at least, not in our 3 Departments,  
the War Office, the India Office, the Poor Law Board. The cry  
for Economy seems to me to absorb all their faculties. To any  
one knowing and knowing, feeling, what a great organization like  
a Government Office really is, and the enormous consequences  
for weal and woe for all time it holds in its hands, retrench-  
ment seems but only one element of what it has to do, and almost  
a brutal one. Sir John Lawrence is coming back. And, though  
he has not done all we expected, yet still we must feel, on  
looking back, how much has been done, during his 5 years.

Lord Mayo, whom I did not know at all, came to me of his  
own accord on this appointment to "get up" the Sanitary question  
for India. I liked him better than I expected. He said, (which  
I thought was sharp of him) that he should ask Sir John Law-  
rence, who has always most kindly kept up his correspondence  
with me, to tell me on his return what to tell him, Lord Mayo,  
to do on Sanitary points. It is indeed a vast field, and  
one which grows vaster every day. Sir Bartle Frere has  
been of the most essential service to us since he came home. [end]  
And we have now a Department of our own at the India Office.

I have a fresh neophyte in the person of the Crown Princess  
of Prussia. She has a quick intelligence and is cultivating  
herself in knowledge of Sanitary (and female) administration  
for her future great career. She comes alone like a girl,  
pulls off her hat and jacket like a five year old, drags  
about a great portfolio of plans and kneels by my bed side

**f225**

[4]

correcting them. She gives a great deal of trouble. But I  
believe it will bear fruit.

I did not hear of dear Lady McNeill's illness till some  
time after she was gone, (who would have thought that I should  
have survived her?) And then quite accidentally. I wrote to  
Mr Rathbone to enquire after you and Mrs Stewart, and Mrs  
John Paget was so good as to answer. I was thankful to hear  
that Mrs. Stewart and all of them were there at the time.

Will you give her my warmest love and sympathy?

Pray, dear Sir John McNeill, believe me, ever yours,  
sorrowfully and overflowingly,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Please burn.

signed letter from J. McNeill to FN 1 March 1869, ff226-27v, pen, 16 Pall Mall, black-edged, embossed Athenaeum, thanks for her kind note recd this morn, refreshing to be with her again for an hour, might be meeting for the last time here, went to the IO after getting her note and waited till BF arrived, conversation; re her Notes on Pauperism; re attempts to set people to work so as to maintain themselves experiments, small scale, emigration

signed letter from J. McNeill to FN 6 March 1869, ff228-v, pen, black-edged 46 Euston Sq, re report on the colonies, to send to Rathbone who wishes to see it; re pauper children

signed letter from J. McNeill to FN 10 March 1869, ff229-30v, pen, black-edged Granton Ho, got home last night, saw Lorn, who had been a little out of sorts, all right again at Kenilworth. sent Public Health (Scotland) Act thro Blackwood, re Poor Law and pauperism. But won't be applicable to India, for vagaries of Scotland. I concur in the opinion that the disest. and disendowment of the Episcopal Church there may quite possibly increase instead of diminishing the difficulty of governing that country in such a manner as to promote peace and prosperity.

typed copy of signed letter from Napier to J. McNeill 4 Dec 1869, f231

notes in FN hand on Sir McNeill's report, ff232-34, pencil {archivist:  
[1869]}

**f232***Free & Pauper Colonies in Holland*

free colony founded in 1817 at Frederick's Oord by Genl= Van den Bosch  
3000 acres                      425 families each lot 7 7/10 acres  
1843-52

for able-bodied indigent of good character & their families

Assistant Director -

but the certainty that the society will maintain them  
whether they save or not has an unfavourable influence  
on their habits - There are some who work well, but  
on the whole the Society cannot get from them nearly  
so much work as the same persons would do for an  
individual who did not undertake in all circumstances  
to maintain them. The agricultural produce of the colony has never nearly  
covered the expenses: but there is a profit on the manufactures & some of  
the handicrafts" -

Sir J McNeill

"if we set out by assuring a man of all that is necessary  
to the comfort of himself & his family whether his exertions  
be great or small we take the most effectual means  
of reducing them to a minimum - This which, as a  
general rule, is true of all men, applies with still  
greater force to the class which by want of energy &  
economy has been reduced to indigence. "

"Regarded as an attempt to make these families  
maintain themselves by agricultural labour, the free  
Colonies, after an experience of 34 years, are not only  
a complete failure but x x all x x are of opinion  
that it would have been impossible to make it self=  
sustaining if a maintenance were secured to the colonists  
irrespective of the amount produced by themselves" -

**f232v**

"It is worthy of remark that the persons employed in manufactures & some of the handicrafts whose lessons is *profitable* are *exclusively women & children*, or persons who have not strength enough for agricultural labour; & that the persons employed in agriculture are the able-bodied men & women whose labour is so *unprofitable* that, besides swallowing up the profits of the terms, it entails an annual loss upon the society" x x "supposed to exceed 1 000 000 florins " - see "Times" as to difficulty of employing use=able - bodies April 17/69

"The small farmers beyond the limits of the colony, upon the same heath pay a rent of from £7 to £8 per ann & *live*. The difference therefore between the annual value of the labour of a "colonial" x family engaged both in agriculture & manufacture x x, & that of the independent peasant family depending on agriculture alone, cannot be less than from £9 to £10, & may be considerably more, because the peasants are probably not only *living but saving*."

X "The ultimate prospect of independence which however with its implied dependence upon his own exertions he does (the colonist) not perhaps greatly covet x x "

x x "children earn wages according to a fixed tariff of piece work at the manufactories and workshops of the Society in the colony

"The colonists" agricultural work *for behalf of the society* & work in common - The conditions of the "colonist" is therefore little affected by the greater or less amount of the work he performs

**f233**

Assistant Director

Of the children in their excellent Schools, "few have become industrious enough to

maintain themselves throughout the year by their own labour."

Sir John McN

"That best part of the working man's secular education which teaches self-reliance was wanting, & that is a defect for which all the literature taught in the School could not compensate - The young colonists had not learned to trust to their own exertions for a livelihood, & therefore few of them were able to maintain themselves"

**f233v***Forced Colonies*

at Omerscham  
in the province of Over Yssel  
for able bodied mendicants not of good character

(By the law of Holland, begging punishable by imprisonment)

Sir John McN -

"The object proposed was to train the paupers to habits of industry & economy by subjecting them, during some years, to a rigid discipline; by holding out inducements to exertions in a maximum & minimum rate of wages, supposed to bear a general relation to the amount of work executed; by enabling the pauper to obtain his discharge as soon as he had saved a certain fixed sum, provided his conduct had otherwise been good; & finally by setting aside a certain amount of his wages as a compulsory saving, to be paid upon his discharge, for his subsistence until he could find employment. x x These inducements are founded chiefly upon the principle of demanding a present sacrifice for the sake of a distant benefit, which is *precisely the kind of virtue that the improvident classes are best capable of exercising.* x x

"Each is assured of a maintenance whether he works diligently or not.

"The result is that it requires *about 15 colonists* to perform the field work of *one good day - labourer* x x whose wages in Holland (7/6 a week) would not maintain even 3 paupers at the rate which they cost the society. It may be doubted, therefore, whether working as the paupers work, in the field, has much effect in promoting habits of industry"

**f234**

Sir John McN [2]

"a class which appear to be *born only to live upon the labour of others*

number who, having undergone that training for the average time of 3 years, are sent back to the forced Colony - having relapsed into mendicancy- very large

"Each colonist in the pauper colonies of Holland costs this country more than £6.13.4 per ann: *in addition to the produce of his own labour.*

"*The average cost of paupers, even in England does not amount to nearly so much as in the Dutch colonies, (& is far less in Scotland.) Yet in those colonies the proportion of able-bodied persons capable of labour far exceeds that in any part of England, while in Scotland there are no able-bodied poor.*

(And the proportions of the scale of living would raise the proportional cost of paupers maintained on the Dutch colonial system to £8.17.8 in Scotland)

1. Immigrant families can rarely be made self-sustaining by providing them with houses, land, & all that is necessary for its cultivation & for their own maintenance, until able to support themselves.

2. *Children brought up in the families maintained by charity tho' well educated in excellent schools rarely become self-sustaining, if there are means of subsistence provided by public or private charity, on which they can fall back.*

3. *Of all the branches of secular education for the working classes*

**f234v**

"*the most important, both to the community & to the individual is that which teaches self-reliance.*

4. Paupers, even when able-bodied cannot be made to contribute to their own support by employing them in agricultural labour *on land belonging to the body which undertakes to maintain them* but, on the contrary, the attempt so to diminish the cost of maintaining them tends to augment it.

Dec 1853

Report by Sir J. McNeill on Free & Paupers  
Colonies in Holland - pp 4-12 of  
Eighth Annual Report of Board of  
Supervision in Scotland  
Edinburgh 1853

draft, f235, pencil {archivist:} [ca. 1869]

**f235**

I saw Sir John McNeill yesterday  
the thing can never answer except by private  
like Miss Rye's  
I would entirely deprecate its falling into the  
hands of Govt= -  
will immediately get mismanaged -  
& gives speculation would also ensue

JS hand:

If there are ~~illeg~~ great objections to governmt  
interfering directly in Emigration ~~illeg~~  
~~illeg~~ might not this be done/ Poor Law Guardians in England have  
nurses out of their parishes {illeg very faint.....}



typed copy of signed letter, ff236-43 {archivist: McNeill Papers see Correspondence} roll 1 LMA SU161

**f236**

35, South Street  
Park Lane,  
W.  
Feb 8/70

My dear Sir John McNeill,

Your great kindness encourages me to ask you to help me as no one else can.

I will refer to some points in your conversation: -

1. If there are, (as you say and as I entirely agree) great objections to Government interfering directly in Emigration, would there be the same objection to the following?

Poor Law Guardians in England have moved surplus labour out of their parishes into the manufacturing districts with great benefit to all. Instead of paying land conveyance, might they not pay ship passages? Could not a scheme, in which Guardians and private persons in the parish might co-operate, be framed whereby, through the medium of the Colonial Office and the Colonial Governments, emigrants children and others, might be conveyed and be trained in the Colonies for Colonial life - and to take their place as agriculturists, stock-keepers etc., and the girls, as they grow up, as women where they are so much wanted.

I confess, though I have always tried to help, as far as I could, those fine fellows among the unemployed workmen who will pinch and pawn to help themselves out, and afterwards their families to the Colonies, - that I think these are the men whom

**f237**

[2]

we should the least wish to part with. If Emigration is only practicable in this way, it may almost be said that it is only practicable as far as it is unnecessary. It is the orphan and deserted children who can't help themselves, the young girls, not yet vicious, who are as it were predestined to sin and pauperism in the Old Country, who might be good and industrious and happy in the new, - it is these who want our help, but then they must have industrial training in the Colonies to make them do well there.

Would it be impossible, as Glasgow sends its children to Arran, for any scheme to be devised by which London might send its children to Canada? (Melbourne once offered to our Government to form Industrial Schools for our pauper children, "Not yet confirmed in pauper habits.")

2. *India*

Might I ask you to glance over this good natured but startling letter from Lord Mayo, (which I received just after I had the pleasure of seeing you)? Startling, because it shows that not one of the men, from Lord Mayo downwards, understands the question.

(I shall not answer Lord Mayo till I have seen Dr Cunningham, as he desires).

I know Dr Cunningham by correspondence. He is a good, excellent man, who has gone head foremost into all the "theories

**f238**

against which we have warned them, but who is clever and candid, and now acknowledges that he "knows nothing" a great step in knowledge.

The causes of the failure in the healthiness of the "new Barracks" we could tell them, every one.

Yes, surely: I remember your Memo. on preparing the ground! We made great use of it. Also: you will perhaps remember that we sent them out "Suggestions", asked for and approved by the India Government here, asked for and approved by the Government of India there, on water supply, drainage, sewerage, Stational improvements, every kind of matter affecting the Public Health. And the Government sent a copy to every official whom it concerned.

And this is the result.

We have greatly succeeded in native and Civilian health. The Military alone is stupid.

Should anything suggest itself to you as to what questions I should ask Dr Cuninghame, as to how I should fix him to stating (to us) the objections to the "new Barracks" etc would you kindly tell me?

It was hardly necessary for me on Sunday to put in words to you how much I am discouraged.

As for the War Office, one may say that they have "crucified" Sidney Herbert afresh, and "put him to an open shame."

The sticking up a man's statue in the Court Yard, and destroying his work within, is an organized hypocrisy which

**f239**

[4]

Jesuits might envy.

India is after all our best hope. But, when the work there does not progress it retrogresses.

For me to see you is at once the highest hope and the deepest pain. It reminds me of days when a great career was just begun, when great works and great purposes seemed so prosperous, when the goal seemed in view. Now, all our hopes seem blasted and all our plans destroyed. But it reminds me too of your patient courage and devoted endurance, in a long life of successful sacrifice to the good of our country. And, thought it will not be given me to see of the fruit of my toil, of the travail of my soul, yet who am I that I should complain?

Pray believe me,

My dear Sir John,

Ever yours affectionately and gratefully,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

{archivist:} ~~on Nursing~~ ~~Elsewhere~~

**f240**

[5]

All our Trained Nurses whom dear Agnes Jones took with her, they have now got rid of, not because they deserve dismissal but because they "deserve promotion". To us it appears madness. Some we have taken back, at their urgent request, - I mean at Mr Rathbone's - one is gone as "confidential" Nurse to Agnes Jones' mother, three have just been taken as "Sisters" at Middlesex Hospital. Not one has left in disgrace.

(Another I regret to say (whom I do not know) who was sent there after Agnes Jones' death, as Assistant Matron, they allowed my Committee to recommend to a Liverpool Hospital, saying that they had no fault to find with her, as Matron. And she has disgraced herself, and been dismissed, for intoxication.

With her, of course, our connection is quite at an end. She is struck off our books. After her being struck off, I received a letter from Liverpool Workhouse stating that we had "recommended" her after we had been "faithfully warned" of her character.

I simply answered that the statement was so entirely new to me (I having been in constant confidential communication with them the whole time, - and never heard a word of it) that I should submit the statement to my Committee.

A reply immediately came, withdrawing the statement and asking me to accept their apology.

Lastly the Superintendent (Matron) there, is I regret to

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say of our recommending, not of our training. I am sorry to say that I believe all (and more) of what is said against her. After Agnes Jones' death Mr Rathbone put us to the torture to find a successor. He admitted no reason, he accepted no delay. We found this woman. He would scarcely allow us to give her 3 months trial and training, though we told him a year was not enough. (We had already made many searches and many trials).

(Two very unwise but most excellent old ladies, Agnes Jones' aunts, were meanwhile most praiseworthily keeping the Workhouse Infirmary.)

I look upon Agnes Jones' work as completely wrecked. In a few days she will have been dead 2 years. And as these days come round I cannot even think of her without tears which I have not time to stand.

But I have striven though in vain, to uphold her work. For more than a year I am certain that I gave Mr Rathbone, the two aunts and the successor more time in answering their questions than was taken by my correspondence with the whole of the Hospitals in the Crimea, sometimes as much as 8 hours a day. It was all in vain! There was not one of them who had the smallest idea of Hospital organization. I do not blame Mr Rathbone. I do not see how, in any particular thing, he could have done otherwise, except in his headlong haste. Some time ago he was seriously angry with us that we would not

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incorporate Liverpool Workhouse under this untried woman, as a Training School of our own, recommending their Probationers with our own to Institution. And, shortly afterwards, he said it was unfit to exist at all, (in which I believe him to be right).

Please consider this as *private*. It seems to me an explanation due to you but to no one else. It has been one of the great misfortunes of my life.

F.N.

**f243** typed copy {archivist:} Postscript to letter from FN to Sir John McNeill Feb 8 1870 of which ~~the on~~ copy is in seventies box MOST PRIVATE

I hesitated when you told me what Mr Rathbone had said of the failure of the Liverpool Workhouse Nursing, whether I should tell you the facts. It seems to me that a short summary is due from me to you, as you are so good as to be on our Council.

They have not now one woman left there of *our* training.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff244-46 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC1/SU164

**f244**

10 South Street,  
Park Lane, W.  
April 9/81

My dear Sir John McNeill,

The full flood of recollection which comes over one at the sight of the reprint of that book I know by heart, the deepest heart that is in me, - Sir Alex. Tulloch's book which you have been so kind as to send me, is almost overpowering. And I was so glad to hear from you again.

You are oh! how right to have re-issued it, but alas! for the persistent falsehood that makes that *right* so *right*. It makes one almost despair of history and of progress, ah me.

To tell the truth, I have not read, I could not read Mr Kinglake's Vol: he sent it me with a very kind note, at least it was meant to be kind, but it was fulsome, - (acknowledging my Statistics.) which I never answered.

The book I did not open. To go over all that time again, that time the history of which we had written with our best heart's blood, knowing how I should see it travestied by his opinions, a sort of grotesque or ghastly caricature of it, was beyond my strength, overworked and ill as I am. And yet I had no idea to what a degree his misrepresentation had reached, till I read your most terse and able 'preface' to Sir A. Tulloch's book.

As for reading the part about my own work, that was if

**f245**

[2]

*possible* still more *impossible* to me. That master of juggle and stage deception that pantomime Manager to see him putting the sufferings of our men so nobly borne, into a melodrama, and for the sake of stage effect, though I did not know to what extent making the faithful nurse into a tragedy queen, I could not undertake to bear it. The more so as I of course received letters from Doctors who thought themselves aggrieved, and who I have no doubt were aggrieved: and to whom I could say nothing but, 'if you "answer in the Times", I think you are right. But I have not read the book.'

With regard to the Chelsea Report. I do not know whether you are aware that in 1857, I think (when Sidney Herbert's R. Commission on the Sanitary State of the Army was sitting,) I, in consequence of a conversation with Mr Kinglake, took the Reports of the Chelsea Board and your own, and pasted out for him on opposite sheets of large foolscap the parallel or rather contradictory passages. I mean the passages of the Chelsea Board Report as completely refuted by yours. The Duke of Cambridge was present at our conversation. At that time Mr Kinglake professed himself convinced.

But the true thing to deplore is, how little is left of all the good work of 1856 and those five years till 1861 for the Army. I would really seem as if they had told more for Civil than for Military life. The Army Hospitals have sunk back to what they were. The Army Hospital Corps is, if possible, worse than the old Regimental Hospitals. The Army

**f246**

[3]

Medical School completely ignores the steady strides of the last 20 years of Civil life in Sanitary things, in Hospital administration, in Nurse training. The Army Medical Department is but the name of what it was under Alexander. All the Regulations are altered - the Purveyors and the General Hospitals abolished. It is true that an immense Sanitary work has been done and is doing in India.

But, after all, we must not judge year by year, day by day, and moment by moment.

Wisdom and justice must prevail, as sure as there is the God of Wisdom and Justice, not only 'in heaven' but everywhere, 'that dwelleth in secret everywhere.'

What you have done can never be lost or undone. A million of Kinglakes can never shake it. It is as firm as God Himself. And when we come to see 'not through a glass darkly' we shall see the eternal progress towards right and truth.

Pray believe me dear Sir John, with the deepest affection and veneration,

Ever yours,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff247-48 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 SU70

**f247**

Dear Lady McNeill,

Your great kindness in writing to me to remind me of your invitation encourages me in proposing myself to you alone.

My father has, I am sorry to say, turned tail and fled. He was cold in the Highlands, had a cold and went home. I shall be at Edinburgh I believe on the 10<sup>th</sup>, and I would gladly come to you on the 11<sup>th</sup> for that day and Sunday, if it will be convenient to you and if I shall not be in your way.

[14:456]

I do not answer Sir John McNeill's two kind letters now, because I shall have much to tell and to hear from him. I have seen Lord Panmure in private more than once. He is just as much convinced of the truth in all the Commission matters as we are. But he wants the stuff to make a great Minister. Conviction is not everything. He has no courage or conscientiousness. [end]

Would you give me one line to Barry's Hotel to say whether it will be an inconvenience to you to receive me?

I had an opportunity of telling the Prince the whole story of the fresh meat and transport and was very glad to be

**f248**

[2]

able to do so.

Believe me,

Dear Lady McNeill in haste,

Yours very truly and gratefully,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Birk Hall,

Oct. 7/56.

Typed copy of signed letter from Parthe Nightingale to Lady McNeill 4 May 1857, ff249-50

f251 typed copy of incomplete letter, ff251 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers and Correspondence] LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC1/SU95

**f251**

30, Old, Burlington Street.

Nov. 16/57

My dear Lady McNeill,

I have so very much enjoyed receiving your very kind invitation, though I shall not have the pleasure of accepting it. I should have liked so much seeing Sir John McNeill so much better, and talking over with him who always enlightens us more than all the Commissioners put together, the new Army Regulations now to be framed.



Typed copy of signed letter from M. Smith to Madam 19 Nov 57, ff252-53, LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC1/SU96

typed copy of signed letter from M. Smith to dear Madam 2 Dec 57, ff254-55 LMA roll 1 H1/ST/NC1/SU98

typed copy of signed letter, ff256-57 {archivist:} [McNeill Papers see Correspondence] original H1/ST/NC3/SU104

**f256**

30, Old Burlington Street  
London, W.  
July 17/58

My very dear Lady McNeill,

I am always so glad to hear of you that I cannot help answering your letter myself.

I am glad that you are not going to part with Mrs Stewart farther than Portsmouth.

Thank you very much for your congratulations on my sis-  
{part of this page is missing}

**f257**

[2]

I hope that you and Sir John are pretty strong.

My affairs are going on pretty well. We have gained Alexander, as Director General, and lost Netley, which, in spite of its defects, is to be proceeded with as our Army Hospital. Mr Herbert went abroad last week, quite done up, or thinking himself so.

We have still our "regulations", Statistical Report and some Barracks Reports to send in to General Peel. (This is for Sir John). We have got £57,000 to go on with for our Barracks; exclusion of the money for increased accommodation. The warrant for pay and promotion for Medical Officers, the scheme for the Army Medical School; also for the Medical *Council*, are now going through the Treasury.

General Peel is much more amenable to fear and such handy restraints and incitements than Panmure.

I conclude, from your dear kind not, that you are going to stay at your beautiful Granton all the summer.

I believe I am very little likely ever to get so far again. Else I know I need not say that to see you and Sir John again would be the dearest comfort and joy of my life.

Believe me, dear Lady McNeill,

Ever faithfully and gratefully yours,  
F. NIGHTINGALE.

Add Mss 45769, correspondence with Robert Rawlinson, 1861-89, mainly from him, 230 folios; 22 pages, Adam Matthew reel 16; note: excerpts taken from Rawlinson's letters are rough only

ff1-2 RR to FN 8 Jan 1861. 34 Parliament St. The dry closet shall be returned to Mr Muir. I am pleased to find that you repudiate its use. I found from conversation with Mr Muir that persons in authority did think well of it, or at least he said so, but I told him I never wd use such a thing nor advocate it to supersede water. This is the only true means of purity.

I wish I cd show you the sewerage and water works at Bowood, the seat of Lord Lansdowne. The entire ...

I must some day prepare and publish useful notes with diagrams for town sewerage and house drainage. I am about to carry out private works of house drainage on a large scale. I do not intend to put up any dry closets.

I am sorry now to have troubled you by allowing Mr Muir to refer or rather name me ...

ff3-8 RR to FN No 17 Ovington Sq, Brompton Jan 11 1861. Do you know anything of the county hospital in the City of Winchester? I go down on Tuesday to inspect the wards and the sewerage and drainage. I expect my report will be deemed "impracticable."

"The hosp is situate within the town and the subsoil is wet. Such sewers as exist end in cesspools. The rooms are not large" but they are reported to be "clean." "Erysipelas prevails at times." And then, said my informant, "erysipelas is common to all hospitals." The ventilation is said to be "good." And in fact it rater puzzles me to know why my inspection is needed. But as I have to meet some of the pr county gentlemen on the site I intend to go. I have declined to be paid, other than railway fares, because I do not intend to prophesy smooth things. I must tell the truth as far as I know it in these matters.

"The site cannot be abandoned, because doctors who attend gratuitously reside and practise in the city, and they are so good and kind in urgent cases. &c"

Winchester is not sewered and from time immemorial has been afflicted with "the Winchester fever." some ten years ago one of the heads of the college got me to inspect the schools and college bldgs and informed the mayor and aldermen of my intended visit and invited them to meet me so as to obtain cheap info on sanitary matters. Mayor and aldermen were not to e caught in any such manner. ..urgent affairs called out of town and next el only elected who promised to oppose sewerage. "How the fever fiend must have chuckled and grinned at such resolution. 2nd attempt....My experience clears up to my comprehension many passages in history and in biography which used to be blank obscurity. I can now understand persecutions, burnings and martyrdoms and can feel something of the fury of an apostle. ...nice letter. Ref to Chadwick, laid foundation of san sc. Have you seen "The Conduct of Life: by Emerson just out. If you like Emerson you will like this. Talleyrand. As a child read proverbs of Solomon with eagerness and as a man. [

Ff9-10 RR to FN no date [early Jan 1861] I go to Winchester at the request

of Mr Barter and if I stay all night I am under engagement to stay at the college with him. Sir W. Heathcote and some of the other gentlemen you name are to meet me on Tuesday? I will do the best I can and report to you on my return

ff11-16 RR to FN 16 Jan 1861. I have just returned from Winchester having made an inspection of the city and of the hosp. The com has requested me to report in writing as early as poss.

The present bldg stands in the midst of homes and on an undrained subsoil. There are sewers and drains ending in a cesspool and forming part of the cesspool. The dimensions of the cesspool are 20.0 x 15.0 x 9.0 " with no overflow outlet. It is in the hosp grounds and has received all the solids and fluids for many years, dispersing of the same into the surrounding subsoil.

Great is the capacity of such soil and a fearful state it must be in. There is no chance to drain the site unless Winchester is sewered and even then I cd not rec a continuance of the hosp on such a site. The bldgs are bad for hosp purposes and the only way to improvement is to build an entirely new hosp of a proper plan and on a good site outside the town.

The existing wards are as (here gives lists of no. of beds and wards with cubic space each)

I have no hesitation in saying that half the beds ought to be removed and even this wd of course leave the bad site and bad plan as at present.

There is a plan before the com to alter and enlarge the bldgs at a cost of some £6000 but in my opinion the money wd be wasted. The same relative numbers are to be provided for (112) with a cubic space of about 1500 cubic fee to each bed

The local medical men have each reported on the present bldgs and site. These are to be sent down to me.

From the conversations I have had with several of the gents I saw I do not despair of having the city sewered and a new hosp constructed on a better site. Do you think govt will bear their fair share of the expense on behalf of the barracks? The cost of sewerage the city need not exceed some £12,000.

If the farmers will not use the refuse there must be outlet works to remove the solids and then sent the effluent liquid down the river below the mill. There will not be damage nor nuisance.

In the event of a new hosp being erected there must be space for 112 beds. Can you give me any figures of actual cost per bed for any good new hosp in England?

It appears hosps take rank in proportion of numbers of beds, hence the determination to keep the county hosp at or upwards of 100 beds.

The parties here talk of a new bldg costing some £20,000, £200 per bed seems to me a large sum.

For present purposes I have recommended that the cover be removed from the cesspool and that it should be replaced with a grating covered with charcoal so as to illeg or continuous escape and dilution of the gases. Then that each drain be broken to the surface at it conjunction with the building but outside and that any gases be made to illeg.

The parties say "won't there be a stink?" I say "yes." But it is better outside the hospital walls than inside.

There are wards illeg into which the com decline to enter and yet I was told the stats were good, ranking 3rd. My reply was if they ranked 1st I should call them back. I told them I had been informed that reliable and useful hosp stats did not exist. Neither in London nor out of it. That in fact they were not worth the paper and ink illeg. I inquired as to Nursing and complaints were made as to the difficulty of obtaining good nurses, as also of retaining good ones when obtained.

I intend to do my best with my task and shall be glad to learn you are well enough to help me. But do not let me trouble you too much.

ff17-18 19 Jan 1861. Many thanks for the plan and report as also for the info promised. The local medical reports are more curious than useful. They will not trouble me in preparing my report. I must not however intimate my opinion about them. I shall report for a new hosp and if £10,000 will build one they have the money, or means to raise it.

It is proposed to spend in present building say a sum of £6000, old site and bldgs worth say 3000/ £9500. The six thousand is not to give more but only better bed space.

If govt will contribute to a main outlet for sewerage the citizens may force the work. I say may as there is not any certainty about it....PS. Thanks for your kind present and solicitation as to my daughter's health. I must send her into the country.

Ff19-22 RR 21 Jan 18861. My report on the county hosp, Winchester, will go in tomorrow. I have reported against expending money on the existing bldg and in favour of a new hosp to have not less than 2000 cubic feet of air space per bed. The number of beds 112. At present there is below 1000 cubic feet of air space and, to increase the space by proposed alterations up to 1500 cubic feet with cost as estimated some £6000. This of course may be more. If the ordinary growth of estimates follows. I have put the case as under existing site and bldgs, ...to sell say £3500, alterations as est 6,000, sum £9,5000 for an old bldg patched up on a foul subsoil in a crowded situation and with only 2/3 the requisite air space £9,500.

For a new hosp on a virgin subsoil, with air and prospect and sunlight and not less than 2000 cubic feet per bed, with the most complete administrative arrs: 112 beds at per bed £100 = £11,200 or say £12,000, that is £2,500 more than for a patchwork hosp on a subsoil as tainted as to be beyond the power of cure.

Someone has told the board that a new hosp will cost not less than £20,000. But in my opinion extravagance and bad mgt wd be involved in expending so large a sum.

With respect to your using your influence locally, this is of the utmost importance. The com are in great doubt. Many hang, like Mahumet's coffin mid ...very few see removal necessary or little info wd not prob turn the most influential. Sir W. Heathcote I am informed is against removal. I hope you may convert him. You might ask to have a copy of the report, or to see it, if you could spare time. But the But the main parts may be enough for you to work with and these I send in this note.

I am glad the W.O. authorities have been so prompt of college authorities move and they are inclined to do so, the work will be done.

The citizens ...cost of sewers

re WO ...I hope Lady Verney will make al the converts poss in favour of a new hosp on a new site. The sewerage of the city is evil and must be taken up locally. . Returns plan you sent

ff23-26 RR 26 Jan 1861 Many thanks for the plans and ests. I think the cost per bed for Winchester if a new hosp is decided upon will have to be put down at a larger sum than £1000. Sketch of warming. Stoves

ff27-30 RR 28 Jan 1861 Herewith returns plans and est kindly sent. On the Bucks plan I have made suggs by small tracings attached for your consideration.. It may be too late for alteration here but the ideas may be useful in after times.

All closets shd be in rooms having an outer wall light. The seat shd however be on the inner side of the room to put the person out of the line of direct draft and to give access to the window. The entrances to closets for males and females shd be separate and where practicable on opposite sides of a bldg. I have sugg a sep entr from the corr and an enclosed gard in this case.

In hosps and in all large bldgs the contingency of fire shd be considered. Divisional walls. Escape from wards. For barracks and hosps. French hosp at Pera, entire bldg consumed in one night. I went over it the next morning and saw that a few divisional walls cd have confined the fire to only one section. Shd not store gunpowder etc in hosps or barracks

ff31-32 RR 31 Jan 1861. I hope to get me to Paris to see the mode of warming in use there. Radiating flue surfaces. Sketches

fff33-34 RR 9 Feb 1861. Worthing. Worthing is a town completely sewered drained and having a good water supply.

Ff35-36 RR 14 Feb 1861. The chairman of the com of the Royal Berkshire Hosp writes for me to visit as soon as poss and to rec any alterations I may deem necessary...Do you know anything about this hosp or about the evils supposed to exist within or near to it?

Ff37-42 RR 15 Feb 1861. I beg to return the enclosed relative to Winchester and thank you for a sight of the info. It is, you see, as I intimated. At Winchester there is a mountain of doubt which faith must remove. It is good news to learn that the Winch Hosp com are "all reformers" The "doubts" as to "estimates" must be removed by correct statements and in this ....est of £12000 for a hosp of 112 must be increased. The local arch had stated £20,000. So, say£15,000 exclusive of land.

In my conv with Mr Bulpett he stated that Sir W Heathcote doubted the ability of the com to raise a bldg fund of £20,000..... I have stated 2000 cub ft per bed and I anticipate the larger cubical space makes a rule of 3 question ....I will not use the tracing s other than as you desire. But I will have plans elevation and details worked out for a hosp to contain not less than 2000 cub ft of air space per bed and make an el to agree with such plan. I have never actually build a hosp, nor worked on plan to fullest details. I never intended to turn hosp arch. But if the chance offers I think I will do it that I may, if poss, embody our plans. . Re

sewering of Winch I stated £12,000 as prob est. Re Reading inspection. Saw SH remarks in Times on med hosps and san arrs for army and navy in China and results.

ff43-44 RR 18 Feb 1861. I have been over the hosp at Reading this day and send you copies of the last reports, bldg and subsequent additions. The chapel is also a subseq erection and is where it ought not to be. Site good. Basement used for offices. Beneath women's wards laundry and drying closet, beneath the men's wards the kitchen and scullery. Steam heat and smell rise to the wards above. Additions interfere with sunlight and vent. List of wards and beds.

f92 18 May 1863, Rawlinson letter to FN on embossed Manchester down in Lancashire visiting towns to see if beneficial work can be found for distressed cotton operatives, several letters

ff45-48 RR 1 March 1861. Herewith I beg to return the tracings of hosp plans for which I am very much obliged. Some modification. A bath for sick persons shd not it have space around for assistance? And in a lav shd there be any other conv requiring privacy? Re vent. Airtight walls etc not desirable.

Ff49-52 RR 2 March 1861. You remember in the East water is used. Mahomaddans and Brahmins alike perform sort of ablution. I have no doubt as to the necessity of this. Not only with sick but with well. I wonder more provision for such accom is not made in this country in the closets and better class homes.

I have been to Bourne? This day, corridor and passage floors varnished. The housekeeper informed me the varnish lasts several years. The boards are grooved and tongued and th joints made tight. The varnished floors are wiped only and not washed. I suppose you mean this for hosp floors? If so then I think it will be an improvement. During the varnishing however and until it is dry and hard the ward shd be empty as the smell is strong and I think injurious. With regard to walls, I repudiate vitreous surfaces. I must remain hardened in this belief until actual experience convinces me. Either glass or iron wd be intolerable...

Ff53-55 RR March 9 1861. I think we are both in one mind as to not spare vent. Can kill with foul air

ff56-57 RR 12 March 1861. Thanks for sight of enclosed note for Winchester, returns. The sooner a new hosp is erected for the Winch sick and the.

I hope you have banished some of the foul air from barracks and army hosps. Your trained nurses will however be the greatest invention. All hosp orderlies shd also go through a course of training in the uses and advs of fresh air. Sends samples of re Malta, Gibraltar.

Ff58-61 RR 15 March 1861 re stoves

f66-68 RR 5 April 1861 informs some sanitary progress will most prob take place in Winchester before long. Re Reading, report not ack. I was yesterday at Stafford inspecting the county asylum and a proposed site for

a branch asylum. In going over the existing asylum I found several things to lament. Beds too close and windows which cannot open at the top. Sash windows in a new wing not completed! In cleanliness the places was perfect. Corridor floors of oak, wax polished and walls and ceilings clean. Ventilation however of flues, pronounced perfect by resident phys. But a generally high rate of mortality. The subsoil is dry and sewers and rains said to be good. How medical men can live with certain facts under their noses and only see....

Ff69-70 1 May 1861. I have been reading the new chapter on minding baby to Mrs Rawlinson and she has dictated to me as below:

Baby's food is liable to become acid (sour) quickly esp in summer and if sour food is given to baby it is certain to cause pain and may end in disease. . Bottle shd be scalded and washed every time used. The teat of a feeding bottle shd be untied at each using, washed and kept perfectly clean and sweet. Small portions of baby's food only shd be made at one time and shd be used quite fresh. Cleanse any old food and make fresh. Baby's clothes shd not be secured (fastened) by pins but by buttons and strings. If a pin is used and baby .. Babies only cry when they suffer pain and this may be caused by food, or clothes and pins. A good nurse will soon find out and remedy the mischief.

Recommends lectures by Dr Lancaster. Sends copies, keep if not seen.

ff71-74 1 May 1861. I agree with you to the uttermost in denouncing cesspools, but I do not agree as to a small amount of ventilation. Full and free means for the gases to escape externally must, in my opinion, be an adv where, as in this instance, the cesspool is at a distance from the external walls. The disturbing and exposing a vast mass of putrid substance would taint to a fearful degree the surrounding atmosphere for the time, which disinterested and an empty cesspool may be actually more deadly than when full as there is a larger area (or more surface) exposed to give off putrid gases.

I explained all this and directed that all drain connexions with the wards shd be broken. This cesspool cd not long remain empty as the land springs fill it to the near the surface. To that the evil of an empty cesspool with foul sides did not remain very long.

Think of all the people in Winchester living over and in the midst of cesspools and most resolutely contending for a continuance of such deadly abominations.

And Brighton --the fashionable seaside suburb of London is also a next of foul cesspools. It appears to me that men blindly selfish men in their coarseness and ignorance living strong animal lives doom society to premature death. To save an expenditure which is not directly to benefit them, and this with free local self govt. We can only work on in faith and do our best. This Winchester case shows how very careful one must be.

I shall be extremely glad to circulate a few of your "Notes" if instructed to me for this purpose.

Mr Bulpett the banker at Winchester is striving to bring the local authorities round to have the place sewered and drained. A public meeting.

Blackburn.

Ff76-79 RR 16 May 1861. I have looked over the Notes on Female Conv Hosp at Vesinet (Paris) and will send this with notes on Vincennes to Chadwick. Notes on Vesinet not enc but confirm a theory painful to contemplate, namely that female ests are more difficulty to regulate and manage than male ests. So far this has been my experience. Civilization has not as yet sufficiently advanced so as to allow women the full ripening of social and moral virtues. Home defects are at the root of moral vice and defective house accomm tells more on the female than on the male. Again "the world" looks lightly on sins masculine and severely on sins feminine. There is a bias and if we cd only find it out and remove it. Woman sins and society casts her out. Man lives in sin of the same sort and retains all that old age looks for. ...

Hosps, asylums and prisons are monuments of our imperfect civilization and I must confess I begin to doubt their utility as at present arranged and mgd. ...the sick shd be attended to at home, and the insane also, as much as poss. At all events "fermentations" by corrupting overcrowding shd be avoided. I suppose there are zymotic vices as there are zymotic diseases. [re sympathy, odd remarks] Chadwick and he got to Paris

ff80-81 May 30 1861. Thanks for the copies of Lab Class. I hope 100,000 copies at least will be sold. The papers relative to the Winchester Hosp make me miserable. Can interfering with the gorged cesspool and foul drains have added to the ward malaria? The cases seem to have been more fatal since this date. It is dangerous to disturb putrient refuse at any time. But in the vicinity of disease there is most danger to the poor patients. I requested that disinfectants shd be used. Foul refuse can be removed w/o injury but there must be great care. I do hope that none of the deaths at this hosp are due to the recent so called cleansing, which can only have been disturbing to the most horribly foul refuse. I wish I had declined to rec or even to sanction any half measure. I have read over the Kennedy's remarks on male conv hosp at Vincennes with pleasure...

I have seen the new hosp bldg at Blackburn, at a distance, a few days since. They are painfully fine and costly (arch) outside.

Do you notice that at Vincennes "hemp soled shoes" are worn by the inmates?. Returns graphs?

Ff82-83 RR 24 Feb 1862 Herewith I send a copy of my report on Windsor Castle which please consider private and return...

Ff84-89 12 Oct 1862. Gresham Hotel Dublin. I duly recd your env and extract relative to the late Dr Alexander. During stay in Dublin saw water scheme,.... mu cabins and foul air. Pol ec is indeed at fault in Ireland. The nation? Is at present a huge social blunder. Statesmanship has grasped in the dark and is now only in the ??...Gladstone

ff90-91 30 Dec 1862. Local Govt Act Office, Whitehall. Many thanks for the copy of your obs on stational returns. India san

ff92-93 18 May 1863. I have been down in Lancashire for the last fortnight visiting the several towns and places to see if beneficial work can be



found for the distressed operatives. I hope to be enable to do some good but not I fear all that has been anticipated.

With respect to the purport of your note I shall be ready at any time I may be called upon to give my attention to san works and regs for India.

I have recently reported on a scheme of main sewerage for Bombay. The report has been sent out by the Indian govt to the municipal authorities in Bombay. The sec was pleased to say that the report was satisfactory etc.

Lord Stanley is I fear not amiable in its temper, but I believe him to be sincere in his desire to do good. The block is more frequently some sec or head clerk than the principal. But of course you know all this as well as I do.

You may rely on my silence on this matter and if I shd be nominated on my working to the uttermost....PS I shall be at this place the week out. I must be in town at the end of the month. My daughter is to be married on the 2nd June.

Bombay

f94 20 May 1863 RR to FN. In reply to yours of the 19th, I can only promise to do my best. I trust with earnestness, with diligence, and with patience should the arrs you indicate come into force....

This is a difficult, delicate and tedious task I have to work at in this distressed district. I have to make my communications to Mr Villiers and find him agreeable to work under.

I sincerely hope you will see your Indian labours bring fruit. The beneficial results you desire and anticipate. What which is sown in sorrow may sometimes be reaped in joy. And that great and good man, the late Lord Herbert will not have striven in vain.

I attended the funeral of the late Sir James Outram in Westminster Abbey and saw Sir John Lawrence bare headed by the side of the open grave. One noble human being bearing sorrowful witness to the worth of the departed. Simple, sincere and truthful, loyal to the queen, performing duty not seeking glory.

Thanks for your promised remembrance of my daughter. The young gentleman is a B.A. of trinity Cambridge. His father was mayor of Birmingham in 1829 and is now a borough magistrate. His mother was a Miss Cary, a lady of birth and connexion by education and in feeling.... da an only child. The young gentleman will not take up my profession but enters into his father's business, a general broker. This will keep him employed for the present. They will live in Birmingham.

F96-97 RR to FN 14 July 1863. Manchester. Many thanks for the India Army san report. I obtained précis of evidence before leaving London on Sat. And have looked it through. I shall however be glad to read the evidence and illeg reports. There is a wide margin to work within in India. I have come down here about the public works "Manufacturing Districts Act." I hope the Home Office and Poor Law boards will not prevent me being appointed on the Indian San Commiss. I have had to give up all other work for this. But the distress may end before next summer. The Indian work will endue for my lifetime and I hope I may be of some use as long as I live.

I will prepare some notices of the Indian report for local newspapers. The Times will take its own course. I saw you had a most favourable and

valuable notice in last week.

I have engagements fixed in town for every day up to the 24th. I trust this new act will be a means of doing some good in Lancashire govt illeg 1,000 at the disposal to the towns for san works of permanent character.

You will no doubt learn before I shall as to the names on the new commiss to be appointed..PS The enclosed has been taken since I came down here.

f98 RR to FN Manchester. 15 July 1863. I must be down in this place during the month if not longer and shall not therefore be enabled to see about a second copy of the Indian san report. ... I learned accidentally, just before leaving London last Fri that 1000 copies of the 2 vols had been struck off "for official use." whatever this means. There is time for any member to ask that the evidence shall be distributed in the normal way. Unless the type has been broken up. This is a regular trick now at the Stationery Office to prevent more of any report being published than they the Stationery folks, desire. As to the 1000 copies, any member can obtain a copy by a speaker's order. In this way you may obtain a few spare copies if Sir H Verney and a few friends in the House ask for copies.

I will write up our office and ask that copies be applied for. I can then return the copy you so kindly sent to me but which I have not as yet seen. Yours most respectfully

ff100- Manchester 17 July 1863 re dup copy of Indian report...

Surely govt must follow such a pert. When one reads all the accounts of san defects and considerable the contingencies the wonder is not that the mortality is so large but that it is not much larger.

With respect to san works, I can foresee numerous objections to works devised in England will be made by "old Indians." I would however go out and execute a set of works in one of the most difficult places rather than allow false notions and vast plans to take illeg.\The sewers and rains must be small, even where 300 inches of rain falls in a few months. Large sewers and drains will be ruinously costly and destructive to health in the dry and hot seasons.

Sewerage and drainage are the best possible plans, ought not to cost more than some two or three pounds per head of the pop. If you take for the entire army in India £20 for Br soldiers to include the sawarks and states and illeg (not towns) £1,600,000 should place the entire Br army in India, as regards main sewerage and drainage on a good san state. This would be an annual but of one pound sterling for ...Br soldiers. There are, of course, other works necessary.

I dread the mil engineers commencing works of sewerage without 'instruction.' All their thrashing tends to extravagant cost. I do not mean this in any disrespect. But the school is not a cheap one.

f103 RR to FN Manchester 16 Dec 1863. On behalf of myself and of my poor dear wife thanks for your kind note and sympathy. I will not however trouble you with lamentable ...We are told to sorrow [?] in secret and silence is most eloquent.

I have recommenced work because in some measure misery greater than mine is involved. Lancashire is at work in earnest, striving by honest

labour to resume some present suffering and in the work performed to prevent much sorrow to thousands. The work is going on far better than I at first anticipated. I commence in resolution but with a heavy heart. But by perseverance and extraordinary support difficulties have been overcome one by one until the whole of the distressed cotton district is working or preparing to work on san improvements with a hearty good will.

With respect to the India barrack and station work, I shall be prepared and will devote my life to it. I have no desire to "retire" to live in idleness. And I have no strong desire and earnest determination to work to the end....

It will be some months before I can spare much time from Lancashire. I sincerely hope the office will not attempt to interfere with my accepting the nom in the Home (India) San Commiss. I was obliged to ...

ff105-06 RR to FN Manchester 17 Dec 1863. I have this morning recd a printed copy of "Correspondence on the subject of the Drainage of Bombay." I suppose Capt Galton or Dr Sutherland can obtain a copy on application to Sir Charles Wood or to ...

Recently Mr Clarke civil engineer from Calcutta was with me as to sewerage works for Calcutta and I gave him copies of all papers, plans, sections and reports I could spare, bearing on the question. I must sincerely hope a start on san works may be made I India on correct principles. The best works as a rule are also the cheapest works. Would that I could do more work. I must remain ere for the present. I want to prepare the lectures for army engineer officers and deliver them. And I desire to prepare a sort of handbook for san engineers and others. But time is needed and time moves rapidly. I see the end and have no wish to put it from me.

Ff107-08 RR to FN 1 Jan 1864

ff109-12 RR to FN 8 Jan 1864

ff113-16 RR to FN 9 Jan 1864. I called at the Indian Board this morn and obtained the enclosed report on Bombay sewerage for you. I also send a report on illeg read at the Society of Civil Engineers on "Drainage of Towns." Ought of course to be "Sewerage of Towns". I do not endorse all that is said by Messrs Fulton and Williams as you will find from my remarks. I send the report for the sake of the woodcut and other diagrams. I can obtain these if we can work them in.

I have just recd your note of this date as I write.

With regard to India, if my life is spared through the Lancashire work, I wd say let me visit India and see the station or the want of them. One day on any ground wd be of more practical value than any amount or extent of writing. I have read up and talked over India with engineers and others who have lived and worked in India. And the word "India" evidently means variety of every sort and kind, in subsoil, in surface, in climate, in rainfall and in heat. As also in water. Vast districts of alluvial subsoil swell and soften in the wet season and dry and crack in the dry season So that sewers and drains wd be broken and partially destroyed by

this alteration of the surface and subsoil in the depth at which such works wd have to be carried. No single set of rules will serve for India nor even for one presidency and we must not blunder in starting. We must know as much and as well as we can, and avoid saying things "shd be done" which may, in peculiar districts, be impossible. "General Rules" and "Instructions" stand in shame of ranking with "Morrison's Pills" or any other quack measure. I would rather advise on each case, if poss, ....  
[more]

f117 RR to FN 24 Jan 1864

ff118-27 handwritten Suggestions and Practical Instruction on Road Making and Road Repairing. has FN note on it

(Note) Any descriptions of Instruments used by Engineers and Surveyors, such as Thevdolites, Levels Qudrant [?] Chains Mountain Barometers and other instruments necessary ~~to be used in~~ Road setting and marking on a grand scale will not be attempted. Men must be appointed to execute such works who will not require such teaching.

Ff128-RR to FN Manchester 17 Feb 1864

ff130- RR to FN Lancaster Lodge Boltons West Borough London 23 Feb 1864. Herewith I send the rough notes on water supply you will soon see if I have given imprimatur likely to be useful. It is difficult to convey general imprimatur I a ...

I wish I could have given more time to your work and I assure you most sincerely that I regret exceedingly that I shd have been the source of one day's delay.

I feel sure that these rough notes are imperfect, they may, nevertheless, serve some good purpose.

If a perfect manual is ultimately wanted and the govt will go to the cost of plates and diagrams a really practical and useful work to engineers may be turned out.

I leave for Manchester and Liverpool but hope to return Sat evening and to be here a portion of next week.

F132- RR to FN Lancaster Lodge 2 March 1864. I shall be in town up to Saturday. Can I do anything further just at present? I hope it will be open to correct and extend the "Notes" sent in. I fear they will look meagre and crude in print. They are however a commencement. I took certain drawings to Capt Galton.

The War Office is now pressing me about the lectures. I will commence at once to prepare them.

The Lancashire work is more in hand than it was. I sent you a copy of my report to the Poor Law Board.

FF133-34 RR to FN 11 March 1864 Manchester. I hope to be at home Saturday night 12th. At the office in Whitehall Monday 14th. I write to the office

by this post as to the works and will see to them personally o Monday. I have also arranged to see Dr Parkes about the proposed san lectures on Monday next.

I wish you could see the miles of streets now under improvement in Lancashire

ff135-36 RR to FN Victoria Station Sheffield 18 March 1864

ff137-40 RR to Sutherland 21 March 1864

ff141-42 RR to FN Boltons 27 March 1864. I return the proof by book post with all the passages objected to marked out. I would not even insert them in an appendix. I may most probably add information of more importance.

ff143-44 RR to FN 19 April 1864 I am obliged to return the proof ...

Ff145 RR to FN 29 May 1864. I will do all I can to hasten the san instructions for India. They ought to be ready ... I have no more to do for them but to look over the plans. These might have been ready before now. I mean by the lithographer.\ I have sent in my reports on the water works failures. Bradford and Sheffield alone are to be printed. There are several plans and sheets and diagrams to each report but I expect they will be ready during the week. This sort of work is most troublesome the probability is I shall not please any party. The conclusions will be distributed and the reporter most probably roundly abused by the company. I have reported truly to the best of my ability and praise or blame will not affect me.

On Tuesday it will be the anniversary of my da's marriage. It will be a sad sad day for her poor mother. Dear child your wedding bouquet. Made her very happy. The day was fine--all was peace and pleasure, with the exception of feelings we could not restrain at parting with as good a da as parents every had. Now we sit alone waiting and looking to the end. I feel to stand solitary and wish only to work in some way usefully as long as there may be power to work. "Sorrow should not however be for those who die. Who go before. But those who remain in this world of strife and labour.

I lave for Lancashire and Yorkshire on Tuesday evening but will be all I can for the India instruction before I go. I expect to be at home again Saturday night. But must be in Liverpool on the 10th June for a couple of days.\ I send on some books Mr Chadwick brought from Paris. He came to my house on his return. He looks very well and is I think pleased with his French .... yours most obediently.

Ff147-48 RR to FN Boltons 30 May 1864. I attended at the Barrack and Hosp Impr Commiss this day. The minutes of instruction are to be published soon as practicable. The several plans are in the hands of the lithographers...proofs at the beginning of next week. I will not delay them. But as copies are sent to each of the members progress is regulated by the latest copy returned. A committee of one ought to be invented soon as poss. The questions would then be the best man. I soon got the Lancashire plans into working order as the whole work rested with myself. A

commission wd have retarded progress sadly. Should not the Instructions now in hand be termed "preliminary"? So as to leave it open to add as may be required. I do not feel that my illeg is by any means complete. The several local san coms in India may be requested to send in descriptions of works devised and successfully carried out. If such info is carefully examined, selections may be published for more general use. An ... Perfection only grows out of wide and varied practice, intelligently applied. The Instrs will miss many local peculiarities, which a second set of Insts may take up.

The Barrack and Hosp Impr Commiss is doing good work. I say this excluding myself as I really can only do very little. The other members are, however, evidently in earnest. PS Mr Seymer a member of the Sewerage Commiss on which I serve is I see dead. He was with me 3 or 4 weeks since.

4 more on what being done in Lancashire, making sewers, health of men in numerous cases better than formerly in the mills, increase in weight under fresh air treatment 11 March 1864

ff149-50 RR to FN Local Govt Office Whitehall 20 August 1864. I recd your note of the 18th last in Manchester. You did not give me your address...It will give me great pleasure to do my best. You can see any paper I write before it is sent. Illeg the sec of this office is intimate with the Times people and I think I can get any paper I may write fully before the editor. It is of the utmost importance that correct views shd be stated and extravagance will stop progress.

I see by the Builder of this week that £100,000,00 is named as the est for sewerage Portsmouth. This place cd be more effectively sewerage for half the money. The main outlet works of London will and some five million sterling all the ... The only drawback in my view is the part that better....If extravagant expenditure becomes the order of the day in any works it will soon be all up with true progress. I shall have all Lancashire--more than 70 cities towns and places, sewerage and the illeg improved for less than 4 millions sterling. We must have proper works, but not immensely costly works. PS I hope to be in town all next week. I have Marlborough House under hunt.

f151 RR to FN 22 Aug 1864. I have recd back from Manchester your notes of the 19th inst. You shall have such remarks as I can put together. But in any case I shd have submitted my paper to you. Taylor is not at home so that the ...

f152 RR letter to FN 24 Aug 1864, "Enclosed I send a few remarks on the sanitary question as applicable to India. you will see that the first page can be removed if you do not approve it. And page 1 may commence. Add, alter or strike out as you may see fit. I have not quoted, but you can add my quotation you think will tell. My aim has been to direct attention to some simple sanitary facts to give a warning as to excessive estimates and as to the imbecile assertion that there are no skilled men nor proper materials in India. f153 The truth is the Hindus have forgotten some things more than we ever knew and matériel of all sort abound in India. I have read the notices in the Times.

I leave for North Wales in the morning and do not return before next week.

yours ever most obediently

Robert Rawlinson

P.S. Insist on soldier working. Give me a regiment and I would not only sewer a town and barrack but build them.

FN note on back: Keep this for a day or two. And then we'll . . . .

J.S. Aug 25/64.

Ff154-55 RR to FN 4 Dec 1864: By this post I sent you copy of my last report on Lancashire public works to Poor Law Board. I only returned home on Saturday night 3rd. The works are, I am happy to say, going on better than I ever dared to anticipate. The *Times* finds fault. But how easy it is to do this--and how pleasing evidently to some people. But it is good to be reminded that our best exertions are defestiné [?], and, if we are true to truth and duty, neither praise nor blame will have any injurious effect.

I have striven to the best of my abilities in Lancashire, and feel that some good must come out of the works now in illeg. Government will not lose one portion of the money lent, but will actually gain on the transaction. Lancashire will be fitted many years illeg in social [serial?] improvement. sewers are being made and streets are being paved and paved by hundreds of miles. and houses are being drained and improved by thousands. There is also the example of other places.

I sincerely trust that you will soon have good accounts of sanitary progress in India & hope costly mistakes will be avoided. The sewers and drains must be small, must not in any way be calculated in proportion to the fall of rain. This must be left to illeg the surface as now.

My wife desires to thank you for your kind present It is the anniversary of our great our terrible affliction she

ff156-60 RR letter 23 Feb 1865 I have looked over the paper of the health officer at Calcutta, and can only say that it is the old old story over again. Disinfectants in place of removal, and a will to have things "far sent and dear bought." Wood charcoal dust will do all which the fluids and powers are said to have done. But cleansing and reforming the latrines and drains, with subsequent flushing, washing and regular removal of refuse, at short intervals, will be better. These disinfectants are the right hand power of ignorance, and nothing more. I do not repudiate disinfectants entirely. They have a use, but that is not to paliate refuse heaps, which ought never to have been allowed to accumulate. A temporary use of disinfectants may be allowed to enable a safe removal of refuse now existing to be made. The store of poison, heaped up in ignorance in past times. But, a continuance of poison storing and disinfecting should not be allowed. To enable a safe removal of refuse ...

Let the parties have some of illeg to prevent the heaps of foul refuse killing the men ordered to remove it, or wood charcoal powder. But on the condition that any such heaps and deposits are not to accumulate in future.

I have been to Chatham the last ten days, and go again to stay lecturing on san engineering. The first day I read an ....Yesterday I spoke on sewerage and drainage, on practical points but could not get half nor

quarter through although I was ... Today I take water supply. But I cannot properly say one quarter that is necessary in one course.\ The gentlemen engineers have been most attentive and really I think have been interested. I like this impression ...

I wish someone would watch narrowly and tell me where I cd improve. I am apt to talk fast when warm and in a lecture the talk shd be slow, distinct and above all things consistent, orderly and clear, one link shd connect with the ..., lecturing on sanitary engineering

f161 RR to FN 20 June 1865. Embossed I can meet Mr Ellis at 34 South St at the time named on Friday 23rd but I have the meting of the War Office committee on Thursday. PS I send a copy of the new Rivers Commission.

Ff162-63 RR to FN 26 June 1865. After a general conversation with Mr Ellis at your house he went with me to the Local govt Act office. He is to have copies of the san acts, forms and returns, as, also, plans, sections, ests and reports. Preliminary to works.

The best thing will then be for Mr Ellis to go over some town and examine water works, main sewerage, some drainage and sewerage utilization. See in fact all or the best of that which has been done in England, and the mode of doing it. I must report to you from time to time and then you will communicate with Mr Ellis on any points, as more than others, likely to be specially applicable to India. I have the most earnest desire to prevent any costly blunders in san works in India.

ff164-65 RR to FN 14 March 1866. Rivers Commission Office. I have looked over the enclosed relative to the subsoil at Calcutta. I cannot however advise without more detailed infor. Mr Clark engineer for the Municipal body of Calcutta is in England on sick leave and I accidentally met him this morning. There is to be a meeting of the San Commiss at the War Office early in next week to discuss Calcutta waterworks matters and I have suggested that Mr Clark may be requested to be in attendance. I hope some useful progress may then be made in Calcutta on sanitary questions.

As to subsoils, bog and waterlogged sand and gravel, I laid several miles of sewers at West Ham in such subsoil. The cross section of sewer and details are given in the illeg notes as published.

The Calcutta subsoil must have resented receiving a main sewer 8 11/2 x 6.3 or a tunnel equal to 7 feet diameter. I don't wonder at the trench returning to fill itself up as illeg. I cannot understand how such a main sewer came to be proposed. But your sewerage alone certainly and the main sewer should be made to receive flood waters. It is proposed to bring in water illeg each illeg main 44 inches diameter. How can it be necessary to have a main 84 inches diameter to remove the same water as sewage?

44 x 44 = 1936

84 x 84 = 7056 or about 3.6 times the dimensions

f166-69 RR to FN 21 March 1866. On Monday last I questioned Mr Clark as to the subsoil on which Calcutta stands, but failed to learn that it present any formidable difficulties to main sewerage. The point where the illeg exists has been sewerage and the adjoining property much improved. The sewers being expected are in my opinion far too large in cross sectional



area. If you have any correspondent you can rely on in Calcutta ask him to send the greatest and the least depths of sewerage in the main sewers since they have been in use.

It appears that since Mr Clark left Calcutta his plans for waterworks have been submitted to an English engineer and that this English engineer has recommended the use of illeg....

The subsoil is illeg most injuriously ...

f170-71 Sept 1866, Calcutta sewers, officials not open to European opinion: Without plans, sections and details the enclosed memo from Calcutta relative to the main sewerage are of no use and I anticipate that the time for any useful comment (if ever such time existed) has long since passed. The officials at Calcutta are not in my opinion open to conviction by European opinion. But at all events they must now complete the main sewers their own way.. The main sewers in London just completed have cost four times as much as they ought to have done. And the Thames Embankment is now costing three times as much as it ought. But grand people with grand ideas and the purse of the public do not think of cost. That is, do not care to work cheaply. With respect to India, in railways and public works generally, materials are sent wholesale from England because there is a percentage in the things and the more they cost the higher the amount of the percentage earned. But who is to stop this? I do not see who. We know that Russian officials are bribed---British officials do not stand free. I of course except heads of depts. Look at our election inquiries. We are not in a condition to begin to throw stones. I wish it could be impressed on Indian officials that India is capable of producing almost anything Europe can produce. And that on no account should material be sent from England if it can be obtained or be made in India. The home market in India for material and labour should, in all cases, have a preference. Indian workmen may be trained to operate any mechanical operations. I return the memo.

Ff172-75 RR to FN Bolton 18 July 1867. AT present I cannot give you the names of any young sanitary engineers whom I cd recommend for India. I will however think the matter over and jot down a list of names to refer to *should the matter ripen so far* that you ask for such list. The salary reqd will be from £300 to 500 per ann with first class passage out and on engagement for not less than 3 years, ...

I some months since sent a young man out under the crown colonies office to Hong Kong to construct a new reservoir ... After weeks of trial I cd not find a good man at a less rate of pay.

In my opinion it is a disgrace to our mil tr that officers and men are not more practised. The royal engineers shd be made to work more and even drill and dine at... The work shd be sent out ... If every soldier in the Br Army went on half time drill and half time work we shd have better men and far better soldiers. Everlasting drill is ruin.

If the first Crimean Army could have worked it needed not to have died. Roman soldiers worked, as see their camps and roads. But all these things you know far better than I do.

The fighting portion of a soldier's life may be illeg. If he worked regularly. ....

Ff176-79 RR to FN Boltons 6 August 1867. In reply to your note of this date relative to the main sewerage works of Bombay I can only answer that I am in profound ignorance as to the illeg of works being executed and also as to who is the engineer in charge. I understood that a son of Sir John Thwaites, chairman of the Metro Bd of works had gone out ...

Indian works have been sadly jobbeed, most persons engaged striving for plunder in the shape of percentages. The larger the expenditure and the more things sent out from England and the dearer such things are and the heavier the percentage paid. I feel as if doing something wrong in naming this, and yet I know it is true. The extent to which this act of plunder is carried on in England both in civil and in some forms of official life would startle the public if the exposure could be made. It is however like much else in this work which is wrong. One must see but any...The only thing is to strive to keep clean hands and a clean conscience. The man who determines to accept all the abuses he sees will soon meet with the fate of your old illeg Don Quixote. It is a great advantage to be fully informed. It may however be a sad mistake always to let ... In Indian works, san, railway and the similar works if you find that large orders are being sent to England conclude that either there is incompetence to utilize native material and labour or that some friends have to be served and percentages earned. If in my younger days I could have worked in my profession without seeing so much cheating I should never have taken official work and should never have meddled with san works but have gone on as railway or as dock engineers. Do not mean to infer that our great engineers are rogues. I know the contrary. Neither do I think that our statesmen and leading officials are corrupt, far from it, It is generally on a lower grade that jobbing is practised. There must be opportunity and temptation and even under these conditions there are honest men and far more I take than the opposite. But you know that out of 12 apostles chosen by their Divine Master one fell under "Opportunity" and "temptation." Gehazi the servant of Elisha took percentage from Naman and earned his master's curse and Naman's leprosy.

You see if you ask me a set of simple questions I not only answer but attempt to moralize. You will however I trust forgive me as you can read and put away the .....

Ff180-81 RR to FN 9 August 1867. You will be pleased to think and see the enclosed card, note from Mr Elis and letter from...

I propose writing letters of instruction for Capt Tulloch to see sewerage home drainage waterworks and sewage irrigation works in England. He will also go to Paris, Frankfurt and Malta and probably to America. ...

Ff182-83 RR to FN 10 August 1867. Tulloch has been with me this morn. On Monday he goes to Worthing to see sewerage and irrigation. On Tuesday to Croydon and on Wed to West Ham....

You will be glad to learn that Capt Tulloch is an advanced sanitarian who must be aided and supported in every right way. He will call both on Dr Sutherland and Capt Galton. PS I hope to send you a copy of the report on...

Ff184- RR to FN 14 August 1867. Capt Tulloch sends you the report on proposed drainage of the town of Madras. PS On Monday he was at Worthing,

on Tuesday at Croydon, today at West Ham.

Ff185-86 RR to FN 27 August 1867. Herewith I send a copy of the 3rd Report by the Rivers Pollution Commission on the Aire and Caldre District.

Ff187-88 RR to FN 1 Sept 1867. Rue Vivien, Paris. Many thanks for your kind note which I have only recd. I am happy to say that since arriving here I feel better. I go on to Switzerland in a few days and propose remaining quiet. That is, I do not intend to rush about from place to place after the manner of tourists generally.

Have you noticed in the Times certain paragraphs about town sewerage and house drainage? Which are as helpless and blundering as it is possible for them to be. I can however see that for the most part they are selfish puffs or quack illeg which have been again and again exposed.

Ff189-90 RR to FN 15 Feb 1869. The enclosed report on Bombay has just come in. I suppose Capt Tulloch does not know your address. I have not letter or note with the report but have a copy which I have glossed over.

San works seem destined to breed engineers' quarrels. It is the Bigendians and the Little endians all through. Large sewers mean largeness and therefore must restrict construction. The London intersecting sewers and works might have been constructed quite as usefully for one fourth the cost in my opinion. I think that Capt Tulloch might reduce his sewers and est and feel quite certain that at Calcutta the main sewers are larger and more costly than need be. But such things must run their course, as in London.

The Bombay sewers squabble is anything but a gratification to me. I did my best on the Report on the plans submitted to me without feeling in favour or against any person. I hope good works will be carried out ultimately and then these preliminary quarrels won't matter. PS Fate seems to drift me into squabbles both at home and in India. I don't know whether it is my manner, my masters or the subject--I certainly don't trim but strive first to comprehend my subject and the truthful ... I suppose the old martyrs were earnest.

Ff191-92 *Private*. 23 Aug 1869: Herewith I send a copy of my final report on the Lancashire public works. I thought at one time that I could not see this day, but I did not shrink nor despair--medical men whom I consulted recommended me to leave the work, at the least for a time, but I considered that duty indicated staying--and so I worked on to the end. I must confess to a vast amount of suffering--principally continued headaches and irritability, but I strive by abstinence in diet and exclusion from society to husband the strength I retained for my work.

Your Indian work came upon me at this time, but this was a pleasure and relief rather than an addition.

The rivers pollution work was also put upon me, and in this, from sever causes, I suffered annoyance, but I fear as much from my over work and irritability as from any real cause. I now how you have suffered and striven and worked and do work and your example has been to me an abiding incentive and reproof. I felt that it was mean and most contemptible in myself to consider anything I suffered worth fretting about, and over and

over again when my irritability has betrayed me I have in secret bitterly repented. I feel more that most probably I have performed most of the work allotted to me and that I have only to prepare for the end. I have no desire to hasten this or to avoid it, but remain both willing and determined to work as long as I have work to do and strength to perform it.....

Ff193-94 RR to FN 4 March 1869. Many thanks for your kind note relative to my Lancashire public works report. This is repayment more than I deserve. Thanks also for "Answers" which I will read.

The Army San papers have not been delayed with me. But as to delay and opposition, is this not the penalty which must be paid upon progress? And we must pay, but interest and when necessary fight for facility and freedom of action. I can see plenty to grumble at, but I can also see that some progress is accomplished. In this world provision is made for an enormous amount of waste. One millionth of the germs produced cannot fructify and or it must be with human labour by hand or in thought, for some must be done and given than can come to maturity. We must however work on and work even harder for the frugal good which may or which may not come. The work may be with us but not the result--the end.

Now you will say this man has got a preaching fit. Last time it was in whining and grumbling fit. Poor fellow.

Enclosed I forward a note from Capt Tulloch relative to Bombay sewerage and sewage. I ...

Ff195-98 RR to FN 11 March 1869. I have been reading over your Note on Pauperism with great interest. Last night I spent several hours with Mr Carlyle and amongst talk about "Lancashire Public Works" modern modes of government, modern pol economy and social morality he brought to my notice your "Note on Pauperism" as, in his opinion, the best because most practical paper he had seen of late on the question. I have been again looking over it this evening and fully agree with Mr Carlyle. I wish you could have been present to have listened to the great man alternately pouring forth a living stream of information and then bursting into a rhapsody of passionate denunciation of some thick headed blundering statesmanship or indignant tirade against commercial rascality. We had up modern municipal corporations at home and in America, Parliaments, Senates and congress and came to the conclusion that honesty had been to a great extent turned out of doors. We had some three hours conversation.

I had spent one evening with him before and last night was a meeting at his own request. I forwarded a copy of my final report on the Lancashire Public Works by the same post that I sent yours, and this had interested him with regard to pauperism, local self-government, parliament and cab minister. What shall one say? Then, as to charity, as practical, public and private. Is not this sacred word misapplied? The word "Govern" [?] has no meaning in modern statesmanship. The word "Charity" covers a multitude of cruelty and ingenuity if such terms can logically be so stated. In my peregrination and official inquiries and inspections I have learned to ....

Ff199-200 RR 12 march 18869. Thomas Carlyle resides at No 5 Cheyne Row Chelsea. I und that Sir John McNeill has retired from official life, and I

do not know if or not he is still in or near Edinb. I wish to send him a copy of my final report on the Lanc public works....Will send FN a newspaper with report on congress re female emigration

ff201-04 RR to FN 29 March 1869. I fear it will not be in my power to do what I understand you to ask, namely state the local mortality before and after sanitary works in these towns I have sewered and supplied with water. It has never occurred to me to enquire after such statistics. From the first I have striven with all my might to learn and understand my social duties and to perfect my illeg learning results to ... I can say that year by year I learned something new and that this newness resulted in common sense simplicity, something which one might say ought to have been self-evident. But so far from this being the case experience shows me that men are mentally blinded. Some wilfully and some proudly or obdurately so and most ignorantly so. Truths must be continually taught. But the best thing any man can do is to practise truth in all things so as teach by example another ... That san engineer will be best who can devise and execute ....

The Registrar General has published returns of the annual mortality in certain large towns. But there is both difficulty and cost in obtaining practical returns for defined areas, not being .... [more]

ff205-06 RR to FN 17 June 1869 question of large or small sewers in India must be made one of cost alone as utter impracticability of preventing occasional surface floodings during heavy monsoon rains ought to shut out idea of large sewers, as then both sewers and surface wd be equally inundated, explains

f207 RR to FN 16 October 1869. By this post I send you a copy of the recent annual report by the Poor Law Board though most prob you have previously recd it--if not you will find in the appendixes papers on "Dietaries" and on "Construction of Workhouses"

ff208-09 RR to Sutherland 26 October 1869. I saw the para in the Times relative to Aldershot local board and...

Ff210- RR to FN 27 October 1869, 8 Richmond House Whitehall The riches and poverty questions are the most important of any to civilized man. Education is at the root of civilized life. Primal curse or ... does not believe in.

ff216 RR 15 June 1871. Sends reports, Liverpool report. Reprint of one made in 1846, brought me opposition, Birmingham. . Polluted Thames. The metropolis of Gr Br cannot face the exp nec to obtain pure and soft water.

The Abyssinian exped cost about as much as a full supply of pure and soft water wd cost for London.

The French must pay for their war and suffer their losses but one tenth of the sum cd not have been got by any means for works of a beneficial character.

The human rule is a strange compound with at present for more devil than good or evil.

f218-21 Jan 1873, RR letter to FN re Calcutta sewerage, looked over memo

45769 f218; Rawlinson letter to FN has looked over memo (green book) by Clark, cannot compliment him upon his performance, sorry for Calcutta and deeply sorry for India is such "modification of the plans usually adopted for the drainage of towns" is to have any effect. I suppose W. Clark has committed the blunder of executing very large and costly sewers in Calcutta and special pleads in their favour by disparaging suggestions that storm waters shd pass out and over the surface as were obliged to do when no sewers existed. Mr Clark's largest sewer will not take one tenth of the rain of an intense storm, and when the river is full and above the level of the land, it cannot of course take away. [and more]

ff222-23 RR to FN 27 Jan 1873. In the Globe of this evening I see you are said to have written of India "It is true that san works and measures for India must generally be somewhat bigger than elsewhere." This may mean that as the country is more extensive works must also be more extensive and also bigger. Or it may mean that as the climate is more violent in meteorological excesses, falls of rain, the san works, sewers and drains must be bigger. If you mean this latter, I regret it exceedingly, as I hold almost the contrary--the populations of India are for the most part situated on rivers, now if the town sites are liable to be flooded by the rise of rivers bigger sewers will be water logged, if the sites are not flooded by the rise of rivers, but by monsoons deluges of rain, sewers and drains cannot be made big enough to contain such enormous volumes of water which will however with improved surfaces flow off as it ever did over the surfaces. I say it, repeat it and enforce it advisedly. That sewers and drains in India shd only be of sectional dimensions to remove waste water and ....

Pray pardon me in writing so strongly about this for ... after all I may have misinterpreted the quoted sentence. PS the Times letter, a copy of which I send, has been set up in the ...

Ff224-25 RR to FN 28 Jan 1873. Many thanks for the blue book. I ...

ff226-227 pencil FN handwritten letter to Rawlinson

### **f226**

Sir R Rawlinson May 4/89

My dear                      Thanks for your good Easter letter  
I thought of you on Easter Sunday & and I said  
for ~~of~~ you. Christ is risen to-day. And may He rise again today  
in your heart! So I am sure you said for me

I wanted to ask you about the Dublin Barracks  
& whether you have seen Mr Rogers Field's Report  
& what is going to be done

No- no- a thousand times no-I am not growing  
"apathetic" ~~And~~ Nor do I believe that you  
are. "Yes The world is for the young." But they want  
our experience all the more to make any steady progress

### **f227**

Else the course of things is this.

The work, whatever it is has to be pioneered  
 then it becomes fashionable  
 & thus & ~~also~~ justly discredited  
 & swings back

This is the eternal going backwards & forwards  
 ebb & flow between practical & theoretical  
 unless the old 7 young work together

Don's say our "work is done."

We were never more wanted than now  
 the world must not be always making  
 experiments.

The things I have cared for for 35 or 40 years  
 are more matters/things of life & death to my mind than  
 ever; And while I have a mind/head left tho' my body decays fast  
 I must

work & work harder So must you.

Because there is so little time left us

What now is the Army San Comm?

With kind regards to L R

ever sincerely your old comrade

F.N.

f228-229 3 Dec 1891 handwritten letter from Edward Cousins to Rawlinson

I find that the drainage of Madras will be a difficult problem to  
 solves....has 14 printed report s of engineers from 1855 to present,  
 excellent report of Major Tulloch in 185. whole district drained into open  
 channels in streets. concrete channels....no wonder that cholera and fever  
 are constantly here carrying off their victims by the hundreds. This is  
 their winter season and the healthiest part of the year, the death rate at  
 this present time is over 90 per 1000. the river Cooum which divides the  
 town receives over 1 million gallons of sewage per day, its mouth is closed  
 by a sandbank thrown up the activity of the sea, and for the last two years  
 has never ben in communication with the sea. the river is consequently one  
 immense cesspool exposed to the action of a tropical sun. during the  
 present monsoon the rains were sufficiently heavy to raise the level of the  
 water in the river to above the level of the sea.... smell dreadful....

f230 FN handwritten note, pencil

Sir R Rawlinson Sept 2/95

Book: Contradiction Sir D G

1.2.3.

Fashion= Decay

Arrangement of Grand Ladies

superseding practical Nursing

best Medical Officers of Health

San

best Sanitary Dr cdn't

Best " Engineer

Add Mss 45770, correspondence with Edwin Chadwick, 1857-61, 266 folios, 169 pages, Adam Matthew reel 16 note: excerpts from Chadwick's letters are rough and approximate

ff1-5 Chadwick to FN 21 July 1857. Being out of office and out of the command of official service, I cannot give aid in mending the stats as they are given in the returns, and they are so given as in themselves to display the want of clear definite perceptions on the parts of those who direct them. Even in the papers printed in 1854, the accounts are brought up only to 1843. I wish I were in a position to observe upon these defects!

Memorandum No. 1 is all I can make out to submit to you and in that the cases of injuries are not distinguished from those of disease. Dr Boudin, the author of a work just published in medical stats and geography, appears to have got at some recent returns from the naval dept, in which the deaths from disease are distinguished from those from other causes, and these returns make the deaths in the home station 8.8 per 1000, in the South American station 7.7, which I observe not have expected, and in the Med station 9.3. But of the 8 deaths in the home station, we shall find a large proportion which we know to be preventible by comparatively gross means. Dr Boudin who has good sanitary info, contends that with men examined and selected for their freedom from disease, there ought only to be deaths from accidents. The army authorities in Paris like those of London ascribe mortality of the Guards to the night duty. The doctor agreed with me that those who instead of sleeping in the horribly ill ventilated barracks were out doing duty in the open air though it were night air were the best off and in proof referred me to some returns of the sickness amongst the sapeurs pompiers who are the most out at night, instead of having the highest had the lowest rate of mortality! The Prussian Army, from their stats wd seem to be better managed. The Belgian too may help the contrast and so as to the rate of mortality amongst our officers who are neither picked men nor always well conducted men. Home station returns 1854/deaths per 1000 of mean strength

1837 8.2

1858 15.2

1839 9.7

1840 9.4

1841 12.7

1842 11.8

1843 9.7

Annual average 10.4

That is to say of *all injuries* as well as of all diseases: p202: the summary of these returns being as above

f3v FN ink note [back of above, unrelated]

Glaisher Meteorology

Thomson Chemistry

Hassall [?] Microscopic

Sutherland Analysis of  
Deaths

Balfour Statistics

f4 more stats by Chadwick

f5 Chadwick

Deaths in the Russian Army from 1829 to 1838 inclusive, average per 1000



Infantry 12.9  
Cavalry 9.0  
Artillery 10.3  
Genie; engineers 6.4  
Deaths per 1000 in the Belgian Army  
1843 12  
1844 10  
1845 11  
1846 14  
1847 16  
1848 13  
average 13  
Deaths of English officers & men per 1000  
....

ff6-7 Chadwick to FN July 31 1857. In the last page of the appendix to the Report of the General Board of Health, a copy of which will be posted herewith, you will find the chief figures of the table to which Dr S alludes. I have not got any copy of the lithographed table itself which I sent to the duke of Newcastle, and the military authorities. The table appended you will find is a "Comparison of the Cost in life of War and Pestilence and Civil Violence." There was a paper read at the Statistical Society on the mortality in the army, about a year or a year and a half ago. That paper, differed in the mode of collecting the stats and varied the results somewhat, but I adhere to those I have given as to the numbers actually killed in battle, as they are made up from the dispatches. However Lord Palmerston told me that when he was minister of war he got out for himself numbers killed in battle during the whole war, and that they were under twenty thousand. You will observe that the table gives them as 19796: or an annual average of 899.

My later object was to bring back attention to the greater slaughter at home, from preventible causes.

I cd solicit your attention, when you can give it, to the whole report, appendices and all, as it will furnish you with the most concise and yet the most complete account of the public sanitary progress during six years that, I believe, you can get. Very faithfully yours

letter, ff8-9r, pen, blue paper, and Univ of Liverpool

**f8r**

30 Old Burlington St.      [14:976]  
Feb 11/58

My dear Sir

You kindly said  
that we might call  
upon you for help  
whenever we wanted  
it.

The Report of the  
Royal Commission on  
the Sanitary State of

the Army is printed,  
though not yet  
distributed.

**f8v**

We want a Review,  
& we want you to  
write it, and in the  
"Westminster", (which  
is now most read)  
and for the next  
No., if possible.

But, above all,  
we want to be  
reviewed by no one  
but you.

I would send you  
the Report instantly,  
if you would allow

**f9r**

me - or if you are  
in London, might

I see you? [end 14:976]

Very faithfully yours

F. Nightingale

E. Chadwick Esq

ff10-11 Chadwick to FN Feb 13 1858. After I left I called yesterday on Mr Murray to ascertain whether the subject of the sanitary improvement of the army was disengaged, but he said he was unaware and I wrote off to make my offer to Mr Elwin the editor.

I read through your evidence last night and was delighted with it, more particularly the masterly manner you have dealt with the former medical statistics and the high administrative opposition of the question of general and regimental hospitals.

I am more strongly impressed with the need of its publication in a separate, compact and cheap form, first for the sake of the subject, and because it will be more widely read than the report, in the next place as a matter of justice to yourself and your friend as justifying your position by making manifest, to some extent, the labour and close consideration you have devoted to the great questions involved

I shall proceed with the reading of the evidence and the report, and I shall state my view of your evidence to Mr Sidney Herbert.

ff12 Chadwick to FN Feb 16 [1858] I enclose the note I have recd from the editor of the Quarterly. I am a little put back by it. But I shall go on reading the evidence and preparing an article for somewhere. If a place can be found for an article from Lord Stanley, I would advise it by all means, for making him prepare an article is making him more completely master the subject, which will be useful and possibly very important for Parliamentary service. I wd not therefore stand in *his* way.

I suspect that the editor's opinion of the unattractiveness of the subject for the general public means the general public of the Quarterly Review, which includes a large proportion of those to whom the present system is due.

I may try him again....

Would you be so good as to return the note to me.

If Lord Stanley wd take the Westminster, I mt try Fraser?

Letter, ff14-15, pen, black-edged stationery [14:979]

**f14r**

30 Burlington St.

Feb 27/58

My dear Sir

Mr. Herbert has  
told me that the  
"Quarterly" wants  
you after all.

But I have also  
heard that there  
is some dread  
of your prowess

**f14v**

in Sanitary matters  
& of the probability  
of your hitting  
rather too hard  
for the heads of  
the usual readers  
of that periodical.  
If from past  
experience, these  
people have reason

**f15r**

to dread such a  
 "dressing", might  
 it not be well  
 to deal with them  
 "as if you loved  
 them", and while  
 stating the case  
 & its remedies  
 fully & openly,  
 to leave the infe-  
 rences to us, the  
                   readers,

**f15v**

as far as is possible?

It has occurred  
 to me to mention  
 this to you - Whatever  
 view you take,  
 I am sure will  
 be the wisest.

[end 14:979]

I am ever yours  
 faithfully & obliged  
 F. Nightingale

ff16-17 Chadwick to FN June 15 [1858]. I had sent a third letter to Mr Elwin wh I thought mt have produced a return of my article wh I shd with some alterations have forwarded forthwith to the North British, but I got no answer whatever. In the meantime I have been press engagements to try and defend as large sanitary interest, a contest for the Avocation of the poorer population of Manchester--efforts to avert the frustration of our labours and our hopes from the Public Health Act, and other large pre engagements which have left me no repose. The perplexity which I am under in respect to the N Br is the variation of the copies to those for the protection of the Indian Army. I had promises of docs from the India House, sanitary reports and stats, but I have been unable to get them.

I yesterday began to rough out an article and shall proceed with it, but most unsatisfactorily.

If Mr Elwin had intended to use my article I presume he would have sent me the proof or a note in respect to it.

I called upon Mr Murray the publisher, who was perplexed upon the matter in wh he had written himself, but said he conceived that Elwin was "hatching" something of his own.

Dr S mentions to me some works on san points in the East. If he cd borrow them for me I shd be much obliged.

I want to get the military stats of the Indian Army.

ff18-19 Chadwick to FN July 12 1858. Amidst much private trouble and engagements of a pressing public character, and other attempts to avoid large miseries, I obliged your behests in writing an article for the North

Br Rev, as well as one for the Quarterly. I dispatched my article to the NB in the first instant, but have heard nothing of it. It was an effort to show that we cd only hold India, even amicably, by an impressed army, and that for India, an enlistment on the chance of serving in India, respectable men necessary for an improved and economical force, wd only be got to enlist by manifestly better chances of health and life, that is to say by a superior mil admin of the army. It attempted to treat of the general elementary conditions essential to the dominion of the Anglo Saxon race in India.

I cannot understand the neglect of Mr Elwin to return any answer to my notes. I did not call for the return of my article on the chance of his being in doubt on the subject, and that the application mt injure the chances of its reception. I told Mr Murray that they were at liberty to make any alterations they pleased.

I do not read reviews often, I had not time to see what connected doctrines they mt have promulgated and it is possible that my article wd have angularities which wd impede its insertion in their round illeg, but wh they mt have removed if they chose, without sacrificing any general illeg.

Be assured that notwithstanding insults, and disappointments at the frustration of labours I shall be quite ready to avail myself of any opportunities that may afford a chance of being of service in the cause.

Letter, ff20-23, pen, blue paper [14:980]

**f20r**

30 Old Burlington St. W.

July 14/58

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I must tell you  
how grateful we feel  
to you for having  
espoused our cause  
& given us that  
assistance which no  
one else could give.

I hope that your  
Articles will both be  
inserted. I ought to  
say for Mr. Herbert  
that Elwin's extraordinary

**f20v**

behaviour cannot be  
excused by any neglect  
of Mr Herbert's. I  
do not remember the  
precise number of  
times he has written  
to that surly Stylites  
about your article.  
But I know that  
he has met with  
the same insulting  
silence every time  
except the first,  
when I saw Elwin's  
answer, promising to

**f21r**

insert your Article -  
of this Mr. Herbert  
has not failed to  
remind him. But  
no further answer  
has been vouchsafed.

With regard to the  
N. British, I fear, if  
you sent your Article  
on the 1st, it will  
be too late for THIS  
number. Let us hope  
for the next.

I know quite well  
that you will never  
be discouraged in the

**f21v**

good work & that  
you will continue to  
render us services  
such as no one else,  
I must repeat, could  
do. In the way of  
speaking to people  
of influence, *your*  
influence will be  
invaluable.

We have just had  
one of those checks  
which people who  
are 50 years behind  
the age are so fond  
of inflicting upon the

**[16:265]****f22r**

poor workers who are  
50 years before the  
age - viz. a verdict  
given in favour of  
Netley Hospital, of  
which you must  
have heard. The  
answer to it, a  
privately printed  
paper, presented to  
Genl. Peel, but not  
yet to the Ho. of C.,  
I venture to enclose  
& to ask you to read

**f22v**

& to assist us to  
make known.

We are going to  
try to do something  
in the Ho. of C. & in  
the newspapers about  
it still -

**[end]**

Yours Sincerely &  
gratefully  
F. Nightingale  
E. Chadwick Esq  
&c &c



Letter, ff23-24r, pen

**f23r**

30 Old Burlington St. W.

July 14/58

Dear Mr Chadwick

In a note I wrote  
to you this morning, I  
ventured to ask your  
assistance about Netly [Netley].  
Did I not know how  
much your time has  
been over-tasked by us,  
& had I not felt  
that you have not  
met with a due  
return, I should have  
asked you to write in

**f23v**

the Examiner about  
Netley.

I enclose a Sketch.  
If you can alter it,  
add to or take away  
from it, you will much  
oblige us. If you could  
then insert it in the  
Examiner, you would  
much oblige us, or in  
any other paper you  
judged better. But,  
if you do not think  
this desirable, perhaps  
you would kindly  
return it to us &

**f24r**

forgiving us the trouble  
we have given you.

believe me ever  
yours sincerely &  
gratefully  
F. Nightingale

ff25-26 Chadwick to FN Aug 2 [1858]. The article in the N Br I wish to assure you is grievously shorn of connecting sanitary proof and illustrations.

I must look out for an opp of giving them elsewhere.

I shd be glad if you cd let me see what accounts you get of the working of the ventilation in La Riboisiere and the Hopital Besancon. I mt then suggest additional points for investigation.

I have called at Routledge the publisher of cheap railway books, the publ of an abridgement of the report of the Army San Comm and with your evidence in full. They have promised to look at it favourably.

I have read the evidence of Simon and illeg on the Netley Hosp, and fully agree in your view of it....

If you thought well of it, and you know him well enough, it mt be useful if you wrote direct Lord Stanley's attention to the article on the Indian Army.

f27 Chadwick to FN Wed. Will you be so good as to send me back the enclosed wh I have just recd from Elwin.

I shd have been glad to have seen the paper of the gentleman "of great knowledge ability and integrity" who argued plausibly against the position put forward on our side; it was prob some of the gentlemen concerned in the defence of the Netley Hosp.

I shall be glad to utilise the matter in some way if no other presents itself. I may utilise it as a paper for the Manchester Stat Society.

Letter, ff28-29, pen

**f28r**

Great Malvern

Aug 6/58

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I return your  
correspondent's precious  
document. I should  
answer it, if I were  
you, to the effect that  
there are a great  
many "gentlemen of  
great knowledge, ability  
& integrity" who know  
nothing at all about  
the subject, like Mr.  
Elwin himself.

**f28v**

I hope that you will  
utilize your Article for  
us in some way, which  
cannot fail to do us  
good.

I have not seen the  
N. British yet, though  
I have sent for it.

I have full accounts  
of the Lariboisière. But  
they amount to this -  
that being summer  
the windows ~~too~~ as well as the machinery are ~~also~~ always  
used for ventilation

**f29r**

in the day time - ~~but~~  
that, at the Lariboisière  
as every where else, even  
in winter, *till* the windows are  
opened *the morning*,  
there is no real  
freshness in the  
wards, in spite of the machinery. (This is important.)  
That the Director, a  
very competent judge,  
prefers the ventilation  
of the male side  
in winter. That, on  
the female side, there  
is less opening of the

**f29v**

windows possible in winter, because the  
temperature is lowered  
thereby, and the  
contractor, being bound [?]  
to keep it up to a  
certain height, cannot  
supply the requisite  
amount of *warmed*  
air, & that therefore the  
ventilation is deficient. This, too,  
is important. My  
correspondent justly  
dwells upon the fact  
that she is enabled  
to form no judgement, as  
yet, of her own from its  
not being winter.

Yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

Letter, ff30-33,

**f30r**

Great Malvern

[16:504]

Aug 11/58

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I have read your  
article in the N. British  
& pointed it out to  
Lord Stanley.

It shows, like every  
thing you do, your  
mastery of the subject,  
a grasp over the whole  
thing, which no one  
else possesses, ~~of it~~  
& which certainly has  
been shewn by no one

**f30v**

who has written upon  
our Sanitary Report.  
You criticize, instead  
of resting upon us.  
And in your  
criticism against us for having  
"Sanitary" "Medicine-  
men" I completely  
agree. It was a  
mistake, carried by  
a majority in the  
Commission against  
us. There is matter  
enough in your Article

**f31r**

for a two-vol. Book.  
And I hope you will  
reprint it, with addition  
of the parts cut out.  
I should be extremely  
glad to help in any  
arrangement for this.  
It cannot fail to do  
us good. It is an  
Article which will  
make Statesmen think,  
as well as all those  
who can savour the  
hard & indigestible,  
the public-policy side

**f31v**

of the Sanitary question.  
For it is infinitely suggested  
to those who can think.  
I have not the least  
doubt that, with  
your help, the problem  
will ere long be solved  
viz. to find those  
natural laws which  
must be obeyed before  
the white man can  
hold that vast Empire  
of ours with the  
least risk to himself.

**f32r**

Have you yet seen  
Dr. Greenhow's Report  
to the Board of Health,  
with an Introduction  
by Mr. Simon? We do  
trust that you will  
take this up without  
delay & criticize it  
in the Examiner &  
move the world about  
it before next year,  
when the Bd of Health  
question will come  
on again.

In this publication

**f32v**

a sixth only of the  
districts are taken,  
all occupations are  
dealt with collectively  
to show the effects of  
one, and the ~~relative~~  
difference of age is  
neglected as an  
element of mortality.  
The consequence of this  
extraordinary Sanitary  
method is that all  
Sanitary precautions  
are undervalued -  
infantine epidemics  
declared inevitable.

{Following sentence written vertically up the side of ff32v & 33r. VR.} Dr Farr is coming out with an account of the effect of occupations which is to have all (f33r) the truth, of which this Report has all the error.

**f33r**

And, as your draining  
& ventilation have  
become unpopular,  
so they are here  
deemed unnecessary.  
It is quite obvious  
what Mr. Simon's  
intention in writing  
the Report is -  
to succeed Pym as  
Quarantine Officer  
at the Privy Council.  
For Quarantine  
regulations are to be  
substituted, in this  
enlightened publication,

**f33v**

for Sanitary improvements,  
in order to prevent  
zymotics.

They are extremely  
proud of this work,  
which has doubtless  
been sent you. If not,  
may I send it you?  
We shall hope to see  
you cutting it up  
in your own manner  
& with your own  
thunder. But it is  
lamentable to see  
the falling off of the  
Sanitary party.  
ever yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

[end 16:504]



ff34-37 Chadwick to FN Aug 18 1858 get this letter, re getting going on India Aug 18 1858

I assure you that your approval of my labour is a restorative of sinking spirits, amidst the almost solitude in which I have been living of any appreciation of it, or real sympathy and that it will be a stimulus to further exertion.

On Friday I had an interview with Lord Stanley on the Indian Army question to give him explanations preparatory to making an application to him in writing, which I may hereafter get called for. I proposed the preparation of a sanitary aide-memoire officially for India, prepared in the way in which I once explained to you. I proposed to act for the purpose, if he thought fit, with Dr Sutherland. The answer I got was that nothing would be done on the subject until the new Indian Council was appointed.

I told him that I should probably open the subject at the Liverpool meeting to which he said there would not be the slightest objection. I intimated my resolve not to let the subject drop though the government might not do so. He stated that his attention had been called to my article in the North British which he had as yet only read cursorily.

I have been for several days diverted from your immediate work by enquiries as to Parl vacancies and found two (Reigate and Guildford) so preoccupied that there was no chance.

It is deeply disgusting to find by what a low species of men they are or can be preoccupied.

I have also been writing and corr under engagement of previous date with influential men on a commission of enq into these places as preparatory to any Parl reform. I have also had to attend to the qu of competitive examinations.

Both topics have a larger bearing on the subjects of your own special interests than mt a first appear.

I have been asked to help the educ commiss and have been compelled to write some suggestions for them.

These engagements have with the article in the N Br and wide reading connected with it compelled me to sacrifice the Thames and the London drainage question on wh I have ben under some obloquy. I am still pressed to answer charges made against me and must try to do so.

I have been attending to the Health section of the Br Assoc for the Adv of Social Sc to stay mischief from the Simon party, and to get up counteracting papers. I am glad that Lord Shaftesbury has consented to preside. In announcing to Lord Stanley my intention to try and bring forward the qu at Liverpool, I contemplated utilising the matter for the Quarterly so far as it will go, but I expect I must try and make it more Indian. I am glad that I had anticipated your suggestions on that topic.

But as yet I have been prevented making any preparations for trying Mr Routledge for a popular abrigement of the Army Sanitary Report wh I think it still desirable to try chances [?]

I do not know wh you know my friend Nassau Senior writer and lecturer on pol ec, a retired master in Chancery. You may not be aware that he is an eminent writer of conversation and that eminent people abroad as well as at home have used him to put their opinions on record, Thiers, Guizot, people in France, Italy, Turkey, Egypt, Greece. These conversations he circulates

in MS in the highest quarters, in Europe and amongst eminent writers and they produce much effect.

I mention him because he has just gone to Malvern for his health, and Mrs Senior goes with him, and because if you had time to make his acquaintance and chose to give him a "talking to" on our army and its sanitary improvements and on your experience and views of our army organ I really believe that it would be quite worth while.; It mt be better than an article in the Quarterly and would circulate amongst writers and in the quarters I have mentioned and wd yet circulate, as it were, privately and mt be so easily done. If you chose to make his acquaintance and had time to read, I wd rec you to ask him to show you his diaries, on Constantinople and Egypt and Greece. You wd then see his style of work and the opinions of Lord Stratford, and others, on the probably future of the races and govts in those countries. If Miss BC or Dr S is with you they cd be interested by them very much.

I will try and keep Simon and his compeers in view. With prayers for your restoration...

his diaries on Constantinople, Eg, Gr, and the opinions of Lord Stratford and others on the probably future of the races and govts in those countries. with prayers for your restoration ..

Letter, ff38, pen

**f38r**

Great Malvern  
Aug 16/58

[16:505]

Dear Mr. Chadwick

Has it occurred to  
you that your Article,  
(written for the 'Quarterly  
Review'), might be read  
with advantage at  
Liverpool at the  
approaching Meeting  
of the Association for  
the advancement of  
Social Science (?), Mr.  
Holland being the  
Secretary for the Public

**f38v**

Health Section?

I do not know. I  
only ask whether it  
would do for your Article.

[end]

Yours very faithfully,  
F. Nightingale

Letter, ff39-42, pen

**f39r**

Great Malvern  
Aug 19/58

[16:505-06]

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I am very glad  
to hear that you  
mean to press the  
India question at  
Liverpool. It cannot  
fail to do good.

2. Would you,  
when you have read  
through Simon &

**f39v**

Greenhow's Board of  
Health papers, send  
us ~~word~~ your opinions  
of them? Dr. Farr  
has done so. And,  
if we do any thing,  
we should like to  
be at one with you.  
You are the only man  
who can answer  
them properly. But,  
if you do not mean

**f40r**

to do so at once,  
you will perhaps  
give us your opinion  
to go on with.

It seems to me  
that they are based  
on a shallow &  
erroneous system of  
statistics, intentionally  
perverted to cry  
up contagion &  
quarantine & other  
(extinct) superstitions,

**f40v**

& to discredit Sanitary  
precautions, draining  
& ventilation, & all  
that you have  
devoted your life  
to promote. Simon  
is on a "prospecting"  
expedition for the  
Privy Council, that  
is evident. I rejoice  
to hear that you  
mean to put down  
this kind of thing  
yourself, at the

**f41r**

Health Section - & I  
only ask for a  
 cursory view of what  
your opinion is  
about it now.

3. Would you not  
think of stirring up  
Liverpool a little  
about itself at the  
same Meeting?  
asking it how it  
comes still to have  
a Mortality of 36

**f41v**

per 1000? Whether  
it has done away  
with cess pits under  
its houses, &c!

I do not suggest,  
because you will  
know best what is  
to be done. I only  
ask.

4. Have you seen  
the letters of "A  
County Surgeon" in  
the Times? I think

**f42v**

they should be answered.  
(It is very easily done)  
and the "Times" shewn  
that the time is come  
for compulsory utiliza-  
tion of the sewage.

I write these few  
words merely to  
save the post &  
get your opinion  
of Simon & Co. -  
not to express  
(which I cannot  
do) our sense of

**f42v**

our great obligation  
to you - or how ear-  
nestly I hope you  
will not relax your  
exertions in our favour  
(you can do for us  
what no other man  
can do) especially  
with the supreme  
importance of this  
juncture for India  
under our eyes.

**[end]**

Yours very faithfully  
& gratefully  
F. Nightingale

ff43-46 Chadwick to FN 21 August 1858, criticism of Gr and S's report, "wholly misleading." I looked over Greenhaugh and Simon's paper cursorily and before I got your note and determined to write some criticisms upon them as being wholly misleading. First from the periods taken, keeping them to 1854, when they mt have got those of last year and the later periods being the most important. At Liverpool, for ex, they allege that their deaths are no longer 36 in a thousand, but are now brought to below 30. Next the papers omit all means of getting at the results of any of the works completed under the auspices of the General Bd of Health. They omit Croydon, Ely and a number of other places. I pointed these out to Greenhaugh and I cannot but suspect the omission is from more than ignorance.

Next, I considered the attempt to deduce from returns relating to an entire pop the effects of occupations and in part generally a minority of the pop --a part of the male adults, in one place, and female adults in another, quite futile -- absurd when the direct returns may be got. If you have got or can get a copy of my report on the San Cond of the Labouring Pop of 1842, I shd be glad if you cd look at it for you will there see portions of returns such as I d then get of the death rates amongst miners in Cornwall and Northumberland, dressmakers and others. I have long been desirous of working at the occupations; I shall be most happy if Dr Farr will leave me nothing to do in relation to them, but I fear he will not. The occs comprise such large armies; the shoemakers, for ex, on any of between two and three hundred thousand men and with subdivisions of labour and differences according to town or country occ, all of which require some special stud; of which you will see an ex in respect to the tailors, from whom I got out the fact that their eyes go one fourth sooner in bad san conds and overcrowded workshops in towns than in the smaller country shops.

Various anti san fallacies appear to me to be illeg. I had intended to ex the paper carefully and also to take it in connection with the weekly reports of the stats of Metropolitan sickness pub directly under the auth of the General Bd of Health, which by not keeping before the public distinctly what is preventible do mischief, by leading people to believe, on account of the regularity of the occurrence, that they occur inevitable,

under some mis imutable law the Reg Gen 's weekly returns from the metro have hitherto been open to objections of the like kind.

I shall have a difficulty I fear in getting through half the engagements wh I am under for the next month, and shall be unable to deal with Simon immediately.

He may be a good pathologist, he is undoubtedly a very good writer, but a very shallow sanitarian, apt from weakness as well as sinister interests I fear to such warps as he has shown I believe in respect to the Netley Hosp.

I am to have been at first somewhat taken in by his sounding generation to believe that he knew far more than it turns out he does.] I shd be glad if you wd get my report of H, but look at my opening in the subject of occs, for if I mistake not, it will serve to show how far the papers in qu, with a specious appearance of advance, in reality go back.

ff47-48 Chadwick to FN Sept 12 /58 just met Galton, re waiting upon her. I have just met Capt Galton from whom I learn of your short return to town, in fact wh I hope denotes an improvement in your strength.

I wish in the way of apology for myself to mention that within a day after I last wrote to you Mrs Chadwick recd an acc of the very serious illness of a sister and her husband, both of whom had been attacked whilst travelling in a picturesque but malarious district near the lake of Como. We went all speed to see her, but we ourselves, at one of the hotels at illeg a place at the end of the Lake Lucerne, were both powerfully affected by the cesspool emanations in the house. Mrs C was in great danger herself and was so much shattered that I was compelled to return with her to Lucerne. In the meantime her sister who had previously been ailing and rendered susceptible to the attack, died. Her husband was helpless and I was compelled to perform the last duties in respect to the funeral. We only got back yesterday. This event has taken all my time since I wrote to you and somewhat of my strength. I am now writing to Lord Stanley and the san org requisite for our Indian Army.

I shall prepare my paper or lecture for Leeds, and after that shall arrange for the san paper for the meeting at Liverpool. You will see why I forego any notice of Mr Simon.

I shall be in town on Tuesday on some business between two and four, and if you remain I shd be glad to wait upon you before or after time, but unless you favour me with a line, I shall presume that it wd not be convenient, or that you have returned to Malvern, of which for your sake in the present state of the Metropolis, I shall be glad to hear.

f49 Chadwick to FN 6 October 1858 Liverpool, doing another paper re application of sanitary science to protection of Indian Army. Prof Owen referred to FN in his address; wrote Lord Stanley on Indian Army.

I find that my article for the Qu will not omit the Liverpool meeting and I am here about the write another notice from that of the N Br and mainly on the applic of san sc to the protection of the Indian Army. If any suggestions occur to you, I shd be happy to avail myself of them.

You may not expect to find your name introduced on a question of science; it was however introduced by Prof Owen in his address to the meeting at Leeds where he referred to the progress made in san sc. He

promised me that he wd send you a copy.

I apprehend that he got the particulars in rel to the French Army from Dr Muhry.

I will try and get my paper here set up for circ in type.\ I wrote my letter to Lord Stanley on the subject of the India Army, but I have hitherto got no other than an ack.



Letter, ff50-51, pen, black-edged mauve paper

**f50r**

30 Old Burlington St.  
London W

**[16:511]**

Oct 7/58

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I have just received  
your kind note.

You will probably  
have heard at Leeds  
Neison's absurd paper  
to prove that overcrowding  
is rather a healthy  
thing. Could you not  
notice it & refute it  
in your paper at  
Liverpool? Saving this,

**f50v**

I have no suggestion  
to make. So little is  
known & so much has  
to be done as to  
Sanitary affairs in  
India that I think  
you must treat it  
from your own point  
of view. I know no  
one who can do it  
so well. You see no  
one has come up to  
yours in the N.  
British.

I read your paper

**f51r**

on Competitive Examinations  
which was in the  
Daily News in full.  
Some one was so good  
as to send it me.  
It would take up too  
much of your time to  
say what I thought  
of it. Like everything  
you do, it is ~~most~~  
masterly -

I hope we shall  
hear that something  
is being done by the  
govt. about Indian  
Sanitary Matters soon.

**f51v**

I sent a copy to your  
house at Richmond of  
my Crimean Report to  
the War Office. There is  
no need of your either  
acknowledging or  
returning it. And I  
only mention it now  
to say that it is strictly

**[14:982]**

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL.

I thought however I  
was in duty bound to  
send a copy to you  
who have always been  
our leader.

**[end] [16:511]**

Yours most sincerely  
F. Nightingale

ff52-53 Chadwick to FN Oct 8 [1858] much gratified by her letter, re the Simon party, from Liverpool meetings. I find that the ? section ...on the committee is largely influenced by the Simon party who have said they will not allow more than 20 minutes for the reading of my paper, re invaliding; I assert for England the death rate agreed upon with Dr Boudin and upon the standards he gave me, of 6 in a thousand attained amongst the engineers of Prussia and as he says in the gendarmerie in France. I think it well to insist on actually attained standards. State 12 per 1000 as the standard for India. The death rate and invaliding here on the present scale cost 10 per cent of force. I have not the comm report or any stats here. Can you tell me what the loss at the home stations is at present from invaliding as well as from death per 1000. Supposing the home army to be 123,000 men, what is the present loss from invaliding and death? and what would it be at 6 per 1000 death rate? If you happen to have the present strength of European or Br troops in India, how much shd we gain in strength in the field by reducing the death rate to 12 in the 1000? Perhaps Dr S ...cd send me word.

Letter, ff54-59, pen black-edged stationery, mauve

**f54r**

30 Old Burlington St.  
London W

[16:511-12]

Oct 9/58

Dear Mr. Chadwick

It is in the highest  
degree important that  
your paper should be  
read at the Liverpool  
Meeting. The Manchester  
Stat. Soc. would not  
answer the purpose  
at all. I should,  
if I were a known  
authority like you,  
select the main points  
& read them - then

**f54v**

print at my own expence,  
if the Council will not  
print in full. Afterwards  
they will print it out  
of shame. Or I would  
read to the end of  
their (absurd) 20 min:  
& then say "I have a  
great deal more to  
read but the Council  
says we are only to  
be interesting for 20 min."

I am quite aware  
of the inestimable  
mischief Simon & Co. are  
doing.

**f55r**

I wrote a Paper on  
Hospitals for Liverpool.  
After I had written  
it, I made my Uncle  
read it aloud to  
himself. It was longer  
than the *sacred* time  
so I remodelled it  
& cut it in two - ~~if~~  
You should cut yours  
into three. I dare  
say it would make  
into ten. It is utterly  
impossible to write  
anything worth writing  
to last 20 min:

**f55v**

At all events, bring  
the papers before the  
Meeting, were it only  
to make a protest  
against the course  
which would=be  
Sanitarians are taking.

With reference to  
your queries, there are  
no reliable comparative  
Army Statistics since  
1853 - at which date  
the Crimean War  
disturbed the whole.  
[After the Crimean War

[14:563-64]

**f56r**

2

the Mortality fell greatly from two reasons - the healthy state of the Army on its return & the very active Invaliding & Reduction which then took place. The New Army hardly came into existence before it had to be off to India.] But it does not matter much - because as like causes produce like effects, the loss from sickness &

**f56v**

[2]

Invaliding which took place before 1853 no doubt represents what would be the present amounts - seeing that the Soldier's condition is only beginning to improve. You may safely take the data in the Paper I send by Post with this - as representing what would be the Army Mortality - if the disturbing causes had not interfered.

**f57r**

I send you also the first Page of a Report giving the Sickness & Mortality in the different London Barracks - in contradiction of Lord Panmure's statement that some of the worst Barracks were the most healthy.

With regard to probable Mortality, ~~I-thi~~ would it be safe to take Boudin's

**f57v**

estimate for any Continental Army, as applicable to our own? Because, in the first place, they don't appear to have any Statistics. And more over the constitution of their Armies differs so essentially from ours. Also 7.7 appears a much safer basis.

[end 14:564]

The strength of the British Troops in India may be safely assumed at 60,000.

**f58**

[3]

The loss of a British army in India from Death AND Invaliding could hardly be brought down so low as 12 per 1000, could it? If you assume the possible *Death Rate* at 12 per 1000 & the customary *Death Rate* as 70 per 1000, & the permanent force at (say) 60,000, the Annual Loss at the *present* rate would be equal to a Division of 4,200 strong, & at 12 per 1000

**f58v**

to the loss of a Battalion 720 strong.

Suppose your Divisions to consist of 6 Battalions, each 700 strong, you might save about five out of the six by sanitary improvements.

**[end 16:512]**

I enclose you the following Statistics for each of the three Presidencies, given by Sir A. Tulloch.



**f59r** written sideways on page

Presidency.	Ratio of deaths per 1000 mean strength.	<u>Aggregate</u> strength during each period.
Bengal {1817 - '36	75.5	145,199
{1838 - '56	69.5	227,306
Madras {1817 - '36	76	142,939
{1838 - '56	38.5	100,545
Bombay {1817 - '36	62.7	66,208
{1838 - '56	58.7	96,516

These Deaths are exclusive  
of those occurring out of  
Hospital by disease or  
accident. The killed in  
action are also excluded.

**f59v**

I hope these facts  
may be what you want  
& that you will persist  
in reading your paper,  
if you cut it into  
twenty bits.

Believe me to be  
dear Mr. Chadwick  
yours sincerely obliged  
F. Nightingale

Letter, ff60-62r, pen black-edged stationery, mauve

**f60r**

30 Old Burlington St.

[16:512]

Oct 11/58

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I still hope you  
will read your paper  
before the Liverpool  
Meeting.

From the information  
which I have received,  
I should say that it  
would be unsafe to  
recommend the system  
of cultivation & settle-  
ment to which you

**f60v**

allude. For you might  
be met by a statement  
that clearing & cultivation  
are uniformly attended  
by pestilence. One of  
the great points with  
regard to Indian enquiry  
is to ascertain how to  
cultivate (not only  
with safety but)  
with increase of  
salubrity. The statement  
almost amounts to a  
proverb in India,  
wherever you make a  
garden, you make a  
grave-yard.

**f61r**

The W. India experience is too limited to establish a rule.

With regard to my papers, I am desirous that they should not be printed from the M.P, until I have an opportunity of revising them, which I had not time to do. (I was so driven by other business.) Of course I cannot help the Newspapers reporting.

**f61v**

If Mr. Whitly does so, perhaps he will be kind enough to send me a Proof for correction. [I have no Copy of the M.S.]

I quite agree with what the newspaper you sent me says about the 20 min: If the whole of the 1st Vol of Transactions had been burnt, the world would have been none the worse. The Association has mistaken its object.

**f62r** black-edged stationery

If I were the Council,  
I would devote each  
day to reading *two*  
(or at most three)  
papers, of the calibre  
of *yours* & on subjects  
as large. And I  
would rather have  
no Association at  
all than ~~hav~~ accept  
Papers on specialities  
like mine, which  
ought to be read  
in quite a different  
place. Yours sincerely [end]  
F. Nightingale

Letter, ff63-64r, pen black-edged stationery, mauve

**f63r**

30 Old Burlington St.  
London W  
Oct 12/58

Dear Mr. Chadwick

Thank you very much [16:513]  
for your note of this  
morning.

I do not anticipate  
that my papers will  
raise any storm. The  
subject is so little  
understood. And  
if they do not, I  
think it better to say  
nothing & leave the  
time of the Association  
open to the more

**f63v**

important paper  
which will follow.

If however any  
objections are raised  
to my paper, it will  
be on two scores:

1. the attack on the  
doctrine of Contagion
2. the sweeping away  
of all the principles at  
present adopted in ~~of~~ London Hospital  
construction.

I think then a few  
words from you would  
be important, because

1. you have done  
more than any other  
man against the

**f64r**

absurd Contagionists -  
the lazy fellows

2. you are thoroughly  
well acquainted with  
the *Pavilion* principle  
of Construction for  
Hospitals.

[Bottom cut off]

**[end]**

f65 Chadwick to FN 15 October 1858, Liverpool {archivist's date: Liverpool, 14 Oct. 1858}

**f65r**

Thursday

Dear Miss Nightingale,

Your paper has just been read with the very best effect. Lord Shaftesbury: Mr. Tomlinson & Mr. Bracebridge spoke exceedingly well upon it, & the resolution recommending the separate printing & circulation of the papers was carried by acclamation. Instead of reserving my own paper, I read ~~th~~ nearly the whole of it.

But that ~~yo~~ it was circulated, - that you did not wish ~~it~~ yours to be published, - yours would have been taken by ~~the~~ local papers.

In haste yours faithfully

E. Chadwick

Miss F. Nightingale

Letter, f66, pen, black-edged stationery, mauve

**f66r**

30 Old Burlington St.

London W

Oct 15/58

Dear Mr. Chadwick

Thank you very much for your note. I wanted to have seen your papers, before I wrote to you. But, as I cannot, this is merely to say, - will you, if you see Dr. Philip Holland (do not

**f66v**

trouble yourself  
otherwise) say to  
him that, as my  
paper is to be  
printed, he should  
send it to me for  
revisal first.

Yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

Letter to FN from Edwin Chadwick, ff67-68, pen, black-edged paper

**f67r**

Springfield Knotty  
Ash near  
Liverpool. Oct 8

Dear Miss Nightingale

I find that the  
question of settlement in  
India is one which strongly  
interests Manchester, and  
I had written to the chairman  
of the chambers of commerce  
there, to tell him that the  
formulation of healthy stations,  
with surrounding land cleared of  
jungle & cultivated by the  
soldiers - of which I have got  
examples from the West Indies -  
will lead to permanent  
settlement by soldiers families  
and ~~may~~ will be the best  
preparation for civil settlement  
for India

**f67v**

I offer to dispose of the question of climate for them.

I believe if I could get the chamber to adopt that view, they will instruct their members and it will be of good promise of direct practical effect on the government. I may however mention the paper here, as you suggest, - which I shall ascertain tomorrow.

I will take the 7 per 1000 as you suggest, but state the 6 per thousand on Boudins authority as having been attained.

I take 12 in a 1000 as having been attained by the ~~temperan~~ teetotal corps



**f68r**

in India;- or that of the  
temperance brigade with the  
addition of sanitary measures.

12 in a 1000 death rate *only*; -  
allowing for [~~illeg~~] accidents from  
the greater hearts.

I have requested a well  
inclined Editor here, Mr. Whitly  
to get your papers printed  
in extenso, & will try & look  
after them. I have written  
a note also to Macdonald  
~~that~~ to suggest the exercise  
of his influence to get them  
properly alluded to in the Times.  
If you have the original chapters  
& could get them copied it  
would ~~not~~ be well to send  
them there at once, they might  
set them up in anticipation.

The Times is hostile, or rather  
the proprietor Walter is hostile  
from my refusal to adopt an  
engineer, a protege whom I believed  
to be grossly incompetent

yours faithfully

E. Chadwick

Miss Nightingale

**f68v**

I have just been  
reminded that the quakers  
are rather strong at the  
Manchester chamber of  
commerce & will not like  
the aspect of soldiers, or  
the smell of powder, connected  
with my paper

I will however try both

FN [written at bottom of page, upside down:]

S.G.O. Durweston

Blandford

f69 Chadwick to FN Oct 28 1858 thanks for marked copy of Sergeant Jowett's work. I thank you for the marked copy of Sergeant Jowetts work wh was the one I meant and of which I shall try and avail myself at the first opportunity. I had marked in your own the passages to which you refer.

The book named to me as containing "check knowledge in military matters" is "Course d'adminsitration militaire par M Vauchelle; 3e edition. I Domaine Librairie Militaire ... No 30 1854?

Perhaps it may be got to look at from some military library; I am told that it is replete with practical details.

I send you a proof of an unpublished paper of mine on sanitary points of house and illeg which in the wall and floor and partitions question of hospital construction I think be glad if you wd look at, and return it to me.

I send you a copy of m first san report of 1842. I will get and send you the supplement of 1843 on interments in wh you will find much statistical

f70 Chadwick to FN Oct 30 1858 re last number of *Builder*, yesterday has Greenhow article, denying that scarlet fever is to be put in the category of preventible diseases, deserves your notice. saw Miss Craig re diseases

Letter, ff72-74r, pen, black-edged stationery, mauve

**f72r**

30 Old Burlington St.

W

3/11/58

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I will return  
your newspaper bits  
to-morrow. But, as  
I am afraid you  
will be off to  
Manchester, I will  
just say to-night

1. I quite believe  
the story about Ld  
Panmure & the  
Exchequer advantages  
of a

**f72v**

Hospital "stoppage".  
It is just like one  
of his brutalities!

2. the facts as  
to Hospital "stoppages"  
are not *quite* as  
they have been  
stated to you.

Add Mss 45770

171

At p. 397 of my  
Report you will  
find that there  
are *five* different  
Hospital "stoppages"  
ranging from 3 1/2 d to 10. d

**f73r**

And the "order,"  
mentioned in the  
same page, was  
obtained by me  
from the Queen  
direct, but only from  
the Crimea.

It is *quite* true  
that the Govt. (OR  
SOMEBODY) makes  
a profit (!) on the  
soldier's 10 d in  
Hospital at home.

We are *now*  
endeavouring to get

**f73v** black-edged  
an *uniform* "stoppage"  
for the soldier  
*in & out of* Hospital,  
abroad and at home,  
(say 6 1/2 % or 7%) with,  
of course, a *complete*  
Ration, including  
all his wants.  
[You know he now  
gets only bread &  
meat from Govt.  
*out of hospital\**]

I do *not* desire  
NO "stoppage" *in*

\* P. 418 of my Report

**f74r**

Hospital for him: (that  
would be *paying*  
him for being  
sick) but only the  
same "stoppage" as *out of*  
Hospital.

I saw Greenhow's  
preposterous letter  
in the "Builder"!  
There are quite  
enough facts known  
about Scarlet Fever  
to justify one in  
calling it preposterous  
to say Scarlet Fever  
comes from contagion.

Yrs sincerely  
F. Nightingale

f75 Chadwick to FN Nov 5 1858, thanks for her note, re Sutherland,  
improvements in art of war...re Miss Craig Accept my thanks for your note.  
Dr Sutherland has sent me the newspaper bits.

I quite see that illeg might not to be given to malingering or  
sympathy extended to the ill majority.

I am glad to find improvements going on illeg in the art of war, which  
will necessitate or give the victory to more illeg men in the ranks of war.  
The profligate the illeg and the low hill in general be bad shots. The more  
educated soldiers are I am assured actually illeg largely the inferior sort  
as shots . What think you of new cannon illeg a illeg sending shot  
accurately four miles distances?

In the meantime we must do what we may with what we have or with what  
for some time to come we are likely to have.

I find I shall not have to go to Manchester until towards the end of  
the month. I have not recd from Miss Craig the notes she promised to me.

A third point wh she mentioned to me as having been objected to was  
that patients in hospitals did not catch cold in bed. The objectors, Mr  
Charles Hastings and Dr Greenhow, both alleged as facts within their own  
experience that patients had caught cold in bed. Those two physicians  
appear to have been the objectors on the other points, i.e. the contagion  
of scarlatina and the injuriousness of too much light in hospitals. A few  
cases where light might be painful want suffice it would seem for illeg  
bring light to all as a minority of cases to whom moisture mt be bearable  
wd according to them be a sufficient reason for sending to Netley the  
majority to whom it wd be prejudicial.

Could not contrast be statistically stated of the difference of  
periods of bed lying in convalescence in good and bad atmospheres, in town  
and country, dry or wet, well or ill ventilated. I have heard statements of  
contrasts but have not taken note of them, or of the different chances of  
operations in different conditions. I think it wd be worthwhile to send the  
proof of your hospital construction paper to Dr Boudin as he has good

sanitary views on hosp construction. If you prefer it, I wd send it to him.

Miss Craig tell s met hat sometime yet a fortnight or two, perhaps a month, will be enough with the papers of other sections before they get to those of the public health section. In the Examiner tomorrow I expect there will be a paper on the standards of public health game.

I have heard nothing in respect to India; nothing it wd seem will move but large and striking disaster.

**f77r**

30 Old Burlington St.

W

6/11/58

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I quite agree with you about the *moral* effect of the superior use of weapons upon our men. And I am glad to think, as I learn from good authority, that our school for teaching rifle-practice &c to the men of all arms is becoming the first in Europe.

**f77v**

With regard to [16:513]  
"contagion", it is ~~also~~ a  
great advantage to  
me to hear what  
people say. For I see no one.

Sanitary experience  
has so completely dis-  
proved the invisible "seminal"  
Contagions that I can  
only see a mania for  
being wrong in such  
letters as Greenhow's  
& Simon's.

With regard to the  
*material* "contagions",

**f78r** black-edged  
I have acknowledged  
them.

With regard to  
"Infection", I believe  
in it just as much  
as I do in the  
emanations from sewage,  
and put them just on the same footing.  
But I say, where  
there is "Infection",  
the fault is in those  
who have charge of  
the disease not in  
the disease. Give  
cubic space, keep  
your patients clean,

**f78v** black-edged

ventilate your wards  
& there is no Infection.

I never knew a  
case of "Infection" but  
there was gross mis-  
management & care-  
lessness.

I never heard an  
anecdote of "Contagion"  
but it had less evidence  
than have witch-craft,  
magic &c to support  
them.

If I believe the  
"auld wives' tales" of

**f79r**

[3]

[seems [2] of letter is missing]

to be unfit for Surgical  
cases by the very Physicians  
themselves of those hospitals.

In the well-  
constructed Hospitals  
I ~~have~~ could mention, I  
have never heard  
either Doctors or  
Patients complain  
of the bad effects  
of either light or  
ventilation being too  
strong.

Please to look  
at the answer to  
Greenhow in to-day's  
"Builder".



**f79v**

I honor the development of the Pavilion system & the ventilation principle in Paris. But there is not a Hospital in Paris where the latrines, the ~~drainage~~ sewerage or the water-supply are not things to be avoided, rather than to be imitated. They are quite behind hand there.

ever faithfully Yours

Florence Nightingale

{Continues on to f80}

**f80r**

I must just say, with regard to "cause & effect", I don't want to go into any metaphysical disquisition as to what they are. But just let Messrs Greenhow, Simon & Sir C. Hastings try the ordinary rule, - (diminish, increase or remove the "Cause" - & the "effect" will be diminished, increased or removed also) upon "Contagion" & "Infection".

**f80v**

With regard to Patients  
"catching cold" in bed, if  
they did so in fresh air, all  
the patients in the Crimea  
must have died. For  
they lay looking up at  
the open sky thro' the  
chinks & slits. Yet  
even in the worst time,  
the Mortality was one  
half what it was at  
Scutari & afterwards  
it became a mere trifle  
& this with the thermometer  
near zero. [end 16:514]

F.N.

ff81-82 letter, black-edged, mauve paper

**f81r**

30 Old Burlington St.  
W  
8/11/58  
Dear Mr. Chadwick  
Thank you very  
much for Miss Craig's  
letter. Also for your  
suggestion about  
altering even a  
word, if desirable.  
I will be very careful.  
I return the  
Regulations which  
I had seen before.

**f81v**

My opinion about  
Simon's remains the  
same viz. that all  
he desires might  
be done & yet the Sanitary  
condition be left wholly  
untouched - that an  
incapable Sanitary  
Officer would find  
in them no guide  
what to do - and  
a capable one would  
set them aside.  
They are, in fact,

**f82r**

wholly general - while  
yours are, essentially,  
practical.

Yours are practical,  
able & masterly,  
like everything you  
do. Still I think,  
considering the nature  
of the Officers with  
whom you have to  
work or rather  
who have to work  
them, you ought to  
tell them more (not  
only what they are

**f82v**

to do but) how they  
are to do it. In this  
respect I think our  
Regulations (for Army  
Sanitary Officers) better.  
And yet we think  
them not enough,  
And are ~~to~~ going to  
give them a Manual  
besides.

Yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

ff83-84 Chadwick to FN Nov 8 1858 re Panmure story. A shoe manufacturer has told me the following story. He got an introduction to Lord Panmure and showed to him an improved shoe for the soldier, with an elastic sole that is elastic in the part under the instep which he (Mr Davie the manufacturer) says enables men to make longer marches and lasts longer. He says that as many as 30 percent of the men are disabled at times from footsores, which he says are generally the fault of the shoes! He stated this fact to Lord Panmure and put it to him whether the saving of so large a proportion of disability did not make it worthwhile to get a better shoe for the soldier? Where upon my Lord Panmure replied he did not see that it wd, for the men in the hospital paid for themselves. The astonished manufacturer learned then that 10d a day is deducted from the pay of every soldier whilst in hospital and this is supposed to pay his expenses there.

This appears to me to be a dismal view of the soldier's case and the interests as to his san improvement.

I should like to know what the tenpences in the Crimea amounted to and whether they were all accounted for. In the home army, the absences on account of illness being 40 per 1000 constantly, the tenpences will be 626.11.8 per regiment, or some sixty or eighty thousand pounds for the whole force, of which acc to Lord Panmure's reckoning, you want occasion to the Illeg in so somebody a more than

A mil friend has I believe written a letter on the subject to a provincial journal. I enclose a copy of the letter and the editorial comments.

I have thought it well that you shd know the point, otherwise I wd have written to Mr Herbert to call his attention to it in case there shd be anything in it....Perhaps you may be able to return me the letter.

ff85-86 Chadwick to FN Nov 8 [1858] re her forcible exposition.

I think your exposition most forcible. I have only been anxious that you shd by qualifications guard against misrepresentation as far as may be practicable. I will get the Builder. In the meantime I enclose a letter I have recd from Miss Craig. It will be some time, as I learn, before the papers of the Health section can be printed and I hope you will send for further revises and make alterations, even for a single word, if anything occur to you to add or alter. It will to the many be the first time they will read your words, didactically and every word on the points in question

will be valuable, and I hope make them wish for more.

I find myself sometimes misled by general expressions of concurrence, and I have been so by Simon and his compeers. In consequence of the praise given by an ally of his to the regs drawn up by him for directing the services of the office of health, I have recently looked at them and compared them with some regs for the same purpose drawn up by myself. I enclose both. I shd be obliged if you wd look at them both, and let me have them back with your judgment upon them... I have heard nothing from Lord Stanley and I must think of taking some step by another letter.

f87 Chadwick to FN Nov 15 [1858]. I have been astounded at the mischief and potency of the sugg of putting the enlargment? doctors in quarantine, and reproaching myself that I never thought of it myself. It shd however be seriously maintained.

Will you be so good as to let me have the enclosed bits back, as I want to circulate them. ... Nothing of India. I learn at the Health section that it will be some time yet before the class of papers will be in type.

Letter, f88r, pen, black-edged paper, mauve, bottom cut off

**f88r**

30 Old Burlington St.

W

16/11/58

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I return the enclosed  
with many thanks.

It will do a GREAT  
deal of good.

Please look at  
next Saturday's  
"Builder" on Preventable  
Disease - Greenhow &  
the [?] answer to him.  
[Bottom of page cut off]

Letter to FN from Edwin Chadwick, ff89-90, pen mounted open, so each f has left and right page

**f89r, left hand page**

Richmond Surrey. S.W. Decr. 8 1858 [black-edged stationery] [1:533-34]  
Dear Miss Nightingale

It should be  
a consolation to you, that  
such sufferings as those which you  
have to sustain you will have  
prevented as well as mitigated  
to many thousands, - countless  
numbers of others, though your  
efforts may as yet have fallen  
far short of your wishes &  
the extent of the present  
needs of relief for afflicted popula  
tions. I am desirous of submitting  
to you one method of relief  
for mental disappointment, which  
I have tried; that is when the  
inert mass ~~is~~ is immovable or  
beyond ones strength exerted in  
one direction, not to afflict  
oneself, or to despair but to  
change

**f89r, right hand page**

[2]

the direction of ones thoughts  
and labours. The truth is that  
my conception of poor law legis-  
lation was for prevention rather  
than repression, but finding I  
could not move others ~~be~~ beyond  
repression, I directed my labours  
to measures for the prevention of  
disease: hence the report of 1842  
& subsequent sanitary reports. Having  
got a check on sanitary measures:-  
finding the mass immoveable farther -  
I had begun to move measures  
of administrative reform: & move  
the cry & more than many people  
are aware of, and I might almost  
have gone away from sanitary measures  
if you had not pushed me upon  
India; & if I had been twenty years  
younger you might have  
driven me amidst the jungles  
and the marshes there.  
Your acts have been observed, and  
appreciated as the manifestations  
of a noble sentiment. But your  
words have not hitherto been heard -  
so to speak; but they soon will be

**f89v, left hand page**

[3]

but only to a select class, &  
on a professional subject; on  
hospital construction, for your  
great monogram of evidence is  
shut out from the people. **[end 1:534]**

I have been thinking of  
submitting to you for consideration  
a change in the direction of  
your labour, - to the instruction  
of your hundred thousand  
children, the ~~noble~~ rank  
& file of the army.

I have desired to ask you to  
consider whether you could not  
write advice for the soldier, as a  
tract, for his guidance in those  
cases where he must act  
for himself, where there is no  
medical officer or no officer  
whatsoever near.

Warnings might of course be given  
against intemperance: but  
advice ~~against again~~ of a  
sanitary character, avoidance of  
damp, avoidance of bad smells:  
avoidance of overcrowding: how much



**f89v, right hand page**

better to sleep in the open  
air than to sleep in a close  
room with numbers, avoidance  
of bad water: &c  
But the strength of the advice  
or admonition, might be founded  
on information, derived, from obser  
vation at the terminus, - in the  
hospital, - as to the antecedents  
on which the hospital supply  
is kept up.

Might he not be advised  
what he is to do, when  
a comrade is struck down by  
his side, before a surgeon  
can come up, what he is to  
do with himself, when he  
has power left to him, after  
wounds: how the wounded are to be carried [illeg].

I think if you were to jot down  
your observations, altogether they  
would make more than you are  
aware of, & might include advise  
to the soldier for acting as an orderly or in  
the absence of regular nurses.

As to what is to be done in  
the case of wounds, I remember  
an anecdote told me by a

naval officer

{Letter mounted out of sequence. Continues on f90r, right hand page}

**f90r, left hand page**

practical action, are accompanied by clearness & commensurate force of exposition, pre eminently fitting you for such a task.

I have seen advice for the management of a sick room: a ten shillings book, which I thought poorly done I hope you would furnish more to be sold for as many halfpence, I have seen nothing approaching to what you would write if you gave your mind to it.

Then I hope it would be some relief to the wearisomeness of trying to make the half deaf hear, & to spur on the sluggish & half paralytic to action, and it would be work which you might carry on, in a pure air in which I hope it would give you better spirits, from the consciousness of doing more even than you are now doing.

I pray you to consider of these points in your quieter time & to try a few jottings at intervals

yours ever faithfully

Edwin Chadwick

Miss Florence Nightingale



**f90v, left hand page**

children, or adults, ~~as in what~~  
on sanitary matters, on what have been  
termed the four requisites

1st pure air: its deterioration by over  
crowding, containing: filth, excreta ~~bad~~  
badly drained houses: admonitions that  
places cheap in rent are dear in use

2 Temperature suitable:- exposure of  
children to cold from unsuitable or  
insufficient clothing; lowering of  
heat by damp, damp clothes, damp  
walls & floors &c

3 Aliment; unwholesome, or insufficient,  
drinks, ~~poor~~ impure water; purity to  
be contended for ~~strong~~ alcoholic drinks gastric disorders from  
bad cookery &c

4 Exercise bodily & mental, fatigue  
or exhaustion, want of sleep,  
childrens play &c

A statement of the diseases that  
follow deficiencies irregularities in these respects  
would be of the greatest benefit in  
the way of prevention. A state  
ment of the "impure air" diseases,  
mismanaged heat diseases:- "colds"  
mismanaged food diseases, "over work" or  
"under work diseases" would be  
a new classification, bringing the  
causes & their prevention within  
the means of popular appreciation.

**f90v, right hand page**

[7]

Then as to disease, it would be well to tell young mothers, what health is: & what deviations from it are what a cold is, & its treatment; what a furred tongue, a quickened pulse headaches & shiverings mean, what eruptions on the skin mean, of different sorts, - what she is to send to the doctor for & what she is to do before the doctor comes, & what the lone woman in backwoods is to do when there is no doctor to be had; -

What she is to do with wounds and accidents.

You may say to me, you who conceive this why do you not execute it yourself. In the first place, I do not feel myself equal to the task, ~~or~~ and if I were & could get up complete particulars, - I am not in a position to be heard, or should be heard only by hundreds. - I am not a doctor, whereas you are the great national nurse, & you would be heard by hundreds of thousands and millions, who will give to you a deep & well deserved attention. Your greatness in sentiment  
& in  
[concludes on f90r, left hand page]

Letter, ff91-92r, pen

**f91r**

30 Old Burlington St.

W

Dec 18/58

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I return the enclosed  
which I think is a  
complete answer to  
Greenhow. Had I seen  
it sooner, I should have  
made use of it in a  
"Sanitary Contribution"  
of which I have  
told my printers to  
send you a copy.

Could you not

**f91v**

make use of it in  
the Builder?

At the same time  
I have so little  
confidence in the  
information of this  
Circular that, in  
making use of it,  
I always feel afraid  
that the time may  
come when one will  
have to expose it.

I have been inten-  
ding for some time  
to thank you for  
your VERY kind letter

**f92r**

(the last before this)  
& to answer it  
at some length. But  
I mean to do so,  
altho' I have been  
too ill lately.

yours very sincerely  
& gratefully  
F. Nightingale

Letter, ff93-94

**f93r**

30 Old Burlington St.

W

Dec 22/58

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I sent you back, per  
Bookpost, three of your  
valuable books which  
you were good enough  
to lend me. The fourth,  
the most valuable of all,  
the 1842 Report on  
the Labouring Population,  
I understand that  
you were so kind as  
to wish me to keep  
as my own.

**f93v**

I am sorry not to have been able sooner to thank you for your letter of Dec. 8. But I know that I need not plead in apology those reasons which I am sure you kindly appreciate without my mentioning them.

And now I thank you very sincerely & very heartily for your letter.

Your appreciation of the objects I have striven after & must strive after while I have any power remaining to do so, is a satisfaction to me, because you have yourself been

**f94r**

chief leader in the Study & pursuit of these objects - ~~& so~~ generally - & in my particular branch of them, I have to thank you for much valuable assistance, directly & indirectly.

Your letter offers me real subject for consolation & support under suffering. It is more gratifying to receive such sympathy, - instead of the advice or attempts to comfort, founded on misconception & misconstruction, which are so often set before the sufferer, with vain endeavour to help or console.



**f94v**

With respect to the  
objects to which you recom  
mend me to devote my  
attention, I can only say  
that I recognise their value  
quite as much as you can  
do. I feel the most earnest  
interest in them. But  
on circumstances beyond  
my control & not on my  
good will to such work,  
must depend whether it  
will be within my power.  
Meantime let me say that  
I hope you will ever continue  
your efficient interest in  
such things, that you will  
ever continue to work for  
them in the way you only  
can do. I beg you to accept  
a shorter & less full response  
to all that you have said than  
I would wish to give, because  
I am unable to write much & to  
{written vertically up side of f93r}  
believe me ever yours gratefully.

F. Nightingale

Draft, f95, pen, ff93r-94, not FN hand or copy?

**f95r** {Archivist dates it at Dec. 1858}

My dear Sir. I am sorry not to have been able sooner to thank you for your letter of Decer. 8th, but I know that I need not plead in apology those reasons which I am sure you kindly appreciate without my mentioning them.

And now I thank you very sincerely & very heartily for your letter.

Your appreciation of the objects I have striven after & must strive after while I have any power remaining to do so, is a satisfaction to me, because you have yourself studied & pursued those objects & I have to thank you for much valued assistance in them directly & indirectly

Your letter offers me real subject for consolation & support under suffering. It is gratifying to receive such sympathy instead of the advice or attempts to comfort, founded on misconception & misconstruction which are so often set before the sufferer with vain ~~attempt~~ endeavour to help or console.

**f95v**

With respect to the objects to which you recommend me to devote my attention, I can only say that I recognise their value as fully as you can do.

I feel the most earnest interest in them. But on health & other circumstances beyond my control, & not on my good will to such work, must depend whether it will be within my power. Meantime let me say that I hope you will ever continue your interest in such objects - that you will ever continue to work for them.

I beg you to accept a shorter & less full response to all that you have said than I would wish to give, because I am unable to write

Letter to FN from Edwin Chadwick, ff96-97, pen

**f96r**

Richmond Surrey. S.W. May 4  
1859

Dear Miss Nightingale.

Having in my  
speeches as well as my addresses  
alluded to sanitary measures  
for the protection of the  
Army, it may be of interest  
to you to know that the  
topic ~~was~~ received everywhere  
deep attention. In my address  
I mentioned your name &  
I was in the course of  
my canvass repeatedly questioned  
about you, by poor people  
usually the wives of  
electors, some of whom  
spoke of you with much  
emotion.

**f96v**

I was fully confirmed  
in the belief I have  
expressed to you, of the  
impression which any  
words of your own, would  
make, if addressed to  
them.

I have thought it my  
duty to avail myself  
of desperate chances  
to get into the House  
for the sake of the  
cause, but I have  
been jockeyed, at all  
points in electoral  
matters. I was however  
an entire novice at them

**f97r**

To use the words of  
the Apostle Paul:-

"We are troubled on every  
side yet not distressed:-  
we ~~are~~ are perplexed but  
not in despair, persecuted  
but not forsaken, cast  
down but not destroyed."

By political differences, at  
present, I am shut out  
from any aid by writing in  
the Radical newspapers or  
nearly so, the Social science  
association, I find animated  
by [illeg] adverse interests of  
various sorts, and impracticable  
or nearly so, but I wish you  
to be assured that I shall  
be watchful to contend  
against

**f97v**

odds.

I will endeavour to get  
another interview with Lord  
Stanley on the Indian  
army question.

I was glad to hear that  
you had got into a better  
air than that of the Burlington  
yours ever faithfully

Edwin Chadwick

Please not to think of  
an answer.

Miss Florence Nightingale

Letter, ff98-99, pen [5:361]

**f98r**

West Hill Lodge  
Highgate Rise  
N  
May 9/59

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I was very glad  
to see that you had  
come to the Poll. I  
don't call it a defeat  
at all. It is the first  
time that those topics  
have been tried at  
an Election. And you  
have only to go on &  
to make the subjects  
of your speech on

**f98v**

the hustings as  
popular as possible  
by making them  
known in as many  
county or popular  
papers as possible.  
Wherever mooted,  
those topics are  
always appreciated  
& welcome with  
the working classes  
tho' not with  
their employers.  
You stand alone

**f99r**

now at the head of  
a Party, which party  
consists perhaps  
but of one or two now.  
But go on & it will  
become a party in  
the Ho. of C. You  
polled one seventh  
of the whole number  
of votes at Evesham;  
one third of the  
man above you.  
I don't call that  
so bad.

I think your Article [9:83]

**f99v**

in the N. British &  
at the Social Science  
Meeting, together  
with your interview  
with Lord Stanley,  
has already borne  
fruits. Ld S. has  
asked Mr. Herbert  
to be Chairman to  
another Sanitary  
Commission to do  
in India what the  
first has done at  
home. Pray do not  
remit your efforts  
to bring the thing to  
the people's minds. Yours  
sincerely F. Nightingale

[end 9:83]

Letter to FN from Chadwick ff100-03 pen {arch date: 1859}

**f100r**

Richmond Surrey. S.W.

May 10 [arch 1859?]

Dear Miss Nightingale

I have been delighted to see in the clear handwriting of your note, evidence, as I trust of strength, encouraging to the belief to which I cling of your eventual convalescence, to which I still adhere from confirmatory instances, one of a neice [yes] whose prostration & sufferings were apparently greater than yours, but who was restored under extreme quiet, - which does not mean vacuity - pure air, careful diet and patience.

I feel strongly justified by

**f100v**

your encouragement.

I was about to send a reminder to Lord Stanley of my suggestion to him eight months ago of a commission for the sanitary improvement of the Indian army, when I received your note of information. I have heard nothing, though he promised me immediate attention at the time.

It might be well to urge on Mr. Sidney Herbert particular attention, as to his colleagues on the commission, as the choice, which should be given to him, involves the extent of his labour if not

**f101r**

his entire success.  
The Indian army sanitary  
commission, may be made  
the means, of sharpening  
up, & advancing all  
sanitary doctrines, and  
doing more than make  
good the deficiencies of  
the first [?] sanitary commission  
as respects the ~~Indian~~  
Army at home; the  
definitions as to what is  
preventible, may be made  
more clear & sharp; ~~it~~  
the subject may be got  
beyond mere medical  
generalialia - where medical  
sanitary professors mostly  
stay, - it may be advanced  
to more ~~clearly~~ clear  
perceptions ~~of~~ the  
means

**f101v**

the sanitary & special  
engineering works: & it  
may be got beyond these  
where the sanitary engineers  
stay:- to the administrative  
machinery, the financial  
& the official, ~~the~~  
organisation, returns  
reports, checks &c. &  
the whole, medical, structural  
& official, combined to an  
executive result.  
I shall be most happy  
to give Mr. S. Herbert  
any assistance in my  
power to these ends: but  
it makes one of my  
discouragements, that  
as the sanitary cause, or  
sanitary science advances



**f102r** black-edged stationery

[2]

it becomes more & more  
difficult to act otherwise  
than directly. I would  
gladly have crammed  
members of parliament  
or any one, and ~~it~~  
~~(sufficed)~~ the cram sufficed for the  
first generalia, but  
when we advance to  
executive particulars, the  
cram fails, - you cannot  
foresee objections, and  
there are few who can  
be crammed to sustain  
*themselves* upon them or  
to cross examine witnesses  
urging [?] them. It is the  
increased trouble required  
for indirect

**f102v**

as we get on, that I find  
so discouraging after being  
used to more direct  
action, from the time  
required being greater, -  
every day remaining to me  
being equal to two  
formerly, & strength and  
certainty of result  
diminishing. I shall  
however do whatsoever  
I may.

Your dear Miss Nightingale  
most faithfully

Edwin Chadwick

Miss Florence Nightingale

**f103r**

It has occurred to me  
in respect to your hospital  
construction papers, to suggest  
that if approved, I would  
or others perhaps better  
might be got to  
get them read at

The Medical Chirurgical  
Society

The Epidemiological  
Society for the purpose  
of having them discussed.  
One ground for this step  
must be that it might  
be said complementarily  
that they have not  
yet been brought before  
the medical profession;  
& only before lay people.

ff104-05 Chadwick to FN Oct 3 [1858] trying to do something for children

f106 proof heads of a paper on measures for reducing the hours of  
instruction and for naval and mil drill as gymnastic exercise as part of  
national system of educ, by Chadwick n.d. [FN reply Oc 4/59]

Letter, ff107-08, pen

**f107r**

Hampstead NW  
Oct 4/59

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I am so very glad to find that  
you have taken up this important  
subject of School Gymnastics. For none  
will better repay the careful &  
complete inquiry you will give it.

I think the lithographed Heads  
very good - especially "2. Moral."

Some time ago we tried to get  
from the Privy Council a complete set  
of Statistics bearing on many of your  
heads. But altho' they promised these,  
we have never yet received any.

I fear the direct sources of  
information are as yet few. But I  
would strongly recommend that you  
should visit some of the numerous

**f107v**

Gymnasia in London. You will get most important information as well as Statistics from their Conductors.

Something might be learned at the public Gymnasium on Primrose Hill. De Fellenberg's Academy near Berne, which of course you know, is one of the few places at which Gymnastics form or used to form an essential part of education [in an exaggerated form, I used to think. My uncle Octavius Smith had three sons in one of the Branches. Would you like to examine them? Two of them are living]

With regard to your two questions, I think there can be no doubt, as human health is compounded of two things, moral & physical health, that any system of education which aims at the first without taking the second into

**f108r**

equal account, must necessarily fail.

1. I am quite sure that taking an equal number of cases (men) out of a Civil & a Military Hospital, you will find the latter much more enduring of pain. [But you will never overcome the Celtic fibre - you will never make him tolerant of pain, whether French, Irish or Highland Celt. I have heard quite as much howling in the French Military as in the French Civil Hospitals. And an Irish soldier always thinks himself at the point of death, if but his toes are cold.]

2. The observation is universal (but it would be very difficult to get Statistics, because they have never been tried for) that over-application to school-work, i.e over-tension of the nervous system & its concomitant,

**f108v**

disordered digestion & assimilation,  
invariably leads to ill-health. And  
the universal remedy is air, exercise  
& idleness. Education on true Sanitary  
principles would avoid both extremes,  
& realize the mens sana in corpore sana?

It is very difficult to give you  
Statistical facts. But my Nurse's experience  
tells me that the deprivation of manual  
labor (*that* manual labor which every  
woman & every man gets, excepting  
a few fine ladies who do not even dress  
themselves & whose nerves are  
virtually in the same state as those  
of the Sick) is one of the main causes  
of the irritability of nerve of the sick,  
& induces half their suffering. A  
little cleaning, a little cooking, even a little writing  
or needlework, is, if it can be allowed,  
a great remedy, ~~in~~ both for sick and  
children, both for naughtiness and  
nervousness. Reading has just the contrary  
effect -  
It exasperates.

Yours sincerely F. Nightingale

f109 Chadwick to FN Nov 21 1859 request not to read his paper at Bradford  
meeting, as deemed undesirable

Letter, ff113-15, pen

**f113r**

Hampstead NW

Dec 28/59

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I have read your  
paper with great interest.  
The half-time System  
really partakes of the  
nature of a great  
social discovery.

It will be worth  
all the trouble to collect  
as much information  
about it as you  
possibly can & to

**f113v**

make it public.

The half time system is consistent with nature, with health & what is of great importance with the parents' interest.

To be capable of education requires education. This, the upper & middle classes have had. But they forget that the working classes have not had it. And hence they

**f114r**

commit the great mistake of judging these classes by themselves. The result is that the boys don't learn; their teachers get disgusted & the parents get tired. And it is no wonder that the children are set to work to earn wages. The half time system reverses this. It enables the boy to come fresh to his lesson after his inactive brain has had time

**f114v**

to rest. A middle class  
boy does not require  
this. But it would  
nevertheless be a great  
blessing to middle class  
boys, if they were made  
to work as well as to  
learn.

The only question  
lies between the half day  
system & the alternate  
day system. Perhaps  
the latter will be found  
to be the best. very truly yours

F. Nightingale

I hope in a few days, if the printers  
are faithful, you will see (by a  
copy of a little thing of mine you  
will receive) that I have taken your  
{written vertically up the side of f113r}  
Suggestion as to setting down a few plain hints to teach  
people to nurse  
themselves -

**f115r**

for we must not forget  
that, however much  
the present generation  
may be deficient in  
preventive knowledge,  
it is not so much  
their fault as that  
of the system of  
instruction. We  
might make enemies  
by too sweeping a  
denunciation of men  
educated to do one  
thing, because they  
do not or cannot do  
another.

Letter to FN from Edwin Chadwick, ff116-17, pen

**f116r**

Richmond Surrey. S.W. Jan 14 [arch:1860]

Dear Miss Nightingale

Your little book  
"notes on nursing", is a greater work  
than your large one on Hospital  
management, for the public, - because  
it will circulate wider, & permeate  
deeper. The publication of your  
views on Hospital Construction, (as I  
think I mentioned, that I had learned  
from Mr. Robertson) has influenced  
the plans of new Hospitals in  
the course of construction in the  
North. Though there may be failures in  
one direction there will be success in  
another. So it will I trust be  
with these "notes". Though the special  
school for ~~Hospital~~ Sick Nurses, may be  
delayed or be mismanaged, yet you  
may be assured that the "notes"  
will lead to extensive voluntary  
action, in directions which may  
not be foreseen. I would recommend

[Robertson]

**f116v**

therefore, that they may be more widely spread than the publisher may be accustomed to spread his publications

I am myself so intently occupied with the educational & half time investigation, that I cannot promise to give you the aid in writing articles which I should otherwise be delighted to do. I append, some suggestions of directions for the publisher. The penny publications, which are becoming the most important, are never thought of by [~~illeg~~] great publishers.

I am highly pleased, with the notice of the sanitary condition of schools. & with the general purity of the sanitary doctrine inculcated. For myself I am strongly impressed with the belief that there is a highly important opening for the extension of sanitary doctrine as respects children, - in the doctrine of the half time school system, the school gymnastics, the drill & the bath in the nursery management, as the old will be more ready to take



**f117r**

steps to regulate the habits of the young than to change their own.

I hope for the support of your answers on these points & in respect to females. I enclose an extract, copied out by my little boy for the fact as to the extent of spinal deformity ~~in~~ amongst females (& not for the ~~remedy~~ particular specific the raised backs to seats, which may be the suggestion of some Yankee chairmaker,) which fact, I believe is quite common to this country.

A French writer, Michelet, in ~~a~~ some works "L'Amour":- "La Fem [whited over] has touched upon some physiological points, connected with the condition of women, in a manner peculiarly French, & exciting English ladies condemnation

In ~~illeg~~ the work "mis (?) "L'amour", he lays it down as a primary condition of women, that they are invalids, that they are to be treated, as invalids throughout life:- next that child bearing is a mortal danger, and that no woman, no married woman

**f117v**

~~is~~ ought to be subjected, to that  
mortal danger, without  
her consent

All this, I may presume, we may  
treat, as the result of the ignorance  
of sanitary science, in the training  
of ~~young females~~, - for whilst the  
deaths in childbirth, (as W. Roberton  
shews) amongst females who have servants  
is some 1 in 70, amongst females who  
have none it is some 1 in 700, &  
we shall find, in these last that  
the deaths result ~~from~~ in the great  
majority of cases from gross causes  
~~readily~~ easily preventible; and the function  
itself of childbirth, which may be  
comprehended under the term, the  
"duty of mothers," not necessarily painful  
as M. Michelet assumes.  
There are some prints of the notes  
on which I have observations, for  
another time

Very faithfully your

E. Chadwick

Miss Florence Nightingale

ff118-21 Chadwick to FN rough draft of 9 June 1860 letter

ff122-27 Chadwick to FN June 9 1860

Letter from J.S. Mill to Edwin Chadwick, ff128-29r, pen, black-edged stationery [5:371]

**f128r**

Blackheath

Feb. 7. 1860

Dear Chadwick

I am grieved to hear such an account of Miss Nightingale's health. I shall certainly read her book at the first opportunity, not for any benefit to myself for my ailments have never yet been of a kind to require nursing; but for the reasons you give, as well

**f128v**

as others that are obvious. [divers?]  
I do not need it to enable me to share the admiration which is felt towards her more universally, I should think, than towards any other living person.

I am afraid I shall hardly be able, during the short time of my stay, to make out a visit to you. The ignorance and rawness

**f129r**

of all ranks on the subject  
of representation are certainly  
amazing. and only equalled  
by their self-satisfied  
indifference to further  
knowledge: you will not  
get your inquiry, for everybody  
has made up his mind to  
do something this year without  
waiting either for knowledge  
or thought.

Yours truly  
J.S. Mill

Letter, ff130-31v, pen [5:82-83]

**f130r**

30 Old Burlington St.

July 16/60

Dear Mr. Chadwick

Could you come in  
any morning at 1/4  
before 9 to breakfast  
this week? There  
are several of the  
foreign Delegates,  
who would like to  
meet you. You  
might perhaps  
find none some

**f130v**

morning & too many  
the next. If,  
therefore, you could  
tell me what  
morning or mornings  
we may hope for  
the pleasure of  
having you, I  
would try & get  
the proper people.

Varrentrapp, who  
knows you, will  
be here tomorrow  
(Tuesday) if you

**f131r**

have your morning  
disengaged.

ever yours sincerely  
& gratefully  
Florence Nightingale

ff132-33 Chadwick to FN [July 19 1858] Thursday re statistic congress, not strict in keeping to pure stats, re Guizot's memoirs [helpful letter] 19 July 1860 Guizot, 3 volumes of Memoirs just out. "Valuable reports full of facts and sound views drawn up by committees, the inspectors, rectors and the prefects remain unknown to the public. The government ought to charge itself with the knowledge and the expansion of all good systems, with the encouragement of all favouring efforts, and with the attempt to improve them. According to our present habits and institutions one channel alone embraces sufficient action and proves to secure this salutary influence: that channel is the press. I therefore suggest to Your Majesty to authorize in principle the publication of a periodical collection for the use of elementary schools in every degree," etc.

One oversight of the medical sanitary statist is that the chief remedies are by works and that the works cost money; and to obviate that difficulty, the congress may be [illeg] their attention to the statistics of the economies attendant on efficient sanitary measures.

Note, ff134-35v, pen [est date 19 July 1860]

**f134r**

*Mr Chadwick*

Your proposal is a  
very important one.  
It seems that the  
various points in it  
all converge into  
this: that, at the  
Meeting of the  
Congress next year,  
statistics should  
be produced from  
all the various States

**f134v**

of any marked  
examples of  
diminution of  
mortality, sickness  
or expense from  
Sanitary improvement  
in the dwellings  
of the population, in  
schools, in Hospitals or  
in the general  
administration  
of the Army.

    If this meets

**f135r**

your view, would  
you speak to  
Drs. Farr & Sutherland  
about it now?  
It might be done  
in a letter to  
Lord Shaftesbury  
this evening.  
[Bottom of page cut off]

ff136-37 Chadwick to Miss Carter Thursday [July 19 1860]

Letter to FN from Edwin Chadwick, ff138-39r, pen [5:86] {archivist's date:  
July 20 1860}

**f138r**

    Friday Afternoon  
Dear Miss Nightingale  
        The letter was  
read by Lord Shaftesbury  
at the section: it read  
well: he endorses it, and  
it was received in the  
best possible manner.  
    I moved a resolution  
that it should be earnestly  
recommended for the  
adoption of the general  
congress & the resolution  
was carried by acclamation  
    It will be read

**f138v**

at the general meeting,  
I expect by Lord  
Shaftesbury. I have  
charge of it. If  
any verbal alterations  
were thought desirable  
it might be revised  
but I think it reads  
very well, and all  
that is now wanted, is  
two or three copies to  
give to the reporters  
when it is read. [end 5:86]

Sir James Clark

**f139r**

and others have I find  
pre engaged all the  
sanitary allies of whom  
I am aware.

Yours faithfully  
E. Chadwick

Miss F. Nightingale

Letter to FN from Edwin Chadwick, ff140-43r, pen {archivist's date: July  
21. 1860} [5:86-87]

**f140r**

Dear Miss Nightingale

After the report  
from the sanitary section  
was read, in which the  
mention of your name  
was received with applause  
in respect to the proposal  
to obtain uniform hospital  
statistics, Lord Shaftesbury  
stated that he had received  
a letter from you, which  
he had read to the  
section, & which they  
had ~~un-~~unanimously  
and earnestly requested  
him to read to the

congress.

**f140v**

He then proceeded  
to read it, & it  
was very well received  
and produced, a very good  
impression: the instances  
stated however taking  
many people by surprise  
amongst others, Lord  
Birmingham testified  
his surprise.

It was then moved by  
Mr. Legoyt, that the  
congress recommended, the  
letter to the special  
notice of the government  
represented by the delegate.

He took occasion to

**f141r**

speak of the large  
sanitary, sewer works under  
taken in Paris: of  
the old houses pulled  
down & of the new  
& more salubrious  
ones constructed, of the  
ventilation of barracks  
carried out by Boudin:- [end 5:87]  
& of the hospitals Lari  
boisière, of which I  
had just before informed  
him.

The motion ~~of~~ was secon [5:87]  
ded by Quelelet  
who rather unexpectedly  
said that I had  
asked him to support  
it which he did gladly



**f141v**

but this led to my  
being called upon to  
speak in its support.

When I told them of  
model cottages erected in  
Holland: Prussia & Switzerland  
and Turin after the  
example set by Prince  
Albert, which had ~~all~~  
been followed by important  
sanitary results, little  
noticed in the respective  
countries, & lost for  
international purposes [end 5:87]

I referred to trial works  
for the application  
of sewerage, ~~intro~~ to agriculture ordered  
by Louis Napoleon at  
my suggestion, which I  
believed

**f142r**

But ~~this~~ these trial  
works which I said I  
believed settled the  
question, but the results  
were unknown except  
in ~~my Bureau~~ part  
of the departments,  
& were lost to the  
rest of the world. I  
mentioned that Cavour,  
when ~~in~~ Minister of public  
works had come to England  
to look to Sanitary works  
& that, people would have  
great interest in the results  
But unless these results  
were carefully looked to  
& kept distinct from the  
ordinary statistics, they  
would be

**f142v**

lost in there, immersed  
in averages.

The resolution was carried [1:87]  
of course, unanimously.

Resolutions in various  
forms, one by Mr. Visschers  
one by some one else  
for the special ~~obj~~  
observation of matters  
affecting the labouring  
~~cl~~ classes were carried.  
These resolutions had  
been prepared independently  
& they shewed the tendency  
of the sectional  
minds.

I have taken your  
letter to the stationers

**f143r**

to have half a dozen  
copies ~~p~~ got ready  
to send them round  
to the papers from  
the secretary of the  
section.

I think that is we  
could get translating  
in French & German  
the delegates would  
get ~~sh~~ copies inserted  
in their respective papers, [end 1:87]  
Legoyt in the Moniteur:-  
Quelelet or Visschers  
in the Moniteur Belge;  
somebody in the Allgemeine  
Zeitung.

yours faithfully

Memo by Edwin Chadwick, f144-45r, pen {archivist's date: 21 July 1860

**f144r**

Mem: For suggestion to

Mr. Engel

To send round rather earlier than  
has been done hitherto or in England  
to the Governments

In the names of the delegates.

To send to each of them to give them time for preparation a request

that he will bring with him

especially an account of any  
successful administrative ~~illeg~~ or

other improvement made, since

the last congress, which may be

of international interest, and for

a the measure of that improvement

in statistics:- (this by a

special circular letter to the

governments, asking them, ~~who~~ for an

account of what they deem

advances, ~~affe~~ particularly in

matters, affecting, the physical

& rural improvement of

the population:- this being

in fact a compliance with the ~~{illeg}~~ resolution

**f145r**

of the view voeu emitted by the last  
this to be) congress.

a matter ) Vide letter of Miss Nightingale, or  
of routine) resolution proposed by  
Mr. Vischers]

or is this wise.

As soon as the Prussian ~~gover~~  
government has given its formal  
consent to ~~hold~~ the congress  
being held in Berlin, then a  
circular might be sent announcing  
it, & with the circular copies  
of the resolutions, setting forth  
the points on which future information  
would be expected.

After these communications  
~~fuller~~ & more some time before  
the future congress letters, in the  
way of *reminders* might be sent  
to the respective governments to ask  
them if they have named delegates

Then when the delegates are  
named to ask them, as a matter of  
course, & for the programmes, what  
are the improvements, on the working  
of which they are prepared to report  
for the information of the congress.

f146 pencil note, rough JS hand re Farr entirely agrees in importance of  
additional suggestion, stats, destitute children, Farr agrees that the  
letter be read

Letter, f148, pen [5:371-72]

**f148r**

30 Old Burlington St.

W

July 31/60

Dear Mr. Chadwick

Could you come  
& breakfast here  
one of these mornings  
at 1/4 before ten, or earlier, &  
bring Mr J. Stuart  
Mill with you?

If ever I were  
well enough to see  
him & you had been  
good enough to bring

**f148v**

him here in this  
way, this would  
be a sufficient  
introduction.

Could you besides  
come & dine here  
yourself any evening?  
This would be very  
good of you.

I want very  
much to have  
a few minutes'  
talk from you  
before you go to  
Paris.

ever yours sincerely  
Florence Nightingale

ff149-50 Chadwick to Miss Carter Aug 8 [1860] asks to submit to FN enclosed, which expresses a wide spread sentiment and confirmation of his own impression. the writer is an engineer

ff151-52 Chadwick to FN Aug 28 1860 encloses note from John Mill, when mentioned introduction he indicated her right to write to him w/o intro, re Chadwick's book constabulary force report. In an early report on Poor Law admin you would find a history of the life and death of a pauper, as sustained at every stage by charities, medical as well as other, written by a clergyman...to amuse. re metaphysics; Erasmus Wilson reading a paper; re Turkish bath. It is an implement which ought to be attached to hospitals...

Letter from J.S. Mill to Edwin Chadwick, f153-54r, pen, black-edged

**f153**

Blackheath  
Aug. 27. 1860.

Dear Chadwick

I have had two notes from you which ought to have been answered, but what with occupation and the weather which has been unfavourable to fixing beforehand any time for a walk, they have remained unanswered till now. I should have written directly if I could have told you of anything that could be useful to you or Mr Bagehot on the subject treated of in your pamphlet. But I could only

**f153v**

have referred you and him to the Socialist writers, particularly in France, who have laid great stress upon the same class of considerations which you have brought forward. I should like to have a talk with you on the question, and to explain where I do and do not agree with you; and I hope to be able to arrange a meeting and a walk, but I am unable to do so just at present.

I beg you to thank Miss Nightingale [5:372] very particularly for the new edition of her Notes. I have read the additional

**f154r**

matter, and think it quite equal to the preceding. But I confess I wish the sentence we talked of were omitted. There is nobody, that I know of, who deserves the stigma it conveys; while it gives the sanction of Miss Nightingale's authority to the attempt to run down those who are contending that the only way in which either women or men can find out what they can and cannot do, is by being allowed to try; and that it is a gross injustice to women that men should pass sentence in the matter beforehand, by preemptorily excluding them from anything. I am dear Chadwick

yrs very truly

J.S. Mill

ff157 letter of Baudens 1er division militaire, Hôpital Militaire de Vincennes, 210 rue de Rivoli, to Chadwick 25 Aug 1860. Je n'ai rien vu dans nos journaux qu'un article de Philarète Chasle comment Mlle N et [a?] inséré dans le Journal de Débats vers la fin de juillet au plutot au commencement du mois d'Aout. L'article etait assez long et rendait justice a la Soeur de Charite de la Grande Bretagne.

Je verras prob le 30 M Legoyt qui va quitter Paris pour un mois et je lui ferai ...Si .... Si M Michel Chevalier? ..a jour a la Societe de Statistiques je.... J'ai reçu dernièrement une longue lettre de Mlle Nightingale... admiration pour sa personne. Seulement il ne faut plus imiter ... must create, conforming to the rules a hygiene, ...Miss Nightingale, ainsi il faut en finir avec les grands (und 3 times) hopitaux, aux petits qu'il faut multiplier en plan non au centre des villes, a leur circonference ..Il faut ..

Letter, ff159-60, pen

**f159r**

Upper Terrace

Hampstead

Sept 3/60

Dear Mr. Chadwick

Many thanks for  
your two letters &  
their enclosures.

I should like to  
see your "novel" on  
the Constabulary (!) very  
much, if you will  
be so good as to  
send it me.

Anything left at

**f159v**

the Burlington Hotel  
is forwarded to me  
here at once.

The "early Report  
on Poor Law adminis-  
tration" which you  
mention, I should  
like much to see too.  
But could I not  
get these works  
without troubling  
you?

Mr E. Wilson's  
M.S. paper on the  
Roman bath I have

**f160r**

already seen.

Hospitals are  
beginning to adopt  
this bath. Several  
provincial ones  
have done so &  
two or three in London.

We used it  
in the Military  
Hospital at  
Scutari with good  
effect, - even in  
the collapsed stage  
of Cholera in  
certain cases.

I should like



**f160v**

to know whether  
there is any truth  
in what is asserted  
by some competent  
authorities that  
it disposes to  
febrile attacks  
in the East.

Many thanks  
for the permission  
to write to Mr. Stuart  
Mill which I  
am very likely  
to profit by.

ever yours sincerely  
& gratefully  
Florence Nightingale

Letter, ff161-65v, pen [6:515-16]

**f161r**

Upper Terrace  
Hampstead  
N.W.

Sept 8/60

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I make haste to  
answer your question  
as to my experience  
(as an old nurse,)  
in the "application  
of the water-cure  
to incipient consumption"  
- especially as it regards  
so valuable a life.  
1. In incipient tuberculosis,

**f161v**

where the object is  
to avoid local  
congestion, the water-  
treatment (not as  
a charm, as English  
women take medicine),  
but as *part* of a  
treatment) I have  
seen to be more  
effectual - the  
rest of the treatment  
being - open air  
during the greater  
part of the day,

**f162r**

(riding or otherwise,  
according to the  
Patient's strength) -  
bed-room ventilation  
at night, - diet,  
founded upon  
improved digestion,  
the result of the  
open air exercise -  
sometimes gentle  
gymnastics - much  
cold water sponging  
& little wet-sheet  
packing.  
2. Where tubercular

**f162v**

deposit has *begun*,  
I have seen cold-  
water treatment,  
(especially in unskilful  
or careless hands)  
actually accelerate  
the local congestion  
and the end.  
(a.) I would not  
trust any woman  
(including myself,)  
to say *whether* the  
Patient is in a  
stage to require

**f163r**

& to benefit by  
the cold-water cure  
- nor what it  
should be. This of course  
must be done by a Doctor.  
(b.) I know no London Doctor,  
*excepting Sir James*  
*Clark*, who would  
give an impartial  
opinion as to whether  
the Patient should  
(or should not) go to a cold-  
water Doctor.  
(c.) I have seen a  
good deal of all  
the Hydropathic Doctors.

**f163v**

*Dr Gully*, of Malvern  
has the most genius.  
But his practice is  
so large, his fortune  
so assured that I  
have known him go  
away for weeks &  
leave his Patients to  
a third-rate Practitioner.  
And I have known  
him keep cases of  
Phthisis, (not from  
self-interest but from  
mere carelessness,)  
to die at a miserable  
little

**f164r**

lodging at Malvern,  
instead of sending  
them away to an  
easier death at  
home, or in a  
warmer climate.

*Dr Walter Johnson,*  
a little strange  
scrubby boorish  
looking man, is  
the most careful,  
impartial disin-  
terested, clever,  
water-doctor I have  
known. [He is also

**f164v**

at Malvern.] I  
would *always* trust  
him to send away  
a case (or not to  
treat it at all)  
if, or when, he  
thought it would  
be better elsewhere  
- as also to know if,  
& when, that period  
arrived.

(d.) I am quite sure  
that life may be  
long rendered valuable  
by these means, in  
*incipient* Tuberculosis.

**f165r**

2. I am very much  
obliged to you for  
your defence of, or  
rather interpretation  
of me, with Mr.

J.S. Mill. You  
have put my  
meaning more  
exactly than I had  
put it myself.

ever dear Mr. Chadwick

yours most truly

Florence Nightingale

Thank you very much for  
your two "novels".

Letter, ff166-67, pen

**f166r** {archivist's date: Sept. 11 1860}

Did you have my  
two letters last night  
1. about Prisoners' Ward  
& 2. Operation Wards?

1. As to Prisoners',  
would not the best  
plan be to ~~set~~  
put them into  
one of the large  
Ven: wards? And if  
not full, to fill it up with the latter cases, it would  
not disturb the  
latter to have the  
Guard? It seems

**f166v**

absurd to build a  
ward for 29 Prisoners,  
a number which  
is given for one of  
the months.

2. I am enraged  
with Dr. Gibson for  
requiring those  
Operation Wards  
- expensive &  
inconvenient.

**f167r**

II. I will get Capt.  
P. Jackson to send  
a proper statement.  
Col. Maberly promised  
a Report, which is  
not yet come. A  
fine U.S. bound  
book was sent me,  
which I lent to  
Col. Lefroy and he  
has not returned.  
Is Col. Lefroy in  
town?

Would you ask  
Dr. S. to tell you now  
the contents of that  
book?

**f167v**

III. Could you get  
to see a Minute -  
drawn up, as I  
understand by Dr.  
Mapleton & Mr.  
Robertson, & sanctioned  
by Mr. Herbert - as  
to Orderlies' Service  
in Hospitals?

I miss poor Alexander  
so, tho' I had many a  
tussle with him. ☺  
Had I better write  
to Dr. Gibson for information about  
these things?

IV. I wrote to Mr. H.  
about the things we talked about,  
on Friday.

Letter, ff168-77, pen

**f168r**

Upper Terrace

Hampstead

Sept 14/60

My dear Mr. Chadwick

You know I always  
answer your letters  
first whatever  
else I have to do.

I think the  
fragment you have  
done me the honor  
to send me will  
be eminently  
useful, when  
worked up.

[16:624]

**f168v**

1. Mr. Adshead of  
Manchester is to  
moot the question  
of Convalescent  
Institutions at the  
Glasgow Meeting.

2. None such are  
as yet projected,  
excepting the one  
for which the late  
A. Morley bequeathed  
some £100,000 odd,  
in connection with  
St. George's Hospl.

The Manchester

**f169r**

one is not yet  
brought before  
public notice,  
altho' I have  
seen & revised  
their plans. It  
will be brought  
forward at Glasgow.  
3. I had rather  
not give any  
general sanction  
to plans, but  
only to principles.  
Plans must  
vary according  
to ground & local

**f170v**

circumstances &  
exposure. And  
people are so  
stupid, they will  
not see this. So  
that I am always  
afraid of laying  
down anything like an ~~a~~ universal  
plan.

Since my "Evidence"  
was out, plans for ~~of~~  
some dozen  
Hospitals have  
been sent to me,  
purporting to be  
constructed on my



**f170r**

[2]

"principles." And  
in all I have had  
to make the most  
essential alterations.

**[end]**

4. As you desire  
suggestion, I venture  
to advise, tho' I  
do not expect  
my suggestion to  
be followed, that  
what is scored out  
in red should be  
omitted. (Pp. E & F.)  
It represents the

**f170v**

view of a small party,  
not extensively received,  
not perfectly sound.

We do not know  
enough yet to tie  
ourselves to this  
kind of thing.

5. I think, if I  
were you, I should  
be extremely careful  
not to give such a  
name as yours, without qualification, to  
a. Hydropathic treatment  
b. Roman Bath

**[6:516-17]**

**f171r**

a. Practically, I advocate exactly what I wrote to you about water-cure. But theoretically (and your name would give weight to any theory you chose to uphold) the Hydropathic quackery is just like any other quackery - an imperfect development of a certain form of treatment - Hydropathy being

**f171v**

only the name for drawing fees.

The "skin" (or Hydropathy) theory has been put in practice in other ways; & has not achieved cure - shewing that it is the *whole* way of life, not the particular *specific*, which brings about the cure.

In my young days, I perfectly remember another quackery

**f172r**

3]

which forbade the  
taking any more  
liquid than was  
necessary to support  
life - especially *not*  
a drop of *cold water*  
was to be drunk.

The two specifics  
are "much of a  
muchness".

b. I would venture  
to suggest the same  
thing as to the  
"Roman Bath".

Let Mr. Chadwick

**f172v, pen**

give his name to  
sanction "cleanliness" -  
*not* to sanction  
the Roman Bath.

If we were back  
in the times of  
Roman civilization,  
by all means let  
us have the Roman  
bath. But for  
*our* civilization,  
instead of the  
hard, tough=muscled  
giant, called the  
Anglo=Saxon, we

**f173r**

should have luxurious  
pygmies, if we used  
the Roman Bath,  
as they did.

Historians do not  
tell us what share  
the Roman bath  
had in the decline  
of ye Roman empire.  
& Historians do not  
tell us what share  
the Turkish bath  
has in the proneness  
to plague of the East.

By all means,  
let us have both

**f173v**

as a means of  
cleanliness. As a  
means of cure, let  
us leave it to the  
physicians. As a  
national custom,  
let us see whether  
the cold bath is  
not our National  
friend - & not the  
Turkish or Roman.

[At Scutari, the  
Turkish bath in our  
General Hospital  
was altered, by our  
British Engineers,

**f174r**

in the way of applying  
heat, with good  
effect, even as a means  
of cure.]

As a matter of fact,  
the Roman Bath, altho'  
resembling in some  
points the Turkish,  
differed from it  
essentially in its  
objects, machinery  
& appliances.

Certainly, the  
Russian, Roman &  
Turkish are all

**f174v**

modifications. But  
the first man who  
took a warm bath  
is also the father  
of them all. They  
have all some things  
in common - They  
have all their  
specialities.

Don't let Mr  
Chadwick give his  
authority to any.

[Yes, I have  
taken the Russian  
bath in Paris, &

**f175r**

the Turkish bath in  
Egypt & in Turkey  
(these are two  
quite different baths)  
many hundreds of  
times.]

The so-called "Roman bath" now  
is only Mr. Erasmus  
Wilson's adaptation  
of the Turkish.  
¶ 7. With regard to  
drugs - until the  
British public is  
enlightened enough  
to pay the Doctors

**f175v**

for their knowledge  
& not for their drugs,  
the Medical profession  
will be a base &  
not disinterested  
one. It will not  
be, as you say, a  
Sanitary profession.  
Most medical men  
are obliged to  
trade in drugs  
to get a living.

Whatever you  
can say to raise  
the national knowledge

**f176r**

and feeling on this  
subject will be a  
national benefit.

I went as near  
the wind as I could  
in my "Notes on  
Nursing".

You can go much  
nearer.

But I would  
take care, if I were  
you, to keep to  
principles, not  
to give particulars  
which may be  
gainsaid, or abused,  
or misapplied.

**f176v**

7. I am working  
at a sixpenny  
Edition of the Notes.  
Don't abuse the  
price publicly. It  
was my fault for  
not making a  
bargain with the  
Publishers.

8. I very much  
applaud what you  
say of England  
being under-peopled  
& the Anglo-Saxon  
race insufficient  
for its mission.

**f177r**

It is the true "Social  
Economy". The over-population  
school was absurd.

I think page 1  
particularly admirable  
ever dear Mr Chadwick  
faithfully & gratefully yours  
Florence Nightingale

Letter, ff178-86r, pen

**f178**

Upper Terrace  
Hampstead  
N.W  
Sept 16/60

Dear Mr. Chadwick

1. I hear that the  
Liverpool Town Council  
has taken offence at  
something in the  
Regr. Genl.'s Reports  
- and that, at your  
meeting at Glasgow,  
Newlands, McGowan &c  
are going to prove  
that the R.G's Statistics

**[16:546-48]**

**f178v**

are all wrong - and  
that Liverpool *with*  
cesspits & middens  
is healthier than  
any town *without*.

I wish you would  
set them right. Dr.  
Farr is grown quite  
comatose.

2. If you are  
coming up here to  
see your boy, before  
you start for  
Glasgow, would you  
bring him to dine  
here? And I would



**f179r**

get Dr. Sutherland  
to meet you - if I  
knew beforehand.

We could offer  
you a bed - but  
alas! our "spare  
room" is not one  
which would  
accommodate Mrs.  
Chadwick.

For we are just  
now a Sanatorium  
for babies.        whose  
parents are away.

3. You & I do not  
mean the same thing  
by the "Water-Cure".

"I am not at all  
prepared to dispute"

**f179v**

that Mr. Roebuck  
was "built up" at  
Malvern. But  
does he think that,  
if he had had  
Dr. Gully at "Ashley  
Place, Westminster",  
he would have  
"built" him up -  
with any number  
of wet sheets?  
It is *because* Dr  
Gully is a brave &  
a sensible man  
& says, - It is I  
*and Malvern* who

**180r**

2

must do it - that  
he succeeds.

But would it not  
be better to call this  
the "absence from  
Parliament cure" or  
the "quiet life &  
exercise cure" or the  
"Malvern hill cure"  
rather than the "water  
cure"?

My objection is  
really only a practical  
one. The quack name  
has done mischief.  
It has (in a measure)

**f180v**

prevented, as all  
quack-idolatry  
(of any specific) does,  
~~prevented~~ the  
recognition of the  
Hygienic treatment  
of disease. Admit  
fully the utility  
of water, hot & cold,  
as an adjunct in  
recovery. But it is  
not all.

(b) How wicked it  
would be in me to  
disparage what is  
(unwisely) called the

**f181r**

"hydropathic" treatment.

But this treatment, so  
humane because ~~so~~ so successful,  
includes much more  
than "water", (either  
hot or cold, or both.)

Take Mr. Roebuck's  
case. There was  
absence from Parliament,  
absence from head  
excitement, absence  
from night hours,  
proper diet, quiet life,  
exercise, fresh mountain  
air, and different  
kinds of bathing.

In my own case,

**f181v**

which I only mention  
because it is that  
of thousands, I  
recognise, just  
as much as I  
recognise that 11  
oz. of solid carboniferous food  
are necessary for  
a man in health,  
that I should not  
be here - were it not  
for Malvern. In  
August '57, after  
my work at the  
R. Sanitary Commission,  
and after 4 years

**f182r        3**

of anxiety & exertion,  
I was told that my life was  
not worth 24 hours'  
purchase - and I  
knew it too.

I owe three years,  
at least, of (not  
useless) life to the  
"water-cure" at  
Malvern, altho' it  
could not "cure".

(c) ~~But~~ Just as little  
does ~~cold~~ however water, *per*  
*se*, as calomel succeed.

E.g. In Pulmonary  
Phthisis, I know

**f182v**

that water cannot  
arrest, it cannot  
even delay, the  
diseased action.  
But gentle gymnastics  
with good air & water can.  
dumb=bells, if the  
patient's strength  
permits, horse=  
exercise, if the  
Patient can bear it,  
or other modifications  
which a wise & careful  
"Hydropathic" doctor  
introduces - ~~these~~ -

**f183r**

But these cannot be  
called *water-treatment*  
exactly.

Let us have  
"nature instead of  
drugs". But don't  
let us erect, or  
degrade, water into  
the *Status* of a "drug".

(d) Again, "I am not  
at all prepared to  
dispute" (as the Doctors  
say,) that the water  
-cure *gets out*  
~~calome~~ mercury

**f183v**

& other deleterious  
drugs thro' the skin.  
But all sufficient  
perspiration, whether  
excited by friction  
or other means,  
does the same.  
And the true Sanitary  
conclusion is, don't  
take the mercury  
&c.

I don't disparage  
the wet-sheet packing  
- I know it has saved  
many lives in fever.  
I am sure it saved  
mine. I believe to

**f184r**

[4]

a weary rheumatic  
labourer, before, or  
after, he ~~goes to~~ has been at  
his days work, it would  
be even more  
healthful than the  
Turkish Bath.

(e) Russian, Turkish,  
Roman, *hot air*, &  
vapour baths are  
all under the same  
category as Hydropathy,  
none is a specific -  
none best for *universal*  
use - all good as

**f184v**

part of a Hygienic  
System.

Praise them all  
in their places -  
all these forms of  
bath.

This is all I  
contend for.

4. But, above all,  
I am anxious ~~that~~  
(and venture to suggest  
that it is *most*  
important) that  
the Medical profession

**f185r**

should not be indisposed  
to you, to the Sanitary  
movement generally  
& to the Social Science  
Association in particular.  
Hitherto, to do them  
justice, I must say,  
I think they have  
behaved very well.

And they have  
contributed their fair  
quota to the Social  
Science Meetings.

In particular  
forms of treatment  
& of disease, they can

**f185v**

(or the public think they can)  
give powers [?] to lay  
Civilians "interfering  
in "Medicine".

I am most  
anxious that their  
opposition should  
not be roused.  
The sick are the  
most credulous  
of human beings.  
They will believe  
anything the "Doctor"  
(whether Allopathic,  
Homeopathic or  
Hydropathic) says  
to them. For their sakes

**f186r**

5

let us be most  
careful to carry  
the "Doctors" with

**[end 16:548]**

us. ~~for their sakes.~~

ever yours sincerely

& gratefully

F. Nightingale

Letter, ff187-94, pen

**f187r**

Sept 18/60

**[16:548-50]**

*Mr Hutchison's Hospital Reports* {written diagonally across top left corner}

I am afraid I have  
kept Mr. Hutchison's  
book a most unrea-  
sonable time.

Were the answers  
fully & freely given,  
which is the case  
in remarkably few  
instances, and were  
an Abstract and  
correct Index made  
of the whole, I can  
fancy few "*Recueils*"  
more important

**f187v**

or more curious.

As it is, one  
does not obtain  
much from it  
except a general  
idea of want of  
system & management.

Take the Nursing.  
It appears that the  
generality of Provincial  
Hospitals, ~~not~~  
(even those of the  
size of Birmingham,)  
have no Head Nurse  
or Nurses - that  
they have a number



**f188r**

of women, all equal  
among themselves,  
under a Matron -  
that these women  
are in many cases paid as low  
as 5/, or even 3/6 a  
week sometimes -  
that the Night  
Nurses are ~~illeg~~ sometimes  
one to as many as  
100 Patients in one case (to as  
many as 70 Patients,  
even where these  
are all "accidents",  
as specified ~~in one case~~  
where all the Nurses are paid £8 a year, without  
Rations - but  
that, on the other

**f188v**

hand, the Night  
Nurses have  
sometimes fewer  
Patients than  
the Day Nurses,  
one cannot tell  
exactly why, &  
are sometimes  
better paid than  
these.  
On the other hand,  
the answers are so  
careless & imperfect  
that, even in some  
Provincial Hospitals,  
there appears to be  
Head Nurses, altho'

**f189r**

2

the answer to this  
(printed) question  
is "No".

Sometimes, in the  
enumeration of  
how many Patients  
to a nurse, the  
Head Nurses are  
counted & sometimes  
not - giving, in  
the latter case, a  
most erroneous  
idea of the  
disproportion of  
Nurses to Patients.

**f189v**

Sometimes it is  
specified, &  
sometimes not,  
whether the Nurses  
have rations &c.  
But, in a few  
instances, it  
would *appear*  
that literally  
all they ~~have~~ receive  
is 5/ a week.  
It is probably  
not so. But  
of course, whether it is, makes  
all the difference.

**f190r**

If a proper analysis  
were made of the  
Book, all these  
imperfections would  
appear & could be reduced  
to certainty by  
fresh information.  
And a most  
valuable body  
of evidence would  
then exist. As it  
is, I ~~do not~~  
think it almost  
misleading.

The Liverpool  
Hospitals, where  
the information

**f190v**

is most complete,  
appears to require  
a very ample  
reform as to  
Nursing - as to  
adopting a plan of Head Nurses  
especially - &c &c.

2. One question  
entirely omitted is  
as to whether there  
is a "steward". I  
conclude, from the  
absence of the  
*question*, that  
there never *is* one,  
in Provincial

**f191r**

3

Hospitals.

I have recently found in several cases, when questions had been referred to me from these Hospitals, that they usually have one Matron, no Steward & no ~~nur~~ Head Nurse.

The Matron performs the duties of the Steward; & no one performs the duties of the Head Nurse. [The Nurses

**f191v**

are all equal under the Matron.]

I am certain that this system of no Steward & no Head Nurse is extremely bad *economy* (in the large Provincial Hospitals, say, those which contain above 200 beds - these being actually larger than some of our London Hospitals, such as King's Coll., University &c).

**f192r**

Upon this question  
of Stewardship, which is a very  
important one, Mr.  
Hutchison's book  
throws no light.

In Provincial  
Hospitals, I don't  
at all dispute  
that a woman often  
makes the best  
Steward. But  
then I would  
have a Head  
Matron, who  
should be also  
Supt. of Nurses  
(for, after all,  
the Hospital is

**f192v**

for the *Patients* &  
not for the stores)  
and an Under  
Matron, who  
should be steward.

Even in prisons,  
the Head Matron  
is for the female prisoners,  
according to Sir. J.  
Jebb's plan, &  
under her, is, I  
believe, generally,  
an Under Matron.  
We take more care of our prisoners  
than our Patients.

3. One thing which  
makes Mr. Hutchison's  
book appear more

**f193r**

[4]  
defective than it  
really is (in  
its information) is  
that, in many cases,  
the answer is only  
"(See Rule -)"  
- printed Rules & Reports  
having been  
apparently sent  
with it, which  
are not bound  
up in the Book.  
And while I am  
all on the tiptoe  
of expectation,  
this is all I get.  
v. Sheffield,  
Hereford [Turn over

**f193v**

4. As far as one can  
judge, the Scotch are,  
of all Hospitals, the  
worst nursed. In  
one I find 3 Nurses  
(serving in both capacities  
of Night & Day Nurses)  
attending upon 70  
beds, at a salary  
of £5.10 per ann.  
each - apparently  
no Rations. No Head Nurse.  
[The Glasgow Infirmary is quite a curiosity of  
mismanagement. vide P.S.]  
5. In some Hospitals,  
there is a duplicate  
set of Night Nurses,  
sitting up *alternate* nights.

**f194r**

But the answers  
never specify whether  
they do anything on  
the alternate days.  
I conclude however they are  
only Night=Sitters-up, not Nurses  
at all.

6. It is curious that,  
in *very few* instances,  
(my own town of Derby,  
I regret to say, among  
the number) is the  
blunder ~~is~~ committed  
of having no *fixed*  
staff of Nurses.

Whereas, in  
Military Hospitals,  
there is *never*  
a fixed staff. As if  
there could be any  
*nursing* without one.

**f194v**

P.S. The Glasgow Infirmary  
has 540 beds, & might  
be as complete a sample  
of administration as  
any Hospital in the  
world.

It has no fixed staff  
of Nurses - no Head Nurse.  
For every ward of 20 Patients it  
has one day nurse at 19/, & one  
Night Nurse at 17/ per  
month!! apparently  
no rations. [~~There~~  
~~appears to be~~ supernumerary  
Nurses ~~for~~ appear to make up the whole  
number of Nurses at  
present ~~is stated at~~  
to 46, 23 day, 23 night] [end 16:550]

Letter, ff195-98, pen

**f195r**

Hampstead NW

Sept 19/60

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I have not my  
Army data here to  
refer to. And Dr.  
Sutherland is (or  
fancies himself)  
laid up with  
Bronchitis.

Upon the following,  
however, you can rely:

**f195v**

The past Mortality  
of the (Home) Army is  
17.5 per 1000 per ann.  
The Mortality at  
Aldershot & Shorncliffe  
has been (on a three  
years' average) 4.7.  
If you call the  
difference = 12 per 1000,  
in an Army of (say)  
80,000 men, it  
amounts to a saving  
of 960 men per ann.,  
or an entire Regiment.



**f196r**

The "admissions" ~~we~~ I  
cannot here give, except  
in comparison with  
the Guards -

<u>Guards</u>	<u>Admissions</u>
Fever & Diarrhoea	113.18 per 1000 per ann. (7 years

<u>Aldershot and Shorncliff</u>	
Fever & Diarrhoea	55 per 1000 per ann. (3 years

or less than one half.

**f196v**

There are no data  
for India as yet.  
But, if we could reduce  
the mortality from  
70 to 30 per 1000,  
we should save, on  
80,000 men, 3200  
recruits per ann.

**f197r**

I have unquestionably  
seen (in my  
schoolmistress days)  
bred, under my  
eyes & nose, scarlet  
fever in the higher  
class (even) of boys'  
schools. Every one  
has seen the same  
process as to measles  
in all (rich & poor) schools.  
(National, Union &c)  
But parents, rich & poor, are  
so blinded by the  
idea that everybody

**f197v**

must have measles  
once ~~a year~~ in their life (& "you ~~they~~  
"had better  
"have it *young*")  
that they do not  
understand what  
they see.

When I published  
my little Nursing  
book, a lady,  
well-known, on  
the "Ladies Sanitary (!!)  
Association", wrote  
to me, complaining

**f198r**

of what I had said  
about the breeding  
of measles; &  
informing me  
that it was a  
result of "structural  
development." [What  
does that mean?]  
God be with you  
& all your plans.  
ever yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

ff199-201, pen

**f199r**

Upper Terrace  
Hampstead  
N.W.  
Oct 17/60  
[14:1011]

Dear Mr. Chadwick  
Three years ago,  
when I was still  
"to the fore", I was  
asked to meet Mr.  
Kinglake expressly  
for the purpose  
indicated by you.  
I had two hours'  
good conversation  
with him.  
I found him

**f199v**

exceedingly courteous  
& agreeable -  
looking upon the  
whole War as a  
work of Art and  
emotion - and  
upon me as one  
of the colours in  
the picture - upon  
the Chelsea Board  
as a safe (or  
rather an infallible)  
authority - upon  
McNeill & Tulloch  
as interlopers -

**f200r**

upon figures (arithmetical) as  
worthless - upon  
assertion as proof.

He was utterly  
& *self-sufficiently*  
in the dark as to  
all the real causes  
of the Crimean  
Mortality - and  
you might just  
as well try to  
enlighten Sir G.  
Brown, himself.

For Lord Raglan  
he has an enthusiasm  
which *I fully share*

**f200v**

but which entirely  
blinds Mr. Kinglake,  
who besides came  
home long before  
the real distress,  
to the causes of  
that distress.

I put him in  
possession of some of  
the materials. But  
I do not hope that  
he will, I am quite  
sure that he will  
not, make use of  
them. Had his  
book come out before

**f201r**

I should most  
certainly have  
answered it.  
I fear now it  
is too late for me.  
I hope *you will*.

I wish you  
would bring your  
son to dine here  
when you come.  
And if next  
week, we might  
be able to offer  
*you* a bed.

[end 14:1011]

yours sincerely  
as ever  
F. Nightingale

f202 an envelope FN, pen stamped, cancelled

Edwin Chadwick Esq  
Richmond  
Surrey  
S.W.

Letter to FN from Edwin Chadwick, ff203-06r, pen

**f203r**

Richmond Surrey. S.W.

Decr. 3. 1860

Dear Miss Nightingale

The movements of  
this Empress are so quick  
that, she may slip through  
your fingers, if in considera  
tion you should be inclined  
to extend them to her.

I still think it desirable  
to the extent that may  
be practicable to get  
the highest ladies who  
can be got to keep  
the sanitary cause in  
countenance and progress

**f203v**

She is to pay a  
visit to the Queen.  
Might you not ask Her  
Majesty to interest the  
Empress in the matter?  
Would it not be worth  
while to shew her the  
model cottages at  
Windsor: & the other  
points of sanitary care  
there.

They may want other matters  
than common politics to  
talk about or be interested  
about.

A paragraph that Her  
Majesty ~~& the~~ took the

**f204r**

Empress to see the model  
cottages, ~~we~~ would read  
better than many move  
ments?

If you forwarded a copy  
of your work to the  
Empress, the introduction  
might be in some such  
sort as

"Madam.

From your reported  
~~att~~ special attention to  
~~the~~ that position of  
the international Exposition  
which particularly related  
to the improvement of  
the sanitary condition  
of the labouring classes  
& their domestic condition:

**f204v**

from your interest in the  
works of the sisters of  
charity, & all that tends  
to the alleviation of  
suffering: from the recognition  
of that disposition, by  
the Hospital for Convalescents  
being called, by your name:

I am induced to ask your  
influence, to obtain for  
me, precise ~~n~~ accounts, of  
its progress, as also of the  
results of particular  
modes of ~~v~~ warming and  
ventilation, on the duration  
& events of disease  
which may be of  
use to us here

**f205r**

[2]

I merely submit this  
to your judgment  
but not pressingly.  
All that I can say  
is that, if I went  
again to Paris with  
any sanitary object, it  
was my intention to  
have tried & got  
presented to her, or  
to have interested her  
as also any others of  
like position  
You might send to her  
a smart copy of your  
work.  
I find that Rawlinson cannot

**f205v**

get away to Paris as  
he had expected, and, as  
I had wished with the  
view of making him  
take measurements &  
examine structures &c  
I have been prevented  
writing to Dr. Boudin [?]  
but I apprehend, that  
his not having written  
arises from his not  
found the medical  
authorities obliging.  
If the Empress would  
really take an interest  
in the subject which



**f206r**

would be worth trying  
& ~~can~~ you could open  
a correspondence with  
her in the introduction  
of the Queen. I  
think everything you  
want would readily be  
got, independently of  
doing some general  
good.

Yours ever faithfully  
Edwin Chadwick

Rawlinson told me that  
his daughter has been  
unwell, which had prevented  
him, waiting on you.  
Miss. F. Nightingale

ff207-08 Chadwick to FN Dec 4 1860 to suggest that Sir Jas Clark, who will be at the palace, be put in relation to the empress to aid with suggestions to the queen. I am confident that there are important elements requiring careful elimination in those French hospitals the Lariboisière and Beaujon and others, as also in the building ventilation, but where a system is applied to one part only of four, and no good accounts kept of the one ward and only loose accounts of the four, it will require some labour to obtain good results, such as only high influence will get performed. But it is well worth while to direct influential minds upon such questions and for that reason I think we shd prefer doubling them. I would go so far as to ask the empress to ask for an impartial commission of engineers and physicians to look into the subject and report for themselves and for us.  
..yrs faithfully...

re the Turkish linen, heard from Miss Carter, will sent to Mrs Clough account for it. Stockings to wear at night

ff209 Dec 5 1860 Chadwick letter to FN, the Empress didn't stay long, vanished, so, sorry for the trouble. I promise when I can to try in Paris. I was introduced to Dr Conneau the emperor's physician and I will try whether he has any influence. My education report comes back upon me and I am put in a position in which I must enter into a contest? And get committees in relation to it. I have a com to move at the Social Sc Council on Thursday and I am to prepare a paper to be read next week to the London officers of health and other work which is pressing and I am subject to a promise to help the ladies sanitary assoc with one soon.

Letter, ff210-13, pen [5:541]

**f210r**

Hampstead N W  
Dec 10/60

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I cannot say but [8:845]  
that I was very glad  
to be released from  
any communication  
with the Empress,  
who was born to be  
a dress-maker &  
married the wickedest  
man in Europe to be  
made an Empress.  
She has a heathen  
fetichism, so often

**f210v**

called a religion,  
which makes her  
terrified for the  
consequences *to her-*  
*self* of the Emperor's  
reported defection  
from the Pope.  
So she torments her  
scoundrel. And he  
sends her to Scotland  
this nice weather  
for her health.  
This I heard from  
no newspaper, but  
from one of the best

**f211r**

authorities in Paris.

However I don't  
say that I would  
not write a letter  
to the Devil for you  
- or even to the  
Empress, if it would  
do any good.

[end 5:541] [end 8:845]

2. I do wish we  
could get at some  
accounts of those  
two Convalescent  
Hospitals. I wish  
M. Boudin would  
just say whether  
he can get the plans &c. or

[14:1011-12]

**f211v**

not. Because I have  
other means - And  
it will not do *for*  
*me* to delay.

3. I think we have  
already very good  
means of judging of  
the results of the  
ventilation of the  
Lariboisière, Beaujon  
& other HOSPITALS.

4. If at any time  
we were obliged to  
have recourse to the  
Empress for Sanitary

**f212r**

objects, I believe I  
should have no  
difficulty in getting  
access to her.

I was able to  
be of important use  
to the French Army  
(in the second winter  
of the Crimean War)  
in supplying them  
with large stores  
of Port Wine, Prepared Beef  
Tea &c &c &c  
for their sick.  
Larcher, the General,  
(I wonder where he is)

**f212v**

Pélissier, the Field Marshal  
- Baudens the Inspector  
Genl. (who is dead)  
& Mère Lesueur,  
the Supérieure Générale  
at Constantinople  
were those who  
knew most of this  
subsidy.  
But my impression  
always was that  
the Emperor *wished*  
his Army to die;  
it was less expense  
than bringing them  
home. And that  
he was rather  
displeased than

**f213r**

otherwise at whatever  
was done to prevent  
this desirable result.

Marshal Pélissier  
was always extremely  
civil to me - I have  
many letters from  
him of gratitude -  
(not written by  
himself - for he  
does not know how  
to write). Where  
is he now? He might  
be my easiest access  
to the Empress, (whose  
relation I think he  
married, too.)

**f213v**

5. I am exceedingly  
obliged to you for all  
the Turkish bath linen,  
"liff" &c. I think it  
will last my time.  
But as you are so  
good as to offer to order  
bath-soap for me,  
I cannot refuse it  
if you are still ordering things for other people.  
All those Turkish  
bath=appliances I  
am so fond of.

I admire your  
Shetland stockings  
exceedingly. And I  
don't know how to  
express my gratitude for  
the Shetland shawls &c.  
{following written vertically up left side of f212r:}  
ever sincerely & gratefully yours  
Florence Nightingale

f214 Chadwick to FN Dec 14 1860 re education question, received a pamphlet on hosp accomm. I am beleaguered and hard pressed on the educ question with the commissioners and others. It may be that they may ask me to return to Scotland to collect more evidence for them, for a week or so. But I have written a pressing letter to Dr ?? which I think will elicit an answer if he be in a condition to give one. I have just recd a pamphlet on hosp accomm. As meeting the cases of the crowd of accidents and deaths by violence I send you an old pamphlet of mine setting forth the ground for

inducing care by making all the owners and users of machinery liable for those acid? accidents.

ff215-16 Chadwick to FN Dec 25 1860 re pain, freedom, read his paper on unsanitary conditions of schools to large meeting of health officers of the metropolis; not heard from Boudin; if she wd give him her points of inquiry wd write to Dr Lanneau [?], the empress's private physician

ff217-18 Chadwick to FN Dec 1860. I presided yesterday at 2 annual meetings of the united assoc of the school masters of Great Britain. At one important paper was read by Mr Shields the head master of Birkbeck school who stated what he had been doing to teaching sanitary subjects to his pupils. He has got the boys and girls to understand the need of avoiding polluted air and of getting rid of cesspools and foetid matter, and of opening their windows at night. The children went home and told their parents of what their mar had described and many cesspools were abolished, windows thrown open at night. When the parents did not fully comprehend what was reported to them the master sent them Miss Nightingale's Notes on Nursing, which was his text book and this I need not say was read with avidity and found very effective. I was particularly pleased with what he told us. I confess that this was ...It was known that I entertained opinions hostile to the common school practices but I no sooner entered the meeting than I was viewed with great cordiality and invited to the chair in preference to their vice chairman and I am invited to bring my views before the assoc which I shall do as soon as I can. I shall be glad when I get a proof statement of my conclusion to send them to you., re sanitary subjects, children told him what their parents did.

Letter, f219, pen

**f219r**

30 Burln. St. W.

Feb 6/61

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I take the greatest interest in your papers. But my health is now such that my opinion is not worth having, because I cannot master the subject.

I think your facts are undeniable. But I doubt all your conclusions

**219v**

being adopted.

Anyhow, I think the paper should be printed separately whether the Commission adopt it or not.

Add Mss 45770

272

yours ever sincerely  
F. Nightingale



Letter, ff220-21, pen [6:518]

**f220r**

30 OB. St.

Feb 16/61

Dear Mr. Chadwick

The letter you  
enclosed to me from  
the Med. Off. of Health  
is the very best I  
ever saw on the subject.  
It clearly disproves  
all the current stuff  
about "current-contagions"  
& "children's epidemics"  
& traces them up to

**f220v**

their real source -

I have not the  
least doubt, altho'  
we have no Statistics  
to prove this - that  
"children's epidemics"  
are much increased  
since Infant-Schools.

I trust that  
letter will be published  
- I must say I thought  
the letter of thanks  
rather impudent -  
but I am told

**f221r**

it is the usual form.

The Health Officers  
are doing their duty  
nobly. And they  
are all with you.

I am sorry about  
the Education Commissioners.  
All of them put  
together have less  
"nous" than you have.  
I wish you could  
conciliate them a  
little more - I don't  
agree in all your

**f221v**

administrative conclusions.  
But there is not a  
man who has a  
right to contest  
with you Sanitary  
conclusions.

----

The D. of Newcastle  
has begun sending  
me in Replies to  
my Forms of Return & Queries  
about Aboriginal  
disease & Mortality  
in our Colonial Schools,  
which he sent out  
for me last year.  
They are imperfect  
for practical purposes  
but very interesting  
for Ethnography.  
yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

ff222-23 Chadwick to FN March 29 1861 re removal of hospitals, re St T, re  
educ, physical training

Letter, f224, pen

f224r

30 Old Burlington St. [printed address]

W

April 21/61

Dear Mr. Chadwick

You will receive a  
few copies of my Notes  
on Nursing "for the  
Labouring Classes" -

The little Chapter  
on "Minding Baby" you  
desired me to write,  
in consequence of  
what Mr. Shields said.

ever yours most truly

F.N.

ff225-26 Chadwick to FN May 8 1861, put Mr Harrison in way of getting the  
notes on nursing on privy council list of reading books for schools, have  
written to Edward Insnell [Infnell?] and Mr Norris and school inspectors I  
know to recommend it and also to secs of Nat, Br and For soc and heads of  
chief training schools and invalid schools; when old Dr Jarvis of Boston at

your house he was much with HBC, I am charmed with your "minding baby" I wd not part with it for your great magnum on minding the army. Mr Harrison says he will put 300 copies under my direction of propagation in schools.

Miss Mary Carpenter is levying heavy war against the educ commissioners and in most respects justly for superficial and unfair dealing with the ragged school question and I have no doubt she will succeed in getting a com of enquiry. She asks me to help but I am ...my own battle with them on the sanitary insp of schools and physical training as well as on other points. Hoping for our improvement with the milder weather...

ff227-28 Chadwick to FN May 23 1861, thanks for allowing to read notes of Col Kennedy on conval hosp at Vincennes and Vesinet; enquiry appears carefully conducted and account interesting, to make public, re dorm ventilation; re ad libitum dietary instead of a fixed scale, an old notion of mine. In Poor Law and prison admin I contended for one simple staple article of food, whether wheat oatmeal or potatoes being allowed w/o stint and where the plan was tried the way found to be a saving and an avoidance of waste. re ventilation; the empress is stated to be really well intentioned as to hosp insts and earnest about them. Her attention might be illeg to the comparative condition of the female hosp and the need of its being examined with a view to amendment. Pray ask the colonel for permission to promulgate is note on the Vincennes Hosp

ff229-30 Joseph Bolton letter to Chadwick, 23 May 1861 re FN's Minding Baby, has delighted our schoolmistress who intends to read it to the senior girls....dictation class

ff231-32 Chadwick to FN May 25 1861, hopes to have his niece see her...I beseech you dear Miss Nightingale to let the great and wide good you have done and are doing console and sustain you under the

f233 Chadwick to FN Tuesday called to enquire with Dr .. re medial jurisprudence, Univ of Columbia, re adoption of her Notes; re Rawlinson

f234 Chadwick to FN Friday , highly pleased with report of sanitary cond of hospitals and barracks and intend writing to you on some points. In the meantime I think it highly desirable that it shd be circulated as widely as poss, out of the service as well as in the service. Lord Ebrington will be returning about is time and I thought of asking him to call attention to it in a speech and ask Lord Herbert what is to be done upon it and to urge its circulation? I think it wd be well if copies were sent to the officers of health of the metropolis, to the medical journals as also to the newspaper writers.

I will try to write something, endeavour to do so, but at present am closely occupied by education.

Rawlinson is still tied to his parl committees and my Parisian exped must stand over, I do not know how long. I took my notice as to the Guards monument to Sir Harry Verney, who approved, thought it highly important, but wd rather not do anything with it himself. I ave taken it to ?. Mr Shields little pupil, re windows.

f235 Chadwick to FN July 4? 1861 enclosed he wrote re sanitary prs, plans of detached houses. opportunity in public service

FN comment at bottom [not FN: Ansd July 6]

Please

thank him

for his letter

& say I will

do my est

to call Lord

Herbert's

attention to the

subject by

making use

of his enclosures

with Ld H.

Letter, ff236-37, pen

**f236r**

30 Old Burlington Street. [printed address]

W

July 12/61 [16:559-60]

Dear Mr. Chadwick

Both your papers  
are admirable. &  
complete. And I  
think your project  
will do a great  
deal of good, as  
you always do.

Have you observed  
that Art. 6 in your  
shorter memoranda  
is wanting in your

**f236v**

longer paper?

Could you not  
include Sanitary  
construction generally,  
such as healthy  
arrangement of  
rooms, number of  
windows, healthy  
arrangement of streets  
& blocks &c?

Could you not  
include, in Art. 7.,  
Soldiers' tents?

**f237r**

[There are one or two  
clerical errors in both  
papers.]

yours ever sincerely  
F. Nightingale  
When you come to  
details: don't forget  
Cottage Bedding: best  
& cheapest material  
for cottage mattresses:  
best cottage bed=stead &c.  
The ladies of a county  
recently asked my  
advice on this point:  
specifying particularly

**f237v**

bedding for  
poor Cottage Penitentiaries  
And I was obliged to  
answer that practically  
we knew nothing at  
all about bedding:  
the best was undoubtedly  
hair but quite out  
of many cottagers' reach:  
after that *quilted*,  
not stuffed, straw.  
But straw is cold &  
hard.

*Proportion* in Cottage  
Furniture is another  
important subject.  
Cottagers often buy a  
bed at a brokers which  
fills up more than  
half their room. &c &c  
FN

[end 16:560]

ff238-39 Chadwick? note on FN's printed stationery re change in secretaries  
at War Dept, has given great dissatisfaction to the supporters of the govt  
and has certainly weakened it. will give a strong motive to your popularity  
and to the present man,...

ff240-41 Chadwick note to FN from Lea Hurst Sunday [ca. 18 Aug 1861] happy  
to be paying respects to her father and mother

Letter, ff241-42, pen

**f241r**

Hampstead NW

Aug 19/61

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I have nothing to say, in answer to your kind letter, but that I think it might be better to omit the concluding paragraph, (marked in red,) and to insert a notice of "Minding Baby", in 6 or 7 words, at the red +, (where you are mentioning Chapters)

**f242r**

Would you be so good as to return me Col. Kennedy's Notes on the Paris Convalescent Institutions at your own convenience?

[16:757]

King's Coll. Hospital is thinking of taking a house at or near Hampstead for its Convalescents, (& ultimately of building) & has consulted me. But it is very poor.

Should you know of any (lett=able) house for the purpose,

**f242v**

I am sure you will  
tell me.

I am very glad  
to hear you are at  
my old home.

[end]

Ever yours sincerely  
F.N.

ff243-44 Chadwick letter to FN from Lea Hurst Monday [ca 20 Aug 1861, writes re dispatched letter she suggested. I have no knowledge of any place at Hampstead of large old mansion, suggests house agent; in Examiner of last Sunday you may see an article on the Guards, has visited your school, your father sends for me to ride out with him

ff245-46 Chadwick to FN from Lea Hurst, 23 Aug 1861 has recd letter from re notes; forwarded at request to Harrisons; sees by papers that her paper on hosp stats read with great effect at Dublin. I wd suggest that copies mt be usefully sent to the medical journals and to our friends of the stat congress by way of reminder to them. Mrs Sutherland mt ask Miss Isa Craig for copies. goddess we worship. going to the Bracebridges Monday to see whether he cannot get Mr Blackburn to examine the report on applic of sewerage of Birmingham; re schoolmaster at your school, has promised to see whether can make small ex ...primer re sewerage of school

ff247-48 letter by Beatrice A.S. Smith Aug 27 [1861] looks like FN hand! re encloses his papers. I enclose your letters & the Exhibition papers which I am very sorry I forgot to return before you left.

Our people consider themselves regularly enrolled under your orders. "Mr Chadwick desired this" "Mr Chadwick said I was to clear the playground of rubbish" I personally derive a great accession of dignity from being supposed to know what Mr Chadwick says.

Harry Lee has expressed his soul's desire for apiece of land on the hill-side opposite the schoolmaster's ground (when the cabbages may conveniently defy each other) an uncomfortable unacceptable bit of ground, full of stones and roots, but Harry "don't mind anything about that" if he may have it rent-free for 2 years &c he shall.

I hope your railroad arrangements turned out profitably...  
regards...Beatrice A.S. Smith, Lea Hurst August 27th

ff249-53 Chadwick to FN long story re sanitary and educ objects, application of sewerage to agriculture, undated

Letter, ff254-55, pen {NB: Written by Beatrice A.S Smith, to Chadwick, about FN.} blue paper, hand like FN's

**f254r**

Combe Hurst

[1:533]

Kingston SW.

Septr. 18. [1861]

Dear Mr. Chadwick



Your kind note,  
for which I am very  
thankful, was  
forwarded to me  
here - the papers  
you kindly sent have  
been kept back by  
the Lea Hurst people  
for their benefit; &  
will come to me in  
my turn.

Florence will I hope

**f254v**

let me go to her on  
Saturday next & you  
shall hear as soon  
as I can say  
anything of her.

I believe it is  
for her sake most  
earnestly to be wished  
that you may come  
into some immediate  
communication with  
her. It is your  
*faith* that her  
working days are  
not yet over. that  
she may work in  
another field. her

**f255r**

own being now  
closed against her.  
I cannot find that  
any of those who have  
been with her lately  
would ~~agree in~~ share this  
hope - less on  
account of her health  
than of her state of  
extreme discouragement.  
Perhaps the trouble  
you may take in the  
matter will end in  
some thing far *short* of  
her full co-operation  
being given to the  
work you have in hand.  
That she will be

**f255v**

interested & soothed  
I cannot doubt -  
& that *something*  
will be contributed  
by her - if she & you  
can meet.

She sent a book  
for Miss Marion,  
which we are taking  
over to Richmond  
this afternoon.

With best regards  
from my father & mother  
Pray believe me  
ever gratefully yours  
Beatrice A.S. Smith.

ff256-59 Chadwick to FN her books for my little girl

ff262 Chadwick to FN from Athenaeum Saturday, writes re George Grey has  
apptd Rawlinson to success Austin, will greatly extend R's usefulness in  
sanitary cause

Letter, ff263-67, pen {NB: Written by Beatrice Shore Smith, to Chadwick,  
with a dictated note by FN checked by LM

**f263r**

x I send the extract which you  
said might be of use.

Hampstead. Oct 31. {Archivist's date: 1861}

Dear Mr. Chadwick

Florence is in-  
clined to reserve the  
paper you saw on  
Lord Herbert - perhaps  
to be used as materials  
in some fuller account  
of him - (though it  
is not likely she will  
herself write anything). x  
We have sent for the  
Article you mentioned  
in A the Year Round.  
One is glad to tell  
her of any good thing

**f263v**

said or done. Thank  
you also for the American  
extracts which interested  
her.

At Lea Hurst I  
found the bathing in  
more operation than  
when you were there -  
in spite of the cold -  
& a little squad of  
12 boys working 1 1/2  
hours daily in the  
garden - there has  
hardly been time for  
the moral & mental

**f264r**

superiority of these  
half-timers to declare  
itself - but we have  
full faith in our  
principles

I am uneasy lest we  
may lose the promised  
boon of a visit from  
Mr. Blackburne. as  
during next month  
when you said he  
would be in Leicester-  
shire, & would  
have kindly arranged  
to pay us a visit, I

**f264v**

find it will not be  
possible for any of us  
to be at the Hurst -  
My Uncle goes down  
in February & I  
with him - is it likely  
that we could secure  
a visit from Mr  
Blackburne about  
that time - we look  
to his coming to  
enlighten us - & my  
Uncle would have much  
pleasure in his visit.

I have your "Manuals  
for the Many" - which  
I must return. Believe me,  
yours ever gratefully  
Beatrice Shore Smith

**f265r** dictated note

As a crowning testimony to the great national importance of the new system inaugurated by Lord Herbert, the Chinese expedition, where these reforms were first tested, - showed a result without precedent: viz. our expeditionary force sent half across the globe, into an enemy's country - notoriously unhealthy, and this force, *including the wounded*, dying at the rate of little more

**f265v**

than three men per 100 per annum, - and, including the killed in action, with a loss of less than six men per 100 per annum. - whereas for the first 7 months of the Crimean War, *sixty out of every hundred men* died per annum, *exclusive* of killed in action, until means were taken, by Civil Commissioners, to stop this awful sweep of death.

During the Chinese

**f266r**

war, the "constantly sick" in the Hospital were barely more than the sick in Hospl. at home. In the Crimean war during the same 7 months, the sick were nearly 7 times this number.

The result with the native Indian troops was similar. They too afforded in China a mortality in Hospl. of about a twentieth part of that of the

**f266v**

Crimean Army: and their sick in Hospl. were about an eighth part.

Add Mss 45771, correspondence with Edwin Chadwick, 1862-83, 166 folios, 79 pages, Adam Matthew reel 17

ff1-3 Hilary Bonham Carter for FN, black-edged from 9 Chesterfield St. March 5/62

Miss Nightingale bids me thank you very much for your kind letter and to say that she would be very much obliged to you if you would kindly ask the Editor of the N. British Review for the name of the author of the article on the Sanitary Condition of the Army. She does not see any objection to saying (if you think it best) that Lady Herbert wrote to her to ask for it;

She will esteem it a great honour to write a hortatory note to the son of the greatest Sanitarian of the age as soon as she is able to write at all.

She hopes it will soon be carried that all cadets of engineers shall attend a sanitary course at Fort Pitt School, as was the intention of Ld Herbert.

Miss Nightingale has been wishing for some time to inform you that the whole of the income of the Fund called by her name is now appropriated to the two Training Schools for Nurses, of which she ventures to enclose the Regulations. She thinks that you may be able and kindly willing to make them known to people who mt wish to send good material in the shape of women for this training. Especially the plan for training midwifery nurses for country parishes.

She offers to your attention, with *this* view: namely that in your vast acquaintance with the towns and villages of England you may find people who would be glad to send up such persons to be trained.

I am yrs & Mrs Chadwick's faithfully

J. Hilary Bonham Carter

ff4-5 Sept 27 1862 Chadwick to FN gratified to see her hand, admiration for her labours and sympathy for her suffering, re organizing a penny journal, re India , Dundreary too personal?



Letter, ff5v-6r, pen letter on a stamped, cancelled folded thing  
**f5v**

Hampstead NW

Sept 28/62

Dear Mr. Chadwick

As you are so good as to ask **[9:120]**  
for a copy of my Indian paper for "John  
Mill" (who also has been excessively  
kind to me), I send you the only  
other proof I have, except the one  
I am engaged upon, for him. But  
you must be pleased to bear in  
mind that it is only a first proof,  
& that I can have no power to make  
it public till our Report is out,  
which will be the beginning of  
next year. Then I will try &  
get you as many copies of my  
paper as you are so good as to  
make the use of which you mention. **[end 9:120]**  
I had anticipated your objection to  
"Lord Dunsany" & had taken him  
out of the proof I am at work  
upon now.

Where is "John Mill" now? and how **[9:120]**  
is he? **[end 9:120]**

**f6r**

I am sorry that I am  
not ready with a paper for your  
Presidency on the connection of  
education with health in our  
Colonial aboriginal schools, a question  
among many others which you have  
made so peculiarly your own. Two  
years ago, the D. of Newcastle began  
getting me Returns from all the  
native schools in all our Colonies.  
And I am now having them reduced.  
But we have been so busy with  
Indian & Mediterranean Commissions  
(& I so good for nothing) that the  
paper I wanted to produce under  
your patronage is not ready.

If you see Mr. Roberts, tell  
him to send me my paper on  
Lt. Herbert's Army Sanitary Reform  
for revision, when it is to be  
printed.

Add Mss 45772

290

ever yours gratefully  
F.N.

Letter, ff7-8r, pen, black-edged paper

**f7r**

Hampstead N W

Oct 7/62

Dear Mr. Chadwick

Many thanks for  
the "Daily News" with  
your opening address  
at Cambridge.

And I was  
delighted to see in  
Monday's "Times" your  
admirable conduct  
of a certain discussion  
& how you routed  
the enemy, which  
is a thing in which

**f7v**

you are eminently  
successful.

As "John Mill"  
is in France, please  
do not send him  
the proof of my  
Indian paper. I  
stupidly thought  
that he was at  
your elbow, from  
your letter. I will  
send you a copy  
of it for him,  
when completed.

[I would not have

~~written~~ sent one for him to you on

**f8r**

the eve of your  
Cambridge campaign,  
had it not been  
that I thought  
he was with you].

If you can lay  
your hands on it,  
please send me  
back that proof.  
But don't trouble  
about it.

yours ever sincerely

F. Nightingale

ff9-12 Chadwick to FN Oct 13 1852 [1862] from Richmond, "your slightest wish is law to me" re sending paper to Mill, wd have liked it best as it is, re penny weekly, re sanitary works, at once or instalments

Letter, f13, pen, black-edged paper

**f13r**

Hampstead N W

Oct 13/62

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I am sure, if  
you like to send the  
proof of my Indian  
paper, as it is, to  
"John Mill", telling him  
that it is but the  
first rough draft,  
I like it too.

With your  
permission, I will  
keep Mr. Rawlinson's  
valuable letter a

**f13v**

day or two; and return  
it to you with my  
answer. I fear we shall  
never get Gladstone to grant  
a loan.

yours ever most truly

F. Nightingale

letter, f14-17r, pen, black-edged paper

**f14r**

Hampstead N W

Oct 22/62

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I have been an  
unconscionable time  
answering your kind  
letter.

I am afraid it is  
quite impossible to me  
to make any promises  
for your penny paper. tho'  
I will not lose the  
opportunity of making  
known any useful  
object through it.

The only way to get  
at the soldiers' grievances,  
if any, would be by an

**f14v**

old Serjeant, such as  
you mention.

We do not hear of  
soldiers' discontent.  
Because soldiers  
hardly ever complain.  
We have examined  
with our own eyes  
& endeavoured to  
remove that we  
so saw, as evils.

You should see  
Chatham Institute  
to judge of what is  
being done.

The real defects  
were bad unwholesome  
Barracks & Hospitals,  
bad cooking, want

**f15r**

of married quarters,  
no means of occupation  
or amusement. All  
these are being remedied,  
tho' not so fast as  
we should like.

I have been most  
unreasonable in not  
returning you Mr.  
Rawlinson's letter.  
And now I am going  
to ask you to let me  
keep it, as there are  
some good things in  
it for me to refer to.  
Not that I have any  
hopes of any thing being  
done in that way.

**f15v**

It would certainly be  
better to borrow for  
Barrack improvements.  
But Mr. Gladstone  
worried poor Sidney  
Herbert to death about  
this, who proposed  
but could not carry it.  
Nor do I believe that  
the Ho. of C. is so fully  
convinced of the  
value of reform as to  
let us get the money.

And after all we  
have made more  
progress in the Army  
at our slow pace than

**f16r**

has been done in Civil  
life. Though that does  
not satisfy me -  
Zymotic Diseases are  
actually less in the Army  
now than in Civil life.  
I send you our numbers,  
after 3 years sanitary  
work.

I need hardly say  
that I have always  
thought with Mr.  
Rawlinson, with John  
Clay, the Prison Chaplain,  
that the main causes  
of vice, as in civil, so  
in military life, were

**16v**

1. filthy & overcrowded  
dwellings
2. drunkenness
3. ignorance - on [or?] want  
of occupation & recreation.

And who has done so  
much as yourself in  
stemming these evil  
tides? ever yours

F.N.

**f17r**

English male

*Deaths Annually to 1000 Living*

Population

	ZYMOTIC DISEASES	CHEST & TUBERCULAR DISEASES	ALL OTHER DISEASES	ALL CAUSES	aged 15-4
--	------------------	-----------------------------	--------------------	------------	-----------

1848 - 54	2.0	4.5		3.3	9.8
-----------	-----	-----	--	-----	-----

Infantry of line

serving at home

4.1

10.1

3.7

17.9

1837 - 46

Infantry of line

serving at home

0.96

4.2

3.4

8.56

1859 - 60-61

-----  
I am going to publish a Diagram from this.

Letter, f18, pen, black-edged paper

**f18r**

32 South Street

Grosvenor Square.W.

Nov 17/62

Dear Mr. Chadwick

How can you let

the "Examiner" write

such nonsense about

St. Thomas' Hospital?

What! have I been

sleeping &amp; you not

watching?

As for the "Times",

that is disgraceful.

It must be Simon

who writes those articles.

**f18v**

I would I could

make such a raid

in the papers as

I did once.

ever yours

F.N.



ff19-20 Chadwick to FN Nov 16 1862. Some weeks ago, I enquired for the stats on the distances from which the patients were brought to St Thomas's, suspecting that a large pop were brought from distances from the extreme parts of the larger parishes, such as wd answer one part of the case against removal, but cd not get them readily; intention to have sent something to the Examiner, then asked Philip Holland to write an article on the question, but unsuitable for the Penny Newsman

I have been obliged to attend to the Lancashire distress and write about it. But that I have been laid up by a severe cold and bronchial attack which now keeps me at home and much in bed, I shd have been in Lancs to enquire about it. There is much sanitary principle involved to be looked after there.

What is Sutherland about I wonder? Why is he not doing service by writing.

Very early after your return from the Crimea, you may remember, I spoke to you on the urgency of the question of convalescent hospitals, of illeg sites. Now I have been urged to tease about it while in office by Simon on account of the evil which he represented to me vividly as going on from the treatment representations to me would have been as it seems to me the best answer that cd be given to a paper which I observed signed by his name for the retention of the hospital in the Borough. I sought Mr Roberts and remonstrated with him on the delay of your paper. He assured me that he had...remonstrated with Mr Hammack.

The appt of Sir Charles Trevelyan for India will be I trust of much importance. I have not had time to look after him. I assure you I have large sanitary irons burning. I am obliged grievously to neglect the illeg question. I am guided by the cries of children in the long time illeg for where there is no promise of immediate relief. I have been absolutely kept from writing to John Mill I am sorry to say, but I will by tomorrow.

I quite feel however that the hospital case is a sanitary point of primary importance for the impression of principle as well as for direct positive ...

ff21-22 Chadwick to FN Nov 25 1862, before received her note had sent off paper to John Mill with a letter telling him that it was a rough proof and I am sure he would like it the better w/o curtailment for official proprieties. Have you sent one to Sir Charles Trevelyan. I have wished to see him before leaving but I have been prevented. I have got out and been to the city to find one of the ...Elliott, re removal of St T, re removal of the patients...Simon pleaded this point for retaining the hospital in London; wants 1 copy of her paper on Indian evidence for Thornton, in charge of Works Dept in India House; copies cd be well applied if sent to the chief newspapers in India. Mrs Chadwick always desires her deepest expression of sympathy and respect to you; re stat table, average gain per 100,000

ff23-24 Jan 2 1863 Chadwick letter to FN: By some mischance or by his absence, your paper did not get immediately to Mr John Mill. But I have received a note from him, in which he expresses his pleasure at it, and altho' he has no knowledge of the details, he is very certain that its

publication will do vast good in India. He has returned to England and I am to see him, I expect, on Wednesday when I am to hear more about it. I wrote to Sir Charles Trevelyan to impress him on the subject before he left for India and he gave me a promise of his interest in it and his disposition to work upon it on which I shd rely.

I have recently been to Manchester where there was a great deal to concern me in the admin of relief. ladies working to securing? schools for unemployed factory girls, dining halls for the working classes where cooked food, purchased at wholesale prices sold at lower rates than they cd procure it and cook for themselves. bought a bowl of Scotch broth....The charitable dole to the workmen it ... met a distant relative of FN's who looked like Beatrice Smith, her grandmother being a Shore, her mother an American lady, this woman married to Dr Wilkinson, a physician in Manchester, she to open a dining hall, will visit her again; female and male operatives in Manchester dreadfully dirty; they never wash. I wish to preach the doctrine... want to get some of these unemployed , after a course of feeding on a forced diet and regularly washed; saw Robertson, re removal of St T. ...nice long letter

[so J. Mill sent some Indian material, evidently the *Observations*

Letter, f27r, typed copy

**f27**

I hope you are better. 32, South Street,  
Grosvenor Square, W.  
Jan 5/63.

Dear Mr. Chadwick,

Many thanks for your kind letter and for your "Address."

The Lancashire distress must stand first in all minds.

And therefore I only mention two of my own concerns to you now, in answer to yours.

1. I have sent (to the Athenaeum) a copy of my Indian **[9:126]**  
paper (with woodcuts) for you, and one for Mr. Mill. Please remember and remind him (tho' it seems impertinent to say so to two such distinguished officials) that it *must* be *strictly confidential* till the Indian Blue Book is laid on the table of the Ho. of C.

**[end 9:126]**

2. It is really despair-giving to see the obstinate and interested ignorance of the newspapers, about St. Thomas'. One says "Of course the brains of a Hospl. must be the medl. staff." *Of course* it must be a Dr. who writes. Of course, if the Hospl. cook were writing, it would be "the brains of a Hospl. must be the head-cook." Or if a nurse, "the *Matron*." The real truth being that the "brains" are just in the *collision* of all these authorities, Medical, Administrative, Nursing, Governing.

But I should like to know what great sanitary improvement Medl. men would have made, by themselves? And the two worst Hospls. I know in the world, Edinburgh and Vienna, are exclusively managed by these "brains", the Medl. Staff.

Yours ever,

F.N.

Letter, f28r, typed copy **[9:219]**

**f28r**

4, Cleveland Row,  
S.W.  
July 8/63.

Dear Mr. Chadwick,

By dint of sending three times a day to the printers and almost every half hour to the lithographers, I have got a few copies of our India Army Sanitary Report, *before* it is issued.

Can you do any thing for us in the way of *publicizing* it? And, if so, where shall I send you a copy? **[end 9:219]**

Ever yours,

F. Nightingale

ff29-30 July 8 1863 Chadwick reply to FN that can do something with the report in the Penny Newsman sale about 60,000, re Echo, Examiner  
ff34-36 Chadwick notes re next statistical congress, children's death rates

ff31-32 July 14 [1863] Chadwick letter to FN re the octavo edition, reading his at Lord Lovelace's where staying, when he showed the enclosed letter from brother-in-law George Crawford, expects report will do great good; sees as elaborate confirmation to what I have already written. will be a vast stride to impress upon the popular mind the fact that the tropical diseases are not tropical. Dr Farr says he himself began with the opposite persuasion which I know is extensively entertained by the medicos. The octavo edition shd be sent out to the chief Indian newspaper, which Dr Sutherland shd inquire for

f33 July 22 1863 Chadwick letter to FN trying to get Fortescue to make a speech in Lords to call attention to the Indian sanitary report, Crawford has promised to do something, article for the *Examiner*, with prayers for her continued strength; never hears of Sutherland doing anything now; I am satisfied that I am spreading the knowledge of sanitary matters among a lower class to whom it is entirely new

ff34 notes for consideration for next stat congress, re reducing death rate of army, hospital gangrene and typhus have been banished in some hosps, civil and mil, as secondary disease; whether can get immunity for patients in all? re children, death rates by sanitary measures, reduced; asks FN to recommend some subjects for consideration of next congress; re private soldier, general pop, extent of disease preventible, by improved physical training of young, esp females

f37 undated [ca Feb 1864] Chadwick letter, asks to see her, trust your last paper will be sent to the newspapers in India, where sure to be copied. and send one to Sir Charles Trevelyan. One bestowed on John Stuart Mill who is now at St Veran, pres d'Avignon, wd be recd with much pleasure.

I was beginning an acquaintance with Sir John Lawrence just before he left, but I believe he may be relied upon as a very good man.

re American Army Sanitary Commission. Those I receive do not display much talent but there is a great zeal in the federal states in supporting sanitary measures.

I am much gratified with the way in which the death rates in some of our towns or districts where complete sanitary works are coming out. In 30 streets....Lord de Grey promises well, apptd a good man, Blackburn; Rawlinson cut up by loss of his only child

ff39-40 May 26 1864 E. Chadwick letter to FN re his visit to Paris, chiefly on educ topics, made enquiries as to sanitary progress, Dr Boudin ill, progress in ventilation and warming; improvements in private houses, chimney flues, improvements hospitals and barracks as well

Letter, ff42-45v, pen, black-edged paper

**f42r**

115, Park Street. W.

June 5/64

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I was most grateful to you for your welcome packet. We are carefully going over it. And Muller's book is at the War Office for them to see. They do not, however, think it will be useful to then.

Genl. Morin's report is by far the most

[16:616]

**f42v**

satisfactory that has yet appeared on the Paris ventilating systems. But there are evidently questions still needing solution, with which the report does not deal.

Duvoir's system of "aspiration" is without doubt better & more reliable than the system of "insufflation". But the report shews that all such systems

**f43r**

are liable to irregularities,  
not admitting of  
immediate remedy -  
liable to accidents  
affecting Patients  
injuriously - & that,  
after all, none of them  
up to the present time  
has succeeded in  
keeping the air of  
wards fresh.

The report itself is  
the best witness to  
the causes of Lariboisière  
high mortality. It  
shews that the ward  
air is never *fresh* -  
& that Patients, irrespective

**f43v**

of conditions, are all  
*cooked* at the same  
temperature.

I accede to the  
desirableness of  
churches, theatres &  
other public places,  
where there are no  
open fires, being  
warmed & ventilated  
by such means. [and,  
of existing mechanical  
methods, Duvoir's is  
the best.] I demur  
*in toto* as to what  
constitutes ventilation  
in a Hospital.

If the wards are ever  
so free

**f44r**

so free of "smell", the  
simple absence of  
*freshness* in the air  
& of variation in  
temperature shews the  
system of ventilation  
to be wrong.

Nature has given  
variety of temperature,  
as a condition no  
less favourable to health  
than to recovery from  
sickness.

Let them remove  
all their ventilating  
machines, put in  
open fire-places, &  
open their windows

**f44v**

so as to keep the wards  
both fresh & free from  
odour *at all times*;  
let them give more  
blankets in cold  
weather; and the Lariboisiere  
Hospital will become  
as admirable as its  
construction, instead  
of furnishing a very  
high Death-rate, as now,  
which I hold to be  
solely due to its  
artificial ventilation.

I should feel it  
a great honor, if  
you would read my  
last

**f45r**

(Longman's) edition of  
my "Notes on Hospitals".

M. Husson sent me  
last year his quarto  
on Paris Hospitals,  
which I have quoted  
largely in this.

When I return you  
your *Washing* books,  
I shall write farther,  
I hope. [end]

Ever yours gratefully  
F. Nightingale

Letter, ff46-48r, pen, black-edged paper

**f46r**

115, Park Street. W.

June 11/64

Dear Mr. Chadwick

We have thankfully  
(all of us) looked over  
the "Appareils" of M. M.  
Bouillon & Muller.  
And they have been  
under study at the  
W.O.

The most prominent  
are the washing  
arrangements by  
"lixidiation", or whatever  
it is called. This has  
always been a favourite



**f46v**

at Paris because of the  
destruction of linen by  
want of soap, hard  
Seine water & beating.  
The apparatus is ingenious  
- well fitted for its  
purpose - but wholly  
different from our  
ideas of washing, which  
consist of soap &  
rubbing. And all our  
apparatus is founded  
thereon.

The precise relative  
cost of each *principle*  
has not yet been

**f47r**

ascertained. But we  
think our own both best  
& cheapest.

One thing is quite  
certain:- that our  
apparatus is on a better  
scale, & more roomy  
altogether than those  
shewn in these Diagrams.  
The centrifugal wringer  
& mangle are borrowed  
from us.

I think you would  
find that our Military  
washing establishments  
surpass the Paris  
Hospital washing  
establishments - & that  
our public "Lavoirs" in

**f47v**

London will bear  
comparison with theirs.

There is one point  
of ~~comparison~~ importance,  
however, indicated in  
these plans. viz. a  
method by which the  
poor can have their  
linen washed for them  
at a small cost. "Baths  
& Washhouse Committees"  
should look to this, if  
not already done.

The drying apparatus  
is pretty much the  
same as ours. Some of  
ours, e.g. at the Herbert  
Hospital, are better.  
They use the hot blast

**f48r**

there for drying.

The lavatories & foot  
pans are borrowed  
from us - but *not*  
improved in the  
borrowing.

As regards Baths,  
you will find at  
Netley a very superior  
system indeed to the  
French one. Their smaller  
bath arrangements are  
similar to those in  
use in Regimental  
Barracks here.

Ever yours gratefully  
Florence Nightingale

ff49-50 Aug 17 1864 Chadwick letter to FN deplores not being able to see because of her malady, saw head of stat section of British Assoc re Bath meeting, has seen Farr, who is to be pres of stat section of Bath meeting, gave him some sanitary matters for his address; been visiting the camp at Aldershot, re increased rate of invaliding giving "undue results"; ventilation of huts very deficient yet; there is not head to foot regular ablution of the men and the ....abominable; has seen new Brompton and seen Army surgeons there, they agree on the evil arising from the insufficient ablutions of the men; new gymnastic exercises very successful, will have important results to state from them; shall go again to Aldershot as well as new Brompton; asks if have any suggestions for Dr Farr for his address; Rawlinson's work in Lancashire will prevent him making the excursion which he proposed to see Army sanitary progress in America

Letter, ff51-52, pen

**f51r**

Hampstead N.W.

Aug 20/64

My dear Mr. Chadwick

While entirely subscribing to your doctrines in your valuable letter of Aug 17, I must dispute some of the facts which Army Medl. Officers & Enquirers have given you

1. The rate of invaliding in the Army has not increased, & has no effect on the diminished mortality. [The Household troops are the only body

**f51v**

of men who have  
always invalided largely  
& have kept a very  
high Death rate  
*apparently* low in this  
way. But] the Army  
generally cannot &  
does not, under the  
existing law & practice.  
2. If the Aldershot huts  
are badly ventilated,  
it is the sole fault  
of the very Army Medl.  
Officers who complain  
to you. & who have  
(or ought) to report  
week by week, if the

**f52r**

ventilation is not good.  
If the ventilation is not  
good, it is they who  
are neglecting their  
duty. For the means  
are there - the means  
of thorough ventilation  
exist throughout.  
3. The same may be  
said as to the means  
of ablution. Baths are  
being introduced every  
where, one per 100 of  
the men - & are very  
much used. If baths  
don't exist at Aldershot  
or at Brompton, it is  
the fault of the

**f52v**

Commands. Engineer who  
you probably saw. If  
they exist & are not  
used by the men it  
is the fault of the  
Medl. Officer, & no  
one's else - [About  
8000 separate baths  
were required for the  
Army. These cost time  
& expense. If they are  
not at Aldershot or  
Brompton, they will be  
before long. You should  
see them at Woolwich.]  
ever yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

f53 letter to Chadwick of Agnes Ewart asks intro to FN Sept 28th, re a  
scheme to form a tr sch for nurses for the sick in Manchester, with  
Murray Gladstone, chair of Inf Bd of Mgt and Dr Morgan, Arthur Ransome,  
surgeon; Dr Morgan asked for intro to FN for himself

f55 Oct 23 1864 Chadwick letter to FN re his address at York, forwards  
copy, has visited Aldershot lately and engineers barracks at New  
Brompton

Letter, ff56-57, pen {Archivist's date: 1864} black-edged paper

**f56r**

Dear Mr. Chadwick

Thank you very  
much for your suggestions.  
I will consider.

The rate of saving in mortality  
for the whole army,  
minus artillery, is  
one half - more for  
the artillery, whose  
mortality is down to  
5 per 1000, which  
ought to be the Death rate  
for the whole army

**f56v**

A Battalion of lives  
is saved per annum.

But I will get  
you the precise numbers,  
if you like it, &  
make Dr. Sutherland  
write them to you.

FN.

f58 FN note on back of Chadwick letter of 3 April (below) asking for a  
subscription re standing for Parl

My dear Sir harry  
Would you kindly  
say whether it would do  
for me to ~~do~~ give as I am asked  
vide red marks- ? ever yours

F.N.

[marks in margin at]

Any subscription from yourself would be of great power and importance I  
believe for the sanitary cause.

Should you feel disposed to bestow a subscription I would beg of  
you to forward it to ....

ff57-58 Apr 3 1865 Chadwick letter to FN; encloses a letter of Mill and an article showing the reception that an applic to him to serve in Parl was generally met with. he has been adopted as cand for Westminster on his own terms pure and simple. I have also been adopted by a part of the electors to stand with him on the like terms to those set forth in his letter. re Dr S. and how things stand, re Mill, he is "an adorer of yourself" and will attend well to anything she may write to him, and will endeavour to do what you wish him to do, write to him direct and say he requested you to do so, and can write confidentially, he will be expected to speak on India and will prepare himself on it, large changes since he was in office, will have to read up, will have to talk with him on English sanitary matters; Chadwick compares English and sanitary, preparing a paper for de Grey on

ff59-60 Apr 26 1865 Chadwick letter to FN submits enclosed, apology for having troubled her on electoral matters, did so on suggestion of others, "and on their conception that a subscription from you would be taken by everyone as a support rather to a ...than to a politician or to any party politician," great zeal for Mill, a subscription for his el expenses is expected will clear them; he proposes to hand in ... enclosed a rough proof, address, well recd, but the Indian papers have not copied it. I think we have not yet pressed as we ought the separate preventive effect of regular, complete hand to foot ablution

ff61-64 Aug 7 1865 Chadwick letter to FN re Dr S. and how things stand, re Mill; Chadwick held back for Westminster to promote Mill's return; On his return I claimed of him that he shd do what he cd for the two subjects for which I mainly sought a seat in the House, sanitary reform and educational reform. He has promised me to do what he can for them. I spoke to him particularly on sanitary measures for India, which is a new topic for him. I urged that our keeping India, the civilisation of India depended on sanitary measures. I expressed my conviction that by sanitary measures the Anglo Saxons could be enabled to live and propagate their race there.

This he said he had never been convinced of. I stated that I had enquired as to the treatment of European children in India and that the causes of their excessive mortality I had always found to be gross 7 preventible and asserted my confidence that under good sanitary measures European ch may be reared there.

I was about to write to you that any late corroborative evidence eon that point mt be useful.

Allowances must be made even for a man of his mind for early convictions to be removed & new doctrines to be imbibed. His chief adviser in relation to India is likely to be Thornton, chief sec of the Dept of Works, which will include sanitary works, a very benevolent and well ...man, but very timid, who is like to advise large deductions to be made from anything we say on the ...I believe however that Mill has confidence in me on that topic. Next to myself I believe he is an adorer of yourself" and will attend well to anything she may write to him, and will endeavour to do what you wish him to do, write to him direct and say he requested you to do so, and can write confidentially, he will be expected to speak on India and will prepare himself on it, large changes since he was in office, will have to read up, will have to talk with him on English sanitary matters; Chadwick compares English and sanitary, preparing a paper for de Grey on; visited Aldershot and found drainage work very defective; Dr Muir to be sent to Washington to collect experience of the American sanitary commission, but an engineer ought to be sent as well;

I have just come from a meeting of a committee of the Social Science Assoc to see whether we may not make more use of the threat of the impending visitation of the cholera to get alteration to sanitary measures...you will be glad to hear that Mill succeeded admirably as a speaker and I anticipate will take a high position in the House as a speaker 45771



Draft letter, ff65-67, pencil. {Archivist's note: Draft of letter Aug 1865. See E. Chadwick's letter Aug 7.1865}

**f65r**

Mr Chadwick

**[9:530-31]**

Now that the elections are over it appears very desirable that we should prepare for future progress in India. Our case has been before the public for about two years. It has been discussed, the statements cavilled at, some of its statistical facts doubted in the highest quarters & its results finally confirmed not only to the letter but to such an extent beyond what we said, as in reality to from a new indictment. I need hardly tell you that what we aim at in India is the efficiency of our noble army there, the foundation of all law, order & security, & next to that the advance of civilization among our Indian fellow subjects. It is sad to think that we should after a century of power have to contest the execution of works which a Roman Legion would have set about within six months of its conquest.

The Roman was a civilizer by instinct. The Briton is a merchant by instinct. What the one did the other leaves undone, & it is our duty (I need hardly say this to you) to supplement so as we can the great lack of service in this matter which all the world now knows. Except the imperfect works at Bombay, we had supplied no town in India

**f65v**

with water. We have neither drained, paved, cleansed or built one good village even. And what is worse than all, there ~~are~~ is opposition to all advancement on the part of not a few officials the very fact of which opposition being itself a proof that men are thrust into offices, for which they have no aptitude & whose responsibilities they do not recognize. Our only hope out of this is in Parliament, we have Lord Stanley there & one or two others who will help. My object in writing is to ask you if [5:387] I might venture to write to Mr Mill to ask him to consider our case & to help us to the extent he would feel himself justified in doing so from the facts. We do not ask for any particular form of help. All we want is that the work be done. We should have great confidence in any thing Mr Mill might be able to do for us either openly in Parliament or privately to Sir C. Wood, but I should

**f66r**

like to act under your advice & write to you first.

Draft, f67, pencil [5:387]

**f67r**

A short time ago Dr. S informed me that you had ~~suggested~~ told him that Mr. Mills ~~assistance should be asked~~ ~~in advocating~~ would be glad to assist in the H. of C. with my Indian sanitary reforms in the H. of C. or in pressing them in the Indian Government. There can be no doubt of the great advantage of Mr. Mill's help & we should accept it with gratitude. At present our chief reliance in the house is Lord Stanley who has worked admirably for the cause & who I have no doubt would welcome Mr Mill as a coadjutor. If Dr. S's impression of your view was correct would you be so good as inform me whether Mr. Mill would be likely to render his aid, & could then write out a statement of the present condition of the question which would perhaps be the best way of showing what is necessary to be done. I may state, however, generally that at present our dependence is on Sir. S. Lawrence?, but his tenure of office is uncertain & we desire very much ~~to b~~ that the great cause of civilization in India should not depend solely on the life or tenure of office of the present noble Governor General, who has always done so much for us

**f67v**

In India there are contending influences which ~~stop~~ delay progress, and which we fear is not after the years of labour we have gone through in ascertaining the facts & preparing the ground that our labour might be lost unless we can show that there are good men & true who will not ~~allow~~ stand by & see this without a protest. [end 9:531]

ff68-71 Aug 10 1865 Chadwick letter to FN, I expect to see Mill in a few days when I will talk with him on your subject. To do his work he does as you have done, shuts himself out from society and he only sees me generally for specific purposes. I wished him to go with me the other day for a public object when he told me he was closely engaged I the muddle of the month. You will judge whether it is necessary to engage him until farther on towards the session

The Indian letter in *Times* of Monday appears to display a continuance of the old army default of taking up bad sanitary positions not necessary for military positions and consequent loss a default apparently due to the want of power, aide illeg and manner of instructions for which I have been contending. I intend to write upon it.

The same paper news from Malta states that the soldiers had been tented out, as a relief from ill ventilated barracks and as a preventive of cholera; But sanitary commissioners have been there and have it presumed given ... If so whose fault is it that these instructions have not been carried out, together with other instructions, by which severe loss from cholera has been incurred in that island. Somebody ought to be called to account for it.

I visited Aldershot the other day to see the application of the sewerage. I found the drainage of that untended model camp very defective with evident retention of refuse matters, until they had illeg into advanced stages of decomposition to the detriment of the agr experiment as well as the health of the camp

I learned at the Horse Guards that they had not a single engineering officer to observe the sanitary works of camp drainage, camp water supply, camp huts or hospitals or any other constructions. Dr Sutherland tells me that Dr Muir, a clever sanitary medical officer, had been sent to Washington to collect info on sanitary matters as if this were enough. This seems to me to be keeping up the old division between the medicos and the engineers; the medicos having no one competent or caring to execute their works, or caring to revise instruction from them which I think very likely to have been the case at Malta.

I have been taking the chair at a preliminary committee meeting for the general public meeting of the social science assoc for calling attention to the impending illeg of cholera.

Simon's paper and measures appear to impress others as very weak. But it wd be of little effect to attack them. I hope we may yet do something under the impending threat of cholera....Mill, I expect, may from his illeg duty do something as he intimated to me on the defective Poor Law arrangements for the treatment of the sick under the direction of the Guardians. I have that subject in view. ...enclosed note from Harriet Mill, John Mill's sister.

ff73-74 Aug 14 1865 Chadwick letter to FN. I wished Mill to come to a conference appointed for Thursday to consider the means to be adopted re impending visitation of cholera, which if came wd prob kill 1 or 2 thousand of people of Westminster, Chadwick suggested taking him and daughter to see a half-time school, re India work, young engineers. I wished Mil to come to a conference appointed for Thursday to consider of

the means to be adopted as respects the impending visitation of cholera, which if it did come, I told him wd prob kill one or two thousand of the people of Westminster.

I ...he with his daughter go with me to see a half time school. I have just got the enclosed note from him.

I shd have been better satisfied If I cd have been assured that his previous engagements were none of them, of a sort to be dispensed with, for the immediate subject. She has got into high theological controversy.

We must be content with what we can get. I am satisfied to have prevented him the pain, as I am sure it wd be to him, to have refused anything to you. We must wait until January.

The works for India must depend on the educ of the young engineers. I have been amongst the engineer officers and I find them even now in the state of knowledge armed by Capt Laffan and which I shall not cease to quote that of sanitary engineering, they hardly know what it means. Drainage, house and town drainage, a paving, are things beneath the dignity of their comprehension. They hear me with smiles. Did I not know that their business was the...?

There have nevertheless been mil engineers in India who have done works equal to the Romans, one who built 130 villages and a town who ...water and cleared...reduced a territory to civilization, who put a robber population in a position in which it was not worth their while to steal but to cultivate. Shall I send you some imperfect account of him?

My son has just been out on an exped to examine new illeg works.

ff75-76 Aug 12 1865 Mill letter to Chadwick re position in and cause of not having answered his last 2 letters, obliged to postpone absolutely every pol or Parl subject till meeting of Parl, can't go to see schools or write pres of Poor Law Bd as he proposed, not till next Jan can think of

ff77-78 Aug 19 1865 Chadwick letter to FN invites attention to an article in *Examiner* re sanitary; I am convinced that the root of the obstruction to the extension of sanitary works is in the ignorance of them by the old engineers and that the remedy is the careful practical and ? instruction in them by the young engineer officers. Practical attention is only given at present to the construction of fortifications and field work. A few lectures and paper instructions alone will not do. They must see and make themselves conversant with the works by visible examination and practice. At present the instruction in sanitary works is so poor at Chatham barracks that if it be not improved I shall advise ? to withdraw from the service. has written a paper suggesting improvement; encloses a photo of Mill

ff79-80 Aug 21 [?] 1865 Chadwick to FN asks to read a draft paper intended for de Grey, also Sir John Burgoyne and S. seen?...Rawlinson has written agreeing that the instr in san engineering must to be efficient be by the eye rather than the ear and offering to show works of his own

Draft letter, f81, pencil, JS hand

**f81r** {Archivist's note: [ca.24 Aug 1865] Apparently draft for letter to E. Chadwick. See his letter Aug 24.1865}

I return your paper. The enquiry you suggest is one of very great importance and now is the time to do it. If the War office could make it a part of the practical training of young enquirers to examine & report on all existing sanitary works there cannot be a doubt about that the results would amply pay the cost. ~~In~~ Such enquiries would create interest in the subject & would give young enquirers such extensive opportunity of obtaining practical experience that they would be ready to undertake sanitary work as well as other work.

I have made some corrections on your draft in matters of fact which we are more familiar with, but except in these points it is well put & ought

**f81v**

to carry conviction. I agree with you entirely as to the danger of the Privy Council interfering with Sanitary enquiries.

The reports already published show that the medical agents made use of are simply tyros in the work & yet to them is committed investigations which could only be carried out successfully by the most practised sanitary enquirers.

ff82-83 Aug 25 1865 Chadwick letter to FN to try to see Galton re his paper, getting early action, Simon has been sending out a doctor to examine the towns drained and report on effects of the new drainage; Now I am alarmed at that, for doctors generally do not know good drainage works from bad. The doctor sent out, tho a very good man, may be told by town authorities went to great expense but do no good; considering getting a motion of Social Sc Assoc to get young engineers to examine the works in action; Sir John Burgoyne observed to him that doctors want to keep the whole thing to themselves. "Simon's ignorance and indifference to them is a source of immense mischief to be remedied."

ff84-86 Aug 27 1865 Chadwick letter to FN thanks for her suggestions, shall act on all--will prepare an amended draft, visited Aldershot and new Brompton barracks and made a point to see medical officers at both; at both told the only things seen were army med reports; I conclude that there must be something to be enquired into as to the distribution of papers; Dr S tells of special provisions made for washing of soldiers, but he told at both places only face and hand washing as a general rule; encloses article on exped to Boston from the *Examiner* 19th

ff87-88 Aug 28 or 29 ? Chadwick letter to FN re accounts in *Times* re fatal march from? re c in chief; I intend to write an article on the Privy Council Office for their doctrines on contagion as to cattle, may mention Dr Gibson's putting the scarlet fever cases in quarantine at Aldershot as evidence of the backward state of the army med dept

ff89-90 Sept 6 1865 Chadwick letter to FN met Ellis at WO and Dr S., Ellis excellent fellow, re water supply Madras, Ellis to see works with Rawlinson, Burgoyne

ff91-92 Oct 25 1865 Chadwick letter to FN re John Lawrence determined that irrigation works instead of being left to private companies will be done by Royal Engineers, re Ellis; paper on scarlet fever at Aldershot, yellow fever at Bermuda

ff93-94 Chadwick to FN 8 Jan 1866 "Mr Shields tells me that he certainly saved the life of one child, who he found dangerously ill in a stifling room, by pleading effectually your authority for opening the windows. After urging "Notes" as a text book for reading in the girls school he found the references to home conditions to which it led....that he bought two extra copies of the Notes for circulation in the homes, where much good he believes has been done by them.

Mr Shields is reputed to be the most able school teacher of our time [[and Chadwick gives other examples of use of]

ff95-96 May 20 1866 Chadwick letter to FN re his attack of syncope, hair mattress prevented going to Algeria, re bed; I spare no labour on the sanitary cause where there is any appearance of the labour being useful. re prevention, re railway reform, Parl reform Lord Russell; There has been an epidemic of contagions-- amongst the doctors, which has broken out on the cattle plague question; re Algeria comm, re Anglo Saxons in India blue pencil,

Letter, f97r, typed copy

**f97r**

May 30/66  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

Dear Mr. Chadwick,

Would it be of any use now my trying to interest Mr. J.S. [9:557]  
Mill in our India Sanitary affairs? And, if so, how? [end 9:557]  
ever yours,  
F.N.

Letter by Chadwick ff98-99v to FN re Poor Law reform, pen, handwritten  
by Edwin Chadwick

Richmond S.W.

June 18.1866

Dear Miss Nightingale,

I yesterday went to  
see J. Mill to give him, at his  
request a cram on the middle class  
education question, on which he is  
asked to give answers to the commiss-  
ioners. But before doing so, I took  
the opportunity of shewing him  
some memoranda, as to administrative  
principles and arrangments, which  
Ellis left with me. I presume  
that those arrangements have  
your concurrence. I had not time  
to write and ask you or I should  
have done so. I made Mill read  
them, which he did. He told me  
that, is opinions on every ~~points~~  
point was with Ellis. But he  
said that parliament had so  
much put down to do, that could  
not be done during this session



**f98v**

that there was not the slightest chance of any Indian subject of importance being considered or brought forward.

I went to the Indian department on Friday to learn whether Ellis had been heard from and I was told he had not. General Pears shewed me the arrangement adopted by Sir John Lawrence, in respect to sanitary matters, which he did not think good at all.

I collect that Sir John is considered a failure as a legislator & an administrator. Mill thinks so.

Such as for as relates to Mill appears to me to be the Indian position. It is very likely that he may want more information from me on other topics when I may see him again and avail myself of another opportunity for pressing ~~for~~ the Indian sanitary question further consideration upon him. It would be open to

**f99**

you to write direct to him, but from what I know he is close to any consideration of Indian questions just now. If you have any suggestions on which I might speak or write, I shall of course be happy to attend to them.

On the practical preparations for further instructions on sanitary works, I have much to say. Should we not press for arrangements for observation of ~~on~~ sanitary science, in its appreciation to the army, as well as of combative science, during the pending desperate war?

I am waiting the results of arguments, as to the management of the sick poor by the virtue to submit to you for your opinion some administrative arrangements however.

Yours ever faithfully,

Edwin Chadwick

Miss F. Nightingale

I think

**f99v**

we should make the most of the sanitary results in Algeria, to which the request hardly does justice.

J - -

There was a slum in Regent Street, where they sold real Turkish towels, but I found they sold real Turkish towels, but I found they leave none soft. I have heard of another place, where I shall enquire, if any are to be got.

f100-01 letter from Chadwick [1 July 1866]

**f100**

Dear Miss Nightingale.

It is now a fortnight [9:557-58]  
ago since I sent to  
Mill to ask him to see  
me, to ~~ha~~  
to shew him Ellis's administrative  
propositions, & get his opinion & with  
his opinion his support from them at the India  
Department. But he has not  
answered me on that topic, &  
has ~~not~~ sent  
to me, for--crams in two other  
questions;--on middle class  
education, on which he ~~h~~  
is asked for in

f100v

person, and in mercantile  
credit in connection with  
the bankruptcy law, on  
which, & he is going to  
make some ~~n~~  
motions. I have sent him statistics  
& materials on this question of his,  
& but he  
takes no notice of mine  
which he plagues me, ~~how he~~  
but I must wait until something  
arises which may call for action.  
From what I see and learn Sir  
John Lawrence has not  
answered well as a legislator.  
I propose

**f101**

to state points to  
Mill for his opinion.

But, as I am obliged  
to wait for something  
to arise for legislative  
action, so I apprehend  
must you.

I shewed Mill Ellis's  
letters to me, & he  
was greatly pleased with  
the results stated on  
the enquiry. He said  
moreover, that he had  
heard of Ellis before: that  
he had noted him down  
as a man of great  
~~also~~ ability & promise and [end 9:558]  
would rely on any conclusion

f101v

he might deliberately  
suspend.

I will keep you informed [9:558]  
however ~~not~~  
of any opportunity, for getting  
Mill's help. [end 9:558]

yours faithfully,  
E.C.

Letter, ff102-10r, pen [6:346-49]

**f102**

*Private*

35 South Street W.

July 9/66

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I have read your admirable  
letter with the greatest interest  
& with the greatest pleasure.  
And let me say, first of all,  
how, among the inestimable  
& most various services you  
have done our country, I  
think none greater than what  
you are trying to do her now  
& how I rejoice to see your  
clear judgement & vigour at  
work again on this subject.  
I agree entirely with the  
administrative principles for  
the care of the sick poor  
which you have set forth.

It is a subject which is  
familiar to me. And, during

**f102v**

the last 18 months, I have been in practical contact with the present system of affording Infirmary relief to sick poor, both in London & elsewhere.

Of course my primary object was:- the introduction of *trained* <sup>1</sup>x nurses into Workhouse Infirmaries - as many as possible.

But this happens just to be a test point of the present system of administration.

The result of all my experience is that, if the existing

Workhouse management is allowed to continue, anything like efficient nursing of the sick is utterly impossible.

Indeed it is not nursing at all.

---

<sup>1</sup>x I object to the word "paid" nurses. It is not the paying but the training of a man which makes him a medical officer. It is only the training of a woman which will make her a nurse.

**f103r**

It is true that guardians might,  
(and I dare say will) employ  
paid, instead of pauper, nurses.  
They might even appoint  
so-called "Lady Superintendents".  
But, so long as a sick man,  
woman or child is considered  
*administratively* to be a pauper  
to be repressed, & not a  
fellow creature to be nursed  
into health - so long will  
these most shameful  
disclosures have to be made -  
disclosures which have  
made our (so-called) local  
government a bye-word;- while  
the rate-payers will be  
deluded by what is really  
a false pretence.  
The care & government of sick  
poor - and, indeed, of all  
persons labouring under  
physical or mental disability  
to win their bread, is a  
thing totally different from

**f103v**

the government of paupers.

[Why ~~are our~~ do we have Hospitals in order to cure? - and Workhouse

Infirmaries in order *not* to cure? Taken solely from the point of view of preventing pauperism, what a stupidity & an anomaly this is. "Penny wise & pound foolish", as even a maid-of-all-work could understand]

This is the very first lesson which our legislators have to learn.

[But our legislature always mixes up administration with party.]

In order that you may not think me sentimentalizing or political-izing, I will try to answer your questions, one by one:-



**f104r**

[2]

- A. to insist on the great principle  
of separating the sick, insane,  
infirm & aged, incurable,<sup>2</sup>  
imbecile, & above all the  
children from the usual  
pauper population of the  
Metropolis
- B. to advocate a single central  
administration
- C. to place all these classes, (especially  
those suffering from any disease,  
bodily or mental,) under  
this distinct & responsible  
administration, amenable  
directly to Parliament  
- these are the A.B.C. of the  
reform required.

---

<sup>2</sup>x. how many of those called incurable are not incurable a  
life's hospital experience has taught me.  
Old age, is, of course, incurable

**f104v**

Uniformity of system in this matter is absolutely necessary, in order that the suffering poor should be properly cared for, & in order that vacant beds & places may be filled up, wherever space exists.

all the officers of these Infirmaries & Asylums should be appointed by & should be responsible to the central authority, which is responsible to Parliament.

Sickness, madness, imbecility & permanent infirmity are general inflictions affecting the entire community - [mainly, too, brought about by the wretched sanitary state of our streets] & are not, like pauperism, to be kept down.

**f105r**

The sick or inform or mad  
pauper ceases to be a pauper,  
when so afflicted.

The past system of mixing up  
all kinds of poor in workhouses  
will never be submitted to  
in future.

The very first thing wanted is  
classification - classification  
& separation of the lazy, able-bodied, immoral  
paupers, living on other people's  
labour - from the sick &  
infirm.

You must thus have two kinds  
of administration - one for  
sick, for infirm, aged &  
invalids, for insane & imbeciles,  
& above all for children -  
- and another for paupers.

Once acknowledge the principle  
of this separation - and you  
must have suitable  
establishments for their  
care & treatment of sick & Infirm.  
For these purposes, consolidation

**f105v**

is absolutely necessary, unless  
the rate-payers intend to  
incur an unknown cost.

Any attempt to treat the  
classes I have named, as  
they ought to be treated,  
would, in the existing Work-  
houses, involve an amount  
of expense which even  
London could not bear.

Hence comes the necessity -  
necessity, as I think of it, -  
of consolidating the entire  
medical relief of the  
metropolis under one central  
management, which would  
know where vacant beds  
are to be found, & so be  
able to distribute the sick  
as to use all the establishments  
in the most economical way.

The administration of these  
Hospitals should be specially

**f106r** [3]

organised (as we have done  
in the army.) The best  
medical & surgical advice  
should be found for them -  
and, as said above, there  
should be *direct responsibilities*  
in all officers from below  
upwards, ending in Parliament.  
The advantages to Medicine &  
Surgery of such arrangements  
would be very great indeed.  
We know that, in this way,  
6000 x cases of disease & injury  
would be constantly undergoing  
examination & comparison,  
in a few large Hospitals -  
(which can be built as healthy  
as the smallest Hospitals  
& far more economically)  
instead of the experience being  
fritted away in a few dark  
dirty rooms here & there,  
as at present.

x. The last return in my profession gives 6,039 cases more or less acute - add 6,403 old & infirm requiring more or less constant MEDICAL treatment.  
Total medical & surgical cases 12,442.

**f106v**

And, as part of the general administration, a thoroughly efficient system of nursing Sick, Infirm, Incurables, Idiots, Insane, could be introduced.

This is *impossible* in existing Workhouses. To carry it out, you must have a sufficient number of Patients, a certain number of nurses & Probationers (many of whom, by the way, might come from the girls <sup>x</sup><sup>3</sup> brought up in the Schools) - and, over these, Head Nurses ("Sisters") and a Superintendent.

---

<sup>3</sup>x. This is improbable now, because you cannot put girls of 14-16 to be trained as nurses in existing infirmaries

**f107r**

Sick, infirm, idiots, & mad persons  
require special constructive  
arrangements, special medical  
care & nursing, & special  
dieting. [of all these, they  
have little or none that is  
worthy the name in the  
present London Workhouses.]  
They are not "paupers." They  
are "poor & in affliction".  
Society certainly owes them,  
if it owes them anything, every  
necessary care for recovery.  
In practice, there should  
be consolidated & uniform  
administrative arrangements.  
Sickness is not *parochial*;  
it is general & human.  
For sick you want Hospitals  
as good as the best Civil  
Hospitals. You want the  
best Nurses you can find.  
You want efficient & sufficient

**f107v**

medical attendance. You  
want an energetic & wise  
administration.

[All the great Parisian  
Hospitals, the Schools for  
half the medical men  
of Europe, are managed  
by *their* central authority].

**f108r**

[4]

Dear Mr. Chadwick, this letter  
is already a great deal  
longer than I wish. Yet, tho'  
there is much repetition in  
it, I cannot re-write it -  
And I have omitted much  
that I wanted to say.

I have written it at intervals,  
and, because I am so driven  
by business, almost as soon  
as it was light in the  
morning. This must  
account for its incoherency.

It is for yourself alone,  
or, if you wish it, for Mr.  
Mill.

But, if you desired it, I  
should be very glad to express  
my conclusions more in  
detail, in answer to written  
questions, (as I have done  
to two R. Commissions) -  
should the Committee of the



**f108v**

House of Commons think it  
worth while.

Much that I have not time  
to put here I could then say.  
And I should then have  
time to make it shorter -  
I have scarcely ever been so busy  
as I am now.

Pray believe me  
dear Mr. Chadwick  
ever your faithful & grateful  
servt.

Florence Nightingale  
Edwin Chadwick Esq CB

**f109r [5]**

P.S.

If any thing were wanting to  
prove the absence of the very  
foundations of knowledge as to  
what ought to be the principles  
of administration for the sick  
poor, you can find it in  
the evidence of the very  
officials of the Workhouses,  
(including more than one  
Medical Officer - & in one  
instance, a Chaplain.)

To my mind, infinitely  
more horrible than the  
horrible cases which have  
come to light - (including that  
of the laying-out of a living baby)  
are these statements of the  
officials of what *they*  
considered their duties & their  
offices.

I can truly say that I have  
lived among horrors. Yet

**f109v**

nothing that I have ever seen  
in the old Military Hospitals,  
or in the worst nursed Civil  
Hospitals in the world, ever  
came near, (to my mind,)  
to the horrors of hearing  
matrons & masters &  
guardians & medical officers  
declare these things to be  
the normal, proper rule  
of their lives & offices.  
Are they really there, then, to  
kill & not to cure?  
It is the first time, I should  
think, in the world, that this  
has been *said* - tho' it may  
too often have been *done*.

F.N.

**f110r**

Except to re-echo your opinion,  
I would not enter here, upon a  
matter of detail, (tho' an important  
detail.) viz. the reckless  
extravagance & waste of the  
present Workhouse Infirmary  
system, which can only be  
rivalled by its miserable  
"parsimoniousness."

But I should have much  
to say on this point, if examined.

I don't believe it to be at  
all certain that an improved  
& efficient system of Hospitals  
for the sick would cost  
more than the present  
disgraceful no-system of  
betraying the sick.

F.N.

[end 6:349]

ff111-12 July 5 1867 Chadwick letter to FN, at Paris reporting on dwellings, to publish in Ill London News, asks for her impression on points, for revised ed

Letter, f113, pen [6:534]

**f113r**

July 8/67  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London.W.

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I must thank you  
for directing me to your  
invaluable paper on  
Model Cottage Dwellings  
in Illustrated London  
News.

It is a most complete  
& able paper, worthy  
of you. It will do a  
great deal of good -  
containing not only  
precepts, but facts,

**f113v**

experience & illustration.

I hope to read it over  
many times

I am very glad to hear  
that your health has improved [end 6:534]

Believe me  
ever yours  
Florence Nightingale

Letter, ff114-15, pencil [6:536-37]

**f114r**

Dec 14/67

35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London.W.

Dear Mr. Chadwick,

I have been quite unable  
to write to you sooner.

But - there are not facts, so  
far as I know, collected  
regarding the advantages of  
"soft water" for "dietaries".

It is very necessary that this  
should be done. You know  
that many of the waters  
prescribed by Doctors for  
sick are the hardest waters  
we know. viz. Soda Water,  
Lemonade &c &c. Now it  
would be most important  
to distinguish, to group together,  
to analyze & generalise all  
these facts, as to Soft Waters,  
as to Hard Waters, for Dietaries.

**f114v**

It is undoubted that to make the Tea of the sick with hard water - to boil vegetables for the sick with hard water - is very prejudicial, even where *those very* (sick) men may be ordered Soda Water.

But - the real disadvantage of London water is, as I need not tell *you*, more that it is *foul* than that it is hard - in other words, it is sewer water - its source is so objectionable that nobody drinks more of it than they can help - they drink other liquids.

**f115r**

[The water which supplies the "Herbert Hospital" is all softened by Dr Clark's process before being conducted into the Hospital, as you know.]

I have said all that I know about soft water for sick in my "Notes on Nursing".

---

It is impossible to over-rate the importance of what you are doing as to house & wall construction.

ever yours sincerely  
Florence Nightingale

---

I never mentioned to you about Sutton in Regent St. who told you that he sold real Turkish

**f115v**

towelling - & whom you kindly  
sent to me. I bought his  
towelling - it is the very worst  
kind of hard Manchester  
make. I mention this in order  
that you may not let him use  
your name.

F.N.

**[end 6:537]**

Letter, f116r, typed copy

**f116r**

35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

{archivist's note: ca 1866-7}

Dear Mr. Chadwick,

I hope you are materially better. I was *very* sorry to hear of your illness.

I was very much obliged to you for your letter about the Spring Bed. But I rather prefer the Snake  
springs *throughout* - a  
bed on which I have lain for 10 years. Otherwise my bones would have been thro' my skin.

Do you remember sending me when I was at Hampstead with dear Hilary Carter, some 5 years ago,  
a Bath Turkish cloak and large Turkish towels? Those have been in constant use ever since. Could you tell  
me where to get some more?

I am more and more helpless every day. but, on the prin-  
ciple that the Jew thought R. Catholicism must be true, because it  
had survived the horrors he saw at Rome, I think I must be going to  
live, because I have survived what I have suffered this winter.

Ever yours,

F.N.

ff118-20 India San Dept.

ff120-21 May 22 1871 Chadwick reply to FN re drainage of Cawnpore, has friend W.J. Thornton, secy of  
Works Dept of IO

ff122-23 May 23 1871 Chadwick reply, unwittingly being cause of disturbance

f124 June 1 Chadwick letter to FN expects to meet Thornton tomorrow, any views of hers to give him?

f125 E. Chadwick to FN Aug 19 71 re Stansfeld and Simon. suggests she get a personal acquaintance with Stansfeld, mt be worth while, Home Office, PCO and Poor Law Bd. I shall urge him to take counsel independent of Simon. "What think you of his last interpretation of the allegation that cholera poison, the contagiousness of which he says is weak near the patient, may be awfully potent at a distance from him, and other points, or of the action isolation clothes burning at the ports, illeg attention long confined to them & no attention by such agency .... sent out scouts to examine form in which the disease was advancing. He or the Privy Council sent out scouts to watch the approach of the cattle disease, but none to watch the approach of the cholera. He is now away on holiday for two months. he did not believe the cholera wd come.

f127 Aug 29 1871 confidential Chadwick letter to FN re sanitary admin to be put upon a better footing, Stansfeld

Letter, ff128-29, pen, black-edged paper [6:548]

**f128r**

*Private*

Lea Hurst

Matlock

Sept 2/71

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I scarcely think that I  
could add or alter anything,  
according to your kind wish,  
to in this, your present paper.

Perhaps most good would  
be done in your third paper.

For you no.3 (*do not quote  
me*) I agree with you that  
the men on the new Board  
should be men selected for their  
special knowledge of real  
practical sanitary work, and  
if possible for their un-knowledge  
of theoretical medicine -  
- that men with theories have  
absolutely no place in sanitary  
administration -

**f128v**

- that they are mere weeds  
occupying the ground & preventing  
useful vegetation -  
- that, comparing the work done  
during the short tenure of the  
Board of Health with any  
new initiative since the House  
of C. abolished it, is instructive  
as showing the great difference  
between availing oneself of all  
the experience possible & attainable  
& evolving sanitary doctrines  
"out of the depths of one's own  
"consciousness."

The whole future of sanitary  
progress in England depends  
on how they constitute the new  
Board.            Mere patronage

**f129r**

would be fatal to efficiency.

If the "office" principle,  
which you justly attack, is  
introduced into the new  
organization, it may continue  
to keep sanitary work in  
abeyance, as it has already  
pretty considerably done.  
[In all my work with Sidney  
Herbert & since, we have  
always fought shy of absolute  
direction. The secret of our  
success has been our freedom.  
We take every body into  
Council.]

[Your letter to me was 2 days on the  
road - owing to "Derby" being on the



**f129v**

address (under "Matlock") - *Matlock*  
is our post town.]

I re-inclose the rough proof.

There are printer's errors in it.  
I have corrected 34 in my part,  
page 5, which you must regard  
as my (*involuntary*) contribution.  
Please let me have copies, when  
complete, of all these papers.  
in great press of business & illness  
ever yours most truly  
Florence Nightingale

Letter, f130, pen, black-edged paper [6:548-49]

**f130r**

Lea Hurst  
Matlock Oct 2/71

Dear Mr. Chadwick

Many thanks for your

Proof: "Sanitary principles of School Construction".

This is a very valuable paper  
on a little understood subject.

The question of wet clothes &  
shoes in country schools and  
its influence on health deserves  
your special reference.

The true way of doing is what  
used to be the custom ~~for~~ in  
Scotland for people who  
walked long distances in wet  
weather to tie up & carry shoes  
& stockings - & only to put them  
on at the journey's end.

The practical experience of the  
Bishop of Natal about the  
Natal schools & the deadly  
effect produced *by wet clothing*  
on *natives* would be worth putting  
in.

**f130v**

As it is the paper is a clear  
gain.  
ever yours sincerely  
Florence Nightingale

ff131-32 Oct 2 1871 Chadwick reply, glad she approves of his school paper forwarded to her for a revise, asks where he can get bishop of Natal's scheme. mentions little boy of mine, whom you once to his mother's delight petted and kissed at the Bracebridges has become a lieut of engineers and but for 2 years been out doing good eng work at Bombay, but work stopped and he ordered to Aden, to be the Gibraltar of those parts...re water

Letter, ff133-34, pen

**f133r**

*Private*

35 South Street, Oct 20/71  
Park Lane,  
W.

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I am sure that you will  
know that your letter has  
not lain idle by me.

I made immediate  
enquiries about the  
function of Col. Jervoise  
who is going to inspect  
the Indian defences.

Col. Jervoise has entered  
readily into the subject -  
but is not himself in a  
position to move (being  
only a lent officer.)

He has however said

**f133v**

that, if our Army San. Comm.  
would move, he would  
do what he could if  
opportunity offered.

At his suggestion, a strong  
letter was written him  
by Dr. Sutherland which  
he could use.

In regard to getting your son  
to France, possibly the  
best plan is to wait a little.  
First get your son attached  
and then I think it might

**f134r**

be open to me with the  
India Office to move  
in this direction.

Aden is not an unhealthy  
station as compared with  
other Indian stations.

It will be a Gibraltar -  
and it is quite a case for  
introducing Sanitary works  
at the beginning.

---

I hope you received at Leeds  
my pamphlet on "Colonial  
Native Statistics" with the  
passage about Natal & the  
wet clothes in time.

**f134v**

I venture to send you a  
 little book of mine - just  
 'out' - which comes 'out'  
 merely for the purpose  
 of inviting criticism &  
 collecting information -  
 and, as a part of your  
 great sanitary work, will  
 not, I trust, be foreign  
 to your thoughts - tho' only  
 on "Lying-in Institutions".

---

1000 thanks for your  
 admirable School proof  
 (Revise).

Pray believe me  
 ever sincerely yours  
 Florence Nightingale

f135 E. Chadwick to FN 21 Oct 1871

"I received with great pleasure your work on Lying-in Hospitals, as a piece of work of great importance which no one else that I know could do. I have given it one reading and, I think it most complete and satisfactory, and a good example of the statistical method and its power.

I would submit for consideration one element to be taken into account in all hospital questions and, I conceive, in Lying-in hospitals especially and that is the psychological element, the effect on the mind of witnessing surrounding suffering and cases of death.

Medical men, esp medical teachers, make light of this, but physicians know how rapid is the loss of power and of chances of recovery when they are if informed [?] of extreme danger. And is not the sight of cases of death likely to induce despair. We had to send a man servant to the consumption hospital. His account of his sensations at the sight of the sufferings and deaths within his ward was one of the most tragic stories I ever heard. I of course acceded to his request to be removed to a home where he might be relieved from the affliction and die in peace. If such effects are produced on men as I know them to be, are they not likely to be more powerfully manifested on women? E.g. their proneness to epidemic panics [?] as in the convulsions in nunneries and women's insts. I shd expect that one case in a female ward, would often excite an epidemic of terror predisposing to any air poison that might be about. Knowing the large proportion of weakly women, I shd anticipate that sending a thousand women into hospital conditions wd from that very fact augment the death rate in appreciable proportions against the home deliveries.

This psychological element in appears to me is to be taken in account on the home side. Still in the terrible condition of overcrowded homes, I consider lying-in wards and regulations for them a necessity.

It might be well if we cd get the stats of the mortality affecting the different classes of women. From some I got from Manchester, speaking from memory, whilst the deaths were with females of the well do to classes, having servants was, one in 70, with females who had no servants they were not more than 1 in 700. Now Mr Robertson, a corr of yours, who went into that topic, has lost his memory.

The stats of the time of convalescence in bed lying will vary largely with the classes. From scattered information as respects females approaching a good normal sanitary condition as young wives of farmers,

fishermen, when the time of convalescence is very short indeed. In two or three days they are up and about.

Mr Stansfeld, the pres of the LGB, will now through the med officers of health of the unions be enabled if he will to get out stats. Could you not send a copy of your book to him or to Mrs Stansfeld, or in some way or other get into communication with him? I told him that I was confident he mt apply to you for any info he mt want as to hosps.

I have not watched the case that is going on, but some advice is prob needed in relation to it.

When I was at the Poor Law Board fees of 10s per case were allowed for deliveries to the med officers; and extra fees for cases of difficulty. It was reproached that since this order of mine (against which I had protested) that there was hardly a case in some districts that was not one of difficulty. It was then made very clearer, how very few cases there were and how little of a severe travail it was with healthy women of the working class. And certainly it will diminish as san sc advances.

You will have got a remit revise of my paper on school construction in wh you will see I have used an important passage, for which I thank you from your paper on the Col schools. I am very much engaged in the diminution of manufactory of the tiles with cheapness and exactness on which all depends I am assured that it may be done, but that it will require capital. The accounts of the application of the principle of floor warming in a rough way in the American field hosps is very satisfactory. With nice smooth tiles it will I am confident do well for other hosps.

Your father gave me concern at your suffering on your journey. I trust that the asphalt roads will afford relief to other sufferers. If it were laid down in your quarter or through any extent it would release you I hope as well as other invalids for drives in the open air.

Mrs Chadwick wishes to express deep gratitude for the regard paid to our son. I shd be most happy if he could be got into regular sanitary work. Your devoted servant, Edwin Chadwick.

ff139-40 Oct 26 1871 Chadwick letter to FN to suggest she ask pres of Local Govt Bd, who has now control of birth and death reg instead of Home sec to get out for her a years births and deaths in childbirth of different classes; It has occurred to me to suggest, whether you mt not ask the pres of the LGB who has now the control of the birth and death reg instead of the home sec whether he would be pleased to have got out for you a years births and deaths in childbirth of the different classes. I know that the reg dept may give them if they will, though roughly, at an expence of a little overwork, of about £1 for 1000 of cases. I shd I think get if it cd be got, returns separate, of deaths in rural districts, to contrast with those in urban districts. I almost wish it as a means of your opening a communication with him. List follows of items

f141 Chadwick to FN Dec 20 1871. I have added something more in relation to the failures of the de illeg and the ventilators but if anything occurs to you to add or suggest and you can send it to me to the Society of Arts 12 Adam St Adelphi by tomorrow at noon I shall be obliged.

ff142-43 Dec 21 1871 Chadwick letter to FN encloses proof with further corrections, re Reg Gen gives mortality in public insts, wd be important to get mortality in military prisons. The reg gen gives the mortality in public insts, cd compare to get mortality in mil prisons, they are such important sanitary standards. They shd be got out. Imputation of deaths from diseases arising within the prison, 2nd proportions of deaths from zymotic diseases, to total deaths within the prison? In respect to your midwifery cases, I wd suggest some points. Against my advice, the union med officers were allowed fees for midwifery cases, 10s each, i.e. in districts where farmers wives only paid midwives fees of 5s and a bottle of gin. Fees were allowed extra £2 each case of difficulty. Now it wd be crucial to see what is the proportion of cases of difficulty in that district where this order prevails as compared with those districts where it does not, or in the good lying-in hosps not under that order?

Cd not you ask Mr Stansfeld for it?

I was told that in one union after that order came into op strange to say they had scarcely an easy delivery at the place!

Letter, ff144-45, pen

**f144r**

35 South Street, Xmas Day/71  
Park Lane,  
W.

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I thank you very much  
for your two slips.

Seeing that your paper  
would be of use to those new  
to the subject, would it not  
be advisable to show in what  
manner the General Board  
of Health had proposed to  
prevent these evils?

[I did not answer your  
first, because 1. it only reached  
me a couple of hours before  
the one fixed by you for  
sending in any suggestions: and  
2. as it might be expanded  
at such length,

**f144v**

no cursory additions of mine  
would do any good. the text  
is perfectly clear but would  
stretch

into a treatise without

exhausting the text, it was  
impossible to deal with so  
extensive a subject for which  
you have written so good a text,  
in so hurried a manner.]

Also: it appears to me that  
what we want most now  
is: *not to know, but to do.*

Would you not shew that  
it is the neglect of *known*  
principles, not of acquiring  
knowledge, which has caused  
all the disasters?

If known principles had been  
carried out, no such

**f145r**

mischiefs would have  
happened.

Would it not be advisable  
to re-state the principles  
shortly - those principles  
which had been stated &  
in print by the General  
Board of Health nearly  
25 years ago?

---

*Prison Statistics.*

I will immediately try to get  
for you correct military prison  
mortality which is a very  
difficult problem. But the  
army prisons are so different  
from Civil prisons that they  
scarcely admit comparison.



**f145v**

---

I thank you for all your  
valuable hints about P.L.  
midwifery statistics. I am  
working at then - but not  
yet thro' Mr. Stansfeld.  
The office will be re-cast  
and until next session  
we scarcely expect any results.  
The last man was deplorable -  
*all* interference - *no*  
administration. This  
man promises better.

Ever, dear Mr. Chadwick,

Yours most truly

Florence Nightingale

A thousand and a thousand good  
wishes for the best Christmas & New  
Year's blessings on you & on all you love.

ff146-47 Dec 29 1871 Chadwick letter to FN re her last note, sends enclosed, Christopher Wren plan. The expression of your last note was as all are most grateful and stimulating to me. I send you the enclosed, an unread, and rough proof of matters wh I shall mostly rewrite as it is comprised of jottings, to see the space an exposition may occupy I send it you to show what I am about to say and "improve the occasion." I expect to get some attention in America and perhaps we may get some on the continent. You will hardly judge of the effect unless you had before you the plan of Sir Christopher Wren and that in larger than the cut. My daughter ha drawn one for me. I shd be most happy if you cd allow her to come and show it to you and also her enlarged view of the habitat of the plague at York.

The matter of the apparent though of trite repetition to you will be new to all legions very narrow circle. In a day or two or before the end of the week I hope to be enabled to send you a better proof.

Letter, ff148-49, pen.

**f148r**

35 South Street, Jan 11/72

Park Lane,

W.

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I read your two Proofs  
with the extremest pleasure  
& admiration. Your paper  
will revive attention to  
forgotten principles. I have  
not a word to add to it.

On the contrary, it is  
already so admirably full  
that the danger is the public  
will not be able to  
receive it all.

**f148v**

I cannot thank you enough [7:699]  
for having allowed me to  
see the splendid plan  
which Miss Chadwick was  
good enough to bring here  
of Sir C. Wren's London.  
Wren was two centuries  
before his time - for now  
is not something of his views  
being adopted? - The  
bridging of Holborn Valley  
& the diagonal street from

**f149r**

Blackfriars to Mansion House  
- are not these recent  
carrying-out of the  
principle?

The view of the habitat  
of the plague at York  
is also most interesting &  
effective.

I will send back these  
magnificent illustrations  
with very many thanks  
to any place you will [end 7:699]  
desire.

I was so sorry not to be

**f149v**

able to see Miss Chadwick  
- and I believe Mrs. Chadwick  
was good enough to call here  
too. But I am, alas  
for me!, now unable to  
see any one, however  
much I may desire it.

Pray believe me

dear Mr. Chadwick

ever yours most truly  
Florence Nightingale

Letter, f150, pen [6:551]

**f150r**

35 South Street, 15/1/72

Park Lane,

W.

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I have not one word to suggest about this  
paper. It is admirable.

You have set forth the true principle, viz.  
that mortality (& the like) of every street  
should constitute part of the stock in trade  
of Officers of Health.

I have nothing to add - not a line.  
I believe the mortality in Prisons is now  
calculated on the principles of the paper  
which we prepared for India, of which I  
enclose a copy.

The plan you propose would of course be good  
for Indian cities.

But at present I am sorry to say we have need  
to be more taken up with the question of getting  
work initiation at all than with tracing

**f150v**

its results on streets or districts.

Please however move in this too at the India Office. It will be very valuable - and, if referred to us, we will go into it thoroughly as applicable to India.

There is this great difficulty.

Dr. Cuningham & all the Sanitary Commissioners have stated that there is no adequate knowledge of disease-causes in India to enable any correct Native Registration to be undertaken.

This is no doubt true at present. But they will improve in time.

At first your proposal will almost necessarily be limited to (say) Calcutta, Bombay & Madras.

in great haste

tho' I did not *read* your invaluable paper in haste but admired at leisure.

ever yours sincerely

{Archivist's note: Signature cut off for the roll of Honorary Freemen of the City 12/3/08. IHSN}

Letter, f152r, pen [6:551]

**f152r**

35 South Street, Jan 27/72

Park Lane,

W.

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I receive (this moment) with the greatest satisfaction your London district School Death-rates & will duly return the paper after having gratified my soul with it.

Would you be so very kind as to send me a copy of your printed paper on Asphalte Roads? - It is for a municipality man at Calcutta. Yours ever sincerely

Florence Nightingale

Letter, f153r, pen

**f153r**

Sept 3/72

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I only received your letter,  
(postmark Dover Aug 31)  
this morning.

I have written immediately  
by this post to the Crown  
Princess, according to your  
desire. Is she at Berlin?

May all your noble designs  
succeed!

Emily Verney, my niece,  
died 2 hours ago - such a  
genius for working for man -  
so lovely & so loving.

I know you will excuse  
more now from yours ever  
sincerely

Florence Nightingale

Draft letter, f154, pencil. [5:409]

**f154r** {Archivist's note - [Re John Stuart Mill - see Mr. Chadwick 2.6.73]}

Dear Mr. Chadwick

The loss we have in John  
Stuart Mill is irreparable.  
I think there must have been  
a Goddess called 'The Passion  
of Reason' in olden times:  
& *he* was that Goddess  
returned in the flesh to life.  
And he would not at all  
have considered the gender  
humiliating. For he was  
like neither man nor woman  
- but he was Wisdom 'thrilling  
with emotion to his fingers' ends'  
(which last was truly said of him)

**f154v**

- impassioned Reason - or  
 reasonable Passion - in the  
 sense which one supposes the  
 Greeks had in their mind  
 when they made Wisdom a  
 Woman - or shall we call  
 him Sancta Sophia?  
 There were none like him -

And as he said himself with tears at  
 Mr. Grote's funeral: Oh we  
 might have kept him 10 years  
 longer: so may we of him.

Well, he is gone to "rejoice at  
 the fidelity & smile at the simplicity  
 of his earthly toils" & to continue  
 them gloriously.

Letter, ff155-56, pencil [5:410]

**f155r**

35 South St June 21/73

Park Lane W.

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I have to thank you for  
 your paper on Things to be  
 shown to the Shah of Persia.

& also for your former kind  
 note on John Stuart Mill.

His loss is irreparable. He was  
 the God.*dess* of Reason  
 impassioned Reason.

There were none like him.  
 And as he said himself with  
 tears at Mr. Grote's funeral:  
 "Oh we might have kept him 10  
 years longer"-  
 So we say of *him*.

**f155v**

Once I knew Avignon.  
No doubt damp is a pre-disposing  
cause of cellular inflammation  
but in cases of apparent  
endemic seizures, there has  
always been, has there not?,  
unseasonable cold moist East  
wind. Is there much doubt  
that this local climate was  
one cause of our irreparable  
loss?

We still want particulars as  
to the exact nature of the attack.  
But it is too late now to do  
anything but grieve.

**f156r**

A Viennese Lady (authoress),  
Madame von Littrow-Bischoff,  
who has been a great help  
to me sometimes in sending  
me Statutes of German &  
Russian Institutions for Women  
- & to whom I have sent J.S.  
Mill's works in former years  
- writes to ask me whether  
I could obtain for her  
- with a view to her publishing  
an article on J.S. Mill  
of whom she is an immense  
admirer - some account  
from personal friends of his  
ways & character.

Could you help me in this?  
[She publishes under a 'nom-de-plume']

**f156v**

ever yours most truly  
Florence Nightingale



Uncorrected proof, f157, pen {underlining is in red pencil}

**f157r**

UNCORRECTED PROOF {red}

Dear Mr. Chadwick

It was quite refreshing to me, amid much disappointment & despair, to read the Proof you have been so good as to send me, especially the first sheet.

There are touches in it throughout worthy *of yourself*.

----- {blue}

At *p.15* I would suggest to alter "*down to the present day*". We reported in 1863: I were even then much & (as I think deservedly) blamed for putting the "*69 Death Rate*" ~~even~~ as up to *that* time.

----- {blue}

When you come to ~~Civil~~ further matters, would you not

**f157v**

say something powerful about *Indian cities*, especially about *Madras Drainage*: at this moment under consideration & shivering in the balance?

I am so overworked that I am unable to send you more than this short note: I shall anxiously look for the remainder of your address.

That it may have all the salutary effect it ought is, dear Mr. Chadwick, the earnest hope of ever your faithful serv.t

Florence Nightingale

Sept 9/77

5 a.m.

Letter, f158v, pen {underlining is in red pencil}

**f158v**

14/9/77

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I return the rest of your address: I think it is admirable. May it have the results it deserves! My mind is full of the dying Indian children, starved [9:757] by hundreds of thousands from conditions which have been made for them: in this hideous Famine - just as you show that we can manufacture any Death-rate for English infants who certainly can do nothing to make their own conditions - & what is worse still can manufacture a 'rate' of brutal savages.

At this time when public attention is so powerfully directed towards India, I hope you will in connection with Conclusion 8, p.28, - in your own powerful manner, call up the *Indian Cities* before your audience, & especially *Madras* & its *Drainage* (which is now being settled between the governor & the L. of S.)

How I wish that some one would now get up an agitation in the country which shall say to the Govt. "*You shall*": as regards *Indian Famines* & the means of preventing them, among which *Irrigation & Water Transit* must rank foremost - [if we had given them water, we should not now be giving them bread -] as Mr. Gladstone did as regards Bulgaria: [end 9:757]  
Godspeed: F. Nightingale

Letter, ff159-60r, pen {underlining in coloured pencil: colours indicated in curly brackets after underlined words.}

**f159r**

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I am glad that you have put in this about [9:757-58]  
 India: but I regret that you have not  
 introduced *Madras*: {red}  
 because Madras is the *least* {blue} progressive of all  
 the municipalities:  
 because there has been remarkable success in  
     the establishment of *sewage farms*, {blue} which  
     intercepted the entire drainage at certain spots:  
 - a system which ought to be adopted generally  
     in Madras:  
 because the whole question of *what* {pen} system for  
 the *drainage & sewerage* {blue} of Madras ~~is now~~ shall

**f159v**

be adopted is *now* {blue} trembling in the balance:  
 & because it will ~~now~~ be *now or never* {grey} if the *Famine* {blue} does not stir us up to what we owe to  
 India  
 in *Irrigation & Water Transport*: {blue}

*p.28B* {red} is there not some misprint at  
 "in *developing* {red} the sources of epidemics"?  
 does it not mean 'in discovering & *preventing* {red}  
 epidemics at their *sources*'? {red}

**f160r**

Doubtless the India office annual *Sanitary Report* {red}  
     *just out* {blue}              for "*India in 1875-6*" {red}  
     & "up to June 1877": "*Vol IX*". {red}  
     has reached you:  
 Read *p.150* {red} on the intolerable halacore  
 (*sweepers & filth-carts*) {red} system of *Bombay*: {red}

With ardent wishes for your best success in *preaching*  
 & *prophecy*, {pen} [end 9:758]  
 in great press      yours ever sincerely  
     Florence Nightingale  
 16/9/77 {pencil: archivist's note?}

Letter, ff161-63r, pen

**f161r**

*Your Proof* Oct 16/77  
6.am.

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I am afraid I am too busy, & too much [9:758]  
exhausted, to 'do' your proof as I ought.  
- some things no doubt I should have liked  
to have see in it done ~~in it~~ in a different manner.  
But on the whole it is admirable.

The only thing I would really urge is this:  
pray do not say 'Sir Arthur Cotton has *also*  
*advocated*: See p.28: {red}

Sir Arthur Cotton, the Master, almost the  
father in modern times - of the Art of Irrigation,

**f161v**

who was 26 years or more in charge of  
~~the S.~~ & Irrigation Works in Madras Presidency (S. India)  
- who raised the Godavery district from  
famine to plenty:  
who raised its revenue by 150 per cent.  
[the 3 Districts of Godavery, Kistna & Tangore consequently upon works of Irrigation  
now yield £1,850000 in Revenue,  
or £600000 each,  
while the average of all India is only about  
£230000.]

You cannot say of such a master,  
he has "advocated":

**f162r**

& to say of him "also", is like saying:

Dr Richardson's Sanitary work is.....

Mr. Edwin Chadwick has "also advocated"  
sanitary measures.

[N.B. I am very glad you think well of Dr.

Richardson.] **[end 9:758]**

May all your works me prospered: & this  
address above measure.

I am glad that you are going "to do something" **[9:758-59]**

"at the Soc. of Arts" on Indian Sanitation

& Irrigation: I was appalled at  
the ignorance & fallacies of Lord Salisbury's

**f162v**

speech at Bradford: & Lord S. Hamilton's  
previous speech in Surrey:

the S. of S. & under S. of S. of India.

I am afraid I must say: things were  
otherwise done in my day.

I am afraid the Madras Drainage question will be settled against us.  
ever yours most faithfully

Florence Nightingale

I send you a *pamphlet of mine*, {blue} my last

copy, pray read what ~~I say~~ is said at *pp.36,7*

about the Godavery: & note *p.46* {red}

and a copy of 2nd Edit. of *Sir A. Cotton's* {blue}

pamphlet: how I wish he would not

write in that style of attack, setting every

statesman & newspaper against him, so that

one does not like to appear in the same pages. **[end 9:759]**

f163 [2]

I am afraid the Drainage of Madras will be settled contrary to sound principles.

You mention *Major H. Tulloch*: {blue}

He knows all about it.

You know poor *Robert Ellis* {blue} is dead: [9:759]

I saw him this summer just after his return from Madras full of all the Madras questions, drainage, irrigation, hospitals. [end 9:759]  
F.N.

ff164-65 Nov 20 1882 Chadwick letter to FN re sanitary, re her seeing people, publicly met the Guards!, seen Rawlinson. What has the accredited leader in sanitary sc in modern times done that he should be so neglected? He has sent two letters a long time ago to which he recd no answer! One was on a point for a public exposition as to the nursing on which he was left to wander w/o due illeg I was greatly pleased to hear that you could see people. Griffiths came to me aggrieved that he had recd a snubbing for faults not his own and for his charges wh he showed me. I saw that you had been subjected in danger and that to a penalty of a three fold cost for one I may say my ?? Re drainage work, I asked Griffiths how you looked! How old you appeared to be! About thirty two was his answer. What is her complexion? Rosy he said, rosy. I am surprised and pleased. I have been delighted to learn that you have been out publicly to meet the guards on their return!

Your have seen Rawlinson and why cannot you see me. I want to speak with you on the subject of the illeg failure of the army med dept and the fault of san arrs, services by the losses from the foul air diseases, the foul quarters, bad water and foul hosps, and what may be done if anything about it.

Draft, **f166r**, pencil

Mr. Chadwick            *Egypt*    Aug 2/83    **[15:962]**

The soldiers were left to sleep upon that  
pestilent site without even blankets.

The consequence of the occupation of that  
site was the outbreak of an Epidemic of  
? typhus, of diarrhoea, & of enteric fever  
which has filled the Hospitals beyond their  
capacity            & has occasioned *a loss stated*  
*to be of between two & three thousand*  
*cases of INVALIDING.*

L'épidémie cholérique de la Basse Egypt a  
pour cause des conditions purement locales,  
- la malpropreté  
- l'agglomération à Damiette d'une population  
  adventice amenée par la foire du mois de Juin  
- l'épizootie terrible (peste typhus bovine) qui a désolé  
toutes ces contrées - & qui a donné lieu au lancement  
dans les flots du Nil, d'énorme quantités de  
cadavres d'animaux livrés promptement à une  
active putrefaction sous les rayons puissants  
d'un soleil de fer.

Pietra Santà

Rédacteur du Journal d'Hygiene **[end 15:962]**

Add Mss 45772, microfilm, military and medical correspondence, 233 folios, 133 pages, Adam Matthew reel 17; note that excerpts and notes from incoming letters are rough and approximate

ff1-2v, T. Crawford to Nightingale, 29 June 1882, I do not think there wd be any insuperable difficulty in placing the cases requiring night nursing in one of the wards now in charge of the sisters. You are aware that each sister on duty in the Herbert Hosp has at present a day room at the end of the ward & opposite the scullery for her own use, as well as her proper dormitory in the administration block. This room wd of course be available for the sisters on night duty. Continuous night nursing may not be absolutely necessary. Much wd depend upon the nature of the cases. But in a hosp like the Herbert I shd think there are always cases under treatment wh wd benefit by the special care of a trained sister during the night.

Again thanking you for your so kindly hearing what I had to say on the subject of our difficulty.

ff3-4, incomplete draft letter not F.N. hand, HBC [Bef. 26 July 1882], on her stationery, 10 South Street, Park Lane. W., looks like Crawford re: Mrs Fellowes and the possibility of arranging for 3 or 4 more nurses if she was to be Supt at a specified hospital (writer believes she wd prefer Egypt)

ff5-6, T. Crawford to Nightingale, 26 July 1882. FN red und Thank you very sincerely for your note. I have submitted recommendations to send Nurses to the base hospitals to be opened at Malta and Cyprus & if Mrs Fellowes would accept employment in either of them I shall have pleasure in putting her name forward as one of the 'sisters' to be sent out. We do *not at present* contemplate *sending nurses to Egypt* as it is proposed to illeg the sick and wounded from the sphere of operations to the above named stations as expeditiously as possible..... PS I see I have not replied to your PS Mrs Fellowes need not bother to send a formal application.

f7-v, T. Crawford to Nightingale, 1 Aug 1882, re: the withdrawal of Miss Richardson's name and their intent not to require another to replace her

f8-v, T. Crawford to Nightingale, 9 Aug 1882, re: their numbers being complete, they are not able to send out Miss Norman at present, she would however be offered the next vacancy if there is a further demand for Nursing Sisters

f9-v, T. Crawford to Nightingale, 12 Aug 1882, Army Medical Dept, re: acknowledges receipt of her note dated 11<sup>th</sup> instant and begs to inform her that arrangements have been made for the despatch of 3 Bullock Trunks to St Thomas' Hospital for the 3 nurses about to proceed to Cyprus and Alexandria

f10 {blank}

ff11-12, T. Crawford to Nightingale, 4 Sept 1882, War Office. I am in receipt of our note of 31st. A further number of nursing sisters leaves for Ismailia as soon as we can make the necessary arrangements. Miss H. Norman will be included and will probably proceed to Ismailia by an early mail steamer. The Nursing Sisters will be travelling as first class passengers on board the Hospital and other ships.

No special rations beyond that normally issued in the field has been named, but the sisters have the option of drawing the nursing allowance should they prefer doing so.

We have very satisfactory accounts of health and hospital arrangements up to date



f13-v, T. Crawford to Nightingale, 4 Oct, War Office, I know the enclosed copy of a Telegram received this morning from Cairo will interest you, and that you will be glad to hear there is no truth to the charges of breakdowns brought against the Department by a section of the Press.

Sir Garnett Wolesely characterises these as false and malicious and adds that the Medical Dept is working to his entire satisfaction.

f14-v, copy of telegram from Cairo from Surgeon General to Director General A.M.D. London, 3 Oct 1882, Health of lady nurses good, 'indefatigable' in their care of sick and wounded, at Ismailia. all have proceeded to England with wounded (2 in Courland, 2 in Orontes, 3 in Lusitania), at Alexandria 8 lady Nurses with good health excellent work. Surgeon general

ff15-16v, T. Crawford to Nightingale, 18 Oct 1882, War Office. I have not been able to reply to your note of 14 Oct sooner. Even now I can not answer fully the questions you ask.

The enquiry with the A.H.C. has not been abandoned. It was postponed on my suggestion because I did not think it desirable to hold such an enquiry when the greater part of the Corps was absent on active duties.

I will now I believe proceed and now have some other points in regard to which we have heard much lately. I cannot yet say what is to be the precise constitution of the committee but I can urge that it the committee shd be an independent one and that it shd take up the whole questions of nursing in times of war as well as during peace.

I shall have great pleasure in waiting upon you on your return to London.

signed letter, ff17-18, pen

**f17**

November 25 188

10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}

PARK LANE. W.

My dear Sir

May I be allowed to **[15:946]**

offer you my most hearty  
thanks for your kind  
acquiescence in the suggestion  
that two of the Sisters on  
board the Carthage where  
there is now very little work  
should be transferred to the  
Hospital at Alexandria  
where there is too much.

The two Sisters transferred  
on Shore to nurse to their  
great joy- for work among

**f17v**

the worst sick is, as it  
     ought to be, their joy -  
 Are our two: Mrs. Fellowes,  
 to whom you have been so kind  
     and Miss Solly.  
 The General appears to  
     have come on board &  
 asked for two Sisters:  
 of course by desire of the  
 Medical Departmt-  
     I am sure they will  
 justify the choice: for  
 they are splendid workers.

**f18**

I need not say how glad  
     I should be to see you  
 any afternoon that you  
 could fix beforehand, as you  
 kindly proposed.  
     But I know how occupied  
 you must be, & shall  
 patiently 'bide' your time.      **[end]**  
                                 Pray believe me  
                                 ever your faithful servt-  
                                 Florence Nightingale

To

Dr. Crawford  
     &c &c  
 Director= Genl=

f19, T. Crawford to Sir (Principal Medical Officer R.V.H. Netley), 6 March 1883, Army Medical Dept War Office, re: the excellent services rendered by the Supt and Staff of Nurses 'lately' serving on board the Carthage as being brought officially to notice.

f20, copy of telegram from Surgeon General Egypt to Director General London, 3 May 1883, re: lists names of French and English Sisters for conspicuous service rendered

f21, table by T. Crawford, 29 May 1883, re: brief abstract of services of Nursing Sisters

incomplete letter, ff22-27v, pencil

f22

[ca. 9 Aug 1883] [15:251-54]

My dear Sir

In our conversation yesterday we spoke of the proposed extension of female Nursing in Military Hospitals & you did me the honour to ask me to put down a few words for you upon the conditions of probable success.

The essential points are:  
thorough training as regards both work and discipline  
efficient superintendence

Without these, better not have female Nurses at all

The difficulty of in having isolated women Nurses in small Military Hospitals is of course much greater than in having a large thoroughly organized thoroughly trained body under its own efficient & experienced female Heads as in a Civil Hospital ~~with its Training School~~

? attached ] **Even in large Military Hospitals the {HyBC in bold} difficulty is still as great.**

Though the proposed extension of Military

**f22v** {needs work}

Nurses is to be ~~on~~ to Hospitals only of not less than 100 beds & in numbers of not less than 3 together. Still this is difficult enough.

Discipline is much easier where every case is a severe or acute case

**and the Wards are always full** {HyBC in bold}

4 than where as in Military peace Hospitals

**the cases are so slight that**

every man who is not in Barracks is in

Hospital **and the Wards as a rule are comparatively empty**

Every Nurse **whether Supt or not**

The head of each *trio* of Nurses must be a thoroughly trustworthy & well trained woman in every respect-) ~~who will work with~~ the Sisters in order to superintend them as the Sisters will work with the Orderlies

And where are they to get these women?

The danger of going too fast  
It is a great danger. that of half trained women

There is great risk that the service might fall into discredit

If the women are not efficient & well conducted Nurses, it would lead to grave scandals -

**f23**

2. There has been much talk as if the  
Female Nursing were to remedy the defects  
of the Army Hospital Corps-

The best trained Nurse cannot remedy {diag line thru 'best' & 'defects'}  
these defects N  
as if ~~you~~ we were less & reform the Hospital  
Orderly than put a woman to look after  
him

If the trained woman is indispensable  
the trained man is so too. Neither must  
cause us to dispense with the other -  
Or both will come to grief.

*Regulations*

But there should be a certain amount of  
Regulations by which the well trained woman  
Nurse should be obliged to take her share [should?]  
in training the Hospital Orderly- *working*  
*with* him (under the Medical Officer) so as  
to show him how to carry out the Medical  
Officer's orders as to nursing proper-  
And for this purpose there must be  
Regulations for the Orderly too that he is to

**f23v**

3. ~~Training~~: be thus taught -

At present the work between the Nurse & Orderly seems to be distributed  
very much as the pleasure of each individual  
Sister, who teaches or not as she may  
please

It would be highly desirable also that  
in the absence of the Sister when off duty  
the Orderly Service should be in charge  
~~of the Wards~~ just as the Staff Nurse is  
in a Civil Hospital when the Sister is  
off duty

f24

[2]

3 Training -

As it is impossible for ~~the~~ any adequate training of Nursing Sisters to be carried out at ~~Netley~~ a Military Hospital

1. ~~from the lack of acute & severe cases~~

because there are no cases

2 because there is no organization

3 because as the Sister are to

"Superintend" the Orderlies, *there* is not the field to train Probationers - therefore &c &c

No more than Doctors could receive ~~their~~ a Medical education at a Military Hospital can Nurses receive a training there.

All that can be learnt at a Military Hospital is Military practice & Ward management & what a soldier is

f24v

4. Selections of candidates for Military female

Nursing is most important -

Such a code of Regulations should be made as will not take in any woman who offers herself - whose name will be

Legion. **In this way some sifting of Candidates**

**may be effected but the final selection/may get to approval/must be left to a competent female Superintendent.** { HyBC in bold}

Nursing is a profession.

And social pressure must be stood out against

You may dictate your own terms-

There will be applications enough

Let there be a printed Form to answer all applications:

as e.g.

what has been your education?

" " previous history?

what Hospital training have you had?

how many years have you served?

Medical Certificate of health

& for those who are to be Superintendents

What experience have you in supervision?

f25

I think possibly some paper might be  
 required answering the question  
 how do you understand supervision?  
 " " discipline &c?

A Superintend- Genl= was an extreme want  
 in Egypt

It will be found the same as home -  
 {HyBC in bold:}

FN

**I have seen no reason to alter my  
 opinion on this point since the  
 Regns of 1859 wh provided for the appt  
 of a Supt. Genl - The proposed extension  
 to Station Hospitals rend us the appt  
 of a Supt Genl all the more necessary  
 & I much feel that even with a  
 competent Sup. Genl the such an extension  
 will have no good result -**

f25v

5 Accommodation  
 Meals

Regns

The main object of Regns- for the organn- of the  
 Nursing Service is to provide in the best  
 manner possible ~~having regard to the persons~~  
~~to be employed~~ that the orders of the Medical  
 Officers with regard to the treatment of the sick  
 shall be carried out in the most effective  
 manner.

6 It is of the highest importance that  
 all female Military Nurses should be of  
 a calibre to influence the Orderlies  
 rightly & not to fraternize with them  
 The ~~ferm~~ Nurse is herself the only woman in the  
 Ward - all the Patients being men, all the  
 rest of the Nursing Service ~~Orderlies~~, as well as the Medical, being men

Her duties & ~~state~~ position should ~~also~~  
 be exactly defined, as being the only woman  
 among men - She should not be left to  
 find ~~them~~ out her duties, or to create her own sphere.

f26

*A.M.D. Women Nurse for War**Questions for Women Candidates for Nursing .*

- 1 Name: Parents' names?
- 2 Date of Birth      Age - Height ---- Religion?      Weight
3. Married?      Single?      Widow?
4. Address at home in case of illness or Death
5. Education?
6. Previous history?
7. Training in - Hospitals?
8. Years of Hospital Service?
9. Medical Certificate of Health.  
     Medical Certificate of Health by a  
     Surgeon Major A.M.D. on full pay of fitness  
     for field work-
10. Certificate from Civil Hospitals of not less  
     than a year's training as Surgical Nurse or  
     otherwise. References to Matron or Lady  
     Supt= as well as to Medical Officers of  
     Civil Hospl=. Reference to last employer
- 11 Can you ride?  
     Are you liable to sea sickness?

f26v

[5b]

The Regns= of 57 proceeded upon the principle that in all matters of conduct & discipline the Nurses were to be responsible to a female Supt- & the Supt- on her part responsible to a female Supt- Genl= & it was considered that due provision had been made that in all matters relating to the treatment of the sick & to other matters not ~~coming~~ relating to conduct & discipline of the Nurses both Nurses & Supts- shd be duly subordinate to the superior ~~Med~~ Officer, Medical & other

And it may be here observed that the change of admn- by which in Genl Hospls the P.M.O. was substituted for a Commandt- did not necessarily involve any deviation from this principle -

I may be allowed to say that nothing has



Add Mss 45773

377

occurred

f27

Since Regns- of '57 were framed  
wh has induced me to change my opinion  
as to the soundness of this general principle

And by the proposed new Regns= by  
wh: the M.O. in charge is made supreme  
in all respects this principle must  
necessarily be considered as abandoned  
I may be allowed to make this preliminary  
remark that any suggestions which I  
shall venture to make upon these  
Regns- must be considered as so made  
solely with a view to pointing out  
apparent defects in a system wh is/appears to me  
to proceeds to a great extent on an unsound  
basis.

[end 15:254]

{up diag;} Civil Hosp

5 or 6 more at  
Netley

f27v

While the Nurses are  
136 new Regns= 129 122 Supt- will  
MO in charge Select & dismiss  
not necessarily

Prescribing Medl- Offr

{up diag;} M.O. in charge

” on duty

Prescribing M.D.

{top half of folio;} I feel concerned

{text vert. HyBC in bold;} **Some additions**

to your notes

HyBC

ff28-29, T. Crawford to Nightingale, 1 Dec 1883. I shall be much obliged if you will kindly read over the enclosed proof of the Regulations for the Nurses, which it is proposed to have embodied in the Medical Regulations now under revision, and favour me with any remarks which your illeg knowledge of such matters may suggest.

The qualifications for candidates are not included in these Regulations as the suggestions of Lord Morley's committee on that point have not yet received the approval of the Secretary of State. It is more than probably known that the Recommendations of the committee will be accepted.

An early return of the proof with any remarks you may be pleased to offer will much oblige.

draft, f30, pen

**f30**

[ca Dec 1883]

No ~~provision~~ conditions are laid down as to Qualifications ~~or age~~ of Nurses  
to age nor pay & pensions

and Superintendents - nor any {overtop an} limit of age  
in either Regns= of /78 or Revised Regns=  
~~or Pay or Pensions.~~

See Netley Regns= 27. as to age {Not under 30

{or over 40

{on appointment

No effective means are provided for selecting & dismissing  
Nurses -

You were so good as to inform me that  
Regulations were pending/awaiting the approval of/by the  
S. of S. of the recommendations of Lord  
Morley's Report. The want is therefore  
only noticed without suggestion.

=====

No ~~statement made that~~ no limit is provided as to size of Hospitals  
to be nursed

~~of less than 100 beds is to have Nurses,~~

and No= of

~~or that Nurses are not to be sent in less number employed  
than 3-~~

[How many Hospitals are there of more  
than 100 beds?]

-----

'Nurses' substituted for *Sisters* throughout.

The advantage of the word Sister is that it gives  
the woman a higher status among the men-  
& that now that happily the Hospital Orderlies are really to  
become ~~men~~ nurses, it prevents the constant use of  
the rather ridiculous term 'female Nurses', in contra -

-distinction to make Nurses.

note, ff31-32v, pencil

**f31**

[ca 1883]

D.G-

we want to know whether  
the other Nurses were/are supposed  
not to be obedient to the  
Medical Officers

~~Civ~~ Obedience is quite as  
much required or more  
in Civil Nurses than in  
Military  
anxious to know  
whether he has been led to  
the conclusion by what he  
has heard But the Civil  
Nurses have shown  
themselves less amendable to  
discipline in carrying out  
the orders of the Medl- Offrs  
than the Netley Nurses

**f32v**

{folios out of sequence, f32 follows this text}

Having regard to the  
report about these 2 Nurses  
we are very much afraid  
that it might lead to such  
an impression on the part  
of some of the Medl= Offrs=  
for what ~~you~~/I have  
heard personally you are/I am  
indeed to think that  
any such impression would  
be incorrect & that  
the fault really lay with  
the Supt- of the Nurses  
& not with the Nurses  
themselves

We should regard it as  
a very serious defect if

**f32** {text vert on page}

our Nurses did not learn quite  
as strict obedience both to the

Med. Offr- & their ~~Supt~~ female Superiors  
as would be required in any Milty Hospl=

f33-33v, T. Crawford to Nightingale, 21 Feb 1885, There are only three nursing sisters going with Miss Williams, two of whom have been nominated by her.

The third was promised an appointment before I had an opportunity of consulting Miss Williams, but I believe she is a very competent nurse.

There is of course the usual staff of ward master and orderlies for duty in this hospital.

I am greatly gratified to know that our arrangements have your illeg.

note, ff34-35v, pencil [15:957]

### f34

Dr. Crawford

Messenger waits

for/to a reply

asking whether it is under his

Sanction that the Pr. of Wales'

branch ~~is~~ wishes to sending out 4 Nurses

to the Hospl= at Suez

~~illeg~~ on the ground that the Suez

Nurses have gone on to Souakim

& have applied to us for them

If the A.M.D. is sending Army

Nurses, ~~are the others wanted~~

we shd be glad to know if you

think that the others wd- be

useful-

{up diag:} Sanction

wd be  
accompanied  
by their being  
under the P.M.O

f35 {blank}

### f35v

Ly Rosebery

we are making enquiries

but it is impossible that

any can be found and

be ready on Wednesday

at present no particular

individuals in view

engaged in finding suitable

trained gentlewomen but

quite impossible that any

can be found & be ready

on Wednesday

[end]

ff36-37v, T. Crawford to Nightingale, embossed War Office, Wymouth. Sunday 29 Nov. Your note of yesterday has been forwarded to me here & I hasten to reply. *All* the Sisters sent to Suez have been summoned to Souakim so that that there are 16 sisters there now, less probably than three or four on their way home with sick and wounded, but of this I am not certain. The Telegram merely assures me that our ample staff of medl officers & attendants accompanied the wounded on their way home.

I gave instructions before laving town yesterday to send out four Sisters to replace Miss Williams and her Nurses at Suez. This we can do from our home establishment replacing those sent by new temporary appointments. If you have any eligible trained Sisters on your list I shall be glad to be favoured with their names. I have some matters to arrange at Netley which will delay me there tomorrow & Tuesday but I hope to get back to town on Wednesday. I am here for the day only to see a relation who is dangerously ill and who was anxious to have my advice. On my return to Whitehall you shall hear the latest particulars regarding wounded, nursing staff, &c.

ff38-39v, T. Crawford to Nightingale, 6 April 1885, A.M.D. I have been unavoidably absent from my office since the date of my last note, but this has not prevented my taking steps to provide for Suez. Nursing Sisters will be appointed to that hospital by the PMO Egypt and his Nursing Staff will be reinforced from England as already telegraphed to you.

We no returns showing the actual distribution of the sisters sent out by your society, but I understood from Major Young that of the four sisters sent out two went to Suez and two to Cairo. The N.A. Society have not favoured me with any information regarding their ladies but I believe the two sent to Suez have gone on to Souakim, where there is now an ample staff of sisters.

The two sisters sent to Cairo were destined by Major Young for Lord Wolseley's force on the Nile but whether they have been sent there or not I cannot yet say, information on such points not reaching us by wire. Miss Williams & her assistants are illeg at Suakim, silence on the subject of their health may I hope be accepted as an assurance that all are well.

I thank you very much for your kind enquiries. The sick relation at Wyemouth is better, but I returned home only to hear of the death of my wife's brother who was dangerously wounded at Suakim. Today's telegrams report sick and wounded doing well. has no confirmation

ff40-40v, T. Crawford to Nightingale, 24 Apr 1885, A.M.D., re: does not take exception to a letter intended for Lady Rosebery's information, thinks the hints thrown out by Miss Williams as very good

incomplete letter, ff41-42v, pen & pencil

**f41** May 7/85 [15:985]

10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}  
PARK LANE. W.

Sir

Miss Sybil Airy, now  
Nursing Sister at the Citadel  
Hospital, Cairo, informs me

"being "proposed  
that you wish/ to transfer  
her "to the permanent Nursing

"if accepted to the {this line added and is very faint}

Service of the Army",/ & asks

I asked

me to give her a "personal  
recommendation", which I  
can do indeed, having known  
her in active work for  
about 14 years.

She was trained at



**f41v**

St. Thomas' Hospital, was  
 some years Sister in an  
 important  
 'heavy' Male Surgical Ward

there where she was distinguished for ability & self devotion & has since ~~been~~  
~~illeg~~ fulfilled the duties of more than one  
~~from post to post~~, including  
 a Matronship, which she  
~~resigned owing to~~ her  
 preference for actual Nursing  
 induced her to resign  
 -always recommended by us  
 never lost sight of by us -  
 always in requisition- always  
 giving, her ~~valuable conscientious~~  
 & most efficient Services -  
 from the highest motives

**f42**

She is in the very first line  
 of trained & experienced Surgical Nurses (~~for men~~) especially for men,  
 -but is also a good Medical  
 Nurse. A first-rate Nurse  
 must be a first-rate woman  
 too. It would seem trenching  
 on almost sacred subjects, were I  
 to say all she is as a  
 high- minded, religious, true  
 gentlewoman - ~~great~~ unfailing in principle,  
 in kindness, in discretion, in patience  
 & perseverance. ~~But I may~~  
~~mention that~~ over Nursing Orderlies  
 her influence & her power of  
 training are remarkable - [end]

f42v

Her temper, & calmness & cheerfulness are on  
 the true solid foundation      When all this  
 is right, it need scarcely be said that  
 manner & propriety are perfect -  
 & equally ~~it~~ far from forwardness or  
 backwardness from self-assertion or  
 as timidity -

May I venture to hope that she may have  
 the benefit of past service in  
 reckoning for pension?

acquisition  
 to the Army

{up diag;} I can but give  
 the H.M.'s Nursing Service  
 joy of the acquisition of  
 such an experienced woman

f43-v, Crawford to Nightingale, 18 May 1885, A.M.D., re: the proposed withdrawal of the Troops disarranges plans for Miss Williams and her staff, wishes to have the matter to be left in his hands

ff44-45, Crawford to Nightingale, 19 May 1885, A.M.D., re: has telegraphed the P.M.O. Office in Egypt to send home Nursing Sisters that would be required for duty with the Troops, Miss Williams and the temporarily employed to return first (probably with invalids), the Ganges Hospl Ship probably to be sent home and hopes the Sisters at Souakim will return as the climate is very trying and not so urgently needed with the withdrawal of the greater portion of the English Troops

ff46-47, Crawford to Nightingale, 21 Dec 1885, A.M.D.. Since writing to you on Saturday I have been reminded that one of my boys is to take part in a Dramatic Representation on the breaking up of his school tomorrow afternoon and as my presence is earnestly desired I venture to solicit your indulgence so far as to postpone my visit to you till tomorrow week, or to any other day next week more convenient to yourself.

Lady Crawford will also be much flattered if you will kindly allow her to accompany me as she has been long hoping for the honour of an interview.

notes, ff48-67, pencil

**f48**

Sir T. Crawford Dec 29/85

- 1 Army San: Comm  
has anything been talked of?  
what is going to happen?  
himself as Prest-
- 2 Nurses - my complaint  
trained under my people (never written  
found to be unfit to  
but cannot be got rid of simply for  
unfitness - shd- report to you to be dismissed

for unfitness

housekeeper - D. of D. Lady Crawford

Supts= to choose their own -

or 3 ladies who have been professional

Nurses to examine Testimonials  
& personally enquire into characters  
& write to references

Certificates - what mean?

probation

some

well *in charge* for War service {up diag;} Selby

Norman

- 3 points: making efficient Nursing impossible
  - a Serjt- Maj. no nurse - no discipline: Canteen
  - b Orderlies not promoted for good Nursing {up diag;} Typhoid case
  - c. not trained - able by Sisters died
  - d. Wardmaster & Orderlies
  2. Diet

f49 {blank}

**f49v**

g - no inspection by M.O.s  
: no discipline

4 Is there any means of knowing how

3a { :diag } Orderlies perform duties?

M.O.s inspect Orderlies?

Orderly M.O. at *fixed* hours day & night

another M.O. to inspect him {up diag:} 12

to 3 am

P.M.O. " " "

D.G. " " "

8

Night supervision of Sentries in Army

3. " Nurses " {Civil

4. {Hospls

What is system of Night Nursing in Army

M.O.s see Patients only? or look after Orderlies all day

what reports do they make  
showing their visits

5 Ld Wolseley

paucity of M.S.C -

Sir F. Roberts

cried of rapid expansibility

Militia Medl= Reserve

? called out for 2 months every year

at each Divisional Head Qrs

**f50**

6 Herbert Hospl=: ?General Hospl-

7 expenditure in vessels N.A.S.

any good?

8 what system of Night Nursing in Army?

- - in Europe?

- - in Civil Hosp

fresh orderly every night to worse cases

36 hours on duty

Sisters ditto

on Diets

9 Orderlies away & cleaning When Sisters

about Patients in morning {up diag:} under

Wardmasters?

2 should be attached to Sisters

Cairo

10 Are Field Hospitals

organized & exercised by districts?

**f51**

To Dr C [2]

I make a complaint -

because some women/Nurses

trained under my people

are found to be women

unfit to be Nurses - taken on

without the Matrons, my people, being

~~were not~~ written to as

references -

How could the mistress of a

household manage her household

if she did not enquire personally

into the character of her servants?

A Nurses of more value than

any servant

Would it not be best to allow

the Lady Supt= of each Hospl= to

f52 {blank}

**f52v**

be the person to enquire personall {y}

into each character because

a woman can make such

enquiries from women as no

man can? And she knows

so much more what a

Nurse should be than a

man can

And she must be allowed

to report them to you as to

be dismissed simply for

unfitness.

The housekeeper of the D. of

Devonshire goes to D. of D. &amp;

says: Such &amp; such a servant is

unfit. He does not say: you {overtop she}

make yourself {overtop make her} liable for libel

Roster simply absurd for War

**f53**

To Dr. Crawford [2a]  
 to appoint 3 *ladies* who  
 have been professional Nurses -  
 say Miss Williams (Mrs. Norris  
 Miss Caulfield  
 Mrs. Deeble  
 to examine Testimonials  
 & write to references  
 for all the Nurses  
 appoint Mrs. Norris a Clerk of  
 the A.M.D.  
 for the nonce  
 to examine Nurses  
 with a Clerk

-----

probation for 3 mo.  
 at Netley or  
 at Woolwich

----

ask Miss Caulfield to come up to the W.O  
 not Miss Stewart

f54 {blank}

**f54v**

If not a Supt= Genl=  
 have an Inspectress= Genl=  
 to examine the Nurses  
 & report from time to time  
 on the state of female  
 Nursing in the Hospls=.  
 do  
 you pay your Nurses enough?  
 Is  
 The Doctors' sense of what  
 is necessary enough?

---

Certificates: mixing up professional  
 skill with character & the domestic  
 question

If public were alive to what a  
 Cert-e means. But they are not.

**f55**

[2b] {b overtop c]

-must be tried well *in charge*

at home before being sent to War

Service - We {overtop one} never are

sure that we really know our

Nurses till we have tried

them well *in charge*

Supt= Genl=

If not, Inspectress Genl= -

must be the fittest woman,

must have definite power,

must be dismiss-able.

must be a woman -

Would Lady Crawford entrust

you with the duty of selecting

your housemaid or your

cook?

**f56**

To Dr C [3]

I think you would like to know

what are the points in the

management of the Hospls-

mentioned to me by our Sisters

as interfering with their

efficient Nursing in your

Hospitals: because you knew I don't write

to the newspapers, or let the

Sisters write - &amp; don't

*talk as*1 Serjt- Major is (no nurse) *not* Head Nurse (tho' in entire

control of Hospl- where P.M.O.

does no discipline), knows nothing

of Nursing or of Hospitals

keeps no discipline

has a Canteen of which

the profit goes *to himself*,

sometimes under the Patients' noses,

making a row day &amp; night

And no one ~~can~~ interferes

**f56v**

5. Orderlies not promoted  
for good *Nursing*  
not disciplined {line down from here to end of next folio}
- 3 Sisters can only train them  
by pretending not to train  
them. They are not made  
to understand by the Regns=  
that Sisters are to train them  
Conceited - Sisters must have  
immense tact
4. Wardmasters don't consult  
Sisters about Ward (Patients')  
arrangements  
except at Cairo
5. Diets e.g. served  
between 12 and 3. Sisters  
can't get it altered

**f57**

~~But above all & the cause~~  
allow Typhoid cases (contrary to  
orders) to go to stool or to fetch  
a drink *out of the Ward* (for  
themselves)- Cases die from  
haemorrhage in a few hours -  
or let the Coolies contrary to  
orders ask Enteric cases what  
they will have to eat & give it  
them, & the cases dies of haemorrhage  
in a few hours

They are put down as Deaths  
from Enteric Fever -  
they are deaths from Orderlies

& Coolies



**f57v**

But more than all & the  
 cause of all  
 the Sisters tell me: is there  
 no real discipline among  
 the Orderlies  
 because there is no  
 inspection by the Medical  
 Officers  
 And what are the Medical  
 Officers there for?  
 They have claimed to be  
 masters. And they  
 are not fit to be  
 masters

**f58**

[3a]

Are there any means of finding  
 out whether the Orderlies  
 do perform their duties -  
 or the M.O.s perform theirs?  
 Do the M.O.s visit the Hospls=  
 merely morning & evening  
 to see the Patients?  
 or do they go to the Hospitals  
 to see whether the Orderlies  
 do their duties properly  
 several times in the 24 hours.  
 - & what sort of reports  
 do they make showing their  
 visits?  
 And are they in their turn  
 inspected by the P.M.O.s?  
 or Bde Surgeons?

f59 {blank}

**f59v**

You put a sentry on guard  
 but you don't trust him  
 He is visited repeatedly  
 Night Inspection of Nurses at  
 St. Thomas' by 2 Night  
 Supts- (Superior Officers)

**f60**

[4]

Is there any Inspection?

Is the Orderly Medical Officer

to visit &amp; inspect the wards

at fixed hours day &amp; night

- &amp; another M.O. to inspect

him

&amp; the P.M.O. to inspect

him

&amp; the D.G. to inspect all?

How is it known that

the M.O.s obey the

D.G- &amp; the Regulations?

**f60v**

Can the D.G- look at

his watch &amp; say

the Orderly M.O. is now

going the round of his Wards

at 4 a m -

&amp; the Patients having

their tea at 6 p m

at Peshawur?

**f61**

Is there anything like

the system of night supervision

of sentries in the Army

(round by Corporal every hour

Serjeant

” ?

grand round once in the night)

in the Army *Hospitals*

(where 10 times more important)

by Wardmasters &amp; M.O.s?

One Night Orderly

in the Corridor

generally all -

**f61v**

P.S

Bad arrangement

Supernumerary Sister in the

afternoons when Sister off

duty

In Civil Hospls= we don't have

a Supernumerary Sister

who does not know the cases

[Sister of Ward wd= not  
stand it]

We have the Staff Nurse who

knows the cases &amp; is thereby

accustomed to responsibility -

So when the Military Sister

is off duty, shd= there not be

the Ward Master or Head

Orderly?

**f62**

[5]

Order from D.G-

in future between tattoo &amp;

rouse

Wards will be visited

ever 3 or 2 or 1 hour

the P.M.O. of Army

will put this

(&amp; report upon it)

in Army book

- Divisional P.M.O.

in Divisional Order book

- Hospital P.M.O.

in Hospital Order book

**f63**

[6]

To Dr. Crawford

What has been done to  
organize & exercise annually  
District Field Hospitals  
en bloc?

Or are Field Hospls= still  
pitch forked together?

-----

has the D.G- sent 3 Medical  
Commissioners to Service  
to report on Hospitals,  
as Army does?  
It would cost £500.

f64 {blank}

**f64v**

Lord Wolseley

speaks of paucity of  
Medical Staff Corps

Sir F. Roberts need of  
rapid expansibility of  
Medical Corps

Col. Duncan lack of  
trained Orderlies

(at Wady Halfa)

Sir T. Crawford has nobody  
against him  
they are all for him

**f65**

[7]

Militia Medical Reserve

Orderlies

are they called out by  
companies  
for the District  
every year  
at each Divisional Head Qrs  
for two months  
to pitch the Field Hospl=  
do the ambulance work  
& rough it?

Add Mss 45773

397

f66 {blank}

**f66v**

a woman can do it  
 wind up the machine  
 W.H. Smith  
 just the last way to learn  
 anything

**f67**

[8]  
 Whether enormous expenditure  
 of N.A.S. in vessels did  
 any good £8000  
 £2000  
 transport down the Nile  
 ? Sanitary arrangements bad  
 ? not adapted for carrying  
 wounded

notes, ff68-73v, pencil

**f68**

Sir T. Crawford Dec 29/85  
*Selection of Nurses*

“I will remember about character”.

I thought we had done enough  
 in making ourselves sure of a  
 lady's social status - [one of  
 the worst, I knew her sister  
 myself, she was a clergyman's  
 daughter] we required a  
 letter from a “lady of position”-  
 - we required testimonials  
 from the Doctors - for they  
 were all to be trained Nurses  
 - some of our Testimonials were  
 false -

We did not see the Nurses -

**f68v**

[I & Dr Mackinnon under  
whose Branch it is, did not  
think it worth while - we  
have no time] {up diag:} I -

Dr. Crawford

Still it is I who am  
responsible for choosing them

No: we did not write  
to references - (for we  
required certificates-)  
much less take personal  
characters from Matrons  
or last employers-

Yes: I believe a woman  
could do it best -

But Miss Caulfield was  
indiscreet - wrote & received

**f69**

an indiscreet letter - rendering  
them liable to libel

(Yes: but that was done *after*  
- the enquiry should ~~not~~ have  
privileged  
been made *before* - & the  
woman not sent to Miss  
Caulfield at all]

Yes; we now 'request to  
resign' (dismiss) for unfitness,  
without requiring a proved  
charge -

[So we do now with Orderlies]

*Private* {up diag}

Mrs. Deeble would not do  
for a Supt= Genl= Her own  
selections have not been  
good -

**f69v**

I would have made Miss  
Williams successor to Mrs.  
Deeble - Lady Supt- of Netley  
& Supt- Genl-

[Then we had to take on  
the N.A.S- Nurses- that  
was an agreement- &  
those were by no means  
all good]

We take power by the Regns=  
to appoint a Supt= as  
Inspectress- We are going to  
send Mrs. Deeble to look  
at & report on the accommn=  
& arrangements for the 60  
Nurses at the several/proposed Stations.

**f70**

[2]

4 Nurses at each  
These are all to have 3 months'  
probation at Netley &  
Woolwich

Only 2 Lady Supts=  
Deeble & Caulfield at Netley  
& Woolwich

1 Supg- Sister - Cannell  
at Cairo -

all the rest only Senior  
Sisters -

=====

Why did the post of  
Supt= Genl= lapse?  
Because they did not like  
Mrs. Shaw Stewart? nor Mrs. Deeble?

**f70v**

We *have* taken power to  
make an Inspectress Genl-  
F.N. [You must look about well  
before you create a  
Supt- Genl=. And you must  
have power to dismiss her  
for incompetence  
unsuitability



**f71**

To employ a *woman*  
 to examine Testimonials  
 take personal characters  
 & write to references

**f72**

[3]  
 Dr. Ferguson promoted by Sir  
 Herbert Stewart's desire -  
 good at Field Hospl= organizn=  
 not a Dr. at all.  
 Dr. dismissed for non-attention  
 to his work lately

-----  
 Yes, there is an M Officer to inspect  
 Orderlies  
 Herbert- now a Junior Medl-  
 Officer specially to look  
 after Orderlies  
 Yes: P.M.O. must always  
 inspect once a week -  
 [F.N. apart- Only once a week

f73 {blank}

**f73v**

Orderlies can now be  
 dismissed for unfitness  
 without special charge  
 being proved -  
 in War time without reference  
 home - by P.M.O. reporting  
 him to Genl Commg- Officer  
 if only stupid may be  
 enlisted in Regt=  
 {up diag:}  
 Thursday  
 Saturday  
 or Monday  
 week

notes, ff74-78, pencil

**f74**

Sir T.C. [4] 2 Dec 29/85

Now Serjt= Major must

go thro' all the grades

of Orderly

1<sup>st</sup> Class Orderly

promoted for good Nursing

& that alone

Wardmaster

Serjt- Maj- must be Chief

Wardmaster, Chief Nurse

Where there are Sisters, they

are Ward mistresses -

Wardmaster merely for

discipline- fetching Diets

& cleaning

Orderly doing things by

bed-side under Sister

f75 {blank}

**f75v**

Miss Taylor: her services  
dispensed with -

but you can't think what

M.P.s, her brother &c have

called for cause to be given

for her services being dispensed

with

[F.N. Yes, but her character

shd- have been taken before

not after - Was her personal

character taken before?

D.G. No. ]

Miss Caulfield interchanged

letters with a London Matron

which if they had fallen into

the Nurse's hands wd have

made them liable for libel

-indiscreet. [Yes, but character

shd have been taken before -

by word of mouth

**f76**

Sir T.C. [5] Dec 29/85  
*Nurses* 4 each  
 Dover one Supg= or Senior  
 Canterbury Sister to each  
 Portsmouth [2 per Night  
 Devonport 2 " Day  
 Dublin  
 Aldershot (Cambridge Hospl=  
 60 Staff

money for  
 will lapse if we don't fill up  
 Guards 3 Hospls=- matter settled  
 with Govt= new Hospl= Sir A.  
 Clarke looking out for site - 4

**f76v**

Sisters- Supg- Sister & 3  
 of these last, 2 Night  
 All Patients not to be nursed  
 by women in one Hospl-  
 all the Medical cases in  
 another {line drawn from here to left marg & in front of Sisters & room}  
 Sisters live in third - have a  
 room in this for Night watch  
 Difficult to find Quarters  
 for Sisters - If a house  
 near Military seize upon it

**f77**

Netley - Genl= Commg= says  
 too many M.S.C- won't  
 furnish fatigue parties  
 M.S.C. must do all -  
 can't limit Orderlies to  
 Nursing  
 Orderlies go for 4 months  
 to Aldershot to learn discipline  
 4 mo. to Netley to learn  
 Nursing -  
 40 recruits there now

**f77v**

Orderlies *must* Nurse  
 at the bedside under Sister  
 That's what they are there  
 for  
 Can't understand their  
 being taken away for diets

**f78**

Sisters: Ganges                      Selby not nice  
 Cole                      nice  
 Brown  
 Irving  
 Burleigh - nice  
     no "go" in any {up diag:} Orderlies' hours  
    irregular  
    stay 2 hours  
    at dinner  
    don't look  
    after Coolies

Wardmasters, fine gentlemen  
     Wall thro' wards  
 Head Orderly - by Seniority  
 Patients back Orderlies in lies  
     against themselves  
 which orderlies best  
     from Aldershot or Netley

M.O.s  
     Examn-  
 lessons in Admn= at Netley  
 Diet hours 7 am - 12 without food  
                                  12 - 3 milk  
                                  stimulant  
                                  Beef Tea &c

{up diag:} Brand  
                                  [illeg]  
                                  milk

notes, ff79-80v, pencil

**f79**

Sir T. Crawford                      Dec 30/85

Army San: Comm:

3 minutes

It would not do for the D.G. to

be President\_ He has not time

-nor has the Q.M.G- nor the {Q.M.G. overtop D.M.G-}

~~Director of Works~~ {angled line down from end of Q.M.G.}

I wrote a Minute

My idea is that it would set

the D.G- at variance with all

his Dept-                      There should be

a hostile element. But the A.S.C

Shd= be strong enough to compel

public opinion, to compel S. of S

to spend money

If Army Med: Dep: weekly Reports

were published as the G.R.O.s

are -

**f79v**

a very able man who  
 has leisure to give to it  
 Cunningham  
 Hewlett or even Cornish  
 President not an old man - not even  
 one Medical Officer an ex D.G.  
 Engineer

Officials

Shd= have money to spend

{vert. on page:}

Sanitary Officer adlatus  
 to Q.M.G- in the field  
 moulded up to San. Comm-  
 Stat & Son Branch take it  
 from the D.G- & mould that  
 into the A.S.C -

one of the  
 subordinates

make A.S.C-  
 inspectional  
 & teaching  
 business to  
 lecture & to  
 inspect

can't  
 waste  
 P.M.O.'s  
 time in  
 doing  
 Clerk's work-

## f80

Dr. Sutherland a very able man  
 we owe him much -  
 but the Barrack & Hospl- Comm:  
 Dr. S. Galton, Burrell  
 was the real success -  
 But many of the things they  
 recommended are still undone -  
 - their position is not what it was  
 - they have no command of money  
 Estimates annual  
 Weeklies                                      done thro' Genl-  
 Sanitary:                      monthly or even Qly=  
 only  
 [Northern Division Mortality Returns  
 Leeds & Fleetwood all  
 mashed up together  
 Forms different from what they were  
 Annuals compiled from Weeklies

Add Mss 45773

408

S. wd= have been pensioned 20 year{s}  
ago but for me -



initialed letter, ff81-82, pencil

**f81**

July 22/86

Dear Sir Thomas Crawford

I trust that you will pardon me for encroaching on your precious time - It is in regard to a conversation Miss Caulfield. Supt- of Nurses at the Herbert Hospl= has had with me which I understood was suggested by your kindness. you had ~~desired~~ wished her to talk "it" ~~all~~ over with me - "It" is her desire that the employment of one Sister on Night duty instead of two according to the Regulations should be left to the discretion of the authorities on the spot.

**f81v**

She has been rather worried about this lately, & she came up to see me according to your kind suggestion.

With so small a Nursing Staff the Night duty falls heavily especially when Sisters are going on holiday in the slack time or them, owing to the generally wise rule that not less than two Sisters ~~must~~ should be on night duty at once. And in "slack" times when there are ~~few~~ ~~to~~ a smaller number of Patients & fewer bad cases, two Sisters are not necessary for the work. Yet there is never a time when it is ~~not~~ not unnecessary ~~for~~ to have a any Sister on night duty at all.

f82

Would you think well to allow  
~~it to be~~ the optional with/to the authorities  
 on the spot that in such slack  
 times ~~to~~ employ one Sister on  
 Night duty ~~instead of two~~ should be employed  
 & to trust them that as there  
     are several Senior  
     Sisters not be trusted fit for the  
 duty to be on only herself at night Such & no other should be thus employed  
F.N.

draft, ff83-103v, pencil & pen

f83

Sir T. Crawford                      May 3/89      *Confidential*  
 My dear Sir T.C. How deeply do we {overtop I} regret that you [15:562]  
     your                      is at an end.  
     are at the term of ~~your~~ Office. You have been a  
 great & true friend to us- And we shall, I fear,  
 miss you much -                      Especially, as you were so  
 absolutely in favour of continuing & even increasing  
 the powers & the work of the Army Sanitary Comm.,  
 your retirement may, it is {overtop I} to be feared affect its prospects-  
 There is more & more  
 You are persuaded of the necessity for it in India.  
 Might I ask you what ARE the prospects of the A.S.C?  
 at home? & also, if what you mapped out is not to

f84

be carried out at home, what steps ought to be taken to preserve control over the Sanitation of India? It would take some time to bring Lord Dufferin's proposal (of last July), even if it be carried out, into working order in the several Presidencies- Until it is in working order, there can be no doubt that it is most important to retain some means of criticizing Sanitary Reports from India, such as was afforded by the A.S.C. & to quicken these means too - But it is impertinent of me to be suggesting consideration to *you*. Ld Ripon

Ld Wolseley [and I believe/know I am only speaking/echoing your own views ~~who~~ in saying that an "expert" is a bad substitute for the Commn- at the W.O. & that the re-organized Comm shd ~~be large ex~~ embrace representatives of the different aspects of Sanitary questions Medical, Engineering, General & especially Indian -& that the Comm: should actually meet & discuss together the matters referred to it. - Also that their ~~num~~ proceedings shd be expedited especially as regards India - A solitary "expert" at the W.O. who might

f84v

~~know nothing about~~ be quite without Indian experience or the capacity to review India conditions would be a fatal mistake if meant as a substitute for the

Comm. Better that the I.O. should have a  
Comm: of its own than this

There is I suppose a most formidable antagonist  
to the employment of Army Sanitary Officers in the field - ~~Will~~ Does  
this antagonism hinder the re- organisation of  
the Army Sany- Commn-?

I need not say with what pleasure (& pain)  
I should see you again if you (pain at losing  
would be so very good as to make you at the W.O.)  
an appointment. I would fain also ask after Netley's prospects  
{vert. in right mar:} but do not like to cumber you with questions now-

f85

Sir T.C. 2 C b [2]

Annual Report from each District (command)

P.M.O. R.E. Q.M.G.

who is to compile it?

These 3 men ought to form a Committee- {vert. line down left marg}  
& report to the Genl- Commandg= *make him*  
*responsible. He* ought to be brought in-  
for the man who is to compile it- as for the rest  
when you have a Committee you do not specify  
the man who is to draw up the report- He ought  
not either to be indicated by routine or seniority

**f86**

2 C Nor should the General be made to {vert. lines down left marg.}  
 compile it. But he should be responsible  
 It is an education for the General-

The Annual Report should comprise  
 the Meteorology- History of Barracks-  
 Records of failure- Causes of Disease  
 What has been recommended - what  
 has been done - what has failed  
 drainage water supply housing clothing [2 lines blue pencil]  
*feeding*

2 C  
 The R.E. may say his Barracks are perfect  
 The M.O. will point out that there is Typhoid  
 Then Barracks must be overhauled- &  
 water-supply & drainage. M.O.s are not  
 Engineers. R.E s are not Sanitarians-  
 There has been a fault of drainage found  
 out after all in the Dublin Barracks-  
 Or Typhoid may have been imported  
 C 1a? Agreed that the *Q.M.G.* should be on [blue pencil to ASC]  
 A.S.C. [end 15:562]

York-small depot- But no Station Field Hospls  
*rifles which carry 2 miles*

**f86v**

C 1 But the great thing after all is the *man* x  
 the *Engineer*- Sir D. Galton as Chairman  
 with a *Civil* Engineer under him to give his  
 whole time- It will be expensive -  
 A Mily= Engineer or/C 1 Doctor on full retired pay  
 at 60/D.G.? would not be active enough to run  
 about & inspect- He would only criticize some  
 one employed under him

[But the *Committee* must inspect too.  
 And it there is a difference between *Q.M.G.*  
 & *Committee*, S of S must take the chair.]  
 x Ask Sir D. Galton

f87 {vert. line down left marg}

2 C Genl is making [2a] wrong everything  
his own observations before S. of S

*feeding*. Yes, a good deal has been done. It was  
not the quantity that was in fault but the quality.  
C.O.s are more awake to the necessity of  
inspecting the meat Ld Napier was the man  
for that. He would inspect the meat - then he  
would go & inspect the live beasts - then to the  
slaughter house

But the A.S.C. should *review* the whole thing -  
-they should review the *supplies* as well as  
the housing. ~~They~~ W.O. are afraid that they will wish  
to increase the ration of meat. Perhaps they may

f88

wish to reduce it !!

The soldier has plenty of money. It is  
better for him to buy food than drink.

Is the cooking good? Yes, fair.

C b

“*Secret Minutes*” are what are not  
present to Parlt= They are what pass  
between the Heads of Depts= & the S. of S.  
E.g.

The opinion of the D.G. is called for. If  
Parlt= asks a question about it, they are  
told it is among the “secret” papers

But all these should be in the power  
of the A.S.C. to call for

**f88v**

C b

*fix the responsibility on the General*

let the Annual Report be sent up on his

responsibility- a good education for

him

C b

Statistics should be left in the hands of the

P.M.O.

**f89** {vert. lines down left & right margins}

Sir T.C. 3 C? [3]

Aldershot 5 Brigades

excellent

Don't add to *Cambridge Hospl*= - a *Pavilion Hospl*=

like Woolwich

Let the serious cases only be sent there - (drafted

from the Brigade Field Hut Hospitals) with the

trained Nurses &amp; the Medical Staff -

Let all the trifling cases (&amp; so many are trifling)

*wanting no nursing* be treated each in his Brigade

Hut Hospital - No 1 No 2 &amp;c light huts like those in Camp -

The Doctors will learn there. Then ~~all in in~~ cases bedrafted off, if *serious*, to *Cambridge Hospital*, like a base*Hospl*- All the *Invaliding* to be from there - *Ambulance***f90**

Bearer Company, every thing

from Brigade Hospl= to Cambridge Hospl-

- learn their work

**f90v**

[illeg off page] C 2 c

*Aldershot* - village in the midst with public houses

But the W.O. could have a compulsory Bill

to do away with this- But there are Villas

all the way from Farnham to Camp for Officers &amp; friends

who like Military Society for 2 or 3 miles

1 room (space) towards Bagshot

C 1

*Marston* impetuous & crotchety - would want A.S.C. to

keep him in order

*Cornish* knows only Madras

f91

3 C [3a]  
there are 5 Brigades at Aldershot  
2 or 3 at The Curragh {vert. line down left marg}  
Brigade Field Hut Hospls= there could be  
At both these places - there *are* - but  
No- 1, No- 2 then they do it distribute  
serious from trifling cases

f92

Sir T.C. Aldershot [6] 3 b  
would like a camp 10 miles x 10. But  
where is it to be had? now that rifles carry 2 miles  
But above all what we want is not a {vert. line down left marg}  
standing camp, but a *summer* camp to  
learn field work in- where they are  
to live as in time of war - practise  
*Ambulances, Field Hospitals*, Bearer Companies, every thing.  
(*Not* send their sick to York in cabs-)  
There is nothing anywhere of this but at  
Aldershot- There is something there of Medl- Field

f93

life when an expeditionary Field force {vert. line down left marg}  
is ordered out for a few days- But that is  
all- There are no stores or Equipment for Field Service  
except at Aldershot- No complete Field  
Hospital work with Stores & Bearer Company.  
&c - There is a small depot of Stores at York  
But as to having at each Station a complete  
Field Hospl= Service with Equipment which can be called out  
at once for War, nothing of the kind. x  
We have Stores for Field Hospital work (at  
Woolwich?) to lend to the Volunteers - &  
for what the Q.M.G. is doing in depots &  
for the defence of London -  
At York, Dublin, the Curragh, we have Stores  
a few  
x *no equipments for units* at Stations  
[plenty of stores of course at the great centre].  
Ld Wolseley C. in C.  
*Sir R. Buller- a tremendous man* but most  
*efficient- he will fall out with the A.S.C.* when

on it



**f93v**      At *Cambridge Hospl*- Aldershot  
 should be all the Serious cases of Aldershot  
                  skeletons      bearer company  
    ambulances  
    invaliding from there  
 good practice      trained nursing  
 Brigade Field Hut Hospitals for trifling cases  
                  light huts - no trained Nursing - like the Field  
 [I have seen the serious cases *there* - & the  
          *trifling* cases in the fully equipped *Cambridge*  
          *Hospl*=]      {text upside down:} Manchester      Holme

**f94**  
 C 9 [4]  
*Sick Rate* - depends on what the accommodation  
 for soldiers is. I have always contended, if there  
 was a question between spending on Barracks or  
 Hospls=, spend on Barracks first- 5 ½ in Hospl could only  
 be if the accommodation were sanitary  
 but *if it were* it should only be in temperate  
 climate 2 or 3 p c -  
*STRENSHALL* {u-l 4 times} not a standing/permanent camp (cantonment)  
 but a summer camp- a field  
 camp as in time of War  
 cabs to York with sick - made a row

f95  
Sick Rate C 9 [4 a]  
At home - not in tropical climates - {vert. line down left marg}  
there should not be with Sanitary  
accommodation, &c &c  
more than 2 or 3 per cent in Hospital  
In tropical climate we must provide for 12  
*p.c*  
even with all those things of sanitary necessity  
provided  
Coll of State Medicine Klean 5 a

f96

C. 1 [5]

The question is after all the man - M.O—

for India - *Dr Cornish* perhaps best for 5 years

All appointments should be limited to 5 years

That was the mistake we made at Netley

*Dr Bidie*, Madras, comes home in  
April, knows nothing but  
Madras

for Home

*Dr Collins* of Gibraltar - recommended  
by Mackinnon - *too* young - wd carry  
no weight

*Dr Welch* (50) Brigade Surgeon - full pay  
now in India - was at Netley -

Marston good Dr. [FN. Yes, TOO MEDICAL &amp; Typhoid

cases of

{vert. line in left marg to top}

f97 {blank}

f97v

No *large Hospital in London*- That is the great  
mistake - Nothing taken for it in the 4 mill- vote

A large Hospl= to which *Netley* could be moved

-&amp; where men returning from abroad could

have the advantage of the Civil Hospls=

brushing themselves up to date

Stanhope's speech

f98

2 X C [6 a]

I was quartered at Manchester- Barracks atrocious

both in themselves &amp; their positions - worse now -

Atmosphere of Manchester so bad morally &amp;

physically - so black &amp; dirty

Hulme Cavalry Barracks to be abolished

new site not settled

soldiers should not be used as police- But the

~~Men~~ people like them -

It is wonderful to see the big men &amp; the big horses

of the guards, going in &amp; dispersing the rioters as if they

Guards in riots ~~dir~~ were doing nothing - quite

quietly

f99 {blank}

**f99v**

{diag:} C1 5a

job  
 Smith  
 State Coll. of Med  
 Professor Hygiene  
 permanent  
 Strenshall

**f100**

Sir T.C. 2 C [7] 2b

*Administratively* - the Head of Dept- should put  
 down his plans - the A.S.C review them  
 (not, as Sutherland did, let the R.E.s pick  
 his brains, put them down as their own,  
 - no review - no record of failure

**f101**

C 1 [8] Cornish 5a

*College of State Medicine* Cornish Secy  
 was meant to be a sort of point of  
 union  
 [Sanitary Institute only does the Sanitary  
 Inspectors]  
 but has failed

**f102**

Ld Ripon's Minute under Sir G

Lewis in '62 giving X

plans of new Barracks

Lord Stanley's camps buildings

Then the R. Comm on the

Sanitary State of the Indian

Army did not report till

1863- &amp; then Ld Ripon, being

S. of S. for War added a

Part- to include India -

Sir R. Martin

Sir P. Cautley Engineer

were the first two members

X Ld Ripon's idea was *not* to*make the Q.M.G - responsible**for the Sanitary state of the**Army* but to bring in the

H.G- He would have made

the A.S.C. an independent body

Add Mss 45773

420

f103 {blank}

**f103v**

reporting directly to the S of S.  
 but he could not get the  
 money - & so appointed men  
 who did not require to be  
 paid - & Sutherland to do  
 the work

{vert:} S {overtop br} for War s who did not  
 know their profession

Sir Herbert

Ld Ripon did

W.H. Smith

ff104-14, draft(in other hand) with numbers, 6 Dec 1889 and 7 March 90 {dates by F.N.}, re: A.S.C. - Causes of failure,  
 Constitution, what A.S.C. is to do &c

**f109** {vert. line down l marg, in F.N. hand:}

All reports of the Sanitary Commissioners  
 under the Government of India which  
 give a Sanitary history of each province  
 for the year, supported by statistics, are  
 referred by the I.O. to the A.S.C. for  
 criticism. They also refer to the  
 A.S.C. all questions affecting the  
 Sanitary condition of the troops whether  
 of housing, feeding, clothing or general  
 maintenance {added in pencil:} No  
 {circled words:} history of Barracks P.M.O

R E  
 Q.M.G.

draft, ff115-20, pen & pencil

# f115

I. causes of failure: Heads of Depts- utilized Dr  
Sutherland as their own private  
{diag;} adviser - evaded the Minute -  
I don't know would not be criticized -  
whether he will benefit of the knowledge without  
not quote [illeg] record of failure  
ask Sutherland collapses when he goes  
about [illeg] organization now more than one mind should  
7/3/9 be upon them  
they reviewed their own work  
E.S. did not like it

## WHAT IT IS TO BE

C *Proper constitution* A.S.C. should be an {vert & htz lines in r marg}  
independent body, *acting under S. of S. for War*,  
*reviewing all the work concerning the soldier*  
*all the Departments* " " " 's health

C It should consist of a Chairman *Sir D. Galton*  
*Sir T. Crawford*  
should be on the  
Comm=

{vert;} Marston x Cornish x neither have  
& the Q.M.G. India Sutherland's Engineering  
knowledge

xx C *IF* {u-l 4x} you can get good men on retired  
full pay Sanitary Engineer would take all his  
time Col Locock}

No

C  
Then in W.O. are overworked - cannot give their attention -  
/ besides they ought not to review their own work

---

x x on full retired pay - would only require Honorarium

C E.S : must not be too old - recent experience

## f116

[2]

{two large ']' down r marg}

1 S. of S. for War or for India as the case might be –  
would order its recommendations to be carried out

2 Responsibility of adopting or rejecting its advice  
must be with the S. of S

// not the Q.M.G. but the C in C. Ye= who is responsible  
to the S. of S. that the men are cared for

Is it not so? If not, *you* are the man responsible

/therefore the A.S.C. ought to be under the S. of S., the  
Q.M.G. under him

liken it to the C. in C. of an Army in the field ('or  
the Genl- Commandg- of a fortress) He is the man  
responsible. The Q.M.G.'s are all under him.

A.S.C. ought to be under the S. of S. //

as a sort of security to you to watch on  
your behalf that the men are cared for

the A.S.C. ought to be under the S. of S. /

the Q.M.G. is under him

the D.G- is not under the A.M.G but under  
the S. of S. Yes

[Sidney Herbert's plans of meeting all his Heads of  
Depts- together every week - saves so many minutes]

{vert l marg;} must put the Q.M.G. upon it

*This* would give the A.S.C. *vitality* /

Yes

## f117

[3]

3. As Officers are changed every 5 years,  
A.S.C. wanted to keep up the standard of Sanitation

- to keep up a uniform steady progress

-to keep the A.M.D. officers up to the mark

the R.E " up to the mark

- to be kept up to the mark themselves by

- having their proceedings published

- Yes- all for publicity

-

aware of R.E. ignorance

/ Rogers Field's Assistant C

**f118**

What is it to do [4]

II. You want the A.S.C. revived to do its work

(a fresh vitality given it) *this* would give it

You want its work given it to do vitality

2

2

a To criticize reports of A.M.D as they have

hitherto done the reports of the India Sanitary

Commissioners x Note

But we have no Sanitary Commissioners - == {vert line r marg, down

& no Annual provincial Reports, as in India - 2 6 lines}

{2 words vert. down left marg from next line:} ask Crawford

These, that is District Reports, should exist at

home & be drawn up by the Staff of the General

Commanding the District (P.M.O., R.F., Q.M.G.)

embracing *all* the matters, *not* only Medical,

but matters necessitating expenditure, ? No

which concern the soldier, his clothing, housing, feeding,

& even questions, of drill & work (or overwork) as regards his health

history of Barracks including water supply drainage

records of failure Yes - I will do this

But who is to compile them 2

Secret Minutes to S. of S.

These are wanting. The Annual Medical Reports

cover only the Medical & Statistical side.

*Nothing like the India Sanitary Commrs' Reports exist*

x Note. *All reports* of the Sanitary Commissioners under the

*Government of India* which give a sanitary history of each

*province for the year, supported by statistics*, are referred by the I.O.

*to the A.S.C.* for criticism.

~~The machinery of information is good.~~

~~If it were only summarized & used for the~~

~~S. of S.'s purposes~~

*They also refer* to the A.S.C. all questions affecting the Sanitary

*condition of the troops, whether of housing, feeding, clothing or general*

*maintenance*

?



**f119***What it is to do* [5]will look at the original  
& at this

b *Duty given it by Lord Ripon ? Minute of*  
 as regards plans of new Barracks, *camps*, 1882 new  
 buildings to be occupied by troops & horses,  
 and all important alterations  
 Was this not done?

to be carried out  
 This has remained in abeyance -  
 It has only to be revived  
 {vert in right marg:} camps

u  
 Barracks  
 no lack  
 for campers

[Plans are now made by the local R.E.'s.  
 criticized by Q.M.G. but that is all -  
 no real criticism] public has a right to real criticism

2 *S. of S.* to revive Minute of 1862 2

to order Works Dept- to send every thing to

A S C- Yes to be considered by Commission & not individual members

not insisted on enough

C If any case of epidemic arises in Barracks,

A.S.C should direct an investigation into its causes

It is an advising body under the S. of S who  
 would give them powers of enquiry in special  
 cases where abnormal disease occurs, & they be  
 empowered by S of S. to call for all information.  
 - even the Secret Minutes which are not presented  
 to Parl- & go direct to S. of S. 2

2 Yes

f120

[6]

Nothing is so expensive as a man - if he is to be  
ineffective in Hospital, *besides* keeping up the  
Hospital & Doctors, there is his ineffectiveness  
& then when he dies young, his death

expenditure of Sanitation *far below*

*expenditure of letting them die*

7 per c. Hospitals have to provide for - only 5 ½ p c 2  
3 " " it ought to be generally

?

d. Questions of food, clothing (as is done by I.O.

see note p

would be proper matters upon which C. in C. might  
usually refer to A.S.C.

e & A.S.C. should be the means of spreading  
Sanitary knowledge among R.E.s x But R.E.s don't

A.M.D. care about it

& even Army Officers

S Herbert's Preface to old Army Hos Medical Regns.

School at Chatham? Lectures &

Examinations

3 x quite aware of this

x wd like M.O.s to share 3

draft, ff121-25, pen & pencil

**f121** {not in F.N. hand, F.N. annotations in bold}

A.S.C.

1. To criticize reports of A.M.D. as they have hitherto done the reports of the India Sanitary Commissioners\_

Sir T. Crawford very anxious about this.

Mr. W.H. Smith wished secret minutes also to be submitted to it - \*

**i.e minutes not published**

**or presented to Parlt-  
go direct to S. of S.**

**The provincial reports of India**

**should exist at home & be drawn up by the Generals Staff**

**P.M.O. R.E. Q.M.G** {initials stained}

2. Duty given it my Lord Ripon, as regards plans of new barracks, camps, new building to be occupied by troops & horses, and all - important alteration, r to be carried out -

**Certainly This has only remained in abeyance**

{vert:} **Nothing so**

**expensive**

**as a**

**man -**

**if he is**

**to be**

**always in**

**Hospital**

**or die**

**young**

**Rate of**

**men in**

**Hospital**

too high

3. If any case of epidemic arises in barracks, A.S.C. should direct an investigation into it causes. ~~It is a~~

It is an advising body under the Q.M.G./ **S. of S.** who it would be understood, should give them powers of enquiry in special cases where abnormal disease occurs.

**They should  
certainly have these - & able empowered by S. of S. to call  
for all information**

\* Note. All reports of the Sanitary Commissioners under the Government of India which give a sanitary history of each province for the year, supported by statistics, are referred by the I.O. to the A.S.C. for criticism

They also refer to the A.S.C. all questions affecting the sanitary condition of the troops, whether of housing, feeding or general maintenance.

Add Mss 45773

428

Nothing so

f121v

**When I**

f122

4. Questions of food, clothing. (as is done by I.O.) see note page 1)  
would be proper matters upon which the ~~Q.M.G.~~ **C. in C** might usefully refer to the A.S.C.

**5 S. of S. for War or for India as the case might be**

5. ~~Q.M.G.~~ would ~~carry out its~~ order the recommendations if it had no power of ordering, only of advising and recommending.

**A.S.C ought to be under the S of S**

**as a sort of security to you**

**to watch on your behalf that the                      responsible - the Q.M.G.'s**  
**men are care for    are all under her**

{vert. in r marg:} **Q.M.G. under him**

**1. the A.S.C ought to be under the**

**S. of S.**

6. Responsibility of adopting or rejecting its advice must lie with  
the ~~Q.M.G.~~ **S. of S - liken it to the C. in C if an**

**army in the fields**

**He is the man**

**not the Q.M.G. but the C. in C- (on the Genl- Comm of a**  
**fortress)        who is responsible to you that the men are**  
**cared for. It is not so ? If not then you are the man responsible**

7. Mr. W.H. Smith as officers are changed every 5 years wants the  
A.S.C. to keep up the standard of sanitation. Sir T. Crawford  
wants the A.S.C. to keep the A.M.D. officers up to the mark.

**the R.E.s up to the mark - & be kept up to the mark themselves by having**

**their published**

That it should be the means of spreading sanitary knowledge  
amongst the R.Es, and the A.M.D. and even the Army  
Officers. **¶ You want it to proceed to make itself of no use.**

The M.O's receive a certain amount of the medical side of  
sanitary knowledge at Netley. They ought to get a certain  
amount of instruction on the engineering side.

R.Es. are to get it at Chatham.

by lectures

and in both cases followed by examinations to test the knowledge

acquired.

f122v

**Executive under the C. in C.**

**f123**

Ask whether A.S.C. if for India or fore Home Barracks  
versus Camps. Camps good for health & discipline &  
teaching the Art of War.

Say instead of patching up old Barracks at great  
expense or building new ones - & there you are for  
another 60 years - have camps - more healthy,  
more sanitary than the best barracks.

Barracks in provincial towns, say Manchester  
50 years old. Built time of Corn Law Riots.

Tumbling down - not worth repair. everything is  
altered since then. Police have come in -Railways  
Steam, Telegraph. Telephone have come in. Now that  
you can summon troops in a couple yes of hours, if  
there is a serious riot, you might mass the  
troops in camps, and let police do the police,

**Ireland bad in**

**scattering Army to do**

**the Police - Curragh to be**

**enlarged**

**Mediterranean**

**including Malta &c**

**But no Govt- would sanction the enormous expence**

**of land for lard camps - Nuts too are expensive**

**{diag:} Dartmoor**

**X Cavalry & Hulme**

**going to be moved out**

**// millions to repair all the Barracks,**

**Evidence**

f124

**embracing expenditure**

I understand that all the departments are brought under the  
C. in C. and through him go up to the S. of S.  
Sanitary instruction now for R.Es.

” ” now for Army Medical Department  
so much easier.

**S. of S. C. in C. thro' the Adjustment**

Q.M.G. would give it as an order that it should be done  
in both cases.

**The A.S.C- must act under S. of S- not  
under Q.M.G- for it must criticize the  
Q.M.G. as the other Depts- A.M.D. I should wish  
to be criticized but then it should have a reply.  
On the Annual Report S. of S. acts - what must be  
done at once money is asked for rest referred to  
Estimates.**

The weekly A.M. disease reports **only about men in Hospital weekly** are sent to the S. of S. monthly?  
And it there is anything abnormal, for example, too much disease!  
it is noted.

(F.N. but not the recommendation, the remedies & the measures  
that have actually been carried out) **or not carried out & the results  
Yes - but only briefly**

The Colonial disease reports S. of S. gets every 3 months-

**India**

**every 3 months**

**The W.O. must only have the Army & native Army reports**

**No others. All others must go to the I.O.**

f125

S. of S. wishes to restore/revive minute of 1862.

To order Works Department to send everything to it. A S C  
to be considered by the commission, and not individual members.  
tell Dr. Sutherland's successor to work it with Commission-  
- on his motion, President calls Commission together-  
on fixed days- it used to meet every week-)

draft on large envelope, f126, pencil

**f126**

[1889] I A.S.C.

1. causes of failure-reviewing their own  
work this would give it vitality  
2 proper constitution - should be an  
independent body acting *under the*  
*S. of S for War*, x reviewing all the work  
concerning the soldier - & all the Depts- concerning  
his health S. of S. for War (or for India)  
orders the recommendeds- to be carried out,  
responsible for adopting or rejecting- not Q.M.G.  
C. in C. responsible to S. of S. that soldier cared for  
A.S.C. a sort of security- to watch on your behalf  
Q. in G. is under him D G. not under Q.M.G.  
{vert. not in FN hand:}

1889

ASC

Interview with Sir T. Crawford

incomplete letter, ff127-28v, pencil

**f127** {bottom of page}

April/95

Dear Sir Thomas Crawford

I am always coming to your kindness for  
the most valuable help which none but you  
alone can give- May I enter at  
once with the matter in hand.

I have lately received from the Govt- of  
India thro' the I.O. some fresh &  
good sanitary material & a great deal of it  
in answer to some questions of mere

{top half of folio f127}

[2]

referring chiefly to the Conference in July/92 at  
Belvedere of engineering & Sanitary  
experts with representative natives  
of Bengal & on a Bill for drainage works in Bengal  
& to the result of the injuries made  
in the Punjab in Dec./98 as to the connection  
between a water logged soil & a malarial  
fever  
& as to the organization of Village Unions.



Add Mss 45773

433

These papers are extremely interesting

**f127v**

And not the least interesting are  
 some by native Vice-Chairman of  
 Municipalities - one especially on  
 the scarcity of water in Bengal  
 which gives a history of the Zeminder  
 almost from his creation -  
 not that there is much that English experts  
 do not know but the native view  
 is so ~~interesting~~ desirable to have

The Govt= of India gives its consent  
 to these papers being presented to  
 Parlt=

And what we are anxious to obtain  
 is an Article on these papers ~~to be~~  
 reviewing ~~it~~eg them but not published  
 till they are presented.

There is no one who would  
 do it with anything like the  
 power of yourself, if you would

**f128**

In question No- 10. Should ~~not~~ a  
 question be noted as to whether in the  
 case of cattle being stalled in dwellings  
 the measure of the cattle is retained in  
 the dwellings?

Question No= 11\_ Should ever some  
 sub- question be asked in case of  
 fairs being held what provision  
 made for refuse, or for cleanliness  
 of water- supply

Question 13 Would it be desirable  
 to raise the question as to  
 isolating cases of small pox?

**f128v**

With reference to the p questions some of these points  
 noted p?] by Dr. H. instructing questions marked are  
 questions of a practical kind or two which  
 Question 4 - Might I say there appear to be of  
 seems some little ambiguity in interest  
 the expression "works on drains"  
 And ~~does~~ "spring level" ~~more~~  
~~level of springs?~~

{diag;} a most look forward Dr Hewlett  
 admirable & fruitful to its being thought so well  
 of future very valuable of it  
 benefits to Private Sany=  
 this a

gained the confidence of the villagers  
 I might venture to ask whether in Question No- 8  
 Sub- questions 1 & 2: In a large village the  
 distribution of wells & tanks with reference to  
 population is of importance - Should not  
 the position of wells & tanks with reference  
 to this be explained?

Question 9 asks as to conservancy. Would (overtop S)  
 it be desirable to put some sub- question  
 as to conservancy for disposal of house &  
 kitchen refuse, both liquid & solid?

draft, f129-30v, pencil

**f129**

{archivist:} [Ref. 22 June 1895]

write to Sir T. Crawford

& say Hy B.C. wd call

upon him

on the Council

at present & for the past

never been necessary for the

Council to meet more than

once a year to pass the

accounts but the No- is

reduced to its minimum 5

two of the members almost

incapacitated one by absence

& one by illness

hoping to add two other

younger men & feel that

occasion might arise when

his experience & advice

might be valuable

f130 {blank}

**f130v**

Sam

{diag:} N

fund consists of  
about £50 000 -  
the whole of which  
with the  
exception of about  
£2000 is invested  
in Consols-  
Trustees

Sidney Herbert (Ld Pembroke

His brother was one of foundg

Trustees of the N. Fund

there are now only two left

Mr. Rathbone &amp; the D of

Westminster I am advised

that it is essential that at

least one other shd be added

to nominate him to the

vacancy - They had no

executive duties

f131-v, Crawford to Nightingale, 22 June 1895, Blackheath embossed Army & Navy Club, Pall Mall. I am much flattered by your proposal to nominate me to serve on the Council of the Nightingale Funds and I shall have much pleasure in complying with your request for illeg you did not think me too old to be useful I am in my 72nd year and neither as active nor energetic as I was some years ago. I know Mr Bonham Carter and shall have much pleasure in meeting him *here any afternoon next week except Wednesday* [FN und] when I am to visit the Royal Patriotic Asylum at Wandsworth.

[end of Crawford material]

## Correspondence with Sir James Clark

ff132-33, A Smith. to Sir James, 31 Jan 1857, As Dr Grant is able to produce the certificate we require from candidates for commission into the Army Medical Dept, he will be given an opportunity of showing what sort of man he is. I cannot tell you whether civil physicians were ever employed in the army during previous wars. I think not. The same observation must make as regards dressers, dispensers were always employed.

Soldiers enlist now, some for two years, others for ten and I believe a third class for life or not at all events for so long a time as they are fit to serve.

Nothing can be done for Dr Becker. The laws of the country do not admit of foreigners holding commissions in the British Army, the existence of this law was brought to my mind when I tried to get a commission for a Mr Forbes, native of the States and who was at the time strongly recommend to me by Sir John Forbes.

typed copy of signed letter, ff134-36, excerpted in Barnsley 67, handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/1 {actual letter re sending the report is Oct 10/58 in Windsor)

**f134**

30 Old Burlington St,  
London, W. [Oct 5/58 here]

Oct. 5/58. [excerpted copy in Barnsley has Oct 8, 2nd part]

My dear Sir James Clark,

You will receive by this post (or next) a copy of my "Précis" {not F.N. hand:} (the lilac report)

for yourself - It is of course "*Confidential*", as I have no right to give away any copies. It has been presented to the War Office. The Copy for the Queen is being bound, and I shall then send it to you, and ask you to be so kind as to present it.

I should have liked to have sent a copy (similarly) through you to the Duchess of Kent and to the Princess Royal if you approved. I do not know whether it would be proper to send one to Prince Consort. Perhaps you will tell me.

I have written to Mrs. Herbert about Neison's paper, which you will have seen, read at the British Ass. at Leeds. I hope he will write an answer in the name of the R. Sanitary Commission - in which case it will be sent round to you for you approval -

I read the Article you allude to in the Examiner - And also I

**f135** {words in folio typed as one word as seen}

[-2-]

had the misfortune to have to read the Report and Appendices of the Netley Committee.

I think I never read such a mass of contradictions - of assertions which shewed such an utter absence of knowledge of the most ordinary Sanitary principles - and what is worse, such a want of ordinary honesty.

Simon gave a statement of Martin's (which he had asked for and which I myself saw) - and omitted the most important and only condemnatory part.

The Committee gave a passage of Dr. Granville's which they treated in exactly the same dishonest fashion - My own opinion about Netley is exactly the same as what I fancied you expressed to me when we were both on the spot together last year - and which Dr. Granville expressed in the passage *suppressed* by the Committee - viz. that it is unfit for most of the cases which will be sent there, e.g. the Indian ones.

And certainly, had I written an Article upon it, I should not

**f136**

[-3-]

have written it in any such measured terms.

With my best love to Lady Clark and all yours, believe me

dear Sir James

ever sincerely your

obliged

F. NIGHTINGALE.

f137-v, incomplete draft letter to Sir James [M.S. for F.N.], [ca Dec - Nov 1858], re: Princess Royal's

typed copy of signed letter, ff138-39, excerpted in Barnsley 67 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/2

**f138**

30 Old Burlington St, [15:370-71]

29/11/58.

My dear Sir James Clark,

I entirely sympathize with Dr. Aitken's disappointment and impatience - Because I have been in a state of disappointment and impatience myself for upwards of two years - And the only things we have really done yet are the Warrant and the Barrack improvements.

But I do not entertain the least doubt of the School being carried - (And by nature and experience a sanguine mind having been denied me, it is not from sanguineness I think so.)

r. Aitken is wrong in attributing the blame of delay to Mr. Herbert, who have been perpetually to and from London about our War Dep. matters - But Dr. Aitken does not know as I do the rate at which these things travel - It is three weeks' post from the War Office to the Horse Guards - literally, not metaphorically.

The Medical School stands thus. Genl= Peel is quite in its favor. Lord Hardinge thinking we had asked too much from the Treasury at once wanted to put it off till the General Hospital at Aldershot was organized. Mr. Herbert convinced him that it was on the contrary better to strike when the iron was hot. Sir C. Trevelyan being quite in its favour.

saw Mr. Herbert's letter to Genl= Peel last week, urging him to begin it *directly at Chatham*, to send it in to the Treasury at once, and offering his own, yours, Dr. Sutherland's and Mr. Alexander's



**f139**

services to organize it at once.

Mr. Herbert left town this morning, but will be back on Saturday -

That we shall have an *immediate* answer I don't expect.

Our Regulations and Statistical Scheme have been sent in since July and are not out yet. **[end 15:371]**

ever yours most sincerely

F. Nightingale.

Typed copy of signed letter, f140 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/4

**f140**

West Hill Lodge,  
Highgate Rise, N.  
May 17/59.

My dear Sir James Clark,

Mrs. Sutherland sent my your note to Dr. Sutherland -

As he will not be back from Scotland till the 26<sup>th</sup>, would you wait till then, or would you not rather write to Mr. Herbert. at Wilton? He was here yesterday. But he will not be in town again till Parl<sup>t</sup>= meets.

As to Genl= Peel, his strength has been, as far as we have been **[15:371]** concerned, in doing nothing. Like many other people, his only action is to tell you how much he would like to do something.

If you can suggest any thing immediate to be done about the Army Medl= School, I would ask you to write either to Mr. Herbert or to me -

I shall be in town again about the 6<sup>th</sup>. **[end]**

Ever yours very gratefully,

F. Nightingale.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff141-42 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/5

[15:372]

f141

Hampstead, N.W.  
Oct. 18/59.

My dear Sir James,

I understand that you wrote some time ago to Dr. Sutherland to know what was going on. You could not have written to a worse person. I have to answer your letter, as you see, at last.

Yours ever gratefully,

F. Nightingale

By way of reply, I enclose you a copy of the last Printed document connected with the Med. Sch.

Sir C. Wood has at last replied officially accepting for the Indian Med. Service in full.

Mr. Herbert is to see Parkes, Longmore, Aitken this week.

Can you tell when Morehead will be at home, or if arrived, what is his address?

Is there a Head to the Indian Medical Dep. in England- and if so who is he?

Who was the man to whom you applied for information about Morehead- and what is he at the India Ho:?

The "Qualifications and Examination" in the enclosed Proof have been agreed to by our Army D.G.

The "Organization" stands as it did with the addition of the word *Indian* in the first Section.

The "Rules for Examination" are the same.

**f142**

[-2-]

Thank you for your kind enquiry about me. I *should* be better (for leaving off Dr. Williams' medicine) if it were not for the very damp Autumn. I have done all you told me.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff143-44 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/6

**f143***Private.*

Hampstead, N.W.

Dec. 19/59.

My dear Sir James Clark,

I gave Dr. Sutherland a message for you this morning which I find he has not delivered. [15:372]

I saw Mr. Herbert yesterday and spoke about the Pathological chair and about Mr. Aitken having returned.

He said at once that he had better see Dr. Aitken but could not immediately, as he was to leave town to-day.

I assure you, (and you know how anxious I have been,) that I consider Dr. Aitken's appointment now as just as safe as any of the others -

The hitch does not lie where you think - as far as the Gazetting goes.

The Duke of Cambridge has urged the *non*-gazetting till the Meeting of the Parliament, because (you would never guess) of the determined opposition of the Army Medical Department to the appointment of Dr. Moorhead!!

Mr. Herbert also added that he meant almost immediately to call upon the four Professors for a Syllabus of Lectures, which would be equivalent to their appointment -

As all this was told me confidentially, let it be between ourselves - But I see no objection to your telling Dr. Aitken that, from what you hear from me, you consider his appointment as certain to take

**f144**

[-2-]

place at the same time as the three others - [end 15:372]

Yours ever truly,

F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff145-46 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/3

**f145**

Sunday [1859]

My dear Sir James Clark, [ca. July 1860]

Mr. Herbert has just sent me these papers, with a request that I would submit them to you; and obtain for him your verdict upon them -As they are so voluminous, it may save you the trouble to know what was Sutherland's opinion (when has was sonsulted [consulted] on a prior occasion,

when you were not in town.) It gives the substance of the papers.

"As regards the Dublin Apothecaries' Company and their  
"disputed licence: it would ill become any government Department  
"to give them a *locus standi*, with regard to their licence which  
"they have not at present.

"The decision of the Medical Council, a body appointed by Act  
"of Parliament to guard the public interests, is against the licence  
"and, until that opinion is reversed, the Army Medical Department  
"should not accept it as a qualification.

2. "As regards the joint qualification of the Royal Colleges of  
"Physicians and Surgeons of Edinburgh, the opinion given is as fol-  
"lows:-

"In our Regulation, No. III, for admitting Candidates (Army  
"Medical School) we knowingly exacted two Examinations by two  
"separate bodies, one Medical, one Surgical. We prescribe certain  
"Colleges as the examining bodies, or ' some other  
"corporate body  
"legally entitled to grant a  
"diploma in  
"Surgery, or a  
"license to  
"practise it.

"Now, unless it can be shewn that the joint board of the  
"Edinburgh colleges is such a 'corporate body', which it is not, we  
"cannot take their license, either in Surgery or Medicine. At  
"present there are plenty of men presenting themselves with degrees  
"and diplomas, and it would be an injury to them to accept a less  
"qualification.

"This is the law of the case. But, if a pressure came, we  
"should be obliged to take these 'joint-board' men, or even 'Dublin  
"Apothecaries men. At present however the law ought to be obeyed,  
"and any departure from it should be sanctioned by the Secy- of  
"State."

**f146**

[-2-]

Dear Sir James Clark,

if it would save you trouble to give a verbal opinion, instead of a written one, Sutherland will be here at 3 o'clock, and I would either send him to you or ask *you* to come here.

Ever sincerely yours,  
F. Nightingale.

Typed copy of signed letter, f147 seems no handwritten

**f147**

Hampstead, N.W.  
Jan. 31/60.

My dear Sir James Clark,

Dr. Aitken is appointed, as of course you know. [15:373-74]

It is to me an immense relief that there is one good thing done at last.

I think now it is of great importance, if you are in town and well enough, that you should 1. agree with Martin, Sutherland, Parkes, Morehead and Aitken, about reducing the terms of admission to a degree and diploma and certificate of attendance on Lectures required for the degree and diploma and to the preliminary examination.

All these men will agree with you, if you could call them together. The complications Alexander put into the scheme might thus be got rid of. And I know Mr. Herbert would agree, (*if all of you did,*) and take the matter into his own hands.

He has done his part and the Medical members should now do theirs.

If you could all have met and revised the "Qualifications" in the sense above indicated, (the sooner the better) the "Scheme" might be issued anew.

1. As soon as a revised Proof is printed off, a copy should be put into the hands of each Professor to write his syllabus from.

Mr. Herbert is ready to adopt all your suggestions - [end 15:374]

Yours ever sincerely and gratefully,  
F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of incomplete letter, f148 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/7

**f148**

Feb. 20/60.

My dear Sir James,

Mr. Herbert promised yesterday to gazette the four Professors immediately which I hope means this Tuesday or Friday. And as he took away their addresses with him, I hope he will not forget.

He also promised to remember his own wish and say to Dr. Parkes that Dr. Sutherland would help him in the first Course of Sanitary Lectures.

He wishes the Professors to prepare immediately their Synopsis of Lectures - or Prospectus, as he calls it.

Poor Alexander's loss is an irreparable one to us - But I think the interregnum a favourable time for launching the school. And I find the Army Medical Council is bidding for popularity (with us Civilians) by encouraging the School.

I have asked Mr. Herbert to delay the appointment of a new Director-Genl. till it, the School, be established. But to find a man as useful to us as poor Alexander has been is impossible. His Loss undoes a great part of the work I have done - I wish I had not lived to see it.

I was very much pleased with what you said of my little Nursing book. I have looked for your new book which I see advertised, but have not been able to get it yet.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff149-50 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/8

**f149**

30 Old Burlington St.  
London, W.  
March 17/60.

My dear Sir James Clark, [15:374-75]

I have just had your letter and consulted Dr. Sutherland upon its subject, who had the last conversation about it with Mr. Herbert here.

He says that he could not give his opinion to Mr. Herbert upon this kind of matter without being asked.

He did not know till last Sunday that the appointments had not been arranged for life.

(Surely Drs. Parkes and Aitken ought to have stipulated for this themselves when they accepted)

I remember your mentioning the subject to Dr. Sutherland with reference to retirements some time ago. And he says that he then said it was a matter for the men themselves to negotiate with Mr. Herbert. I know his memory is defective.

Last Sunday Mr. Herbert told Dr. Sutherland here (so the latter tells me) that he had wished to appoint for 5 years; that objections have been raised and 10 years proposed. He then said he should appoint Dr. Parkes for 10 and Dr. Aitken for 5 years. Dr. Sutherland said that whatever was done for Dr. Parkes should be done for Dr. Aitken too. And Mr. Herbert assented to this.

The two Civilians should unquestionably have stipulated for Life Appointments. And I had always said so to Mr. Herbert. (Dr. Sutherland I know thinks so too.) The men are tried men. The Minister

**f150**

[-2-]

has not to learn whether they will answer or not.

We think you plan of retirement excellent, as an alternative - in case, I mean, Mr. Herbert's object is to prepare for Army teachers in those chairs. before the present Professors would die or retire in the course of nature.

Longmore could be replaced, if he retired in 5 years.

Moorhead does not wish to retain it more than 5 years, I understand. {assume Moorhead same as Morehead in other letters}

Of these two it is not the question.

But for the two Civilians, unquestionably they should have life appointments -

or retirements on half pay after 10 years - or on full pay after 20 years -

I shall see Mr. Herbert to-morrow and will speak to him about it and learn more. **[end 15:375]**

Ever yours sincerely,

F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, f151 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/9

**f151**

My dear Sir James Clark,

You will be glad to hear, (if you have not yet heard,) that the Senate of the Army Medical School was constituted a Senate yesterday by Mr. Herbert at the War Office - and that "it" is now a school.

I consider this an important step, as placing the Army Medical School under the immediate dependence of the Secy- of State for War.

Ever yours sincerely,

and gratefully

F. Nightingale.

April 1/60.



Typed copy of signed letter, f152 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/10

**f152**

30 Old Burlington St,  
July 13/60.

My dear Sir James Clark,

I should be very glad, if you could find him just to cast your eye over the enclosed (three) letters of Dr. Aitken, and to return them to me, with any suggestions.

I have no doubt, however, that you have also received his complaints, which are well founded indeed.

I do not know whether you ever to out to breakfast. But, if you could fix a day, to come here at 1/4 before 10, I would get Mr. Whitfield, of St. Thomas', to come, who is very anxious to be introduced to you - and Dr. Sutherland, to talk over various matters with you, and some of these foreign Delegates - But them it must be *this or next* week.

Will you allow me to send you a copy of the (better type) Edition of my little "Notes on Nursing"? It has some additions as well And had it been out sooner, I would have sent it (through you) to The Queen - instead of what I did send.

I never thanked you properly for your Edition of Combe, which I liked exceedingly, and for your mention of my little book in it.

Ever yours sincerely and gratefully,  
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff153-54, excerpted in Barnsley 69 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/11

**f153**

30 Old Burlington St.

July 16/60.

My dear Sir James Clark,

First, do you think you would be so good as to breakfast here at 1/4 before 9, (nine) to-morrow, (Tuesday). Mr. Whitfield comes in hopes of being introduced to you - And I fixed this early hour, on account of the business of the "Sections", as you said. I hope it will not be too early for you.

I should be proud indeed if you would present my little book to our beloved Princess, England's eldest daughter.

(I enclose a copy). Good angels speed her!

I enclose another copy, in case it would be proper to present it to the Queen - as having a little more matter in a better type. But do not trouble yourself to answer this. I don't know the proprieties.

I entirely concur with all you say about the School. **[15:378]**

(1) There is no doubt but that the Pathological Professor must have assistance. The demand ought to come formally through the Senate, now there is a Senate. But, if the case is urgent, and delay dangerous, I would ask Mr. Herbert, if you liked it, to authorize the immediate employment of Mr. Jason for 2 months at £3.3 a week, till the formal application can be sent in, (which we know the War Office will take a great deal more than two months even to read).

(2) I think there is no doubt but that the School will be removed, as soon as there is a General Hospital in a suitable locality, probably Aldershot.

**f154**

[-2-]

In the meantime, we can get Dr. Aitken one of the lightest of the casemates, properly shelved, for that part of the Museum not in immediate requisition, and next year, we can get him an iron building, as used at Kensington.

I should be sorry to do more than this, as it would negative the plea for removal.

Ever yours gratefully and affectionately,  
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, f155 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/12

**f155**

30 Old Burlington St.

July 17/60.

My dear Sir James Clark, [15:378]

M. Quetelet is coming to-morrow to breakfast (Wednesday) at 1/4 before 9. And as I am very anxious to do him honor, would you be so very good as to come yourself?

I have spoken to Mr. Herbert to-day about both things - viz. Aitken's assistant and Maclean's salary.

Would you be so good as to read Aitken's letter, (received to-day) and return it to me,

Ever yours sincerely

F. NIGHTINGALE-

Gibson, the D.G., is coming also to breakfast to-morrow.

And I always think it worth while to keep him *straight*. [end 15:378]

typed copy of signed letter, f156 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/13

**f156**

30 Old Burlington St,

July 18/60.

My dear Sir James Clark, [15:378]

Would you be so good as to take the enclosed down to Dr. Aitken to-morrow, if you go; and to read this his statement, altho' I dare say he has already consulted you upon it.

I hope that you will be so good as to let us know the result of your visit, as you proposed?

Perhaps it will be better not to let the D.G. (or any one) know that his statement has been seen by us. It might excite jealousy. If you would therefore put into Dr. Aitken's hands, who will know what it is, without others knowing it, and tell *him* what you would advise - [end]

ever yours sincerely and gratefully

F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, f157, excerpted in Barnsley 69 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/14

,  
**f157**

30 Old Burlington St.

July 20/60.

My dear Sir James Clark, **15:379]**

I entirely agree with you as to the necessity for obtaining a complete School and Hospital as soon as possible.

The present arrangement was, as you know, to be only temporary. The sooner it is done away with the better.

Your letter appears, however, to contemplate only a similarly temporary arrangement at Aldershot, as you propose to build a Hospital for some 500 or 600 sick, and the School in connection with it.

This I devoutly hope will be accomplished.

But your proposal, (for the present) is really between a *temporary* school at Chatham, which already exists, and a *temporary* School at Aldershot, which would have to be provided -

There are so many points in your letter, involving matters of importance (though they really have been gone over scores of times) that I cannot reply without having seen Mr. Herbert. **[end]**

Yours ever sincerely and faithfully,  
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff158-59, excerpted in Barnsley 69 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/15

**f158**

30 Old Burlington St,  
July 24/60. [15:379-]

My dear Sir James Clark, [15:379-80]

I had an opportunity on Sunday of mentioning to Mr. Herbert the proposal you mentioned to me for removing the Army Medl- School from Chatham to Aldershot. He at once stated that he could not entertain such a proposal. After ample consideration, Chatham had been fixed upon as the site of a temporary school. He did not feel disposed to take a favourable view of any proposition to undo what had been done partly by himself. He considered the School as fixed at Chatham for the present.

I do not think it would be politic (indeed I think it would seriously damage the prospect of future removal) to agitate farther in the matter, until it is done permanently.

Again, *if* we had agitated for a permanent Establishment *at first*, we should have had no school at all.

If all of you had inspected Aldershot at the time you inspected Chatham for this purpose, you would have chosen Chatham, in preference, for a School, on account of its greater temporary advantages.

Mr. Herbert will sanction the employment, of Dr. Aitken's assistant for two months, pending a Requisition from the Senate.

But meanwhile I have a letter from Dr. Aitken, (which I will send you) rather altering his line of requisition.

Mr. Herbert will also authorize the shelving of the Casemate for the Museum.

**f159**

[-2-]

As other wants shew themselves (which they will be sure to do) we must try to get them supplied.

And we must never cease to agitate for a more permanent Establishment (with Hospital) as soon as possible.

The grant for Woolwich is only about £11,000. This would do little for us at Aldershot.

When the new Hospital is decided upon at the Camp, the School buildings can easily be attached to it. **[end 15:380]**

Yours ever sincerely and gratefully,  
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, f160 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/16

**f160**

July 25/60.

My dear Sir James Clark,

I should like very much to see you, as you kindly propose. Would 12 o'clock to-morrow (Thursday) suit you? I only mention this hour, because Dr. Sutherland will be here. And you would kill two birds at one stone.

But almost any other hour would suite me as well.

I enclose Dr. Aitken's letter - **[15:380]**

Pathologists are apt to get into the way of considering the main end of such a School to be that of making good Pathological preparations. But, if the Chatham school produces many good Pathological preparations, you must report it to the Statistical Congress *as bad*.

Pathology is doubtless essential. But the aim of our Army School is the prevention of disease, not the record of the harm disease has done. **[end 15:380]**

ever yours sincerely and gratefully,  
F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, f161 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/17

**f161**

My dear Sir James Clark,

Mr. Herbert has, as yet, had no official answer from Dr. Maclean, which makes it difficult to know exactly what to do.

Dr. Morehead has evidently written to him that the salary would be £700, made up to £1000 from some other source.

We considered that the £1000 would be nearly made up by the £700 and the £250 pension from the India House.

Could you ask Dr. Morehead from what source he stated that the extra £300 would be made up?

Enclosed is the letter you sent me.

Yours ever sincerely,

F. NIGHTINGALE.

July 25/60.

signed letter, ff162-63v, pen, seems not in RAMC 1139

**f162**

July 26/60      [16:543-44]

*Private*

My dear Sir James Clark

Dr. Engel, the  
Delegate from Berlin',  
has asked me to  
give him a letter  
to our Princess Royal.

I told him that  
I was not at all  
in a position to do  
so - But he said  
that he was very  
little known at Berlin,

**f162v**

when he has only  
recently been made  
Director of the  
Statistical Bureau,  
having hitherto ~~been~~  
held that Office in  
other German States,  
not Prussia –  
that the whole  
direction of the  
next Meeting of  
the Congress at  
Berlin would  
devolve upon him,

**f163**

– and that every  
support he could  
have would be  
useful to him -

Do you think

there is any propriety  
in my writing  
to the Princess?  
[Of course he would  
not present  
himself till after  
her recovery] And  
if so, *how* may I  
write? May I  
tell her how useful



**f163v**

& effective these  
Congresses are? As  
her own father  
has been President  
of ours, she may  
be induced to  
give her cordial  
influence in favor  
of the next, & of  
Engel. Do you know  
whether she is on  
good terms with  
the Princess Regent? **[end]**

Yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

ff164-67, J. Clark to Nightingale, 30 June [1861], Hyde Park Garden, re: thanks her for another valuable report and its valuable matter, sees that all the results of the enquiries will doubtless reduce the mortality and sickness in the army, is ashamed he has not been to see her nursing establishment, expects FN to be glad to hear that they are considering an eye operation on Jody Clark necessary, is concerned with FN's health & tells her to try and spread out her work over time, feels Lord Herbert shd retire on his own accord

typed copy of signed letter, ff168-69, handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/18

**f168**

Cleveland Row, S.W.  
July 29/63.

My dear Sir James Clark,

I sent to-day, according to your desire (at least I understood it so) one two-folio copy of our Report for the King of the Belgians, two 8vo.. copies for yourself and the Queen.

I also enclose a letter for the Queen which please send or burn as you like.

Mind, I am not responsible for the 8vo. copy, which I never give, unless I am asked for it.

There has been a perfect outcry (and, as I think, a legitimate one) that the two-folio book is not to be sold, not to be had, not to be published, not to be presented to Parlt- and that the 8vo.. makes references *passim* to a work which is not to be had. Officers - of all men those one most wants to interest, will not look at the 8vo.. copy, and say the Govt- is keeping something back. And Officials say, we don't want opinions (in the Report) we want the facts (in the Blue Book).

Might I not at least send the Queen my own paper, (which you have; and which is only printed in the two-folio book, - fast becoming a very rare work).

She might look at that, because it has pictures. And she certainly will not look at the Report.

I have sent some copies of my paper separately, like the one I gave you - Ought I to bind the 8vo.. for the Queen. If so, I can send you a bound copy almost immediately - And one for your copies will do for P.

**f169**

[-2-]

Louis of Hesse.

You mentioned that he might like one.

Perhaps I ought to bind the 2 folios for the King of the Belgians. If so, please tell me.

We are getting on very well in having our home (working) Commission appointed. Sir C. Wood is much more amenable.

But I am greatly disappointed that not one single Review Article has seized our main point, viz. reform your Stations first - it is not your climate - it is not even mainly your Sites - it is your living like beasts, not civilized men, without water supply, without drainage &amp;c., heightened by climate and by sites, which kills you.

Pray write to me anything you hear, solving the D.G.'s difficulty as to Maclean and Longmore becoming seniors of their rank, *qua* P.M.O.Ever yours gratefully,  
F. NIGHTINGALE.Typed copy of signed letter, ff170-71, excerpted in Barnsley 69  
**f170** handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/19Hampstead, N.W.  
Aug. 3/63.

My dear Sir James Clark,

I sent, as by your kind permission, a copy of my paper, for the Queen, under cover to you.

About the Army Medl- Department and the want of candidates, I have long thought it a most serious matter. And I have told Lord de Grey so. And that the original Warrant must be restored in all its integrity - or the Medl- Department will be lost. And he always agrees. But when it comes to the point, I see, tho' he does not say so, that he cannot carry it with the Horse Guards. He is too weak. We restore much things as forage, servants pay &amp;c. to them. But their "gentleman" grievances, which one cannot but smile at but which nevertheless are most important, he is not strong enough to remedy (against the H.G.) Nevertheless it must be done. And a great body of evidence to bring before him, as you propose, is the surest way to enable him to force it on the Commander in Chief -

It is a great pity. Sidney Herbert could have done it quite well.

I should have liked very much to have seen you for a few minutes as you were so kind as to propose, at Cleveland Row.

If you like to keep my copy of the two folios, instead of sending it to the King of the Belgians, by all means do so.

But I write to you, as I do to all my friends of influence:- apply to the India Office and War Office, bother the India

Add Mss 45773

460

Office to *give you* a copy.

f171

[-2-]

Let them see that people wish to see, choose to see the two folios - that they must not burke it, as they wish.

They are impugning our statistics, calling them exaggerated, when they are in fact understated. The Death rate is under stated, because it does not take into account the men invalided from the Army for disease - nor those who die on the passage home. And then they dare to state and to write to Lord Stanley that we have exaggerated. And they dare to try and burke our Evidence.

Now this Sidney Herbert never would have done. It is astonishing how easily Sir C. Wood is satisfied of the truth of that which it is thought desirable to assert. It is astonishing how loose his ideas and reasonings are. Col. Baker is the prompter.

His argument is; the Death rates in the war years are the highest (not from wounds) therefore peace and not Sanitary measures is the remedy. As well might he say, the Army nearly perished in the Crimea, not from wounds but from want of supplies, want of sanitary measures. Therefore peace, not supplies, not sanitary measures, should have been the remedy.

And he taunts us with unfairness for including the war years in the averages.

Please insist upon having a two folio Blue Book for yourself.

The I.O. have positively refused to have them sold.

Ever yours gratefully,

F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of incomplete letter, ff172-73, excerpted in Barnsley 69 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/20

**f172**

Hampstead N.W.

Aug. 21/63.

My dear Sir James Clark,

Mr. Paget has written me a capital letter, as one of the Examiners, with permission to shew it to Lord de Grey - on the subject of the paucity of Candidates.

When you have produced your case I shall add this. And I hope we shall win.

I do not apprehend any injury to the Queen's service from the separation of the services in India. The pay and allowances of Queen's Officers ought to be sufficient to provide a supply, if no other countervailing reason exists. But, as there must be some inducement held out to Officers volunteering for life-long service in India, the only way to do this is by somewhat better pay, allowances and retirement. This is what the India Government proposes. But, after all, they can only take a certain number of men. And the others would continue in the Queen's service. An amalgamated service would never have done. It would have destroyed the efficiency of the Royal Service *in toto* by mixing up Civil doctors and Native Regiment doctors, having no discipline, with Queen's officers who require the strictest discipline.

It is fortunate for the British Army that Lord de Grey refused the amalgamation proposal. You are aware that all Officers for India must hold Commissions in the Queen's service, before they are allowed to volunteer.

3. Will you ask Mr.

typed copy of signed letter, f173 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/22

**f173**

Hampstead N.W.  
Oct. 7/63.

My dear Sir James Clark,

I have been too unwell to answer your letter of Oct. 4 before to-day; and even now I am hardly able to write.

But I think the matter is of such extreme importance that I would do all I can to prevent any false stop from being taken.

In their anxiety to remedy the present state of things, the Army Medical Professors seem to have forgotten that the whole subject (for which they propose to appoint a Commission) was carefully enquired into and decided by a far better Commission than they are likely to get. In short there is not a single thing to enquire into.

All that is wanted is that the result of the former enquiry shall be carried into effect.

If the Professors can help this result by sending information, it will be useful. But, if they want to postpone indefinitely all useful action and to embroil the Department hopelessly with the Government, then they will press for this Commission.

If I were to aid in any such undertaking, it would be with my eyes open to the certainty of its failure; and of its crippling all attempts to remove the present causes of discontent.

Ever yours sincerely and gratefully,  
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of initialed letter, ff174-75, excerpt Barnsley 70 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/23

**f174**

*Confidential.* 7 Oakhill Park,  
Hampstead, N.W.

Oct. 7/63. [9:130]

My dear Sir James Clark,

I wrote you my candid opinion about the Commission proposed for the Medl. Officers' grievances,

I would gladly also give you some private reasons against the men chosen, altogether conclusive to my mind.

Catch Lord Stanley soiling the tip of one of his fingers to help out of the mire any body!

If we could have put Hamlet's ghost into the chair of the India Commission, he would have served us better! And Lord S. has done *nothing* for us neither then nor since.

Besides, *were* he to urge anything on our Govt-, it would rather set them *against* it. He is so disliked!

But the first Royal Sanitary Commission, backed as it was by the whole country, would have served us nothing, had not Sidney Herbert undertaken and drawn up the Warrant himself.

He was a great man going out of his way to help many little men.

If they expect any thing of the kind of Lord S. they are woefully mistaken.

*I* could tell you how, as far as he has done *anything*, he has stood in the way of *every* thing, in re India Commission.

Again, who is to write the Report?

Genl- Eyre can't write. Lord S. won't.



**f175***Confidential.*

[-2-]

In every single instance it has been Sutherland and I who have written the Reports.

Yes, certainly, Dr. Muir is by far the first man in the Dept-

He is a second Dr. Alexander; and will be the next D.G.

But, do you think Govt- will have him home for this, when the very reason why they would not have him home for a far more important office, is, that he cannot be spared from his present place? I think they would be great fools, if they did.

I am *quite* sure that a protest with facts drawn up by the Army Medical profession, - strengthened, if you will, by us, - would influence the War Office - that a Commission would indefinitely alienate them.

Believe me, the A.M.D. knows little what it is about, if it thinks that the Commissions, headed by Sidney Herbert, which *had* the elements of success, could be reproduced (without him and without any of the elements of success -) to do the same thing. **[end]**

If you would like to drive down here on Friday and have lunch about two, I would gladly talk the matter over -

I could tell many things I cannot write. I would have Dr. Sutherland to come and tell you his opinion.

Believe me

ever yours

F.N.

7 Oakhill Park.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff176-77 handwritten RAMC 139/S4/24

**f176**

*Private Longmore*

115 Park Street, W.

April 4/64.

My dear Sir James Clark,

We were asked to write the Treasury letter. But it was not sent, when written.

Instead of that, Capt. Galton saw Mr. Arbuthnot; and the only proposal which seems likely to meet with Treasury approval is to say that Dr. Longmore's *extra* duties render it necessary that he should reside at the Hospital - but as there is no house as yet, they will allow Lodging money - and give him rank of Inspector Genl-, without other emolument than the £700 lodging allowance, till a house is built.

I am asked whether he will take that.

I have no means of knowing, except by asking you -

(I do not think Lord de Grey is in earnest. But that is not

my business.

Had we had Sidney Herbert and Trevelyan, we should have got *this* directly.

The Army Med. Dep. is going to rack and ruin as fast as it can.

Lord de Grey says he will see you "about the question" again soon. But this appears rather to refer to:-)

2. much more serious matter:-

*Warrant*

They want to get off with merely placing the Doctors on the Staff.

**f177**

*Private.*

Sidney Herbert and the first R. Commission would have thought any man mad for proposing such a thing.

And as I have played my last card, I now think the only thing to be done is to revert to your proposal of *another* R. Commission. But whom to have upon it?

Lord Stanley won't serve. That I know. But you might ask him.

We must think more about it.

Ever yours most faithfully,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

[-2-]

Typed copy of signed letter, f178 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/25

**f178**

115, Park Street, W.  
April 6/64.

My dear Sir James Clark,

I have done my best to make Dr. Sutherland go to you from Saturday till Monday. His meeting on Monday is not till one - and he could quite well do it.

I wished it particularly for my own sake. For I think the Medical Warrant affairs so desperate that, unless you strike out some course, I don't know what to do.

But Dr. Sutherland always makes any excuse to go nowhere. And he generally, most unfairly, makes me that excuse.

I have written to the W.O. to say that I really could not insult Dr. Longmore by asking him whether he would take the original proposal.

I have written to the W.O. to say that I really could not insult Dr. Longmore by asking him whether he would take the rank, without its advantages - and what they *must* go for the original proposal.

I have also written threatening letters both to Lord de Grey and to Capt. Galton about the Warrant - and after pointing out that both restoration of Warrant and increase of pay are now necessary, I have shewn how, when we are exacting duties from the Medical Officer, such as Sanitary recommendations to his Commanding Officer, which essentially require him to have the standing of a gentleman with his Commanding

Officer - we are doing things, such as dismounting him at parade, depriving him of presidency at Boards &c. Which in Military life, to a degree we have no idea of in civil life, deprive him of the weight of a gentleman among gentlemen.

Sutherland has made me propose your second R. Commission to Ld. de Grey and Capt. Galton. But I don't expect they will answer this.

Ever yours gratefully,  
F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, f179, Cook 2:68 handwritten RAMC 139/S4/26

**f179** *Private.*

115 Park Street, W.

April 7/64.

My dear Sir James Clark,

The W.O. seem to have taken fright - and to think it will be less disagreeable to have an assault-meeting from you, Drs. Sutherland & Parkes, than from a R. Commission.

They have written to me, asking me to "communicate" with you "about the proposed meeting."

I don't exactly know what to "communicate" with you "about the proposed Meeting."

I don't exactly know what to "communicate."

If you can make this house a place of meeting for discussion with Drs. Parkes and Sutherland, previously to your adjourning in a trio to attack Ld. de Grey, I need not say that there will be room and food for you any day, any hour that you will name.

If on the other hand, it will be more convenient to you to see them at home, Dr. Sutherland will manage to go down to you after Monday.

(We are as full of India business next week as we can well manage - sending out things to Sir John Lawrence who is mad with our delay. And therefore Dr. S. had far better not have left town then, but have gone to you on Sunday. But he won't.)

But his Warrant business must come before everything else.

For the W.O. seem now willing to listen to some kind to terms. They are frightened.

They sent me your letter. It was very good, very firm.

Don't be conciliatory -

Ever yours most truly,

F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff180-81, excerpt Barnsley 71 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/27

**f180**

*Private.* 115 Park Street, W.

April 8/64.

My dear Sir James Clark,

In reply to your queries: -

I do not think Gibson will be of any use now - because, (altho' he entirely concurs, *as he must*,) you never can depend upon what he will say - upon whether he will stand by you.

But, should it come, e.g. to a Committee consisting of yourselves, being asked to draw up the precise meanings of Clause 17&c., then Gibson must be on it - and his responsibility being merged in yours, he will be valuable to you.

Capt. Galton does not say - (or at least, if he does, he has no right to say,) that Sidney Herbert "gave up the right to preside at the mess."

What Capt. Galton does say is that Sidney Herbert "consented to the modification of the Warrant."

This is true. The other is not true.

I know exactly what Sidney Herbert did in re the Warrant, or believed himself to have done. But he had nothing to do with the "presidency" question. During the last months of his life, Sir E. Lugard (and much more Hawes) did many things without his knowledge.

I have repeatedly challenged the W.O. to shew me S. Herbert's signature to the changes in the Warrant attributed to him - shewing them that he himself knew but of one - also shewing that, even if his signature *were* to be seen to more, it was surprised from him - and he himself

**f181**

did not know of it.

The W.O. has never answered my challenge. And altho' it is (unfortunately) true that S. Herbert did "consent" to one change, all the rest is untrue - And as for the "Confidential Circulars", he knew *nothing* of them.

Ever yours most truly,  
F. NIGHTINGALE.

[-2-]

Typed copy of signed letter, ff182-83, excerpt Barnsley 71 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/28

**f182**

115, Park Street, W.

April 9/64.

My dear Sir James Clark,

I shall certainly be only fit for a Lunatic Asylum, if I stay in the W.O.

I have received the enclosed from Capt. Galton, which I told him I should forward on to you, in order to make sure of no mistake being made *by Longmore* as to the "proposal really made" to him. Please return it to me.

At the same time, I shewed Capt. Galton that the "arrangements" we seek to "alter" were *not* "made by Lord Herbert" that we were carrying out Ld. Herbert's own intention; that it was *not* on "personal" but on public "grounds" that we sought to raise Longmore's "salary" -

that Longmore does *not* "perform at Netley the same duties as at Chatham" -

that, if the representation made to the Treasury were the same as what Galton here makes to me the "treasury" might "very naturally object" to granting what was *not* urged -

that Longmore might very well answer that, if he were Inspector Genl-, he would have the lodging money as a right, (as part of his emoluments, that is -) and a chance of becoming D.G. besides.

At the same time I wrote *for the tenth time* a statement of eight pages, with permission to make any use of it they pleased, with my signature, as to Longmore's position and Lord Herbert's intentions.

But I positively refused to write to Mr. Gladstone, who

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certainly ought not to grant *me* what the head of my Department, the S. of S. for War, does not urge.

And I told Capt. Galton very plainly that he was in contradiction of himself, of Lord de Gray, when Under Secretary and of what Ld. de Grey promised, if he became S. of S., nearly a year ago.

Ever yours most truly,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Of course, if Longmore *will* accept the proposal, as now made, (but which I perfectly understood to be thus before, - did not you? -) it will save us an almost hopeless contest.

F.N.

typed copy of signed letter, ff184-85 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/29

**f184**

115, Park Street, W.  
11/64 April  
11 a.m.

My dear Sir James Clark,

I have consulted with Dr. Sutherland. And he thinks that it is more important for you, Dr. Parkes and himself to consult together, and then for you three to adjourn immediately to attack Lord de Grey, (or for you to go by yourself, as you may think fit, with a minute drawn up by you three.)

He thinks this of more importance than the gain of a week would be in time.

He says that Dr. Parkes knows so much more than any one else of the feeling of the men.

He therefore proposes that you three should meet here on Saturday week, 23<sup>rd</sup> or meet here on this day fortnight (25<sup>th</sup>) or on any day that week (after 25<sup>th</sup>) if that is proposed - and that, on the same day, after meeting, you should all go to Lord de Gray, or you alone go -

He is averse to not doing the whole thing at once -  
(I tell him this may *perhaps* fall thro' from Lord de Grey's inability to receive you then.)

I don't think he, Dr. Sutherland, will go to you, unless it is quite inconvenient for you and Dr. Parkes to come *here before* going to Ld. de Grey, on whatever day that is ultimately fixed.

The fact is, what is wanted is to put a muzzle on the Duke of

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[-2-]

Cambridge, and to tell him that he *must not* alter a Royal Warrant.

Lord de Grey *is* the head of the Army, and could quite well say this, *if he pleased*, to the D. of Cambridge. And he must be made to say it.

They, our enemies, put forwards Lord Herbert's name very cruelly. The truth is, that it was not he at all but the D. of Somerset, who began the alteration in the Warrant. The D. of Somerset came to Ld. Herbert, and gained his consent to an alteration as regards the Navy. The D. of Cambridge took advantage, and did the same thing as regards the Army.

There will never be any confidence again, unless Ld. de Grey tells the Commander in Chief, "you shall not do this."

Ever yours most truly,

F. NIGHTINGALE.

Please tell Mr. Clark that I have got all the papers, including the Heads of the Bill, proposed amendments &c., from Ld. Clarence Paget, on the subject on which I wrote to Mr. Clark.

F.N.

typed copy of signed letter, ff186-87 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/30

**f186**

115, Park Street, W.

April 15/64.

My dear Sir James Clark,

I gave Capt. Galton the information that, with the "*grossest* generosity", (I said,) Longmore would accept his proposal - upon the condition that he was to have "at some future time" "the other advantages of the Inspector's rank." {thathe in text}

I said, among many other disagreeable things, that I would never let any pledge pass thro' me again, without better ground of seeing it fulfilled.

I send you Capt. Galton's answer. I have told him that I am sending it you.

I have replied to it, saying

(1) 1. that Longmore's position (& Maclean's, only that Maclean has resigned his claim) is quite different from the two Civilians - and will not lead to any claim of theirs.

(2) 2. that I can give no opinion about the Examinership, having no knowledge as to Longmore's acceptableness or not (by Civil Schools).

(3) 3. that the way they (the W.O.) "protect" themselves is by letting Longmore go to the wall, and accepting his generosity - which, by the way, I told them, in my first letter, they would be "pitiful", if they did accept.

I wish I had left the W.O. myself -



You may think I am not wise in being so angry. But I assure  
*you*, when I write civilly, I have a civil letter. *And nothing is done.*

**f187**

[-2-]

When I write furiously, I have a rude letter. *And something is done* - (not even then always *but only then*.)

Ever yours truly,  
F. NIGHTINGALE

typed copy of signed letter, ff188-90 handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/31

**f188***Private**except for Mr. Clark*

115, Park Street, W.

June 5/64.

My dear Sir James Clark,

Late last night I received the enclosed.

(I wish it could have been earlier, as you and Mr. Clark were in town - And I could have told you what I now must write.)

My answer to the enclosed was: that it is no use Lord de Grey shifting the responsibility of advising the D. of Cambridge on to Dr. Watson's or Mr. Paget's or any one else's shoulders.

Ld. de Grey knows himself quite enough to tell the D. of C. what to do.

If he won't nobody else can.

And I strongly deprecated this coward's act of letting any one rather than the responsible Minister be responsible for the Army being well doctored, and for the Commander in Chief knowing the truth.

Neither Dr. Watson nor Mr. Paget nor any one of them knows as much as Ld. de Grey knows himself.

But, I said, do not take my advice. I will write and ask Sir Jas. Clark what he thinks.

I think Lord de G. utterly hopeless. And I am anxious to tell you why.

About 3 weeks after you had given in your paper/x, dated May 2, I received a letter from Lord de G. written by Capt. Galton, asking me to give rates of increase of pay desirable. I replied that nothing of the x/the paper by yourself, Drs. Parkes and Sutherland.

f189

[-2-]

kind could be done, till Ld. de Grey had settled which of the recommendations in your paper was to be carried out.

Whereupon it appeared that the only result which had followed the delivery of your recommendations to the W.O., was that the W.O. had "mislaide" them. And they could not be found.

That did not so much signify. For I had a rough copy here - and immediately replaced them.

Whereupon Ld. de Grey said: "give me a rate of increase of pay such as, *if* I did not mean to adopt any of the recommendations but increase of pay, I might adopt."

It was then Dr. Sutherland wrote to you, upon my shewing him the said letter. as also to Dr. Parkes.

Upon your replies being received, I sent in a second letter, giving rates of increase of pay, and them saying that it was utterly impossible to fix the values of x, y, and z in the following equations

For treating the )	
Medl. Officers with )	£x
contumely )	
For putting Lucifer's )	<i>per diem</i>
pavement into thorough)	£.s.d.
repair )	y.z

I have since had reason to feel sure that what Ld. de Grey means to do *is to do nothing*.

What he says is: "that the D. of Cambridge represents the "feelings of a large section of Military men about doctors - that that "section will be made hostile to the Doctors, if the present arrangements

**f190**

“are disturbed.”

(I never heard that to allow one class to tyrannize over and humiliate another class improved the devouring class any more than the devoured class.)

But the fact is, Ld. de Grey is utterly hopeless. He *is* master of the Army and of the D. of Cambridge - But he would shirk every act of such responsibility.

I hear that he is going to you for Ascot. If you could press him more than you have yet done, that is the only chance.

Mr. Clark, I have no doubt, thinks me querulous about the W.O. I can only assure him that some matter like the one just related, is of daily occurrence.

I have constantly to replace lost papers - to bear the brunt of these correspondences, knowing that, all the trouble taken, nothing will be done.

Ever yours most truly,

F. NIGHTINGALE.

If you like to consult Dr. Parkes upon the subject of Capt. Galton's letter enclosed, pray do. But bear in mind, that it is only a *put-off* of Lord de Grey's. Capt. G. himself says:- Ld. de G. knows the whole cases, and can act, if he chooses.

F.N.

typed copy of signed letter, ff191-92, Barnsley 72, handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/32

**f191**

115, Park Street, W.  
June 7/64.

My dear Sir James Clark,

Nothing is so desperate as to put reasons (for a course) before a man, who puts those reasons *before himself* much better than you can yourself.

15 months ago, just before Sir G. Lewis' death, Lord de Grey put before himself (in my presence) the reasons for continuing Longmore at the School and therefore for promoting him - and for giving Muir the sanitary place under the D.G. (then proposed for Longmore) in order that Muir might be the future D.G.- he put these reasons much more strongly than I could myself -

And, more than this, after Sir G. Lewis' death, he made these a reason why he should be his successor.

Your only hope is with people whom you have to convince. But what is your hope when people are convinced already? In this case you have not even to take the horse to the water. He has taken himself there already. But you can't make him drink.

I have communicated with the W.O. since I had your letter. And I enclose, an Extract from their answer -

What you have to say to Lord de Grey is, it seems to me, to nail him to this. And I have no objection if you choose to communicate it to Dr. Longmore. We *must not* lose him at the School.

And I need not say I will do my best to keep the W.O. to this pledge. But I am weary of seeing them break their pledges. And I have

f192

told them that no pledge shall ever be conveyed through me more.

Ever yours truly,

F. NIGHTINGALE.

I send you this, as I have received it. I need not say that I do not agree with it. I think Longmore *very hardly* used. And I have drawn up his case *not less* than 12 or 15 times in the last 15 months for the W.O. at their own desire. (I have even said that his was the “*grossest* place of magnanimity” I knew.)

I foresee all sorts of difficulties. E.g. there is always to be one Insp. Genl. in the three branches of the D.G.’s Office. Now already Balfour has put in his claim (a most rightful one) to be the next I.G. when Logan retires. He uses the self-same arguments that Longmore does - (a most legitimate one) viz. that it is too hard, *because* he is the only man to fill the Statistical branch, therefore he should lose promotion by it - be being also a married man, with a child (or children) and having relinquished a better pecuniary post (at our request) for this.

F.N.

It is 3 years to-day since Sidney Herbert sent me the news of Cavour’s death, by telegram, with these words: “This is the life I should like to have lived: this is the death I should like to die.” In less than 7 weeks he had his wish.

How incalculable {ble} is the mischief, more apparent every day, of the loss of those two men, more regretted every day by those how know anything of the incalculable mischief.

F.N.

June 7/64.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff193-94, excerpt Barnsley 72, handwritten RAMC 1139/S4/33

**f193**

Oak Hill,  
Hampstead, N.W.  
Aug. 13/64

My dear Sir James Clark,

Dr. Sutherland shewed me your letter - and as usual left it for me to answer -

I enclose you all the direct communication I have had with the Professors about your subject (which was before I left London) -

Please return it to me.

I have already communi cated with the W.O. about it confidentially.

Gibson was born to be our ruin. He is the mere tool of the C. in C. The Horse Guards are the real Army Doctors-Managers.

And Lord de Grey has not the ordinary courage or capacity to resist the D. of Cambridge, altho' he is distinctly by position master of the Commander in Chief.

Three years Sidney Herbert has been dead. And these three years have been nothing but a slow undermining of all he has done.

I am intriguing now to get Muir back, as Gibson's successor.

Sir C. Wood is, if possible, worse than Ld. de Grey.

I have done my best in the present emergency about Indian Medl.-Officers.

And Gibson has done his worst to do away with Examination and get back nomination.

I am pressed, not only with Indian work, but with our under-

**f194**

[-2-]

taking for the nursing of Liverpool Workhouse Infirmary, that I can hardly write.

Ever yours sincerely,  
F. NIGHTINGALE.

I send you by Book Post a copy of the "Suggestions", waited for and asked for so long by Sir John Lawrence. Please tell Mr. Clark that I sent a copy to Mr. H.S. Ellis, of Madras, direct, according

ff195-98, J. Clark to Nightingale, 19 March 1867, Bagshot Park Surrey. I fine you are directing your attention to Poor Law matters.. On this account I send you a letter on that subject, addressed to me by my friend Sir James Coxe. As you may not know who Sir J Coxe is, I may tell you that he is one of the commissioners in lunacy in Scotland (Dr Ponsonby whom her refers to is the other chief commissioner) and I may add a very amiable kind hearted man, and, in addition, one of the wisest, longer trained men that I know. He has never illeg attention to all matters connected with laws relating to the treatment of the poor. The article in the newspaper which he refers to I consider so good that I sent it, immediately I saw it, to Dr E Smith to be given to Mr Hardy. This he did but it was too late to have any effect as I

presume illegs say that the bill has passed the house of Commons. If Coxe's view of the subject is illeg the ground will soon have to be gone over again.

I shall be glad when you are less busy than usual to know what you think of Sir J Coxe's note. I shall tell him that I sent it to you.

You have heard, no doubt, that Lacey is to be Director General. I pressed Genl eel very hard on the subject and that the appt and had he had the appt rested with him Muir would have had it. But the Minister of war can only interfere if an improper appt was proposed. What helped Lacy (strong effort being made a favour of Muir, particularly by General Mitchell) was his doing Gibsons duty during his absence this winter was not Lucy the man who wished a nurse sent four years ago from weak eyesight when Gibson illeg.

I have heard from Parkes; he thinks Lacy a most inferior man to Muir in that he will do well. He has had much experience he adds, and it s very amiable illeg man, that any objections made to his apptm then would do no good. When the Duke has spoken to in favour of Muir he said they could not propose Lucy who had also been Gibson's duties so well in his absence so that matter is settled for the next five or perhaps more years. the good of the service being sacrificed to the good of the individual!

I have been pleased to hear better accounts of your health lately--I hope they were true and that you are not suffering from this most unusual March weather.

I hope Sutherland has remained in the south. I have not heard from him or of him since he was starting for Gibraltar.

Here we are all pretty well. Miss Duckworth quite as comfortable in her July at this time last year, but weaker. I am keeping well, by keeping in the house. John is so is so so, Charlotte well.

ff199-202, J. Clark to Nightingale, 31 March 1867, Bagshot Park Surrey, I am extremely glad the I sent you Sir James Coxe's letter on the Poor Law bill, as it has been the means of your writing the able commentary on Mr Hardy's Poor Law Bill, and the just conclusion on its defects. You might have kept him right if it had not been pressed forward so rapidly, on the next session you must take Mill along with you. I have forwarded your letter to sir J coxe, who will be delighted with it.

I am afraid you are working too hard and that you will use up your hair, good as it is. But you must bear in mind that the brain is appropriating more than its own natural share of the nervous energy of the system, to support it in its own work and then diminishing the due supply of nerve force of the other organs, e.g. heart, digestive organs, &c. Do work a little less and diminish your power of work. You ought, I am satisfied, on physiological reasons, to move your time at work, to work less *at a time* and increase the intervals of rest, making the last brain work alternate with the slightest work, using little or no thought. I will not tease you more on the subject, but to argue I am right, & if you mean to carry your work over a longer space of time, and by so doing ensuring your usefulness illeg, you will think about what I have suggested.

'That is an admirable letter of the crown princess, clear, Illegs. Ever my dear Miss Nightingale ...

PS I had almost forgotten to say how perfectly I agree with you about the arrangement of the Poor house hospitals being so arranged by aid of small detached buildings, or to take in all diseases. The more I see of illeg hospitals, the more I dislike them, when new they cannot be kept supplied with pure air, it cannot permeate freely throughout large hospitals. even for illegs ...

It is a pity that we cannot do without such large hospitals. illeg after spending an illeg I understand at present in our London hospitals, in one illeg I read it the other day ten out of twenty amputations die of pyemia!

I am glad to hear that Dr Sutherland is at Malta. he had better stay there a month longer.



ff203-04, J. Clark to Nightingale, 10 Apr 1867, Windsor Castle, I enclose Sir James Coxe's note which you should have received sooner, but I was summoned here rather suddenly and, as matters have turned out, unsuccessful, and left your note at B Park illeg

He says that your views and experience have given him some useful information which he will use as occasion occurs.

The Crown Princess has telegraphed for a copy of her instructions of training Nurses

ff205-10v, unsigned letter to Sir James, 2 April 1867. I thank you very much for sending me Miss Nightingale's letter, which I have read with much pleasure, with great interest, and with not small degree of envy. the last result flowing from administration in her time and vigorous style, and the ease with which her thoughts are transformed to paper. I shall return you the letter in a day or two. I go along with every word of it, except as to the powers of the Poor Law Board which I fear *are* increased, perhaps not for good but for botheration. The use of a bond, in my opinion shd be to see that the law is carried out, not to enact laws or to interpret them, which by the Metropolitan Poor Law Act is made part of the duty of the P.L.Bd. I go most thoroughly along with Miss Nightingale in what she says of a general board for the mgt of the hospitals of the Metropolis. Some months ago I wrote an article for the Scotsman on this point, but have it still by me as I could not clearly see my way to an efficient machinery for the purpose. The point, therefore, which we propose to discuss is--supposing the hospitals for the sick poor to be taken out of the immediate mgt of illeg board, as has already been done with Lunatic asylums, to whom could it not possibly be confided? we can find only one answer -- the special bodies nominated for the purpose, whose chief aim shd be not to reduce expenditures to the lowest practicable point, but to provide in accommodation and treatment all that could be justly claimed for the proper care of the sick.... The plan which seems to me most feasible would be to place all the poor houses, hospitals, and asylum of a city under the supervision and direction of a central board, analogous to the French "Administration des HOpitaux! x xx in a general vein the functions of the general board shd be to determine to what class of establishments and to which particular establishment the establishment for which illeg be sent x x It shd form no part of the functions of this central board to inquire into the pecuniary position of the applicants for relief. It shd found its decisions on consideration of their bodily and mental condition only. If diseased in body they shd be sent to the hospital, if diseased in mind to the asylum --if in good health to the workhouse. For the rest of maintenance the parish should be primarily responsible, but with claims for reimbursement against the patient himself, against those legally responsible for his maintenance and in certain cases against the common fund, and a stipendiary magistrate shd have the power of summarily deciding to what extent out relief shd be accorded and by whom it shd be borne x x xx make the forgoing suggestions with small difficulties and am inclined to think that no attempt shd be made to solve this without the assistance of a royal commission.

Most thoroughly do I agree with you and Miss Nightingale about the evils of hospitals. In our own department I keep up a constant struggle to keep down the extension of asylums, but this is not easy for if the hospitals and asylums you afford too great facilities for people relieving themselves of the care of their diseased relatives you have to fight a constant battle with selfishness. Of course it is much easier to send the patient to the hospital than to undergo the tear and ware of home treatment. The great increase of pauper lunatics in asylums springs from this. That when they are in the asylum the overseer has no further trouble with them, but bring them back to their homes and a certain responsibility attaches to him which he wd much rather be without. But we may begin illeg and we shall still fail until we illeg a good system of national education and until our pulpits are filed by rational men. It is beyond expression sad to think of the wasted opportunities of the clergy. Their grand idea in Scotland is ever to be on the watch to defend Christianity and to them the rewards that await believers. In our services there is no devotion to moral teaching, nothing but the doctrine of selfishness. Believe and you shall be saved. The last, strait waistcoats and seclusion have been diminished from asylums by kind and judicious treatment, by the "reign of law" which speaks to the understanding of the patients. Educate the public to understand the way reign of law for you may banish prisons and the gallows from the great asylum of the world. Do not trouble to answer this, you have plenty to do in your own work, but when you have

an opportunity I shd be glad if you would express to Miss Nightingale the great pleasure I derived from the perusal of her letter. could the public not get the benefit of it? I had seen her paper on nurses furnished to Mr Hardy but will return your copy.

writer sees that the board should be to see that the law is carried out, not to enact laws as to interpret them which by the Metropolitan Poor Law Act is made just of the duty of the P.L.Bd, agrees re a General Board of Management of Hospitals of the Metropolis; writer sees special bodies with the purpose not to reduce expenditure to the lowest practicable point, but to provide in accommodation and treatment all that could be justly claimed for the proper care of the sick, cont. in depth with related matters

ff211-14, J. Clark to Nightingale, 27 May 1868, Bagshot Park Surrey. It gave me great pleasure to receive a letter from you, and to find anan in your usual fine strong hand and if illegs. The arrival of your nurses at Sidney just in time to nurse Prince Alfred was a very fortunate circumstance. It will make them known over the whole of Australia, & Sydney may perhaps become the school for illeg of nurses for the southern hemisphere, when new habitation for the nurses is completed. it must be made known and then new hospitals I have no doubt will be built on the most approved principles as in the Sidney men seem to take a right view of what such buildings shd be. At this moment illeg ... sent to examine the principal lunatic asylums in this county and the illeg. ...

I am very glad that the St Thomas' affairs was carried, and went off so well. I may tell you *privately* that I never pressed anything so hard with Her Majesty before.

I shall pen the subject of your Sidney nurses when I have an opportunity but I have no doubt she already knows how useful they were to the prince. I hope Miss Osburn is well qualified for her position for everything depends on her.

I should have mentioned that an architect has also sent to England to make himself acquainted with our hospital improvements. So I hope Sidney may set a good example to the other Australian colonies who are not illeg to such work,

You know I suppose that at Melbourne they are erecting a magnificent illeg observatory and have illeg the astronomers in this country to send them the first class instruments.

I am recovering fully illeg from an attack of bronchitis and hope we may all get away about the middle of next month to Ireland. Miss Duckworth goes to her mother at Orchard- se her August when illeg ... PS I have recommended an excellent nun illeg from Scotland & I hear Mrs Wardroper is much pleased with her. They want good hospital nurses in Scotland

ff215-16, J. Clark to Nightingale, 30 Jan 1869, Bagshot Park Surrey, re: assumes she has been made cognisant of the intention of the minister of war to abolish the assistant [illeg] of the Netley School, asks if there is nothing she or Sutherland could do to stop Cardwell with this

ff217-18, J. Clark to Nightingale, 16 Mar 1869, Bagshot Park Surrey. I have not sooner thanked you for the copy of Fraser's magazine with your interesting note on pauperism. It occurred to me, when I read it, that I would lend it to Sir James Coxe, who has thought over carefully and I think much on the subject of our poor laws than anyone I know. I did so, and I send you his remarks. His views will I think agree with yours on many points, and at any rate I feel illegs.

I would have cut off the beginning illeg of Sir James' letter which does not refer to your paper but was marked illeg. I hope you are keeping in your usual state in this cold weather. Here we are all keeping fully illeg.

ff219-29, James Coxe to Sir James {Clark}, 14 Mar 1869, Kinellan Edinburgh, re: lunacy asylums, Mitchell has spoken to him about Sir James's personal expectations and longs to see results in the public's hand, misfortune of lunacy literature generally emanating from Asylum Superintendents creating a one side view, i.e. that in asylums alone is safety to be found, expands in on asylum issues and Poor Law

Add Mss 45773

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[end Clark material]

Correspondence with T.G. Balfour

typed copy of signed letter, f230, original 50134 ff7-8

**f230**

*COPY* Private & Confidential. 30 Old Burlington St. W.

April 27/57.

My dear Sir,

I send you enclosed what was finally decided upon this morning, as to names & Instructions.

If some slop does not yet come between our cup & our lips, it will receive the Queen's signature on Friday week. But Dr. Smith has not yet seen it, and my Lord is, as I have often found, the most bully-able or mortals - Every one of the Members of the Commission has been carried by force of will against Dr. A. Smith, a poor Pan has been the shuttlecock -

The Draft I send you is an *exact* copy of this morning's work, You will see the original covered none of the ground included in what I sent you (the parts between brackets were interpolated this morning, - the erasures are six - the marginal note is still under consideration - Pan won't have the "wives" in & I will). You will see curious traces of the struggle to exclude & the struggle to include all Reform in the progress of the M S.

Please return it to me immediately, if possible, as I have no copy.

I have some respect for your & Col. Tulloch's battle with the Chelsea Board, "for sure such gallant feat of arms was never done before." But I think I am not without merit for labouring in bullying Pan, which is a petty kind of warfare, very unpleasant -

Yours very faithfully.

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

(To Dr. Graham Balfour)

f231, copy of letter from A Smith to Dr Balfour, 30 Nov 1857, Army Medical Dept, re: acknowledges receipt of letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> instant, states he has no observations to offer or further questions to suggest

typed copy of signed letter, f232, original 50134 ff33-34

**f232**

*COPY* Gt. Malvern

Jan. 14/58,

My dear Sir,

Thank you very much for your letter of this morning.

Could you send me the Dietary of your boys? I have the one  
(but in London) you were once good enough to give me - But I was  
asked yesterday to recommend one - And, thinking yours the best, I  
promised to ask you for it at once -

If it will take you any time to look it up, pray put it off  
till you are less busy.

Believe me

very sincerely yours

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

I mean the Dietary of your *well* boys, as well as of your sick  
ones -

I am going to write to Greenwich for theirs. But I think it  
was inferior to yours -

If you recommend the one at the Caledonian Asylum, could  
you let me have it at your leisure?

F.N.

(To Dr. Graham Balfour.)

Typed copy of signed letter, f233 original 50134 ff35-36

**f233**

*COPY*            Gt. Malvern

Feb. 5/58

My dear Sir,

I have not been able to thank you yet for your *great work*, which I received on the 2<sup>nd</sup>. I admire him very much. I think he looks very handsome - And I cannot help congratulating you on the successful conclusion of this part of your labours -

I cannot find out that the "Times" has noticed it yet.

I rather think that there are so many things now to engage people's attention that the effect may be slower but not less sure than we wished.

The only misprint that I can find is at P. Xiii, Report, it says, "Appendix *P*."

I was very much obliged for your kindness in sending me so early a copy. Lady Tulloch says I make my pillow of Blue Books - It certainly has been the case with this -

Also, many thanks for your Dietaries - You shall have all the others back. Your is much the best -

I found it afterwards in your own Evidence.

I shall be in town very soon, when I shall hope to see you, & believe me, with kindest regards to Mrs. Balfour, ever most faithfully  
yrs

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

I was quite satisfied with Mr. Herbert's answer to Dr. Smith.

F.N.

(To Dr. Graham Balfour)

typed copy of signed letter, f234, original 50134 ff63-64

**f234**

COPY 30 Old Burlington St. W.  
23/11/58.

My dear Sir

In the first place, I hope that Mrs. Balfour is pretty well.

In the second, I send you back with many thanks your portfolio of Newspaper leading articles -

In the third, I send you a little book, Serjt- Jowett's Diary, which I think, from his good sense, simplicity & unalterable patience (by no means unusual among our men) is very good reading for Soldiers' boys - I have marked some passages for you to glance at - which I think are singularly "*British*" - I never saw these qualities in the French for Irish soldiers.

In the fourth place, I send you a copy of my Report to the War Office, which is *really* "confidential." As it has not been laid on the table of the House, it must not lie upon your table, *please* - nor, if you do not read it yourself, must it be read by any one else, *please* - Altho' prepared at the desire of Lord Panmure, & by the personal command of the Queen, it was not printed by Govt-, but only by myself at my own expence for the sake of greater facility of correction. It is therefore in no sense a public document - And I have no right to give away a single copy - Its only value now is as a book or reference

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

(To Dr. Graham Balfour)

typed copy of signed letter, ff235-37 original 50134 ff80-84

**f235**

*COPY* 30 Old Burlington St.

*Private* July 12/60. [16:542-43]

My dear Sir,

You are quite right in what you say.

We are all of us in the same boat. And, if it were not that England *would not be* the mercantile nation she *is*, if she had not business habits somewhere, I should wonder from my experience, where they are -

Certain of us, who were asked to do business for the Statistical Congress, had it all ready since December last - & were not able to get it out of the General Register Office till this week.

Certain of us were asked to do business this morning, & to have it ready by to-night, which, if *not* done, would arrest the proceedings of the Congress, &, *if* done, must be the fruit of only five hours' consideration, when five months might just as well have been granted for it.

I don't say that this is so bad as the treatment of you who are Secretary - But still it is provoking to see a great International business worked in this way.

What I want now is to put a good face upon it before the foreigners. Let *them* not see our short-comings & disunions.

Many countries far behind the scenes, living in the interior, of the Maison Mère of the "Sisters of Charity" at Paris, as

**f236**

[-2-]

I have - and seen their Counting House & Office, all worked by women, - an Office which has twelve thousand Officials (all women) scattered all over the known world - an office to compare with which, in business habits, I have never seen any, either Govt- or private, in England - they will think, like me, that it is this mere business - power which keeps these enormous religious "orders" going.

I hope that you will try to impress these foreign Delegates, then, with a sense of *our* "enormous business-power", (in which I don't believe one bit) & to keep the Congress going.

Many thanks for all your papers. I trust you will settle some sectional business with the "Delegates" here to-morrow morning, soon -

Yours sincerely

(Sgd. F. NIGHTINGALE.

(To Dr. Graham Balfour)



f237

[-3-]

I send back your American big book, with many thanks. But if you would like the Delegates to see it here, pray send it back by Bearer.

Mind, I don't mean anything against *your* Office by this tirade. On the contrary, I believe it is one of the few efficient ones now in existence. [end 16:543]

Typed copy of signed letter, ff238-39, original Balfour 50134 f90

f238

COPY            Hampstead    N.W.  
Dec. 10/60.

My dear Sir

I cannot forbear thanking you for your Article on the Spirometer, as well as for your valuable Statistical Table -  
(Why do you not include in it the R. Artillery now?)

The results are still far from what we could wish, are they not? (26 and 18 days sick per annum for strong healthy men).

There is one thing which is seldom out of my hand - and that is what it is the fashion to call now the "Social Evil."

I am surprised to hear men like Mr. Herbert thinking to cope with this by Lock Hospitals, Dispensaries &c. I am sorry to say I have seen more of this than most *men*.

I have seen the French & the English civil system - the French & the English military system -

I unhesitatingly prefer the open faced vice of the English rather than the legitimized system of our neighbours under police & physicians.

The best among the latter all say that their system is a failure in preventing disease.

I suppose there is no doubt that *this* is increasing in our Army; is there?

People are making a "row" about Aldershot. But many places are worse than Aldershot - e.g. Woolwich.

What are your ideas about this, about the *causes* of the

**f239**

[-2-]

increase, the means for prevention?

Most satisfactory results have been obtained, have there not?

At Gibraltar by the institution there of three "Soldiers' Homes."

The Officers say so.

I know that Dr. Gibson looks upon the substitution of these Day Rooms & "Homes" for Canteens & drunkenness as one means of check at Aldershot, in which I entirely agree.

The great men in office always look upon the soldier as an animal, whom nothing can check- any more than I can check my cat from lapping milk.

I don't.

I believe that there ought to be an Act of Parliament for Garrison towns, which would be easily framed, - that Soldiers' Day rooms & Clubs &c would, as they have been already proved to do, make a great difference -

I wish there could be more "leave to marry" - but this is not so easy -

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, f240, no original in 50134 original FN Museum 0973

**f240**

*COPY* 30 Old Burlington St.

Jan. 11/61.

My dear Sir,

I fond that Dr. Mapleton is absent - Or I would not trouble [found?] you to ask for me a question at the Office.

I want a pair of trowsers!! for a pattern - of our blue Hospital uniform.

The nuns who were out with me in the East are founding a Roman Catholic Hospital - The men-Patients are to have a dress something similar to ours - And the nuns want to borrow a pair of trowsers for the fit & make of it -

If a pair might be sent to me here, it shall be faithfully returned by me - to the place whence it is borrowed -

With kindest regards to Mrs. Balfour, believe me  
ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

ff241-44v, T. Graham Balfour to Nightingale, 15 Jan 1861, 10 Summer Place, re: replies to her note of the 29<sup>th</sup>, proposes a prefix letter to the Report in which he will state the points on which he has been unable to give information, re Statistics of Barracks and Stations the problem of accuracy for 1859 in the Report of 1860, Regimental Statistics also omitted, other details on what is available or not for reporting, states objections in detail as FN has requested

typed copy of signed letter, ff245-46 original 50134 ff245-46

**f245**

*COPY* 30 Old Burlington St.

W.

Jan. 20/61.

My dear Sir,

I have first to thank you for the two prs of "Breeks" which are being used for a pattern & shall faithfully be returned.

I return your proof with many thanks. I like this one much better than the last - because it *is* Stational.

I cannot still help regretting that the first year's Statistics of the Army should not be what we both desire & what your own R. Commission intended -

Even now, could you not give us, (if not Stational,) at least Regimental Tables, with Admissions, Deaths, Constantly Sick & *Diseases*? Facts, not comparisons, ought be the heading for all Statistical work - We cannot have all the facts yet; let us have what we can -

I do not like the prospect for this year's Report -

Again, as you have a Sanitary branch now, its Report should be separate - and the Statistical Report should not intermingle causation-

Even you are not quite correct about the dates of Sanitary improvements. They were already actively begun early in 1858 throughout the London district. Still I do not say you should notice these.

But it is lending your powerful confirmation to error to notice other presumed causes of improved health & not to notice these.

I do not think your Report would be "dry"- or, rather the

f246

[-2-]

drier the better - Statistics should be the digest of all reading.  
 (I remember hearing one of the cleverest women, I ever knew - & a good historical write herself - say that a *full* Chronology of dry dates was to her the most interesting, the most fascinating of all reading.

I am conscious of the same feeling in reading a Column of dry & full Statistical figures.)

But, in reading your Report, I am conscious of receiving a wrong impression, because your details are not sufficiently "dry" or full or sufficiently extensive.

My conception of the future Army Medical Statistics does not, after all I believe, differ essentially [essentially] from yours.  
 Nor does yours  
 from that of the Statistical Commission (in essentials) whose recommendations ought, we both agree, to be followed - or the fullest reason given why they cannot be -

You will think me very disagreeable - But believe me  
 Yours ever sincerely  
 (Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

ff247-48v, T. Graham Balfour to Nightingale, 22 Jan 1861, 6 Whitehall Yard, re: the defectiveness of the first Report, he will take care to say so of it, he has 'twisted and toiled till he is sick' of the report, comments on the day figures, has a strong liking for the people classed as disagreeables as does Nightingale of herself, thus he sees Nightingale as one among his favourites

ff249-50v, T. Graham Balfour to Nightingale, 18 Feb 1861, 10 Summer Place, re: sends further proofs, FN needs to look out for directions given to the printer so the printer can reduce them, hopes to complete the MS of the Report that week, returns Mrs Walkers letter, has searched for Mrs Walkers husbands name but have found no Sergt- of that name on the Guards' lists, will attempt to trace him & asks for the exact date of his death, his rank & Christian name, has been at the Chatham Medical School & was pleased with the working of it and results

ff251-55v, T. Graham Balfour to Nightingale, 4 March 1861, 10 Summer Place, re: sends remainder of the proofs, responds to her remarks and gives details of the Report and its sections, reports changes, states how the statistics are calculated and recorded &c

ff256-57v, T. Graham Balfour to Nightingale, 14 Aug 1861, 6 Whitehall Yard, re: with her request for immediate information therefore states the 'usual must be accepted' that the answer is only 'an approximation and liable to corrections', gives approx. per annum percentage rates of mortality, sick, admissions to hospital &c of the European and Native (Indian troops)

f258, incomplete letter {possibly by Balfour}, [ca 19 Aug 1861], re: note with army statistics

copy of signed letter, ff259-60, pen original 50134 ff108-09

**f259**

Copy

To Dr T. Graham Balfour M.D.F.R.S.

---

*Private* {up diag}

Hampstead NW  
Oct 8/61

My dear Sir

I was glad to hear of  
your and Mrs Balfour's return and  
the little son's. I hope *she* is better.

The Chinese information was just  
what I wanted - thank you very much  
for it.

I have not seen a newspaper since  
my dear Master's death. Their praise  
and their blame are alike distateful to  
me. They did not know him.

I cannot therefore tell you whether any  
*worthy* notice of him has appeared. But  
I believe not.

You will be curious to know what I  
wanted the information for which you  
were so good as to send me. Mr. Gladstone  
called upon me; and, as I was not able

**f259v**

to see him, wrote to me to furnish  
a short Memoir of what my dear  
Master had done during the five  
years he and I worked together.  
(sic)[His death shortened these five  
constant years by just one week.]

I believe his was for a newspaper  
Article. But Mr Gladstone, afterwards he had received it (sic)  
wrote to me and said it was “ too  
important ” for that, and it was to be  
worked up into something longer and  
better” (sic) I have heard nothing more.

Nor am I anxious to her.

Of course this is *private*. But you  
have a right to know what your inform-  
ation was for.

Seven years this very month I  
have fought the good fight for the  
Army in and out of the War Office,

without the intermission of a single  
waking hour — My dear Master’s  
last words were about his  
“unfinished work - Poor Florence”.

I cannot but hope that you and  
others will “finish” it for him.  
How disastrous these two years have  
been to us. Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale.

Please remember that this is private

typed copy of signed letter, f261, original 50134 ff118-19

**f261**

**[16:424]**

*COPY* Private Hampstead N.W.

Oct. 3/63.

My dear Sir,

I have received your note; & need hardly say that I concur in it entirely. It would be impossible to do without you in the Office - it would be impossible to fill your place in the Statistical Branch - (it must be either you or Sir A. Tulloch.) It would be unfair that this very fitness should stand in the way of promotion -

I do not think they would "promote a *junior* over your head" to the Inspector Generalship in the Office. But I cannot see why the Treasury should not allow two Inspectors General, under the circumstances, in the Office.

I will do my best to represent these circumstances. It shall not be my fault if you do not succeed.

But I need hardly tell you that my position in the W.O. is very different (& *ought to* be very different) now from what it was in Sidney Herbert's time. He and I worked together daily for five years. It is not to be expected that I should find two such friends. Nor indeed, were it otherwise, is my strength up to seeing one every day as I say him.

You ask for my "advice." I can only say, consider - you know the Statistics can't do without you. And you know your claims shall be represented as strenuously as possible

Believe me

Ever yours faithfully

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff262-63 [dated 9/11/64 in original 50134 ff120-34]

**f262**

*COPY Private*

32 South Street,  
Grosvenor Square, W.  
9.1.64.

My dear Sir

I am very much obliged to you for your kind note - The West India returns are most encouraging. And I would have used them; had not my argument, as to the want of capability in the Briton to adapt himself to other climates than his own, been intended to include all classes - altho' tropical climates are alluded to in connection with soldiers specially,

The W. India mortality is much lower than the E. India Mortality - thank God & you all! But I was obliged to take into account both elements, viz. "Mortality" & "diseases", in estimating the India sanitary state, as one must in estimating the sanitary state of any race or people.

I mean: my point was - (the same as yours) to shew that India miasma, & India suffering from Miasmatic diseases, are *preventible*.

Now the very diseases, which I have cited as proofs of the preventible unhealthiness of the E. Indies, are still prevalent in the W.I. And more than that, yellow fever *still* breaks out there.

Besides, W.I. Regiments have now, have not they? - short periods of service. And I want to shew that Europeans can live in tropical climates, without being brought away, as you bring out a weak Patient from a vapour bath.

Capt. Burton states explicitly that British races are not to



f263

[-2-]

possess the tropics, because they deteriorate. I venture to say, the British race may possess whatever it likes, if it will {will} only study the laws of the place & obey them.

Short service, hill climates & other precautions have improved the health of W. India troops. But they are not fit to possess the country till they have expelled the “dragon” of Miasma- (vide the picture of Apollo killing the dragon, who lies half in a *marsh* & half on the hill side.)

With best New Year’s wishes for yourself & Mrs. Balfour & the “son”,

I am every yours  
gratefully & truly

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

I have just received a Pheasant & two Rabbits from Wilton.

And while apologizing for the *small* present, I thought you would like to have them, in memory of our dear friend, Sidney Herbert.

F.N.

typed copy of signed letter, ff264-65 original 50134 ff126-27

**f264**

*COPY*

*Private*

115, Park Street, W.

July 28/64.

My dear Sir,

I have written, as strongly as I possibly could, in support of your claim. Where should we have been, in either of our two Army Sanitary enquiries, if it had not been for you & Sir A. Tulloch's statistics? It is impossible to over-state what you have done for the Army. Lord Herbert himself could have done nothing in sanitary reform, if he had not had your statistical facts to go upon.

If you were to retire, the Vital Statistics, of the Army would fall to the ground. There is no second to you, either in the Army or elsewhere - {seen above: whatyou, eitherin [run together]}

But if these facts do not speak fit themselves, what will?

(If occurred to me to mention to you that poor Lady Herbert is in England, either at

38 Chesham Place

or at Wilton House,

Salisbury (she vibrates between) -

if you would like to ask her to write to Lord de Grey. It might be making it too much of a matter of favour. I do not advise either way.)

If we had either courage or capacity in our present administration, no favour would be required.

I miss Sir A. Tulloch, his noble upright spirit. But, if he had died 10 years ago, what would have become of us?

ever sincerely yours

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

**f265**

[-2-]

Your Statistical Reports are models of their kind. And you have improved them from year to year.

Dr. Balfour.

Typed copy of signed letter, f266, original 50134 ff128-29

**f266**

*COPY*

*Private 27 Norfolk Street,  
Park Lane, W.  
20.1.65*

My dear Sir

In your Volume for 1862 (which, I assure you, is always in my hands - it is the sword & buckler, to which I always trust, to do battle) have you observed that, at p. 14, there is a misprint, - the substitution of *healthy* civil population and of *general* civil population for each other, in the last two lines of the first Table on that page?

Your Report stood me in good service lately, when 'the Military', my esteemed Patrons, made a private attack, which came to me from Lord Stanley, saying that all the improvements in the health of the British Army not in India, was due to Invaliding only. It shew how wise you were to put the Deaths of Invalids in your columns - and I was able to shew what the improvement was, even including these -

I assure you I have not neglected in spirit your letter of Nov. 18. I mean to make another attack. But I thought it best to wait awhile. We have not a S. of S. now who will impose his will for good on the H.G. We expected better things of him. But there are many worse -

With my kindest regards, to Mrs. Balfour & the 'young Doctor,' believe me ever most faithfully yours

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Have you heard of poor Lady Tulloch lately?

Typed copy of signed letter, f267, original 50134 ff130-31

**f267**

*COPY* 34 South Street

Park Lane, W.

July 29/65

My dear Dr. Balfour

I hope that you have not judged of my interest in your  
(Statistical Report) pages by my delay in acknowledging your kindness.  
I read them with the greatest eagerness. I wish I could send you  
anything could care for so much -

It is a most important chapter in {chapter in} Army Mortality. You have  
succeeded in shewing that, in the French Army, certain conditions of  
levy & furlough may affect the law of mortality.

This is a most remarkable point.

A minute examination into the habits of each Service would  
determine the question: as to *all* the conditions which bring about  
this difference in Mortality law.

I shall look forward for the appearance of your Annual Report  
with intense interest.

Believe me

ever yours sincerely

(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

You must not judge of me by the little you hear from me.

We have been overwhelmed with business. I get weaker & weaker. But  
all the old associations are as strong as ever.

(I go to Hampstead for a short time.)

(To Dr. Balfour)

ff268-69v, T. Graham Balfour to Nightingale, 4 Mar 1869, 6 Whitehall Yard, re: improvements are being made for  
Annual Reports to be ready in the future for the meeting of the Parliament instead of after its discussion, is now  
working on the vol for 1867 to be ready about the end of July, ground work is being done of the Report for 1868

ff270-71v, T. Graham Balfour to Nightingale, 28 July 1869, Whitehall Yard, re: a copy of vol 1867 to be sent to her  
from the printers as soon as it is ready and fears it will not be for less than a month, continues working on the Report  
for 1868 with wish to have ready for Feb presentation or latest March, plans to have reports for same time in future  
years, expands on a family holiday to the North for 6 weeks, comments on Graham's at Mr. Waterfield's School and his  
good progress, enquires about her health

ff272-73v, T. Graham Balfour to Nightingale, 29 Sept 1869, 10 Summer Place Onslow Square, re: thanks for her letter and game received, regrets hearing of her unfavourable health, will be pleased of any comments she gives re the Book when she has strength, states she is one of the very few who 'can appreciate the labour and extract from it the practical good', tells of trip to Scotland as removing all his feelings of weariness and his family as well, expands on personal feelings re the unpleasantness of finding past labours overlooked and the honour and rewards being bestowed on those 'who have come in after the heat of the day'

typed copy of signed letter, ff274-77, original 50134 ff139-44

**f274**

*COPY* Embley

Romsey. Sept. 10/72.

My dear Dr. Balfour

I was very glad to receive your kind note; and I will forthwith try to do what you are so good as to ask - viz. "criticize" your last Annual Vol: which I duly received - & for which I tender my best thanks.

Let me say in the first place that the Report is the best yet issued (no only) in my opinion but in that of {that of} others whose opinion is best worth having.) & that for practical information on Army Medical matters it stands alone.

I noticed the Recruiting addition which you desire me to mention. It is very good & very important; and I can find nothing to suggest; but that, as the recruiting will be done at the new Depot centres, would it not be very desirable to have some means of averaging the past recruiting experience in order to compare it with the results to be obtained at the new Depots? (This, I have no doubt, you have provided for already.)

The superior way in which the Recruiting work has been done by the Army Medical Officers is most creditable to them. (But I suppose that the Civil Surgeons are rarely men of mark.)

Indeed - the reforms initiated by Sydney Herbert have already placed the Army Medical Department at the very top of the Medical profession. And the improvement is still going on. - God be thanked for it. And you all!

Appendix No. X is I think the first Tabulation of Post

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[-2-]

Mortem s from the Netley Hospital Register which was a part of the original plan of reform -

The results are very interesting & show how much good work may be dug out of the books in future.

I cannot say this too strongly.

If you {If you} *will* have me "criticize": the only suggestion which occurs to me about the next Vol: is: that it ought, do not you think so? - to be more rigidly edited - not that there has been any carelessness - I do not mean more *carefully* edited - But in the original design drawn up for it, it was not intended that it should be so heavy.

Do you remember D'Alembert: "ce que l'auteur se tue a élonger, le lecteur se tue à abréger" - Do not you think that it is applicable here? - Are not the cases too long? - more condensation of style wanted? papers not of supreme importance to be merely noticed?

This does not apply of course to the Statistical part.

If the Director-General & his Board would see to this, it seems to me that nothing would be left undone.

Will you remember me to Dr. Muir (tho' I have never seen him) if he remembers me?

I thank God that your boy is growing up to be not only a satisfaction & joy but a pride to you - & worth of you & Mrs. Balfour, to whom please give my kindest regards -

Almost the last time I say Alexander, he said with a rather

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[-3-]

sad smile, as if he wished he could do the same: "Balfour is founding a house."

Your "house" is really growing up in a strong & bright pillar - worthy of Solomon's temple -

God bless him! & may he live long & be a glory to you & our country as he has begun!

(What I say to *my* pupils is: now remember I expect every one of you to do 3 times as much as any thing I have done - You must raise Nursing & Training to a higher level than the highest *I* knew.

So I hope *all* our Successor's may do the same with all our 'levels.')

The grave has not yet closed over the mortal form of one who was almost as dear to me as if she had been my own child - one who would have done a great work for God, had she lived - Emily Verney - Sir Harry Verney's only daughter - so lovely, so loving & so loved - & with something heroic about her.

This makes my excuse for letting this poor word serve to express what I always remember when I write or hear from you - our fifteen years of friendship, begun under Sidney Herbert, & none the less strong on my side, because interrupted illness & of business I wish I could say increasing, (tho' increase it does *here*, owing to my dear father's & mother's age) but which weighs more heavily on my greater weakness -

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[-4-]

You kindly ask after me. Or I should not have put in this egotistical word.

I must however be back in South Street soon -

Pray believe me dear Dr. Balfour

ever yours most truly

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of signed letter, ff278-79, original 50134 ff152-53

**f278**

*COPY*            35 South St.  
                      Park Lane, W.  
                      May 9/74.

My dear Dr. Balfour

I lighted upon these two unfinished scrawls with which I *began* to answer your two kind letters, and Report; of June & November last year. I never had time or strength to finish these worthless productions: & I now send them, for you *not* to read, for time has certainly not made them less worthless, but because anything is better than to let you suppose what would be so very untrue that I ever could let our friendship & acquaintance drop - The friends left to me are few -

I think the public & private misfortunes of the last 6 months have taken more out of me than a previous 20 years' of hard work.

My dear Father was taken from us quite suddenly: a terrible blow to all: to me especially who had never once thought *I* should survive *him*; &, in a few days after, my best old friend, Mrs. Bracebridge, without whom my life & Scutari would have been impossible.

We have to remove my poor mother from her home of 56 years -  
                                  a Persian kitten

                                 jumping up made  
                                  this unseemly blur

But I must not trouble you with my troubles -

My time & strength are besides much taken up by our great (civil) Nurse Institutions, Edinburgh, Highgate, St. Thomas' - &c. -

**f279**

[-2-]

I see Nurses or Matrons or Probationers almost daily: or they stay in this house with me - And the correspondence involved is enormous: &, as you may suppose, of the most anxious nature: the more anxious because I cannot be with them in their *work*.

I will now only say once more 'God Speed' to you: you will make Gibraltar all that it should be:

& believe me  
          ever your trusty old friend  
          (Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE



typed copy of signed letter, ff280-82, original 50134 ff154-57

**f280**

*COPY* 35 South St.

Park Lane, W.  
March 13/76.

My dear Dr. Balfour

It gives me untold pleasure to hear from an old friend like you: there are so few of us left. I not only gratefully read your last kind letter (you ask:) (in July) - which told me so much of interest: but, after having had some communication with a man in the W.O., I wrote you a long letter in return. This letter did not miscarry. It was never sent. But it was no loss to you. Last year life was a terrible scramble to me: & indeed is still. With more of business (chiefly 1. Indian & 2. Nurse-Training) & less of strength than I have ever had, I have had since my dear Father's death to take charge of my aged Mother: & was hurried out of London last year just at the most important time: from June till October: to take her, poor darling Mother, to her old home, after which she craved.

But I did not mean to make this, tho' you kindly ask, a journal of myself. [16:465]

About your *Women's Hospital*:  
your unceasing efforts after the good *ought* to meet with support:  
- & a question shall be asked, such as you propose, in the House of Commons, about it: will it not be well too to put in the same question a reminder about the new *Married Quarters* which ought to be built:

Were they not to have built *Married Soldiers' Quarters* for the whole strength? And *with these* did not Capt. Galton & Dr.

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[-2-]

Sutherland consider that a separate Hospital was scarcely required?

What do *you* think of this? What *they* proposed was, I believe, that

each Block should have a special end Ward qith {assume qith to be 'with'} appurtenances for any infectious case: most ordinary cases to be treated in Quarters: But unless the Quarters be built, a proper Hospital is urgently required.

I suppose your answer will be that the Quarters are farther off in the future than the Hospital: & we must get the one first: & strive for the other afterward.

Your Ho: of C. Question shall be asked.

Your energy must (& will) meet with its reward about the *Sanatorium*: at last: Windmill Hill is a capital place. Has it not however in times past been scourged by Epidemics in consequence of Sanitary neglects? I heard with great satisfaction that it is now being drained & supplied with water - mainly I doubt not owing to your representations. I fear that they will scarcely go to the cost of a building yet. Would it be possible, during summer, for men to go under tents there? - Or for wooden huts to be put up?

People here however *will* generally consider it best if men want change to send them home. They say: it is only 5 days' steam. But I hope for Windmill at last.

About the Water-supply: I understand, on enquiry that your wise & strong representations & suggestions have been acted upon. They seem at the W.O. to be aware of your facts. And a Report has just gone in which states that the *Gibraltar Water-supply* is to be improved. (This report made its appearance at, i.e. was sent, as

f282

[-3-]

passed, to the Army San: Comm:)

You have done wonders. Your representations should never cease. They will bear fruit: they do bear fruit.

About the *Department*: Everything, they say, has changed with the abolition of purchase. The A.M.D. will henceforth be a Staff. (I think Sir W. Muir has a hard time of it. But I know he does most ardently desire to keep or to get back all that Sidney Herbert won or desired for it.) The new Warrant is not out yet. But you will have seen the outlines in Mr. Hardy's speech.

I cannot sufficiently admire your great energy: and, tho' all those, gifted with the highest views & the greatest perseverance to attain them, think they fall short of the mark, yet you have attained much of the success you deserved. I need not say: Go on & good cheer. And pray believe me always your most truly

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

I write in haste, because I cannot bear to delay acknowledging your wonderful zeal & efforts in the cause any longer: & in sadness: for Dr. Parkes is dying. After he had taken leave of us all (of me by dictating a letter) I heard with delight from Prof. Longmore that he was better: but a Nurse was needed. I telegraphed instantly: but received in reply the sad Telegram he is sinking. This is just now. Since that however a better Telegram: & the Nurse is going down.

Typed copy of signed letter, f283, original 50134 ff158-59

**f283**

COPY March 23/89

10 South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

My dear Dr. Balfour

How very kind of you to remember me, & to send me your  
'picture' which I value so much. Thank you a thousand times.

Years roll away; but I can only say that the subjects which  
interested me so much when I had the advantage of seeing so much of  
you fill me more than ever - tho' old & broken in health - I wish I  
knew how you thought those things were prospering.

I am always under the pressure of overwork & illness - And  
your kindness will excuse my delay in writing even this short note.

You are still working, I am sure, on the subjects over which  
you have had so large an influence.

Remember be to any who are good enough to remember me - &  
believe me

if only for auld lang syne

ever sincerely yours

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Do you remember my Aunt, Mrs. S. Smith, at Burlington St. up  
to 1861, & who succeeded my father? She is dead at a great age.

T. Graham Balfour Esq. M.D.

04 05 1911 letter of HBC to Miss E.C. Lawrence, re her reply to his re public of FN letters in *Nursing Times* acceding  
to his request not to publish more, rights of property, re Lady Longmore publishing FN letter to T. Longmore and re  
those of Clark RAMC 1139/S4/34a

45772 f134 must check: FN letter to James Clark, sends precis, confidential, will send copy for queen to him to present,  
wd like to have sent a similar copy to duchess of Kent and Princess Royal, Prince Consort?, asks advice; re EH and  
Nelson's paper read at Br Assn Leeds, has read article he alludes to in Examiner, re contradictions, Simon gave  
statement, omitted most important and only condemnatory part 45772 f134;

Add Mss 45773, 214 folios, 29 pages, microfilm, Adam Matthew reel 18, some typed copies of her letters otherwise at RAMC, military correspondence

ff1-63 letters from E.A. Parkes; ff64-160 all by Aitken; ff161-214 typed copies of letters to Longmore, RAMC; note that letters in 1883 and 1885 are listed in 46385 f112

f1 letter of Maria Parkes on behalf of...Renkioi Hosp April 30 1856

In the absence of Mrs Norman, who has obtained leave to return home on private business, Dr Parkes has commissioned me to send you information with regard to the nurses of the hospital.

Nurse Carboline Brown sailed for England yesterday April 29th in the steamer "Victoria," She left by her own desire and in consequence of ill health. For a time after our arrival here in July, Mrs Brown's behaviour caused us some uneasiness, but for several months past she has conducted herself quietly and with propriety, and by her skilful and kind manner of nursing the patients under her care, she has given great satisfaction to the doctors of the wards in which she has been placed. Under the circumstances therefore, I think Mrs Norman will probably agree with Dr Parkes in passing over in silence any cause for uncomfortable feeling we may have at one time felt towards Mrs Brown.

The next four nurses are going on satisfactorily. There is little for them to do in the wards just now, but they are employed in repairing hospital clothing bedding &c.

F3 7 Red Palace Terrace, Richmond SW 13 Jan 1860. My dear Miss Nightingale, Pray accept my thanks for a copy of your Notes on Nursing which I recd a day or two ago. I have not yet had time to do more than glance through it, for all this week I have been occupied with the exam of the candidates for assistant surgeoncies in the army. But I perceive that the chapter on ventilation is most admirable, and must produce a great effect.

I hope soon to read the whole with the attention it deserves.

I trust you are better than when I heard through Mr Bonham Carter of your increased illness. E.A. Parkes

f5 Parkes letter 7 Old Palace Terrace, Richmond S.W. 28 March 1860.

The appointments to the professorships of the Chatham School appear in last night's Gazette. Of course I am fully aware of the interest you have taken in the organization of this School and I feel sure that interest will continue.

I cannot avoid writing a few lines to say how earnestly I hope Providence may be pleased to restore your health and that you may be enabled to aid our future work by your advice and suggestions.

f6 Parkes July 17 1860. Private. 8 Park Shot, Richmond, S.W.

I recd your kind note late last night, too late to allow me to put off some illeg I had this morning, and to accept your invitation. I trust I may infer from your note that your health is better.

It was a great pleasure to me to be of th least use to you in the matter of the hospital returns, but really the assistance I was able to give was so very slight, and the arrangement of the forms had been so exceedingly well done before they reached my hands, that I feel your kindness has quite overrated the importance of my very few suggestions.

I am very glad to hear your arr is likely to be adopted. It will be most useful to have a uniform plan for the Continent as well as England.

I have been in England a fortnight after a useful visit to Paris and Chalons. I was much pleased with the Val de Grâce and found that the professors there were also much interested with the formation of the Chatham School, of wh an account had appeared in the Military Med Journal.

I leave town tomorrow for Warmichkie [?] and next week take up my quarters near Chatham. My address then will be:

at Mrs Spongs  
Manor Farm  
Frindsbury

Strood  
Kent

and if there is anything I can do I hope I shall hear from you. I shall be in town in August and I shall then learn from Dr Sutherland if there is any chance of my being permitted to see you.

F8 I am very desirous to do so, not only to thank you for the friendly interest you have shown me, and to talk over other matters with you. But I shall hear how you are when I return, whether it will be right for you to see me.

F9 4 Aug 1860. Manor Farm, Frindsbury, Strood Kent.

I send you a proof of my proposed syllabus. I have altered a little the arrangement in the Regs for the purpose of beginning the chemical work early, but I hope to include all the subjects mentioned in the Regs.

As far as we can at present arrange the work of the school, it seems to be doubtful whether I can be allowed more than 4 lectures a week, and I have arranged the course on that supposition. Some of the subjects will have to be very much compressed.

The first course must be considered as entirely tentative, as such a large part is comparatively new as far as lecturing is concerned, and the necessary time cannot be properly calculated.

I don't like to ask you to do more than read the enclosed, but I need not say that if you have time to make any alterations and suggestions, I shall be very grateful.

Your statistical forms will be published in the Report of the Stat Congress I presume. I have put down only one lecture for stats but I don't think I can do it in so short a time.

JS draft reply on back

State that you have heard from Dr S that he had written to Dr Parkes on the subject of the syllabus of lectures and that it is necessary strategem [?] to enter in it.

I cannot say to what extent the stat element shd be introduced but it shd be apparent to enable the men to understand and use the forms.

The tables will be published with the report of the Congress. I send you a copy.

FF11-12 printed Syllabus. With FN comments

Part I FN added to Water, Air, Food, Clothing **Soils** building ventilation...

Lecture XXII FN added *Soils*

f13 FN typed copy of letter Aug 9/60 original roll 2 H1/ST/NC1/SU197

ff15-19 22 Dec 1860. As we have now come to a break in our course, we have got over 3/4 of the course. I think you will like to hear how we have got on. I have the greatest pleasure in writing to you as I have really nothing but favourable accounts to give. So far, I think, nothing cd have gone on better.

The first [much more]

f20 3 Jan 1861. Thanks for kind present, note arrived, sends copy of

f24 6 Jan 1861. Letter from dir gen, enclosing one from SH, final settlement of question re exam postponed until additional experience.

F25 17 Jan 1861 no difficulty in following the course sketched out in your letter of today (missing). When the dir gen has got the list, he can of course make the appts as he pleases, and can change the position of the cand's if he has sufficient reason.... not clear as to poss of carrying on an account of the marks to be given...not seen JS today, Ft Pitt.

Ff27- 4 August 1861....about to write when sad news heard yesterday, did not want to trouble her. I need scarcely say

how grieved we all are here. We all honoured Lord Herbert as a wise and great statesman, and like everyone in these kingdoms, we lament his death as a national loss. But this is saying little; we all feel a deep personal sorrow, for all had learnt to appreciate his noble and unequalled character and to understand the immense amount of good to which he gave origin.

But I did not intend to write even so much, but merely to tell you why I do not write at present more fully....

F29 13 Oct 1861, re her not well, account of school. Everything going on as Lord Herbert wd have wished it. ...all get on with Dr Muir as new PMO as well as with Dr Hanna?...

Dr Maclean gave the intro lecture this year and of course alluded to the loss the school sustained in Lord Herbert's death. If you have not happened to see any of the med journals in the last 2 or 3 weeks, I will send you ...

We have a class of asst surgeons, taking well to the work, pupils on half pay, don't take trouble to answer

f33 24 Nov 1861 Parkes letter to FN, Frindsbury.

Although your letter was marked "private" (missing) I thought I might mention its purport to my colleagues.

We all think that the foundation of a Herbert medal would be a great incentive to exertion on the part of the candidates for the Army Medical Service. With respect to the money which it is proposed shd go with the medal, we think that it had better be expended in instruments, a microscope, or books, or in some similar way.

But it mt be more valuable to the successful candidate, if he were permitted to indicate to the Senate of the School in what way it cd be most usefully expended for him.

Do you remember that we have *two* courses in the year, with separate sets of men? We shd therefore require *two* medals and two sums of money yearly.

As many of us as can get away hope to be at the meeting on Thursday.

f35 JS draft ....

FF37-43 1 Dec 1861 Herbert medal. ...friend Dr Buckmill, well known writer on illeg has written if she wd like to see some plans he has just prepared for an asylum in the pav pr, for county of Surrey. He says "all ....Miss Nightingale has so admirably said in favour of the pav system for hosps equally applies to asylums. Do you care about seeing?"

F42 re Dr Gore's letter, he is as fully aware as anyone of the local conds wh favour the spread of cholera and he is far too sensible to draw too strong a conc from the statement made to him at Madeira.

I have always however very strongly insisted on the *portability* of cholera. After reading your letter I felt a little anxious to explain my opinions on the mode of spread of cholera, and on contagion generally. But I find it is impossible to do so in a letter, and so ask you to read long printed papers wd be too great a tax on your time which is completely and so usefully occupied.

If at any time you shd feel disposed to look at these papers, I wd send you with pleasure 2 or 3 little essays and reviews of mine, wr some years ago, but wh with some modifications still express my opinion.

The papers I refer to are chiefly reviews on cholera, yellow fever, influenza &c written in 1847-49 and a report on the early cases of cholera in London in 1848 wh was wr for the Bd of Health.

I attempted in these papers to review the whole subject of contagion, the papers were with one exception anon, but they have been largely used by subsequent writers. With regard to cholera esp the evidence of the last 12 years has brought out some additional facts, and esp the *occasional* spread of the disease by the agency of water.

Have you seen Ackermann's report of the cholera of 1859 in Mecklenburg. The evidence is very carefully brought together.

f64 from Wm Aitken, Manchester St., wants statement of thermometric temperature at Scutari in winter months

f66 letter 18 March 1857 letter from Wm Aitken, thanks for her note of today re thermometric temp at Scutari, re

deficiency of own report on led to his asking her

f68 letter 9 April 1857 letter from Wm Aitken asks to call on her re unpublished returns of sickness from regiments she lent him, asks for loan of Tulloch's returns

f70 letter 29 June 1860 from Wm Aitken, from Chatham, shd have ack receipt of printed Regulations on the Tr of Prob Nurses under N Fund and form for applicants, wd like to see sphere of educ extended, not just at one hosp or will become bigots, and misses in scheme enc to join a superannuation fund to enable earlier retirement

f74 5 July 1860 letter from Wm Aitken re her letter to Galton, re inspection of buildings

f82 letter 10 July 1860 from Wm Aitken, endorses every word of her very suggestive letter, thanks, for a comprehensive scheme, re museum here, Chatham

f94 letter of H.B. Tuson 26 June 1860 to Wm Aitken re interview re museum

f96 letter 16 July 1860 from Wm Aitken, has seen DG, re a meeting of Senate

f99 letter 18 July 1860 from Wm Aitken with statement he proposes to make for info of Senate, asks for any suggestions

f101 20 July 1860 typed copy of RAMC letter from Wm Aitken, Fort Pitt, thanks for her remarks on draft statement re museum, Jas Clark brought him yesterday, sends proof sheet of a form, re register of pathological reports RAMC 1139/S4/14

f103 letter 4 August 1860 from Wm Aitken re no prospect of commencement, re SH getting money for the purpose, re Parkes' proposal

f109 letter 7 August 1860 from Wm Aitken has recd hint from WO re his pay

f111 letter 15 August 1860 from Wm Aitken Parkes informs re WO pay

f114 letter 21 August 1860 from Wm Aitken thanks for her exertions to advance things for us

f116 letter 31 August 1860 from Wm Aitken to FN re averting Crimea results, re school. I doubt not from what I see that the "Crimean experiences" may be repeated any time the opportunity offers itself, and if we have not you then to soften and avert the results, the second story will be worse than the first.

Without you our comparatively insignificant affair of the school will not move on, not an inch. The authority for the instrument money has not yet come. I saw Mr Milton on Tuesday aft, but he cd not help me then (Dr Sutherland advised me to go to him). I again last night followed up the advice of your letter and wrote to him (Mr Milton) on the subject and told him that we were last seen under the manip of Mr Drewery.

Ten of the young men are already here. They stare with vacant astonishment when they are told this (the new bldg is to be their work shop. Nothing but bare walls and the absence of all arrs for the work they expect to do justifies the belief they entertain that (this year at least) the school is a hoax. They seem a very nice set of men but it wd have been better if they cd have been allowed to remain away till we were more ready to receive them.

I don't despair in the least (if we get our instruments) if being able to commence by the 2nd of Oct altho the beg will be under great disadvantages--still it will be a beginning and we will be sadly void of expedients if we can't carry



on.

Sends credentials re election of someone for London Hosp

f120 letter 4 September 1860 from WM Aitken re not a bit further on than when last wrote her, WO sluggish, thanks for her proxy vote, re hospital electioneering ought to come to an end, no end of evils

f122 letter 6 September 1860 from Wm Aitken re authority for instrument money arrived

f125 letter 17 September 18860 from Wm Aitken, sorry she put to so much trouble re proxy paper for Mr Couper's proxy paper

f127 letter 24 September 1860 from Wm Aitken, glad the enclosed pleases her, must feel our way

f128 letter 13 October 1860 from Wm Aitken, Thorney Cottage, Luton Rd, Chatham

I shall never be so busy but that I will always find time to anything for you and on this occasion it is the more easy as you have given me ample material to work upon, and with the *cue* my own feelings on the subject fully coincide. The only question is how best to do what you desire. Do you know in what direction the interests of the more important local papers lie, such as the Glasgow Herald? and Guardian. The latter is a "free church" paper. Some one will be on the side of the hospital and will support it thro thick and thin. The Glasgow people cd do all you say. There is nothing incredible to me in all you relate.

I wd suggest also a letter to the ed of the Med Times and he I will endeavour to get to follow it up with a stat [?] leader on the subject.

We have had a fair start for the school and I think the work already commenced is favourably recd by the men.

Mr S Herbert as you know was kind enough to give us his countenance and advice. Mr Longmore's lecture was an excellent one and well spoken, and he has given a second one no less good one wh said what the general (Eyre) in vain tried to say after the vivacious remarks of Mr Herbert. This second lecture laid down very clearly the mutual relations of the military to the med depts and we all think that it (the 2nd lecture) ought to be printed with the first for circulation.

I was able to commence my practical course in the microscopical room on Wed last. We now continue to meet on Mon Wed and Frid. It was a delicate matter to investigate how much or how little the men knew of this kind of work, so I laid before them 2 courses (1 to go thro the elementary and systematic study of the healthy tissues, or 2 to examine morbid conditions as they present themselves. The work of the 2nd course cd not be done satisfactorily w/o a thorough knowledge of the first. I put before them the material for work at either course and was not a little surprised to find that every man chose the former--the elementary course.

Under these circs one can't hope for much in 2 months except to learn the manipulation of the instruments and perhaps acquire a taste for it. Without being able to use the instrument, they will not be able to do *even* this work wh Dr Parkes requires them to do, especially in the examination of foods and water.

The wish you were able to pay us a visit, altho we are not yet all in working trim, we hope to be so by the end of the month.

Our PMO is a most useful man for us for he goes most heartily into all our schemes. In fact we all at present pull together neither differing in pr nor detail of action.

I think you are wrong in supposing people are tired of you. Here I know your labours are much appreciated, I mean by the medical military element. In that spirit Dr Hume and Mr Longmore left their cards at 30 Burlt St the last time they were in town, knowing that you were in ill health, in testimony of their respect.

Believe me, ever yours most sincerely

ff132-37 letter 21 December 1860 from Wm Aitken re obligation to Adshead, substantiating our statements

I am sure XYZ is under deep obligation to Mr Adshead for his excellent letter, substantiating our statements so fully and well. Dr McGhee does himself great injustice, for he takes upon himself the defence of a step wh he must know has been long opposed by many men in Glasgow who know these things well. I think he is allowing himself to be the mouthpiece of a clique of hospital managers who know as much about the requisites of an hospital as to know that it is for holding any number of sick people.

I have sent the letters you sent me to Mr Wells, with a request that he will return them as soon as he has read them.

We have reached a halting place in our School career. The young men were let loose yesterday for a week, but they have worked most industriously one and all and in every way conducted themselves f133 well. They recd illeg of release with the enthusiasm of school boys. They have entered into the spirit and work illeg with good will and I am sure many of them will regret when the courses come to an end. They have seen and done many things, they never saw or did before.

Two things however seems to mar the pleasure of anticipation. 1. Some minor arrs relative to sending out the Indian men, the exact nature of wh I don't know, but wh I hope will be made right for them.

2. On this we (the professors) are at issue. As regards the propriety of so doing in this instance at least. I think it will the dealing very unfairly towards the men, because they were not made aware of this form the first, but on the contrary, their idea of merit was actually communicated to them by the D.G. himself, before they came out here at all, and it was also published in "The Times." Illeg they feel it will be a grievance if any more competition shd change the order of merit in wh the competition and admission to the service placed them.

Again at p. 9 of the Regulations regarding the school, &c, there is no mention of a competition examination. On the contrary, it appears to me that by such an examination as it indicates, each man is expected to stand solely on his own merits, and "if he gives satisfactory evidence of being qualified for the practical duties of an army officer he will be eligible for a commission.".... [more]

f138 letter 4 January 1861 from Wm Aitken glad to see her letter to Parkes, re understanding re exam

f144 letter 30 January 1861 from Wm Aitken, embossed Thorne Cottage Chatham thanks for extract she sent him via JS, re Glasgow Hosp. Hitherto I have been prevented from thanking you for an extract you sent me by Dr Sutherland on Tuesday last and wh showed me that Glasgow Hospital is obtaining a worldwide unenviable reputation. I sent it on to Mr Wells who has the letters of Mr Adshead &c, which you sent before. He tells me (I saw him on Saturday) he has given the whole to a friend, who has promised him a leader on the subject, and that they are taken care of.

I hope Dr McGhie has sent you a copy of the Glasgow Med Journal for the last quarter. He has an article on the construction of hospitals in it.

A Dr Faiken of Montrose has also taken up the subject as regards lunatic asylums, and Chevers in India has an excellent, but voluminous monograph on the mgt of troops in India, so that th subject is being pretty well and widely diffused.

If Chevers wd shorten his book, it is well worth being reprinted in this country. (I think we have come to a satisfactory =conc regarding the exams. At present the men are in great terror as to the present one, but we calm them by telling them it is a trial of the system, and is not to change their places. They say if they had known that a competitive exam was to be instituted they wd have worked very differently. This may mean many things, but it shows that in future it ought to be publicly known that a comp exam at Chatham together with the one in London will finally determine their places in the Gazette.

Perhaps you cd send me the title of Paul Topinard's book and we wd get it for the library here, if it is a useful one.

f147 letter 26 February 1861 from Wm Aitken re session

f155 letter 2 March 1861 from Wm Aitken, embossed Thorney Cottage, Chatham, thanks for placing our train on proper line, we were shunted off, re impulsive action of Dr Gibson. Re what Lord Herbert knew, through minutes JS pen draft at bottom

I hope the present difficulty has been got over, but it would be well to bear in mind that the School is so much connected with the admin part of the War Office that all your future illeg, whether by minutes or otherwise shd be short, concise and practical, pointing out a practical course which can be taken without entering much into detail. Of course if you have reason to think that any undue course is taken with your minutes you ought to represent [?]

f159 letter 3 August 1861 from Wm Aitken, embossed. re bereavement on sudden death of SH, sympathy to her

I cannot express the feelings of intense bereavement which we all experience here, at the melancholy and sudden death of Lord Herbert, and at the same time I cannot withhold from you this poor expression of sympathy in the personal loss of such a friend. If ear it has come upon you and others with a suddenness for wh you were scarcely prepared. What we wished to be true--that, rather, we believed.

I look upon this untimely death a s great public calamity, and an event wh at present we cannot realize.

f183 typed copy is 7204/ RAMC/1139/LP54/12 to Longmore

f197 is FN hand some scattered letters by others; chrons in directly

ff35-36 seems to be JS hand rough draft

f59 poss JS draft or FN?

ff161-63 typed copy of FN letter [soldiers] handwritten RAMC 1139/LP54/1

## **f161**

To Longmore  
Soldiers Homes  
at Chatham

30 Old Burlington Street,  
W.  
June 19/61

Dear Sir,

I was exceedingly sorry to find that after you had so kindly offered to open a Subscription List for "Soldiers' Homes" (at Chatham)

and after Dr. Gibson had consented to be present at the meeting, a provoking mistake had occurred owing, as Capt. P. Jackson himself said, to his "want of experience in conducting the business of a Public Meeting."

(Capt. Pilkington Jackson, R.A. was the originator of the Soldiers' Homes at Gibraltar.)

I informed him of the contents of your two kind letters-

And he informed me that by a mistake, with which it is useless to trouble you, a packet of letters had never been sent to

the Director General

R.M. Milnes, Esq., M.P.,

and other M.P.s who had promised to attend and speak at the meeting.

It was a great oversight. And, altho' he has apologized, he

tells me, to all these gentlemen - yet that does not remove the mischief of the want of their support at the Meeting-

I send you the "Times" advertisement of the same.

And I hope that you will still give your assistance to an object which so well deserves it.

The vote for Chatham Institute, altho' it has not passed yet the House of Commons, is, I understand, as certain as if it had. And

**f162**

I am told there is no lack of private subscriptions there- altho', if there were and you would kindly inform me, I believe I could be of some help in that quarter.

But we are very anxious to extend especially to Aldershot, where the abominations which go on just outside the Lines are such as are rarely seen in civilized life, the benefit of a place where the men can have refreshment, rest and amusement--which now they can only seek at the Canteen or the Public-house, when out of Barracks.

Added from printed copies LETTERS from (the late) Sir Thomas Longmore, from The Camp before Sebastopol 1855

Typed copy of letter by FN, Add Mss 45773 **f163** handwritten RAMC 1139/LP54/2,

30 Old Burlington St,  
June 26/61.

My dear Sir,

I do not like to refuse Dr. Mure's request for the sake of this friend and mine, poor Alexander. he will see that I have done Alexander full justice. And when I wrote those Analyses of the Med. Off.'s Correspondence, curiously enough, I had never seen Alexander.

But I do hope that the Publicity will stop at Dr. Mure--No good but harm to the cause would accrue from re-opening those old sores now. And therefore I must beg that Dr. Mure does not even mention this "Private" Report farther.

I read with the greatest shame the evidence (at the inquest) given by the assistant Surgeon in charge of the detachment of Guards marched from Kingston to Guildford. After all that has been done for Medical Officers, that there should be one who holds such opinions is a matter of shame.

Upon my word, had Alexander been alive, I should not have liked to have been that Ass. Surgeon in his hands. He ought to be sent to your School at Chatham. For he has not so much as read the Medical Regulations, which specially bind the Med. Off. to make representations to the C.O. upon the camping, *line of march* &c. &c. &c.

Yours sincerely,  
F. NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy, Add Mss 45773 ff164-65, original is in RAMC LP54/21

**f164***Army Medical School*

Copy of History in Miss Nightingale's handwriting of the Prof.r of Pathology receiving a less salary than the other Professors at the first starting of the School.

It is necessary to explain how it came to pass that, while 3 Professors of the Army Medical School at Netley had each a salary of 700 pounds a year, the fourth Professor has only 600 pounds. It arose as follows:--

At the time the R. Commission on the Sanitary State of the Army proposed an organization fro the School, the only teacher attached to the then establishment at Chatham was the Curator of the Museum, who gave lessons in pathology to the young Medical Officers before they were sent to Regiments. The R. Commission recommended the permanent appointment of 3 Professors, besides the Curator; and the late Lord Herbert, after consultation with various persons, recommended that he salaries should be fixed for each Professor at 700 pounds and for the Curator at 600 pounds.

At this same time a Commission appointed by Lord Panmure for organizing the School considered that it would be advisable to obtain the best teacher of Pathology who could be had. And the appointment was offered at their suggestion to Dr. Aitken at the salary recommended by Lord Herbert, which Dr. Aitken accepted. But on proceeding with the arrangements it was very soon found that the teaching of Pathology, as Dr. Aitken intended to carry it out, (for he was an eminent teacher and a Pathologist (at Scutari),<sup>4</sup> before his appointment) was a very different matter from the Curator's lessons--that the Office was really an important Professorship, as indeed it has proved itself to be. Besides which, when the Government of the School came to be organized, it was found that, while three titular Professors would have been members of the Senate, the teacher of Pathology would have had no voice in the government of the School in the arrangement of his own Lectures. For as Curator he would have been simply an Officer to the Senate.

Lord Herbert, in his Warrant constituting the School, inserted a Professor of Pathology instead of the Curator for the reason mentioned.

And so it has happened that Dr. Aitken, a first rate teacher and one of the professors, has 600 pounds a year, for doing a work equivalent, to say the least of it, to that of the other Professors, who receive each 700 pounds a year.

---

<sup>4</sup> And [Glasgow? illeg] sent to Scutari on that account by Lord Panmure to enquire into the cause of the mortality in the Crimean Army.

Typed copy of letter by FN, Add Mss 45773 **ff166-67** same as RAMC 1139/LP54/2

30 Old Burlington St. W.

June 26/61.

Dear Sir,

I am sorry not to have answered your letter before. But as my health gets worse, my difficulty in writing becomes greater.

I have ascertained from the W.O that there is not the least danger of the 2000 pounds for Chatham Institute not being voted. They were not aware that there was still 1000 pounds left unsubscribed--but they had nothing to do with the estimate of the building--and rather regretted that the exterior was made so costly when there are so many other places without Institutes.

However major Buckley is the best judge of that and knows the soldier best.

I quite agree with you that the Officers at Chatham must look to Chatham first--and collecting subscriptions for it first is their manifest duty.

I don't quite agree that Chatham is a more important place than Aldershot.

I enclose you a printed Form which altho' badly worded, has been made the means of awakening the soldier's attention to his own wants--and smoothing the way for Institutes &c.

I have at this moment before me a great heap of these forms filled up for a different companies of different Reg.ts, by permission of C.O.s, with twopences and threepences.

Of course the amount collected is not so much the object as the preparing the way for similar Institutions like that at Gibraltar.

The money is paid in direct to the Com.tee at 17 Charles St, St. James's (Sir C. McGrigor's).

I thought that perhaps something of the same kind might be done with sanction of C.O.s among soldiers at Chatham for their Institute paying in the money to you or your Comm.tee. Unless Major Buckley has done it already.

A different Title would of course have to be given to it.

And the object would have to be thoroughly explained to each Company--as was the case with those I have known.

It is now about to be done at Aldershot. Almost every company in another of our great Stations has subscribed from 12/- to 25/- each.

I observe the soldier always lays immense stress upon the "Institute" being his "*own*."

I am sorry to say. altho' the debt is covered from Gibraltar, so as to allow the grant of 500 pounds from the W.O. to be claimed, yet the money towards a fourth "Home," fitting up there, is not forthcoming yet by subscription. But this is not at all meant as a hint, to you. For as I say Chatham must come first with all Chatham Officers.

I beg to enclose fifty pounds towards the 1000 pounds still wanting to you. And should I be able to collect money for it, I will.

Yours faithfully,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Typed copy of letter by FN, Add Mss 45773 ff168-69 handwritten is RAMC 1139/LP 54/7 [Geneva] acc to Barry Smith, duly tabled at Geneva conv 136 [15:603]

**f168**

115 Park Street, W.  
July 23/64.

My dear Sir,

I am afraid you will be rather surprised at my writing to you on the following subject--but not so much surprised as I am at being desired to do so.

Lord de Grey is about to request you and Dr Rutherford to represent the W.O at the Geneva conference in August--and wishes you to have an authorized W.O. account with you as to our provision for sick and wounded in the Brit: Army.

The Conference has, as you know, advocated a voluntary international system of purveying and nursing.

(I need hardly say that I think its views most absurd--just such as would originate in a little state, like Geneva, which never can see war. They tend to remove responsibility from Governments.

They are *practically* impracticable. And voluntary effort is desirable, just in so far as it can be incorporated into military system).

Our present (military) is the result of voluntary additions to the service made during the Crimean War, but was prepared to obviate the necessity of future voluntary effort as far as possible.

If the present Regulations are not sufficient to provide for wounded, they should be made so. But it would be an error to revert to a voluntary system; or to weaken the military character of the present system by introducing voluntary effort, unless such effort were to become military in its organization.

The W.O. proposes to draw up such a statement of our present arrangements as will satisfy the Geneva folk that every precaution has been taken *and can be taken* (for wounded) by the Army itself.

Will you therefore be so good as to go over the enclosed--and make it strong and as complete as possible--then return it to me. I will send it to the W.O.--and they will make an authoritative document out of it.

The matter rather presses, as the Conference meets early in August.

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Professor Longmore.



Source: Typed copy of letter by FN, Add Mss 45773 **ff170-71**

*Private.*

115 Park Street, W.  
August 1/64.

My dear Sir,

The subject upon which you write is most important.

Three years to-morrow Sidney Herbert will have been dead. And these three years have been nothing but a slow undermining of everything he has done.

The W.O. is utterly demoralized. There is neither ordinary courage nor ordinary capacity at its head.

The H.G. is the real D.G. and Manager of the A.M.D.

I assure you, my heart is broken. I act as much as possible with Sir John Lawrence and as little as possible with the W. and I. Offices.

I have very little influence now to do what I *want at home*. But I do what I *can*.

If you think I can be of the least use in hearing the State of things on Friday next, I will gladly see you.

Indeed I should be sorry to go out of this world without seeing the friend of my dear friend, Mr. Alexander.

I believe I shall be at 7 Oakhill Park, Hampstead N.W. on Friday. It would greatly diminish my uneasiness (in taking up your time by driving up there on Friday), if you would have luncheon there, at one, two, three, or later, four, five o'clock, whatever time you would appoint. This would somewhat save your time, as one must eat somewhere. And I could see you either before or after, as you appoint, for a quarter of an hour--as I never now leave my room (illness) except for this periodical migration--

Believe me

ever yours faithfully

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Source: Typed copy of letter by FN, Add Mss 45773 **f172** original RAMC 1139 54/8 [15:604]

*Private.*

Hampstead, N.W.

My dear Sir,

I have only just heard of your return.

I have made all possible use, privately, of the information contained in the enclosed papers, which I return according to your desire.

I cannot believe that anything so preposterous and so destructive to the Medical School will ever be entertained for a moment.

But, as you say, "forewarned is forearmed." And I hope our present chief is now fore-armed.

At all events, it is a great comfort to me to know--what you so kindly tell me--that the Professors of the Army Med. School, in whose hands its destinies really lie, and who have so wisely upheld them, are determined to maintain the intentions of its founder--

Ever yours sincerely,

F. NIGHTINGALE

Source: Typed copy of letter by FN, Add Mss 45773 **ff173-75**, see also LMA roll 5, published in *News Review of British Red Cross Society* April, 1959:58 [geneva]

*Private.*

Hampstead, N.W.  
Aug. 31/64.

My dear Sir,

I have to thank you very much for taking the trouble to send me M. Dunant's pamphlet.  
The W.O. sent me the M.S. copy of the printed Articles, (with other papers) furnished by you.  
I agree with you that it will be quite harmless for our Gov't to sign the Convention, as it now stands.  
It amounts to nothing more than a declaration that humanity to the wounded is a good thing.  
It is like an Opera chorus. And if the principal European characters sing,  
We never will be cruel more,  
I am sure, if England likes to sing too,  
I never will be cruel more,  
I see no objection.

But it is like vows. People who keep a vow would do the thing without the vow. And if people will not do it *without* the vow, they will not do it *with*.

England And France will not be more humane to the enemy's wounded for having signed the Convention. And the Convention will not keep semi-barbarous nations, like Russia, from being *inhuman*.

Besides which, tho' I do not reckon myself an inhuman person, I can conceive circumstances of "force majeure" in war where the more people are killed, the better.

I was asked my opinion by the W.O when they sent me your M.S.S; or I should hardly have thought my opinion worth stating.

For the question appears to me really one for Lord Palmerston to settle.  
sincerely,

ever yours

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

f174 cont of f172

P.S. I would not neglect to tell you that your Mem.o about the no training of Orderlies was very valuable--  
I have always feared it would be so--that the miles of work at Netley would seriously interfere with the proper training--

What I have ventured to advise the W.O. is this:--

that, in lieu of having another Commission, it should call upon Netley to furnish its own plan:--

that the W.O. should ask the Governor, Col: W., to report to them on the present method of training Orderlies at Netley for Field Service, And, *in consultation* with the P.M.O., And *Professors of the Medical School*, to further report on any improvements in the means of training which experience may have suggested.

I hope this is the course the W.O. will adopt--

And I mention it to you, that you may see your suggestions have not been neglected--And that you may put in your valuable advice at the consultation which will doubtless take place at Netley, in pursuance of

f175

the W.O. letter-when it is sent.

I have no doubt that here must be special Instructors, as you suggest.

F.N.

Source: Typed copy of letter by FN, Add Mss 45773 f177 handwritten RAMC 1139/LP54/10

Oct. 4/65.  
34 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Sir,

I was sorry but not surprised at your note-*how* sorry I need hardly say.

I have taken such steps as I could--And hope to have to write to you again about it.

I at least have nothing new to say, in repeating to the W.O. what I have always said--that you have made a hearty sacrifice of yourself--And that they were not men, if they accepted of it.

But we hardly a *man* now in the Gov.t.

Yours ever sincerely,  
F. NIGHTINGALE.

Source: From a typed copy of a letter to Thomas Longmore, ADD MSS 45773 ff178-79

23 October 1865

*Confidential.* No one who knows you could for a moment suppose what you think (of *you*). You amuse me by suspecting it just as Sir John Lawrence amused me by writing to me that he should be considered “timid and perhaps even time-serving.”

It is as difficult to look upon Sir J. Lawrence as a “time-server” as upon you as making difficulties for self-interest.

I wrote the moment I received your first letter to our headquarters. Indeed, it is not the first time I have done so--as to a proposed increase of salary for increase of duties connected with Indian candidates--which has been under discussion between W.O., Treasury and I.O. They propose to give £150 a year extra--And up to the present time no objection has been made. With lodging money, extra pay, if finally granted, would make up £950 about per annum.

I have heard nothing quite recently. Every body has been away--and now every body has been taken up with approaching Cabinets & reforming of Ministers.

I shall not leave them alone, but I do not expect an immediate answer.

I can only say for myself that I hope such arrangements may be made, as may render it possible for you to remain. Your loss would be irreplaceable to us.

Ld. Palmerston is a great loss to me. He was a powerful protector. For the last nine years--and especially since Sidney Herbert's death I have never asked him for anything--You may be sure I did not ask him often--but he did it.

He made a joke but he did it.

ever yours sincerely,

Florence Nightingale

Source: Typed copy of letter by FN, Add Mss 45773 f180 handwritten RAMC 1139/LP54/11

*Private.* June 18/66.

35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Sir,

I have never thanked you for your pamphlet (Lecture).

But I have directed the attention of the War Office to this point-viz. that the Ambulance Corps is not in training. We are indeed obliged to you for drawing attention to this.

I have been bragging about your perfect state of preparation to the Italian Gov.t. But I am afraid I have been saying what is not the case.

I hope (but I am tired of hoping) that the W.O. will put itself into communication with you, in order to see the thing done.

We know not what a day may bring forth in Europe.

Believe me

ever faithfully yours,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Thos. Longmore Esq.

Source: Typed copy of letter by FN, Add Mss 45773 **ff181-84**, handwritten RAMC/1139/LP54/12 [Geneva] also 7204

Private. Burn. Feb. 14/67.

35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Sir,

That *is* a desperate blunder indeed concerning which you have kindly sent me a copy of Dr. Smith's paper. I have written about it, without mentioning my authority of Dr. Smith's case, which you say, has gone in to the Acting D.G:) (but I have, as you know, small faith in anything that can be said or written now). However we shall see what comes of it.

2. About the other matter:-

the Ladies' Committee for the Relief of the Sick & Wounded- it had entirely slipped my memory. But it does not alter the substance of what I said. For that Committee had *no more to do* with the International Society (of Geneva) for Wounded-than it had to do with the London-Bridge Railway Terminus. Also: *It lasted just one fortnight*. But, as I have made a blunder in telling you that there had been *no* Committee upon which I was, I had better tell you how this arose.

When war was first declared last year, I was applied to in my private capacity, by Italy, Prussia and Hesse Darmstadt, about the organization of Field and other War Hospitals, including Nursing.

I was *not* asked for any other help. But, after Konig gratz, Mme Schwabe, (a German-and a frantic Garibaldian and Prussian) the best heart and the worst head I know, was mad to get up a Subscription-I joined her, at her earnest request, in order to prevent mischief-but only on condition that all monies should be devoted to *all* sides-

The thing was meant to be entirely private. But, as no one of the ladies who gave their names gave the least assistance, and as money did not come in--Advertisements were put in for us-by a gentleman-

We were not very successful.

1. English people like to feel enthusiastic pity for Austria-or enthusiastic raptures for Garibaldi- But they don't like merely to do good (out of England).

2. It was late in the year. People were hot and tired and rushing out of town.

Jenny Lind sang for us at a Concert and got us some hundreds more-

As for the Committee it was mere moonshine. I believe *nothing* in *kind* was collected. i know they did not sit once.

As to the precise good done I believe it was more than if there *had* been a Committee.

The money was put into the hands of responsible persons abroad, 50 pounds and 100 pounds at a time, who sent articles in kind in vans to the Hospitals near the Battle-fields.

These, in Germany, as you know, held more Wounded Austrians than Prussians.

Many of these Hospitals asked for Surgical instruments-

I demurred, because, if there is anything Government should provide, it *is* Surgical Instruments.

But the want seemed real. And Surgical Instrument makers in London actually supplied us with some instruments *for a present*, and with more at cost-price.

This was about the only assistance in kind we received.

So little of a Committee was it that, till Jenny Lind gave the Concert, I think one fourth of the whole sum came out of Mme Schwabe's and my pockets.

I do not write this to howl at my fellow-creatures, but simply because I made such a blunder as to tell you there was *no* Committee.

And therefore I felt bound to tell you the whole story in abridgement.

Please *burn*.

The moral of the tale is the only part worth having:-

And this is, that, having seen a good deal of the “dessous des cartes” during the Late War-I am more than ever convinced that Governments should be made responsible for their own Sick and Wounded-

that they should not decline Volunteer, private, benevolent effort-

but that, exactly in the measure that this is *incorporated* in, *not* substituted for-Government organizations (for Sick and Wounded-) will it be useful. And exactly in the measure that it is not will it become an evil-

I hope you agree with me.

I am bound to say that I think Prussian organization wonderfully good.

ever yours sincerely,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

You have enlightened me very much. For I now see that the heaps of papers I have received, addressed to me as “Secrétaire du Comité des Dames” &c. (from the International Society) referred to this Committee-which *is not* [cont'd from RAMC] whatever to do with the (Geneva) international affair. I was told on high Prussian authority that its *object failed most signally* at the disastrous *Sadow* and after it--as compared with what was done by the Prussian government army surgeons and staff for the wounded and hospitals.

F.N.

*Burn.*

typed copy of a letter, Add Mss 45773 f185 [ca February 1867 from 43396 f206], handwritten RAMC/1139/LP54/13 fix, 7204

*Private*

My dear Sir,

I have had so serious a Chest attack that, for 17 nights, I could scarcely lie down-And this must be my excuse for not answering sooner your last note.

I have asked about the "rank" of Surgeon major-(also the case about which you wrote to me).-

It was done, I understand, by Sir J. Gibson & Sir E. Lugard. I fear all you have said about it is quite true. I have done what I can a second time in representing the matter. But I have not the least hope that anything wise will be done.

About the other thing: the (Geneva) Societe Internationale-unquestionably the best plan with us would be to render our Army Hospital Corps thoroughly efficient on its present basis and strength. No steps should be taken with the public in any country which should lead their War Office to think that its own work (the War Office's) will be done for it by any body else.

After the Corps is thoroughly efficient, there would be little difficulty in devising a scheme for increasing it and admitting volunteer assistance. But the very first thing is, as you say, to make the very best of what we have-to make it into an efficient nucleus.

No amount of adding to inefficiency will make inefficiency into efficiency.

ever yours sincerely,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.



Source: Typed copy of letter by FN, Add Mss 45773 **f186** handwritten RAMC 1139/LP54/14

*Burn.* March 18/67.  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London, W.

My dear Sir,

I have done all I can in the Surgeon-Major matter-and, as far as I know, without the slightest success.

I am told that there is "nothing for it but to have a question asked about it in the House of Commons."

I would gladly arrange for this being done-but that I do not expect any good from it-The Secretary of State would certainly answer (what is true) that it was done with the concurrence (if not at the instigation) of the Director Gen.l. Now too, Sir John Pakington, who knows nothing about his business, will be too glad to have this answer pat.

But I saw no hope under Gne.l Peel-otherwise I could easily have got the question asked.

I think it however right to tell you what has been suggested to me-as you may wish, and easily find some M.P., to put a question in the House.

ever yours sincerely,  
F. NIGHTINGALE

**f187** letter by Longmore to FN, from Woolston, near Netley, Hants

4th May 1869

Dear Miss Nightingale

I returned from Berlin To London yesterday. Before leaving Berlin the Queen sent for me and at the interview desired me, if I had the opportunity, to communicate to you that she fully joined in the sentiments which had been expressed in the telegram dispatched to you by the gentlemen attending the international conference. She also desired me to say that she often thought of her visit to you when in England and that she prayed you might be blessed with the strength necessary for all the valuable works in which you are engaged.

Although Her Majesty's intention apparently was that I should simply repeat her words in case of seeing you, it appears to me only proper to write and mention these expressions of her kindly feeling.

During my absence from England the War Office has [illeg] a treatise written by me on the transport of sick and wounded--I presume that a copy has been sent to you; if not, it will be a pleasure to me to forward one.

I remain,  
very truly yours  
Thos. Longmore

ff189-90 letter by Longmore to FN

Army Medical School  
Royal Victoria Hospital  
Netley  
10th May 1869

Dear Miss Nightingale

I forward by book-post a copy of the book on ambulance transport. I should have sent it before, but imagined that a copy would have been sent to you direct from the War Office.

A cold caught in Berlin prevent me from joining in the Delegates dinner, on the occasion of which a telegram was sent to you. I do not know therefore in what manner it was sent. But at the Conference the next morning I heard the Chairman ? Sydow, mention that the telegram had been despatched to you, and hence (f190) no doubt, as the Queen was present at the conference, that part of the Queen's message which I was desired to transmit to you.

Many matters that appeared to me to be beyond the limits of the practical were discussed and consented to at Berlin by the delegates sent by the aid societies and by the Governments by whom aid societies are encouraged. There seems to be however a general interest among all classes on the continent in the subject of popular aid to sick and wounded in time of war, such as persons in this country have little idea of; and with the ocular demonstration and large personal (f190) experience they have had of late years of the results of war in most European countries with the exception of England, together with the apprehension which seems all but universal, as far as one could learn, in Germany that the outbreak of fresh war is only a question of time, it is not difficult to understand why this interest should exist, and why it should carry some well meaning persons into schemes which I fear in practice can only prove too visionary. From the nature and circumstances of my mission I considered my part to be chiefly that of a listener, with a view to informing the War Office on what took place at the meetings and acted accordingly. I am...

very truly yours

Thos. Longmore

Source: Typed copy of letter by FN, Add MSS 45773 f191 handwritten RAMC 1139/LP54/16

Feb. 10/70  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

My dear Sir,

It is long since I have written to recall myself to your recollection.

A little book which M. Michel Levy, of the Val de Grace has sent me (tho' I have no doubt you know it already) makes me wish to do so:-

“Manuel de l’infirmier de Visite  
Paris. (J. Dumaine  
1866.”

This little book contains the instructions for dressings &c. &c. &c. and appears superior to what has been issued before.

We have a young lady of our own training now training at the Val de Grace. And she tells me that nothing can exceed the perfection of the training *and discipline* of Infirmiers under M. Levy. I have heard from other sources, (and I think too from yourself), that, during the last 2 or 3 years, notable progress has been made at, the Val de Grace in this respect.

You have done so much for our Orderly Service that I thought I might venture to ask you whether you have M. Levy's last little 'Manuel,' in case you might like to order it.

Pray believe me

(tho' in haste)

ever your faithful servant,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

T. Longmore Esq.

Source: Typed copy of letter by FN, Add Mss 45773 **f192**, handwritten RAMC 1139/LP54/17

March 5/70.  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane, W.

My dear Sir,

In answer to your note, I am afraid that I should hardly feel justified in giving my judgement-or indeed have time to go so thoroughly into Dr. Moffitt's M.S. Manual as to justify any judgement of my own.

It would be incurring a responsibility which I feel, overworked as I am, that I am ill able to fulfill, to you and to him.

But, if you and he would wish me to look over a Proof in type, i would gladly do this and make suggestions which occur to me.

I am sincerely glad to hear that you have recovered from your Eye attack, which I am afraid was rather serious.

Could you kindly send me a copy of the Manual which I believe is given to each Orderly of the Army Hospital Corps?-

It is not for the purpose of criticism, but rather of help to myself. And if it is to be superseded in any way by Dr Moffitt's proposed Manual, I will not give it away nor make farther use of it, till I receive the *improved* form.

Pray believe me my dear Sir,

ever your faithful Sir,

Florence Nightingale.

Thos. Longmore Esq.

Source: Typed copy of letter by FN, Add Mss 45773 **ff193-94**, handwritten RAMC 1139/LP54/18

*Private.*        35 South Street,  
                    Park Lane, W.  
                    March 7/70.

My dear Sir,

It occurred to me, in relation to your last note, and to the changes which are about to take place thro' the formulation of the Army Service Corps, to ask you for information on the following points-the more so, as it is, I believe, the *discipline* of the "Infirmier" Corps at the Val de Grace which is envied by you and by me:-

1. Can there be any real discipline or progress among the Orderlies at Netley unless there is a tolerably stationary well-trained Staff of N.C. Officers and men there, thoroughly knowing the Hospital business and able to train others?-
2. Even for the raw ones, is 3 months' training enough?-And is it not almost illusory, unless there are some Wardmasters and old Orderlies who are scarcely, if ever, changed?
3. Do not the trained men try to get away, when before their training is complete whether to "writing" posts or to Regimental posts, because, owing to the amount of hard cleaning work at Netley which does not really forward their Hospital knowledge, they dislike Netley so much as only to think of getting away as soon as possible?

Do not suppose that, if these evils exist, I do not know that you do not feel them as much as I do. And they may be impossible to alter.

But I am sure that you will agree with me that a Training School, whether for men or women, is scarcely more than a farce, unless the head "Infirmiers," or Wardmasters, or head Nurses, or "Sisters," (who *train*), are *permanent*, more or less.

Pray believe me

my dear Sir,

ever yours sincerely,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Thos. Longmore Esq.

Source: Typed copy of letter by FN, Add Mss 45773 **f195**, handwritten RAMC 1139/LP/15

35 South St.  
Park Lane, W.  
Ap. 21/77.

My dear Sir,

I am always glad to see your hand writing:

I have no doubt that the life of our dear friend, Dr. Parkes, is best expressed by what you say: viz. extending "the competition for the prize essay to the Medical Officers of all three branches of the public service."

(Tho' not exactly a parallel case, I suppose no one cause has so raised the usefulness of Oxford as making open scholarships, exhibitions and fellowships).

Indeed you may well say that we feel the loss of Dr. Parkes more and more every day.

Will you kindly thank Dr. Dobson for me for the heliotype portrait,  
and pray believe me

ever sincerely yours

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Thos. Longmore, Esq.

F196 Longmore 9 May 1882. Woolston nr Netley. Mrs Deeble told me this morning that you desire to see copies of the questions put for the written exam of the Natl Aid Socy nursing sisters who have been under training at Netley. I accordingly send you copies of them. As far as my obs has gone, the ladies referred to seem to be anxious and to be well qualified, to be efficient aids in attendance on the sick and I don't anticipate that it will be from any fault of theirs if their nursing abilities are not turned to valuable account wherever they may be placed.

f197 FN rough notes, black-edged paper, prob from meeting with Longmore

£11 a year

9 Prob (5 Netley

£12 a year

to serve 3 years in a Station Hospl

Portsmouth, Dover, Aldershot

then to go back int the world

to be called on in time of War

---

Sister Supt £80 a year

ought to be permanent, ought to

have had Civil Hospl training

& experience -more training

than she cd have had at Netley

have 7 on my books who have

been Civil Hospl Sisters.

Miss Caufield 3 months at KCH for surgical (Woolwich) only

subject to Dr Slaughter &

Dr Monro = D.G.

Then 9 to be supported by N.A.S.

11/ a week rations

few operations Netley all done by juniors.

More reason for civil training

f198v

Netley 10 sisters

Woolwich

11 months S Africa

Durban till Xmas

P Maritzburg

Middlebury

Pretoria.

Netley

5 PMOs in 11 years

Dr Mackinnon

Capt of Orderlies good

PMO has all discipline

*drunken orderlies don't mind calls  
or fines*

5 Divisional

2 Night

2 Sick Officers

Supernumerary

Miss Wheldon

Sick Officers Sister

Dr Ross

Staffing the Sisters

Ladysmith &c

Durban first

cheeky

[upside down pen]

My Division Sisters don't  
like me to overlook them

f200 Longmore typed notes from the Camp before Sebastopol 1855

Light Division, letter to Birkett Feb 16 1855, arrangements and affairs of army not been exaggerated. I wrote home a very strong letter, which an uncle of mine published in the Daily News of Novr 8th 1854. Not only after Alma, but long before in Bulgaria that I and others saw what must happen, badly appointed as we were in respect to transport and hospital equipment and subject so completely to the caprice of the military authorities under whom we were acting. We did not know it would be so bad as it has been in the Crimea, because we did not know that we were to be deprived of all our ordinary hospital armament, let alone that was, on landing and taking the field. All my hospital boxes, etc, were left behind either at Varna, or in the transport which carried us to Kalamita Bay. I brought 2 small panniers, on a vicious brute of a pony which I could not get exchanged.... had all the surgical and medical stores I had for my regiment...I have reported everything to the commission sent out by the duke of Newcastle. You must know that I am one of the troublesome medical officers of the army. I and Watt of the 23rd run in couples. From the time we were at Devna to the present time we have been constantly writing official letters, complaining, remonstrating, warning and in short, as the military people call it "making difficulties" of every sort. We have equally written through our colonel to the general officers, and through the staff surgeons to the head of our own department. We could not have done so had we not been supported by the head "medicine man" of our division, Dr Alexander, whose name has been often mentioned in the papers. I believe he has been the only independent man in his position--stating plainly and bluntly that the regimental surgeons have been without the necessary accommodation and medicine for the treatment of the sick. At Monastery I wrote such a letter about being without medical comforts for the hospital when it was full of cholera and diarrhea was prevailing backed by my colonel--that a general hubbub was created. My complaint, however, was proved to be "frivolous" by General Airey (now Quartermaster General) and shortly afterwards.... fear prospects of promotion are done for

"Dr Hall appears to me to be a theorist--all his faith seems pinned upon returns and states--I have seen no evidence of his being a practical man. I cannot understand how he condescends to retain his office after the wiggling he got from the commander-in-chief in General Orders. I am quite certain that had he *insisted* on our having in the field the necessary ambulances, etc., Lord R. dared not have faced public opinion and refused the demand, if he did, Dr H. should immediately have left.....I am equally certain that had Dr Hall exhibited the necessary method, energy and firmness we should never have been without our proper supply of medicines and medicament in the Crimea." on march were in communication with ships and transports' f203 "even so late as the beginning of the present month we could hardly get any medicines. To an urgent complaint on this head..." use charcoal

f204 to Birkett. re no means of ablution or personal cleanliness

f206 Feb 3 1855 letter of W.G. Watt to Alexander. re deaths in regiment, affects living. "With the exception of opium, sulphuric acid and turpentine I still am without any astringents and many medicines I consider indispensably necessary for the treatment of dysentery and diarrhea are also wanting. I have not tried the treatment by means of charcoal, which was so kindly suggested by Dr Hall, as I have never seen it used in dysentery and in reference to the books in my possession I cannot find any description as to the manner in which it is desirable it should be used. I should feel much indebted if I could be informed how this remedy should be given, as in the present dearth of medicine any addition to our supply would be a great boon.

f208 to Birkett March 29 1855. lice, same as infested troops in Peninsular

f210 to Birkett letter April 1 1855, re clothing

f211 to Birkett letter April 30 1855, salaries. and medical officers not to blame



Add Mss 45774, 257 folios, 13 pages, Adam Matthew, reel 18; mainly Shaw Stewart correspondence, 1856 to 1888; some letters have FN underlining on; one letter (by mistake) to another Miss Stewart ff250-51

f1 to FN from 30 Chester St Belgrave Sq Sept 6 1856

f5 to FN Aug 14 1856, St Thomas Hosp, Southwark

f7 St Thomas Hosp Southwark

f13 St Thomas Sept 22 1856

f17 St Thomas' Sept 24 1856

f19 Dec 1 1856

f21 JSS hand: Private and Confidential, heading struck out: draft of paper before Subsidiary Notes ff21-37

f26: struck out: 10. The question of Religion is an all-important one, and bears for? directly upon the work ...to give up the common ground of  
? National church. Appears to me to give up a great element of truth a great source of strength and of great ? Of His blessing without Whom labour is but lost.

Follows closely to ff21-37, then to letters.

ff34-37 re Report for Lord Panmure, used in 3. NURSES IN HER MAJESTY'S HOSPITALS [34]

f34 JSS hand: III Nurses in Her Majesty's Hospitals

1. If their introduction

3.

5. Practically it is of little avail to

6, ..it under-rate the

10. The nurses should be strong active women

12. Their pension in the same graduated scale.

13. Their rules should be simple...leave them at the absolute disposal of the supt to

f36

14. Their duties should be strictly defined

15. Give them plenty to do

16. The nurses lodging in

17. Good should be ...perpetual spirit of

cross-out

18. Could the honest opinions be had of a few good military & surgical authorities

19. (Renumbered) the ...responsibilities must be a

20.

12 April to 22 July from Salp

f40 JSS letter on Nurse Logan

other JSS letters, Salpêtrière 1859

f43 est date JSS letter re Sellon, [arch: ca. early 1859]

f48 JSS note (no date) Is the hot and cold water supply laid all over Larib, the HD, and do you consider it

enough for England which certainly uses more water than France? What are the articles of luxury unnecessary and require cleaning to be avoided in the Lari??

f50 JSS to FN 1 April 1859 from Hospice de la Salpêtrière re hers of the 28h

f54 JSS to FN 12 April 1859 from Hospice de la Salpêtrière

f55 JSS to FN 6 May 1859 from Hospice de la Salpêtrière

f61 JSS to FN 26 May 1859 from Salp

f71 JSS to FN 22 June 1859 from Salp

f75 JSS to FN 29 June 1859 from Salp

July 1859 FN draft letter to Pelissier on behalf of JSS in 45797 f56

JSS to MSS 45793

f76 18 July 1859 JSS to FN from Salp

f77 22 July 1859 JSS to FN from Salp (or 23?)

11 August 1859 JSS to FN from Lar and floor cleaning at Bethanien LMA cat H1/ST/NC2/V3/58; see if in Subsidiary Notes on Bethanien floors

7 Sept 1859 JSS to MSS from Vincennes 45793 f187

8 Sept 1859 45793 f183 JSS to MSS from Vincennes

25 Nov 1859 45793 ff191 JSS to MSS from Val de Grace

f97 June 29/60? Not clear date from ?? W. (London prob) 1 page note  
copy f98

get date JSS visited Bethanien

see f90-- etc, descriptions of French hospitals 1859!

f168 JSS to MSS 2 June 1859 from Salp (corr from J Mohl about JSS)

ff250-51 is to Miss Stewart, Egyptian War, not Jane Shaw Stewart but Henrietta Stewart

long handwritten doc on Private and Confidential, Thoughts submitted by order concerning I Hospital Nurses, II Nurses in Civil Hospitals, III Nurses in HM's Hospitals, marked dated March 16 1857; f38 has FN comments on it

ff82-95 Shaw Stewart's memo on project for the Hôtel Dieu

early letters of SS signed ever yours affectionately & faithfully

ff101-11 Printed Evidence taken before committee of Inquiry at Netley Hospital, General Hay, pres, Dr Beatson, Dr Sutherland, commandant and supt of nurses also present; the commandant was Gen Wilbraham, who brought charges against her in letter to under sec of state for war 23 May 1868, unfitness for office from want of control over temper, complaints of 2 invalids 45803 109

f101 printed letter of E. Lugard to Sir (Lt Col C. Hay) re his offering his services re inq of conduct of supt gen of nurses at RVH Netley, to commence the inq at Netley 29th May.

ff102- evidence begins, other members are Dr Beatson and Dr Sutherland, with commandant and supt gen present. First witness Dr Longmore, she cross-examined him; evidence in Corporal Galbraith's case, 1st witness Serg Major Ward; Dr Maclean gave evidence: nurses always gave satisfaction, services a great boon to the sick, objection to the system, not good relations with med officers

f105 Private Daniel; Dr Anderson called; Nurse Frances Johnson, abominably treated by supt gen, "she jumped and raved"; given notice of dismissal; JSS asked no questions;

f106 Dr Fyffe

\*

witnesses: Prof Longmore, Sgt Major Ward, Private Looby, AHC; Prof Maclean, dep insp gen of hosps; Dr Fyffe; Nurse Henrietta; Private Daniel

accusations of clapping her hands, stamping her feet, slammed door in face, of Dr Anderson; Nurse Frances Johnson; this doc has evidence, with corrections to proof by FN, appendices with letters, Shaw Stewart, Fyffe, Wilbraham; infractions include giving an egg to a patient w/o medical direction; altogether 5 days of hearings (29-30 May, 1, 3 and 9 June 1868); printed evidence ff102-20.

f102 Longmore evidence: My impression is, I am sorry to say, decidedly that the nursing system has failed, and must continue to fail under the present system of management and superintendence. In the first place, as a general rule, the nurses are no sooner well acquainted with their duties than they leave, not for any reasons emanating from the medical officers, but according to the nurses' own statements, because they cannot continue to serve under the supt gen.....also re the official corr between her and PMO, no complaints as to the nurses themselves; nurse said to have resigned because of her ill treatment

f103 evidence of Corporal Galbraith case. Witness Sergeant Major Ward AHC  
re the egg!

f104 Nurse Henrietta Gregory; days of hearings

W. Johnstone Fyffe, staff surgeon;

f111 last evidence, inquiry closes

f112- Appendix A (all have printed letters)

f114 Appendix D JSS letter names Nurse Anne Mignot as person most suitable under existing circs to assume temp duties of supt, but considers her unfit to fulfil duties of supt gen of nurse

f115 Appendix E has printed letters

appendixes A-E from ff112-17 printed letters

f117 Shaw Stewart to FN from House of Mercy, Clewer, Windsor 22 July 1868

f121 HBC letter to Shaw Stewart on behalf of FN at end of inquiry 1868, 29 July 1868

f123 JSS Memo on gen inq

ff131-letter of Shaw Stewart re complaint re supt gen Oct 21 1869 with me

ff137-42 and suppl memo

f143 JSS supplementary memo on special nursing regulations for Netley

f158 JSS letter from Southwater, near Horsham, Sussex

f169 copy of Traité between Administration de la Guerre and supérieure-générale des Soeurs de la Charité de St Vincent de Paul 1855; soeurs names are Soeur, first name and last name

f183 JSS to FN copy Herbert Hosp to Sir Dec 1 1869

f184 JSS to FN from Southwater, nr Horsham Sussex Dec 29 1869, fin 30. I have burnt your letter of the 17th marked private (missing) (as all your others are burnt). I have taken no note or memo whatever of my part of it and I take not copy of memo whatever of this letter. But I must not, by silence, under the false impression that I “drop for ever” the subject to which it referred. To you I drop it, with only these few words.

f194 JSS to FN Feb 9 1870, from Southwater nr Horsham Sussex, I think it is right to mention to you in these lines which expect no answer, that a line just recd from the actg supt N HH desires that yesterday aft

f196 JSS to FN Southwater, Feb 10 1870 forgot yesterday

f198 JSS to FN from Southwater nr Horsham Sussex May 20 1870 I think it right to tell you by this registered letter which expects no answer that I had this morning a line, dated yesterday, from the acting supt of nursing in Herbert Hosp. The resident ?? Mr Batstone? had just come to quarters, ...  
(PS) Herbert Hospital

JSS letter to FN includes f205 press cutting HRH Prince Christian added to committee of Society for the Relief of the Sick and Wounded; prince of Wales wd take chair at meeting at Willis's Rooms, exec com appointed of Lord Westminster, Lord Eliot, Col Loyd Lindsay, Capt Galton, Mons Capel, Dr Pollock, Col Jervis MP in

f202 JSS to FN from Southwater nr Horsham Sussex July 30 1870. It is right to tell you, that four circs, the last of which occurred yesterday, none of which were in my knowledge, or foresight when I wrote to you on October 12 and December 30 1869, how in one respect altered my future duty. I told you that if recalled to the service of the War Office, which I shd not consider to be intended, if it did not take place within 2 years from the earlier date, being 3 full years from my leaving it in July 1868) I shd consider my silent service much more useful to it, and to the women who may hereafter enter its hosps, than any publication of mine would ever be, supposing the best of what is always so uncertain, the fate of a published book. But that if not recalled to the service of the War Office I believed that it wd be for the service of the crown, and of the women who may hereafter serve in the mil hosps that my experience in our principal civil and in the principal foreign hosps shd be recorded in a small systematic and very plain spoken book. Three lines illeg wd explain that I cd feel no surprise if readers thought that any usefulness in the book would be defeated by its being written by a nurse, for that no one could

more deprecate,,that books shd be written by nurses than I had done. I believed that it wd help to clear he way to what is wanted, the great, silent life long service of other women, that I shd put my experience within reach of those whom it concerned, the War Office, the women who may hereafter serve in its hosps, and candidates and their parents. I added that s short list of books of different kinds, subjoined to mine, would very much shorten it, as I did not mean to repeat what others had already said far better than I cd do, but to put on record things much to the purpose, not in other books.

I told you that I shd not advert .... You had already in reply to one of two letters which I wrote to you on Michaelmas Day [29 September] 1869, expressed your strong disapprobation of my published anything about hospls, and I told you that I shd distinctly state your entire non-participation in my book, and the strong disapprobation you had expressed to my publishing anything on hospitals. Illeg illeg

f203 The four circs refereed to in the first line of this letter are these: 1. Early this year I read in the Times a review of Captain Galton's Lecture on Hospitals, sent for it and reading in it reference to your paper on Nursing of which I had never heard before, in the illeg to the 1867 Report as to Workhouses, I sent for it also. It is worthy of remark that, at the very time, so long before this paper has illeg supplied to every member of the Houses the late Sister Accident was the principal teacher and mentor of the N probs. For, dear Miss Nightingale, do you think me of the illeg of presumptuous ?? S the real ...

2. In April last I read in the Times an extract from the last report of the Nightingale Council, in which they express their intention grounded upon experience, of limiting the admission of gentlewomen to illeg to in the proportion so the context implies required to furnish supts to staffs of nurses (or head nurses) mainly composed of respectable "well educated"...and the daughters of small farmers.

F205. 3. In June last I read, for the first time, the article "Our Sisters Books" ? In The Church and the World for 1867.

4. Within the last few days several letters of illeg in the Times as to founding in England a branch of the International Societe de Secours pour les Militaires blesses, of which the last stated that application was to be made to Lord Granville, to illeg whether France and Prussia would sanction ...yesterday's Times ... clipping in Society for the Relief of the Sick and Wounded. At meeting of gen com, held yesterday at temp office St Martin's Ch, Traf Sq, announced HRH Prince Christian graciously pleased to allow his name to be added to com, and public meeting in aid of the cause will be held at Willis' Rooms on Thursday next, 4 August at 3 pm, in all prob HRH prince of Wales will take the chair. Com of Lord Westminster, Lord Eliot, Col Loyd Lindsay, Capt D Galton, Mons Capel, Dr Pollick, Col Jervis MP and others....[more on internat soc]

(PS) I open this letter as 2 things in it are not so clearly expressed as they ought to be, one is that as those written to you before I return to the service the case of S Accident will ever be referred to by me. The other is...

f208 JSS to FN from Southwater nr Horsham Sussex Aug 10 1870, obliged to her for copy of unpublished paper of 1862, recd with your note (missing) today (they reached Horsham yesterday after the one daily post thence here. I have indeed no wish to take up your time so here only...re JSS's to her July 30. 1. I have carefully weighed the answer I ought to return to your question as to whether, if asked, I would go to the Prussian War Hosp Service. Personally, I shd of course wish to go where one had the chance of being more or less useful to sick or wounded soldiers in war time, and where arrs made concerning them may teach useful lessons for future expeditions. I do not illeg believe, and I am certain you do not, that English war nurses are really needed by Prussia, tho' English money may very likely be useful. "North Germany" as modern style has it, is far larger and more populous than England, and apart from the services to be drawn from the women, illeg illeg ...the countries now called North Germany certain many Deaconesses affiliates and non-affiliated to Kais. ...Catholic sisters and many large civil hospitals ..seculars. I consider as I am sure you do the gracious appeal made to you by HRH the crown Princess as one of the many ways in which since the declaration of war, Prussia..very naturally endeavoured to enlist English "sympathies" (also fears) on her side. I do no try you patience by

adverting to illeg which appear to me to decide against the service of Englishwomen In foreign war hospitals. They will be better stated elsewhere. Taking things as they are, and the personal service of the subjects of a neutral sovereign to one of the two belligerents resolved ? Me (P presume that the refusal of passports for such an errand would not ever stop these volunteers,... I am sure that it would not answer either to my own permanent duty to the crown concerning the military hospitals, which, under whatever form circumstances may decide, will only cease with my life, or to the temporary but ...obligation duty I shd undertake should the Aid Society and the Superiors,,,

I am much touched by your implied proposal, and if the risk of your not reading what follows add, if presuming that of course I know 0 of the projects of the Aid Society, except those read in the Times and in your letter.

Place the women under whatever forms relative to the Aid Society and undertake? whatever internal organization, ...at the disposal of the Prussian authorities for distribution in the army hospitals, to serve there under the orders of their superiors.

Of the women however termed already serving there and under the directions of these women. Do not part them in separate hosps, and do not place them in sole charge. I suppose that in the Prussian female not since these existing ...the superioress ...has virtually analogous duties ..... French war hospitals...to her functions as local superioress of the mil hosps. ...[long letter hard to read]

f210...It would depend on serious things whether one of the English nurses in each station ///  
Has the late lady superior of St John's House Miss Jones and her sisters, occurred to you for this princess?

f215-16 JSS letter continued August 11 [1870].

F216 I thoroughly failed the result is chronicled in the interesting pages of the "Proceedings of the Committee of Enquiry, May, June 1868" During ..the time before the opening of Netley I had as you well know orders twice to prepare for possible war, 1861 and 1864. I often thought of the results of our system or no-system if either illeg or war transports had filled Netley, or if we had been all transferred to war hospitals that some of the gentlemen

...

Ends. A Dieu, donc, dear Miss Nightingale, I am ever yours faithfully, JSS. This needs no reply.

f217 JSS letter to FN from Southwater nr Horsham Sussex Thanksgiving Day 1872 (arch: see Mrs Wardroper March 27 1872). Nurse Stains. Today I recd a note from Nurse Caroline Oakes acting supt Herbert. She mentions that Nurse Kate Holland (concerning whom I wrote to you last August and Sept) ... that Miss Stains, formerly Nurse Emmiline since Oct 1871 a Nightingale prob at St T, concerning ...re Herbert, PMO,

f219 JSS to FN from Southwater near Horsham Sussex Oct 15 1872. This morning I recd a note dated yesterday from Nurse Caroline Oakes, acting supt of Nurses in Herbert Hosp. On Sunday while the nurses were at dinner the general attended by 3 officers, the PMO, the capt of orderlies and a sergeant, suddenly arrived. The general stated he wanted to bring some cadets into the nurses' quarters, that the nurses had plenty of room to take them in, he added... you can take in Lieut Custobadie (an officer of the illeg, injuries). Nurse Caroline respectfully told the general that he could not admit any one into the Nurses' Quarters without an order form the War Office. The PMO said he thought she was wrong, and that an order from the War Office was not necessary. The general and the PMO again expressed their wish that Lieut Custobadie shd be brought into the nurses Quarters and Nurse Caroline respectfully and firmly repeated that she cd admit women into them, w/o an order from the War Office. They then left. (No evidence or...)...No supt or acting sup can be responsible for the safety and good order of nurses' quarters and of large govt stores within them if persons not known by her ....(PS) The infirmary ought to be always available.

f223 JSS to FN from Southwater nr Horsham Sussex Oct 16 1873, just recd a note re Caroline Oakes

f225 JSS to FN from Southwater nr Horsham Sussex, Oct 18, 1872 many thanks for your note recd this morning. It is burnt, like all your letters of which I have just a line or copy or memorandum except the Rules you gave us in Castle Hosp, Balaklava, in 1855.

Nothing yesterday can have taken place in Herbert Hospital as ....(PS) your note in Oct 18 that the N Com had been asked by the War Office to undertake to train and form a nursing staff for the Herbert Hosp and that the com had requested time to see the working of the nursing staff about to illeg the Netley,

f229 JSS to FN from Southwater nr Horsham Sussex Nov 12 1872 re Nurse Oakes. This letter posted by myself at Horsham for the 9:45, the first post, ought to reach you before very long. This mornng I recd a note written yesterday from Nurse Caroline Oakes, acting supt of nurses in Herbert Hosp. Her words were: I have just seen the PMO. He has ...

f231 draft from Herbert Hosp to Sir, Nov 13 1873

f233 JSS to FN copy of letter to Sir

f236 JSS to FN from Southwater nr Horsham Sussex, Jan 20 1873, much obliged to you for the trouble you have so kindly taken to illeg water being laid on and a sink supplied in the temp nurses' quarters in Herbert Hospl. The actg supt of N in HH wrote me some days ago that the water was laid on; but that there was no sink, as she had been told that there would be. There is only a illeg in the floor to carry off the water. Of course this is an utterly deficient thing for a sink. Their only sink remains the one in the basement kitchen. ... I have told Nurse Caroline to desire the (unofficial) estimate of the cost of a sink and in ...(several pages on the sink). (PS) Your note was not dated, but I think I made out correctly the London post mark. I cd but read with a smile the names of one or two of your companions among the Female Six in the new Conseil des illeg Said Conseil is illeg

f240 Shaw Stewart letter to FN from Southwater nr Horsham Sussex, March 13 1873 This note, which requires no answer, is only to rectify two illeg in my note to you of Jan 20. I took no copy but, re nurse quarters

f242 JSS to FN Southwater nr Horsham Sussex May 30 1876, thanks for hers of 27th (missing) 45774 f242 with copy of letter same date of Oakes to Wilbraham (in 244)

f244 copy JSS of letter of Oakes from Herbert Hosp May 30 18876

f245 JSS to FN Southwater nr Horsham Sussex. Oct 13 1876. Many thanks for yours of ?? Intelligence that the new nursing staff will enter HH on Wednesday Nov 1.

I take for granted that the acting S S and the sec? Will leave on Tuesday 31 and??. Nurse Caroline .... Nurse Kate.

f246 JSS to FN from Southwater nr Horsham Sussex Oct 20 1876, re nurses at Herbert Hosp, Muir,,,I hope that you will consider it as mere justice that Nurse Kate shd receive a copy of the ...mentioned by you on Oct 12 and that Nurse Caroline wd receive ...

f248 JSS letter to FN from Southwater nr Horsham, Sussex. Nov 29 1876 9 am On Monday night the 27th

Nurse Caroline Oakes, actg S of N in Herbert Hosp found in her letter box, where it may or may not have been for some hours, a memo of which I subjoin copy. Her letter only reached me late last night and I send her by the first train this morning a draft letter which will illeg as that she wrote on May 12. I shall be very glad if you are able to and will kindly tell me that is settled as to this. I dread some fresh surprises for the nurses there. These also tell me whether the time has come for Nurse Caroline to send her request illeg....Many recollection must have been brought to you mind as to mine in reading of Miss Sellon's death. I never saw her.

f249 handwritten, JSS copy of memo of Mrs Caroline Oakes Herbert Hosp. By desire of the dir-gen AMD to request to state in writing whether you wish to resort? To the nursing duties of the Herbert Hosp Woolwich or not. Edward illeg PMO. 17.1.76.

F249v draft. JSS hand. Herbert Hosp Nov 29 (or 30) 1876 Sir, With reference to the Memo Nov 27, which I found late evening in our letter box, I have the honour respectfully to request you to transmit this my reply. I am the senior nurse of HM's Nursing Service. I entered the Service on August 20 1864, more than 12 years ago. In 1866, 10 years ago, I was transferred from ward duty to store duty, which, by the Regs of 1859 under which and in the faith of which I entered the Service was among the duties assigned to the Nursing Service. I feel my health unequal to return to ward duty, discontinued by me for 10 years. During my 12 years' service, I have never been one day on the Sick List. ...

signed letter, ff250-51v, pen with envelope

## **f250**

Sept 12 1882

{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W. [15:928-29]

My dear Miss Stewart

First of all, how are you?

~~are~~/have you the *best* cases in &  
profiting by your care,  
which in our language of  
course means the *worst*?

We have not had ~~had~~-a  
word from our two Sisters  
since you arrived at Ismailia  
- so that we are eager to hear.

Our best love to them: & God's  
best blessing on you all &  
your work, as many, many  
are praying for daily &  
nightly & almost hourly.

But I should scarcely have  
presumed to write to you in  
the midst of your work but  
for the following:



**f251v**

A Mrs. Wynell Mayow, wife  
of a clergyman near Devizes,  
(brother of Genl Mayow,  
who is dead,) wrote to me to  
ask whether she could not  
go out with you or with one  
of the parties of Sisters, &  
help ~~them~~/you to nurse, on the plea  
that her son, Corporal C. Mayow

G. Troop

4th Dragoon Guards

(he enlisted with his parents'  
consent) might be wounded  
or dangerously ill in Hospital.  
And she would wish to nurse  
him. I answered, *as* you  
may suppose but I said  
that if he came into Hospital  
where there were Sisters, he  
would be *sure* to be well  
nursed: & that I would write  
& mention him to you, who  
I was sure would receive such  
an introduction kindly.

**f251**

The poor mother has sent me the enclosed letter - She is set upon being written to or telegraphed for if he becomes a Patient.

Could you send word into the Ismailia (land) Hospital in case he should be admitted there? It would be very kind.

I suppose by this time Miss Caulfield & her 6 Sisters are arrived at that Hospital. And 5 Sisters, 4 from Netley, ~~including~~ & our Miss Helen Norman, daughter of Sir Henry Norman, from St. Mary's, are going out on Friday, we understand for Ismailia.

If there were Sisters wanted for a *Field Hospital*, you would find Sister Margaret, (Mrs. Fellowes), & Sister Dorothy, (Miss Solly), able & willing, as I need not tell you, to undertake such work. And perhaps two

**f251v**

of the Sisters now come or coming out would suit ~~you~~/(and almost better) the work on board the Carthage.

That the most work may be best done among the Patients is, I am sure, your & my most fervent prayer.  
- I seem as if I could almost *not* trust God with it. how impertinent that is: how wrong.  
And that the *whole* work, the difficult & delicate work of re=construction of Military & War Hospital Nursing may be forwarded by this War is I think, the foremost wish of my heart, as I know it is of yours,  
God bless you

**[end 15:929]**

yrs ever sincerely

Florence Nightingale

envelope stamped cancelled, Cromford [but this is not Shaw Stewart]

Ismailia

Egypt

Miss Stewart

H.M.'s Nursing Service

Transport 32

Hospital Ship Carthage

British Expeditionary Force

12/9/82

f253 JSS again 1888. JSS letter from Southwater nr Horsham, Sussex. St Bartholomew 1888. [24 August] Dear Miss Nightingale, This morning "The Church illeg" Besurestad? Sons, Derby & London, price 1/2d weekly, came as usual to me, in the way, thro' the Rectory, to some aged cottagers who like it more for the spice of cant with which its food is flavoured. Reading at page 4 a pageful about you, I wrote "Nonsense" in the margin of one line, and thought it not worth troubling you about. On second thoughts I have cut it out, and enclose it, in case you should think it worth rectifying --human stupidity being great. Please do not trouble yourself to notice this note. I often think of you.

Ever yours faithfully, Jane Shaw Stewart.

F254 newspaper clipping. Pickings. From the News of the Week. It will be news to some of our readers to learn that Miss Nightingale the heroine of the Crimean War is now a confirmed invalid. The long hours of standing during her hospital work affected her spine, and she has been *some years past an in-patient at S. Thomas's Hospital*. She is now in her sixty-ninth year. [und by JSS with Nonsense in margin.] env has date Aug 24/88 and stamp and postmark same

f256-57 JSS letter, no date, can't read, even original

Ends f257 last letter with env Aug 24 1888, from Horsham

Shaw Stewart sent Nightingale several letters from the Lariboisière. Letters June to September 1858, LMA H1/ST/NC2/V2-5/58; from the Hôtel-Dieu September and October 1858 LMA H1/ST/NC2/V5/58; from

Shaw Stewart at Vienna General 6 Jan 1858; LMA H1/ST/NC2/V1/58

9 June 1858 June FN writes Manning for her for French hosps;

27 July and 3 August 1858 Shaw Stewart about Lariboisière LMA H1/ST/NC2/V2/58

11 August 1858 Shaw Stewart from Lar re flooring encloses account, LMA H1/ST/NC2/V3/58

17 September 1858 from Shaw Stewart from Lar, returns to FN questions, hopes to get to Hotel-Dieu V4/58 again H1/ST/NC2/V4/58

30 Sept 1858 from Shaw Stewart at Hotel-Dieu re supplies, LMA H1/ST/NC2/V5/58

22 Oct 1858 from Shaw Stewart at Hotel-Dieu, answers a missing letter of FN, LMA H1/ST/NC2/V6/58

10 Nov 1858 Shaw Stewart sends more comments on Lariboisière, pavilion system, with newspaper clipping London and Paris hosps, LMA H1/ST/NC2/V7/58 and V8/58

1 April 1859 Shaw Stewart from Hospice de la Salpêtrière re hers of the 28th 45774 f50

Letters from Shaw Stewart 6 January 1858 from Vienna LMA H1/ST/NC2/V1/58;

1 April 1859 from Salpêtrière, 45774 f50; 3, 11 and 17 August, 10 November 1858 from Lariboisière LMA

H1/ST/NC2/V2-6/58; 30 September, 22 October 1858 from Hôtel-Dieu,

Letters from Shaw Stewart from Salpêtrière, Lariboisière, Vincennes, Hotel-Dieu and Val-de-Grace, from April 1858 to April 1859.

Add Mss 45775, microfilm, 200 folios, 44 pages, Adam Matthew reel 19

ff1-115 Jane C. Deeble 1869-92;  
ff116-200 Sybil Airy 1871-81;  
R.V.H. is Royal Victoria Hospital

meetings with Deeble:

6 May 1882 f90  
1 Aug 1882 f93  
17 Aug 1882 f98  
5 Dec 1882 f106

ff1-2v, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 30 Nov 1869, R.V.H. Netley, re: has been at her destination for a week, 'everyone about the place' has been earnest in their desire to aid her, the newness of her work not as difficult with the willing assistance on all sides, the Sisters however have not risen to their responsibilities but she trusts they will after a time. Sister Lennox has already been ill, missing attendance at an important amputation case and has expressed a desire to resign as she feels unequal to the work physically, Emm had mistakenly given a rheumatic patient a dose of liniment in lieu of Cod liver oil which the patient vomited with no serious results, refers to the Young Medicos on the ward at the time of the incident, reports incident to Dr Fyffe, an unfortunate start as the orderlies are entirely under the Sisters and herself, mentions how the other Sisters are getting on, finds the Military routine quite different to civil hospital work, wishes to keep in close communication with Nightingale as if she were among them

ff3-8v, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 12 Dec 1869, R.V.H. Netley, re: has let time elapse before acknowledging Nightingale's letter, her response strengthens her resolution to lay bare mistakes that may occur, Sisters are well and doing their best, Surgeons are pleased with Clark and Lennox in the way they attend to wounds, the Doctors of the Medical Division are satisfied with their Sisters Kennedy, Strong and Emm, with Emm doing her best to improve, Sister L{ennox} happier and her wards are getting into order & who is rather 'faint hearted' to take over probationer orderlies but 'is making her way slowly & surely', their home getting more home like', status of the Linenry, her request to cover the principle passages with bill cloth, frequent scrubbing keep the quarters damp and cold where there are no fires, tells of the status of the leg amputation patient being good & of another possible amputation patient, is happy to be among the sick soldiers, her desire to reform the present system of bandages and how it would work, Genl Wilbraham writes to say she is to receive furniture for her sitting room from the Govt- to be selected in Southampton

ff9-15, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 13 Jan 1870, R.V.H. Netley, re: will not apologize for delay in answering her kind letter as Nightingale understands her being fully employed, much to be done in medical wards with arrival of invalids on Xmas and several bad cases, pleased to report the Sisters meet with the approbation of the Sen. Med Men and valued by patients, discipline of the night orderlies found bad, did what she was able and presented the situation to Senior Me Officers and to the General, there is improvement and does not find them 'quite between the blankets with their pipes', finds great comfort and satisfaction in her night work, Sister L more content, Emm tries her best but lacking in intelligence and tact, she informed Dr Maclean she did not know how to apply ether spray to a quinsy patient, orderlies bandage well, keep wounds clean & make poultices and dressings, yet as the old story goes the most experienced is not always to be trusted, can ease Nightingale's mind re instant removal of all dressings and soiled bandages from the wards, Mr Bonham Carter sent questions to answer re pay of Sisters as she was unable to answer the Paymaster, furniture for sitting room has arrived, unable at present to make use of Miss W services for her comfort as her duties for the Sister housekeeping is enough, arrangements need to be made for answering the constant ring of the inner bell 80 yds from the kitchen, bells ringing everywhere and need to be re-arranged, has also requested a half partition for the servants room but does not think it will be granted, £200 already spent in making alterations in building for Nursing Staff, allowed 13 boxes of coal weekly, a messy job to bring to kitchen through dormitory passage and her sitting office, wishes to have all coal boxes removed from kitchen to keep Fatigue Party out of their home bringing in coal, has a blue Coat boy & Nelly for the holidays who add to her comfort, Nelly visits wards on Xmas day, will be glad to get new regulations, has kept her acquaintance with Mrs Wardroper and wishes her Sisters to continue the same, Mohler [?] not however in same spirit she intended, wishes these thoughts to be known only by Nightingale, is willing to improve or dispose of practices at Nightingale's request

ff16-17v, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 16 Feb 1870, R.V.H. Netley, re: appreciates Nightingale's valuable time in writing her, has moved all Coal Boxes to outer passage, gives servants more work but give the home their privacy, would like to see her when in town on the 23<sup>rd</sup>, has been at Netley for 3 months and able to give insight to what has taken place, their Wards are very heavy with Sister Clarke having 4 operations the following day, eye cases, excision of elbow joint and other private case doing well, will also be visiting Mrs Wardroper on the 23<sup>rd</sup>, weather has been trying especially for new arrivals from India, respectful remembrances from the Sisters to Nightingale

ff18-19, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 18 Feb 1870, R.V.H. Netley, re: will be leaving on the 8 a.m. train on the 23<sup>rd</sup>, to reach Waterloo Station 11-14, St Thomas' after Mrs Wardroper, then to city and finished there by 1-30, wishes to call on Nightingale at 3 o'cl, has to leave on 5-10 train to be home 7-45, declines kind offer of dinner, 60 arrivals from India on this day 'all looking pretty miserable', operations of previous day gone well with a comfortable night, Dr MacKinnon pleased with the Surgical Sisters, making new eye bandages for 3 cases operated on, has a good pattern from the London Ophthalmic Hospl

ff20-21v, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 23 Feb 1870, re: note with books which the Sisters requested her to return and forgot to leave during her visit

ff22-23v, draft, pencil {possibly by FN but in another hand}

**f22**

{archivist:} [beg. Mar. 1870]  
I am most desirous of helping you in regard to the nursing, but there are certain difficulties in the way of moving in it which you would have to ~~illeg~~ deal with yourself, You are now an officer of the W.O. and they would naturally expect that defects should be made known to them. Your case of the great increase of severe cases requiring night nursing is a very strong one for adding other two night ~~my~~ nurses. The present staff are provided on the assumption that the old proportions of severe cases would continue. As this is not the case, the question is how to deal with the deficiency. All we can do is to place our resources at the command of the W.O. for any additional number of nurses we may be asked for. It appears to me that you could raise the question in several ways.  
1<sup>st</sup> You might consult with the P.M.O. at Netley & then with the D.G.

If both were convinced of the necessity of the addition you could then write to the Under Sec of State mentioning the facts or the



**f22v**

D.G. might possibly be induced to make the application. Or you might write out the case showing the great increase of severe cases over the former average & that additional aid is required & send this to Mr Carter & we would then consider how far we could help you. It would perhaps be necessary for him to use your letter. You will also have to consider whatever you could do with temporary aid merely during this great inflow of sick. This will depend on whether the invalids are in future to arrive in large numbers so as to increase the severe cases for a time only or whether this increase is likely to be permanent. The Commandants P.M.O would possibly be able to inform you. Your statement

**f23**

would be modified by the nature of the demand.

**f23v** {clearly FN hand:}

You must tell her *to whom* she is to write  
& *what* she is to say

ff24-25, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 7 March 1870, R.V.H. Netley, re: will be forwarding a copy of a letter by express post by the Med & Authorities on female night nursing, thinks Nightingale may however have already seen it for approval, Sisters are well except Lennox for some days, plans to write Mrs Wardroper to ask for one of her screens as they are to be supplied with new ones, St Thomas has best pattern being light to move and portable

ff26-29, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 8 March 1870, R.V.H. Netley, re: letter referred to in the previous day's letter not sent re night nursing for the War Office as Dr. Beatson is waiting for the return of Dr Fyffe, anticipates no difficulty for more sleeping rooms for the additional Sisters and discusses different options of making it work, finds great pleasure to send her the Regulations for Hospital servants which includes recipes for cookery for the sick, a point in which the Sisters are weak, Miss Wheldon and J. Deeble have assisted Sisters in this area, sees that one of their trained Sisters should be competent to do all in a ward that a Med Officer could expect of her, describes an incident re Sister L being asked to take the temperature of a patient and not knowing how, Sister Clarke's mistake in applying leeches to the eye of a patient so close to the inside of the eye to cause hemorrhage, if Sister C had used the eye-glass it would not have happened but she had never seen an eye glass be used, intends to provide a temperature glass and letting them practice, Dr Fyffe pleased with Emm's careful attention to patients even if not as intellectual as the others, has just received ten cases containing statuettes of Nightingale, will wait to hear how to use 'dispose' them

ff30-33v, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 20 March 1870, R.V.H. Netley, re: {note in HyBC hand: make of this hereafter HyBC}, Deeble tells Nightingale letter now enclosed re female night nursing, Mr H Bonham has given directions re the statuettes, says she highly values the gift and will 'always occupy a prominent niche' in her home, the Sisters grateful as well and is placed in the day room, work going well, heavy with bad cases on the 26<sup>th</sup>, expecting an increase of 419, discusses Sisters' required dress code &c, has not heard who is to succeed General Wilbraham, General W has been very supportive of their new start, 'beating the orderlies into shape' seems to be her greatest difficulty, they need systematic patience, Sisters also helping by making their orderlies learn the practical parts of Nursing, Dr Moffit tells his Probationers much improved since they came, Dr Moffits manual of Instruction for orderlies good and practical, intends to read many of the chapters to her Sisters, Sister Emm improving in her temper and general manner, Sister Strong 'makes a good supernumerary', unsure if the enclosed letter has gone on to the War Dept

ff34-37v, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 15 April 1870, R.V.H. Netley, re: Sister Emm's faults, has hoped she would improve and put her heart into the work but has been 'falling off and excuses herself always in cases of neglect' of overwork &c, proposes to call Mrs Wardroper the following day, has given matter a lot of thought and feels there is no other option, finds she is idle and neglects patients and will soon be a detriment to their cause, would like to call on Nightingale as Netley is in confusion from many changes of Office, will also call at the War Office with some difficulty re her Pension, other Sisters doing well and gaining respect of those over them, General Wilbraham has written a nice letter to the Sisters and has presented for their day room handsome pictures

f38-v, draft, pencil JS rough draft

**f38** {archivist:} [ca. April 1870]

When we made an estimate for the Nursing  
    {illeg page torn}  
at Netley Hospital we took it for granted that  
    {illeg page torn}  
was an efficient night orderly service  
    {illeg page torn}  
all good Civil Hospitals there is an efficient  
    {illeg page torn}  
of nurses. It appears however from Gen.{illeg page torn}  
that the night orderlies are not night orderlies  
    {illeg page torn}  
sense that night nurses are night nurses in  
    {illeg page torn}  
Hospitals, but that on the contrary night orderlies  
are really day orderlies told off of night duty, which  
is perhaps the most important part of hospital work.

Of course under such an arrangement of duties  
proper care of severe night cases is not to be expected  
& all the superintendence in the world will not better  
the position. What is wanted at Netley is a proper  
special night orderly service so arranged that the  
men to be on duty on any specific night shall not  
be on duty the day before.

The other letters however, render it doubtful whether you  
could get a sufficiently conscientious body of orderlies of  
this Class & hence the application for additional Nurses  
for night superintendence. The letters from the necessity  
illeg for the change, but it would not be possible  
to do without night orderlies even if you had night  
nurses, because only one night nurse is asked for  
for each division & she would be useful only to  
superintend the orderlies. In the ordinary run of  
severe hospital cases one night nurse for a division  
could do nothing but superintend the orderlies

**f38v**

{illeg page torn} Cardwell agrees to the application from Netley  
{illeg page torn} do our best to provide you with two  
{illeg page torn} nurses, for whom quarters would be  
{illeg page torn} for which I have little doubt there is some  
{illeg page torn} prevent Nurse division, & then ~~no doubt~~ possibly  
{illeg page torn} at Netley could arrange for the  
{illeg page torn} on duty at night having sufficient  
rest though the preceding day

ff39-43, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 5 May 1870, R.V.H. Netley, re: is concerned about a delay in her response to be failure of strength, prefers it to be caused by press of business, responds to the letter of April 21<sup>st</sup> re the War Office and her pension, the W.O. has referred her matter to the Treasury and have promised a speedy settlement, is waiting to hear from Mrs Wardroper re Sister Emm, will place S. Strong as Divisional Sister and Sister Emm's successor as supernumerary, would prefer a six months Probationer, Sisters to soon receive new uniform dress, new clothing and summer cloak another reason to have Sister Emm end her service at this point in time to avoid extra expense for her, the Divisions are getting lighter but expect around 400 to arrive soon, have had an epidemic of Influenza, Miss Kennedy first then Miss Wheldon, and presently the Cook, and J.D.'s own hired girl with pneumonia, Dr Fyffe kind and attentive, many hindrances and inconveniences make her grumble and almost to a boiling point, but her stronghold is remembering her husband's advice and superior example, expands on the yearly inspection of H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge a couple of weeks earlier, mentions the Sidney Papers and one being sent there to Sister Clarke by a Nightingale, thinks a better spirit for each concerned to try and hide the faults of fellow workers than gossip & has spoken to Sister C of this, re saving and Insurance the Sisters are to decide upon a certain sum to save after their first year there, the benefit of a holiday for Sister Lennox, comments on the length of the letter, feels she can hardly stop as very few are interested in the work, is working on a scheme with Dr Longmore for probationer orderlies

ff44-45, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 6 May 1870, R.V.H. Netley, re: has received a letter from the War Office re her pension being cut down by £90 as a result of her appointment, she will not submit to being deprived even £1 of what has been awarded to her by Her Majesty for which her husband worked 22 years, considers it her right, this may affect her retaining the appointment and will consult with friends

ff46-47, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 7 May 1870, R.V.H. Netley, re: believes she will gain her end as it is her just right and that will ensure her success, will not make a hasty decision, tells of breaking up her home in Scotland and leaving all her children to lessen her anxiety (of entailing expenses for them &c), all this within 6 months of her husband's death

ff48-49v, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 31 May 1870, R.V.H. Netley, re: informs her of the two govt pensions, £140 being her own that is in question, the other £80 'is derived from the compassionate Fund' which gives to each of her four children (£20 annually) which ends at the age of 15 or 18 years, 3 boys need to be educated the best she is able, the Blue Coat boy is 'getting on wonderfully', hopes to see D.V. go to Oxford from Chuts [Christ's?] Hospital, boys sent there 'free if they become Grecians of the 1<sup>st</sup> Class, the eldest two into Army Medical Service, they will all do well of they try to do their duty, she will do her best amidst the difficulties and prays to God for daily direction, 'the rest is left to a higher power who will make all things work together for good of those who live & trust him

ff50-51v , Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 5 July 1870, R.V.H. Netley, re: is thankful Nightingale will be able to see her on Saturday at 3.30, her advice will strengthen her re 2 cases to prevent further trouble, has met with a windfall of good future re her 4 children who will be receiving an annuity of £16 annually (through a friend of her husband), until aged 18 from the Royal Patriotic Fund and also a nomination to the Wellington College for her eldest son if he is able to pass the examination

ff52-53, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 11 July 1870, R.V.H. Netley, re: after leaving her on Sat realized she had not told her how grateful she was for her interest re the settlement of her pension, had met Mrs Wardroper and has now the names of the two Nurses thought to suit as Night Nurses, spoke to Mrs W re Lennox being prevented from waiting on her, comments on how Nightingale now has every detail of their system defects and all and wishes her to make use of the information

ff54-59, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 28 July 1870, R.V.H. Netley, re: thanks for letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> re how to proceed in corresponding with the Secy of State for War, also confirming how the arrangement should be done re the Sisters holidays to be in her own hands, trust the 2 other matters will be resolved re quarters for increased numbers and Emm, will correspond directly with Sir T. Galbraith Logan as she recommends, prefers an interview to writing, Sir Thomas is arranging to get her eldest boy into Wellington College, has come from Jersey for his examination, 'working Dr's all aware of the imperfections of the system carried out in the Army Hospital Corps- they have to contend daily with the many annoyances airing out of the defective discipline', matters to be represented quietly and patiently for change, the loss of Sir James Clark to be felt universally, is thankful of all of Nightingale's kind words and thought re her daughter Nelly who is so precious to her, she feels right in keeping her with her even though it may seem a gloomy and unnatural atmosphere to bring her into so young in age, but 'please God it will bring many blessing too few children if any have the privilege of spreading so much sunshine and happiness on other as she does', patients look forward to her visits, she is to be educated by a Governess and at 16 wants to direct her to Kaiserswerth [Kai], details of plans to have the children go to Scotland for a holiday as she does not have space for all her children at Netley, discusses in detail the proposed and needed alterations and repairs at Netley to begin in 1871, is hoping to see Dr Sutherland before he leaves Netley, tells of her son Harry being ill crossing from Jersey and the eldest boy studying hard for his entrance examinations, to be examined in Latin and other books he has not studied previously but is under Mr Dinsford who assumes him to be a clever boy and well advanced, mentions Mrs Wardroper's visit the previous day and of Mr Whitfield, regrets Mr H B Carter was unable to come, comments on Miss Kennedy's and Sister Clark's holidays

ff60-61, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, [end July - beg. Aug 1870], re: in town unexpectedly to buy the Aid Society bandages suitable for field purposes at Dr Longmore's request, did not like to pass through without calling on her, had tried to see Mrs Wardroper but was not successful

ff62-63v, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 7 Aug 1870, R.V.H. Netley, re: is writing once again re Emm, hopefully for the last time

**f62** {FN hand:} [She has constantly altered  
her mind about Emm.]

F.N. {FN ends}

has spoken to Emm re her charge against Sister Kennedy for giving presents, upon investigating Deeble found in Dec last the Orderlies had been very attentive to Sister Kennedy's bad cases and upon leaving each Orderly received a memo book, Deeble had informed Sister Kennedy of the impropriety, Emm unpopular with patients, Sisters and orderlies, found she needed to give her notice to end of the quarter 30<sup>th</sup> Sept, 'has never been any doubt' in her mind as to her unfitness for Military work

**f63** {FN hand:} She has constantly doubted it  
F.N. {FN ends}

Miss Freeman of Liverpool called at Netley and states she would never have recommended Emm for this work, wishes for Emm to move on without writing to the W Office, wishes for a place for her 'without bringing her prominently to notice' outside their own circle, hopes she has Nightingale's approval, requests Nightingale to appoint her superintendent of the field nursing establishment in the event of England being drawn into the Continental War

f64-v, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 28 Aug 1870, R.V.H. Netley, re: thinks she should not delay any longer writing the War Office re Sister Emm as the date the 30<sup>th</sup> is approaching, has waited to the last moment to have her opinion on her plan of acting, refers to a draft letter she has enclosed to the War Office

ff65-67, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 31 Dec 1870, R.V.H. Netley, re: is sending a copy of a letter she has sent to the War Office in protest against the proposed arrangements of accommodation of the Night Nurses, she has been completely ignored in this matter and the first intimation was the unauthorised entrance of the Engineer Officer into her Bed Room to measure in her absence, she has not been informed of the probable date of arrival of the Night Nurses but has been asked to accommodate them until the quarters are altered, intends to have the Night Nurses on days for a few weeks to teach the routine of the hospital, Mr HyBC has not answered her letter re supernumary, is open to competent advice however protests when workmen commence to alter and re-arrange the quarters of the Establishment in which she is solely responsible, that would be an impracticable change, the Sisters have all been ill and suffer from the cold, avg temp being 35, Prof McClean considers a thorough system of warming absolutely necessary for the health of the Sisters, in her annual report will be stating the great discomfort and unhealthiness of the wards and corridors

ff68-74v, draft by Henry Bonham Carter to Jane C. Deeble, [6 Jan 1871], re {Sister Emm} {annotations by FN in bold}

f68 [Jan 6 1871] {:archivist}

Rough sketch for reply  
to Mrs D

=====

1

regret to have to say that  
you cannot concur in many  
of the views expressed ~~illeg illeg~~  
both in the letter to the S of S  
& to yourself & you should {2 diag lines in pencil from '& you should'  
certainly have recommended  
down to 'you'}

her not to hand written to  
the S of S had she consulted  
you

most anxious for her sake  
as well as for the ~~maintenance~~ general interests  
of the Staff that she should  
stand well with the S. of S  
and have no doubt that {1 diag line from this line down to 'in good  
she will receive your remarks  
part'}

in good part &c &c  
because the circumstances under  
which she was appointed  
Female nursing has been introduced under  
both

~~the previous Genl-Superintendt~~  
General of Nurses, ~~illeg~~  
~~as~~ both at Netley & at  
Woolwich - Altho' ~~h~~ a lady  
most highly qualified in many

f68v

[2]

respects she had not been successful in retaining a very efficient staff of Nurses - This was attributable in some degree to the great Self denial which she herself exercised & expected in too large a degree from the Nurses - Such was the case especially with regard to the quarters. After an interval in War Office applied to the Committee of the N.F. to ~~supply~~ train a Staff including Supt. The Committee as a condition required very considerable alternatives to be made in the quarters for the comfort both of Supt & Nurses & at their instigation the allowances were increased & definite regulations were laid down for ~~the an~~ discipline tending much to the advantage of both.

The ~~alteration on the~~ quarters tho' not entirely satisfactory ~~in all~~ in some ~~respects~~ respects were ~~the best which~~ thus rendered good as the buildings would then {illeg} of and the accommodation for {in r marg F.N. hand starting at 'quarters':}

**they were**  
**certified to be**  
**healthy for 8**  
**but not for more**  
**to sleep in**



f69

[3]

the Superintendent - ~~who~~ appeared  
to the Committee **& to every one else** to be quite  
sufficient. The late Supt- General  
had ~~occupied~~ her own bed in the  
nurse's dormitory & used no  
sitting room but her office -  
The accommodation for the Servt  
was no doubt not good & ~~the~~  
it was felt that ~~unless a very~~ altho' the work  
was not too much for one  
efficient woman, ~~were found~~  
~~would do the work~~ yet that  
there ~~wd~~ might be difficulty in readily  
finding one --  
When ~~she~~ Mrs D was recommended  
~~she~~ **it** was distinctly ~~told~~ **explained** that  
i.e. **tho' no objection was taken to a lady with children**  
you F.N. there were objections to her having  
told her her children **about with her in quarters** - that **tho'**  
possibly ~~the night would be~~ **not to their being in a**  
**neighbouring house**  
{vert. line thru 'i.e. ..told her'}

f69v

[3]

~~allowed to have her settle~~  
~~first - you (F.N. at the same~~  
~~time~~ the great  
difficulties **were** pointed out which **her being tied to** a family  
wd entail in her dealing with the W.O. & the incompatibility  
~~of a family~~ with the position & duties of a  
Supt Supt- Genl & especially **of a War Supt**  
to **both of** wh she aspired - ~~& that in the~~  
longrun x x x x x

how with respect to the alterations  
for the Night nurses quarters, you  
cannot enter into the question  
as to how far she has been  
consulted or not upon the  
final details - She ~~was original~~  
**appears to have forgotten the long interview with me (F.N.) in July**  
~~plan originally proposed was~~  
~~laid before her & fully discussed~~  
~~by you with her with Dr Sutherland~~  
subsequently at Netley she had  
a conversation on the subject

f70

[4]

as well as with Mr Whitfield &  
Mrs Wardroper for the information of me This was with  
reference to additional bedrooms  
within the quarters - ~~illeg illeg~~ no  
~~proposed~~ offer had then been under by  
the Authorities to give other rooms  
~~back subsequently~~ altho' the plan  
of taking the Engineers rooms for the Night Nurses had  
been suggested by her ~~illeg Dr. S.~~  
**as she herself informed both F.N. & Dr. Sutherland**  
I think Subsequently ~~no doubt~~ in consequence  
there of her suggestion these rooms were  
is no offered, not merely with a view only to afford ~~more~~  
doubt ~~altogether more for the accomo~~  
dation of the Night Nurses but also  
to ~~afford~~ give an additional kitchen & additional  
servants room for herself -  
there then was a Large increase of  
quarters ~~entirely~~ for her private  
comfort ~~offered~~ **granted** by the W.O.  
without apparent objection  
In reference by the W.O. to the  
C. of the N.F. of this new plan certain alterations

f70v

[5]

were suggested after consulting  
with you & Dr. S. & entirely  
with your convenience

The plans went to and fro several  
times in ~~consequence of~~ order to  
make the best arrangement for  
offspring a quiet bedroom for

{2 diag line x-out down to 'with regard  
to our overcrowding'}

the Nurses & ~~proper room~~ for  
the tenants, some of the essential  
points having been ~~omitted~~ forgotten ~~about~~  
~~with regard to overcrowding & to~~  
~~the illeg~~ in order to remedy essential  
prospects wh have been overlooked.

Every time they were submitted to  
you & Dr. S. Finally the War  
Office informed the C secretary  
Mr BC that the order had been  
given for the requisite alterations.

You think it necessary to  
enter not these details in  
order to recall to her mind  
the exact facts & ~~illeg~~ **she**

f71

6th [6]

cannot but ~~expect that~~

~~she will~~ on consideration

come to the conclusion that

~~illeg~~ in all substantial

respects with regard to these

quarters ~~she~~ **the W.O. justly thinks that the Supt=** has been very  
liberally dealt with

**& views with no little suspense the letter which cannot but look  
upon as error**

**of judgement** - You

do not turn the facts & have nothing

to say as to any minor matters

of conduct with respect to commencing

~~illeg~~ the final alterations

**Accept that the W.O. does not corroborate her statement -**

that is a very little importance.

perhaps Returning to the larger question

this She must also perceive that

should the tone of her letter to the

finish Secr of S. & to yourself cannot

the

other.

come in

xxxxx

p.4

---

not a popular subject with **some of** them as **she Mrs. D has herself told F.N.**

f71v

but create an impression

**(as indeed I am sorry to say it has)**

that she is seeking to

increase her own comfort

& accommodation ~~expressly~~

? ~~with a view to provide for~~

~~her family in the quarters -~~

She has already two servants,

~~hither & has asked for illeg~~

~~\_\_~~ the authorities not having obliged

to the additional one but

objecting properly to the over-

crowding caused by the second

servant in the old quarters

**& the blocking up the only window in the Corridor of the Sisters**

have at her own request

given an additional room.

They have also at her

request given an additional

kitchen - **altho with the remark that it was**

**"quite unnecessary" - & that the Supt= had much better**

**have appropriated the 2 adjoining rooms (in the new Quarters)**

**in giving two separate rooms to the two Night Nurses -**

f72

[8]

You do not write to defend

what particular officials may

have done of wh you know nothing but to say before

her what appears ~~to your~~

to be the impression which her

letter ~~will make~~ has made upon the

S. of S. & in doing so you

are sure that ~~to be candid~~

you will be acting as her

best friend by being

quite candid

You are quite certain also that

Even if for a time ~~th~~ **a Supt=** were

allowed to house her children

about her **in Quarters** it wd entail

difficulties & ~~perhaps~~

probably eventually cause

the disruption of the whole

f72v

[9]

scheme of female nursing  
so contrary do you know it  
to be, to the principles which  
have always guided the War  
Office as well as to what you  
have always held

~~feel~~ to be consistent with the  
true portion of a Supt- of a  
Military Hospital - **x x 9a**

~~You cannot but feel illeg~~

**There is cause to disappointment** regret ~~at the S~~ that the **Supt** shd  
~~what has occurred, knowing~~

~~that~~ have made this appeal  
to the S. of S. so soon after  
the question of her pension had  
been settled in her favour - a  
result which was obtained as she  
knows mainly by the introduction  
of ~~illeg~~ yourself & others connected with the N.F. -

**She Mrs. Deeble is herself aware that she must**

~~You illeg illeg~~ to avoid as  
much as possible all difficulty  
with the ~~illeg~~ authorities on the  
subject of the Nursing Staff which by

f73

{this and next folio all F.N. hand:}

[9a]

**xx liable to be ordered to a War  
Station in case of war, if indeed  
she aspire to be a Supt= Genl=  
I cannot but see that the best  
result likely to happen will be  
a Regulation that the Supt= Genl=  
must be "unmarried or a widow  
without children"- a result Regulation  
which there is no one in the world  
who would regret more than**

myself

{printed address upside down:} 35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
W.

f73v

[3a]

Dr. S stated that it was contrary to every Sanitary principle to crowd one more person into the Sleeping Quarters- & that she, Mrs. Deeble, had herself stated this as a reason for having the "Engineers' Quarters" - as indeed she did to me (F.N.)

Dr. S also gave a decided opinion that it was destructive to the little girl's health to have her in Quarters and in Hospital

f74

[10]

no doubt some amount  
of self denial must be

**But she, Mrs. D. repeatedly assured**  
exercised. & you are sure  
**F.N. that** she ~~will be~~ **was more than** ready to do so  
to any extent on seeing the  
necessity for it. **in the most**  
**responsible office which she (Mrs. D) had undertaken**  
[not FN hand] ~~P.S. mention if you please~~  
that you have communicated  
to me what she says about  
warming the quarters &  
the Supernumerary nurse - that  
Inform you that I called  
the attention ~~illeg illeg~~ of the S. of S. in the autumn  
to the objections to the warning by  
the gas stoves & shall be prepared  
to support her ~~fr~~ accommodation as  
to this - further that she is  
mistaken in saying that I have

f74v

[11]

not replied to her last letter as  
to the Supernumerary - as I have  
her letter dated the 27 October  
acknowledging ~~my final reply~~ mine  
on the subject in which I request  
that we were quite unable to provide  
one -

ff75-77, Jane C. Deeble to Sir, The Right Honourable, The Secretary of State for War, 31 Dec 1871, R.V.H. Netley, re: writes of the extreme impracticability of the contemplated alteration for quarters of the Nursing Staff, how to secure privacy an issue, goes into detail of her plan and concludes how it would keep the whole staff in the same quarter as well as preventing intrusion at all hours

ff78-83, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 13 Feb 1881, R.V.H. Netley, re: Miss Caulfield the Supt of Nurses at Woolwich to embark for Natal on Tuesday along with one of her Sisters and two from Netley, she herself will stay as per her duty, P.M.O. will aid them as they need it, Deeble feels bound to organise and work out the Nursing under Auspices of the Nat'l Aid Society which Miss Sheldon was unable to do, Quarters have been enlarged and furnished at the expense of the Govt, Sir Muir & Col L Lindsay wish the training not to be delayed, sees problems with one or two points of the scheme but need to be tried, hopes that in time the Govt will do more for Female Nursing as the N.A.S. can only do so much, Sir W Muir has always been supportive of our cause, thanks for her good wishes and will inform her of how the Sisters are when she hears, has not heard if the N.A.S. are sending supplies, she was made their agent (while up at Middleburg when taking in the Sick and Wounded for Secukuni's engagement) and given money & kind for the sick enabling her to get milk, eggs, chicken and pint, has 'packed a Bullock trunk' with supplies which may be used in an emergency or when Govt requisitions are difficult to get, is supplying a Pocket Case with a therm, Sub C injection, and small instruments for each Sister

f84, telegram from Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 14 Feb 1881, Netley Abbey, re: tells of emergency supplied bullock trunk, promises to write by the evening post

ff85-86v, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 14 Feb 1881, R.V.H. Netley, re: tells of the packed Bullock trunk with bandages of all kinds, oil, silk, cotton, wool, soft Linen &c, a little of everything she can think of, Sisters supply only to be used in extreme necessity, refers to their private store as being invaluable (when she was abroad), the Sisters have been given permission 'to embark at Dartmouth on Thursday which will enable them to go better prepared' as they will be arriving to Natal in the hot season, intends they shall do a good course of sick cooking of Hospital diets

f87, telegram from Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 15 Feb, Netley Abbey, re: two spirit lamps, a paraffin cooking stove, apply to Mr Sullivan of the United Service Institution, knows best about them



ff88-89v, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 3 May 1882, R.V.H. Netley, re: a year today, eight Probrs under the Auspices of the National Aid Society commenced their training, have gone through courses of Medical and Surgical Lectures and examinations from each Prof. and examined on bandaging and appliances required in Surgical work, until they join a station they are placed in charge of 3 wards, Deeble to be in London on Fri and Sat on her way to Chatham to see the quarters for the first staff there, would like to stop in to see her if she is up to it, tells her about the patchwork quilt she is receiving by post made by 4 men for Nightingale who were wounded at Majuba Hill

note, f90-v, pen

### **f90**

Mrs. Deeble                May 61882  
 Orderlies - only 4 months' training at Aldershot -  
     too much drill & parade -  
     conceited  
 no promotion as *Nurses* -  
     only as Clerks  
     if they do well as *Nurses*  
     they should have a  
 good conduct badge  
     with pro increase of pay.  
     a few good Men & a great many bad  
 (Sir W. Muir: "grave accusation= Mrs. Deeble")  
 Our Sisters: very rough work: do so much cooking  
     not a Staff Nurse & Probr= ~~Are~~ under her as with  
 you but an Orderly changing every night after 5  
 then Orderlies go off duty -  
     Sisters go off from 3 - 6 p.m.  
     but then I have now supernumeraries -  
     so Wards never left )  
 Hernia    never had a case  
~~Lithotomy~~ stone Sisters attend:  
     attend to bed sores -  
    we have no bedsores -  
 Perineal Section    don't attendChange Patients in bed -  
    without exposure  
 Fevers= relapse of Typhoid  
     wash helpless Patients  
     Rock fever - "no indelicacy with the sick"  
 Chronic Dysentery  
     beautiful cases  
     Diarrhoea  
 fits from Sun stroke  
 Psoas abscess-        Syphilis - sores from top to toe

**f90v**

Yes: in Medical cases we can rival any Hospital  
in the world -

in Surgical cases we are  
of course inferior to Civil Hospitals  
but we have resections- amputations  
we have accidents among the workmen  
{printed address vert.:} 10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE. W.

Drunkenness very much diminishing among  
our Orderlies - they have had a coffeeroom built  
them

Lady Parsons said our Nurses made a noise  
in the lanes

Dr. Holloway - present P.M.O.

these two Sups- Sisters had each been some years at K.C.H. as Sister or  
elsewhere

but went in for the year's training -  
Supt Sister

{up diag:} for 2  
years to be  
employed  
in Hospls  
but Supt  
Sisters  
should be  
for longer

Miss Stewart - Ida Ring: Wright - Wallace to Chatham

Miss Cannell- Yardley- Forrest 3<sup>rd</sup>

Garrison town  
not yet gone  
no cases

all ladies- Yardley - daughter of Lady Yardley  
Portsmouth

Forrest best practical - J. King theoretical  
refused

Edith King - of the Stafford Ho. Nurses- with me -  
Aldershot

she & another did all the work in Natal  
most wanted

because there

Orderlies trained

-----

rough nurse - Sister Gray-crack Surgical Nurse - spoilt by Doctors  
we never went out to picnics in Natal - I left 2 common Nurses at P.

Maritzburg

no danger of their being asked out.

has received orders to prepare a Staff of Nurses for Service at the following stations: Malta, Cyprus, Hosp Ship Carthage, Alexandria; Ismailia. I write to ask you if *Mrs Fellowes* would wish to join our party *I can take her as a govt sister* if she cares for the service and .... I shall be in London on Tuesday to arrange for outfits etc for the sisters; my time is very limited but I wd like to see you on Tuesday after 6 ocl for half an hour, as I may not again be in town before leaving England. Pray send me a word in reply to the care of T.D. Sullivan, Whitehall, goes by last train Monday.

note, f93-v, pencil

**f93**

Mrs. Deeble            Aug 1 1882  
     stoves   Mrs. F.  
     sheets  
     mosquito curtains (nets)  
                  ? bandages  
 Nurses' instrument cases  
     director  
 Sups- Sisters £80  
     forceps  
          scissors  
 pay £30            & probepassage money  
 outfit:            board allowances  
     red military cape  
          4/ a day washing  
     caps            & free rations  
     1 doz aprons & bibs  
         Supt=  
     Grey linen  
                  when start?  
                  employed together?  
                  & in Egypt?

**f93v**

Mrs. Deeble    sole control  
 of the Female Nursing arrangements  
 Local Hospl= Supts= full authority  
 in their respective Hospls=  
     subject to Mrs Deeble's guidance  
 & send her monthly reports at to  
     conduct of Nurses &c  
 {text upside down:}

Mrs. Fellowes

Miss Airy                            > Alexandria    {large > drawn from end of Fellowes  
     Miss Solly  
                  down to end of Solly}  
     "    Winterton  
     ?    " Richardson

ff94-95, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, Friday 7 p.m. [Aug 4 1882], re:  
 outfit allowance and advance pay for six of her Sisters, will be sending 6  
 complete Bonnets by Tues to St Thomas' Hospl-, Deeble's Sisters to take '6  
 small muslin one yard square kerchiefs for the head instead of always the  
 cap to save trouble of washing and will take a Blue veil for neck if  
 exposed to place over straw hats', Carthage possibly to sail on the 9<sup>th</sup>,  
 Miss Fellowes and Miss Solly will be there if Miss Stewarts party had  
 letter to be ready by Tues, had been to Whitehall Yard and asked Mr Thomas  
 Clerk to hurry with the Bullock trunks and to give the Sisters Pay & Outfit  
 allowance and will forward to her on receipt, will send the Rules for Supt  
 Sisters and nursing Sisters

f96-v, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, Thursday 5 p.m.[Aug 10<sup>th</sup> 1882],  
Whitehall Yard, London, S.W., re: has ascertained from Whitehall Yard that  
no new nurses are to be engaged so they will be short of the original  
number, returns to Netley that evening, the outfit allowance she will  
forward to Mrs Wardroper, there will be one bonnet and hat to be returned,  
does not know the date of future departures

f97-v, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, Sunday afternoon [Aug. 13 1882],  
Netley, re: encloses a check for £41,,5 which she rec'd the previous day  
for her party of five, £8,,5 for each outfit, requests her to send a list  
of articles sent to her five Sisters and will let her know what she owes,  
her Bullock trunks have arrived and trusts Nightingale's have also arrived,  
the Malta party to embark on Wed at Tilbury by a company steamer

note, f98-v, pencil

# **f98**

Mrs. Deeble            Aug 17 1882  
  who to be Supt- Genl-?  
  5 Sisters who best to cope with Orderlies?  
    who *not* to Supd-  
      Carthage Orderlies so supervised  
-sleeping suits- washing - shall they  
-4/ a day     ??     take night for  
              schemes  
-Miss Norman        Yes  
Old linen     No  
{up diag:}  
£200  
out of pocket        Cyprus  
                  does not  
                  take sleeping suits  
                  Miss Cannell

# **f98v** {back of envelope}

sailing orders for 2<sup>nd</sup> party  
  To D.G-  
whether the food allowances are settled  
what the allowances are to be  
  food  
U.S.J.        & whether it includes  
Whitehall Yard     washing  
not before 11

ff99-100v, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 28 Aug 1882, Netley, re: their Sisters to receive protection as Govt servants, has forwarded Nightingale's questions to Whitehall Yard, with Nightingale not having official notification of salary she replies that 6 months pay in advance is half the annual salary for Sisters temporarily employed during the War at £30 per ann £15 for the 6 months for which they have been paid and have receipts, a letter of advice re allowances for Sisters going out has arrived, Deeble had asked for 4/- per day for them and a free ration, but the allowance to be given is 'a Ration with groceries and a sum of 3/6 per week for washing and if Rations are not drawn 3/- per day will be allowed', hopes Nightingale will have all the information she requires in one or two days, recommends that Miss Airy should sleep at Portsmouth Wed night as 'their' party will also, and will be asking for expenses afterwards, they all must embark before ten

ff101-05, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 5 Sept 1882, R.V.H. Netley, You will be glad to hear that the Malta party has arrived safely, after getting off the steamer they went directly to Gozo about 20 miles from Valetta. The sister in charge reported her arrival and party to the PM Officer who was very good to them, sent someone to show them their Quarters, in a bldg entirely separate from the Hospital but only a 'minnets' walk away. Five large rooms beside kitchen; the hosp is quite ready, the necessary stores etc were then being unpacked. The Hospl is an ancient building with 'walls of enormous thickness'. This will make the place cool. The wards are very large, 100 ft in length. Each sister is to have a private room attached to her ward, with stores, store closet etc. Knights of St John.

There had been 20 arrivals of invalids when sister wrote 26th August. arrive and they only take in Surgical cases, will be writing Nightingale as she hears from their people, Deeble so 'heartily wished' she could have gone with them, responds to Nightingale's questions of the 24<sup>th</sup> re free rations and gives a detailed breakdown of cost and food for the Sisters, how supplied, when they eat etc., Deeble hopes someday for Sisters to 'attain the maximum of their salary in a shorter time than 10 years - £2.10 per year is a very slow increase', tells of her eldest son passing the Examination for the Army Medical Dept, her son will join Netley as a Surgeon on Probation the 30<sup>th</sup> of Sept, one part of her duty will now be accomplished once she outfits him and keeps him for Oct, then he will be on his own, hopes Nightingale has had a 'satisfactory interview' with Mr MacKinnon. He is a most excellent man for hospl work, he was here in charge of the surgical division for some years and always helped me.

note, f106, pencil

# **f106**

Mrs. Deeble Dec 5/82

if Probationers are taught  
& can answer questions,  
can't they do the things?

F.N. No  
common sense you want for  
Surgical Nursing

Add Mss 45776

575

- nothing else

ff107-10, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, [ca 18 Feb 1883], Netley, re: thanks for Sister Knight's letter, has written re the subject {not stated here} to the D.G., hears from Dr Elkington (Senior Dr of the Guard Hospl) often and of the satisfactory work of the Sisters and is expecting their quarters to be ready soon, are expecting the *Carthage* to arrive on Friday, mentions a Sister at Rochester (R.G. Guards) who is truly a Christian person, can be trusted, is modest, and has a remarkable influence over her patients, in answer to Nightingale's question she sees much to be done at Guards Hospl, Deeble was examined by Lord Morley's Committee on the 26<sup>th</sup> of Jan and thinks there may be intent from the Govt to 'further' employ Sisters in Military Hospls, had stated to the committee that the 'A.H.C. had never been so efficient as when they were trained at Netley by Dr Moffit in theory and by the Sisters in the practical training', had letter from Sister Yardley dated the 9<sup>th</sup> with news of Sister Cannell being ill, work at Alex going smoothly, Ramleh now with 50 beds, has 'just lost a very valued friend the Executor to her Husband's affairs and Guardian to her children'

ff111-12v, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 25 May 1883, R.V.H. Netley, re: Female Nursing to commence at Chatham on June 1<sup>st</sup>, to be composed of National Aid Society Sisters under Sister Stewart, Sister Stewart appointed as Supt-Sister for Chatham by recommendations by the P.M.O. and other Medical Officers of the *Carthage* to the D.G., Dr. Manly who is Senior at Chatham 'is friendly to Female nursing in the Army' and approves of her, would like to meet with Nightingale at the end of June, regrets to inform her that Miss Wheldon will be resigning June 1<sup>st</sup>, has worked hard to credit the work, hopes the 'stingy Govt' will give her a suitable Pension for her time there

ff113-14, Jane C. Deeble to Nightingale, 24 Nov 1892, Netley Abbey, re: would like to see her re a couple of matters re India, is expecting to be in town the following Thursday Dec 1<sup>st</sup> and would like to call from 3 to 4 o'cl that day [date odd, but that is it] check if Dec 1 in 1892 is a Thursday

45775 [date odd, but that is it] check if Dec 1 in 1892 is a Thursday

#### **f114**

1. Govt- Civil Nurses: India
  - 2 Miss Loch
  - 3 Orderlies ? from a lower  
class  
? less ~~instr~~ training?
- what training?  
what instruction?  
Netley?  
Aldershot?



f115-v, Jane C. Deeble, n.d., re: Sisters' daily schedule, Sisters to attend Chapel on Sundays unless on Special duty, fears the Sisters will not be able to have Sunday evenings off duty, does attend church with the Sisters regularly, twice on Sunday

Rise	Breakfast	Wards	Dinner	Wards	Exercise	Tea	Duty	Prayers	Supper Bed
A.M. 6.15	A.M. 7.	7.30	12.30	P.M. 1.30	3.30-4.30	4.30	5-45-	8.30	9.30

Airy ff116-201

draft, ff116-17v, pencil  
[12:306-07]

# **f116**

Miss Airy Jan 20/76  
Sister since Sept 72  
not a year Probationer  
S. Leopold till July/73  
S. Edward  
29 Patients of which ~~nearly over~~ one third  
9 children  
2 of 5 years  
up to 11  
all in bed but 2  
has never had any under 4 yrs  
Thinks they are spoiled in Children's  
Ward by Lady Visitors: take so much  
notice of them: they look up  
expecting to be noticed:  
bad discipline for them  
More wholesome in General Ward:  
can generally put ~~one~~ child next a man  
who will wash & feed it:  
boys of 17 & 18 will take children  
into Lavatory & wash them:  
1 boy of 16 quarrels with them:  
bad case of 5 between a fractured femur  
& an old man who takes notice of it:

**f116v**

Edinburgh: Surgical

Students do what Nurse so with us

---

Double amputation: this month:

had Pyaemia: but recovered:

no Erysipelas for 2 months:

but dares not feel safe

After washing of floors: left too wet:

terrible smell:

4 sick

3 Erysipelas

dust from walls fell on beds:

this cleansing? every 2 months

beeswaxing & polishing

every fortnight Stairswoman

washes & polishes under beds.

Both cleanings done

sometimes better sometimes worse

---

thinks Leopold more wholesome than

Edward

& Clayton than Leopold

**f117**

double amputation

Mr. McCormac did one leg }

" McKellar the other} at same time

Babb has forgotten all she ever knew

I learn every day

{at bottom to go with f116v:} w.c. outside Edward used to smell

**f117v**

Chaplain not much good:

sends for Mr. Large (better) to cases  
in the night

---

Probationers

Steventon carelessforgetful

untrustworthy

left Thermo. in man

Wayman better quick trustworthy but heavy  
step

---

liked

M Rice: Perry:cd repeat whole lectures  
Masters

---

Miss Francis: good

---

Miss Franks: dirty in her dressings & her  
ways: left dirty dressings about:  
left things to other people to do -  
did not like Miss Blower

---

very happy life:

has never been so well & happy  
but Psoriasis in knees

---

Rutherford Day: good: laughs too much  
but not a flirt

Penrose: (Night:) not kind to double amputation  
gentleman

Babb (Extra): half witted

**[end 12:307]**

f118, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, 2 Oct 1879, Whitehall Vicarage, York, re:  
wishes to inform her that she was elected as Lady Supt. of the York County  
Hospl the previous day, to commence duties on Oct 22<sup>nd</sup>, is pleased to be  
settling into work again, hopes to return to Bedford the following Tues,  
trusts FN is feeling better

ff119-20v, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, 18 Nov 1882 and 23 Nov 1882, c/o P.M.O. The Citadel Cairo, re: thanks for her letter of the 16<sup>th</sup>, has given her fresh vigour, many new difficulties to combat, 400 patients in Hospl- and things in a fearful confusion, some patients have bed sores, all are inclined to be downhearted and that will not do {Nov 23 begins:} is trying to finish letter for the day's post at 3, tells of Gen Hawley who was round the Hospl- the previous day and looked at the cases, asking questions, and kindly enquired which Sister she was, said he had heard of her from FN, feels she will never go to bed satisfied with so many patients and 'some tiresome orderlies', is finding Military Nursing so much different from Civil Hospl- Nursing, 'Military doctors let their patients do such unheard of things', has a division of about 84 beds including the sick Officer's Ward under her, Sister Cannell has a division containing more beds and Sister Forrest another division, hers is the centre division and Sister Yardley is on Night duty, tells how she had enjoyed her Night Duty at Ramleh, expects to be where she is now for 'months'

ff121-24v, Sybil Airy to Nightingale and envelope, 31 Dec 1882, The Citadel Cairo, re: does not know how to thank her enough for the kind letter and beautiful card rec'd on the 29<sup>th</sup>, {letter continues Jan 8 1883:} she had tried to send the letter a week earlier but had not enough time to finish, after duty they either go out for some air or they get interrupted by callers when writing letters, e.g. Lady Alison, Mrs and Miss Floyer, Sisters from Abbâsiyeh &c, the Gozo Sisters Nightingale had enquired about all went to Abbâsiyeh except Sister Lee who came and was a great help in Sister Forrest's large Division before falling ill with Enteric Fever 10 days prior, Sister Thomas from Abbâsiyeh there to solely nurse her, her temp ranges daily from 102 to 104.6, has not yet met Miss Norman, Dr. Barnett the P.M.O. left a fortnight ago for a meeting in London but should be back in another fortnight, has been a good friend to them, Dr Tanner in his place, Enteric cases continue to pour in daily, has experienced her first death case there on Christmas Day, may lose another in 24 hours and Doctors have put him on Champagne, has had a surgical case in her Division, an amputation of a leg from a railway smash who ran into problems 17 days after operation, this Reserve man has recovered, he had been drinking and jumped out of the train, refers to the Orderlies being intoxicated and questions that these men should have charge of the sick, sees that many of the A.H.C. are a bad lot, she is finding it hard to be reconciled to Military Nursing as it is unsatisfactory and wishing for what Nightingale had told her, '4 pair of eyes', Miss Solly 'has gone home without waiting to return in the Carthage, wishes for more of the Soldier's manuals for the poor men, wanted to peep in on Home Sister's Xmas decorations on Xmas Eve, is starting to get cold in Egypt and wishes for a fire

ff125-28v, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, 19 Feb 1883, Citadel Hospital Cairo, re: thanks for letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> and the enclosed little books, 'echos' her wishes to be there as they need a 'Chief', but 'sweet to feel and know' she is with them in spirit, feels prayer of friends in England keeps her from 'flagging', is wondering how long they are to be in Egypt, great drawback there are fleas and other 'disagreeable insects', sick Sisters getting better, Sister Lee up for first time in 6 weeks, Sister Cannell still weak and in bed with inflammation of the lungs and enteric fever, Sister Forrest also not well, Sister Yardley and herself are in excellent health, will all the illness have had no Night Sister but severe cases have lessened also and do not feel overworked, temp taking down to 18 from 30 an evening, Capt Mortimer there with Pleuro Pneumonia and Hepatitis, has been 'a dreadful responsibility' as Dr Wilson told her his life or death would depend upon their nursing, is on his way to recovery after 3 fearful days and nights of delirium, the key to this patient's progress was the 'implicit faith' in her and did whatever she asked, comments on how Dr Wilson (Surgeon Major) as being the nicest and most thorough worker she has come across among Army Doctors, Dr Wilson has shown he trusts the Sisters and a result of the care of Capt Mortimer, had her 7<sup>th</sup> death there the previous week which was a case of Enteric Fever and Lung 'mischief', had had 6 deaths at Ramleh, soldiers nice to nurse but they cannot break them of their 'nasty habit of spitting on the floor', terrible drinking among the Orderlies and Sisters dread payday for them and were glad when Christmas was over, Dr Osborne ill as well with Enteric Fever a contrast to Capt Mortimer as 'to judge by him truly Doctors make the worst patients', is glad to hear Lady Verney being better, refers to the Carthage arriving soon, wants to see the Pyramids before leaving Cairo

ff129-32, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, 15 May 1883, Citadel Hospital Cairo, re: thanks for kind letter of March 23<sup>rd</sup> and Easter wishes, finds it nice to know she is familiar with Cairo and where they are, after six months the Hospital is at last in 'thorough, straight, good=working order', presently with 230 patients, questions the need for Corporals in the Wards who are 'almost without exception a perfect nuisance', only seem to take interest in their Wards as the Doctors pass through, Dr Barnett who was Major Tanner's predecessor appreciated the Sisters work, Dr Barnett before moving onto Woolwich kept the Hospital in 'capital order', he was intending to apply for a Staff of Sisters when he went to another Hospl, he had a good influence over the Army Hospl Corps, is aggravated by Orderlies who have a 'good conduct stripe' who are unfit to nurse and do not take the slightest interest in their work 'with not one atom of a nurse in him', the Sisters 'long to weed out the Orderlies', some however are good and want to do things properly, Sister Cole not with them now who was at Ramleh, have now 4 Sisters, Sister Cannell, Sister Yardley, Sister Armour and herself, shares a bedroom with Miss Yardley that overlooks the Tombs of the Khalifs towards Abbaysieh and over the desert, can see the string of camels crossing the desert from her bed, regrets to tell her she has fallen ill herself a fortnight ago for the first time since arriving with a slight attack of dysentery, had to keep to bed 5 or 6 days and dosed with Ipec, is better but has been 'dreadfully weak', Sister Cannell has taken over her work in her Division and has given her room to her which is closer to conveniences, enquires about Nightingale's health, asks how everyone is at St Thomas' &c

ffl133-37v, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, 4 Aug 1883, The Citadel Cairo, re: thanks for her letter and cheering words rec'd the previous day, is glad she is still in Cairo to nurse the sick with Cholera, have lost 22 cholera patients, she was with 8 of them when they died, 14 are convalescing, Cholera news of the day is that it is 'fast on the decrease', asks her not to trouble anything re a telegram, says it can be settled when she comes home, had rec'd the telegram while with one of my poor dying f134} Officers, Lt Croft, thanks for the interesting Medical Times, past 11 days no time for anything besides work, work at the Cholera Hospl being divided as evenly as possible between 3 Sisters Yardley, Armour and herself, day duty for her from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m. with dinner at 1 p.m., are now alternating with day and night duty of 12 hours each, Sister Cannell takes charge of the non-cholera patients, have lost 5 of their Army Hospl Corps men, including one who was helping nurse the officers, seized one morning at 3 a.m. and died within 12 hours, is sure the prayers at home keep them up as the sisters are well and in 'capital spirits', hopes Mrs Fellowes and her poisoned finger 'will get better in the sea breezes', surprise visit by young Dr Acland of St Thomas' who has come to work among the Egyptian Army {letter cont. Sunday Aug 5<sup>th</sup>:} patients better, quiet night, no deaths or fresh cases, patients are now hungry, feeding has to be often with very little at a time, agrees with Nightingale's words re a Cholera Epidemic, 'if there is to be one it is indeed nice to be in it', have left the old Palace Quarters as it is undergoing Sanitary work and are in a vacated Officers' Mess, this mail will be a long time in coming as the letters have to undergo quarantine, Dr Lewis who they worked with at Ramleh has died from cholera, comments that the Nile is rising higher and higher each day, sends her love to Matron at the 'dear old home' St Thomas, hopes the Home Sister is enjoying her rest, in a quiet way one evening the 3 Sisters at Cairo had been presented with their 'Crosses' by Gen Stephenson and Col Ardagh the Surgeon Gen and some others

ffl138-39v, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, 19 Aug 1883, The Citadel Cairo, re: thanks for her kind and cheery words of the 8<sup>th</sup>, Cholera is subsiding where she is with only 4 deaths the previous day in Cairo, but she is sorry that it is increasing in Alexandria, and some fatal cases at Ramleh, inquires about Sister Winterton nursing Cholera cases, have not had a fresh case in 12 days, out of their 41 cases 18 have been spared, Sisters Yardley and Cole are returning on Monday from Helonan as most patients there were sent to the Mokattum hills, Orderlies have worked well during the epidemic, heat of the day not as intense with cool nights, is glad to have had 'this fresh, though somewhat sad, experience in nursing', during the last fortnight Sister Cannell has had several sever cases of sunstroke with temps of 108-11, the latter dying to which the Dr said 'had there been a Night Sister on he might have been saved', believes the Army Doctors 'will in time get converted to Sisters!'

ff140-41v, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, 30 Oct 1883, The Citadel Cairo, re: thanks for kind letter of the 5th and the Times, had been pleased to read Dr Acland's address to the students at KCH and about the Church Congress, tells that Nightingale's Bull's Eye Lantern has been invaluable to her especially at the Cholera Hospl, at his request had been to Dr Acland's hospital the previous Friday to show his people how to pad splints properly at Abbaysieh, hospital with 120 patients, found it wonderful that in just 6 weeks he had organized the 'Bed Hospital' to look like a hospital which it had not before, now had the Wards, Kitchen, Dispensary, Laundry &c quite with the tone of St Thomas', Dr Acland had requested her recipe for Beef Tea which he translated to Arabic for the Hospital Cook 'who now makes it splendidly & made us all taste it!', a good visit by the Kedive the previous day had him promise to send orange trees &c &c to plant the garden with from his own land grounds, returns to speaking about her hospital as being tolerably full, throughout the Divisions 7 with Enteric Fever, one had died on Sister Cole's Wards on Sunday, enquires about Sister Winterton and sorry that she had resigned, was in hopes she would 'brave everything', the Surgeon General came to give them each a copy of a letter of their work from the Director General re the Cholera epidemic, is enclosing a 'copy of the copy' for her to see, Dr O'Dwyer had spoken a word for them all and Dr Wilson especially for herself and Sister Armour, finds Lord Morley's Report interesting, the large blue book was sent for by Sister Yardley by post, an orderly mentioned in the book named 'Orderly George' is at present at this hospital, were told he was dismissed from Service but keeps appearing even at night, is not to be trusted, Sisters are feeling 'quite climatized' having been in Cairo for a year on 17<sup>th</sup> Nov., concerned about Lady Verney's health, sends her love to Mrs Wardroper, Home Sister and old friends

f142-v, copy of letter from T. Crawford D.G. to The Principal Medical Officer Army of Occupation Egypt, re: acknowledges letter of the 15<sup>th</sup> re 'the excellent services rendered to the troops by the nurses named in the margin {S. Airy in the margin}, during the late Cholera epidemic', & for him to please convey to the ladies 'Lord Hartington's congratulations upon the excellent manner in which they have performed the duties entrusted to them

f143-v, incomplete letter by Sybil Airy, [1887-1888], re: a most insolent Orderly who did not want to do something Dr Wilson had told her to have done, Orderly said he went by the book and it was not in the book, saying he had too many orders from her already, yet she was firm and he was obliged to do it, made him return until he was done, was insolent in yet another matter and she reported him to the Ward Master, Orderly had to settle with Dr Wilson the next morning who is a 'capital man' to have Orderlies do their work and will not allow slacking ways in his wards, sends her love to the Matron and Home Sister, Dr Wilson the Surgeon Major over the centre Division, wants Sisters to mention what goes wrong re the Orderlies and he would take care of it at once



ff144-47v, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, 31 March 1884, Citadel Hospital Cairo, re: thanks for her cards of March 12<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> arriving on the 20<sup>th</sup> and the 21<sup>st</sup> arriving in the 27<sup>th</sup>, will be pleased to receive the little pamphlet re Genl Gordon, mentions the orange trees in the quaint old garden being in bloom, thinks they have had 147 Sick & Wounded in from the front, some would be leaving the following day who were fit to travel & who belonged to the 10<sup>th</sup> Hussars and the 85<sup>th</sup>, thinks they were joining the "Jumna" at Suez for England as well as 'her officers' Capt Littledale of the 85<sup>th</sup> (4 spear wounds & 2 bullet wounds in left shoulder) and Lieut Gordon of the 42<sup>nd</sup> (bullet wound on right arm), with her Centre Division having a boarded an 'unwholesome looking floor' the Medical cases from the Right Division came to her, the wounded were sent to the Left and Right division where the floors were clean, stone slabs, she would have wanted to have more Surgical cases but such was not the case, writes about some of her Enteric, Sunstroke and Laryngitis cases from the Front, tells of the last draught of Orderlies from England as a whole not being a good one, 6 perhaps tolerably good, notoriously bad poultices from Woolwich, 2 or 3 of the Sgts with them 'are capital Ward=Masters & know their work well', her Ward=master shouting so loud Sgt Maj has had to speak to him about it, many lady visitors in Hospl- bringing flowers, oranges, books and newspapers for the wounded, Mrs Baker has come laden with packets of tobacco for the men from Genl Baker, Col Synge has died after a year of illness with Sir Benson & Lady Benson at his side who were related to him, had sent for them the morning of his death as well as Dean Butcher, the funeral was the same day and well attended, has been a tiresome changes with Doctors with one of her wards at least 5 different doctors in one month, hears that nearly all troops are returning from Suakim the following Thurs, has rec'd the sad news of Prince Leopold's sudden death, is sorry to hear of the Matron's health and Home Sister's sorrow

ff148-50, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, Easter Day 13 April 1884, Citadel Hospital Cairo, re: writing a note to say all is well, will not be writing as frequently as in the past 6 weeks, the campaign is finished and the troops have returned, the sick and wounded are recovering, most of their old doctors have returned, everyone is settling into the usual work routine, the Small=pox case has recovered and no fresh cases, has 3 Enterics of which 2 are rather severe, has 68 patients in her Division and is sharing them with a Sister, Sisters Burleigh and Irving came from Netley the previous Thursday, 3 other Sisters were dropped off for service at Suez from which 2 Sisters returned to Ramleh, the General has visited again with a kind word especially for those from the Front, Lieut Welch of the 19<sup>th</sup> Hussars in f149v} in with Remittant Fever, had their 'little Easter Service' that evening at 5.30 with Holy Communion at which she played the organ 'Jesus Christ is risen to=day' to the tune 'Worgan', tells of church decorations with palm branches and pink and yellow sweet roses and wonders if Mrs Wardroper had decorated the Chapel as beautifully as she always had

ff151-52v, draft by {Sybil Airy}, re: suggestion for the D.G. and Foreign Service, Surgeons should look after the Orderlies more by more interest in what they do in their bedside manner, should perhaps take an interest in their cricket to keep them away from the canteen, to give work of encouragement when deserved, the need to weed out bad nurses, new nurses should enlist for a trial month, pay to be given monthly or better yet quarterly, the Sister of the Division should be consulted re their nursing capabilities, at midnight Night Orderlies to be supplied with tea or coffee and a biscuit, Orderlies for night who have not worked in the day, shift from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m., insist they sleep in the day, Orderlies to keep notes on cases

ff153-61, draft by Sybil Airy, re: her thoughts re the M.S.C., if she were the D.G.: wants a weeding out of Orderlies as bad ones deteriorate the new ones, men not allowed to join the Corp until a month's Ward duty where it can be seen if they are suitable for the work, when an Orderly is reported more action should be taken rather than just moving him to another Division 'to annoy another set of poor patients', to avoid temptation Night duty men should be provided with milk for their coffee instead of their taking it from the patients, advocates the Regimental Orderlies as the best military nurses who learn more in a month than many of the 'real' orderlies in a year (the Gordon Highlanders exceptional nurses who were quick, did it well 'changing sheets & lifting patients &c with wonderful gentleness & ability'), recommends that if a Staff is large enough, a number of Orderlies to be held for Night Duty only with a Ward Master & changing them every month or so, having a special Barrack room far from the Day Orderlies with rules for hours used for sleeping and exercise, some Orderlies very good and need to be promoted mainly for their nursing qualities, in promoting Orderlies to 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Class Orderlies recommends a rule to consult the Nursing Sisters as they can judge what is happening on the wards, M.O. should overlook and encourage the Orderlies more, to be interested in them, Doctors while on Orderly Officer's Duty also would have times in the day where he could show interest in the Orderlies and their work, gives example of a Ward Master Staff Sergt Jofs who was good in every way, mandatory slippers for the Orderlies, recommends improvement in early Drills for Orderlies to have their kits ready the day before for the Parade, with the wards in general disorder in the mornings, having overlapping night and day Orderlies on those days would enable the Wards to function normally, would like Doctors to consider other workers for Sundays so the Nurses and Orderlies could make the one Hospital Service a week, the need for great care for new young Orderlies not to be under a 'bad' Orderly even if they are rated 1<sup>st</sup> Class

notes, ff162-63v, pencil

**f162**

Miss Airy          June 24/84

What is wanted for Orderlies

1. Care of the Doctors as their Officers  
to look after their mess, games  
in recreation hours - to look after  
them when sick (as Line Officers  
do - they always come to see  
their men when sick) to teach &  
train them in Wards. Very few  
Doctors do this. They lecture
2. Night Refreshment
3. Some way of getting rid of  
drunken men, utterly careless  
men- You see the same  
drinking men appear over &  
over again- & for bad cases  
a good Serjt= Maj- will if you

**f162v**

remonstrate, take away a bad  
man over an Enteric Fever case  
& put another, if he has one-

They will never make a bed,  
wash helpless case, or keep  
an Enteric Fever in bed  
if

they can help it

Ground lost during the night  
without a Night Sister -

George broke open our  
cupboard & took out a  
bottle of brandy & drank it  
Nothing was done to him

**f163**

Since Ld Morley's Comm: order  
has gone out that Sister's are  
to teach the Orderlies every thing  
& do nothing themselves. We obeyed.  
Doctors do now give Orderlies  
Lectures (by order) but hardly  
any Clinical instruction

Promotion in Wards for  
good Nursing - Yes, they do  
promote now to Assistt- Ward-  
-master- but the man is a  
great deal the worse for it  
-he thinks he is to do nothing  
after that.

**f163v**

Ld Morley's Comm: has very  
much set the Orderlies against

note, ff164-65v, pencil

**f164**

Miss Airy July 29/84

Charge on letters

Haslar

{up diag:}

Dr. Davies

goes round at night

Surgeon Major Wilson

first rate Doctor

(very bad Patients

taking liberties

*Militia* so impertinent

& their Offices

{text back to normal:}

Parcel to Egypt

P. & O Office

25 Cockspur St.

f165 {blank}

**f165v**

gold tray  
cut lemon half take out pips  
2 rub it over  
wash it over soap & water  
or water  
thoroughly dry  
rub it up with new washleather  
or smooth cloth

ff166-68, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, 17 Nov 1884, Citadel Hospital, Cairo, re: homeward bound mail day seems to find her unprepared and is up late writing the letter, thanks for card of Oct 24<sup>th</sup>, three new Sisters Barker, Crump and Ferguson a great help and comfort, with Barker (delicate, sweet, appears to be well) and Crump (businesslike, throws heart into work, was once at St B's and devoted to Miss Machin) in charge of Divisions, Ferguson (wants her way too much, no tact) as Night Sister, Sister Hart at Ramleh, Hospital very unsettled as Doctors & Orderlies changing and going to the Front, presently have about 300 patients, 5 Small=pox under canvas, 2 were sent down from her Wards and admitted first as Febricula, her 5 Enterics convalescing, have had several bad Dysentery cases mainly from the Front but are getting better, Gen Wolesley pleased with Hospital and has give the order for all Dysentery cases up the Nile to be sent 'here', Gen had commended the Sisters to Sister Gray at Wady Halfa re the wonderful improvements in Hospital, Sister Gray and Sister Clement at Wady Halfa and believes they cook for the Sick Officers, they have about 60 patients and does not believe the cases are bad as at Assouan, in f167}, Sister Yardley and Sister King have their hands full with about 100 patients and each with 18 Enteric patients, 24 bad and 12 mildish ones, many patients lost due to 'constantly changing Orderlies' up to the Front, Orderlies would have Enteric patients sitting 'bolt upright' in a chair while they made the made, thinking it was a great kindness or sitting them 'bolt upright on a bed=pan not knowing any other way to use it', Doctors are teaching Orderlies more than they used to during their daily rounds, one 'batch' who don't know 'how to change a draw sheet or wash a patient's back' came from Dublin, Newcastle, Colchester, Ipswich, &c, even Aldershot; Mrs Deeble not consulted re new Sisters coming out at the D.G. picked them himself chose those who had not been abroad before, tells of the D.G. at Netley about the Sister' food of which there had been complaints, all Cairo has been anxious re Gen Gordon & Kartoum for week with the rumour he was dead and Kartoum fallen but on Sat heard better news, Col Stewart however death being 'too true', Mrs Fitzgerald there again, {cont. on 18 Nov.:} sick soldiers are being supplied with the latest Papers twice a week by the National Aid Soc.

ff169-70v, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, 28 April 1885, Citadel Hospital, Cairo, re: has had an official letter from the D.G. re her eligibility as to age which she exceeds, D.G. prepared to transfer her to 'transfer her to the permanent Nursing Service of the Army if she was willing with a 'clause 9' to fill in, 'a letter of personal recommendation including one for a lady of position in Society', asks F.N. if she would write a letter of recommendation, is also sending for an extract of her birth, the above requirements 'new' according to Sister Cannell, Orderlies are doing well and Doctors are giving them 1 or 2 Lectures a week, wonders when the war will end, says it seems people are 'living for to=day' not knowing what the next brings, are expecting 4 sick Officers and 55 men from up the Nile the following night, Sister Forrest has arrived and is on as Night Sister, Sister Forrest leaving for duty at Suez, wonders if Miss Williams &c are on their way to Egypt, has not heard about Miss Hicks & Miss Dowse for some time

**f169** {F.N. hand up diag:} Please  
return to  
F.N.

ff171-72, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, 26 April 1887, 51 Ashburnham Road, Bedford, re: thanks for letter and has been thinking about the large gathering at the Nightingale House, thinks it may have been trying for Mrs. Wardroper, glad to hear Mrs. Norris is getting a testimonial, has appt with the D.G. the following Friday at 1 o'cl would like to meet her same day between 3 & 4, wants to catch 5 o'cl train at S. Pancras, refers to the Tasmania wreck written up in the Standard, tells how she had felt so comforted that their own were having a service at the Citadel Hospl Cairo and were singing the Hymn for those at sea as promised the Sunday after she left, had had the General Thanksgiving at family Prayers and returned thanks at S. Paul's publicly that afternoon, says 'thank you so so much' for remembering her in her Prayers

ff173-74v, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, 15 June 1887, Nightingale Home, St. Thomas's, re: thanks for her note and delighted she is going to be her 'mother'! and give her a photograph, will be going to Devonshire around July 4<sup>th</sup>, wonders if she could come July 1<sup>st</sup> and asks if beginning of Aug would be better, has been to town twice to look at items from the wrecked Tasmania and found her watch and chain, her thimble, two Jerusalem Rosaries and sketch-book, and the second time to the London Docks for baggage but none of hers were found, more expected in a week but feels they wouldn't be much good after 2 months in salt water, her watch examined by a Jeweller in the Strand, damage too great, has bought a new one with Nightingale's kind gift, refers to Major Cooper and F.N. having seen him, tells how she had held his arm while it was being bandaged by a Doctor, had enjoyed being at Prayers with the Probrs- that night, Sir Hy Acland gave speech at the end of the Meeting and did not forget F.N. in it

ff175-76v, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, Monday morning 4 July [1887], re: writes 'a thousand thanks for the restful visit' & 'fresh energy', would like to know the history of the upstairs Bible, assumes the giver had been a grateful patient, has been reading re the Earl of Shaftesbury that morning and admires him more and more, has noticed most of the drains in the streets of London have been sprinkled with Carbolic Powder, thanks her again, will call on her another day for the photo

ff177-78v, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, 23 Jan 1888, 51 Ashburnham Road, Bedford, re: thanks for her kind words that morning, is waiting for her Marching Orders and does not yet know which Indian Station she will go to, had seen Miss Oxley who hopes it would be Umballa, Miss Oxley to send her word re their uniform &c, she thinks Miss Airy may be leaving around Feb 16<sup>th</sup>, would like to see Nightingale before leaving, regrets she is unable to accept the invitation from her and Lady Verney to go to Claydon as she is expecting summons from London at any time, will however write which day would be suitable, comments on birds singing as if spring had come

ff179-80, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, Monday 30 Jan 1888, Nightingale Home, St Thomas's Hospl, re: tells of her Indian hopes being 'dashed to the ground', was examined by Sir Joseph Fayrer, who is the M.D. for the India Office, does not recommend her for India as climate & work would be too trying for her health and her age also being a factor, however sees her as being 'perfectly fit' for England and 'too good to be wasted', Sir Fayrer had just rejected another candidate, which was one from Miss Loch's Staff, has seen Miss Pringle that day and finds her and the House Sister well, expects to be where she is until Thursday, has seen Mr Croft while she was sitting the Sisters' room and says she is looking 'wonderfully well' and says he would have 'certainly' passed her if it was up to him!

ff181-82, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, Wednesday night, 1 Feb 1888, Nightingale Home, re: has been considering her kind letter all of that day and has decided she does not wish to undertake charge of an Incurable Hospital, nor to work with a Sisterhood, thanks her for the proposals, has called upon Mrs Wardroper in West Kensington at her 'new abode', seems fairly well but 'lost almost unhappy not having any women=kind with or around her', sends Nightingale much love from herself and the Home Sister

ff183-86v, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, 6 Oct 1888, Ashburnham Road, Bedford, re: wonders how she has been all summer, has been in her thoughts often but hasn't written, writes now to ask if she has seen the article by Miss Loch in the 'Nursing Record' from the previous week re with an account of their first 3 months' work in India, was glad to read about it as she had heard 'very nasty things' re the Sisters as being too 'fast' and their work being 'the playing kind', wishes people would not exaggerate as it harms their cause, had a letter from Mrs Le Fuesne from a mother of a son she had nursed in Egypt saying Major Ferrier had been 'exceedingly sorry' she had not gone to India as were the Sisters, Airy wonders if all is going on as they would wish, tells of her 'holiday duty' as Matron at Hertford Genl-Infirmary for Miss Tyrell in July and August, tells of it being a nice and 'busy little hospital' with 40 beds and good cases, her duties included rounds with visiting Physicians and Surgeons, carving dinners in the Wards, attending operations &c, reading Prayers twice a day in the Wards, had 6 Nurses (2 were Probrs) and 4 woman servants under her, liked many things about the Hospl except for patients being allowed to keep butter in their lockers, after Hertford went to Mansfield Woodhouse District Hospl- in Nottinghamshire until the past Wednesday evening which had 16 beds and was more of a Convalescent House, had taken over for the Matron Miss Pell Smith, with no resident Doctor the Matron was responsible for more; had had an abscess on her head at Hertford and postponed continuing on to Mansfield a few days, Mr Evans a visiting Surgeon cut the abscess, is putting herself up for Matronship at Bournemouth a new Hospl with 24 beds being built to open the following year, will be at Charing X Hospl from Oct 16 to March 25<sup>th</sup> until new Staff comes to take over, tells of a snow storm the previous week and having seen Miss Cannell who was on leave in the summer from Cairo

ff187-88, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, Thursday night 29 Nov 1888, Charing Cross Hospital, 29 King William St., Strand W.C., re: working 6 months at this hosp, has been at Charing Cross for 6 weeks, is in charge of Male Surgl Ward with 22 beds, her turn for a Sunday off is coming up the following week and would like meeting with her in the afternoon if it will not tire her, would like to have a simple reply yes or no, tells that she had been at Bedford in the first Sunday in Nov, asks if she had told about her summons to the Windsor Castle to receive her Royal Red Cross the previous Tuesday, her title at Charing X is Sister Sybil



ff189-91, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, 29 March 1889, c/o Sir George Airy, White House, Croom's Hill Greenwich S.E., re: went to Eastbourne the previous Monday afternoon to see the paying Hospital there, found it a pretty little place with one male and one female ward, small ward for special cases and children's Ward soon to be built, tiny operating room had just been added, Miss Napper the present matron was bad tempered and had most disagreeable manners, the Matron informed her of being overworked and that the Committee was going to alter the Rules with a new Matron to not attend operations, has a problem with it being a paying Hospital and will not apply for the position unless Nightingale advises her to do so, had called on Mr Coles the Hon Secy who takes the applications and inquired about age, was told Committee would decide, they already had 40 applications for the position, asks if HyBC knows anything about the new Hospl being built at Bournemouth, tells she is being advised to hurry and apply but she would prefer something near London, encloses the testimonial Nightingale had written about her the previous year and wanted to see again, is staying with her uncle and cousins until the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> of April, is going to see the Miller Hospl that afternoon where Miss Pretty is Matron, thanks her for returning the Eastbourne Report before leaving Charing Cross

ff192-93v, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, 2 April 1889, Greenwich, re: thanks for kind letter re Eastbourne Hospl, has decided not to apply there, has written Miss Pringle about it, has heard there are 100 applications for the post, encloses note from Miss Yardley that does not need to be returned re Matronship at the Bournemouth Genl Hospl, prefers not to take any steps until the position is advertized, feels Sir Henry Acland would be able to give help if needed as he is acquainted with most of the Medical Men at Bournemouth, is sorry to hear of Sir Harry Verney's severe relapse.

f194-v, A.C. Yardley to My dear Sister, 22 March 1889, Soldiers Recreation Rooms, 74 High Street, Winchester, re: can say with relatively good authority that a 'good deal of working up is going on about the Matronship of Bmouth Hospl, suggests she puts herself forward, sees the best plan for her to ask some influential doctors she knows to write to the chief Bournemouth doctor or to the Chairman of the Hospl Committee, tells her not to lose time, get Sir Wm MacCormack or Sir Henry Acland, better done through the doctors. My aunt and sister do not think anything is being done in the way of choosing a matron. I know that certainly one person and probably more are hard at work canvassing people. Don't lose any time in working your interests. Yrs afftly

ff195-96v, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, 10 July 1889, 51 Ashburnham Road, Medford, re: believes she will be interested to know she is a candidate for the Matronship of the R.V.H. at Bournemouth with 25 beds, tells she had sent her application June 1<sup>st</sup> when the advertisement appeared in the *Lancet*, she first received a letter saying she was in the top five to be considered, and then one of the final two for the post, she is to go for an interview of the Sub-committee on July 15<sup>th</sup> at the residence of Dr Roberts Thomson, her rival to be Miss Hincks of St Thomas', is longing to work again but has been caring for two cases in her own household, keenly reads

all news from Egypt and sees more troops being ordered there, almost wishes she were back at Assouan herself or somewhere else there

ff197-98v, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, 24 Sep 1889, Royal Victoria Hospital, Bournemouth, re: asks if she would give a little Statuette of herself 'like Home Sisters', enquires in she needs to ask Mr Bonham Carter about it, tells they are beginning to feel a little more settled, some workmen still there, has been there for a month on this day, they have 11 patients down from 14 with 26 beds, finds it a pity that a new Hospl has many faults in it construction, finds 'starting the working of a new Hospl very interesting work', has a small Nursing Staff of two trained Nurses (of which one is on Night duty) and one Lady Probr-, the beds are dispersed among 8 small Wards

f199-v, Sybil Airy to Nightingale, 3 Nov 1899, Royal Victoria Hospital, Bournemouth, re: asks if she thinks any more Nurses will be needed for So. Africa, Nurse Murphy and herself are interested in going, Murphy trained at the Liverpool Royal Infirmary, age 30, very strong & good as a Nurse, says she herself is getting on in year but feels 'as strong and wiry' as she did years ago, if there was a chance to going thinks she may get a leave from the Committee, asks for advice how to proceed, has not yet spent Nightingale's handsome gift to the Hospl but will let her know how it is spent when she does, trusts her health is as good as it was in Sept when they met

**f199** {F.N. hand:}

Miss Airy & one of her  
Nurses want to go out to  
the War in S.  
Africa

note, f200-v, pencil {black-edged paper}

**f200**

sent to Miss Airy  
5 Nov/99  
10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address:}  
PARK LANE. W.  
Miss Airy had better

apply to "the Under-Secretary  
"of State Ward Office  
"Pall Mall S.W."  
offering her services &  
Nurse Murphy's for South  
Africa if additional  
Nurses are required for  
temporary employment  
giving full particulars  
as to her own age &c &c  
& saying that she is

**f200v**

permitted to refer to  
F. Nightingale

---

If declined she might  
apply to the  
"National Society Aid to  
Sick & Wounded  
5 York Buildings  
Adelphi W.C.  
Secy J.C. Vokes  
(Lord Wantage's)

Add Mss 45776, microfilm, 329 folios, 160 pages, correspondence with Mrs Hawthorn, Adam Matthew reel 19

letter; ff1-4; pen; handschrift of Florence Nightingale; dated June 4/80 by Nightingale, black-edged paper

**f1**

*Your Memo on Station Hospitals* {underlined in red pencil}

Address

10 South St.

Park Lane W.

June 4/80

**[15:857-58]**

Dear Madam

It is very good of you  
to be willing, on the eve  
of your own departure  
for Africa, to occupy yourself about the  
subject of the Orderlies'  
attendance in Station  
Hospitals, concerning  
which you sent me  
thro' Col. Gordon a  
most valuable Memo.,  
a copy of which I  
enclose.

Mrs Hawthorn

**f1v**

I need scarcely say that  
I lost no time in  
thinking and enquiring  
what was to be done.  
It will be impossible  
to make much way,  
I find without obtaining  
from the War Minister,  
Mr. Childers, a request,  
*as from himself*, to  
Sir Wm Muir, the  
Head of the Army  
Medical Department, to look  
into these things.

[It is not as if I could  
go round and examine  
the Hospitals myself, as

**f2**

in days gone by. I am  
an Invalid almost  
entirely a prisoner to  
my bed, except when  
I leave London in an  
Invalid Carriage.]

This, - namely, to make  
it a matter of personal  
request to Sir Wm Muir,  
Mr. Childers is willing  
to do.

It remains, if you  
would be so very kind  
as to attach the name  
of ~~the~~ each Hospital where  
it happened to each  
fact as you relate it  
in the Memo. enclosed.

**f2v**

and to return it to me.  
I do not propose to give  
your name to Mr.  
Childers, except with  
your permission, as  
the author of the Memo.  
- tho' I should wish  
to give that of Col.  
Gordon, as authenticating  
it.

I do not even propose  
to give the names of  
the Station Hospitals  
where the neglects  
occurred at first  
to Mr. Childers: but  
to have them in reserve,

**f3**

[2]

in case he will not  
move without these  
names.

Had you been about to  
remain some time  
longer in England,  
so that I could have  
referred to you at  
any time. I would  
have tried Mr. Childers  
first: & would then,  
if he asked for farther  
information, have tried  
to see you.

But your near departure  
leaves me no alternative  
but to ask you to be

f3v

so very good, for the  
sake of the poor Patients,  
as to entrust me  
with the *names* [underlined in red pencil] of  
*the Station Hospitals* [underlined in red pencil]  
where each fact occurred  
- *not necessarily* to  
communicate to any one.  
And may God prosper  
our course, and our cause.

It is scarcely likely that  
you should be able  
or that you should  
wish to see me *besides*  
during your last few days  
in England.

f4

But if you could  
possibly spare time  
I would gladly come  
up to London - (I have  
other business to call  
me up always) - and see  
you at *10 South St.* [underlined in blue pencil]  
on *Thursday* [underlined in blue pencil] afternoon,  
June 10, at 5 [underlined in blue pencil] or at  
6 [underlined in blue pencil]. or, if that is  
impossible to you, on *Tuesday* [underlined in blue pencil]  
afternoon, June 8, at 5 [underlined in blue pencil]  
or at 6 [underlined in blue pencil], if you would  
care to make an  
appointment to speak to me.

May all success attend  
you, wherever you go,

**[end 15:858]**

is the earnest prayer of  
ever your faithful servt.

Florence Nightingale

4v

[On the top half of this folio are some notes written in black pen, not FN  
hand

4 June/89	No I
South St	parcel
F.N. to Mrs H	100 to/82

about to leave  
for Africa (E. Natal)  
in re ~~illeg~~ Military  
the Station Hospitals  
(apparently first introduction)

to

~~Dear~~ No 1  
~~[illeg] 1882~~ Parcel



{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff5-6; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand 14/2/81}

**f5**

14/2/81

10, SOUTH STREET,

PARK LANE. W. [printed address]

My dear Mrs. Hawthorn

May I introduce to you

**[15:861]**

Mrs. Fellowes, widow of  
General Fellowes, a trained  
Lady Nurse from our {"our" has been added in a darker pen} St.  
Thomas' Hospital training  
School, who is come out  
to nurse the Sick & Wounded  
in the Newcastle War  
Hospitals, which I know  
you are doing now -  
God bless you and your work.  
Your friendship and support  
will be invaluable to her.

We are distressed to lose

**f5v**

her at St. Thomas', where  
she promised to become  
one of our most valuable  
women. But I look  
forward to her having a  
long future career, - long  
after I am gone, please  
God, in raising (& training  
for) our Military Hospitals  
at home and in war, till they  
become something like what they should be. {this line has been  
added later in a darker pen}  
May God send her home safe  
and you too.

I have not written to you. {"to you" added in darker pen} I have  
failed as yet in my efforts  
to make any impression

f6

about the gross defects in  
Portsmouth & other Hospitals  
which you mentioned and  
wrote about, before you  
left England  
But I am not discouraged.  
There is God above all:  
we shall try again & again  
till we succeed.

Mrs. Fellowes is thoroughly  
trained: and a woman  
above all price. She goes  
out under the authority  
of the War Office & the  
Director Genl. of the Army  
Medical Dept., & will I

**f6v**

am sure win her way  
with the Medical Officers  
out there, by her simple  
desire to do the best  
for their Patients by  
carrying out their orders  
to the full and by her  
thorough competency to do  
so.  
How I should like to hear  
from you.  
God bless you again & again  
ever yours sincerely  
& entirely

Florence Nightingale

**[end]**

Feb 16/81

[Add Mss 45776; envelope; f7; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 16/2/81]

**f7** [written in pencil down the length of the right side is: "Introduction for Mrs Fellowes"]

*favoured by Mrs Fellowes*

Mrs. Hawthorn  
(wife of Col. Hawthorn R.E.)

~~Newcastle~~

Natal

Florence Nightingale)

16/2/81 )

ff8-10 23 March Natal [1881] from Ft Amiel Hosp, Newcastle, Natal, I have often wished to write to you since I came here and one of your kind letters to my cousin, Col Gordon, forwarded to me by today's mail, has decided me to send you a few lines.

I know your thoughts will have been much with our poor soldiers during the last sad weeks and you will be glad to know that the wounded are on the whole progressing favourably. Nearly 300 wounded have been here since the 28th Jany. We have only had 6 deaths. Of course at the Hill hospital at Mt Prospect there have been many more deaths in proportion as the men were brought in there direct after Langs Nek-the Majuba fights and only sent on here after they had begun to improve. After the Schim Hoogli fight the wounded were brought in here direct from the battlefield and all the deaths but one have been among these. I was then the only nurse here, but 2 nurses from the Blomfontein mission arrived next day and were soon followed by a professional nurse from Maritzburg. I offered my services at the beginning of the war but they were only accepted by the med officers when the long delay in the arrival of the Blomfontein nurses (owing to swollen rivers) made them fear they wd not come at all. I recd permission from the PMO to come upon Friday aft, left the next morning by post cart and reached Newcastle on Tuesday 8th Feb at 1 AM the very day of the Schim Hoogli engagement. The hosp is composed of 10 huts containing 12 beds each, and a camp has been formed ..tents and marquees for the less serious cases. You know ..Our soldiers are at such a time ...My opinion of hosp orderlies has not been improved by a closer acq but of course there are bright exceptions here and there. I think the Blomf nurses have done good work here but it seems a pity the Netley nurses were not sent out earlier when their services were much needed. I am inexpressibly thankful that there now seems every prospect of peace and I shd hope that in the course of 5 or weeks all but a very few ill have left Newcastle. We hope to send off 60 convs in a few days and 50 are already on their way to Maritzburg; 40 of the worst cases are still at Mt Prospect. The inhabitants of Natal generally have behaved most kindly and generously during this sad time, supplying us with fruit, puddings etc for the wounded and the Red Cross Assoc of Durban placed £100 at my disposal allowing me to use it as I liked. We are expecting 4 Netley nurses here in a few days as there are now 4 Blomf nurses and one from Maritzb. I propose returning home very soon. I am beginning to fear the effects of even these few weeks work. There has been a great deal of exposure to bad weather as my patients latterly have been chiefly in tents and marquees. My own tent has twice collapsed in storms of wind,

thunder and rain such as one rarely sees except in S Africa! Pray excuse a scrawl as I am sitting on my portmanteau and writing on my knees. Believe me to be most sincerely yrs, M.A. Hawthorn.

ff11-13 11 April 1881

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff14-16; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand May 11/81}

**f14**

*Private* {written diagonally in top left corner}

May 11/81

10, SOUTH STREET,

PARK LANE. W. [printed address]

M y        d e a r        M r s .        H a w t h o r n

I

cannot tell you how thankful        **[15:870-71]**

I was that you so kindly  
found time to write to me  
from Fort Amiel. My  
thoughts have followed you  
night & day - (how I wish  
that I could have been with  
you) and blessing God for your  
work among the Sick and Wounded.  
I only trust that what you  
must have suffered yourself  
may not have told upon you.

I scarcely know how to ask  
what I am going to ask, when  
you ought to be resting, were  
it not for the good of the cause.  
You have doubtless by this time

**f14v**

put down some  
notes concerning the  
Hospital Orderlies (you say  
your "opinion of them" has  
not improved) the diets,  
cooking, comforts, equipment, and other  
things appertaining to the  
Nursing of our Wounded Men  
at Fort Amiel Hospitl. - and  
what you have seen yourself.  
notes something similar to  
those, apportion of which  
you kindly sent me thro' Col.  
Gordon, about Portsmouth  
Hospitl. and c. I have as yet  
succeeded in doing nothing  
effectual about those: but  
God will work them out.  
If we could really know from

f15

an unofficial and yet experienced  
& able helper, like yourself,  
what the real state of the  
Fort Amiel and War Hospitals  
was as to Orderly Nursing and  
the things which belong to  
Nursing, it would be of  
immense importance:

Might I see such notes as  
you may have made? If  
you would send them  
home (registered) I would  
return them to you. And  
I would not show them to  
anyone that you thought  
"dangerous" - but take  
opportunities to make use  
of them in the way that  
you would approve.

I don't know that I ever  
found difficulties (official)  
at home greater but we

**f15v**

must not despair.  
Yes it was a thousand pities  
that the Netley Nurses were  
not sent out earlier, as you  
say. They were ordered,  
countermanded, & then ordered  
again to embark, when a  
thoroughly trained nurse from  
St. Thomas' (our Training School)  
Mrs. Fellowes, widow of Genl.  
Fellowes, accompanied them.  
To her I gave a letter to you.  
She has been turned back  
and is now come back to us.  
You will know the rest of the  
story at P.Maritzburg.  
She brought out a credit of  
£300 from the Nat. Aid Socy.  
here. And I only wish it had  
been sent to you.

Thank God for the peace.  
But will it last?

f16

[2]

If you are so good as to send "notes", please let them include how the Bloemfontein Sisters seem to be trained - and what amount of work among the Wounded the Medl. Officers allowed them to do - & whether Dr. Stokes at Ft. Amiel, and Dr. Holloway at P.Maritzburg are favourable to *trained* nurses.

I am writing now only to thank you and bid you "God speed". and to save this mail.

Indeed, indeed, may God bless *all* efforts for the good of His soldiers and His Sick!

And another thing - Col. Gordon's unique talent for civilising oriental and African races, may it but be used among *our* own fellow subjects. We who have 200 millions of oriental races under our care used in

**f16v**

the same kind of way in which it has been so signally blessed & for which it was given him.

He stands quite alone in this power of governing native races. [end 15:871]

From the bottom of my heart "to the crest of my soul" I wish you good: let us go on step by step: ever yours, in haste dear Mrs. Hawthorn.

Florence Nightingale

Shall you be able to see Mrs. Brooks and Mrs Adams, of Adamshurst Natal, now.

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f17; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 11/3/81}

**f17**

*Private*

Mrs Hawthorn  
Care of Colonel Hawthorn R.E.  
Pieter Maritzburg  
Natal

Add Mss 45776

608

Florence nightingale)  
11/3/81 )

S. Africa



{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff18-19; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand May 19/81}

**f18**

*Private* {written diagonally in top left corner}

May 19/81

10, SOUTH STREET,

PARK LANE. W. [printed address]

My dear Mrs. Hawthorn

O n l y                    o n e                    l i n e                    t o - d a y                    t o

**[15:872]**

thank you for your last most  
kind letter.

I will apply immediately to  
Col. Loyd Lindsay, the Chairman of the Natl. Aid  
Socy. for funds for the "artificial limbs":  
and there will be no harm done  
if others write also to him.

Mrs Fellowes is coming to see  
me on Saturday: and I shall  
tell her what you so kindly  
say and then write to you.

The fault of the Natl. Aid  
Socy. "plan" for training and paying Military  
Nurses is: that they intend  
at present to give them no

**f18v**

Civil Hospl. training (you kindly  
ask.) Now, as you know,

there are absolutely  
no cases of recent severe  
surgical injury, no amputations,  
few or no acute diseases  
in home Military Hospitals.  
Mily. Hospls. in time of  
peace are perhaps the  
most unlike War Hospls.  
You see more in a week  
in a great London Civil  
Hospital than you do in  
a year in Military Peace  
Hospls., of accidents, operations,  
wounds, acute diseases, &c

Let me, I pray you,  
give the ~~information~~ details you  
ask at a moment of  
greater leisure about

**f19**

this plan for training and paying Nurses  
for Military Hospls.

Also: Should not we try to  
improve the *Orderlies*  
themselves? Nurses will  
not be in *all* the Hospls.  
in peace & in war where  
Orderlies must be.

Besides which, the plan  
embraces only the training & paying of  
of 9 [?] nurses at first.

Then there is this vast India.

Latterly, I have been hearing  
and examining ~~so~~ much as to  
the miserable untrained Native Orderlies, now "Army  
Native/Hospital Corps". & the  
European Orderlies no better,  
- no use except to "kick" (!)  
the native ones.

Surely we must train the

**f19v**

*Orderlies* as well as the  
Nurses. But I am so

glad you augur well of  
the plan for Station Hospl. Nurses.

[end 15:872]

God bless you and your work  
a thousand times.

Excuse this scrawl.

Could you tell me the year,  
(and if possible name,  
and but the year in which you  
sent that man discharged  
with an "incurable" bad  
leg, to Mr Sydney Jones  
at St. Thomas' Hospital,  
who cured him by cleanling [odd, yes]  
in 6 weeks? He thinks he  
remembers the case, but  
wishes to know the year.

ever yours in heart & hand  
Florence Nightingale

Add Mss 45776; envelope; f20; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 19/05/81

**f20**

{written in pencil and another hand vertically on the left side is: "National Nurses no civil training at that date"}

S. Africa

Mrs Hawthorn  
Care of Colonel Hawthorn R.E.  
Pieter Maritzburg

**Natal**

Florence nightingale)  
19/5/81 )

ff21-22 6 July [1881] from Ft Amiel Camp, acknowledges letters, will send notes about orderlies and answer her questions, intense cold

I have to acknowledge two letters of yours which I was very glad to receive. I would have answered the first before now but we are living in the camp and its is most difficult to accomplish much letter writing under the circumstances. I hope to send you the notes about orderlies and to answer all your questions fully in a week or two but will only send a few lines by this mail in answer to  
y o u r        l a s t        l e t t e r        o f        M a y        1 9 t h .

The man to whom you refer as having been treated in St Thomas' Hospital was a gunner of the Royal Artillery and he was admitted in the spring of 1879. He was under treatment at the same time as Hugh Lamb, a sergt R.E. who was also sent up by us, most successfully treated by Mr Sydney Jones. I am very sorry I cannot remember the gunner's name. I think it began with the letter G but I have kept no notes of his case beyond those I sent you. He lives in the same ward I believe with H Lamb and this may help to recall him to Mr Jones.

I am grateful for the trouble you are taking in applying for artificial limbs for our poor wounded here. They will be invaluable to them.

I hear you have thought me very faint hearted about the Epsom Army Hospital orderlies. The truth is I do not see how anything is to be made out of such material. The ant of conscientiousness I have seen lately makes me feel that nothing but constant and intelligent supervision will be of real use.

The Blomfontein nurses have done very well here--out of 5, 3 were trained nurses. The other 2 were untrained and not suited for hospital work. I shd say the Netley nurses are superior, but of course they vary and the two best have been in Newcastle. I must not write more today but hope to answer all our questions by next mail. The cold here is intense at night, 10 degrees below zero in our tents!

ff23-25 25 August [1881] Fort Amiel sends notes in answer to her inquiries

I send you at last a few notes, chiefly in answer to your enquiries. I am very hopeless about the hospital orderly system and believe these men can never be made useful except to work under the superintendence of nurses. This brings me to a subject I much wish to mention to you--namely the class of women to be employed. Surely when so many educated and refined women are needing employment we need not go to the class of soldiers' wives to supply nurses? I refer to Lady Strangford's scheme for training and employing these women in military hospitals.

I have had 20 years experience of soldiers' wives and know them, I think, far better than do most officers' wives and, while most anxious to do anything for their real benefit, I cannot but protest against such a wild scheme as their employment as nurses in men's hospitals. There is not one in a hundred who is fitted for it. A hospital in charge of orderlies and soldiers' wives would indeed be a Pandemonium, especially in wartime.

It seems to me so desirable to obtain the services not only of respectable intelligent women but, if possible, of *ladies* [FN und] who combined the respect of both patients and orderlies. As you know, a soldier who is not very well educated himself is yet quick in detecting the errors of others, and no men are quicker in ridicule or in giving nicknames. I noticed that where a *lady* was in charge of a ward, it gave a distinctly higher tone among the patients and there is no doubt that they much prefer having someone who they can thoroughly look up to and respect. If orderlies are to work under nurses, it is even more important that they shd recognise them as their superiors. One of the Netley nurses told me of an orderly who complained of one of the others scolding him and said "I cd stand it from a *lady*, not from her." Please excuse a very hurried letter and very unsatisfactory notes.

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff26-29; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand Nov 8 1881}

**f26**

*Private* {written diagonally in top left corner}

Nov 8 1881

10, SOUTH STREET,

PARK LANE. W. [printed address]

[15:873-75]

My dear Mrs. Hawthorn

I cannot tell you how  
your note from Fort Amiel  
and its "confidential" enclosure  
absorbed me with painful  
interest. All over again  
it is (on a small scale)  
what we had in the Crimean  
War on a large scale. And  
it is heart rending that,  
after 27 years it is  
possible for this all to  
happen over again. I seem  
to see it all before me &  
your exertion to mend it.

**f26v**

As to the "Soldiers' Wives  
"Nurses", that is nothing as  
you say but a "wild  
scheme" of Lady Strangford's.  
It is discountenanced, as  
it ought to be, *not dis*  
encouraged, as *they* say, by  
the Horse Guards. And  
an order was issued  
several months ago forbidding  
them to bear their self-  
assumed title of "Military"  
(Nurses). Military Officers  
are fully aware of its  
absurdity. And one, a Military

**f27**

Medical Officer in charge  
of an Officers' Hospital at  
one of our most prominent  
Stations told me himself  
a painful and ludicrous story  
of his need for a Nurse  
for an urgent case of his  
examining his Serjeant's  
wife, with a flaming  
certificate from Lady Strangford  
- of his finding that she knew  
absolutely nothing, not even  
how to make a bed & of  
his dismissing her.

[Indeed one comfort I have  
with regard to the whole  
bad affair is that Medical  
Officers of any standing,  
especially those returned

**f27v**

from India who expected to find everything perfect here, and "according" to our "Regulations" (which they see out there)- are shocked at the state of our Orderly Nursing Service, and also at this "wild" scheme of Lady Strangford's Nurses.

I assure you I think you need not fear the latter. I hear no one whose opinion is worth having speak of them but with derision. Sir F. Roberts, it is true, made a speech in their favour, but I saw him before he went to Madras

**f28**

[2]

And he was enthusiastic about our highly trained Mrs Fellowes, a person of a very different stamp, who is now doing duty as '"Sister" of a Male Medical Ward at St. Thomas', & who, I cannot but hope, will some day do good service in Military Hospitals, to which her whole heart is bent.]

~~—But~~ The National Aid Socy. is, as you know, training Probationers at their expence under the Netley and Woolwich "Sisters" for Military Hospital Service: the only drawbacks to which are, first, that they are not to receive any Civil Hospital training and

**f28v**

as you know, the severe surgical cases, operations, acute Medical cases are in any of the great London Hospitals as many in one week as at Netley and Woolwich in ~~a~~ years. [We did not want their Probationers at St. Thomas', but I should have been thankful if some mixture of Civil Hospital training could have been devised] The other drawback is that their numbers are so few - & that the present Minister of War looks so very little into such matters as Military Hospitals himself.





{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f30; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 16/11/81}

**f30**

[written in pencil and another hand vertically on the left side is: "For Enquiry as to Military Hospitals Training and Civil Hospitals"]

*S. Africa*

Mrs Hawthorn  
Care of Colonel Hawthorn R.E.  
Pieter Maritzburg  
Natal

16/11/81

Hawthorn letter to FN 6 Feb 1882 Add Mss 45776 ff31-35 has on f35; "you know far better than I do, but it seems as if the best hope of reform is to try to bring public opinion to bear on the iniquities of the military hospitals." can't use Acland's name

ff31-35 Feb [1882] Hawthorn letter to FN from Ft Napier, re talk with Gen Leicester Smyth, fever cases, soldiers feel dare not report while in hospital, almost all the orderlies in the fever hosp young men, careless and cruel; older, bearer company are kind and considerate when sober but often drunk, Acland has written his father all this, perhaps FN cd communicate with Dr Acland? re iniquities of mil hosps

ff36-38 is Strictly Private in Hawthorn hand, a report of Hosp Pf Amiel, Newcastle

Add Mss 45776; letter; ff39-42; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand Feb 23 1881 [but it is 1882]

**f39**

*Private* [written diagonally in top left corner] [check date, 1882?]

Feb 23 1882  
10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE. W. [printed address]

My dear Mrs. Hawthorn

I cannot tell you how [15:876-77]  
moved I am by your letter.  
You know it. I feel these  
terrible Hospitals, if possible,  
even more than you can do,  
for I feel them with all  
my feeling for you *and* for  
the men.

The blood of that poor  
man Dunn who died of  
Dysentery and could not  
get a drink cries to God

from the ground. I do not  
mean for vengeance but  
for reform that future

**f39v**

comrades may not suffer  
as he did.  
May God bring the day soon!

But oh what you must  
suffer in seeing these men  
die or rather in *not* seeing  
them die because you  
are not allowed to nurse them.

I am in communication with  
Mr. Childers through a third  
person about the state of  
things which your letter  
shows. I have had much  
the same information from  
Medical and other Officers.

**f40**

But every~~body~~ man fears to let  
his name be mentioned.

I am extremely careful  
to consider your letter as  
"Private."

But if Mr. Childers is worth  
anything he will then take  
his measures to find out  
the true state of things.

The sons of Dr. Acland of  
Oxford and of Sir John Stokes,  
Adjutant of the Corps of  
Artillery, Horse Guards, are  
at this moment in the Natal  
Artillery Battery, & are  
the only Subaltern Officers  
in the Battery.

**f40v**

Dr. Acland writes to my brother. in. law, Sir Harry Verney that he hears from his son "very sad accounts "of Typhoid Fever in the "Artillery at Natal, with "my boy Frank's Battery". and asks him to call on Sir John Stokes.

I have asked Sir Harry to ask Sir John Stokes and Dr. Acland (whom I also know very well) whether they have received any account from their sons of the way the men are treated and nursed in Hospital.

And I would suggest to you could any use be made of

**f41**

these two young Officers in giving us information? Which could be quoted.

Dr. Acland is much consulted by the War Office: and Dr. Acland often consults me.

I cannot doubt that right will be done ultimately. And the day will come when poor Dunn & the others will be glad to have suffered.

It is always some glaring succession of evils which brings about the remedy.

But when I think that by the  
[bottom section of this folio cut off]

**f41v**

either be dead or well. I  
hardly like to ask: did  
"the General" sanction Trained  
Nurses for Newcastle? and  
who is the General?

Sir Harry Verney will see  
Sir Evelyn Wood this afternoon  
and ascertain from him his  
view on the matter of the  
Natal *hospitals*, if he has a  
view: [has he?]

I wish I could tell you  
anything satisfactory but  
today is the mail: & I can  
only say what you know already {this line has been cut in half but remains  
legible.}

**f42**

[written in pencil]

Please write again  
giving news:

**[end 15:877]**

I h o p e y o u a r e w e l l .

FN.

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f43; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 23/2/82}

**f43**

[written in pencil and another hand vertically on the left side is: "Death of  
poor Dunn of Dysentery in Hospital Hospitals"]

*Private* {written diagonally in top left corner}

Mrs Hawthorn

Fort Napier

Pieter Maritzburg

S. Africa

23/2/82

ff44-48 17 April [1882] letter of Hawthorn to FN from printed Government House Cape Town; "you can scarcely imagine how happy it makes me to hear of what you are doing [FN print: how little] to obtain a reform in the hospitals. Out here it is all *suffering* or witnessing suffering. You clearly see how useless a mere official inquiry through commanding officers and medical officers would be, but if properly managed, the *truth* can easily be obtained. At this moment General Smyth has in his hands evidence given by men and n.c. officers to his own military secretary, which is *stronger* than anything I have sent you. Could not Mr Childers desire this evidence to be sent to him? I feel sure General Smyth will not do anything practical in the matter unless his hand is forced. He dreads "bother" more than anything else and the PMO in Natal, Dr Sinclair, is an obstinate, narrow-minded man who hotly opposes any interference in his own department. General Drury Lowe (lately second in command) is here now on his way to England and he is horrified at the evidence now before him and promises me he will bring the matter forward at home, but we must not trust to that alone. Would you communicate with General Drury Lowe and also would not Mr Childers see him....

Letter; f49; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand May 11 1882}

**f49**

May 11 1882

10, SOUTH STREET,

PARK LANE. W. [printed address]

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

God bless the gallant [15:882]

woman who fights His

battle with all -- Generals

& Doctors & *for all Hospitals*

& Patients & actually

compels Generals and Patients

t o w i t n e s s i n t h e i r o w n

despite for the good cause.

We will do all that you

say. I cannot say

that we have made much way

with Mr. Childers

at present.

We will see all whom

you mention as returning

here.

I h o p e t o w r i t e a g a i n n e x t m a i l

[end]

ever yours most truly F. Nightingale.

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f50; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 11/5/81}

**f50**

{written in pencil and another hand vertically on the left side is: "Short letter of approval for Mrs Hawthorn"}

Mrs Hawthorn  
care of Col. Hawthorn R.E.  
Pieter Maritzburg  
Natal

16/5/82 S. Africa

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff51-53; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand May 18 1882}

**f51** {Written vertically along the left side in pen and the same hand is: "I will see, if possible all the Doctors and ~~filleg atten?~~ N.C. Officers you mention. I saw Mrs Deeble last week.}

May 18 1882  
10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE. W. [printed address]

My dear Mrs. Hawthorn

I am so unspeakably  
glad to be able to report  
to you even the least  
progress. And I think  
we are making some.

[15:882-83]

On Friday, May 12, as you  
may have seen in the  
reports of the debates.  
[that is my birthday and  
this was God's birthday  
present to me.]

Sir R. Loyd Lindsay - he  
is an opposition M.P.  
and was financial Secretary  
at the War Office under  
Ld Beaconsfield's Govt. -

**f51v**

raised the question about the Army Hospital Corps in Natal in the House of Commons, and begged Mr. Childers to obtain the report made to Genl. Leicester Smyth by his Military Secretary at Natal. Mr. Childers promised to obtain it & told Sir R. L. Lindsay that he was only waiting to go into a thorough enquiry into the A.H. Corps till the return from India of Dr. Crawford who is the new Director Genl. (Army Medical Dept.)

**f52**

The "papers" which Sir R.L.L. said in the Ho. he "held in his hand bringing grave charges against the A.H.C." were the *Evidence* you sent me about the field Hospital at Ingagane. These were *copied* by a mutual military friend. And Sir R.L. who did not see your letters does not know that they came from you nor from me.

I am to see him this afternoon about the whole matter of Military Nursing by Nurses & Orderlies.

It is all important that this matter should be urged upon Mr. Childers by independent & various



**f52v**

persons speaking as it  
were from independent  
evidence, (though you are  
the gallant author of all  
the moves.)

Sir Harry Verney brought  
it forward in the House  
some time ago, & privately  
to Mr. Childers several times.

Genl. Drury Lowe is  
come: & we have already  
communicated with him.  
He has promised to bring  
it before the authorities.  
[I am to see him next week.]

The more evidence we  
can have the better: & if  
possible evidence we can  
produce. You spoke of more  
*to be had* when you returned to  
P. Maritzburg.  
from 6th Dragoons & 41st Regt. men.

**f53**

I do really think this  
terrible matter is in  
good train at last  
to be looked into & remedied. And I  
am not a hopeful person.

Thank God for any  
progress we have made.

I will write again,  
next mail, I hope.

God bless you again & again

ever yours most truly

F. Nightingale

So Genl. Gordon is at the  
Cape. O that he may  
take up the natives. Then it  
will be the Cape of "Good Hope"  
for them.

**[end 15:883]**

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f54; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 18/5/82}

**f54**

[written in pencil and another hand vertically on the left side is: "Army Hospital Corps enquiry Hope"]

*Private* {written diagonally in top left corner}

Mrs Hawthorn  
care of Col. Hawthorn R.E.  
Pieter Maritzburg  
Natal

18/5/82

ff55-56 3 June [1882] from Natal read re evidence

ff57-61 17 June [1882] from Natal rejoiced, re her influence, has sent copy of evidence to Prince Edward of Saxe hoping he may show it to the duke of Cambridge, thanks for her account of questions asked and answered [long and good letter with FN note at end]

**f61v** FN note pencil, on above letter  
system of direct enlistment now  
put a stop to  
Good men by it. Clerks or Chemists/ Dr Crawford  
worst men of whole Corps  
4 mo (nominal) training at Aldershot  
of course inefficient to give them  
either the discipline of soldiers  
or the qualities of nurses  
They generally become N.C.O.s  
Immediately from superior education  
And this accounts for the fact, if it is  
a fact, that the present N.C.O.s  
Of the AHC are rather worse  
than the men 0 & they often  
continue a long course of drunkenness  
& dishonesty (pilfering of stores &c &c)  
without detection  
did not tell Dr Crawford

suggest for consideration such views & conclusions  
evidence as I have collected as to  
enlistment training, organizn, promotion  
of AHC & its relations to AMD  
This life's experience has given to ourselves

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff62-64; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand June 22 1882}

**f62**

*Private* {Written diagonally in the top left corner}

June 22 1882

10, SOUTH STREET,

PARK LANE. W. [printed address] [15:886-88]

My dear Mrs. Hawthorn

The enquiry into the A.  
Hospl. Corps in Natal has  
begun: Sir Evelyn Wood: President  
Mr Lawson: to represent War Office  
Dr. Donne: " " A. Med. Dep.  
Genl. Redvers Buller:

They have not yet begun  
examining witnesses and I fear  
there will be much difficulty  
in getting evidence.

I have seen Genl. Drury Lowe:  
Dr. Blair Brown: twice  
and introduced Dr. B.B to Sir  
Robert. Loyd Lindsay.

Epps I have had some  
correspondence with, but he has  
always failed to keep his  
appointment. ~~If I had~~ When I see

**f62v**

him, I may be able to persuade him to give his evidence - otherwise he seems unwilling. Serjt. Morris has not been here: & I do not know his address. Dr. Blair Brown entirely declines being called as evidence. Genl. Lowe will of course give his: but, as he says it is only hearsay.

The report from Col. Montgomery to Genl. Leicester Smyth will be the real evidence that cannot be successfully challenged. And if this cannot be obtained otherwise Genl. Lowe will testify to its existence.

You see that it would not be desirable *for the enquiry* that I should come forward as if it were I who were mothering it. To do any good it must rest upon the sound basis of independent enquiry

**f63**

and of evidence that cannot be successfully challenged. Dr. Stokes is, I am sorry to say, going to give evidence. And Dr. Sinclair is working hard to prove all accusations false. Your two friends, Dr. Blair Brown & Genl. D. Lowe are capital men. Genl. Lowe, like a good soldier, so simple, straightforward, & earnest for the right to be found out, be it for or against. Dr. B. Brown so clever, energetic, knowing what he wants & how to do it so well. But it is like a reign of terrorism that to give evidence disagreeable to a "powerful Department" like the Army Med. Dept. would be "ruin" to hopes of promotion.

After this enquiry into the doings in Natal of the A. Hospl. Corps, Mr. Childers & he D. of Cambridge are

**f63v**

going to have an ~~general~~ enquiry  
into the organisation of the  
A. Hospl. Corps in general.  
And I believe extensive change  
will be made. but .. what?

*Direct* enlistment, of boys  
of 17 out of the Whitechapel  
slums, will be abolished  
at once. And this is a great  
thing. Volunteers from Regiments  
and from Class A Reserve to be  
taken instead. And this I think  
will meet your views.

I trust that alterations will  
also be made as to training,  
(that at Aldershot is so poor)  
organization and promotion  
so that a good *Nurse: Orderly*  
may be rewarded by extra pay  
& promoted to be a *Superintendent*  
*Nurse: N.C.O.* in the Ward, instead  
of the highest Office being the Steward

**f64**

[2]

I have seen several Army  
 Medical Officers principally  
 connected with the A. Hospl. Corps  
 And they all concur in this  
 that the peculation (with the  
 stores and with the Patients' food)  
 of the Serjeants is terrible -  
 & that there is no inducement  
 to be a good *Nurse Orderly* or  
 good *Nurse N.C.O.*, for the  
 promotion is all *out of* the  
 Wards into the clerical and storekeeping  
 lines.

But I may be counting my  
 chickens before they are  
 hatched.

Pray, if you see or write  
 to Genl. Gordon, tell him we  
 hope great things from him  
 in Cape. land. I was so glad  
 that he went there.  
 It seems as if Egypt would want him.

**f64v**

The National Aid Society are  
 training Nurses. Miss Stewart,  
 the Supt., who has been 13 years  
 in Civil Hospl. training and experience  
 is such a very nice person.

Alas! they have been refused  
 a t P o r t s m o u t h ( w h e r e s h e

would work a perfect  
 reformation, if she were to go,  
 invited to the Guards' Hospitals,  
 are, I believe, to go to Chatham.  
 B u t I s t i l l h o p e f o r P o r t s m o u t h .

**[end 15:888]**

I must stop:  
 fare you very well.  
 ever yours in hope  
 F. Nightingale.

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f65; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 22/6/82}

**f65**

[in pencil and another hand vertically on the left side is:]

Enquiry Natal begun

Reference to Gl. Gordon

National Aid Society

Mrs Hawthorn  
care of Col. Hawthorn R.E.  
Pieter Maritzburg

Natal  
22/6/82 S. Africa

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff66-67; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand June 29 1882}

**f66**

*Private* [Written diagonally in the top left corner and underlined once in ink and again in blue pencil]

{Written vertically up the left side in same hand and ink is: "I must not forget to tell you that the whole Natal enquiry turned out to the honour of the Nurses, as being the most trustworthy of attendants." After this is written in pencil: "All hail to the leader the gallant lady to whom I write."}

June 29 1882

10, SOUTH STREET,

PARK LANE. W. [printed address] **[15:890-91]**

My dear Mrs. Hawthorn

Only a word to- day,  
because it is mail day, to  
say that Sir Evelyn Wood's  
enquiry is now closed -  
that he has not yet written  
his Report.

I sent in word to him that  
more evidence is coming from  
you by this next mail.

Mr. Childers says that  
Col. Montgomery's Report  
has not reached him.

Sir Evelyn Wood says that  
he thinks is has not yet  
come home. [I have taken  
the utmost pains to make

**f66v**

its existence known. And  
 it shall again be asked for  
 in the Ho. of Commons.  
 I have not been idle.]  
 Sir E. Wood says that it  
 is most important to have  
 it.  
 Trumpet Major Epps, he says,  
 has given excellent evidence.

With every disappointment,  
 I am more sanguine than  
 I was before.  
 Sir E. Wood is so completely  
 on the side of investigation  
 & reform.  
 And I have seen Dr. Crawford  
 the new Director=Genl., who  
 is most friendly & I trust  
 will prove a true reformer.  
 The good Medical Officers

**f67**

hope "the result will be  
 such" (of these enquiries) "as  
 "to disclose every weak spot"  
~~discovered by~~ I hope so too  
 & more, that "every weak spot"  
 will be remedied.

Sir E. Wood says of his  
 Natal Enquiry: "I can't  
 punish these drunken  
 rascals in the past" But  
 we CAN take precautions  
 for the future."

It is proposed by some:  
 that "2 drunks" shall  
 make a dismissal. I

a m b u s y c o l l e c t i n g t h e  
**[end 15:891]**

best opinions on what  
 [page cut at this point but likely reading is:]  
 shall be the enlistment



**f67v**

promotion of the A.H.C.

[I believe I am to write  
a paper for the C. in C. &  
Mr Childers].

I think I told you that  
there is to be another (*general*)  
enquiry into the A.H.C.  
organization &c.

Sir E. Wood says he will  
probably be on it. And  
I shall soon learn who  
are to be on it.

All fresh evidence  
will come in for that.  
And the Director= Genl. is  
open to conviction.

Success attend the good cause.  
God bless you: in great haste.  
{page is cut off at this point}

**f68**

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f68; pen; handscrip of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 29/6/82}

**f68**

[written in pencil and another hand vertically on the left side is:]  
Enquiry of  
Sir Evelyn Wood  
Dr Crawford & thanks  
to Mrs Hawthorn

Mrs Hawthorn  
care of Col. Hawthorn R.E.  
Pieter Maritzburg  
Natal

29/6/82

ff69-71 30 June [1882] A. Hawthorn letter to FN from Pietermaritzburg sending  
more evidence of 6th Dragoons and 41st Regt of Gunners, some difficulty in  
getting the men to speak, such a trad among them never to report a comrade even  
a hosp orderly, others are afraid of getting themselves into trouble with own  
officers or the doctors

ff72-73 22 July 1882 from Pietermaritzburg re her letter of 22 June glad inq  
being made, anxious about evidence

Your letter of June 22nd interested me deeply. I am very glad the enquiry is  
being made, but I cannot help being very anxious about the evidence and  
wondering if the written evidence I have sent from men of the Artillery, 41st  
and Dragoons can be used.

Dr Stokes I fear will not be scrupulous in what he says. I have reason to

believe he made statements here that were without any foundation--I doubt if a clearer headed or *stronger* man than Col Buller cd be found. Personally, I scarcely know him and do not know what his views are about the hospitals. I am sorry Epp is not inclined to speak, as I relied upon him. I wonder if you will have sent for Clark. I think he wd speak, though he is nervous.

I am very glad you like both Genl Lowe and Dr Brown. The latter has had very little thanks for what he did out here and the other doctors as a rule are excessively jealous of him.

F73 He was very much pleased at having made your acquaintance. Genl Smyth got more evidence against hospital orderlies just before he left here, by last mail, for Capetown, but I don't know if he is sending it home.

It will be a great point of old soldiers instead of raw recruits are taken for the A.H. Corps. Also the change as to pay and promotion for *nurse* orderlies wd be admirable. But wd there be no hope of getting orderlies attached to regts so that they wd look upon the men of that regt as their comrades and in matters of discipline wd be under regiments' officers? I suppose this wd be too great a change to expect. Also, cd you not urge that *an orderly who has been found drunk twice shd be sent out of the Corps?* [FN red und] An orderly here who was tried at last by court martial had had 8 *previous convictions for drunkenness* [FN red und] *in one year. Drunkenness is the crime in the A.H. Corps* [FN red und] I cannot tell you how anxious I am to hear the result of the enquiry. I pray earnestly that they may find out the *ral truth*. Ever yours A Hawthorn

ff74-77 27 July [1882] from Pietermaritzburg thankful to hear inq satisfactory so far

ff78-80; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated August 3 1882

# f78

*Private* {Written diagonally in the top left corner}

{Four lines at the top of the page before the date and address have been written in pencil and in the same hand:}

Thank you for what you say  
about the men. I am *indeed*  
*their ever faithful*  
*servant* [end 15:893]

A u g 3 1 8 8 2

10, SOUTH STREET,

PARK LANE. W. [printed address] [15:892-93]

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

Thank you so much for your letter of  
June 30: & its enclosures: more  
terrible, I think, than any.

I wish I *could* tell you, as you  
say, "what *has* been done"  
about the A.H.C. Natal men enquiry  
Indeed I may say for the  
last 28 years the most

intense wish of my life  
has been, about every thing,  
to be able to know & to say  
"WHAT HAS BEEN DONE".  
It is not profane to say that,  
tho' it is given to few to be  
able to say like our Lord  
"It is finished" yet to work

**f78v**

so that it may be "finished" in  
 God's good time is the  
 aim of all of us  
 who know what work is.  
 I wish I could tell you that  
 the A.H.C. reform is "finished"  
 but I do honestly believe it is  
 on its way.

You will know by this time  
 how awful the drive and press  
 here is in making  
 preparations for this  
 deplorable Egyptian business.

Every single official from  
 Mr. Childers, Horse Guards,  
 Director Genl., to Sir Evelyn Wood,  
 Chairman of the Natal Enquiry, Sir  
 Robt. L. Lindsay, its mover,  
 Sir Garnet Wolseley, &c &c &c  
 is either actually started  
 for the Mediterranean, or

**f79**

has scarcely time to breathe  
 over the preparations. It is  
 impossible to ask a question  
 about anything else - or if  
 you do to get it answered.  
 I have been working some days  
 from 4.30 am. till 10 p.m.

W e s e n d o u t 2 4 N u r s e s

**[15:917]**

under Mrs. Deeble, 8 from  
 Netley and Woolwich, 6 Nat. Aid  
 Socy. 6 St Thomas'  
 4 Volunteers.

Of St. T's Sisters, 3 are our  
 first rate "Men's Surgical"  
 Sisters: irreplaceable women.

I fear very much placing these  
 first rate trained ladies, Mrs Fellowes is  
 one, under ~~the~~ some other very inferior  
 women. But they keep the  
 well paid Local Hospl. Sup cies.  
~~under~~ for the regular "Govt.  
 Sisters". This is not to be wondered  
 at: tho' I offered

**f79v**

that ours should take the  
service *without the pay*  
the Hospitl. Supts.

I        w i l l        n o t        t r o u b l e        y o u        a b o u t

our troubles. For the thing is  
to tell you what has been done  
as you say.

We may be quite easy as to  
what will happen to our  
poor fellows in Hospital  
wherever the Sisters are.

They will take good care of  
that. The P.M.O., Dr. Hanbury  
is on our side about the  
A.H.C. men. The stir  
that has been made about  
the Natal horrors will set the  
Medl. Officers on their guard.  
The Director Genl. has also been  
stirred up. Sir Garnet Wolseley is  
extremely favourable to Female Nurses.

**f80**

[2]

But would that I could tell you  
that the essential 10, SOUTH STREET  
PARK LANE. W. [printed address]

changes in the enlistment,  
training, organization, promotion  
of the A.H.C. itself had  
taken place. This  
however there would not have  
time for even if every one  
had been as zealous as every  
one is of course dilatory.

I regret more than I can say  
that Mr. Childers did not  
telegraph out at once for  
Genl. Smyth's Report, which  
wd. have brought it home  
while the Natal Enquiry was sitting.

[rest of letter is in pencil]

It was not the fault of his reminders.

God bless you: I must really stop  
ever yrs

F. Nightingale

I        a m        j u s t        s e e i n g        t h e        "Sisters",        o n e        b y        o n e .

[end 15:917]

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f81; pen; handschrift of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 3/8/82}

**f81**

[written in pencil and another hand vertically on the left side is:]  
Egypt War  
Preparations  
for

Mrs Hawthorn  
care of Col. Hawthorn R.E.  
Pieter Maritzburg  
Natal  
S. Africa

3/8/82

ff82-83 7 Aug [1882] from Pietermaritzburg, re troops to remain in Natal, but no word re huts, must expect serious amount of fever in hot season, possible to get authorities to urge employment of nurses if fever breaks out?

Ff84-8 11 Aug [1882] from Pietermaritzburg, thanks for her letter of July 12 unfortunate re excitement over Eg trouble shd interfere with inq into AHC

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff88-93; pen; handschrift of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand August 17 1882}

**f88**

*Private* {Written diagonally in the top left corner}

August 17 1882

10, SOUTH STREET,

PARK LANE. W. [printed address] **[15:925-26]**

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

Thank you a thousand times  
for yours of July 13, just  
received. You will know  
that we are in all the agonies  
or preparation and it *is* an  
agony - for this terrible, this  
unknown gulf of a war in  
Egypt, but the spirit of our  
people is still the same: the  
men go out to fight as they  
did in Drake's time: and the  
women to nurse. The spirit is  
the same: the want of organization  
is the same. Promises broken  
to the Nursing Sisters who are  
going out: destinations ~~of~~  
and orders changed at the last

**f88v**

moment. Perhaps this is inevitable. God guide us. Last week the Hospital Ship "Carthage", most beautifully fitted up for Patients, sailed with its own Medical Officers, Orderlies and Nursing Sisters on board and with Med. Off. and Orderlies for the Field Hospitals. Our Sisters were: Mrs Fellowes: Sister in charge of Male Surgical Ward, St. Thomas': Miss Solly: ditto of Mr. Sydney Jones' ditto where your man Doogan will be, if he comes. [These two and a third, Miss Airy, Miss Solly's predecessor in Mr. Sydney Jones' ward, are among our very best Sisters. Miss Airy goes by the next party.]

**f89**

Miss Stewart, a very ~~nice~~ capable woman of the Nat. Aid Socy.'s Nurses, and another of Mrs. Deeble's staff, H. King, make up the 4 of that party. Miss Stewart is Supt..

I            h o p e            t o            a s c e r t a i n            i n            a

**[15:893-94]**

very few days what the report of Sir Evelyn Wood's enquiry into the nursing of the A.H. Corps in Natal will be: and also whether Genl. Leicester Smyth's Report is come. But you will know that in the clang of Egyptian & Irish business, it was absolutely impossible to ask any more questions in the House of Commons - & at least equally impossible to get any answers from the War Office.

**f89v**

No: Dr. Blair Brown has not sent me the "Notes on Nursing". It is still in pencil. He is very procrastinating. But I have urged him most solemnly to put it in shape as *it is* - not to wait for further experience which can always be added afterwards - but to put it in such shape as it can be made use of in the further general enquiry into the A. H. Corps promised by the W.O. -  
- to place it if he leaves England in the hands of some one whom he can trust - and to let me know where it is in case it could be made use of. He has promised to do so. I hope he will. or, else send it to me. His information is of great use.

**f90**

[2]

As soon as I received your letter, I ~~wrote~~ sent to St. Thomas' to know if your Patient, John Doogan, was there. He will be in Albert Ward, Mr Sydney Jones', - Miss Solly was the Sister. I wish he had come in her time. But he will have every care. And I have written to know whether I could do anything for him. I wish I could go and see him. But that is impossible

[We had an artillery man from the Herbert Hospl. Woolwich, in Mrs. Fellowes' ward, (Sir W. McCormac's) a hopeless case, who alas! died. This man's gratitude passed all bounds. He said the care was so different, (the Sister did so



**f90v**

much more) ~~than~~ from what,  
kind as they were, he had  
received at Woolwich. This  
is of course *Private*.]

I am so glad Genl. L. Smyth  
is trying to have huts put up.

It has as yet been impossible,  
in all this Egyptian press of  
business to ask for the  
trained Nursing under you  
if there is Typhoid. You  
are very good. I trust it

w i l l b e c o m p a s s e d .  
[end warzulu]

Y e s t e r d a y m o r e S i s t e r s o f

**[15:926]**

Mrs. Deeble's (Netley) Staff  
embarked for Malta, where  
there is to be a ~~reserve~~ Hospl.  
for cases, ~~when~~ fit to be drafted  
from Egypt.

This week or next the remainder of

**f91**

the Nursing Sisters' Staff for  
Egypt, including several of ours,  
will go to Cyprus, Alexandria  
& Ismailia.

The Hospital ship "Carthage"  
cruises along the Coast and perhaps  
Canal, to pick up - ~~and perhaps~~ I mean  
receive sick and wounded  
wherever the troops land:

I suppose they expect resistance  
or fighting near the Coast.

The ~~worst~~ least severe cases  
to be drafted off from the

H o s p i t a l S h i p t o C y p r u s a n d

A l e x a M a l t a . B e f o r e y o u

**[end 15:926]**

receive this, you will know  
by telegram what HAS happened,  
I will not therefore give you  
surmises. And ~~they~~ authorities are wary,  
as they *ought to be*, of giving  
information as to plans.

**f91v**

You can't think how you  
do our hearts good by your  
Reading Rooms, & by the  
glorious success of your  
Coffee Tents. Joy, joy that  
the soldiers *have* such a  
friend and that they show  
by their use of the privilege  
that they really *want* them.  
Then it is sure to succeed.  
How many will be saved,  
have been saved by these your  
means. God speed to  
your Lending Library.

God bless you again and again  
ever yours F. Nightingale

[next five lines in pencil]  
It seemed a pity that the Army Hospl.  
Corps. enquiry should be interrupted  
by this wretched War.  
But perhaps it will work out  
good. I will tell you

**f92**

[3]

*Private* {Written diagonally in the top left corner}

i n            t h e            s t r i c t e s t            c o n f i d e n c e

**[15:926]**

what I regret so much. Mrs  
Fellowes was born to be a  
Military Hospl. reformer. And  
I had purposely *insensed* her  
with what she would have  
to guard against & prevent  
in the Orderlies when she  
came to be "Sister in charge"  
if a war broke out. She  
would be as good in training  
and raising the Orderlies as in  
nursing the Patients.

Miss Solly also would be  
excellent at that work.

These were the two whom I  
specially pointed out for tent  
or Hut Hospital work in Egypt  
where the Orderlies require all  
the *Sisters'* supervision possible.  
Yet ~~and~~ these are attached to

this beautiful Hospital Ship where, in such close quarters, scarcely any pilfering or neglect by the Orderlies is possible under Medical Officers' supervision in the ship all day: with a capital Sick Kitchen, Baths and Lavatories and every thing perfect. *There* is not the place where your first-rate highly trained Sisters are wanted, to prevent horrid disasters to the sick and wounded.

Miss Airy too would be a good  
one for this, but not so good as the  
two others for *superintendence*.

[end 15:926]

[next seven lines written in pencil]

[ e n d 1 5 : 8 9 4 ]

F.N.

Add Mss 45776; envelope; f94; pen; handschrift of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 17/8/82

**f94** [in pencil and another hand vertically on the left side is:] Interesting letter as to nurses and arrangements for Egypt

Mrs Hawthorn  
C/o Col. Hawthorn R.E.  
Pieter Maritzburg  
Natal  
S. Africa

17/8/82

ff95-96 pen; handschrift, dated 19 Sept 1882]

**f95**

*Private* {Written diagonally in the top left corner}  
{Written vertically at the top of the letter is:}

I have  
been constantly  
interrupted.  
Excuse this  
scrawl.

In haste ever yours F. Nightingale [written vertically]

Sept. 19 1882

10, SOUTH STREET,

PARK LANE. W. [printed address] **[15:895-96]**

My dear Mrs. Hawthorn

I thank God that I am able  
to tell you that Mr. Childers  
(in a letter dated "War Office  
Sept 18", marked "Private",)  
says: "We have telegraphed to  
"the Principal Medical Officer  
"in Natal that he ~~may~~ should +  
"engage some more Nurses,  
"unless he sees any objection  
"The huts have been ordered  
"by telegraph some little  
"while ago." +

[I am glad he says  
"should" instead of "may"  
but I wish he were more  
peremptory.]

He adds words to the effect  
that they are "very sorry"

f95v

that the continuance of our  
"force" in Natal is "entailed  
"on us".

The rest of the letter is  
about Egypt.

I am thankful beyond measure,  
for this about your nurses,  
because such has been the  
absorption and the drive &

p r e s s u r e                      o f                      w o r k                      f o r                      t h e  
[see odd]

last two months about the  
War in Egypt, that we were  
really afraid Natal would  
be forgotten.

The huts, the nurses, & not  
much illness may, I trust,  
all be gained.

But I know what contradictions

&                      c o n t r a d i c t i o n s                      a r e                      .

**f96**

The end of the War in Egypt:

joy, joy.

But to day more Nurses are  
being sent out, which does  
not look like sending home the  
sick & wounded.

Mr. Childers says in the same note

"The general health of the  
troops in Egypt, thanks to sobriety  
& plenty to do, has been better  
than in England"

I hear from the hospital  
ship Carthage, lying off Ismailia,  
on board of which are two of  
our Sisters, that the Hospital  
Orderlies there are behaving  
very well: But they were  
picked men.

**[end 15:896]**

A n d                      n o w                      f o r                      t h e                      f u t u r e                      g e n e r a l

**[15:896]**

enquiry into the Army Hospital  
Corps: to be held this autumn

**96v**

before the Estimates are prepared, which preparation begin in November. It was positively said that Sir G. Wolseley was to be ~~the its~~ Chairman of the Enquiry. But no one believed he would be back in England in time, tho' he said himself before leaving England, "The War in Egypt will be over by Sept. 15." And so it was:

Another good result of the end of ye War will be then that Sir G. Wolseley will head the "enquiry". Mr Childers it is said, will prevent the scope of the enquiry being limited, and make it extend to recruiting, training, organization, promotion &c of the Army Hospital Corps. Pray God it may be thorough. I am sure Genl. Gordon will be thorough in Cape Land. And there would be good work for him to do in an occupation which must follow in Upper Egypt.

G o d            b l e s s            y o u .

[end 15:896]

Sept 20/82

Add Mss 45776; envelope; f97; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 20/9/82

**f97**

[written in pencil and another hand vertically on the left side is:]

End of War in Egypt

army Enquiry

service Corp.

enquiry

{Written in a different hand again above the address is:}

To be kept

Mrs Hawthorn  
care of Col. Hawthorn R.E.  
Pieter Maritzburg  
Natal  
S. Africa

20/9/82

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff98-101; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand Nov 2/82}

**f98**

Nov 2/82

10, SOUTH STREET,

PARK LANE. W. [printed address]

My dear Mrs. Hawthorn

A thousand thanks for your letters. I have communicated all the substance of them regarding the troops at P. Maritzburg and ~~Natal~~ Pinetown to Mr. Childers direct. I earnestly hope that there will be no fever but if there is that you will have Nurses, according to Mr. Childers'

o r d e r s                    o r                    r a t h e r                    l e a v e .

As far as we know at present, the "breakdown" of Medical arrangements at Ismailia and in Egypt generally - but I should very much prefer answering your questions when our evidence has been completely sifted, which it will be - corrected mainly in certain things - that there was no authority at

**f98v**

Ismailia which could spend

half a crown:

there were fresh provisions, live beasts, waiting to be  
bought on board ship in the Canal,  
Doctors clamouring for them for  
the Hospital, and nobody dared.  
to buy them.

that the medical confusion  
before and after the battles was,  
as the Doctors themselves agree,  
hopelessly bad.

but if you had seen, as I did,  
how the Field Hospitals were  
scrambled together here, no one Medical  
~~man~~ Officer knowing ~~no~~ one of his men  
or his material at all, you would  
wonder that things went so well  
instead of so badly

The Orderlies who were picked  
men would have done pretty  
well if they had not had "hours"  
on duty which would have killed  
a camel: perhaps 2 1/2 hours' sleep  
a night - or perhaps a night in three.



**f99**

& if there had been the simplest organization: but they were maids of all work, driven this way & that by Serjeant Majors *that* way by Capt. of Orderlies, and a third way by Medical Officer.

Mrs. Fellowes ran down to see me between the voyages of the Carthage Hospital ship and went out again. All *our* Nurses are still in Egypt - or in the Carthage - one, a first rate woman, Miss Airy, in sole charge of an Enteric fever Hospl. at Alexandria. They have much enteric fever. among the troops

I don't want to tell you things ~~unless~~ until I can tell you things thoroughly sifted. All the C.O.'s say there was nothing satisfactory about the Sick & Wounded

**f99v**

but the Hospl. Ships & the Nurses. All the M.D.'s say they could have done nothing without the Nurses. Two of ours dressed wounds from 5 am. to ~~10~~ midnight from Tel el Kebin till the Carthage reached England. The M.O.'s (tho' most kind & assiduous) left all the dressing to the women. The Orderlies could do nothing.

That everything *will* be sifted you may now depend. Our efforts to obtain an enquiry into the Army Hospl. Corps and its organization have been successful: & the scope of the enquiry is to be extended to the management of the ~~war~~ base & field Hospitals & to the arrangements for the Sea Transport

**f100**

[2]

of the Sick and wounded - and  
farther the Committee will  
enquire into the short coming in  
the Hospital arrangements  
during the recent campaign.

Committee: Lord Morley Chairman  
              Mends [Sea Transport  
              Hawley           Military  
              E. Wood           "  
              Crawford           D.G.  
              McCormac        Surgeon  
                              St. Thomas  
              Lawson [Land Transport  
& (at our earnest request to Mr.  
Childers)

              Loyd Lidsay  
in order to have a M.P. & an  
independent man.  
The members ~~are~~ consist of too many  
of the heads of Departments  
implicated.  
Yesterday was their first Meeting.  
The Report of the Committee  
presided over by Sir E. Wood  
most unsatisfactory - & very bad  
of Mr. Childers to read that

**f100v**

Paragraph in the House.

The evidence required much stronger language than was found in the Report.

All the independent evidence went to show

that the Orderlies were very often drunk & riotous

that they ate the food of the sick men

that they left the nursing of the Patients to be done by the Convalescents.

The enquiry now about to be opened will be conducted in a very different manner  
- if only we can get the Medical Officers *not* to deny everything.

- to say what happened  
    what failed  
    why it failed  
    what they want to  
    prevent future failure

**f101**

They must cross examine  
Surgeon Genl. Hanbury, P.M.O. in  
Egypt, who is still there.  
& the Colonels of Regiments.

We are coming in on the wave.  
We have the ball at our feet -  
if we will only set it rolling.

They will not be hurried: &  
Mr. Childers will not expect  
their Report before meeting  
of Parlt. next year.

Ld. Morley has the  
character of being an excellent  
Chairman

Excuse this scrawl:  
I am in haste.

Without you, without your first  
setting the ball going about the  
Portsmouth (orderly) delinquencies,  
tho' that appeared to fail - and  
then about the Natal ditto, tho' that

**f101v**

appeared almost to fail,  
nothing would have been done.

God be thanked for this  
Enquiry. It will fall far short  
of our hopes: but ~~so~~ we must  
aim high and persevere. And  
something will be done.

I hope to hear from you  
again & again. And give me  
joyful news of your Reading Room.

How very sorry I am that  
Genl. Gordon has resigned - but  
he is wanted in Egypt sadly.

God bless you  
ever yrs

F. Nightingale

[The next five line are all in pencil.]

All our Sisters are now  
concentrated ~~at~~ in Alexandria Hospital  
except those on board the Carthage.

Your Doogan has not appeared  
at St Thomas'.

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f102; pen; handscrip of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 2/11/82}

**f102**

Private

& Confidential [on diagonal]

[written in pencil and another hand vertically on the left side is:]

Army Enquiry

at WO

Mrs Hawthorn  
care of Col. Hawthorn R.E.  
Pieter Maritzburg  
Natal  
S. Africa

2/11/82

Ff103-06 Hawthorn letter from Pietermaritzburg. 4 December 1882 *Private*

Your most interesting letter of the 2nd Nov reached me yesterday. How can I thank you enough for writing to me when you are so busy and telling me all that is being done about the hospitals?

You can scarcely imagine how deeply interested I am or how much I appreciate your goodness in writing. The outcry against the mismanagement of the sick and wounded seems so general that it can scarcely be hushed up, especially as on this occasion so many complaints are coming from officers and their friends, who cannot be silenced so easily as the private soldier. Some sad histories of neglect and suffering were sent me a mail or two ago by a friend whose brother was in Egypt and who had many friends there. I told her to write any account which was thoroughly authenticated to you and if possible to give the names of the officers concerned.

FN letter; ff107-08; pen; handscrip of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand Dec 7 1882}

**f107**

*Strictly*

*Confidential* {Written diagonally in the top left corner}

Dec 7 1882

10, SOUTH STREET,

PARK LANE. W. [printed address]

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

I have seen (in the strictest confidence) the Report & evidence of the Court of enquiry - Sir E. Wood - on the A. Hospl. Corps & men in South Africa.

Nothing can be more straight forward than the evidence of the Patients. Genl. Smyth's Report is by no means bad. The joint ~~Report~~ "Opinion" of the Committee is wishy-washy in the extreme. But Sir

Add Mss 45776

654

E. Wood's Minute is much  
better than his Report. Col. R.

**107v**

Buller's Minute is excellent.

And Sir G. Wolsely's the best of all. He says: "I think it is very wrong to have prevented that lady (yourself) from entering the wards at P. Maritzburg" &c &c.

I will write more fully next mail.

God bless you  
ever yours

F. Nightingale

I have seen Genl. Gordon. He *will* talk about going to live in Syria

**f108**

The present enquiry is going on fairly & thoroughly.

They have already an immense mass of evidence but of the most contradictory kind. And it seems as if it would spread to an enormous length.

The Report & Evidence above mentioned about Natal will be called for and (unwillingly) produced before them.

Lord Morley and Col. Loyd Lindsay are very fair.

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f109; pen; handschrift of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 7/12/82}

**f109**

{in pencil and another hand vertically on the left side is:}  
Enquiry Army Service  
Hosp. Corps

Mrs Hawthorn  
care of Col. Hawthorn R.E.  
Pieter Maritzburg  
Natal  
S. Africa

7/12/82

ff110-13 18 Dec [1882] Hawthorn letter to FN from Pietermaritzburg re a difficulty, jealousy, re a nasty case

Add Mss 45776; letter; ff114-15; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand Feb 7/85 [5:500]

**f114**

10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.  
Feb 7/85

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

How can we speak of  
this great calamity, public  
and private, except before God?

I know not what you  
think of the fall of Khartoum  
-It appears that some think  
that, if England will not  
hold it, the Mahdi is the  
best resource against anarchy.

As for Genl. Gordon,  
nothing of evil can happen  
to him whatever happened.

**f114v**

When he went away, he  
gave me a little book,  
turned down at a passage  
you know well, the "violent  
perverting of judgment & justice  
in a province x x x and "he  
that is higher than the highest  
regardeth". This was the  
key of his life both ways.

I hear him saying  
always: "And yet I am  
not alone, for the Father  
is with me".

If by his death he could



**f115**

secure the good of the  
 "province", how would he  
 rejoice in dying! If he  
 is in the Mahdi's power  
 and could hear good news,  
 still he would rejoice.  
 Gordon does not exist  
 for him. His was  
 literally a Christ-like life  
 And if he has been betrayed  
 by those he lived & died  
 to save, & if he thought  
 he had failed, the likeness  
 is only more striking.

**f115v**

He will know the Triumph  
 of the Cross. the Triumph of  
 Failure. I think more  
 of the wretched slaves he  
 gave his life for.

For him, all is well.  
 If you have a moment, how  
 fain I would know what  
 you are thinking of.

May God sow the seed  
 o f            G o r d o n .

G o d            b l e s s            y o u ,

**[end 5:500]**

ever yours F. Nightingale  
 How glad I am your poor  
 lady is safe

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f116; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 7/2/85}

**f116**

[in pencil and another hand horizontally on the left side is:]  
contents read

{Starting above these two words but continuing over the top of them is written first in pencil and then over-written in pen is:

Parcel

7 Feb 85

to 10 December

86

Mrs Hawthorn

Little Heathville

Charlton

7/2/85

Woolwich

Add Mss 45776; letter; ff117-18; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand Feb 24/85

**f117**

Feb 24/85

10, SOUTH STREET,

PARK LANE. W. [printed address]

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

I think the Ladies' Association  
will prove very effective for our poor  
men, now that it has all the machinery,  
all the agents, all the information of the  
National Aid Socy. put at its disposal  
I think its stores sent out will be  
certain to reach those in need. What  
can be sent out depends of course on  
what money the public give it. Your

**f117v**

succour will be invaluable. The sooner  
the better - Some stores will, it is ~~to be~~  
hoped, be sent out by the "Ganges"  
Hospital Ship to morrow.  
New underclothing, cooks. It is proposed  
to send out native Bombay cooks - mosquito  
nets &c &c &c are among the things  
wanted to be sent out. Money, (not old linen and  
similar articles) is what the Association  
asks for. The Assocn. is in communication  
with Mr. B. Kennett, one of the Nat. Aid  
Socy.'s agents who starts for Suakim on

**f118**

[2]

Friday week. The Hospital ship is to lie off Suakim with 20-30 Nurses. An experienced Matron of ours is ~~Supt.~~ appointed to the Suez Hospl. with Sisters under her. Telegrams will pass backwards & forwards as to what is wanted. Probably you can help us with your experience.

I will write again.

If I say nothing about Genl. Gordon, you will know it is not from too little, but too much feeling. Never has the heart of the nation been stirred so deeply. [5:501]

**f118v**

You asked what we heard about the Mabometans in India & the East. We hear that they will think of us what we think of ourselves - that if we abuse ourselves & cry "disaster", they will abuse us, & cry "England is fallen". If not, not.

Pardon a hasty scrawl. I am very busy, as you know - also about India

I long to see you - to hear what you think. Some day soon perhaps

God bless you. I think of Gordon's rapture in the Immediate Presence. F.N.

[end 5:501]

{Add Mss 45776; letter; f119; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand Feb 26/85}

**f119**

Feb 26/85

10, SOUTH STREET,

PARK LANE. W. [printed address]

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

The state of Chatham is sad indeed. I have not heard from *Mr. C. Acland* the result of his Meeting of the 11th. I will write to him. But I have had a long letter from the Chaplain Genl. zealous to work, but not seeming to have got farther than Mr. Acland.

I am a broken reed, I fear; but

f119v

always glad to see you. If you  
will be in London on Tuesday  
or Saturday, March 1 or 5, my afternoon  
is at present free, supposing you should  
be in London that afternoon. You  
will help me to know in what the  
Chaplain Genl. is not up to the mark.

I shall see a man on Thursday who  
*perhaps* may help us - I am not sure

God bless you and your work  
ever yours

F. Nightingale

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f120; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 26/2/87}

**f120**

Mrs Hawthorn  
Boley Hill  
Rochester

26/2/87

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff121-22; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated  
in same hand Feb 27/85}

**f121**

Feb 27/85  
10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE. W. [printed address]

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

Thank you so very much  
about the Coffee sent & for your letter.  
I have already made use of it, &  
put Lady Brownlow, whom I knew  
before, & who is the most business-like  
of the Ladies' Branch of the Nat. Aid Socy.  
(I send their Circular - you are so good  
as to collect) au fait of what you have  
done so well and with such an immense  
amount of good. She instantly  
asked whether she might see you or

**f121v**

write to you. And I ventured to  
 give her your address. The value  
 of that coffee Tent to our men was  
 & will be unspeakable thanks all  
 to you.

4 Nurses (Netley) only went out in

**[15:973]**

the Hospital ship "Ganges" - NOT 30 -  
 The "Ganges" is to lie off Souakim for a Hospital  
 Miss Williams & her 3 go out on  
 Wednesday to Suez. We send out 4  
 more - all 8 gentlewomen - paid for by  
 the Socy. (enclosed) to supplement the  
 others - under the appointed heads.  
 at Suez or Souakim - not to be scattered

about.

**[end 15:973]****f122**

I think of Genl. Gordon - not as lying

**[5:501]**

dead in fatal Khartoum. but as - -  
 when Ld Lawrence, my dear friend, died,  
 Lady Lawrence sent me a photograph  
 taken a few hours after death - There  
 was the child-like expression of awe  
 & surprise - like a child awakening  
 out of sleep - & there was the rapture  
 of the hero-saint; the servant of God  
 - the rapture of awakening in the  
 Immediate Presence - That is  
 how I think of Gordon - Oh who  
 could wish him back again - great

**f122v**

in his life & in his death - emotional  
 sermons are preached here, about  
 no hand to lay a flower [rest of letter is written in pencil]  
 on his grave. What does that {South Street address is printed again here}  
 matter? God crowns him with the  
 flower which, as the old Italian hymn  
 has it, Martirio in terra appella si  
 Gloria si appella in cielo.  
 Alas for us - but not, oh not,  
 alas for him - the holy hero!  
 ever & ever yours

F. Nightingale

**[end 5:501]**

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f123; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 27/2/85}

**f123**

{Written in pen and another hand in top left corner is:

Feb/85

to

~~/Nov-./87~~

{To the right of this and written in pencil is:

Nr. 2

24.2.85.

27.2.85.

11.3.85

Mrs Hawthorn  
Little Heathville  
Charlton  
S.E.

27/2/85

{Add Mss 45776; letter; f124; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand March 11/85}

**f124**

March 11/85  
10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE. W. [printed address]

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

I was so disappointed not to see you on Monday when you were at No.4. But probably, even had you been so kind as to come, I might not have been able, as a lady on business was with me from the National Aid Ladies Branch.

My heart & my mind yearn after you.  
If you are coming to London on Friday for the Memorial Service, &

**f124v**

perhaps to go with Sir Harry Verney,  
may I not see you afterwards,  
if you will give me a post-card  
to say when it will be? You will  
probably lunch at the Verneys.

The great heart of England is stirred  
towards this service. They look upon  
him as the brother of Christ. 'This  
is what Christ did.'

God bless you  
ever yours

F. Nightingale.

ff125-26 letter to Hawthorn from N.G. Barron, Dongola 30 May 1885 and 15 June  
recd yours of May 6, papers and books have arrived safely and are of the  
greatest value. My regiment is still to occupy the frontier of Upper Egypt,

I wd like to mention that some luxuries around here and up the river for the  
hospitals and our *most* acceptable.

ff127-29 Barron, June 15 1882, from Dongola re hers of 20 May books and papers

The games will come in very useful and I am very obliged to you for having some  
sent to the regiment (!!!) Leaving here about 1st of July, our destination in  
Assouan where we shall still be on campaign conditions except that I shall be  
able to get up luxuries for the men from Cairo. I am afraid beyond the pleasure  
of knowing that our services were appreciated by the country, we have seen very  
little belonging to the N.A.S. up here but it is not any dire fault for I knew  
that camels cd not be obtained at W Halfa. I got a private agent to come right  
through from Assouan to Dongola with 150 camels.... in Assouan late August.  
Books and games *most* acceptable to us.

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff130-31; pencil; manuscript of FN

**f130**

*Private* {Written diagonally in the top left corner}

10, SOUTH STREET,  
July 2/85

Dearest Mrs Hawthorn

One of the Gordon  
Memorial Committee called  
on me to-day to give a long  
account of what you will  
see a short one of in to-day's  
Times.

This member is earnestly  
anxious that they should  
begin at once - that the Govt.  
should give say 3 or 4 cottages,  
whitewash them inside, trestle  
beds and a Serjeant - and start

Add Mss 45776

664

at once if but one or two boys - to be



**f130v**

as soon as they have a  
piece of land of say 30 acres,  
removed there: into huts.

[It would be desirable  
to begin at once on account  
of getting money before the  
season is over]

Or the Govt. might give  
an empty Barrack in the  
country - farmers & labourers  
at hand to teach one boy  
farming - villager tailor to  
teach another tailoring - Serjeant  
for drill & discipline - begin  
on the smallest scale possible

**f131**

If such empty cottages  
could be given at *Chatham*,  
what a thing it would be  
if they could begin under  
your & Col. Hawthorn's care.  
It would almost ensure  
success. My friend the  
Committee man asked me  
if I could ask you.

They may get a boy  
to morrow - where are they  
to put him?

If the public, they think,  
knew that something were  
begun, they would subscribe.

The boys are to be alike  
brought up

**f131v**

for soldiering, agriculture  
trades, but under Milly. discipline.  
Do you think that something  
could be done as a beginning  
at *Chatham*? near you -

That is the question  
God bless you

ever yours

F. Nightingale

**f132**

[2]

Do you know that when

Sir H. Gordon was summoned  
by Mr. Gladstone & declared  
to him that his brother's life  
was in no danger Mr. Gladstone  
said to him: "Whenever  
"and if ever General Gordon  
"is in danger, the whole  
"resources of the Government  
"will be employed in his  
"cause"; or "to deliver him"

F.N.

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f133; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 2/7/85}

**f133** Written in pen and another hand in top left corner is  
Gordon Camp

Mrs Hawthorn  
Little Heathville  
Charlton  
Woolwich S.E.

2/7/85  
4.7.85

Add Mss 45776; envelope; f133; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 2/7/85

**f133**

{Written in pen and another hand in top left corner is:  
Gordon Camp

Mrs Hawthorn  
Little Heathville  
Charlton  
Woolwich S.E.

2/7/85  
4.7.85

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff134-37; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand July 4/85

**f134**

*Private* {Written diagonally in the top left corner}

July 4/85

7.a.m.

10, SOUTH STREET,

Park Lane. W. [printed address]

Dearest Mrs Hawthorn

Pray "mention the subject" of the Gordon boys "privately to Col. Geary "when he comes to see" you tomorrow, as you kindly propose.

~~But~~ I must tell you that the member of Committee who spoke to me was not one of the ~~IX~~-seven whose names he gave me (which you will see in the Times) as forming the ~~small~~ sub Committee which is to report ~~on some~~ in about a fortnight on plans for beginning ~~immediately~~.

Ld. Napier                      Sir John Cowell

(Queen

Mr Walters                      Sir Dighton Probyn

(Pr. of Wales

Mr. Sutherland                  Admiral Inglefield

Sir Henry Gordon

I think they are.

**f134v**

I am not sure that these are so set as they ought to be for beginning IMMEDIATELY:

But he is extremely anxious about it. He showed me all the papers. Have you seen them? Genl. Higginson's plan to have a Camp which will cost £12 000, (but cannot be done even for that). ~~300~~ 480 boys at £20 a year = £10000 a year. And as the men of business say: where are we to get £10000 a year? £10000 a year represents a capital of a quarter of a million. How is a quarter of a million to be had?

There is now £20,000 all told. It is thought that £100 000 might have been raised if all

**f135**

had been unanimous at first - that now, if a plan could be begun at once with hardly any expence, a considerable sum, tho' nothing like £100 000, might still be raised.

The "rent of 2 or 3 cottages" might certainly be "paid out of" this poor little £20 000. But it was thought that Govt. has so many buildings at its disposal, buildings & cottages, that something might be granted which could be arranged for boys at once at almost no expence. This advantage of its starting under you & Col. Hawthorn would almost outweigh all else.

It was thought that there



**f136v**

will not live *in* Chatham.

All that you say about the  
neighbourhood of Chatham - "Barracks  
&c for the Gordon Boys ~~will~~ must of  
course be attended to and  
"rent for cottages" should be paid  
"out of the Fund", if nothing else  
can be done. All that I can do  
will be to report what you are kind enough  
to tell me when you have the information.

I am sure that the thanks of  
the nation will be due to you  
and Col. Hawthorn if this Gordon  
Home can only be started under your auspices -

God speed the plans  
in great haste ever yours

F. Nightingale

The Sub-Committee is to report in about a fortnight.

**f137**

D e a n            L i d d e l l            o f            C h r i s t - C h u r c h

[5:502]

Oxford would gladly undertake  
"any supervisions, revision &  
"correction" of any little Life  
sketch of Gordon. And he  
would make any arrangements  
"for the publication a printing of it  
"thro' the University Press.  
The Dean thought Walter Besant  
who wrote "All sorts & conditions  
of men" would be a good author for it.

I do not recommend the  
above. I only mention it to  
you.

F.N.

[end 5:502]

ff138 Wady Halfa 9/7/85 to Mrs Hawthorn from Barron?

Letter ff140-41; pencil handscript, dated in same hand Sept 3/85  
**f140**

Claydon Ho: Winslow: Bucks  
Sept 3/85

Dearest Mrs Hawthorn

Since I wrote I have  
received ~~the~~ copy of the  
following Telegram from

"Surgeon Pigott: Souakim"  
"to Pss. of Wales' Branch"

"Aug 24

"Princess hut erected on trial  
utterly unsuitable climate.

Hudson declines use now,  
may erect December.

Committee can work well  
without one. Surgeon Major  
Barron Secretary. Send

**f140v**

"ginger ale. wants  
recreation boat. cricket.  
tennis. ample stores  
all distributed. Hudson  
asks distribute Pratt's  
stores, games now.  
Please wire final  
instructions if possible".  
The Princess' hut was for  
Convalescents. That does  
not signify so much as  
"Pratt's Club hut", destined  
for a Canteen hut,  
of which no mention is  
made.

Can one do more about

**f141**

this? & about selling things  
in it?

Did you see in yesterday's  
Times the dismal letter about  
"Shropshire Regiment at  
"Souakim"?

Better account in  
"W.O. Telegram" in "Times"  
of this morning.

God bless you  
ever yours

F . N i g h t i n g a l e .

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f142; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 3/9/85}

**f142**

Mrs Hawthorn  
9 Esplanade  
Dover

3/9/85



{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff143-47; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand Sept 14/85}

**f143**

Claydon Sept 14/85

Address *10 South St. w.*

D e a r e s t M r s H a w t h o r n

**[15:1012-13]**

The Prss. of W.'s N.A.S.  
~~have sent~~ are sending out "two huts  
 "at a cost of more than  
 "£900 each to Korosko and  
 "Assouan at the desire of  
 "Military Authorities".

They, the Pss of W.'s Soc.",  
 ask me what are the "wants",  
 & I ask what is the destination  
 of these "huts" - are they for  
 rest-houses for sick, or  
 troops, on their way? or for  
 Convalescents? or for Coffee-  
 huts?

[I should think the Korosko  
 one must be a rest-house]

I think they are honestly  
 frightened now lest the  
 work should in any way be  
 neglected; & they fear  
 everything is not being done  
 for the men left in Egypt  
 [Maj. Young & Mr. K.  
 Barrington have returned]  
 They ask me whether I  
 "hear of any wants for the  
 "present" that they can supply

**f144**

The Chaplain Smith at  
Wady Halfa writes of sad  
"wants" still.

*"Please be so good" as to  
write to me of anything  
that you hear of in the  
"way of "wants".*

& address 10 South St. W.  
(where I am returning at  
once).

I return Col. Barrow's letters,  
which I ought to have  
done long ago, with thanks.  
- would he not tell you of "wants"?

**f144v**

2.

O thank you, thank  
you, for your most kind  
and generous offer to "find"  
me with a lodging at  
Dover near you, for which  
I am indeed grateful.  
There is nothing I should  
enjoy more. So many  
people have appointed  
themselves on business  
to see me when I go back  
(which I am doing at once)  
that I fear I have no  
chance yet for a few  
weeks. But if I can

**f145**

[2]

pick out say a fortnight  
before you leave Dover  
at the "end of October",  
may I then claim your  
kind promise?

[I hope it is true that  
"lodgings are not now  
"difficult to be had", & that  
it will not cost you much  
trouble - which you are  
always so kindly willing  
to take.]

**f145v**

3.

And now for the great  
thing: many, many thanks  
for the Gordon ~~scrap~~ M.S.: which  
I will write to you about.  
My sister is trying to do a  
little scrap to submit  
to you for a possible introduction .  
The Extracts promised  
from printed books not  
sent me yet.

**f146**

[3]

Could Col. Barrow who is so [Barron?]  
wise & energetic, tell you  
of the "wants"? Is he at  
Assouan now?  
Probably he could tell you  
what these 2 huts now  
being sent out to Assouan  
and Korosko (by the Socy.)  
are doing.

-----  
I had one of our Sisters  
- a woman upon whom I can  
thoroughly depend - one of the  
clearest-headed and coolest-  
judging women I know -  
on her return from Egypt

**f146v**

staying here & at South St.  
She was at Assouan during  
the worst time in June and  
July when the Enteric cases  
were sent down from up Nile.  
- stopped there by the  
Commg. Off. there, she & her  
companion Nurse, - *not* by  
the orders of the N.A.S.  
These Enteric cases arrived  
half-starved - there being  
nothing provided for them  
on the way down fit for  
them or that they *could* eat.  
Almost all such cases died,  
tho' our two sisters sate up

**f147**

with them night and day.  
 They could no longer retain  
 any food, even fit food. During the  
 first part of the time, our Sisters  
 and even the authorities bought  
 everything for the Patients  
 from the Greeks at Assouan.  
 The Commissariat stores were  
 uneatable. Afterwards the  
 N.A.S. provided some stores  
 And when the Sisters came away,  
 the influx of bad cases  
 from up Nile had ceased.  
 I should like to tell you a good  
 d e a l m o r e a b o u t t h i s .

[end 15:1013]

**f147v**

I ought to tell you that  
 the N.A.S. paid for the  
 unsweetened milk.

I hope your nephew is  
 strong again, & you are well.  
 Excuse a ragged, unreadable letter  
 God bless you always  
 ever yours

F.N.

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f148; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated  
 at lower left side in same hand 14/9/85}

**f148**

Mrs Hawthorn  
 9 Esplanade  
 Dover

14/9/85

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff149-54; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand Sept 28/85}

**f149**

10 South St. Park Lane W.

*Private* {Written diagonally} Sept 28/85

[15:1013-15]

Dearest Mrs Hawthorn

With the deepest regret I assure you that it is *quite* impossible for my sister to do as you wish - viz. to write the Life of Gordon you & I so earnestly desire - She has a great deal too much to do. She is besides become so extraordinarily absorbed in this subject of Peasant Properties that she has 3 more things

**f149v**

on the anvil about this subject alone.

Nor do I agree with you (this is strictly between ourselves) that she would do it well. You & I concurred that it should be done by a person of his religious views. Her views are extremely different from Genl. Gordon's. It is not a subject akin to her. Repeatedly while doing that scrap I sent you she said to me: "I could

**f150**

"not undertake a Life of  
Gordon. What I *could* do  
would be an Article on  
the men and  
the rescue, for Macmillan"  
[I had told her numbers of  
stories about the soldiers]  
"And then you might have  
"it if you like reprinted  
"as an ~~introduction~~ chapter to a  
"Life of Gordon".

I should be more sorry  
than I can express, had I ever entertained the  
smallest expectation that  
she either could or would do it.

**f150v**

But I assured her that  
if she would do that bit  
I sent you, which she  
proposed herself, she  
should not be asked to  
undertake anything further.  
however I broke my promise so far as to  
send her your letter and  
her bit back again - to  
see ~~if~~ if she might alter her  
mind. But she repeated  
in a note, recd. this morning  
and endorsed by Sir Harry,  
what she said before, as  
above given.

[2]

She has kept the bit I  
sent you which you  
sent me back.

Would you like to have  
it back? she asks. Or would  
you like her to do the Article she  
proposes on the "men and the rescue"?

Alas!

I pray God to raise up  
some one to write a Life  
for soldiers & boys.

Thanks very many for  
the capital "Gordon and  
the Mahdi".

**f151v**

2. Do you hear anything about the proposed Gordon Schools? I trust they will not be in one great ~~sch~~ building - but in huts - each hut or cottage to have if possible a "mother" & a "father"? Boys do so want "mothering". It is fearful to think of boys between 10 and 12 in masses without it.

**f152**

A lady who was out with Livingstone in C. Africa, was trained by us and makes Nursing a life's work, has been for 12 years Matron of a Children's Hospital, & came over to see me last week.

She is truly a spiritual mother.

Her horror of the great Boys' Training Schools with no "mothering" is intense. She receives very many Patients from the neighbouring

**f152v**

Training Ship of 300 boys, down to 10 years of age. She says: she loses these Patients, for when they fall ill they die - they are in such a depressed state.

And they don't grow up to be good men. They lose heart. Yet they have a capital Commandt. The great Pauper Schools with us strike her as such a horrible product of so-called "civilization" -

She does not believe, nor do I, that any country can show such products of *in*-civilization.  
What do you think?

**f153**

[3]

D e a r e s t M r s H a w t h o r n

This most unsatisfactory of letters  
I conclude with asking you  
to be so good as to read  
the letter from Genl. Hudson  
enclosed which the  
N. Aid. Socy. send me in  
triumph & to return it to  
me, telling me what you  
think of it.

He says that he has  
never seen a campaign  
so well provided by Govt..  
I do try to believe & do believe  
*that* on the whole. I have  
been told so by many Officers.

**153v**

A n d I b e l i e v e t h e " g l o r i o u s "

work of the N. Aid had been  
mainly in keeping the Govt.  
up to their word.

But there certainly has  
been a strong impression  
that there has been much  
suffering since the bulk  
of the troops left. At Suez  
there was almost a  
rebellion among the  
Hospital Orderlies *not* to  
go to Souakim.

When Genl. Hudson talks  
of the "glorious" work, what



**f154**

does he mean exactly?

What impression does his  
letter make upon you?

I have had Miss Williams  
here. She has returned  
for "good" invalided home.  
She is severe, but her  
account of the non-training  
of the Orderlies is deplorable.  
They lost from 12 to 14  
Enteric cases from fatal  
neglect of the Orderlies.

O f o r a w a y o u t o f t h i s !

[end 15:1014]

**f154v**

God bless you  
ever yours  
F. Nightingale

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f155; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 28/9/85}

**f155**

Mrs Hawthorn  
5 Leyburne Terrace  
Dover

28/9/85

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff156-59; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale;  
dated in same hand Oct 5/85}

**f156**

10 South St.

Oct 5/85

[15:1015]

Dearest Mrs Hawthorn  
Many thanks for your  
letters. I have seen both

Treasurer & Secretary of "Pss.  
of Wales" Branch this morning.

Your  
"warm shirts": does this  
mean *flannel* shirts?  
"under vests": they think  
this means coloured *Jerseys*, with  
sleeves down to a little

above the elbow. But  
are not *these* Jerseys *too warm and*  
*too thick*? Please say.

**f156v**

They (warm shirts  
under vests  
drawers  
socks)

shall be sent out to Egypt  
immediately -  
*direct*, to whomsoever.

Col: Commg. or otherwise,  
you would wish.

*Please tell me.*

That is the way the Branch  
does now. And the  
things reach the recipients  
much more quickly  
and surely if sent  
*direct*, as you say

**f157**

the Recreation and Canteen Hut is  
put up at Wady Halfa  
(better late than never)  
and issues a free cup of cocoa  
or coffee to every man  
every morning. A garden  
has been set up at Halfa  
& grows vegetables for the  
Canteen Hut. I cannot  
make out whether things  
are *sold* there.

At Korosko and Assouan  
the same kind of Canteen and  
Recreation Hut with bar  
are to be put up immediately  
- they are gone out.

**157v**

Newspapers reach the  
C.O.s at Wady Halfa,  
and are distributed among  
the men. But a  
separate allowance of  
newspapers is going  
out for the Hut.

Newspapers did not  
reach the Citadel Hospl.  
at Cairo, but are now  
sent to Sister Cannell  
direct for distribution  
- also to Cyprus.

**f158**

[2]

The Treasurer, Lady Rosebury,  
thinks there will be a  
surplus of £8000. But  
the Secretary told me  
when all has been done  
for the men in Egypt this  
winter - not nearly so  
much.

I asked Miss Caulfeild  
for hints for surplus. She said,  
beds in Convalescent Homes  
for invalided men. The  
Chairwoman & Secretary  
are quite agreeable to this.

**f158v**

I was so glad to make  
the acquaintance ~~with~~ of  
Miss Caulfeild - we talked  
*hard* for 3 hours - and so  
glad to see a woman  
vigorous, young, healthy  
& handsome, to do the  
work.

She might  
become a great influence.  
Let me write more about  
her another time.

also: about the "Branch".

**f159**

They have been sending  
a better sort of books to  
the Citadel Hospl., Cairo -  
besides novels.

God bless you  
ever yours  
F. Nightingale

Soda Water Machines  
are functioning at  
Souakim and elsewhere -  
But their Sulphuric Acid  
is exhausted. And Ships  
will not take out Sulph Acid  
or Vitriol. Do you

**f159v**

hear whether  
unsweetened milk is  
wanted now?

**[end]**

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f160; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 6/10/85}

**f160**

[Written in pencil and another hand in top left corner is:]  
Supplies for troops  
? thro Red X

Mrs Hawthorn  
5 Leyburn Terrace  
Dover

6/10/85

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff161-64; pencil; handscript of Florence Nightingale;  
dated in same hand Nov 2/85}

**f161**

10 South St.

Nov 2/85

**[15:1016-17]**

Dearest Mrs Hawthorn

You cannot think how much your valuable letter about the "answers" from Souakim ~~to my~~ *to the War Office* on my (unhappily used) letter, helped me.

I am now going to ask you kindly to look at a Report to the Pss of Wales (Nat. Aid Socy.)

Please observe at p. 10 that Sickness has disappeared because the sick men have

**f161v**

been sent away.  
This is a new method of Health Preservation and Sanitary improvement.

Also, please look at ~~p.7~~ pp.5-7. from which it appears that the "Soda Water Machine" which arrived on "June 9" was actually by the most praiseworthy exertions & superhuman energy, triumphantly "got to work" "by the 8th of AUGUST.  
Shall I write and congratulate them? [I really

**f162**

remember nothing in  
the outrageous delays of the  
Crimea considering that  
we had to deal with  
thousands where they  
had to deal with hundreds,  
which beats this.]  
They got the "Soda Water"  
"going" by August 8,  
when the bulk of the  
troops was gone: &  
the Campaign over.

Please note also the  
confession p.7 that  
"*brandy combined with sunstroke*"

**f162v**

killed more men than  
sunstroke!! Yet *what*  
*was done to save the*  
*men from "brandy"?*

[Our Sisters used actually  
to see them coming out of  
the Souakim spirit shops.]

What was that "1/3 brandy"?  
Is that what your good  
"Scriptures Readers" lecturer  
thought was supplied by  
the N.A.S.!!

I thought you would like  
to see this Report and Minutes  
But I am obliged to ask  
you to return it, if possible

**f163**

[2] (2/11/85)

within a day or two.

Please your *comments* too.

I have so much more to say,  
but I am in a hurry, in  
order to catch you  
before you leave Dover.  
You will be so busy  
afterwards.

Please give me your  
address at Rochester -  
tho' of course Col. Hawthorn's  
name will be enough -  
Thank God for it.

**f163v**

I hope *you are well*  
My life has been a drive,  
and I have never been able,  
Alas! even to think of  
Dover. Alas for me!

I am ashamed to ask you  
to return this first  
sheet with your comments, but I have had  
no time to take notes  
for myself of these  
documents.

I am the unhappy  
member of this Committee!!

**f164**

God bless you  
ever yours  
Excuse scrawl  
F. Nightingale  
I feel more & more  
every day we have  
lost a man in Gordon  
whom no one, no one  
can replace - & we  
are not following up  
his way, his example  
as we should.

W h a t m u s t y o u f e e l ?

[end 15:1017]



H. Piggott, Surg, Nat Aid Soc, Suakim 25 August 1885, signed f177  
f178 env to FN from Suakim 3//11/85

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff179-80; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand Nov 11/85}

**f179**

10 South St. Park Lane W.

Nov 11/85

Dearest Mrs Hawthorn

Very many thanks for your  
last letter and indeed for all  
your letters - so valuable  
and so kind.

You said you would  
have to be much in London  
this fortnight and that  
you would kindly come and  
see me.

Could you kindly tell  
me what days you are

**f179v**

likely to be in London?

[I am so sorry for the  
bad weather for you]  
that I may take advantage  
of the opportunity.  
and what hours would be  
most convenient for  
you?

perhaps the last hour  
or two before your train  
to Rochester.

What train do you  
usually go back by?

[We must not keep you  
out so late in November]

**f180**

And will you not have  
some food here!  
God bless you and your work  
always. And I am  
sure you say the same  
for me.

{At this point the rest of the page has been torn off.}

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f181; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 11/11/85}

**f181**

Mrs Hawthorn  
Boley Hill  
Rochester

11/11/85

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff182-85; pencil; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand Jan 26/86} **[5:502]**

**f182**

10 South St. Jan 26/86

(Gordon's Day)

I think of you so much on this

day, dearest Mrs Hawthorn;

- yesterday was St. Paul's day -

he who followed in his

Master's "train" so faithfully

- to-day is Gordon's day,

he of all men in our

day time was the most like them

"O God, to us may grace be given

To follow in their train".

I c a n s a y n o m o r e .

**[end 5:502]**

**f182v**

2. I have just received the

"order" which I enclose

for your little Frank McGee

to Ascot Convalescent Home.

Please to have the

*Medical Certificate* filled up

The "Sisters" think that

little Frank had better not

come "for at least a week",

because the "roads" are so

"excessively bad with the

snow". They hope he

is "not more than six", "as he

"has to be amongst the women

"& children".

**f183**

They have one little boy of  
"three" there now, who will  
"enjoy amazingly having  
"another to play with".

The printed paper I  
enclose gives all directions -  
But I think if you will  
kindly tell me the day he  
goes, I will write to them  
that he may be met at  
Ascot Station. I don't believe it  
will take "a week" to dry the roads.

Please not to say anything  
about payment - as I  
have a bed there by the  
year. If he stays there very long, we  
can always talk about it.

**f183v**

3. I do hope that your  
nephew at Malta is better.  
We have no Nurses either  
there or at Gibraltar, I  
am afraid - for I have  
received the Director-  
Genl.'s list of Stations  
where there are Nurses  
(or to be immediately).

But I am going to see  
the Head of the Medical  
Branch, who has asked  
to come, & shall be able  
to raise the question further

**f184**

[2]

4. I am sending you  
some books, ashamed that  
I should have been so long.  
But I just enclose two  
little Soldier's books -  
the little red manual I  
know by experience is a  
great favourite among  
them - the other I have  
only just begun to try.  
If you like them, please  
let me send you some  
more copies.

**f184v**

I was so very sorry  
to see Col. Barrow's  
death, if that is *your*  
Col. Barrow. What a  
loss! What a rare man  
to lose - and in such  
a way too.

I don't think we have  
many Commandg. Officers  
like that - alas!

**f185**

I hope you are pretty well.  
I have so much to write about  
that I have not written.

God bless you always  
ever yours

F. Nightingale

How sorrowful & how delightful  
is the sketch of Mrs Ewing  
"& her books". which  
you were so very good as to  
send me.

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f186; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 26/1/86}

**f186**

Mrs Hawthorn  
Boley Hill  
Rochester

26/1/86

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff187-90; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand March/16/86}

**f187**

1 0            S o u t h            S t .

M a r c h            1 6 / 8 6

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

I am quite heart-broken  
about this result of little  
Frank McGee's going to the  
Convalescent Hospl. with  
whooping-cough still hanging  
about him.

But of course I have  
written no excuse - for no  
excuse is possible - or will  
undo the mischief.

I have merely written  
that if proper accommodation

**f187v**

can be found in the  
neighbourhood for the  
"permanent" inmates who  
have not had whooping-cough -  
it is to be done immediately  
at my expence.

But it is terrible that  
children Patients & adult  
ones too for that matter -  
should have been kept  
out of the Convalescent  
Hospl. by this disaster.

I have written that  
the two poor little mites

**f188**

should be placed at my  
expence *wherever* they can  
be taken in when they  
can be moved, if they live.  
But that is the difficulty  
- *where?*

And everything is so  
complicated for Patients  
by this extraordinary weather.

But what could the  
Doctor have been about  
who gave the certificate  
- not to ascertain whether

**f188v**

the whooping-cough was  
over? Every Doctor  
must know that it would  
be almost as pardonable  
to send a bag of Dynamite  
as a child with the remains  
of Whooping Cough in with  
other Patients & children Patients.

It is a frightful calamity.  
Would you, please, return the  
the poor Superior's letter -  
& help me, as you have  
so often, to find out what  
is best to be done?

Has the Mother been imposing again  
(on any one) with her dates?

**f189**

[2]

2. I am so very glad that  
Mr. Campbell Bannerman  
means to continue provision  
in payments for the Lock  
Hospitals at Chatham &  
elsewhere.

You see Mr. Stansfeld's  
motion for to night & Sir J.  
Kennaway's amendment.

**f189v**

3. With regard to the poor  
Private Soldier, Harding,  
now at the ~~Brompton~~ Hampstead  
Hospl. for Consumption, I have  
not forgotten about getting  
him in to the St. Thomas',  
if possible.

I think the better plan  
would be if you would  
kindly let me know about  
a week before April 6  
-I think you said that  
day his time at Hampstead  
would expire - what his

**f190**

state is - & if possible  
send me a certificate from  
the Hampstead Medl. Officer  
what the progress of his  
disease is - & *whether he*  
*would be benefited* by a  
Genl. Hospl..

Of course now all Medical

Wards in Genl. Hospl.'s are  
crowded with acute diseases,  
the result of cold.

And I am afraid they  
ought to require such a  
*recent* Certificate before  
admitting him. But I hope  
they will admit him, if benefit

**f190v**

can be had for him - *and if*  
they have room.

Have they Ladies sent you your  
(so hardly earned) Report of the  
Princess of Wales' branch?  
You see the surplus is all  
left to H.R.H.

God bless you  
ever yours  
F. Nightingale

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f191; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 16/3/86}

**f191**

Mrs Hawthorn  
Boley Hill  
Rochester

16/3/86



{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff192-95; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand May/18/86}

**f192**

C l a y d o n            H o :

M a y            1 8 / 8 6

Winslow: Bucks

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

I am so glad that you are  
going to see the Gordon Boys'  
Home with Miss Augusta Gordon.

Thank you for the most  
interesting packet you so  
kindly sent me a few days  
ago. I was so glad to see it.

You will see by my date  
that I am with my sister. She  
was very poorly; and I was very  
poorly. So I came down here.  
I fully expected to be back by

"Saturday." And I wish I  
could, for otherwise I shall  
lose the very great pleasure  
of seeing you. But I am  
afraid it is impossible.

I should so very much  
like to know what you think  
of the management of the Gordon  
boys - whether they appear  
to you to need a (motherly)  
Matron's care:

so much that is wrong  
- not to mention so much  
that is unhealthy takes  
place among boys under

**f193**

the best discipline - where  
there is no motherly woman.  
And some boys get depressed  
and others become tormentors  
- some are devourers and some  
devoured.

And whether you think  
they are subdivided enough.  
Or are they all together?

and do they live enough  
in the open air?

& do they look happy -  
and look you in the face?

Are their quarters in the  
Fort dark ~~and~~ or unairy?

**f193v**

I suppose no animals or pets  
can be kept in their present  
quarters? for them to look after.

And how do you like the look  
of the N.C. Officers?

and the apportionment of  
schooling &  
work-shop work?

But so much will  
suggest itself to you that  
would not to me.

Sir Harry Verney is going  
up to London to-morrow  
(Wednesday) to attend the  
meeting of the Gordon Boys

**f194**

[2]

Home at 20 Charing Cross

from 11 to one.

Afterwards he will be at his  
brother's

38 Up: Grosvenor St.

till Thursday=morning.

He may possibly write to trouble  
you (after the meeting) to  
make some enquiries for

h i m a t F t . W a l l i n g t o n .

//

The Mother Superior  
of the Convalescent Home,  
where the little McGee was,  
entirely declined taking  
any proceedings against**f194v**the Dr. who gave the  
certificate. She says  
the "we" (she & I) ought to  
be so thankful to God  
that there have been no  
fatal results that we  
ought not to pursue the  
enemy. But, she says,  
she trusts that "the lesson  
he has had" will teach  
him for the future. I think  
you doubted whether he  
had any "lesson" at  
all; or whether he had  
taken any to heart

**f195**

Does he know the  
mischief he has done - or  
what would perhaps  
strike him more, does he  
know that the Surgeons of  
Guy's, whence came the  
poor little Tracheotomy,  
know it?

I will not now take up  
your dear eyes with what  
was done with the two  
little cases that suffered  
so severely. Both are  
going on well.

Excuse this scrawl  
ever yours affly F. Nightingale

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f196; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 18/5/86}

**f196**

Mrs Hawthorn  
Boley Hill  
Rochester

18/5/86

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff197-99; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand June/24/86}

**f197**

10 South St. June 24/86

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

I am sure that you must have thought that I was cruelly neglectful of your desire to ascertain, of the big Gordon Boys' Home Committee, whether a small Subn. got up by your kindness to supply Harmonious books, periodicals &c would be acceptable to them or the contrary. But this was not so. I made the application ~~by~~ at the first meeting Sir Harry Verney attended by him. But you know what men are - the answer was "the boys had plenty" - which we did

**f197v**

not ask. I made an application a second time thro' Sir H.V. and Col. Philip Smith and the answer was, to my great delight - that your application had been "gratefully accepted" - by Col. P. Smith.

Let me now enclose, please

£6.15 viz.

Donation	S	i	r	H	.	V	e	r	n	e	y
	F.N.										
	£1		£5								

Annual Subn. 5/ 10/  
if you will kindly accept it.

**f198**

2. I am sorry to say that I have  
hunted without success. I had  
no time or strength - & fear I  
*shall* have none - for the  
address of the Doctor who  
gave little Frank McGee his  
Certificate - which you  
kindly asked for, in order  
to tell him what mischief  
his Certe. had wrought.  
Would it seem to you objectionable  
if you were kindly to ask  
Mrs McGee for that address  
again?

I have settled up affairs  
with the Mother Supr. of  
Ascot - And no trace remains of

**f198v**

the mischief.

She & I are looking for a  
Home - so difficult to find  
- which will take the little  
Tracheotomy case, ~~w~~ now  
as well as he will ever be -  
he was operated on 5 times  
- "free gratis for nothing"  
he has a bad home -  
mother specially bad - drinks.  
Do you know anything of the  
Müller Home near Bristol?  
That is a free Home for Children.

**f199**

[2]

We have been having a terrible  
time at Claydon - my poor  
sister more suffering than usual  
- Sir Harry with an attack of  
cold - two grandchildren  
with hooping cough and measles -  
neither of which my sister or  
Sir H. have ever had - so we  
had to keep them entirely  
shut off - one of my Sister's  
nurses ill.

God bless you and all your  
works - Forgive a scrawl -  
ever yours

F. Nightingale

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f200; pen; handscrip of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 24/6/86}

**f200**

Mrs Hawthorn  
Boley Hill  
Rochester

24/6/86

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff201-05; pencil; handscrip of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand 9/9/86}

**f201**

Claydon Ho: Winslow: Bucks

9/9/86

D e a r e s t M r s . H a w t h o r n

I want to know what your  
view of the last meeting of the  
Gordon Boy's Home is

"Field Marshal" Lord Napier,  
in direct opposition to some  
of his Committee, wrote to the  
Home Secy. accepting *on their*  
*"unanimous" behalf* the grant  
of the "permanent use" of the  
"Woking Male Prison" for the  
Gordon Boys' Home, as you know  
Had this been allowed to

**f201v**

pass, some of the Committee  
would have resigned.

I wonder what you think.

The experience we have gained  
during the last 30 years goes  
to show that health, morals,  
discipline, have to be obtained  
in huts or small Pavilions -  
not in a huge building containing  
300 cells, (and which it is said  
would hold 1000 boys,) however  
well re-arranged & re-modelled.

The youthful Sir Harry went  
up to London yesterday by the  
first train, without his  
sandwiches or telling any one

**f202**

but the pony - attended the Meeting (where he was Chairman) - and a copy of Lord Napier's letter was read - and then on to Woking to see the Prison.

Col. Beaty Pownall (I wonder what he thinks about it) will have told you how Sir Harry told the Meeting that the Committee were *not* "unanimous" - Genl. Philip Smith backed him. Genl. Higginson I believe, wrote a letter in favour of the Prison. However the Noes had it. And Mr. Tennyson offered to go off to

**f202v**

Ld. Napier and ask him *viva voce* to withdraw his letter which offer was accepted.

We have not of course heard the result.

Arrived at Woking, the youthful Sir Harry called a cab, but perched himself on the box of the cabman, in order to "see better". The cabman turned out to be a soldier, a R.H.A. man, who was in the Martinière with Sir Jas. Outram, and side by side with the Shannon Naval



**f203**

[2]

brigade, (in which Capt. Verney was) in all its work in that Lucknow Campaign. "They tossed "their guns about as we "couldn't do": says the R.H.A. man.

He also told Sir H. a good deal about Woking Prison. Coming back in the train, he Sir H. found a gentleman of those parts who knew him and who extolled Woking Prison with its houses round for Matron, Chaplain, Doctor, &c just what Gordon would have deprecated: "but", says he, "for your purpose

**f203v**

"you want a pony and you "get a white elephant".

I have asked to write a penny pamphlet with a sketch of Gordon & an appeal to the troops. But we must know more! Are we to have this Prison and its fine Officers' houses? 2. Could you kindly tell me what is the scheme of work? is it for one or two years training? or what? do the Committee then intend to place the boys

**f204**

'out', as Gordon did,  
according to the character  
of each?

I can never find a  
Committee man to tell one  
Are you not rather afraid  
of the Aldershot proposal to raise  
£22 per Regt. [£20 would  
require 800 sixpences.]  
Would not the men give more  
freely if it were  
not asked in that way?

Col. Robinson, A.A.G.  
at Aldershot is working

**f204v**

the matter well.

Please tell me your mind.

One man at the Meeting  
yesterday said we must  
succumb to the Pr. of Wales  
if he was *for* the Prison  
- but Gordon wd. not have  
done this.

I cannot imagine, but you  
will know better than I,  
any plan that Gordon would  
more have disliked than  
the Palatial Prison & the

G r a n d      O f f i c e r s '      h o u s e s      r o u n d  
[end hosp80s]

**f205**

[3]

I send you the D. Telegraph  
& D. News on the Aldershot  
Meeting. Put them for waste  
paper.

I wish I could give a  
better account of my  
sister.

Pray forgive this scrawl  
& believe me yours ever  
F. Nightingale

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f206; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 10/9/86}

**f206**

(Written in pen and another hand at top of envelope is:}  
Gordon Boys House

Mrs Hawthorn  
Boley Hill  
Rochester

10/9/86

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff207-09; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale;  
dated in same hand Dec 10 1886}

Source: From a letter to Amy Hawthorn, ADD Mss 45776 f207-

10 December 1886

*Private.* How glad I shall be to see you again.

1. About the Dublin Barracks, yes, indeed they are a "disgrace" to us, & the improvements are not yet carried out which, when I first began work, were recommended by the Army Sanitary Commission with Sidney Herbert at its head, some twenty-seven years ago after personal inspection.

But the Q.M.G., the director general, A.M.D., & one or two others have been sent by the C.-in-C. to inspect. And tho' not half so capable as the Army Sanitary Commission, let us hope that they may do some good. The C.- in-C. was thoroughly alarmed luckily. Which barrack was your cousin adopted in? The Beggar's Bush? Not the Royal? I am so thankful he is better.

**f207**

*Private* {Written diagonally in the top left corner}

Dec 10/86

10, SOUTH STREET,

PARK LANE. W. [printed address]

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

How glad I shall be to see you again.

1. about the Dublin Barracks

Yes: indeed they are a "disgrace" to us - & the improvements are not yet carried out which, when I first began work, were recommended by the Army Sanitary Commn., with Sidney Herbert at its head, some 27 years ago after personal inspection.

**f207v**

But the ~~Adjutant~~ Q.M.G.,  
 the Director Genl. A.M.D.,  
 & one or two others have  
 been sent by the C. in C.  
 to inspect - And tho' not  
 half so capable as the  
 Army Sany. Comm., let us  
 hope that they may do  
 some good. The C. in C.  
 was thoroughly alarmed luckily.  
 Which Barrack was your  
 cousin: adopted in?  
 The Beggar's Bush? Not

**f208**

the Royal?

I am so thankful he is  
 better.

2. Gordon Boys' Home:  
 I believe the Woking  
 Prison *is* entirely abandoned.  
 But they are not  
 beginning to build as yet at  
 Bagshot, because the  
 Govt. has as yet only  
 offered a 21 years' lease  
 & they say they must  
 have more to build -  
 I mentioned to two of the

**f208v**

Commee. the grievous want  
 of Hospital accommodation,  
 & that, even if they had a  
 Nurse, they had not a  
 place to put her in -  
 Both said that a house  
 ought to be taken as near  
 as possible for Patients &  
 Nurse.

Next Wednesday is  
 Committee-day. I shall  
 t r y t o  
 [end hosp80s]

r e m i n d t h e m .

**f209**

I think you said you  
would be in London from  
Friday 24 to Sunday 26.  
Will you kindly fix the  
afternoon that suits you  
best - 5, if not too late  
for you: 3.15, if, as I think,  
you ought to be earlier  
this weather - & let me  
know as soon as possible  
It will be quite a Xmas  
treat for me.

My sister is wonderfully well  
But, you know, the poor  
joints get worse.

**f209v**

God bless you  
ever yours  
F. Nightingale

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f210; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 10/12/86}

**f210**

Mrs Hawthorn  
Boley Hill  
Rochester

10/12/86

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff211-12; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand Jan 9/87}

**f211**

Jan 9/87

**[15:558]**

10, SOUTH STREET,

PARK LANE. W. [printed address]

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

How can I thank you  
enough for all your trouble,  
and information about the  
Public-house & Bad-house  
questions as regards  
soldiers particularly -

I have not been idle  
in making use of it. But  
the dislocation of Govt. has  
been a very serious draw-  
back.

Will you kindly fix

**f211v**

your own day between  
the 18th, up to which  
day I am engaged, &  
the day you leave London  
for me to have the  
great pleasure of seeing  
you? Or if you could  
give me a choice of  
two afternoons?

Unluckily I am always  
in such a "scrimmage"  
in January. But  
nothing would induce  
me to lose the talk with

**f212**

you.

I wish I had known last  
year about the Cadet  
Hospl. abominations,  
because I had a pull  
upon them then I have  
not now.

But surely a complaint  
ought to be made to Sir  
T. Crawford. Did they  
make no complaint?

L e t                    u s                    t a l k                    a b o u t                    t h i s

Add Mss 45776

712

**[end]**



**f212v**

Thank you, thank you  
for all the most useful  
letters & little pamphlet  
& leaflet & for all  
your trouble.

God bless you

ever yours

F. Nightingale

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f213; pen; handscrip of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 8/1/87}

**f213**

{Written in pen and in a different hand on the left side is:

No.3

~~Destroy~~}

From 5 Jan 87

to

23 Nover.

/87}

Mrs Hawthorn  
Boley Hill  
Rochester

8/1/86

Add Mss 45776; letter; ff214-17; pencil; handscrip of FN

**f214**

10, SOUTH STREET Jan 23/87

*Private*

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

Let me thank you again for  
your visit yesterday. I don't  
think I half expressed the  
burning anxiety I shall feel  
to know from your kindness  
the result of ~~the~~ the present  
tentative at Chatham -  
or my feeling of the immense  
difficuly of your work,  
which you are so gallantly  
conducting, there - the  
absence of rich residents -  
have you not even a brewer?

**f214v**

- the brewer is generally the  
richest man in a place  
and subscribes the most largely  
to Charities for the men  
whom he ruins by his Beer?

I think you have made  
up your mind that no action  
like that of Glasgow would  
be possible at Chatham,  
owing to the feebleness of the police, the want of a  
public opinion & of benevolent institutions.

Still we might talk to  
Mr. C. Acland about it.  
It is *he* who suggests the

**f215**

"Garrison Towns".  
I forget whether I mentioned  
that I wrote of the case  
of Portsmouth (in that  
letter which I spoke of to  
you) - whence the public-houses  
in the town commit quite  
as many misdemeanours  
as the worst - or as those  
just outside Aldershot.

I should have thought  
Portsmouth a more hopeful  
place to do something in  
(by an Act) than Chatham?  
The "brewers" are rich enough, &

**f215v**

there are some "great" people  
in the place?  
Let us try.

It seems impertinent of me  
who cannot help myself  
& whom you have helped  
so much to say: how  
gladly if you ever thought  
there was anything (in this  
dreadful Chatham business),  
I would help if I could.

God bless you and & speed you -  
And He *will* speed you.

**f216**

[2]

A R.E. Officer who was for many years in the W.O., asked me to ask ~~about~~ about the "Sergeants messes". I suppose he had heard something of their disorderliness ??

If you can make use of Fred Verney, my nephew, for ~~the~~ a talk or meeting - he will not have it called a Lecture - upon Gordon, at Chatham, he is very much at your service.

He does not wish to make it

**216v**

a catering for Subns..

The Commee. of Officers and N.C. Officers which he organized at Aldershot, with Prince Albert Victor as president does that.

He has given a "Meeting" since at Aldershot - simply to keep up the remembrance of Gordon.

**f217**

God bless you again & again

ever yours

F. Nightingale

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f218; pen; handscrip of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 23/1/87}

**f218** [Written in pencil and another hand above address is:]

Destroy

*To be read*

Mrs Hawthorn  
10 Conduit St.

23/1/87

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff219-23; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand March 3/87} [8:499-500]

**f219**

10 South St.                      March 5/87

*Private* {written diagonally}

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn  
Thank you very much for your letter. I am so glad that there is a good prospect of a ward of St. Bartholomew's to reward your unwearied exertions.

Could you give me the address of *Mr. Sloggett*, ?, the Supt. of Lock Hospitals,? for *Mr. Acland*? He wants it.

I had a long talk with him yesterday afternoon - I

**f219v**

do not think we shall get much out of *this* Bill.  
(which is to be brought forward end of next week)  
Messrs. Stansfeld & 3 barristers & C & c & c & c Mr. Acland has been consulting with. And they think this is all the House of Commons will Swallow just now - that is Mr. Stansfeld's adherents, including Mrs. Josephine Butler, who commands Mr. Stuart, would vote against anything else. And they have an insane horror of ANYthing being done to

**f220**

mitigate the results, physical  
or moral, in Hospital or Home,  
of vice.

I send you the Proof of the  
Bill. Please take notice  
that ~~everything after~~ 6. (p.8)  
(to end) is cut out entirely  
now & that at 4 (p.3  
"twenty" is substituted for "two  
inhabitants"

The gist of the Bill now is  
that the Supt. of Police, or  
Head Constable, or whatever  
he is called, ~~may be call~~  
for all Kent may be  
called in for Chatham, or

**f220v**

for all Devonshire may be  
called in for Plymouth &c  
- this putting it out of the  
power of the local bribe=  
= able Police to burke  
evidence or appeals from civilian inhabitants.

I showed Mr. Acland  
the Chaplain Genl.'s letter -  
and discussed where we  
thought he was wrong.  
He Mr. Acland quite sees that putting  
"out of bounds" is no remedy  
at all for what we ~~want~~ suffer from.

Mr. Acland wants to see  
you - the Chaplain Genl., & Genl.  
~~and~~ Philip Smith, & Mr. Sloggett.

**f221**

[2]

I stuck to the Homes &

Hospital provision. I said  
(but there is no need to tell  
you what I said). Mr. Acland  
seems now convinced that it  
is mere useless cruelty to  
turn these poor wretched girls  
out of brothels & public houses,  
if you make no provision for  
them, body & soul. It is, as you say  
like shaking a feather bed.

Alas: that the War Office  
ought to be "poked" to do what  
it can so well do, with only  
the present Criminal Amendment Acts - those of  
1885-6 - "Sale of Food and  
"Drugs" Act - & previous Acts.

**f221v**

All that we want for  
Aldershot could, I believe,  
be done with our present  
machinery.

Mr. Acland has evidence that,  
tho' perhaps not *all* the  
good that has been claimed  
by Glasgow has been done,  
yet that *by the co-operation  
of the citizens & the police*  
an immense change has  
been wrought in Glasgow for  
the better.

**f222**

Mr. Acland proposes to have another Bill, with a clause for "searching" Brothels - & to make it a "misdemeanour" if a diseased man solicits an innocent girl at the corner of say Regent St. or any street day after day & ends by communicating disease to her.

I will not enter into this now.

He also - but this was an idea of the moment -  
[Suggested by my suggesting

**f222v**

to him several plans for obtaining a provision of Hospitals & Homes -

laying it for instance upon the Sanitary Authorities] - thought of asking the S. of S. for War whether, supposing a Home were attached by private or municipal means to any Lock Hospl. etc, the W.O. would give a grant.

I stuck to it however, as you had so wisely suggested that the Homes must be interchangeable (Devonshire and Kent)  
e.g.

**f223**

[3]

In order to post this in time for you to get it to night, I must close, tho' I have not told you half what passed.

But the important thing is for you to tell me.

Would you kindly return me this imperfect proof of the Bill

&, the I am ashamed to ask it, these miserable Notes, as I have no notes of his conversation, and I should like to complete these for you

**f223v**

God speed the work -  
God save these poor things  
yours ever  
F.N.

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff224-28; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale;  
dated in same hand March 10/87} [8:504-05]

**f224**

10 South St. March 10/87

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

Many, many thanks for  
your most interesting letter,  
which I will not answer  
*now*, but only do as I am  
bid, as I always do when  
bid by *you*, alltho' I am  
very much afraid of  
giving advice to people.

If you can make any  
use of *any part* of the  
scrawl I enclose, pray do  
[I think I had rather it  
should not be left in any

**f224v**

hands but yours.]

I do so sympathize in  
your great noble efforts  
that I would gladly get  
any other information  
you would like.

I cannot dwell too much  
on the necessity of character  
in the "Sister" - firm, sympa [cut off]  
gentle, kind, deep but  
not demonstrative, a  
trained Nurse, and set upon  
the *Moral* training of her  
Patients: actually breaking her  
heart if *one* went wrong. That makes  
such an impression on them.



**f225***To Mrs Hawthorn*

In answer to questions put:

"These cases", it has been found by experience, could well be admitted to a "General Hospital," if no other ~~being~~ is available. [In some respects indeed there is even an advantage in this.]

The Ward or Wards for "these cases" should be entirely separate from all others, it is almost needless to say - any inter-communication being made impossible.

As to Nursing:

it has been found by experience that a good Nursing Staff for from 20 to 28 beds, ~~with~~ if all in one Ward, - with say one very bad case in a Small Ward occasionally - is

- 1 trained Nurse: a gentlewoman: call her Head Nurse, 'Sister' or Matron as you will: but she must do the duties of a head Nurse. We prefer the title "Sister".
- 2 (Day Staff Nurse) both trained, is best - (Night " " ) but a capable middle aged good woman trained by "Sister", is feasible for a small Hospl. for Day or Night Nurse.
- 1 Ward Maid: a really steady superior sort of woman

**f226**

[2]

[A Probationer might be added: a well-educated Woman, whether gentle or simple, in a Hospl. of 20-30]

It is difficult to diminish the Staff of 4, - because Magdalens must of course never be left alone. (one Nurse must always be with them) - for a Hospital of 8 or 10 only of these cases. Yet the same Staff would do for 20-30, if in one Ward.

But 8 or 10, if in 2 or 3 small Wards, would hardly be served properly even by the Staff of 4 - The girls must never be allowed to gossip together over their past lives, or indeed to talk of them to the Nurses In one hour, they may ruin all that has been done for them.

The Head Nurse (or Matron) *must* be a *trained gentlewoman*, for the purpose of maintaining discipline by a high influence, of keeping the prospect of reformation, & return to an honest life, before the girls, - & of getting them out to "Homes" when cured.

All depends upon this: experience has shown that, tho' without any power of compulsory detention [but we do not pronounce *against* this] the power of loving sympathy - which makes the Matron (Head Nurse) mourn as for a daughter, if one returns to a life of sin or leaves the "Home"

**f227**

[3]

~~sub~~ found for her after cure - will keep the girls in the Magdalen Ward till cured, & will, in far the greater majority of cases, restore them to an honest life - (*not cure them for sin*).

As for details:

the dinners may be sent up from General Kitchen - breakfast, tea, supper made in the *Ward-kitchen* which must be attached to the Magdalen Ward - ~~only~~ a sort of scullery with hot and cold water and small range &c

As a rule, the cases are severe -

They should never be allowed to syringe themselves or to do their own dressings.

~~Their~~ "Operations" should be performed in their own Bathroom. W.C.s, Bath-rooms, Lavatory should all be attached to the Ward.

Those who are able may take part in keeping the Ward brushed, dusted &c

The Matron's bed-room should be between the large Ward and small Ward - best with an Inspection-window for night.

**f228**

[4]

If the Matron (Head Nurse) sees fit, she might bring some 6 or 8 of them to Chapel - sitting in front row of female Patients of General Hospital or in a gallery where they could not be seen. But this is of course a matter for special judgement.

N.B. The worst thing that can be done with these poor ~~woman~~ cases is to put them, even if they will go, into the Wards of those Workhouse Infirmaryes or Workhouses, where they are not kept *entirely* separate from all other Patients or inmates, with a quite distinct Nursing Staff of their own, which should be, whether gentle or simple, of a superior moral character.

Florence Nightingale

Mrs Hawthorn

London March 10/87

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff229-32; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand May 3/87} [8:498-99]

**f229**

10 South St.                      March 3/87

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

Anent the poor prostitute  
in the "Infirm" Ward at  
Lambeth Workhouse, one of  
our Surgeons, Mr. Croft, has,  
on my stating the case,  
"arranged for the poor young  
"woman's admission to the  
"special Ward for such  
"cases at St. Thomas'."

I enclose his Order for admission.  
Please tell the Patient to

**f229v**

show this envelope on arriving  
at the *Patients'* ~~door~~ entrance  
of the Hospital. It will  
procure her admission.  
If possible, she should be  
there by 11 o'clock a.m.

I earnestly hope that she  
may derive benefit.  
But to me the main object  
of these special Wards  
is, as with you, reformation  
- getting them out, when  
cured, to Homes.

**f230**

Had we had our old  
Magdalen Ward, I should  
have said, with some trust,  
I earnestly hope that this will  
be a turning-point in her  
poor life, her poor young life.

But now we only have  
in Block No.8, the "Infectious  
"Block", (Erysipelas, Scarlet  
Fever &c &c Wards -  
one ward of about 6 beds for  
Lock women.

The wards are good - nothing  
to say against them.

**f230v**

And the BLOCK is *now*  
under the charge of a trained lady  
(who has been one of ours  
for many years), of the  
Hospl. rank of Assistant Matron.

And the Nurses are now  
almost all our own trained  
Nurses.

Still it is a different thing  
from having one large  
Magdalen Ward in sole  
charge of one trained Sister-Matron  
devoted, body & soul, to  
the bodies & souls of these  
never-to-be-enough-pitied  
poor degraded creatures. The

**f231**

[2]

difficuly was there not to keep  
them in but to get them out  
- not that they were petted -  
far from it - there was none  
of that unwholesome romance allowed  
about them. But it was  
like heaven to them to know  
that their souls & bodies  
were dearer to their "Sister"  
who was always there, day  
& night, than her own.

I should not dwell upon  
this, for it is past, but that  
I feel so sure that, (not  
Sisterhoods, but) this sort of  
business-like thing must answer  
best.

**f231v**

-viz. the professionally trained *Nurse* who is always with them - a refined gentlewoman - being their mother-missionary.

I am enquiring of several about what Lock Wards there are in London Hospls..

I shall have one of our own Sisters, now serving in another Hospl., with me to-night - & shall ask her too.

I think of your difficulties & your gallant stand day & night. God bless you.

**f232**

//2.

A friend sent me a report fuller than Mr. C. Acland's of the deputation to the Local Govt. Board.

Farnham Union which takes in (I did not know it) ~~all~~ the diseased women of Aldershot attended & complained. They said that they were going to take over the Lock Hospl. in the Camp.

You justly say that the sound of the bugle sets all these poor women going, whether in Hospl. or "Home".

Do you think that a Lock Hospital in Aldershot Camp, or it may be in Aldershot *Town*, is so objectionable that one ought

**f232v**

to remonstrate, or at least get hold of the Chaplain-Genl. about it?

Poor Mr. Stigant seems to have got no "rise" out of the L.G.B. at all for *Chatham*.

O may you get your St. Bartholomew Wards!

Excuse this scrawl. I want to get off my "Admission" which I only received this morning at once. Poor girl - may she be blessed!

Add Mss 45776

726

ever yrs

F.N.

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f233; pen; handschrift of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 3/5/87}

**f233** {Written in pencil and another hand above address is:

Magdalen case

Destroy (Qv)

Mrs Hawthorn

Boley Hill

Rochester

3/5/87

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f234; pen; handschrift of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 7/5/87}

**f234** Written in pencil and another hand above address is:

Magdalen ward

St. Barts

{Destroy}

Mrs Hawthorn

Boley Hill

Rochester

7/5/87

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f235; pen; handschrift of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 19/7/87}

**f235**

{written in pen and another hand in top left corner is: "Ansd"

{Written in pencil and another hand above address is:

f Destroy

[Philip Smith [?]

Mrs Hawthorn

Boley Hill

Rochester

19/7/87

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f236; pen; handschrift of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 22/8/87}

**f236**

*Please Forward*

Mrs Hawthorn

Boley Hill

Rochester

22/8/87

{Add Mss 45776; letter; f237; pencil; handschrift of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand Sept 30/87}

**f237**

10 South St.                      Sept 30/87

Alas! Alas! the wave of St. Thomas  
has passed over my head  
in the shape of arrangements -  
having a new Matron -  
& also of India.

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn - I have  
not a chance of getting my  
head above water till week  
after next. Then please write  
& tell me any day that you  
will be coming up.

I have heard all about the proposed [10:785]  
Indian Army Nurses from the man,  
now in London, empowered by the  
Govt. of India to settle about them.  
But nothing is settled yet. I will  
tell you what we have discussed. [end 10:785]  
ever yours      F.N.

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f238; pen; handschrift of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 30/9/87}

**f238**

change of  
- Matron St. Th.  
- Indian Army Nurses  
{Destroy}  
Mrs Hawthorn  
Boley Hill  
Rochester

30/9/87



{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff239-41; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand Oct 19/87}

**f239**

Private

& Confidential {written diagonally in top left corner}  
10 South St.

Oct 19/87

**[15:559-60]**

Oh dearest friend How  
can I tell you - that I have  
but little hope? But you  
ask me to tell you.

I wrote to Sir L. Nicholson  
immediately & sent it by hand  
I had an answer soon, couched  
in the kindest terms, &  
especially mentioning your Chatham  
work, & his great regret  
at its being disturbed. [He  
seemed to appreciate it  
almost as it deserved, which  
is saying a great deal.]

**f239v**

But, he said these changes  
had been determined upon for  
"the public service" - he deeply  
regretted where they bore  
hardly on "individuals" - But  
he could "not interfere" -  
He wrote at some length, & very  
considerately. [I had reminded  
him of what he said to you]  
I did not tell you, because I  
hold that official decisions  
should not be announced by  
private persons. [I should not  
have told you even had it  
been favourable] - And this

**f240**

letter was marked "Strictly  
"Private & Confidential".  
And besides I was not  
without hopes that it might  
not be final.

But it knocked me down  
like a sledge-hammer.

Now, you ask me: I am  
afraid from what you tell  
me, that it might be well  
not to delay asking for  
Malta, if Malta is your wish

As you say, all the appointments  
& changes may have been made,  
if Col. Hawthorn waits to see Sir

**f240v**

L.N. And I doubt if  
writing is of any use. If it were,  
I think L.N. would have said  
"I cannot say when I shall  
be in London. But write  
to me".

It is like signing my own  
death-warrant & Chatham's  
to write this - But - you  
ask my opinion.

Who will take up your work  
in Chatham? your Buglers -  
your poor fallen women -  
your young Officers - your  
Engineers' wives?

**f241**

[2]

I am a little sorry that  
I did not ask Sir Harry to  
come up & speak to the Duke  
of Cambridge - at the same  
time that I wrote to Sir L.N.  
- After L.N.'s answer, it  
was impossible.

But I don't believe it  
would have been of any use.  
Only, one catches at a  
straw.

I shall be like a widow  
when you are gone -

But, be sure your work  
will live after you.

S u c h            g o o d            w o r k            a l w a y s            d o e s .

**f241v**

God whose work it is will  
n o t            l e t            i t            p e r i s h .

[end 15:560]

I am so driven this week  
that I have scarcely time to  
breathe.

But I hope if you are  
coming up next week that  
you will kindly let me know -  
The time is so short.

May God be with us

ever yours

F.N.

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f242; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 19/10/87}

**f242** [Written in pencil and another hand above address is:]

[not FN]            appl. Col. Hawthorn  
                      destroy  
                      Mrs Hawthorn  
                      Boley Hill  
                      Rochester

19/10/87

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff243-44; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand Oct 24/87}

**f243**

Oct 24/87

10, South Street,

Park Lane. W. [printed address] **[15:560]**

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

I think I am almost more  
grieved than you are at your  
leaving Chatham. You know  
what I feel. It is no use  
saying how distressed I am:  
& so many others will be so too,  
when they know it.

But wherever you go,  
you will do splendid work.

I have just received your  
post-card. I am so sorry  
you are not well. Pray  
don't be careless of cold.

I will thankfully expect

**f243v**

you on Saturday at any hour, please tell me,  
after 3 that is convenient  
to you which will  
enable you to get home  
before it is too late.  
But do not expose yourself.

If it is better for you  
to come later, and you are  
coming to London *next* week,  
any day after Wednesday, Nov 2  
i will keep open for you -  
only too thankful to see  
you again.

**f244**

I see Sir Henry Gordon's death.  
Poor Miss Augusta Gordon -

I wish the Gordon Boys' Home  
could be watched over by you.  
I suppose it will be opened  
next month. I hope we  
may carry the Matron, but  
do not know. I feel

v e r y d o w n - h e a r t e d .

**[end]**

We have been very busy;  
And you will have seen  
by the papers that we have  
had rioting nearly every  
day for a week in Trafalgar  
Sq. & Hyde Park. The police  
are almost worn out. Nothing

**f244v**

could exceed their pluck &  
moderation. But it is a  
horrible & degrading spectacle  
that we can do nothing for  
our vagabonds & unemployed  
but drive them about from  
street to street with our  
fists. a far sadder  
spectacle than war.

I have been feeding a  
little the strong post of  
Mounted & foot Police  
at & near Grosvenor Gate.  
And others, I believe, have  
done so too.

What shall I do about the  
fallen women when you  
are gone? God bless you  
ever yours F.N.

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f245; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 24/10/87}

**f245** [Written in pencil and another hand above address is:]

Trafalgar Sq.

Riots

good conduct of Police

Mrs Hawthorn

Boley Hill

Rochester

24/10/87

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff246-49; pencil; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand Nov 1/87}

**f246**

10 South St.

Nov 1/87

Private {This word has a "box" drawn around its two sides and bottom edge.}

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

Sir C. Brownlow is "unsatisfactory"  
- but I do not see, if you do not,  
that *that* would be a reason  
for Sir Harry not seeing the  
Commander-in-Chief, IF you assure  
me that in *no* event would  
it do Col. Hawthorn any harm  
to do so.

When Sir Harry was up  
on Wednesday for the  
Bagshot Gordon Boys' home,  
I spoke to him about your fatal departure from Chatham.  
[I had not previously done

**f246v**

so, because I hoped it was  
not finally settled]  
He asked immediately, *Can  
nothing be done?*

At that time, as you know,  
I had nothing to tell him.  
On Sunday (after seeing you)

I wrote to him, & asked  
if I had understood him right  
that there was a meeting  
this Wednesday (to morrow)  
for the G.B.H., & that he  
was coming up to it  
~~He would not~~

& ~~if so~~ I said that  
something *might* be done  
without saying what,

**f247**

with the C. in C. if he could  
see him, about Col. Hawthorn  
He would not get that letter till  
Monday *afternoon*; but I  
was in some hopes of having  
an answer this morning -  
but have not.

[Sir Harry had a slight feverish  
attack after the Bagshot day,  
which you would not wonder  
at; if you knew that the  
utmost care about his  
"sandwiches", and all his doings,  
is often thrown away. He escapes  
like a boy.  
But he has written to me  
since, not mentioning it.]

**f247v**

It is a thing of such immense  
importance for every body &  
everything that you should  
remain your 2 1/2 years at  
Chatham that I would not  
be daunted by Sir C. Brownlow  
if Sir Harry's application to  
the C. in C. can do no harm.

Sir Harry's application is  
rather difficult to manage;  
I never know till the morning  
he comes up whether he is  
coming. And then the letter  
or Telegram generally arrives  
after himself.

Then one has to find out



**f248**

[2]

whether the C. in C. is in  
London - & then whether  
he will receive Sir Harry.

But I feel some confidence that  
God will compass it, because  
your staying *must* be His will.

[I will write to Sir Harry  
again to-day; but you  
see he will not get my letter  
till tomorrow (Wednesday.)  
I never dare *telegraph*, because  
in a small place like Claydon,  
with the Telegraph Office  
only a mile from the house,  
and on Sir Harry's property,  
everybody knows its contents.

**f248v**

I will have what Sir  
Harry is to ask the C. in C.  
ready written for him, if he  
comes.

If you do not hear from  
me, please conclude that  
he is not coming this week,  
or that C. in C. is not ~~here~~  
in London.

God bless you  
Pray give me any hints, if  
you can -  
ever yours affly.  
F.N.

**f249**

Many thanks for Dr.  
Blair Brown's letter  
which I will return.

I hope you were not the  
worse for Saturday.

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f250; pen; handschrift of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 1/11/87}

**f250**

[Written in pencil and another hand above address is:]

Col. Hawthorn

asst. *Destroy*

Mrs Hawthorn

Boley Hill

Rochester

1/11/87

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f251; pen; handschrift of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 1/11/87}

**f251**

*No. 2*

[Written in pencil and another hand above address is:]

*Destroy*

nil

Mrs Hawthorn

Boley Hill

*Rochester*

1/11/87

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff252-54; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand Nov 23/87}

**f252**

10 South St. Nov 23/87

*Private*

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

I am so grieved & distressed,

**[15:903-04]**

but I am precluded from doing anything more. I had hoped that your departure, grievous word, would be put off at all events till April. Alas! that it should be as it is.

I send Dr. Blair Brown with many thanks.

Bhiah, that my young cousin,

H. Coape Smith, Inniskillings - ? - ,

[yes, odd]

at P. Maritzburg to whom you were so very good as to give

**f252v**

letters for Sir Theophilus and Lady

Shepstone & for Bishop and Mrs.

Macrorie, writes that

Mrs. "Offy" Shepstone has

made her house quite a home to him - and the Bishop has called upon him and been kind.

Have you heard ~~of~~ their appalling Regimental history of last July or August when 6 privates, mad drunk with Kaffir rum, rushed into their Barrack-room about 9.30 p.m. in a Barrack a little way out of Maritzburg, where the Col. Serjt. was calling the roll-call at tattoo, turned off the gas, seized some rifles, bayoneted the Serjeant

**f253**

& several men, killed a poor fellow lying drunk on his bed, rushed back to Maritzburg, killed a Corporal of Police who tried to stop them, wounded an Office & several others for their money - & were finally captured by ~~a~~ one of the pickets sent out after them.

it sounds like a night mare  
But what I thought was - if the Canteen had been properly kept - if Mrs. Hawthorn's Refreshment Rooms were still existent - *what has become of them?* - if the C.O. looked after everything about the men & the Subalterns looked after

**f253v**

their own men - could such an appalling thing happen at all? You would know.

Do you know what has become of your Coffee-tent? Is there no lady to keep it up?

Have you heard anything more of your Lock Ward? I am terror-struck to think of all your good work stopping.

Yes, indeed I hope to see you soon. But the fogs for a whole week have been all but impassable in London. Tell me when you come to London as long as you can *before* - God bless you - your sorrowful F.N.

**f254**

I am amused at Dr. Blair Brown's contemptuous  
"They will marry, let them they are only women".

But what he says about Hill=gossip, what  
we know of women's society in India, where  
women could do so much & do....nothing -  
could do so much for the natives, so much  
for their own Regiments - oh if they were all  
Mrs. Hawthorns, there would hardly be any  
drunkenness or crime - & India might become  
a paradise almost, instead of a lounging ground for young  
soldiers. [end warzulu]

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f255; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 23/11/87}

**f255** [Written in pencil and another hand above address is:]

Drunken  
outbreak  
at Maritzburg  
S. Africa  
Destroy  
[end 15:905]

Mrs Hawthorn  
Boley Hill  
Rochester

23/11/87

{Add Mss 45776; letter; f256; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in  
same hand Feb 27/88}

**f256**

Feb 27/88  
10, SOUTH STREET.  
PARK LANE. W. [printed address]

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

I have been back some time  
(indeed all the Brigade is in  
South St. at Nos. 4 and 10.) But  
I feared & fear it useless to  
expect you in London in this  
weather. I only hope you are  
pretty well.

If you are coming to London  
please give me notice two or three

**f256v**

days before. I should be so  
bitterly grieved (it is bad enough  
your going away) not to see you  
before you go - the time is so near.

What will all your boys do  
without you? & the poor women?  
& everybody? Have you got the  
Lock Wards?

God bless you ever - ever yours

F. Nightingale

I was just writing to you when your  
kind letter came. [I have been a good  
deal driven since I came back: you  
kindly ask: I have not had a day's rest  
since I went away.

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f257; pen; handschrift of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 27/2/88}

**f257**

{Written in pen and another hand above address is:

No.4

27 Feb

88 till

11 Nov 89:

of no value}

Mrs Hawthorn

Boley Hill

Rochester

27/2/88

f258 letter of Florence Craven, Gt Ormond St. to Hawthorn re official  
inspection, re district nurses, with env. I am sorry not to have answered your  
letter before, though mt be useful re own rules for the efficient inspection of  
a district nurse's work. Sending proof copy. If your district nurse has recd  
district as well as hosp nursing tr, she cannot be under a supt who is less  
trained than herself. It wd be far better to keep the district nurse distinct  
from private nurses, and shd the latter be employed sometimes among the poor,  
they shd only be sent to special cases, night nurses, etc and shd not attempt  
the duties of a district nurse. Wd be better if your district nurse cd report  
to a sub com weekly and be under their authority. A district nurse can only be  
under a district supt who shares the work and visits each new case with her and  
undertakes some cases herself (unless she has several district nurses under  
her). A district nurse must herself daily clean the rooms of her patients where  
there are no relatives or neighbours to do it for them. A district nurse must  
herself cut up and prepare beef tea etc in the rooms of each of her patients and  
teach the friend show to make a savoury stew cut up. She must know how to bake  
in an iron sauce pan and where there is no oven to make little tasty things for  
her patients and how to teach the patients' friends simple cookery (potatoes,  
fish, etc, puddings made of bread and other farinaceous materials. She must keep  
an exact record daily of the hours she goes on duty and when she returns for

instance...The nurse shd keep a weekly return of her cases for her subcom. If you wished and her work cd be inspected once a year by me or my deputy, I wd report to you as to her efficiency. There is no charge for insp beyond travelling expenses.

{Add Mss 45776; letter; f263; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand May 31/89}

**f263**

1 0            S o u t h            S t .

M a y            3 1 / 8 9

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

The bearer of this is  
Miss Pringle, Matron first of  
Edinburgh R. Infirmary - now  
of St. Thomas'. You and I have  
often spoken of her.

She is the pearl of great  
price - but sadly worn,  
& resting for a short time  
in Jersey.

Sir Harry & my sister -  
pretty well I can hardly say -  
in South St.

With dearest love

ever yours

F. Nightingale

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f264; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 31/5/89}

**f264**

*favoured by Miss Pringle*

Mrs Hawthorn

c/o Col. Hawthorn R.E.

La Collette

Jersey

Florence Nightingale)

31/5/89            )



{Add Mss 45776; letter; f265; pencil; handscrip of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand July 3/89}

**f265**

July 3/89

10, SOUTH STREET.

PARK LANE. W. [printed address]

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

How very good of you to write twice. I am longing to see you. But I always reserve Sunday afternoon for my sister who likes to be carried in & spend that afternoon here.

If you will be in London on Monday, would it be quite convenient to you to bless me with a sight of you at 5.15 or at 6?  
Or if not convenient, on Tuesday?  
May I have a post-card in answer? ever yours  
F. Nightingale

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f266; pen; handscrip of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 3/7/89}

**f266**

Mrs Hawthorn  
45 Lower Belgrave St.  
S.W.

5/7/89

see ff267-68 MA Hawthorn to FN from Queen Anne's Mansions St James' Park SW, return 5d overpayment. Robert says the arrs for water wd be made by the deputy IMG, re water bottle

{Add Mss 45776; letter; f269; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand 13/1/90}

**f269**

13/1/90

10, SOUTH STREET,

PARK LANE. W. [printed address]

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

I think the way of solving  
the difficulty about *Gordon*  
*Boys Hospl.* Books, is:  
if you will be so very good as  
to add this to your fund & take  
the trouble to choose the books  
& despatch them to the Hospital,  
& say nothing about me,  
please

& very much oblige.

yours ever

F. Nightingale

Excuse scrawl

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f270; pencil; handscrip of Florence Nightingale;  
dated at lower left side in same hand 13/1/90}

**f270**

{written in pen and another hand at the top right corner is: "No 5"}  
[Written in pencil and another hand is:]

Jan./90                      2nd  
to  
Aug./92                      No 2 parcel

Mrs Hawthorn  
Queen Anne's Mansions  
13/1/90

Add Mss 45776; letter; ff273-74; pencil; handscrip of Florence Nightingale;  
dated in same hand April 23/90

**f273**

10 South St              April 23/90

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

I had so much to ask you  
yesterday that it never came  
into my head to ask you!

You haven't such a thing  
in your pocket, have you?,  
as a cook-housekeeper,  
who will be my eyes where  
I can't go, in the kitchen &  
in the house. Who will cook my  
little things out of her own  
brains & not mine -  
& be really a conscientious,  
wise lieutenant. There is nothing  
inviting. There are no men-servants,  
but a Commissionaire, who

**f273v**

has been with me 11 years -  
no smart dinners -

She may be a woman  
past her prime.

There are 4 nice girls -  
two of whom, tho' they  
look so young, have  
been with me 6 years

~~one~~ another, the Kitchen-maid, has  
been with me 4, but  
leaves with my (regretful)  
consent, to "better herself,"  
& learn in a great kitchen.

But the new cook-housekeeper will have  
a kitchen-maid whom she  
will have to train. But I

**f274**

have engaged one already  
from a Verney niece  
who is an excellent mistress.  
Oh! one ought always to  
take a "character" of the  
*mistress*. And how I should  
like to have a servant  
from *you*.

But it is most unlikely  
you have one to place.

And you are *not* to look  
out.

I only ask as a sort of  
forlorn hope. I have two  
in view.

God bless you.

**f274v**

Hoping to see you on  
Tuesday

ever yours, dear friend  
F. Nightingale

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f275; pen; handscript of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 23/4/90}

**f274**

Mrs. Hawthorn

13 Taviton Street

Gordon Square

23/4/90

N.W.

(or W.C.)

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff276-80; f276 and half f276v are in pen, the rest are in pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand Oct 24/91} black-edged paper

**f276**

Most

*Private* {written diagonally in top left corner}

Oct 24/91

Claydon House,

Winslow,

Bucks. [printed address]

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

I keep thinking of you and  
the Nurses whose cause  
you have, so fortunately for  
them, expounded.

Have you not a profound **[8:399-401]**  
disbelief in any Lying-in  
Hospital in London or  
Edinburgh teaching the  
MONTHLY nursing of the  
poor? they so not ~~do~~ know it  
themselves.

Do you think it would  
be possible for you to choose  
one or two Lying-in-Hospitals  
- those you consider the  
best - & tell them what  
you want for your Nurses.

**f276**

"management of health before  
& after confinement: *bedding* [underlined in pencil]  
(which the Midwives ought to  
do, & don't) stays + - (personal  
cleaning

*bedding, bedding, X cleaning of*

"Management of infants:

and teaching the Mothers  
how to do it

cleanliness, dress, fresh air,  
sleep, food, nursing, cleaning,  
handfeeding, value of milk  
&c &c &c &c

In this way you would  
benefit both sides:

- 1 the Lying in Hospitals  
themselves
- 2 your poor Lying-in women

+ Did you ever examine even  
your own maid-servants' stays?

x I don't suppose the *feather*  
*bed* question ever entered a  
Lying in Hospl.'s category at all

**f277**

We have found that the

SUPT. [underlined pencil and orange pencil] herself must learn  
& teach these things to  
the District Nurses:- for  
the Lying-in Hospls. don't  
& can't.

You would do unspeak-  
able good, as you always  
do, if you saw well to  
take this tremendous  
subject in hand - For  
everybody must be born.  
But *don't* do it now

[I have been told that  
even Royalty finds difficulty  
in getting good Monthly Nurses  
But Royalty can take care  
of itself - and poverty  
can't

**f277v**

One Lying-in Hospital that  
I know, to which one of  
our St. Thomas' nurses  
went, (because she was to  
be sent abroad) very  
kindly carried out what  
I wrote to beg of them  
to do for her -

It is not 6 months, or 6  
years that a Lying in  
Hospl. that would teach  
*Monthly Nursing* among  
the poor on their  
present system or no  
system of those Hospls.

**f278** black-edged paper

PRIVATE {written diagonally in top left corner}

[2]

Claydon house,  
Winslow,

Bucks. [printed address]

I don't here enter into  
the Midwife question  
proper - or the Medical  
Student Midwy. question.

About Midwives, I think  
Doctors always forget,  
when they talk of 3  
months' ~~training~~ instruction [blue] being  
enough that they themselves  
have had 4 1/2 years' previous  
instructions - But even {blue}  
this is not ~~enough~~ appropriate - And  
Dr. Playfair (in the Preface  
to his book) exposes the  
3 or 6 months' system for  
medical Students to learn



**f278v**

Midwifery in as absurd and  
criminal -

[A horrible instance of this  
happened within my knowledge - a Medical  
Student and a one week  
old Probationer were set  
to deliver a poor woman

Internal haemorrhage  
followed and they let her  
bleed to death without  
finding it out]

or calling in help. This  
was actually in the Lying  
in Hospl. in Edinburgh,  
supposed to be the best  
in the world

*Private* [diagonally across the bottom left corner of the page]

**f279**

Nothing surprises one in  
the way of *tearing* these  
poor women-

The Q.V. Victoria Institutes  
provides for Lying -in  
Instruction without  
taking into account any  
of these things.

And even Sir Jas. Paget  
laughs -

St. Thomas' *Out Patient*  
Midwifery Dept. is no  
better than any others -  
And we have been asked  
for a staff of Nurses to repair the  
injuries done - & have not

**f279v**

seen our way to do it

India is 1000 times  
worse than England  
France *and Germany* worse than  
England

May this great evil  
at last awaken  
attention  
I don't of course say all this  
of myself - Others, wiser than  
I, are aware of it.

your devoted  
F. Nightingale

E x c u s e            t h i s            s c r a g g y            l e t t e r  
[end 8:401]

**f280** black-edged paper

[3] Octr. 24 1891  
Claydon House,  
Winslow,  
Bucks. [printed address]

{post script is written vertically from bottom to top of folio}

P.S. I should say that the *Midwifery*  
*proper* teaching in Russia and France  
is complete & perfect.

It is the *Monthly Nursing* that is  
so bad there & in Germany

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f281; pencil; handschrift of Florence Nightingale;  
dated in different hand 24 Oct 1891}

**f281** {written in pen and a different hand in top right corner is: "District  
Monthly Nurses"}

{Beneath this is written in a different hand:  
24 Oct 1891

Mrs. Hawthorn {This was originally written in handschrift of Nightingale and  
in pencil but has been written over in pen and a different hand.}

ff282-85 from Mrs Hawthorn, 2 Argyll Rd., Kensington, re Dr Inglis Parsons, 3 Queens St Mayfair, surgeon who treats cancer by electro-necrosis 28 Oct [1891] wants to see FN re what teaching for monthly nurses, what hosp to be chosen, Mrs Jelfe-Leonard, re her visit to Claydon. Re FN and nurses for sick poor and her invaluable advice re their proper training. I wd be so grateful if cd see FN when she is back in town re what to say to Mrs Jelfe-Leonard, i.e. what hosp shd be chosen for giving the instr in monthly nursing and instructing the ignorant mothers on the proper care of themselves and their infants and then how the hosp is to be taught how to teach these points. May I remind you of the little book (your own) you promised me? Want to study it. Anxious to propose to her getting a course of lectures for all the nurses on hygiene, want to instruct myself first on monthly work, Wd hosp wh instructed your St T. nurse instruct ours? One of my difficulties is likely to e that Mrs Leonard has a brother who is at one of these lying-in hosps and who prob thinks their system perfect! Public opinion in England needs influencing. After leaving Claydon I was staying with a country vicar and his wife, and spoke of, she thought any old woman can do that.

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff286-88; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand Nov 6/91} black-edged paper

**f286**

Nov 6/91  
Claydon House,  
Winslow,  
Bucks. [printed address]

Dearest Mrs Hawthorn

I was so glad & thankful  
to hear of Miss Isabella  
Hawthorn arriving safe.  
Will you give her my  
love & sympathy?

Your Mothers' Meetings [8:401-02]  
will be most useful. But,  
alas! the book you ask  
for does not exist, nor  
the Lectures. Useful hints  
are to be found in all, &  
bad mistakes in science  
& worse in practice -  
in all.

"The making of the Home"  
by Mrs. Barnett. Cassell 1/6

**f286v**

is one of these - most useful  
to *you* - mischievous in  
some parts if read to the  
poor mother. [E.g. the  
logical statement in figures that  
Cocoa is as nutritious as  
Beef. One can only say:  
*It is not.*]

Mrs. Buckton's "Health in  
the Home" is another -  
The first 22 pages of  
Osborn's Lectures on Home  
Nursing and Hygiene

Lewis 136 Gower St.  
are recommended.

I do not know the book.  
As for books on the health of  
poor mothers before & after

**f287**

lying-in, the book exists  
still less. It has still to  
be written.  
I will send you my little book  
on Lying-in Institutions as  
soon as I get home. But  
it is not at all what you  
require. It is simply on the  
causes of mortality of those  
Insns., with a sketch of  
what the administration of  
a school for midwives might  
be.

The York Road, Lambeth Lying in Hospl.  
has a very small book (for  
themselves) on mothers and infants,  
which I think is very good  
as far as it goes. It is the  
only one I know. I would  
send you mine, were I at home.  
It can be got at the Hospital  
for 1/ or 2/6

**f287v**

I am sure that it will do the greatest possible  
good your taking up  
this most important,  
most neglected subject,  
- the care & health of mothers  
before & after lying-in-  
- the health of infants  
after birth.

*There is a science and  
practice for you, dear  
friend, to create. For  
created it must be.*

I am afraid it is  
not only difficult but  
impossible to find a  
Lying-in Hospl. which

**f288**

[2]

teaches them. You will  
have to create that too.  
You will see. The  
world is awakening.  
It will all come; and  
through you.

I seem to have a great deal  
more to say. And I  
expected to be in South  
St. long before this. But  
County Council swarms  
here. And we are kept  
hard at work.

~~We have arranged a~~

I am interrupted but will  
finish this another day  
God bless you: ever yours  
F. Nightingale

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f289; pen; handschrift of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 6/11/91} black-edged env, stamped, cancelled  
Bletchley Station

f289 {Written in pencil and another hand in top left corner is: "Lying-in-  
Hospital"}

Mrs. Hawthorn  
2 Argyll Road  
Kensington  
6/11/91 London S.W.

Ff290-94 11 Nov [1891] Hawthorn letter to FN thanks for letter and book names,  
re Mrs Leonard; re cleaning, filthy condition

ff295-96 Hawthorne letter to FN 29 April 1892, marked by FN: Please return to  
F.N., Mrs Jelfe-Leonard head of nursing society where Hawthorne is, anxious to  
see FN to explain about her nurses having taken up the outpatient lying-in cases  
for St T, she wants FN approbation, willing to take advice. FN note: Please  
return to F.N.

{Add Mss 45776; letter; f297; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand April 30/92}

**f297**

10 South St. W. April 30/92

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

So glad to see your  
hand again. Yes,  
certainly, let me fix a  
day convenient to you,  
next week.

I have been thinking of  
the Ranyard Nurses, *your*  
Nurses I shall call  
them -and making enquiries  
- but I can't find one  
place to teach [blue] *good*  
*Sanitary* MONTHLY Nursing  
for the ~~sick~~ lying-in poor. I want

**f297v**

to talk it all over  
with you.

Sir Harry is very  
dangerously ill

God bless you  
ever yours  
F.N.

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f298; pen; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 30/4/92}

**f298** [Written in pencil and another hand in top left corner is:]

sanitary  
monthly  
nursing

Mrs. Hawthorn

2 Argyll Road

30/4/92 Kensington

W.

{Add Mss 45776; letter; f299; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand May 19/92}

**f299**

Mrs Hawthorn                      May 19/92

Senior Obstetric Clerk 3 mo x then  
House Physician                      3 mo  
Nurses at the beck and call of such  
"men as this - Students  
under whom are they?  
What skilled Superintendts?  
none from the Hospital  
Pyæmia. no Statistics  
Washing babies. Feeding babies  
Bedding

x Dr Cullingworth nothing to do with  
midwv except lecturing

ff300-01 27 May [1892] Hawthorn letter to FN re inspector's report, Mrs Leonard,  
re Bible women, but they are not

{Add Mss 45776; letter; ff302-04; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale;  
dated in same hand May 30/92} **[8:402]**

**f302**

10 South St    May 30/92

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

I am so glad that you  
have found errors in the  
paper you have returned  
me. And I will take  
care that those who lent  
it to me shall become  
aware of those errors.

I have not yet seen  
any Rules for the Nurses  
who are now to attend  
on the Out Patient Lying in  
cases of St. Thomas', tho' the  
Treasurer was to send me



**f302v**

some. I fancy there are  
none, for all he has  
sent me is a well-  
drawn up Record Form  
of each Patient's condition  
from day to day to be filled up by the Nurse

From this it would  
appear ~~that~~ as if only  
*Disease* - cases after child  
birth are to be taken -  
which is not strictly  
speaking Monthly Nursing.

Since I saw you I  
have seen & had long  
talks with several high

**f303**

authorities - one of who I am  
sure trains her own  
District Nurses splendidly in  
Monthly Nursing of the poor.

But all agree that  
there is no place where  
monthly, that is Sanitary  
Nursing of the mother &  
infant in *ordinary* child-  
=birth can be learnt  
- least of all from Midwives

Yet that there is no  
training for Midwives *wanted*,  
other than what there is they  
say-all-

In other words:

**f303v**

Training is sufficient,  
because it is *not*.

I would fain talk it  
all over with you  
again. It's you  
who will have *to do it*,  
my dear friend, I know  
quite well.  
I had such a heavy bag  
to get ready for India  
last week. And this  
week again is heavy.  
But I live in hopes of  
seeing you again ~~so~~ soon

**f304**

[2]

Frederick Verney's boat  
lands him at Marseilles  
on Wednesday. And  
his wife started off  
this morning from  
London to meet him  
there.

I am so glad you like  
my sister's book, & that  
Sir Harry sent it to you. He  
has such a great feeling  
for you.

God speed all your work -  
ever yours

F. Nightingale

Excuse pencil

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f305; pen; handscrip of Florence Nightingale; dated  
at lower left side in same hand 30/5/92}

**f305**

[Written in pencil and another hand in top left corner is:]

Training - Midwifery  
Nurses

Mrs. Hawthorn  
2 Argyll Road  
Kensington

30/5/92

**W**

{Add Mss 45776; letter; f306; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand July 27/92} black-edged paper

**f306**

10 South St. July 27/92

Dearest Mrs. Hawthorn

I have thought of you  
daily - almost hourly -  
I have taken all sorts of  
opportunities to learn  
where Maternity Nursing  
for the poor is taught,  
either in books or by the  
bed-side - I can find  
little or nothing to the purpose  
in either. It is taught  
by the Edinburg and Bloomsbury  
Supt. out of their own  
untutored experiences.

We have had sad anxieties

**f306v**

& strains - & I never felt  
that I had information  
enough to be worthy of you.

But now I am afraid  
that you will be going  
away without my having  
the happiness of seeing  
you & hearing of your  
good-works.

Could you fix some  
afternoon - not to morrow -  
to give me that happiness?

God bless you

ever yours

F. Nightingale

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f307; pencil; manuscript of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 27/7/92}

**f307** [Written in pencil and another hand at top right is:] "wait"

[Written in pencil and another hand at top left corner is:]

Lying in Schools

Mrs. Hawthorn

2 Argyll Road

Campden Hill

27/7/92 Kensington

W

{Add Mss 45776; envelope; f308; pencil; handscrip of Florence Nightingale; dated at lower left side in same hand 1/8/92}

**f308**

*To enquire after Miss Hawthorn*

[Written in pencil and another hand beneath this is:]

~~Des~~

[not FN: refers to Mrs Craven [rude to district nursing]

Mrs. Hawthorn

2 Argyll Road

Kensington

1/8/92 {Written in another hand here is: "Destroyed"}

f309 12 Feb [1892] Hawthorn to FN re Mrs George Verney, wants to see FN re district nursing

f310-11 17 Feb [1893-94] Hawthorn to FN great pleasure to see her, but nought not to be worried with details of Netley nurses work

ff312-15 Hawthorn letter to FN from Hotel Marini Rome re saw Miss Turton, Italian nursing. Saw Miss Turton, was to go today to Clinica Medico San Spirito but cold, Turton has not seen FN. She is very prepossessing, ladylike and gentle in her manner, I shd think full of enth for her work. Struck by her wisdom, necessity of conciliating not only the Italian doctors but the nuns who now nurse in the hosps and all the Italian prejudices concerning nursing and the nuns' rights and privileges. She has prob told you that she expects to leave S Spirito immed to begin work at a dispensary wh is being est here and she will have expl all the possibilities wh she thinks may come fro it. Her work seems to be exceedingly difficult for I gather that the majority of the doctors are quite satisfied with the nuns and their untrained subordinates and that those who are not seem to prefer training their Italian nurses in their own way. Hope her patience and courage will win success in the end. Encouraged to perseverance because Miss N has believed in me. Well fitted to deal with probs and nurses, don't know if sufficiently trained to be really fit to be a matron over trained nurses, but attractive and interesting... Rome is much altered during the last 17 years and the changes since you knew in 1849. Large blocks of tall houses,

ff316-20 18 March [1895?] Hawthorn letter to FN from Hotel Marini Rome. Miss Turton took her to Sancto Spirito Hosp on Sat showed her her letter, saw her with nuns there, if saw there wd not criticize her resigning, poor old nuns and cheerful young English, describes hosp.

ff321-24 Frascati 25 March [1895] to FN kind of her to write, re Turton

ff325-26 14 Nov [1896] Eastbourne thanks for her letter (missing), all well at funeral on the 6th esp at the ? Where vicar read the conc service, but service in church disappointing, cold unfinished bldg, clergyman stammered and gave feeling of doubt on assurances of immortality in 15 Cor. I am not quite clear about Miss Irby, is she matron at St T? Re CD cases, is not ward at St T. closed? [who died?] My husband wishes me to thank you very much for yr kind

message. The rest and change have done him good. (Mrs Robert Hawthorn)

ff327-28; pencil; handschrift of Florence Nightingale; dated in same hand Xmas Day 1896}

**45776 f327**

M r s .                    H a w t h o r n                    X m a s                    D a y

[12:494]

1896

I never hear anything  
against the *Nursing* of  
Private nurses - but  
against the women i do  
and I have seen the  
most horrible vulgarity -  
making fun about the  
misbehaviour of students  
(Medical) and Doctors and  
Nurses.

And I have known  
the most horrible cases  
of brutality and cruelty

see 2

Co-op Nurses - making £100 a  
year. One gentleman whom she

{The rest of this folio is written vertically on the right hand margin:}

besides her fee S. Florence

{a drawn box separates this first line from the second}

had only been 10 days with, gave her £20

**f328v**

[2]

from Private Nurses to  
Patients when they had  
them completely in their  
own power away  
from home without any  
supervision.

In one case a Masseuse  
went and told a relative  
- finding out her address  
with great difficulty -

o f            w h a t            s h e            h a d            s e e n            d o n e

**[end 12:494]**

Add Mss 45777, microfilm, incoming letters, unless otherwise indicated, are from Sir John Lawrence; excerpts and notes of incoming letters are rough and approximate problem EEN

ff1-2, J. Lawrence to FN, Southgate N., August 11, 1862, how to improve soldiers' conditions in India I have the pleasure to return the paper recd with your note of the 9th. I have made some remarks on it, as you will see. Of the sad condition in some respects of our English soldiers in India, there can be no illeg doubt the great difficulty is to devise a real remedy, and secure that remedy being carried out The general habits of the men, their mode of life and in particular the way the majority of them think are th main causes of disease and death. I fear that until you can induce the officers to interest themselves more generally in the condition of the soldiers until they as a body, bring their influence to bear, any secondary measures will more or less fail. Restrictive measures engender discontent. Men rebel against them, and evade or even defy them. Even the officers themselves will not enforce them. Moral influences seem to me alone to have a chance of success.

I am about to leave home for a time in Scotland. I think I shall leave on Friday morning, If I can be of any use up to that time, or after my return, wh will be in the middle of Sept, pray do not hesitate to let me know.

ff3-4, India Office, Westminster, undated, barrack plans. I have delayed answering your letter of the 2nd in the hope that I mt be able to lay hold of some officer who had been in India and his draughtsman enough to make a sketch of the interior of a large barrack. Both have been disappointed. I now send you the ground plan and elevation of one of these barracks, which I have borrowed from this office, and which I have promised shall be returned. Possibly you may be able to have a drawing made from this doc. I will however endeavour to be on the look out for some one who is able to do what you require, and in the meantime, if you can wait, will write to India for what is wanted.

Since I saw your paper on san affairs in India, I have been thinking a good deal over the subject. I have also had an opportunity of reading the printed report of the commission wh in India costs 7 illeg wh was drawn up after the members? Printed Mean Meer and the other stations in India after the outbreak of cholera in 1861. It strikes me that it is not so much the quantity of food wh the men are allowed by GN for in point of fact as a rule they consume more than their allotment, but the quantity of meat wh they receive and illeg all wh they eat in the hot weather and rains, which is deleterious. I think therefore that portion of paper mt perhaps be revised with advantage. Illeg endeavour as far as practicable to vary the diet, so as to adopt it to the different seasons of the year. A man who is taking hard exercise and out in the open air the greater part of the day will injest with impunity an amount of meat where in the hot weather, where he is he is nearly altogether confined to the barrack room, engenders bile and renders him susceptible of disease. But after all it is the excessive use of liquor which is the poor soldier's illeg. Their habits in the most temperate climates sooner or later destroy health and make them prematurely weak, but in hot countries such habits operate with tenfold powers in sowing the seeds of disease and death. Sincerely yours John Lawrence



ff5-5v, pencil, too faint to read, JS rough hand

ff6-7, October 15, 1862, embossed, letter from IO re Sanitary report from India. Only one copy of the san report has arrived from India at present, and this copy Sir Charles Wood is now reading, I do not like therefore to ask to be allowed to send it to you; more esp as a number of copies may be soon expected here. I will endeavour to procure one of them for you I expect to receive punctually by the Southampton.

Mail a copy f Dr Hathaway's report to the Punjab governor on san matters. He is the inspector of prisons in the Punjab and is a very able and experienced officer, who possesses immense zeal and energy. If you like, I will send you his report after running my eye over it, and marking what strikes me as the most valuable points.

Since last month I have heard that there is in the present International Exhibition a model of one of the barracks in India. I have not seen it, but I will try to do so; if anything strike me worthy of notice, I will write again.

ff8-9, Southgate House, November 18, 1862, sanitary improvements in the Punjab. I send you by this day's post Dr Hathaway's report on the state of san arrs in the Punjab. I know no man who has given more attention to the subject or has worked better to carry out the reformation he has considered necessary. It was mainly by his good mgt and the excellence of the system he introduced into the Punjab jails that they have been almost entirely free from cholera, while our cantonents have so greatly suffered.

I shall b e most pleased to receive a copy of your report, wh I am sure will prove of real value. I hope that your health is better.

unsigned, incomplete letter, ff10-12, pen

# f10

{printed address:} 32, South Street,  
Grosvenor Square. W.

My dear Sir John Lawrence

I h a v e k e p t y o u r

[9:196]

Punjab Report an  
unwarrantable time.

I thank you very  
much for it.

It shews two things:

1. that it is impossible  
to exaggerate the  
sanitary defects of  
Indian stations
2. that Indian Medl

**f10v**

Officers (if this  
Report fairly  
represents their  
intelligence on such  
subjects) are the  
best possible agents  
for increasing the  
high Death rate of  
the Indian Army.

Any thing more  
hopeless than the  
infinite hiatus  
between the mischief  
described & the

**f11**

remedies recommended  
I have never seen.  
[It is greater than that  
in the Crimea,] The  
point where  
Sanitary engineering  
touches Medical  
disclosures is  
entirely missed.

**[end 9:196]**

Please look at  
e.g. Paras 25/9, 60  
153, 433

W h a t

h a s

p r o d u c e d

**[9:196-97]**

endless choleras in  
Europe, in temperate  
climates, what  
killed Lord Raglan

**f11v**

in the Crimea, what  
is the curse of India  
they advocate

Men like Mackinnon,  
Green, Gordon, Chevers  
all good men  
advocate what we  
know to be pestilence  
& death.

The Medical Officers  
have proved themselves  
quite & entirely able  
to point out the evils.  
But they have no  
more clue to the  
remedies than my

**f12**

cats have (who, by  
the way, advocate  
just the same system  
of dry drainage  
only they cover it up  
which the Indian  
Doctors don't propose  
to do - at least not  
for Natives) [end 9:197]

f13, December 11, 1862. Embossed India Office. The name of the officer is Eames illeg and but that the poor man is dead, he deserves to be tried by courtmartial for his vile writing. I hope that your health is better. Sincerely yours, John Lawrence

ff14-15v, April 13, 1863, Barrack design, IO. I had hoped to have answered your note of the 6th before this, but Sir Charles Wood has been out of India and until his return I cd say nothing definite on the matter. He is still absent and not expected before Friday next, but I do not like delaying any longer. I will write again when I have had the opportunity of speaking to him on the matter.

I certainly think that it wd be well to have plans from such an architect as you describe Mr T.W. Wyatt to be. This might be done without interfering in any way with the plan of the Bombay Govt.

I am very sorry indeed to hear so sad an account of your health. It must indeed be no easy task for you to work under such circs. I shall be very glad when the San report of the commission comes out, so that what changes are necessary may be at once adopted. Many days delay is an evil as buildings go on being constructed in the old style. There are now barracks in India for full 25,000 men under consideration and many are currently required.

ff16-16v, undated, plans for Hospitals IO. [22 April 1863 arch] I showed your letter regarding the plans for hospitals for Ladies in the Bombay Presidency to

Sir Charles Wood, who promised to take the matter into consideration. I think that he will consult Lord Stanley and it wd be well if you can manage to enlist his lordship in your views and wishes. I suggested that Mr Wyatt shd be called on for a plan as you proposed, but I am not sanguine that my recommendation will be carried out unless supported in more influential quarters.

undated & unsigned letter draft, f17, pen JS hand

**f17**

A few days ago a remarkably stupid advertisement appeared in the times asking every body to send in plans for a Civil Hospital at Bombay, without any information such as would enable any living being to make a plan, & stating that the local authorities, plus the Railway authorities were to be judges of excellence. The whole thing was so absurd, & it was besides such a reenacting in India of what we have given up here that I made an effort to prevent mischief as far as I could. I am told that Sir G. Wo. will probably consult you ~~he~~ about it. Some time ago we recommended Mr. T.H. Wyatt for architect for Civil Hospital at Malta & he produced with our aid one of the very best plans in existence. The best way would be to put the matter into his hands. He has shewn great ability & any help we could give him would be entirely given merely for the good of helping.

ff18-19, July 8, 1863, re Sanitary reforms, IO. I will read over all the papers on san reform which you have so kindly sent me and give them my best consideration. Little will really depend on my views on this or any other question. But I shall be glad to support your views and wishes as far as may be practicable.

I rather incline to think that for India it will be better to have special commission for India, but to have on the comn some of the War Office commissioners.

I think that some of the medical officers in India would be found fully alive to all questions of san reform. I do not know an able man on the subject better than Dr Hathaway the present insp of illeg in the Punjab...If I can be of any use to you in any way, I hope that you will not hesitate to say so.

undated & unsigned letter draft, ff20-20v, pen JS hand

**f20**

**[9:438]**

As regards the home commission, either plan proposed in the report would do. the commission could only deal with questions positively laid before it by the Indian Government, and it could give no more than its opinion. The War Office

**[end 9:438]**

commission does so: & the French who are good judges of administrative methods have adopted the same consultative system in their Comité d'Hygiène which simply receives & ~~illeg~~ answers questions for the information of the Minister. A competent commission attached to the Indian Government here could easily do this, or the War Office Commission, which deals with all tropical as well as home stations would answer equally well with the Sir Proby Cautley & Martin added to it together with Mr. Rawlinson of the local government act office.

You will no doubt decide which plan would best suit you.

**[9:438]**

In my last letter I ventured to give a few names of Medical Officers who might serve advantageously on the Indian Presidency Health Commission. The names were all those of Indian officers whose reports & other works shew them to possess the species of practical advising talent suitable for the purpose.

**[end 9:438]**

I had read Dr Hathaways report, but the impression produced by it is of a different kind. He is a good observer, describes truly, & is courageous. He is one of a class of men of which there are ~~illeg~~ /many in the British army Medical service, and such reports as his, if sent to headquarters would afford valuable data on which to found proceedings. He would in truth make an excellent officer of health to attach to the Indian Presidency Commission. ~~Where He is deficient~~ ~~illeg~~ in a much more rare talent, ~~and we really should not by long experience of~~ ~~illeg~~ ~~by that,~~ namely the choice of remedies for evils. His report contains principles on this point at variance with sound practice, & ~~if acces~~ even in the colder climate of England. ~~He advocates as a principle~~ and which if applied to India would leave matters there much as they are, in certain important

**f20v**

points ~~where~~ whose reform is urgently wanted.

It struck me therefore that although ~~Dr. WLD~~ Dr. Hathaway ~~would~~ might do very well for Health officer whose duty it is to enquire & report. He had not so far mastered his subject as to be able to propose remedies. But he is not singular in this. The evidence taken before the commission shews instances of similar talent for acute observation unaccompanied with perception of remedies. The two talents are different. I have not a whisper to utter against Dr. Hathaway. I only state the reasons why out of all the men whose reports I have read, I selected certain names as the best for advising purposes on the Presidency Commission. and I did this because it is of great importance to select agents suitable for the exact work they have to do, and I had had ~~perhaps~~ good opportunity of knowing the men because I had read all the reports & afterwards made enquiries about the men who appeared best suited from their manner of handling the questions.

ff21-22, July 11, 1863, re nomination of Commissioners in India. I recd your note of the 10th too late to answer it at once. In mentioning Dr Hathaway I had no desire of seeking employment for him. Shd he return to India wh is doubtful he will only be too glad to take up his own appt.

As regards the comm at home, I think the only fear has been for Lord Stanley to move Sir Ch Wood to action--one word from the former will have more effect than anything I cd say. Indeed to do the latter justice, I do not think that he will be illeg in the matter. As regards the nom of commissioners in India, I think that the general opinion will be that they shd be nom by the local govt out there. I am sending the san reports as fast as I can manage to do so.

ff23-23v, July 22, 1863, re Barrack construction IO. I have had the pleasure to receive your letters of the 20th and 22nd. I think you must give Sir Ch Wood himself credit for whatever he has done.

As regards all questions of barracks drainage and the like coming home for consideration before being finally decided on, I suggest that you rest for a few days until he has gotten rid of his financial budget. He will then have time to take up these points, wh he has not now.

ff25-26v, October 22, 1863, Yours of the 2nd (missing) has been on my table some days. I do not know why there was so much delay in advising your committee of Sir P Cautley and Sir R Martin's apptmt for it was decided on some weeks ago. Both the councilors have nothing to do with the issue of letters or orders. By the term "unofficial" I understand is meant that these officers receive no salary for their work; in all other respects they are just as if they were official members. But whether the one or the other the weight which will be given to their opinions on any matter risk be precisely the same.

Instructions here gone out to India to form local committees and for these committees to draw up rules. Wd it not be well for your com to wait until these rules are sent home for consideration?....

PS I am quite sure that whether Sir Cautley agrees to in your com, he will

advocate on the council. But while this council will no doubt receive the recs of the WO Com with every consideration, still you must be prepared for the councilors judging for themselves in each case. JS pencil comments

ff27-27v, November 11, 1863 IO Westminster. I had left office before your note of yesterday arrived. As regards the Cholera Commission Report, only two copies have come home. One has been sent to Lord de Grey and the other is with Sir Charles Wood. I am therefore unable to procure you a copy.

I had a copy of Mr Strachey's paper, but cannot find it. My impression is that I sent it to about the same time that I sent you Dr Hathaway's report, but I am not certain.

f28, November 20, 1863, IO Westminster. Here is the report wh I have otherwise with some little difficulty. Kindly sent it back in a couple of days.

I do not require Dr Hathaway's report, if of any use to you.

ff29-29v, November 28, 1863 IO Westminster, I have only just ascertained that the copy of the report of the San Com was sent around the Cape and not overland. Hence the delay. It was ordered that a certain number of copies have to go overland else... illegs some ordered off.

ff30-31, December 3, 1863. Printed Southgate House, Southgate. Many thanks for your very kind note of the 1st. I only wish that I may be able to do one tithe as well as my good friends anticipate. I understand from Sir HV that you wish to see me before I leave England, wh will be on Wed the 9th instant. I will endeavour therefore to call tomorrow evening between 4 and 5, and if you are able to see me well and good, if not your tenant can say so.

ff31-32, Calcutta, February 5, 1864; I write a line to say that we have commenced work by establishing the san coms for Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. They are composed of 5 members, a civilian is at their head, and a medical officer as secretary.

I hope that you will expedite the transmission to India of the codes and rules and plans which have been approved of for home and the colonies. We shall then have an idea in a practical shape of the main features of the san system, and can readily adapt it to the peculiar circumstances of the country. Without such a guide, we shall often be perhaps working in direct opposition to your views. When we differ, it will become our duty to set forth the grounds for so doing, in sending our plans and reports home.

Pray excuse this hurried scrawl and believe me, sincerely yours

ff33-34v, Simlah, May 6, 1864. I have had the pleasure of receiving both your letters of the 26th inst as well as a blue book on the barracks in the Med stations. I have no doubt that we shall gain some wrinkles from the latter work. But our great news is your standard plans and rules, without which we are quite at sea, and so far from doing better than formerly shall be in danger of doing worse. As it is now, the reconstruction of some of the worst barracks are at a standstill, until we get these illeg.

On my very up illegs I have visited the following military stations and gone over the barracks with the comg officers, Allahabad, Coumgoon, Meruth illeg, Amhala and illeg. I went also up to Missorie, but did not see the depth at the

adjacent stations. Of and illeg consequent on a sudden attack of illness. I perceive a considerable improvement in many things, particularly in the soldiers libraries. Sir Hugh Rose has done a great deal lately to bring workshops into fashion, and the results so far as I can judge from a late Genl order, are satisfactory.

He has also issued a g o reducing the amount of spirits wh a soldier can have one half. I will do all I can to help the soldiers, but after all, the great point is that he shall learn to help himself.

ff35-36, June 12, 1864. Simlah. It was truly kind of you to write and give me so nice aa account of my children at Southgate; it was indeed a very pleasant one, and brought them all most directly back to my memory. I am sure that they are all happier and better in that comfortable old house, and English home than out here, and I often think how wrong it will be to bring any of them out to India. I only wish that I could persuade my wife of this, and induce her to remain with them.

What an exciting time most of G Anfield's [?] visit to England has been. He is indeed a noble fellow and fully worthy of all illeg. I only trust that he will be persuaded to keep quiet and bide his time - a good day for his country if the people only deserve it, must surely come.

I am doing what I can to put things in order out her, but it is a very uphill work, and many influences here to be managed and overcome. I often think of the last visit I paid you before leaving England an of your conversation in that illeg You will recollect now much I admit in the difficulties which not one on every side. These have been exemplified in a way I cd scarcely understand or anticipate, by the good folks of England really believing that I had sanctioned an attack on the religion of the Hindoos, because I desired to improve the health of the people in Calcutta!

ff37-38, September 19, 1864. Simlah. Your letter of the 9th August only arrived on the 15th and I instantly set to Dr Fengaler my medical attendant a well known able and experienced officer to collect all the info he could, so that I mt send it to you today by the express. This I now do, and you will see that however distressing are these boils they are scarcely ever fatal. Indeed it is clear to me that their boil effects have been much exaggerated.

The fear is that Delhy is not a place which our officers and men much like as a station, and hence it is more abused than it need be. I lived in Delhy for full five years, one of which there I spent inside the city, and I never had a boil, nor do I recollect ever seeing any body with one. There is no doubt illeg that boils have been present since the mutiny but I believe that they will become less so and perhaps all go away. Delhi has not had fair play. In consequence of one thing or the other, but mainly perhaps in conseq of the serious efforts wh have been made to get rid of it as a station for English troops. The bldgs here not progressed with sufficient capacity and a portion of those troops have been kept in old bldgs, good however of their kind and in which in some cases the civilians used to live. One of these bldgs was the Govt College; another is an old mosque, in which however I hear that the men were very healthy. But almost a year ago Lord Elgin decided that Delhi shd be retained as a station for Br troops, and since then the works have been pushed on.

It wd not do in my judgment to give up Delhi and take away our English



soldiers, Delhi is a great political and strategical position. It is a city of 200,000 people - the possession of which has a mighty influence on men's minds in this country. The bridge now bldg over the Jumma is under the water. The terminal station of the great railway from Calcutta will run through it. We cannot give it up, and to hold it with a moderate force, it is necessary to hold the Palace, wh is a kind of citadel commg the town. By this arr, in times of commotion, two thirds the force is available for service in the field; half the force in times of success [?] might illeg be removed.

I am as anxious to see the English soldier when I can do so, as any men living. But thee is even a greater object than this to be borne in mind, viz, to keep the peace, to prevent disturbances, and convulsions. One year's campaigning in this climate wd kill more of them, break down more of them, than 10 years residence in Delhy wd do, during the Mutiny it was the climate and exposure which destroyed our soldiers, and half the deaths and invaliding during the illeg two years arise from the same cause.

ff39-46v, a copy of a Report on the Medical History of Delhi. The medical his of Delhi has always attracted more or less attention.

Before 1857 there were from classes of the pop each of wh had a different san condition than this. And there was the mil pop of the old cantonment of Delhi, wh was about three miles to the north west of the city, and hid from it by a rising ground. The well-known ridge occupied by one army during the siege. Three native infy regs and a battery of native artillery occupied a flat piece of ground on the northwest side of this ridge.... includes figures

unsigned letter draft, f47, pen JS hand

**f47**

Sir J.L. State that you have heard some things about Calcutta which he ought to be informed of. Namely the state of hospital accommodation for sick poor at Calcutta. The police establishments appear to be about as bad as possible: ~~the poor~~ and all the arrangements very defective. Indeed it appears the poor wretches are brought in mostly to die, or when moribund. The ~~pre~~ Parisian system of relief would apparently be useful, ~~in~~ every police station has means of temporary succour in cases of emergency until the sufferers can be removed to hospital. Some such arrangement, with a thorough reform of the hospitals and such additional accommodation as may be required would apparently meet the Calcutta case. I have also seen statements commenting rather strongly into condition of jails and lunatic asylums in India. There are I believe jail inspectors, but certain reports & recommendations I have seen would appear to indicate that in some quarters additional experience is required. We shall send out all reports bearing on the subject which may be useful. Can nothing be done for the seamen at the great ports? It appears that a vast amount of disease and loss of life arises from bad water, bad food bought in bazars, & bad drinks. Would it not be practicable to establish ~~a water~~ self supporting institutions such as our Sailors homes where men could get wholesome food & beverages & where they could have lodging & day rooms at little cost. It is sad to see so many men perish for the want of this kind of accommodation at Calcutta where the evils appear to be greatest.

unsigned letter draft, ff47v-8v, pen JS hand

**f47v**

D. Walker

We have read over the minutes of your commission with very  
[9:495-96]

great interest, and what is of more consequence, with a sure hope that you are laying a solid foundation for the work before you. By this time you will have received and considered the suggestions sent out from the Barrack and Hospital improvement commission. Their views are so nearly in accordance with yours that there is no doubt ~~filleg~~/ you will be able to frame plans for barracks & hospitals every way adapted for Indian climates. The antecedent improvements so to speak of stations, namely their drainage and water supply you will next have an opportunity of considering. The suggestions contain all the points in regard to these which it is necessary to send you, and out of them you will be able to draw up a general scheme of improvement. It has occurred to me whether it would not be advisable to select a station for improvement and to complete it in every thing - drainage, water supply, Buildings & Police & then you would see how the whole would work. Since the suggestions were in hand some of the details recommended, namely pipe drains, constant water supply, Jennings's latrines & ablution arrangements, ~~have~~ also improved cook houses & cooking apparatus have been introduced at ~~un~~ one or two warm climate stations with complete success.

We shall be anxious to learn that they have been similarly successful in India.

**f48**

You will find nothing in the suggestions in regard to the improvement of existing barracks [end 9:496] except what may be arrived at by considering the General principles laid down ~~by the~~ for building new structures. If you ever should want any further help I am sure it would be willingly granted. [9:496] A great part of the time of the Commission here is taken up with the improvement of existing barracks & hospitals

both at home and in foreign stations, and any points of difficulty they could help you with. Generally their first improvement is in the ventilation of barrack rooms & wards because this is most easily & cheaply carried out, & probably you would find it the best end to begin with. ~~next~~ Next they take water supply & drainage & then additional accommodation for troops & sick.

There is one point in your minutes ~~the~~ which demands very serious attention. It would appear that many poor wretches ~~ch~~ ~~be~~ are found dead or moribund in the streets, & that the Police Hospital accommodation is simply abominable. Could not this be remedied to some extent by adopting some such organization as exists at Paris whereby the different Police stations are enabled to supply medical aid, conveyance & even room for ~~any~~ sudden emergencies until the sufferers can be removed to hospital. This would apparently be an effectual solution for the existing difficulties. we must collect & send to you all the information we can get about Lunatic asylums & Prisons, for it is quite clear that you are considerably behind both in doctrine & practice the small island of Malta not to speak of England.

**[end 9:496]**

We are grieved to hear of your illness & of that of Mr. Strachey. It is a ~~full~~ pity you did not take the unhealthy season for up country inspecting work. I hope ~~the~~ your illness has subsided & that during the ensuing winter you may gain strength, but the experiment is too dangerous to be repeated. Do not give too much heed to disinfectant speculators

**f48v**

Stinks are a great blessing in the economy of the universe, & every body who knows about the matter will wish their existence until the cause is removed.

typed copy of signed letter, ff49-53, original FN Museum, black-edged paper

**f49**

*COPY*

32, South Street,  
Park Lane, London, W.

*Private* Sept. 26/64 **[9:212]**

My dear Sir John Lawrence,

I always feel it a kind of presumption in me to write to you -  
and a kind of wonder at your permitting it. I always feel that you  
are the greatest figure in history, and yours the greatest work in  
history, in modern times. But that is my very reason. We have but  
o n e S i r J o h n L a w r e n c e .

Your Bengal Sanitary Commission is doing its work, like men, -  
like martyrs, in fact. And what a work it is! All we have in  
Europe is mere child's play to it - Health is the produce of civil-  
ization - i.e. of real civilization. In Europe we have a kind of  
civilization to proceed upon. In India your work represents not  
only diminished Mortality, as with us, but increase of energy,  
increase of power, of the populations. I always feel as if God had  
said: mankind is to create mankind. In this sense, you are the  
greatest creator of mankind in modern history.

Your Bengal Commission must be the model of the other Presid-  
ency Sanitary Commissions. **[end 9:212]** I see that, on the Bombay one, is no  
Civil member. And so far as I know of its proceedings, it seems  
to direct its attention not so much to sanitary works as to matters  
of ordinary police. Now the main business of your Sanitary  
Commissions should be: construction, not police. Improvement in  
India mainly depends on works (police regulations are, of course,

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-2-

necessary).

2. Would there be any impropriety in your Sanitary Commissions sending copies of their printed Minutes to the Barrack and Hospital Improvement Commission here, through the India Office - merely for information? As far as your Bengal Commission goes: these men don't want urging; they have not now to be taught. Anything which might even appear to interfere with the responsibilities of your Commissions, unless at their own request, is not only undesirable, but, as far as the Bengal Commn. is concerned, useless. But if you saw no objection to sending the Minutes for information to the War Office Commission here, I am sure they would very much like it ... or, if that would be too formal and official, (as regards the India Office here) if they, the Minutes, might be sent to me, with permission to shew them to one or two, such as Lord Stanley, (our late Chairman of the Royal Commission), Dr. Sutherland, Capt. Galton, of the War Office, etc.) it would answer the same purpose.

The India Office here does not shew now the least jealousy of the Barrack and Hospital (War Office) Commission. On the contrary. One can scarcely help smiling at the small things it is glad to throw off its responsibility for upon said Commission.

3. There are three glaring (though lesser) evils in Calcutta about which I know you have been employed - lesser tho' they are - and your attention and Dr. Hathaway's have been aroused by them.

These are:

(1) the Police Hospitals (or state of Hospital accommodation)

**f51**

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for sick poor at Calcutta. The police establishments seem about as bad as possible. Indeed the poor wretches are brought in mostly to die.

The Parisian system of relief is very good:  
every Police

Station at Paris has means of temporary help in cases of emergency until the sufferers can be removed to hospital. Some such arrangement, with a thorough reform of the Hospitals, and such additional accommodation as may be wanted, might meet Calcutta's case.

(2) the condition of Jails and Lunatic Asylums in India. Certainly it is not for me to draw your attention or Dr. Hathaway's to this. Probably he knows more about them than any man living. The reports and recommendations of one or two of the Jail Inspectors shew that they want experience: as I am sure Dr.. Hathaway will agree with me.

Perhaps we might help you by sending out such Reports on the subject as may be useful.

(3) the seamen at the Great Ports.

You have already done so much. But Rome can't be built in a day.

Bad water, bad food bought in Bazaars, and bad drinks, cause a vast amount of disease and death.

Self-supporting Institutions, such as our Sailors' Homes, (of which indeed I believe you have already founded more than one) would give the men wholesome food and drink - and lodgings and day rooms at little cost.

**f52**

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So many men perish for want of this kind of accommodation at Calcutta, where the evil seems greatest.

It seems to me so base to be writing while you are doing. Oh that I could come out to Calcutta and organise at least the Hospital accommodation for the poor wretches in the streets. There is nothing I should like as much. But it is nonsense to wish for what is an impossibility.

I am sure that you will be glad to hear that one of my life-long wishes, viz., the nursing of Workhouse Infirmeries by proper Nurses, is about to be fulfilled. By the munificence of a Liverpool man, (who actually gives £1200 a year for the object, but desires not to be named) we undertake next month the Liverpool Workhouse Infirmary (of 1000 beds) - the first Workhouse that ever has been nursed - with 15 Head Nurses, trained by ourselves, and a lady (Volunteer) Matron, who underwent a most serious course of training at our Nurses School at St. Thomas' Hospital, 15 Assistants, and 52 ex-pauper women whom we are to train as Nurses.

I am sure it is not for us to talk of civilization. For I have seen, in our English Workhouse Infirmeries, neglect, cruelty, and malversation such as can scarcely be surpassed in semi-barbarous countries. And it was there that I felt I must found a school for Nurses for Workhouses, etc. The opportunity has come too late for me to do the Workhouse Nursing myself - But, so it is well done, we care not how.

I think with the greatest satisfaction upon your re-union with

**f53**

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Lady Lawrence and (some of) your children.

God bless you.

I am yours devotedly

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

P. S. The Calcutta Municipality does not seem yet to have {it says seen} wakened up to a sense of its existence. It does not know that it exists: Much less, what it exists for.

Still, you are conquering India {it is so misspelled} anew by civilization, taking possession of the Empire for the first time by knowledge instead of by the sword.

[end 9:212]

F.N.



unsigned letter draft, ff54-5v, pen JS hand

**f54**

*Sir J. Lawrence*

Thanks for the very interesting account of the  
D e l h i [ i l l e g r o w ? ] .

I have never hear it hinted in  
this country that Delhi should be given up  
as a Station on ~~this~~ account of the boils,  
but I shall now know after your letter  
how to answer any such proposal if  
it should happen to be made -

D. account of this disease is very interesting. It  
appears to be allied to the disease called  
Charbon which attacks people living in old  
rotten houses along the shores of the Mediterranean.

If the diseases are really allied, it would  
follow from the Mediterranean experience that  
sanitary improvements will abate it, namely  
removing all rotten used up houses where  
it exists, scraping the walls of all  
houses in which it shews itself & then giving  
them a thorough good quick lime washing three  
or four times a year, a replastering the walls  
& ceilings, efficient drainage & cleansing  
& good water, avoiding all overcrowding

**f55**

We have been waiting with much interest to  
see how you in India will provide for the  
execution of Sanitary works, and your ~~filleg~~  
proposal to act through new local authorities  
is a most important one, and will in time  
alter the whole face of India. Whether for  
good or for evil our English principle of  
calling on every one to help ~~themselves~~ / himself, and  
not to trust to Government for what ~~they~~/ he them-  
~~ves~~/f can do is now thrown broadcast over  
India. The principle presupposes knowledge  
which does not exist, but which can be  
found, & nothing would do more good under  
this new system then for the Sanitary  
Commissions to select the larger cities &  
towns for general inspection & report in  
order that the new municipal authorities  
may be able to know the plight their  
populations are in. Some such preliminary  
step will apparently be necessary. But as  
soon as ~~they be~~ the municipalities begin  
to act they will be quite certain to  
commit enormous blunders. The

**f55v**

enclosed paper written after reading over the Gazette will shew in which direction danger is to be apprehended, & the present principle on which apparently it may be met & warded off. You may make any use of this paper which in your opinion may help forward the good cause.

ff56-7v, Barrackpore, November 20, 1864. I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 18th illeg and am much obliged for your thoughtfulness, not only in sending the books, but in marking the places.

We are doing what we can to put the jails in Calcutta and Bengal in order. Bad as some of the former, undoubtedly there, the morality was moderate. In that for Europeans it has only averaged 1-195 per 1000, and in that at Ilapoor on the outskirts of Calcutta, a large jail, only 60 per 1000 among the natives for the year.

It is an uphill work reforming such places, while there is nothing like persistence.

I think that you will find that the mortality among the British soldiers is very much less of late years than has been supposed--they live well, almost too well, but they do not take care of themselves and the evil effects wh follow in a warm country like India are very much greater than in a cold one. I hope that your health is better.

I expect my wife and daughters within the next fortnight, which will be a great comfort to me, but a sad sacrifice to themselves.

typed copy of signed letter, ff58-61, original FN Museum, black-edged paper

**f58**

COPY

32, South Street,  
London, W.

Private Dec. 26/64 [9:214]

My dear Sir John Lawrence,

Thank you a thousand times for your great kindness in writing to me - you, whose hands and head are fuller than those of anyone on earth.

I rejoice to think that, by this time, Lady Lawrence and your daughters are with you, to take care of you - And I do not at all agree with you (nor, I am sure, do they) that it will be "a sad sacrifice to them." It is anything but a "sacrifice" to be with you. It must have been a great sacrifice to keep away.

There is only just time to write by this mail, to ask you a question - And, if it is an impertinent one, you must lay the impertinence entirely on me - I believe Lord Stanley is at this moment asking the same question of Sir Charles Wood -

Would you not think it well that papers, which involve sanitary principles of permanent importance ( and which involve also expenditure of money) - such as, e.g. Col Crommelin's paper on the Construction of Hospitals, dated Simlah, August 15, 1864, -

his former paper or similar things as to Barracks - many, perhaps all of the papers emanating from the most able and energetic Bengal Sanitary Commission - and still more, the papers of the less-skilled other Presidency Sanitary Commissions - should be sent home officially through Sir Charles Wood, to the home ("Barrack and Hospital Improvement") Commission?

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-2-

I should not like any request of this sort to be made by Lord Stanley to Sir C. Wood, (especially at my instigation) without your having cognisance of it.

My reasons are as follows for this request: -

Every body here who knows anything about the matter - knows that what is to be done (in Sanitary matters, as in many others) must be done in your time - that, but for you, but for your strong personal view of the importance of Sanitary measures, - the Sanitary Commissions would be - - - - nowhere - that Mr. Strachey, e.g. in spite of his great abilities, knowledge, and energy in these things, depends upon you for his support. - **[end 9:214]**

(( I have just now had a very kind note from Sir C. Wood, (*not* on this matter). His statesman-like experience no one can doubt. But his knowledge in our things is *nil*. He is continually blind-folded by the most superficial statements, because ignorant himself (in *these* matters). Yet his good-will is with us, entirely.))

For such things as the bond of connection between the Presidency

and Home Sanitary Commissions - it does not do to depend upon **[9:214]** the life of one person, the goodwill of another, upon etc., etc., They should be done, if at all, regularly, officially.

No undue control (by us upon you) *could* be entailed by a regular official, sending home of all such papers as I have described, before being sanctioned, to the home Sanitary Commission for revisal.

On the contrary, I believe, as so much of the control, in

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-3-

money matters, is vested in the *home* India Govt., we might materially assist you in obtaining authority for expenditure in these matters. -

Still more will this be the case, when present authorities and influence have changed hands. [end 9:214] [10:31]

I will not prolong this unreasonably long letter, because you, more than any man on earth, will know whether this proposition is feasible or desirable. I will not therefore waste your time in urging it.

I thankfully acknowledge the great progress, due entirely to you, made in sanitary matters for our soldiers in India. I acknowledge it publicly with all my (small) might. I deplore their own excesses which, in any climate, would bring their evil results. But even these you have materially diminished, by giving them manly employments and amusements -

But much remains to be done - especially all the draining and water supply works which are, in the want of them, as they were. All depends upon you -

Altho' there is no doubt that mortality has diminished, as it ought to have done, ( thanks to you!) - yet I do not lay the same stress, as some do, on temporary and local diminutions of Death rates. Numerical records, made for short periods, are usually in excess or in deficiency, as to sickness and mortality. so that no general law can be educed from them. From such a method Sierra Leone and all the stations on the West Coast of Africa, might be

f61

-4-

shewn to be amongst the healthiest place in our foreign possessions. And this kind of reasoning pervades the whole of Dr. Leith's Report, (which, I may mention by the way, has been submitted by Sir C. Wood to the Home (Sanitary) Commission.)

With my warmest Christmas greetings, and prayers that the invaluable life spent in "goodwill towards men" - may we not say, like, in it sown measure, to our Almighty Father's "good will"? - may be strengthened and long spared for a blessing to men, believe me, dear Sir John Lawrence, (in some trepidation at my audacity in writing to you) [end 10:32] yours ever most respectfully and gratefully

F L O R E N C E

N I G H T I N G A L E

ff62-63v, February 6, 1865. Barrackpoor. I think that in your letter of the 26th of Dec, you attribute a great deal too much in the way of san reform to me. I quite feel that I do not deserve these commendations, and that it is not honest in me accepting them in silence--all that I really do is to try to help you where I think that your plans and propositions are feasible.

Illeg things are more difficult to accomplish in India than real san improvements, and their expense is very large, and almost beyond our means, we

must therefore of necessity progress but slowly.

I am afraid you will consider me somewhat timid and perhaps even time serving, but I do not like to answer your question regarding the papers wh shd go to the san com at home.

ff64-65v, Calcutta, April 7, 1865 I have not answered your letter of the 18th of Jan before this, chiefly because that I wished to consult Mr Strachey. Since his return, he has been more or less ill, and illeg to much since that I decided to send him away. He and Dr Welber? Have gone illeg to Simlah where I shall be before long and we will then see what can be done.

We have very competent surveyors in India, men quite capable of executing such surveys as are required. But the difficulties are very great, very much beyond your conception. Very sorry! English is a bird of passage, some look to India as a home, all are anxious to get away as soon as may be practicable. This evil tendency has greatly increased of late years. The general idea is that "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof" in the worse sense. EEN take any real interest in his movements. The natives themselves are ignorant, illeg or even opposed to san improvement. They will rest exposed illeg in such matters. We have no easy lot in raising the necessary income to meet the public demands. Then the very reforms in themselves are difficult of execution and are very expensive. The water supply for Calcutta alone is estimated to cost 3/4 of a million, and tho Calcutta is the sickest place in India, the inhabitants grudge the expense, and I doubt much if they will consent to incur it. The city is under mun mgt, wh is defective and feeble in its character. But if one abolished it and put in a dictator, ten to one but the path everybody against the govt they would commence vituperation and illeg which reeks in England.

One of the greatest difficulties about water supply is the illeg of the country and the distance from gisers and springs with any need of water of our cantonments.

We will see what can be done however. I enclose an article on san matters in Calcutta wr by a gentleman who takes a real interest in them.

66

ff66-69, Simlah, July 24, 1865. Embossed Govt of India. I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 19th ult a few days ago. I enclose a copy of the general order to which you allude and have illeg some medical authorities regarding the illeg drinking clauses of the order of June 1864. No doubt it wd be much better if the men gave up their drinking altogether, nevertheless, it does a very great measure getting them to go with an order which cut away at once slice half of their usual allowance, gradually the authorities will be able to go further, and before long we may hope that their drinking will be given up. When however we reflect on what the Anglo Saxon is by nature, and what the English soldier by habit has become, we must be careful not to go too fast.

I asked Dr Eaygule my medical advisor to go over and talk to Dr Beatson the chief med authority with CMC on the subject, and here is what they say.

"DR B says he has consulted on the order about reducing the rations of spirits and that the two exeptional paragraphs were added because it was considered expedient and because on some peculiar occasions they might be useful."

"They have never yet been acted on except in the case, of the 55th Regt on its entering the Terei? At the foot of the Bhootan Hills last year. Then an extra half ration of grog and water was issued in the morning and in it there was just

a dose of quinine.

Now this is what the med me say, and I am sure you will feel that unless we can carry them with us there is little chance of doing much.

As regards what you say about putting the pres of the San com on a better footing, I will wait and see what my master the S of S says on the subject. It does not however strike me that the head of this com as at present constituted is at all disadvantageously placed. Sheckey and I are in constant commun indeed as much so as can be desirable. If you consent the apps into a secretaryship, what becomes of the com over which he presides?

San reform is really a question of money, and very little more. The object to improvements in this key. But illeg considerations stare us in the face at every turn. It does for instance illeg a question wh we shd go on as rapidly as the Med proposed in illeg structing the necessary accommodation in the shape of barracks for the English troops in India.

We will be glad to hear that the arrs for supplying Calcutta with good water decided on, the plans have been approved and the work will at once be commenced.

ff70-72, Calcutta, January 19, 1866 embossed Govt of India. Your note of the 18th ultimo with the paper is arrived today and put me in mind that "I had the letters of Tues in my drawer to answer. In the first place I beg to say that I have made over one to MJ Strachey. Curiously enough we here have been concocting a scheme for issuing some 8 or 10 medical men a little training in this very subject and then setting them to work in our different cantonments.

As regards the reconstruction of our san org, we are sending home to the S of S copy of Mr Ellis's note wh he sent me proposing a further change, somewhat in accordance with his plan. I have no doubt that you will see the despatch and therefore I had better just send it to you.

We propose that as regards the army, the pres of the com shall e a san comr with a sec, working thro the mil dept and that in all civil matters he shall be a deputy sec on the Home Dept. I incline to think that this scheme will answer very well, but after all, the main point is the motive force wh guides and impels the whole concern. If this prove defective, no system which can be devised will work satisfactorily.

And expects department of Health unconnected with any other would not I think answer. All they do wh in producing funds or in spending such funds, must go thro other depts, and as regards the troops, unless at the outset the san chief can carry the needs of the mil with him, nothing can be done.

We propose that in each province that the insp gens of Jails shd be the dept sec to Lt Gov and chief comr on san matters, and that in district the civil surgeon shd be the health officer. In this way we shall be able to organize a regular system all over India.

At a moderate cost, at any rate, we shall make a beginning. I hope therefore that you will be satisfied with the scheme.

Lord Palmerston no doubt is a great loss to his party, wh will have much difficulty in maintaining their position. How very death has been with them within the last few years.

I am very busy here trying to bring this miserable war in Bhootan to a satisfactory conclusion. The enemy are illeg. But the difficulties of the country are immense, all the adjacent lands are very malarious through wh the troops have to move. The mountains are little better and almost inaccessible,

while goods, and carriage here to be collected from great distances thro districts almost without roads. The public and the troops are anxious for peace and annexation and illeg ignorance or in defiance of circs urge on a forward movement. Illeg when disaster ensues they will be the first to break out in illeg.? So much for the happiness of holding a high position and trying to do ones duty!

unsigned letter draft, ff73-74, pencil rough JS hand

### f73

As it is of very great importance for ~~pr~~ a correct understanding of the Necessities of the Calcutta improvement question, could you in this trouble obtain for me the following ~~questions~~ information viz

1. The maximum depth of water flowing through the great outlet main sewer of Calcutta during the rainy season.
2. The minimum depth during the dry season taken all the same spot in the Sewer.

**f74** rough JS hand note re changing president

unsigned, undated letter draft, ff75-8, pen JS hand

**f75** {archivist: draft FN to Sir J. Lawrence May 3 1866

F N            t o            S i r            J .            L a w r e n c e            [ 1 9 / 1 / 6 6 ]  
**[9:551-54]**

I would have replied to your letter of - - - - long ago, only that I have been writing to see the dispatch in which you have defined the future organization of the Sanitary service in India. I have made enquiries repeatedly at the India Office and I can hear nothing about it, I shall delay no longer & shall state a few points arising out of your letter with the intention of writing perhaps more fully should it appear to be necessary to do do after I have seen the dispatch itself.

Of course you will distinctly understand in what I am about to say, that I can pretend to give no opinion whatever on the special organization required to suit the local circumstances of so vast a country as that which you rule over. You in India are far too well up to your work to submit to any interference in such matters. All I can do, and all I desire to do is to state very briefly



the objects we all have in view in organizing  
a new branch of the public service in India  
leaving it to your far wiser heads to point

**f75v**

out what ~~steps~~ administrative steps should be taken to secure that the contemplated objects should be realized.

At the time the report of the  
R o y a l C o m m i s s i o n  
was drawn up

the entire subject was so new that we were all of us indisposed to recommend any specific form of sanitary administration simply because such a course would have amounted to our passing a judgment on the practicability of a scheme which might afterwards have been found injurious rather than useful. We indicated the appointment of *Presidency* commissions because of the vast extent of country over which the new ~~leg~~ measures would have to be applied. because we thought that a central administration would from mere distance be incompetent to deal with the problems.

Next, we stated what the functions of the Commissions would be, & we described them as *mainly consultative*. The expression was chosen to leave you ample room for arranging details, but we were certainly of opinion that the President

**f76** JS hand pen

should occupy a ~~distin~~ a position distinct from the Commission, that he should have a different relation to the government, & that his Commission should simply advise him in any matter he might bring before it, but that the Commission should have no initiative as a body. Our view in this was to render all differences between the Commission & other departments impossible. Only in order to do so & at the same time to forward the good cause, it was in our view necessary to give a distinct responsibility to the president who would in fact become Minister of Health In the presidency, in which duty he would be aided by the *opinion* of a Commission constituted out of all the elements necessary in order to the formation of a trustworthy opinion.

So far as I can judge from the various papers I have seen, this arrangement has never been tried. The President & Commission have been so to speak one body, without clearly defined positions ~~sometimes~~ sometimes answering questions referred to it, at others taking the initiative more or less, and

**f76v**

finally ending by getting into quarrels & hot water with various people so that the end has come. This result always appeared to me to be inevitable from the moment that a new body was so to speak placed on the toes of all the old departments. I still think that the result would have been different if the Presidents had formed so to speak part of the local Governments if they had been selected simply for administrative ability (which certainly was secured) & if their councils had been made simply advising to the Presidents.

It is not for me to say whether the proposals sketched in your note would remedy the defects in the first ~~be~~ administrative machinery. I don't consider myself at all competent to deal with such a question, & I shall limit what I have to say simply to pointing out the things which should be done in order to improve the Sanitary state of the Civil & military populations of India, leaving it to you to decide ~~whether the new/what~~ machinery will answer the purpose best/~~as well as the old~~ ~~or whether you could not improve it still further~~

£77 JS pen hand

The first thing in any new organization ought as it appears to me to be: to get rid of the idea that sanitation is in any sense or manner antagonistic to any thing except dirt & ill health. The originators of the movement in England did much evil, perhaps unavoidable by saying to all public bodies, "see how dirty you keep yourselves, let us clean you." This set their back up & hence it has in part arisen that until this present time no body in England has received Hygieia as a welcome guest. She has been turned from many a door in her time mainly by want of civility in her chaperons. The French who understand what administration is, have avoided this error by making hygiène part of their general administration, & combining it with all the departments where its aid is required. thus - questions of hygiène arise constantly in Commerce, manufacture, agriculture, & public works. The French have taken hold of these and they have united all these departments under one ministry which also takes cognizance of all questions affecting health which can by possibility arise in any of the departments. The Minister of health is the minister of agriculture, commerce & public Works. He is an administrative officer of course, & all questions in hygiène are sent by him to a special permanent Council the Comité d'hygiène, which contains ~~some~~ ~~of~~ the best men in France in their several departments of Medicine, physiology, hygiène chemistry, applied arts, mechanics, architecture

**f77v**

engineering &c The office is one of high honour, besides  
 being paid. Their reports are always acted on although  
 t h e i r p o s i t i o n i s c h i e f l y  
 consultative, & even  
 t h e m i n i s t e r g i v e s  
 his decision on any  
 p a p e r i n v o l v i n g h e a l t h  
 questions, ~~the answer~~

~~t h e [ i l l e g ] p r o v i d e d  
 for in the reply~~

the health element is provided for in the reply & not separately  
 In Algeria they go even further for each conseil  
 in the dependency (there are 3) one for each division besides certain  
 selected persons contains the heads of the  
 various departments who would have to give effect  
 to the advice, the conseil. For instance on  
 the Conseils are the Chief of the Police, the  
 inspector of Colonies, (who attends to all agriculture,  
 country drainage &c) the engineer of mines,  
 the engineer of *ponts et chaussées*, the chief of the  
 department of public works. The principal medical  
 officer with several officiers de Santé. The  
 general of division, &c. The presidents are  
 the préfets. I have given these details to  
 shew the manner in which our principles  
 have been applied in France.

The questions with which you would have  
 to deal in India are substantially the same  
 as those with ~~wh~~ which the French have dealt  
 in Algeria.

You have to diminish or remove malaria  
 by public drainage works: ~~skilfully application/~~ you have to apply  
~~of irrigation,~~/ irrigation so as not to be injurious: & improved agriculture  
 (deep  
 ploughing & draining have cured some of the  
 worst parts of Algeria.) Next you have the  
 whole mass of questions arising out of towns &  
 villages, cleansing, draining, water supply,

**f78** JS pen hand

Police regulations of all kinds. apportionment of rates, bye laws. Trades or Manufactures injuries to health management of epidemics, management of great emergencies affecting the public health such as inundations, pilgrimages. Sanitary state of prisons, census, registration of [illeg] births, deaths & marriages. uniform direction of the public health service all over the Presidency. selection of sites for stations, bazars &c Sanction of plans for public works & buildings where health questions are concerned. I could give more details, but already I have stated enough to shew that whoever undertakes the work must be a most able man & the head of a great department. It is not inspection which is wanted so much as energetic & wise direction. The head of such a department would have to work by inspectors under him it is true, but the head should be a director & not an inspector. In fact for India it looks very much like as if the entire home government & civilization

of the country would fall into the hands of this new department while all that relates to justice & hanging might be done by somebody else.

~~Now over~~ The head of the department would of course require advice from the most skilled heads you could get & here ~~your~~

**f78v**

a permanent council of health would be of immense advantage. The cheapest way would be to select the very best men & to pay them as the French do for every attendance, fixing these at once a week or once a fortnight unless they are called together at other times by the Minister of health.

This is what strikes me as necessary & ~~we~~ I must now leave you to think out the subject with reference to your own proposal.

One thing is evident & that is that a subordinate officer would ~~less~~ scarcely do as the head of such a department. The virtual heads in Algeria are the Governor General, the Governors of provinces ~~and~~ préfets & generals of divisions. In fact it is a special function of all the great officers of state to protect the public health or to render the country habitable. This with the French was a matter of life & death & they have reduced the Army death rate from 80 to 12 ½ per 1000. The civil death rate is now about equal to that of France, & they can rear children quite well although all perished formerly. You would have to provide ~~can~~ clauses in all contracts about irrigation for combined works of ~~drainage~~ drainage to go along with the ~~ro~~

i r r i g a t i o n w o r k s .

[end 9:554]

ff79-82v, Simlah, June 17, 1866 Simlah. In compliance with the request contained in your letter of the 10th April (45777 f73), I send you a memo on the drainage question in Calcutta, which I th will give the info required. I also send copy of a memo by Major Malleeson, the new comr for san arrs. I showed him your letter o f t h e 3 r d o f M a y

(Draft 45777 f75) and after talking over the points on which you dwelt, I told him to draw up this paper.

I agree with nearly all wh Major Malleeson has said, except as regards irrigation, on which his knowledge is defective. I quite think that our system of adm is just very unlike that you have sketched as that of the illeg in Algiers, except that of course it is not nearly so military. What they have councils, we shall have coms, and shall gradually do a good deal of god. But we cannot afford, with our expensive mode of paying Englishmen in India, to have separate officers for san adm except here and there. We require all our really available means for actual improvements.

As regards drainage as connected with land irrigation, this is very important and presently was too little attended to. But we are now doing what we can to improve the drainage of the land in the vicinity of the old canals, and arranging for such drainage in all new works.



Drainage in Upper India where most of the English troops of the Bengal presidency are stationed, is not of that importance in agric matters as mt be supposed, at all times except in the sewing season, the earth is dry and thirsty and lacks moisture. In Bengal on the contrary the whole country at such times is flooded and its usual condition is excessive moisture. But in Bengal we can do no more in the first instance that provide for the drainage of the cantonments, wh occupy considerable areas. The drainage of illeg and above all of the country generally must take time and must depend on our carrying the people with us, and inducing them to make improvements. Both the people of India though docile and intelligent in many ways are fond of their money and have no idea of the real value of san arr. The great body also of them are really very poor and nothing is more disliked by all classes than new modes of taxation. You will then clearly see that we have a very uphill battle to fight.

Many thanks for your very interesting letter on the reform qu. It was a real pleasure and relief to me from my daily toil to receive and read such a letter. I was very reluctant also to take it up but as in duty bound, complied with your orders. The present state of affairs in England must excite great attention. I must confess myself a great admirer of Gladstone. His utility, scholarship and general knowledge are great and his clear illeg tho perhaps a little long winded impresses in every mind in medical values that of any statesmen in England. But above all things, he seems to me to be thoroughly in earnest, believing all that he puts forward and desiring to make it successful.

I had nearly forgotten to say that after immense trouble and search, I at last found out that my minute on illeg matters, with ref to Ellis proposal, had gone home to the S of S, in what he calls also "the Home Dept and next in the Milt Dept and hence it must have escaped Lord de Grey's attention. I here addressed him officially remedying the mistake.

I earnestly trust that your health has improved. With my grateful thanks for your kindness in writing to me so kindly and pleasantly.

ff83-86, memorandum from G.A.W. Anley, Esq, Chief Municipal Engineer, Calcutta, May 28, 1866 re drainage & sewage arrangements in Calcutta

unsigned letter draft, ff87-88v, pencil JS hand

**f87**

Your letter about the Barracks has given me very great pleasure. Of course when we contend that you should drain India, we do so just as we say in medicine that you ought to bleed an inflammation.

We do not mean thusly that every patient is thus bled, or that to the same amount, and we do not mean that all India is to be trenched. The treatment of a sick country is very like the treatment of a sick man. IN both cases it is necessary to lay down general principles & it is necessary to apply the principles skilfully.

The illeg expansion is very important just because it shows how to treat the two classes of cases of malarial country. One where

**f87v**

there is no undue accumulation of water & the other where there is.

In the former case very simple surface works are required provided deep European agriculture is used. This suffices for the cure of the country, for the increase of its produce many fold, & for making at illeg by Europeans. In the second class of cases long lines of trenches are needed, besides deep culture & in some cases subsoil drainage. And the practical result is 1st disappearance of malaria, the country becoming as healthy as England. 2nd however increase of produce. 3d a universal conviction that

**f88**

the whole cost of drainage & improved culture are far more than covered. Indeed many many times, by the produce alone without any regard to health. As regards lower Bengal, the point for consideration should be: Can you be draining on the best principles increase the produce?

Of illeg would be no & they would answer fully your statement about the Cost of draining being greater than the whole revenue. There is really no such instance on record for everywhere drainage has far more than paid its way.

ff89-91v, October 1, 1866, re progress in sanitary matters, on embossed Govt of India. As the best return I can make you for sending me the reports on Algeria, I send you copy of the San Report for 1865, which will show you that we have not been altogether asleep in this quarter of the world. Indeed, we are doing what we can in the shape of san reform from our great object is now to construct one new barracks and purify the cantonments and when this is done, we shall go on to other points. The drainage of our cantonments is also going on, that of the country, except in the immediate vicinity of the cantonments, is out of the question for many a year, nor is it as a rule in the upper country necessary, exclusive of the lands irrigate by canals. The country generally wants water, being for 8 months in the year parched up and dry almost like a desert. Bengal and the illeg Provinces re different. In these parts the whole country is inundated for many months of the years, and the whole reserves of India wd hardly suffice for the drainage.

I wish you had the health to run over and see us and judge for yourself. But this of course is out of the question. If Miss Carpenter comes my way, I will look after her, and take care of her. I much fear that she will mind that she cannot do much good. How any lady on a brief visit, without any knowledge of the people or of their language, can hope to gain any influence over their minds, passes my comprehension.

The mentality in the Native Army employed in Bhootan last year was very sad. All that cd be done for them by care, illeg and good treatment was done. But the whole trek from East to West for hundreds of miles between these hills and the illeg is more or less lying malarious being illeg with water in the rains.

I thanked God when He had brought that affair to an end....

PS I send the report under a separate envelope

unsigned letter draft, f92, pencil JS rough hand. It never was intended that under the proposal to improve ag the govt shd become illeg. We must be guided by expense. Will the French have in Algeria many needed "pardons d'assai where in colonists and natives may not only see methods of culture but obtain new

seeds, plants, &c. Then the benefits of deep culture have only recently been imported even into Algeria and the emperor has proposed that the best implements shall be provided and lent out to those who cannot pay for them, with the object not only of

ff93-94v, Calcutta, February 7, 1867. Embossed Govt of India. Many thanks for your very kind note of the 20th of Dec. (Missing) I am quite sure that I in no wise deserve your blessings, nevertheless I am grateful to you for them, perhaps the more so when I bear in mind my own demerits. It is not a very pleasant duty talking to the "kings of the East, for though they receive all wh one in my position may say with gravity and politeness, it makes but a wretched impression on them.

You will be glad to hear that the death rate among the English troops in India for 1866 was only 20.11, while it was 24.24 in 1865. This appears to me to be a very satisfactory result.

We are all looking out with interest for the meeting of Parl in order that they illegs are likely to run. I don't see how the Conservatives can stand, if they do not have a Reform Bill of some kind.

Things are looking somewhat better out here, but we have still a great deal of distress and our finances are somewhat depressed. I have had an enquiry done in Calcutta for sometime from the King of Bokhara asking for aid against Raj illeg How strange it will be if Russia and England meet in Central Asia; I hope if it is to be so, that it will be in amity. There is ample illeg and room enough for both illeg and if both could only see this we mt be a help instead of an injury to each other.

unsigned letter draft, ff95-97v, pencil JS rough hand [9:957]

10 June 1867

I do not wish to hurry you, and the reason of my writing at present is to say that events nowadays appear to move so rapidly that established forms of procedure do not keep pace with them and I fear that, unless we put the whole matter in train, it will practically be taken out of our hands. I have just had such accounts of the nursing or rather nursing pretense of your Indian hospitals as have shocked me greatly. I had no idea that things were in such a state. But they are described to me as they have been seen by intelligent and discerning eyes....

The short and the long of it is that I have had a formal request made to me to place myself at the head of a nursing movement for India on the plea that it is no use to wait for the action of government and with a threat that if I don't act other parties will be found who will. It appears that not only Europeans but native Indians would take the work up. Of course all I could do would be to offer them the same assistance that I have offered to you. That is, they to find the money and administer the funds and I to help in providing trained matrons and head nurses to train natives in India.

I have stated that at present I am in communication with you on the subject and I am now very desirous that the work should be started as soon as possible, because it will take some time after I get your decision to prepare and send out the persons who are to take charge of the training.

[end 9:957]

unsigned letter draft, ff98-101v, pencil FN pencil draft

**f98**  
*S i r J . L a w r e n c e [ a r c h 2 6 J u n e 1 8 6 7 ]*  
**[9:574-75]**

A paper has been confidentially shown to me containing the decision of the Govt of India on a subject which involves the entire question of Hospital & Barrack ventilation.

It is a letter with enclosures dated April 1 (No 61) 1867

"as to the relative merits of doors & windows for B & H for European troops in India"

I should have contented myself with reading &Y returning it, had it not been for the very serious nature of the consequences likely to follow from it not only as regards the ventilation of new Barracks but as regards the whole future sanitary administration of India.

1. As regards the ventilation of B & H Evidence of the highest character laid before the R.C. on the S.S. of the India Army had been shewn that the method of ventilating Barracks by doors had been productive of two very serious evils - 1. The direct infliction of disease on men while asleep by exposing them to draughts & this more especially with cases of disease in Hospital. Which are often aggravated & probably rendered incurable.

**f98v**

by want of attention to the manner of ventilating the wards- 2. the infliction of the plague of darkness both on B. & H.

The R.C. very properly recommended that the bad old system of ventilating by doors should be put an end to. And the A.S.C. to whom was remitted the duty of putting into a practical form the suggestions of the R.C. prepared Draft plans of both B. & H. for your consideration in India which plans were based on the assumption that improved lighting & ventilation were to form part of them. Had this not been the case I have reason to believe that the plans would have been modified.

The recommendation of the A.S.C. with regard to doors & windows is placed at the head of the enclosure in the letter referred to. The meaning of the recommendation is to me perfectly clear. It does not lay down an iron law to be applied in every case. The Commn in their suggestions give their proposed plans with the method of ventilation everywhere required. And they recommend that windows shall be introduced instead of doors when local circumstances admit of the change. These circumstances or conditions are clearly indicated in the Evidence given before the R.C. There are many stations in India

**f99**

which at one season or other, have a great difference between the day & night temperature. And at all such Stations open doors are perfectly well known to be dangerous to health at night.

At all such Stations it is evident that while there should be sufficient ventilation this should be supplied without the slightest risk

o f c h e c k e d p e r s p i r a t i o n

**[end 9:575]**

The French Engineers are fully aware of this in Algeria-& altho' their B. plans are by no means to be imitated in other respects they provide efficiently for protecting the men from changes of temperature at night.

So long as men are exposed at night to these changes in India they will have Hepatitis. And if Engineering officers cannot manage to ventilate B. without use of open doors-then B. construction is not their forte.

I need scarcely say that I look upon this decision about doors as being fatal to your B. plans-

On the other hand, there are no doubt Stations in

**[9:575]**

India, where there is a still atmosphere with a tolerably equal temperature between day & night

**f99v**

And wherever this exists, common sense would point out that the less obstruction to movement in the air at night the better. In such cases, open doors might be necessary. You will see then that it is impossible to have Standard plans founded on one rigid system for the great variety of climates which India presents-

2. The next point-and it is one of the very gravest importance-is the method by which the conclusion in the letter referred to has been arrived at.

I find e.g. that after H.M. had appointed a R.C. of the most competent men she could find, to deal with the India sanitary question, after that R.C. had examined the most competent witnesses at command, & made a general recommendation on the evidence thus obtained, after the A.S.C. to whom the subject was referred which Commn consists of experts specially appointed



**f100**

"for giving advice on all structural questions in which the health of the British Army was involved had distinctly recommended that windows should be introduced instead of doors wherever it could be done. It appears that the Govt of India remitted the question to the following authorities

local Govts & administrations

" Sanitary commissions

" Medl authorities

" Military "

" Public Works Officers

" Committees

thus a question which was one of pure administration, viz. the adaptation of a principle to suit local circumstances, is sent abroad over the whole of India to be dealt with by those who may or may not have any knowledge of the subject- a kind of administration, so to speak, by universal suffrage

And the worst of it is that the decision of the Govt of India does not even represent the result of the ballot."

I need scarcely say that the slightest consideration

**f100v**

of this proceeding is sufficient to show that so long as it exists, anything like real Sanitary progress in India is impracticable. You are perhaps not aware that, at the Constantinople conference, the benefit of our rule in India was called in question & that it was stated that, to the neglect of the Public Health in India, was due the Epidemics of Cholera which devastated

W e s t e r n                      A s i a                      &                      E u r o p e .

[end 9:575]

The matter, I believe, was hushed up, but

....

**f101**

What you want in India is a competent Public Health  
[9:575-76]

Service advised from home on special questions  
for a time at least. The decisions of this service (?)  
~~Commission~~ should be accepted & acted on  
& administrative provision made for giving  
effect to them /to help you in the application of [illegals]

You apparently want really authoritative sanitary advisers together with a  
scheme of sanitary organization  
extending over the whole of India ~~as was~~  
~~proposed by Mr. Ellis~~ But whatever you do,  
I should strongly recommend that this voting  
be never resorted to on any such questions.

Better leave India without any provision of  
the P.H., tell us that there is none,  
& ask us to organize one than have  
recourse to such ~~proceedings~~ expedients.

JS hand:

You will never do any good until you have  
either one administrative Public Health authority  
for the whole of India with its own Budget, or  
if you must ...

[end 9:576]

ff102-05v, Simlah, July 9, 1967 embossed Govt of India. I am much afraid that  
you will have concluded that I have forgotten you, and all the important matters  
in which you take so lively an interest. But such is not the case. I see you  
always in lively recollection. And I do what I can to further the objects in wh  
your have devoted your life, no doubt with Slow and faltering steps, but still  
as fast as circumstances will permits.

As regards your letter of the 26 th of illeg I send you a long memo by Dr  
Eeryblor? And a short one by Major Malleeson. The former has given a general  
sketch of our adm system in India, which is sufficiently accurate to give you  
some idea of how things are carried on in India.

No doubt our san arrs are yet in their infancy, a good deal nonsense has been  
done in this way in our cantonments. Indeed these cantonments as a whole are  
generally well drained and well cared for . The great work now going on which  
takes up our chief attention is the construction of new barracks.

It seems we have done something wh in the country illeg as yet been attempted.

We are however on the whole doing as much as our means will admit. In military  
places our machinery is very complete, in other places it is no doubt defective.  
But illeg the means of doing much more at every site for the present. Until the  
people are better educated, and until they see the result of such reforms as are  
taking place, they will not appreciate the work, and above all they are not  
willing to be taxed further for such purposes. As it is now, the general  
complaint is that they are over taxed.

There is no difficulty in initiating whatever we may think necessary, beyond  
the fact that we have no surplus, that is to say, no funds beyond those already

disposed of. Each year we distribute to the best advantage all the money we can lay our hands on.

The difficulties we have to meet no doubt are considerable. They are insufficient means, ignorance, apathy and illeg. Still we are making progress and in time I trust will do more.

To give you an idea of some of our difficulties, I will mention one case. Cholera has been flying all over the presidency during the last three or four months. It has shown itself at Peshawar down to Calcutta, that is there are all of 1500 miles in length and perhaps more than half that in breadth. We have lost in the aggregate upwards of 200 English soldiers. Now it is a very general opinion that this cholera was generated at Hurdwar on the Ganges in the vicinity of the post of the Home Cauh Mountains. Every year there is a great gathering of people at this place. There a fair is held, and where tens of thousands of pilgrims collect to bathe in the sacred waters. There is a great assemblage every year, but in the illeg year (and this was that year) the illeg of such a pilgrimage in popular estimation is tenfold. And this year the concourse has unprecedented

illeg during, it is said, that popular opinion inclines to the idea that henceforth the sacredness of the Ganges will diminish. However this may be, it is said that upwards of two millions of people there collected last April at Hurdwar, all collected in tents and under trees within a ltd space. You may readily conceive the difficulty, nay the impossibility, of making any adequate san measures under such circs. It was difficult indeed to secure food for such a multitude.

In spite of all that cd be done, and I understand that the arrs were really wonderfully good, considering all circs, cholera broke out during the fair, and the people had to disperse and return towards their homes and a good many died on the way, and along all the roads the towns and villages were more or less infected. Much was done to mitigate the evil and comparatively few people have died. Still the mortality has been considerable and the great misfortune is that it has spread among our English troops.

Now the natural course wd be to forbid such large assemblies of people, most of whom are of the poorest sorts, illeg the means of feeding and clothing themselves and who, fatigued by long and illeg journies, the heat by day and cold at night are in a condition peculiarly susceptible of disease. But to do this is to interfere it will be said with social customs and religious prejudices and may give rise to an uproar here and alarm in England.

I will not say more. Your suggestions as to precautions regarding drainage in connection with canal irrigation are very sound and worthy of consideration. , sending memos re administrative organization & sanitary improvements despite great difficulties especially because of pilgrimages, on embossed Govt of India

ff106-09, August 3, 1867 Simlah. Embossed Govt of India. I have been thinking over the contents of your letter of the 26th of June

, explaining why doors are preferred to windows, on embossed Govt of India. I have been thinking over the contents of your letter of the 26th of June since its receipt. To tell you the real truth, a good deal of what you have said has taken me quite abeck, to use a nautical phrase. The fact is that I was under the delusion that we were in essentials acting in accord with your views and those of the Bengal San Com.

I showed your letter to Col Crommelin who is the officer in special charge of

all the barrack construction arrs and now send you a copy of his reply, in what I must say I entirely concur.

So far as my experience and judgment are of any value, I shd say that as a rule doors are in every part of India far preferable to windows. Even in the Hills, at Simlah for instance in the very room in which I am now writing there are doors and not windows in all the rooms, public as well as private. These doors are really windows down to the ground. As a rule everywhere in India we want not only abundance of ventilation but a free current of air. When it may happen to be a little cold, or when a particularly strong wind is blowing, we shut the doors, but generally speaking they are left open day and night.

Surely when I may say the almost universal opinion throughout India is in favor of doors in preference to windows there must be some good reason for this opinion. It cannot arise from mere pig-headedness. The natives do just as we do, indeed they go still further for in many of their buildings particularly where they sleep, they have not even the means of closing the apertures and in the illeg simply curtains??

In most cities the mass of the people sleep out on the tops of their houses, having no shelter over head, and only curtains to protect them from outside observation.....

PS The cholera is still very present all over the country and even in the Hills and has carried off many people both English and native. The poor soldiers have suffered a good deal. I have written this in a great hurry to save the mail. I have much difficulty in maintaining any separate san supervision and have to use all my influence to prevent it being set aside. I have to act with great circumspection.

ff110-19, August 2, 1867, to Colonel Blane from W. A. Crommelin re doors vs windows in Hospitals and Barracks, copy of letter

ff120-21, August 16, 1867 Simlah embossed Govt of India.

I am not well and have more on my hands than I can well manage, but I must reply to your letter of the 10th of June. Major Malleeson tells me that he has sent to you a copy of the Resolution of the above date deciding on not employing Ladies or females of any kind in the mil hospitals in India. We came to this concl after full enquiry and careful consideration.

As to the gen hospitals in Calcutta, I enclose you a note which Dr E.. illeg has prepared at my request. I do not think that we shd import nurses from England for these hospitals, and that those nurses whom we can procure in Calcutta do sufficiently well.

I am afraid that this decision will not meet with your approval, but it has not been arrived at without full reflection. We have so little money in India and so much to do with which we have that we have to weigh all proposals for additional outlay with a jealous eye.

The cholera is still flying all over India. I am just going to the S of S for a sanitary officer for each province on this side.

ff122-27v, memorandum of Bengal Sanitary Commission re the decision not to employ females

unsigned letter draft, ff128-41v, pencil

**f128** JS rough hand pencil

A few days ago I received your last letter telling me that you had written a despatch regarding the appointment of Sanitary [arch Aug 16 1867] inspecting officers for Governments received from the I.O. a copy of their reply in which they sanction the step & inform you at the same time that they have appointed a Sanitary Committee & that they will write to you more fully on the subject. The first great step in improvement namely the sanction of the official inspecting service is thus settled.

The new Committee is really not new. It was this which we recommended Sir Chas. Wood to adopt at first, but he thought it best to communicate with the W.O. Comm. on all Sanitary questions. As time went on the arrangement was found not to work satisfactorily, & ill an original proposal has been adopted & the I.O. has its own advising Committee confirmed as follows  
FN note at bottom: Points/for proposals/to be sent/home to the I.O.

**f128v**

It has been arranged that this Committee where it has any special questions requiring Sanitary practical experience to be brought to bear them they will send the questions to the W.O. Committee simply for remarks, & this will leave them at the I.O. with entire liberty of action.

You will now also have a I.O. committee specially charged with these questions . This Comm is not likely to oppose you as it can be called to account in Parliament.

I believe I am right in stating that the I.O. is now most desirous to forward improvement in India both for its economical & Sanitary results, & that it remains very much with you to propose what further steps you may consider necessary to give effect to the advice of your new Inspectors. I would say: make proposals to the I.O.; provide for giving effect

**f128v**

It has been arranged that this committee whenever it has any special questions requiring Sanitary practical experience to be brought to bear; then they will send the questions to the W.O. Committee simply for remarks this will leave them at the I.O. to entire liberty of action

You will no doubt have a I.O. Committee specifically charged with these questions & this Comm /~~they are~~ is not likely to oppose you as it can be called to account in Parliament.

I believe that I am right in stating that the I.O. is now most desirous to forward improvement in India both for its economical & Sanitary results & that it remains very much with you to propose what further steps you may consider necessary to give effect to this advice of your new Inspectors. I would say: under proposals to the I.O. provide for giving effect

**f129** JS pencil rough hand

to the recommendations of your inspectors by appointing as authorities for cleansing & draining, supplying water & paving & other matters of town regulation & by providing the funds & you will have full consideration given to all your proposals & I am very much mistaken if you will have any further difficulty in having the necessary Sanction.

The Sanitary improvement of India now rests with you alone & we here are waiting with anxiety for your next proposals}

**f129v** JS rough pencil hand

In reading the rules it appears to me that there is no such thing as the Superior representing the Sisters. All are members of the house. You cannot resign on behalf of the sisters. The nurses incur a penalty for resigning. If you or any sister wish to leave there is no provision for your resigning except in the case of nurses & certainly the rules do not contemplate that the Superior could resign on behalf of the sisters, or indeed send any letter about any thing involving the general interest. The title calls you a sisterhood but the rules only recognize sisters, nurses & probationers and their individual capacity

**f130** FN pencil draft

Draft  
for *Consideration*  
I have read over with  
the deepest interest your  
letters together with the  
printed paper drawn up  
by Dr. Farquhar & the letter  
of Col. Crommelin.

I have also referred to  
all the chief papers  
connected with this  
subject- which came  
before me several years  
ago.

The question which has  
presented itself to my  
mind is ~~whether~~ this ~~notwith~~  
~~standing~~ admitting the inevitable  
delay in introducing a  
new Sept of administration  
& notwithstanding the  
progress which these  
papers show to have been  
made- have we arrived  
at such a period in  
the Public Health  
administration of India  
as to be able to say  
that this same system  
of administration should  
be continued-or ~~whether~~ rather



**f130v**

~~it~~ would it not be much  
better to reconsider  
Our present position  
with the view of  
ascertaining whether  
it be not possible to  
introduce thro'out India  
some more permanent  
method of dealing with  
the evils which still  
unhappily exist?

This great Public Health  
question divides itself  
necessarily into two parts.  
There is one part of it  
which can unquestionably  
only be done by the  
people themselves.  
But the other part can  
only be done thro  
central  
or local administration--  
while it happens that  
the cooperation of this  
administration is in many  
points absolutely  
necessary before the  
people can do anything  
efficient.

You have evidently  
been doing your very  
utmost with the method

**f131**

of working which you  
have adopted. But  
the papers you have sent  
me indicate so many  
things which still  
require to be done  
& for which you have  
no machinery. That  
my mind has mentally  
reverted to the earlier  
history of our movement  
-to the hopes with which  
we were then all inspired

And I have asked  
myself the question  
whether we have yet  
realized or are in the  
right course to realize  
the results at which  
the Report of the R.  
Indian Commn. aimed.

The Public Health Service  
has always hitherto in  
practice been found  
intimately interwoven  
with the progress of  
civilization amongst the  
people--

And so intimately  
connected with good  
government that no  
Roman could become

**f131v**

Consul until he had  
served the office of  
Adile.

I merely mention this  
as an illustration of  
the real meaning of  
this Public Health question.

Improving the *health* of  
the people does not  
consist either in  
spasmodic efforts. When  
there is danger- or in  
doing a number of  
small Acts to meet  
specific evils--which  
had been allowed to  
come into existence & are  
then to be abated-but in  
~~instead~~ preventing  
them from ever having  
an existence eat all-

It consists in the  
adoption of certain  
steady methods of  
procedure on the part  
of the Govt 0 which, while  
they protect the people  
from present danger  
shall lead them onwards  
into such a stage of

**f132**

civilization that excepting for the execution & maintenance of great works, the Govt will have little to do-a result such as this can only be arrived at after long years.

But it is a result at which all legislation aims. And legislation will have ceased to be necessary just in proportion as the people become masters & conservators of their own well being.

In England we are making steady but slow progress towards this end. We have been engrafting the requirements of Public Health upon a long existing civilization which had failed sufficiently to recognize the importance of this

**f132v**

subject.

But you in India have  
no such material on  
which to build. You  
have to take the civilization  
as it is--ascertain  
what additions are  
required in order to  
keep the people of  
dying of preventible  
disease-And from  
the very nature of your  
problem, you are compelled  
to take cognizance of  
certain conditions &Y to do  
certain things which  
are no longer necessary  
with us.

No one can read the  
Indian R. Commission  
Report & evidence  
without seeing clearly  
what the difference is.  
And if we in England  
with our comparatively  
advanced civilization  
have found it necessary  
to substitute a Health

**f133**

organization becoming  
yearly more systematic  
for desultory effort in  
removing the more obvious  
causes of disease, you  
in India have certainly much stronger reasons  
for adopting some similar  
organized method of  
proceeding.

What you really appear  
to want is not so much  
knowledge or administrative  
ability as personal &  
local responsibility-  
clearly granted & defined.

Besides, I cannot  
forget that, altho' Sir  
John Lawrence has  
personally done & is doing  
all he can, if he were  
to leave India tomorrow,  
his work would in all  
probability come to a  
stand-still.

This latter consideration  
leads me to press on you  
most earnest the  
necessity of providing

**f133v**

for the work when you  
are gone.

There is no way of doing this  
except by adopting some  
administrative method  
which will move along  
independently as far as  
possible of the Central  
authority.

You may remember that  
our earliest idea on this  
subject was that each  
Presidency or administrative  
division of India should  
have an officer in direct  
connection with the  
local Government.

Who should be the  
responsible administrative  
head of a Department  
1- & that this Officer  
should be advised on  
all points where he  
required information  
by a Commission  
representing the various  
Departments engaged in  
any class of Sanitary work

**f134**

3. Had such a system been introduced it would have been necessary to supplement it by the appointment of Officers of Health to whom would have been committed the initiative of all measures which they would report as being requisite for removing local causes of disease-such reports would have been the basis of future proceedings. They would have been dealt with in the first instance by the President of the Sanitary Commission who, from his relation on the one hand to the Govt & on the other to his consultative commission would have been able either at once to advise the execution of works & measures, or if he did not consider himself sufficiently enlightened to take this course, he



**f134v**

could have referred any  
questions to his  
commission for reply  
or information before  
proceeding to  
communicate with the  
Government itself.

This course of proceeding  
had it been adopted  
would have made the  
local Govt responsible  
not only for the health  
but for the general  
progress in civilization  
of the people-

But it would have necessitated the provision  
of a Budget out of which  
the local government  
on its own responsibility  
would have paid the  
costs of works & measures.

Such was our original  
idea. There may be some  
points of experience  
acquired since then

**f135**

which point to  
modifications in the  
proposal-

But, so far as we can  
be guided by experience  
in this & other European  
countries, the principle  
appears not be definitively  
established that your  
Sanitary authority must  
be on the spot, that it  
must be vigilant &  
directly responsible-  
& that it must have  
money to spend in  
fulfilling that responsibility

It is in the nature  
of the case that it  
should be so.

All over Great Britain  
the executive authority  
is local.

It has been fully  
recognised with us  
that any Central  
interference with  
local responsibility &

**f135v**

action keeps both in  
abeyance. [not to  
speak of the special  
resistance always  
offered in every town  
in England to any  
central action.]

Even rightly or wrongly  
sanitary works & measures  
in London are carried  
out on the responsibility  
of parishes & unions.

I have already stated  
that the work in India  
includes certain allied  
subjects of great  
importance, such e.g.  
As agricultural improvement,  
land drainage,  
irrigation & such like-

I have the best authority for stating  
that the native  
population appreciate  
good culture as well  
as good implements of  
husbandry.

**f136**

4. That the introduction of neither can be said to be an innovation while we have abundant experience to shew that improvements in agriculture would be followed by great improvement in the Public Health. I have also alluded to the existence of local habits & customs which general disease. No doubt it is difficult to deal with such habits. But it has been successfully done in India. And Mr. Ellis' experience at Conjeveram has shown conclusively that the worst possible habits, such as epidemics, cannot only be very

**f136**

easily put a stop to  
but that the people  
submit willingly &  
what is more don't  
refuse to pay.  
Again: we cannot  
shut our eyes to the fact  
that while we are  
dealing with the whole  
subject in India in a  
somewhat desultory  
manner certain  
influential native  
classes in India  
are becoming conversant  
not only with these  
Sanitary questions  
but they are discussing  
what the Government  
ought to do.

I speak of this from  
experience & have  
just sent to India  
at the request of  
enlightened natives  
there copies of such

**f137**

Sanitary reports as  
would enable them to  
know what they can  
do themselves - & what  
they ought to call on  
the Government to do-

Altho' no Government  
can be Providence over  
a vast Empire like  
that of India, any  
more that over a  
smaller country like  
France there are  
nevertheless certain  
things which a  
Government can do.

It can delegate powers  
& responsibilities. It can  
find money-either  
directly or indirectly.  
It can by inspection  
see that the responsibilities  
are discharged & the  
money properly spent. By its superior  
means of information

**f137v**

it can call upon local authorities to  
adopt or execute  
every necessary measure  
or work. And it  
can grant facilities  
to the people-besides  
encouraging the onward  
course of civilization.

The only proposal  
hitherto made which  
appears to us in any  
way to meet the  
Indian case is that ]of Mr Ellis memorandum  
which you know &  
which you judged  
inapplicable to the  
Bengal Presidency-

Would it not be  
possible, now that  
Mr. Ellis is connected  
with the Madras Govt  
to allow him to try  
his proposal there?

**f138**

5. In this way we should at once obtain the requisite administrative experience.

But if the experience already obtained throughout India would enable you to propose a better method of ensuring the ends & objects which we all have in view by placing the Public Health administration on a more systematic & permanent basis I have reason to say with certainty that any proposal coming from you will be received at the India Office here with open arms ~~the greatest~~  
~~consideration~~

What I have written you will see appertains to the great Civil question.



**f138v**

The improvement of  
Stations, Barracks,  
Hospitals, & other  
Military establishments  
would, I apprehend,  
go on as at present (?)

With reference to this  
subject, Col. Crommelin's  
letters has afforded us  
a great deal of pleasure  
It is indeed a great  
thing that the works  
Dept in India & we  
here should be so  
much at one on these  
questions that we  
differ only in a few  
details.

We rejoice to hear ~~that~~ of the  
means of ventilation spoken of  
by Col. Crommelin independent of  
Doors & windows, which do not  
appear in the plans.

Permit me a remark or  
two on this subject:

Col. Crommelin states  
that he does not  
understand a remark  
of mine that the  
Barrack plans suggested  
by the Army Sanitary  
Comm would have been

**f139**

different had they been  
arranged for doors  
instead of windows-  
My meaning was that, as  
the ventilation had been  
arranged with special  
contrivances for  
increasing or diminishing  
it according to  
circumstances-and as  
the arrangement had  
been made contingent  
on the introduction of  
windows that could  
be closed to prevent  
draughts-these  
ventilating arrangements  
would have been  
~~somewhat~~ different  
if the doors had to  
have been left open-  
And some contrivance  
would have been  
introduced to have  
protected the doors  
themselves from  
blasts of wind.

Nearly every Barrack

**f139**

in Algeria has only one door per room-& no door opens upon the outer air- Their plan is not a good one, but the men are certainly preserved from diseases incident to changes of temperature.

The effect of these changes both in Barracks & Hospitals is a purely Medical & not an Engineering or Military question. And their results on health is matter of purely medical evidence.

The authorities cited by Col: Crommelin are not adverse, because one of them states that draughts are not injurious "if ordinary care being taken to avoid them" which is just what the soldiers don't take. The other authority says: that

**f140**

6. He does not consider draughts to be so injurious "except in the case of men coming into a room in a state of perspiration." Which is just what soldiers do do ~~a very likely occurrence~~ in most Indian Barracks.

IN all our Barrack improvements here we have had to consider  
t h e h a b i t s o f s o l d i e r s  
-

My objection to "universal suffrage" was asking Medical opinions, not of Doctors only but of a variety of other people-and then deciding apparently at variance with the weight of Medical authority given in the famous "doors & windows" paper to which I referred.

Query-a Sanitary opinion has nothing to do but with causes of disease-it should not meddle

**f140v**

with means of removal,  
cost of works for removal  
&c. This is the business  
of the Engineering opinion,  
which on the other hand  
should not interfere  
with what is purely  
Medical.

Great harm has happened  
both in England & in  
India from the Medical  
assuming the Engineering  
function & vice versa.

**f141v**

Page 1 "notwithstanding"  
Answer to "Col: Crommelin-ought not to come  
at all into *this* letter which ought to be  
purely administrative, or at least ought  
only to embrace the purely administrative  
points of Col: Crommelin's & the "doors &  
windows" paper-if noticed at all.  
Besides, Sir B. Frere has not seen Col: Crommelin's  
or Sir J. Lawrence's letters at all & will  
wonder how this crops in here.  
I see no objection to showing Sir B. Frere these  
letters-  
But I do see very great objection to putting  
a specific disease-question in here-  
It was a considered a great error for *me*  
to have entered into the disease-question at  
all with Sir J. Lawrence-I ought to have  
confined myself to the administrative point  
but-the thing is done & can't be undone-  
And, therefore, I must answer col: Crommelin's  
letter separately, *except* as to the administrative  
point which may well come in here-  
Also-it is impossible, if Col: Crommelin's letter  
is noticed at all, to omit all notice of Dr  
Farquhar's paper.

unsigned letter, ff142-44, pen

**f142**

London September  
Col Crommelin's Dear Sir John Lawrence  
letter What I have ventured  
to write (in another  
enclosure) to you  
appertains, you will  
see, to the great Civil  
question.

T h e i m p r o v e m e n t o f  
[9:603-04]

Stations, Barracks,  
Hospitals, & other  
Military establishments  
would, I apprehend,  
go on as at present.

With reference to this  
subject Col. Crommelin's  
letter has afforded us  
a great deal of pleasure:  
It is indeed a great  
thing for us that the  
Works Department  
in India & we here  
should be so much  
at one on these  
questions that we  
differ only in a few

**f142v**

details.

Permit me a remark  
or two on this subject.

Col Crommelin says  
that he does not  
understand an observation  
of mine that the  
Barrack plans  
suggested by the Army  
Sanitary Commission  
would have been different,  
had they been arranged  
for doors instead of  
windows. I only meant  
that, as the ventilation  
had been arranged  
with special contrivances  
for increasing or  
diminishing it according  
to circumstances -  
and as the arrangements  
had been made contingent  
on the introduction of  
windows which could  
be closed to prevent  
draughts - these  
ventilating arrangements  
would have been  
different, if the doors  
had to have been left open.

**f143**

and some contrivance  
would have been  
introduced to have  
protected the men from the doors,  
themselves ~~from~~ /causing blasts  
of wind.

Nearly every barrack  
in Algeria has only  
one door per room  
& no door opens upon  
the outer air. Their  
plan is not a good  
one. But the men  
are certainly preserved  
from diseases incident  
to changes of temperature.

The effect of these  
changes both in Barracks  
& Hospitals is a purely  
Medical & not an  
Engineering or Military  
question. And their  
results on health is  
matter of purely

M e d i c a l e v i d e n c e .

The Medical authorities  
cited by Col Crommelin  
are not adverse to us,  
because one of them  
states that draughts  
are not injurious  
"ordinary care being  
taken to avoid them' -



**f143v**

which is just what  
 soldiers don't take.  
 The other authority says  
 that he does not consider  
 draughts to be so injurious  
 "except in the case of  
 men coming into a room  
 in a state of perspiration."

which is just what  
 soldiers do do in  
 most Indian Barracks.

Here in England, in  
 all our Barrack  
 improvements, we have  
 had to consider soldiers'  
 habits - We cannot be

a l w a y s d r a g o o n i n g t h e m .

**[end 9:604]**

2. My objection to  
 "universal suffrage"  
 was merely this:  
 to asking Doctors'  
 questions, not of  
 Doctors only but of a  
 variety of other  
 people. and then  
 deciding apparently  
 at variance with  
 the weight of Medical

**f144**

authority given in the  
 famous "door & windows"  
 paper to which the  
 Col. Crommelin  
 correspondence refers.

unsigned letter, ff145-47v, pen [10:41-42]

**f145**

London September 18 1867

Draft

f o r c o n s i d e r a t i o n

My dear Sir John Lawrence

I have read over with  
the deepest interest  
your letter together with  
the promised papers,  
drawn up by Dr. Farquhar  
& the letter of Col.  
Crommelin

I have also referred  
to all the chief papers  
connected with this  
subject, which have  
come before us year  
by year since you  
came to the throne.

The question which  
presents itself to our  
minds is this:  
admitting the inevitable  
delay in introducing a  
new Department of  
administration, and  
notwithstanding the  
progress which these  
papers shew nevertheless to have  
been made - have  
we arrived at such  
a period in the  
Public Health administration  
of India as to be

**f145v**

able to say that this  
same system of  
administration should  
be continued - or  
rather would it not  
be much better to  
re - consider our  
present position  
with the view of  
ascertaining whether  
it be not possible  
to introduce throughout  
India some more  
permanent method  
of dealing with the  
evils which still  
unhappily arise ?

This great Public health  
question divides itself  
necessarily into two  
parts; There is one  
part of it which can  
unquestionably be  
only done by the people  
themselves. But the  
other part can only be  
done through central or  
local administration -  
while it happens  
that the co-operation  
of this administration

**f146**

[I speak of this from  
experience & have  
just sent to India  
at the request of  
enlightened natives  
there, copies of  
such sanitary reports  
as would enable  
them to know what  
they can do themselves  
& what they ought  
to call on the Government  
to do.]

Although no Government  
can be Providence over  
a vast Empire like  
that of India, any  
more than over a  
smaller country like  
France, there are  
nevertheless certain  
things which a  
Government can do.  
It can delegate powers  
& responsibilities. It  
can find money  
either directly or  
indirectly. It can by  
inspection see that

**f146v**

the responsibilities are discharged & the money properly spent.

By its superior means of information, it can call upon local authorities to adopt or execute every necessary measure or work. And it can grant facilities to the people besides encouraging the onward course of civilization.

It can impress upon its agents that the completion & success of the work is the main object - not the clearness or punctuality of the correspondence.

The only proposal hitherto made which appears to us in any way to meet the Indian case is that

**f147**

of Mr. Ellis' Memorandum  
(of nearly two years ago)  
which you know &  
which you judged  
inapplicable to the  
Bengal Presidency.

Would it not be possible  
now that Mr. Ellis is  
connected with the  
Madras Government  
to allow him to try  
his proposal there?

In this way we should  
at once obtain the  
requisite administrative  
experience.

But if the experience  
already obtained  
throughout India  
would enable you to  
propose a better  
method of ensuring  
the ends & objects  
which we all have  
in view, by placing  
the Public Health  
administration on a  
more systematic &

**f147v**

permanent basis,  
I have reason to say  
with absolute certainty  
that any proposal  
coming from you will  
be received at the  
India office here  
with open arms &  
on their knees &  
that no misleading  
considerations of  
economy will be  
allowed to interfere  
injudiciously with  
your views.       **[end 10:42]**

f148 JS rough hand note added 2005 [arch: autumn 1857] draft of f149?

Sir J.L

I have received at various times from the  
President of the Bengal Sanitary  
Commission printed papers relating to the  
subject of Female Nursing in India.  
The last of which, that containing the decision  
of the Government of India appears to me to  
call for a direct reply addressed to you  
personally. ~~In doing so~~ It is necessary  
for me to state briefly the facts of  
the case, in order to shew that there  
is really no connection between the  
humble proposal I  
made at the request of the Indian Govt  
and the scheme which was condemned  
without ever having been submitted to  
me, but which I certainly would  
have condemned not only on the face  
of its cost but because I at  
is impossible for other reasons that I  
could ever have lent my aid in  
going effect to any such a system  
containing as it does proposition at variance  
with every principle of good nursing.

**f148v**

end

I am grieved to have written this to you  
but I cannot help feeling that there must  
have been mistaken illeg and that  
while the natives in India are moving  
in this matter & in the very direction in  
which I suggested, that you in India  
should move, & while we are  
just sending out to Sidney the very  
nursing staff which might have been  
landed at Calcutta to begin the  
great work there, it appears  
as if the introduction of good nursing in  
India is to be indefinitely postponed.  
unsigned letter, ff149-55v, pen

**f149** signed letter, pen, pale blue paper

Sept 18/67

{printed address:} 35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

Dear Sir John Lawrence

I h o p e t h a t y o u w i l l

**[9:968-69]**

forgive me for addressing  
you directly on the subject  
of Female Nursing in India.

I take the liberty of doing  
so because having received  
at various times from the  
Presidents of the Bengal  
Sanitary Commission printed  
papers relating to the  
employment of female Nurses  
in Hospitals in India, I  
see that the last contains  
the decision of the Government



**f149v**

of India, Mil. Dep.:, No 232,  
June 10, 1867

It appears to me to call for  
a direct reply addressed to  
yourself personally, which  
I will make as short as  
I can. But I fear I shall  
be obliged to trouble you  
in this with stating the  
facts of the case, in order  
to shew that there is really  
no connection between the  
humble proposal I made  
at the request of the India  
Govt., and the scheme which  
was condemned without  
even having been referred

**f150**

to me. But, had it been  
referred to me, I ~~am~~/being *entirely*  
"de l'avis de monsieur pour  
la raison contraire" - should  
without doubt or hesitation  
have condemned it quite as  
emphatically as H. E. the  
G. G of India in Council -  
not only on the score of its  
cost but because I never  
could have lent my aid  
or sanction in any way  
humble as they are, to giving  
effect to any such system  
which the experience of my  
whole life tells me  
contains proposals which  
would swamp every principle  
of good nursing..

I will recur to this.

**f150v**

From the voluminous Indian documents which have been sent me, I gather that Female Nursing in General Hospitals in India, so far as it has yet been tried under very unfavourable circumstances, has been found to be of inestimable advantage to the Patients. On this point the evidence of Dr. Beatson, P. M. O. of the British troops in India and of Dr. Bruce, Principal Inspector Genl of the Indian Med: Departt, is conclusive. Both consider a trained Department of Nurses essential and feel confident that the very greatest benefits to the sick will result from its adoption, if properly carried

**f151**

-2-

out. No one, in short, from the Govr Genl & Comr in Chief to the heads of the Med: Departt and the Sanitary Commission, seems to have expressed or entertained any doubt on this subject, until Colonel Broome's estimate of the cost of the "complete scheme" which the Govt. had called for and the Sanitary Commission had submitted startled the Govt of India by its extravagance.

But the ~~extensive and impracticable~~ scheme on which Col: Broome founded his estimate is totally inconsistent with the course of proceeding which at the request of the Govt. of India I had suggested.

**f151v**

And for which that Govt had stated its readiness to provide the requisite funds. The scheme on which Col: Broome's estimate is based proposes the immediate introduction of a complete Nursing establishment in seven General Hospitals in Bengal, five of which are convalescent Hospitals. In my letter of February 24, 1865, (the only communication of mine that is referred to) I recommend that the experiment should be tried in only one Hospital and that it should be regarded merely as an experimental

o r t e n t a t i v e m e a s u r e . T h e

**[end 9:969]**

proposal to employ trained

**f152**

Nurses in convalescent Military Hospitals is altogether foreign to my suggestions, and indeed to my most settled convictions.

I t t h u s a p p e a r s t h a t t h e

**[9:969-70]**

estimated expenditure, which so much alarmed the Indian Govt. as to cause it to renounce in toto its intention of extending to any portion of the Army in India the acknowledged advantages of Female Nursing, was founded upon a scheme devised in India and has no relation to or connection with the course of proceeding which I, when consulted, recommended as the best.

The most singular part of the story is that the Govt of India, having done me

**f152v**

the honour to ask my advice  
with a view to be guided it  
[it is a false humility & an  
incivility to the Govt for me  
to disparage this step of theirs]  
having no experience of their  
own to guide them, should have  
set aside my recommendation  
to begin with only one Hospital  
as a tentative measure in  
order to obtain the experience  
& knowledge required for  
future guidance in a new &  
peculiar country.  
that it should have altogether  
disregarded my distinct  
intimation that it was not  
only inexpedient but absolutely  
impracticable to carry out  
{printed address: upside down} 35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London. W.  
at once an extended  
scheme  
~~And that in the face of all this,~~

**f153**

-3-

it should have called upon some of its own Military Officers, who could not have the required practical knowledge, or experience [not being Matrons, any more than Matrons would have the power of advising them on Engineering or Artillery points] to submit for consideration a "complete scheme for the employment of Female Nurses in Military Hospitals", which was understood to mean, & no doubt did mean, all the Military Hospitals in the Bengal Presidency.

Thus called upon to submit "a complete scheme" for the Bengal Presidency, the Sanitary Commisssn submitted such a scheme prepared by Capt.

**f153v**

Williams of the R. Engineers and approved by Major Malleeson, and the Govt, considering that scheme too expensive, thereupon resolved not to fall back upon the comparatively inexpensive tentative course which I had recommended but - that no attempt should be made to afford to the sick of the Army in India what the evidence before them from the highest Medical authorities represented as an inestimable advantage.

It is not for me or for any one to doubt the duty of the Govt. of India to avoid and to prevent undue expenditure - and there is a limit to the

**f154**

burthen that can be justly  
imposed on the people of  
India even for the purpose  
of promoting the welfare and  
efficiency of the British Army  
in that country,  
summarily to reject as  
inadmissible & useless any  
attempt to introduce, even  
as a tentative measure, in  
India, the trained Female  
Nursing which has been  
adopted in almost every  
civilized community - [and  
an application has now been  
made to me by a portion of  
the native community even  
in India to introduce it there.]  
- and to reject & disparage  
it merely because a specially  
extravagant & impracticable  
scheme, submitted by persons

**f155**

necessarily imperfectly informed on the subject was considered too expensive, is a course of which the advantage might perhaps be doubted, while there was the alternative of adopting the more safe, judicious and inexpensive course which I had from the first ventured to recommend.

The only account we have of the grounds on which the Govt. may be supposed to have acted is that contained in Dr. Farquhar's Memorandum - That paper, while it contains the extravagant scheme, (as I should do) hardly attempts {printed address: upside down} 35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London. W.  
to deal either one way  
or the other with  
the course which I, when I

**f155**

-4-

was asked, took the liberty to recommend. The chief objection urged against it is that it might interfere with the Ladies Committee at Calcutta.

I do not read the Resolution of the Govr Genl in Council Par: 2 as holding out any prospect of the employment of any other description of Nurses than those who have hitherto been employed; it only contemplates putting "existing establishments" on a better footing.

So far as I am aware, the course I ventured to suggest, in obedience to the Govt's desire, as the best, has

**f155v**

never been considered at all by the Govt on its own merits. [end 9:970]



signed letter, ff156-58, pen, pale blue paper

**f156**

London September 26 1867

D e a r            S i r                            J o h n                            L a w r e n c e  
[9:972-73]

I have received your kind letter of August 16, with the M. S. note by Dr. Farquhar enclosed; and I have also received from Major Malleson the voluminous printed papers, appended to the Resolution of Government of June 10, deciding on not employing Female Nursing in the Military Hospitals in India.

I will now venture to remind you that I only gave my opinion when it was sought - that I gave it gladly, hoping that a great benefit as it was described to be by the evidence of Dr. Beatson, P. M. O of the British troops in India, and of Dr. Bruce, Principal Inspector = Genl of the Indian Med. Dept, was about to be conferred on the British Army in India.

The method proposed for giving

**f156v**

effect to my recommendation & which  
 the Government of India has rejected,  
 was not mine - and indeed contained  
 proposals to which I never could  
 have agreed.

Having carefully perused the papers,  
 M. S. & printed, which have been sent  
 to me I have not found in  
 them anything that could lead me  
 to change my opinion as to the  
 benefits to be derived from Trained  
 Nursing in India, & as to the manner  
 in which it should have been  
 introduced.

But it is for you who are primarily  
 responsible for the welfare of the  
 British Army in India, and not for  
 me, to determine what ought to be  
 done with a view to improve the  
 condition of the sick of that Army -  
 If I can, at any future time, contribute  
 to the promotion of so desirable an

**f157**

object, I shall be glad to have an  
 opportunity of rendering such  
 assistance as I may be able  
 to give.

Pray believe me  
 dear Sir John Lawrence  
 ever your faithful servt

F l o r e n c e

N i g h t i n g a l e

[end 9:973]

H.E.

Sir John Lawrence  
 &c &c &c

**f158**

object, I shall be glad to have an opportunity of rendering such assistance as I may be able to give believing, as I still do, that much progress in the right direction might be made at a cost so moderate that the Govt of New South Wales have not hesitated to undertake it - and the Parsees of Bombay are desirous to pursue a similar course.

Pray believe me  
dear Sir John Lawrence  
ever your faithful servt  
Florence Nightingale

H.E.

Sir John Lawrence  
&c &c &c

ff159-60, October 17, 1867, re budgetary restraints for sanitary improvements

unsigned letter draft, f161, pencil rough JS hand

The Hurdwar Sanitary measures we look upon here as one of the greatest triumphs ever obtained. There are few things which have been done which shew more clearly how well you can organise measures for protecting the public health, even under the greatest difficulties. You have been writing to me apologetically on account of your great difficulties to be overcome & then I suppose you intended to convert me to your views of difficulty by selecting the most difficult case of all & by showing how easily you could deal with it. After this Hurdwar case you will have to adopt another line of argument: both as regards difficulty & finance FN hand: by a few measures of absolute simplicity to disperse a prodigious multitude like that & to save many many thousands of lives for a few thousand £.

incomplete letter, ff162-62v, pen, clean FN hand [FN's version of above! JS]

**f162**

With regard to what you were kind enough [10:36]  
to tell me about the Hurdwar Fair, & the  
papers you were so good ~~enough~~ as to enclose

we here look upon your Sanitary  
Measures at Hurdwar as one of the  
greatest triumphs ever obtained.

There are few things which have ever  
been done - which show more clearly  
how well you can organize measures for  
protecting the Public Health, even under  
the greatest difficulties.

Ah! my dear Sir John Lawrence, I  
shall know you another time & not  
be taken in by you again.

You are like Atlas with the earth on  
his back or rather you are like  
Hercules with his "Labours" of which one,  
I believe, was cleaning out the Augean  
stables

Hercules has been writing to me  
apologetically on account of his great  
difficulties to be overcome. And then I  
suppose, he intended to convert me to

**f162v**

his views of difficulty by selecting the most difficult case of all & by showing how triumphantly he could deal with it. After this Hurdwar case, Hercules will have to adopt another line of argument -both as regards difficulty & finance -

I envy these great reformers - By a few measures of absolute simplicity, to disperse a prodigious multitude like that and to save many, many thousands of lives - and apparently for a few thousands of pounds !!

If we destroyed an Army in the Crimea,  
by measures of the most absolute simplicity,  
you have saved a host at Hurdwar. **[end 10:36]**

ff163-65v, Calcutta, January 24, 1868 re selection of Sanitary Inspectors, You must in your secret heart have thought me very ungrateful for not answering your letters. But I have been very busy of late, and not very well. Moreover, as I had nothing in particular to write, I did not write. We are now busy selecting and appointing the san inspectors for each province in concert with the chief civil authorities. Much will depend on the careful selection of these gentlemen. When once this has been accomplished, I hope we shall make a good start, but it is very difficult to be prompt and active in the "vis inertiae" which has to be overcome everywhere.

We are now full of such anxiety as regards the Abyssinian expedition. It is a sad thing having to undertake such affairs in which the waste of life and money must be great. But if our rulers will let our agents probe their noses into places where they are not wanted and meddle with the people's affairs, they must meet the consequences. July 4th I had written this much when something or other called me away and I forgot to finish my letter. Since then I have recd your last kind note illeg me on the occurrences at Lucknow. They all went off very well, and I hope may be productive of good. Many very sorrowful reminiscences could no fail to cross my mind during my stay there. The time is now close at hand when my wife and girls must leave me for England. This is a great blow to us all. She wd gladly have remained until my time was up but the doctors warned her that it wd be illeg for her to do so. As we grow older these partings become more difficult to bear than formerly. I am illeg that you will think me a poor creature when I say that I shall rejoice when I can lay down the baton of command with a good grace. How you have managed to struggle on and fight your way to the accomplishments of the objects you have at heart seems to be very wonderful.

These Fenian disturbances must frighten the good people in England very much and it is no easy task to derive a suitable remedy. I have always felt for the poor people of Ireland. They have for very long been a down-trodden race.

ff166-69, Simlah, June, 1868 I have to thank you for your last letters, all of

which I have torn up, and more particularly for the news and gossip you so kindly sent me. I see pretty clearly the anomalies and shortcomings of the Irish Church. Nevertheless I cannot make up my mind to its wholesale disendowment. It appears to me that the advantages of that church and the good which many of its members have done among the people are underestimated. I do not see when that church is gone how illeg is to be maintained in the interior of the country, in the agricultural districts. I am sure that if we did not for instance pay out of the illeg of India for the support of the clergy, Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic, we shd in a short time have very few of them in the country and then the illeg soon have religion very little thought of.

I shd therefor very much sooner have seen the Irish Protestant Church reformed than disendowed. And I wd certainly give a portion of the reserves to the Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians.

In India as I have said we pay all the three denominations but the lion's share here as in Ireland goes to the Episcopalian Church. As regards the despatch of the S of S of April last, we have sent out circulars asking the local govrs what they wd propose shd be done. In the meantime their sanitary commissioners are collecting data and making enquiries. I think we shall find it very difficult collecting mortuary returns of a selected character.

I do not approve of the suggestion to send home our officers to learn how to drain land and so forth. We want them all and a great many more in India. It is not that we don't understand how the work is to be done, but that we see how great is the difficulty in accomplishing it, for want of money and because that the people do not care that it shd be done at all.

Then among our leading officials there are many who wd willingly see the whole system knocked on the head. It is a great relief to us that the Abyssinian War has come to a successful conclusion. I cannot feel any sympathy for Theodore, though I think our Foreign Officers much to blame for the mismanagement which brought on the war.

ff170-71v, October 25, 1868 re difficulties. I am somewhat pressed for time and can only write and thank you for your letter of the 25th ult. I am doing what I can to press sanitary matters and will I hope leave them in a tolerably satisfactory state. The matter requires delicate handling in every way.

I enclose some papers which will show you what we have been lately doing. Dr Cuninghame tells me that he has sent you a copy of the Progress report for 1867. The delay in despatching that for 1866 was very vexatious and I cannot understand how it happened.

We have somewhat of a drought this year in the Upper Provinces, but it is esp bad among the Native states of illeg and Central India.

It may seem to you illeg, great earnestness and singleness of mind that we are doing very little and yet in truth I already see great improvements more particularly in the mil cantonments and doubtless we shall from year to year do better. But the extension of sanitary arrs through the country and among the people must be a matter of time, esp if we wish to carry them with us.

unsigned letter draft, ff172-73v, pencil JS rough pencil hand

[1868]

It is a mistake to suppose that natives take little interest [in] or would object to pay for improvements. The cost of the sanitary service at Congeveram was gladly borne by the natives. The pilgrims at Hardwar gladly paid a tax to help the expenses incurred by government for the sanitary arrangements and one of the officials argued from this that they would gladly pay for the town and village improvements. Lately a severe marsh fever due to want of drainage and bad agriculture broke out in villages near Calcutta. It was pointed out to some of them that they might improve the public health by cultivating the ground. They [jumped] at the idea and began immediately.... The central government must lead the way in all these improvements. There is nothing to show that the natives would not readily follow. [end 9:612]

ff174-75, October 31, 1868, re sanitary arrangements which have gone on as far as possible and Sir J.L.'s imminent departure from India, on embossed Govt of India. In continuation of my letter by last mail, I enclose copies of some more papers, among which you will find a memo by Dr Cuninghame, the Off san comr and a note to me from Mr John Strachey to whom I showed the printed papers which I recd from you. I believe that we are now doing as much as it is safe and reasonable to do in the way of san arrangements. After a while we may go farther. But at present we have to show the people and make them understand that they will benefit by the changes we may introduce. The money question is also a great difficulty. The local funds which are raised from the masses of the people are very limited and are already over burthened and the govt here no illeg and cannot raise more by new taxation without causing discontentment. The rich people like to keep their riches for themselves or spend them on their own pleasures.

I am sorry that I can [[not?]] do more in furtherance of your objects and wishes. My time in India is now limited to a few weeks and I am looking out with pleasure to the prospect of being soon relieved, more particularly as my health is not good.

Our frontier war has come to an end, much to the disappointment apparently of both officers and men. But I am myself glad that it is so, for warfare at the best is a sad business and in these mountains is always of a very arduous and uncertain character.

ff176-83, October 26, 1868 Note on the Sanitary Inspection and Sanitary Executive Service proposed for India, note says signed J.M. Dr Cunningham, Sanitary Commissioner, Simla [but must be Cuninghame]

ff184-88v, October 30, 1868 note says signed John Strachey, to Sir J. Lawrence, re the report by Dr. Cunningham [Cunningham]

ff189-90, November 23, 1868. Calcutta. Embossed Govt of India. I must do myself the pleasure of replying to your note of the 15th ult. I think that we have done all we can do at present in furtherance of sanitary arrs and that the best plan is to leave the local govts to themselves to work out their own arrs. If we take this course, we shall keep them in good humour. If we try more we shall have trouble with them. I don't think we require a commission.

Mr John Strachey as member of council has special charge of the Home Dept under

the Govt of India and all sanitary matters have been transferred to that dept, so that when I am gone, there will still be a friend at court to whom you can refer, and who will see all the reports.

We have again a sad drought in some of the provinces of Upper and Central India, and are full of care and anxiety to meet the distress which must ensue.

I hope ere long to see you in England.

unsigned letter draft, ff191-92v, pencil rough JS hand, with FN at end  
Sir J. Lawrence. I write you a kind of farewell letter on the -- the contents of which are so like an ack and reply to your letter of the-- enclosing Mr Strachey's letter and Dr Cuninghams memorandum that I think to you to say that this paper referred to any illeg was two days ago and that I now absolutely illeg. Of course I cannot enter into the questions raised in them, but I cannot but feel anxious at the spirit with which Mr Strachey has written: the points raised in both papers are however of some importance and may be useful as a guide in certain points of the question.

FN hand begins pencil: [grave administrative blunders] of the Govt  
of course it is not for me to enter into questions between different Depts  
(unless there are some means to remove the cause of  
disease which the Inspector points out, it is an  
useless expenditure to appoint him! Signs John Lawrence

F191v JS resumes. Cuningham: I beg to acknowledge with many thanks  
the receipt of the Bengal report for 1867. It has illeg state of occupation I  
have not been able to do more than look at it altho I feel illeg to allow a  
part to pass without thanking for your great kindness. I shall read the report  
...

unsigned letter fragment, f193, pen, black-edged paper

### **f193**

*Private*

35 South Street Dec 4/68

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

My dear Sir John Lawrence

I wrote to you last Friday  
(Nov 27) my farewell letter.  
But I had not then received  
yours of Oct. 31 - with its  
enclosures, Mr. John Strachey's  
letter of Oct 30 to yourself  
& Dr. Cunningham's "Notes" of  
Oct 26. also the printed  
Rules for Military Cantonments  
in force since Feby 1866 -

Pray let me thank you  
most heartily for your great  
kindness in writing to me -

Of course I cannot enter  
into the questions raised



in these papers.

I cannot however but feel  
anxious at the spirit with  
which Mr. Strachey has written.

ff194-94v, 12 Queens Gate SW, September 28, 1868 12 Queen's Gate SW. I shall leave at your house in South St this day a little parcel with a small shawl made of the fine hair of the Thibet goat, which I took the liberty of bringing home for you, and which I request you will kindly accept at my hands. These cashmeeres as they are called in India are very soft and warm, and make famous wraps for the chest in cold weather.

Yours sincerely, Lawrence [signs Lawrence]

P.S. I shall leave my card, but pray don't think that I wish to disturb you.

ff195-95v, March 19, 1869, Many thanks for your most kind letter. I assure you honestly that I feel quite unworthy of your high commendation and only regret that when I left India I had done so little for its people.

If you are well enough to see me, and will name a day and hour, I shall feel honoured in being allowed to pay my respects to you. Yours very sincerely, John Lawrence

f196, undated, re Sir J.L.'s intention of calling on FN, from 12 Queens Gate. Unless I hear from you to the contrary, I propose calling on you on Saturday about 4 p.m. [April 3] John Lawrence

f197-201v, Brocket Hall, Welwyn, Herts., December 21, 1874. Your letter of the 19th reached me yesterday. I do not return to town permanently before the second week in January as we find that the country agrees best both with my wife and myself. If I can be of any use to you then, and you shd wish it, I can call on you, but knowing the state of your health it is probably that I had better not do so. In the meantime, if you like to entrust to me the proof sheets of your work on the ryots in Bengal, I will do my best to correct them. I do not except myself and great authority on the landed tenures in Bengal proper, tho I have studied them to some extent. My chief strength used to be in a knowledge of those in the North West Provs and the Punjab. I fought as you seem to know and still fight for the ryots in Oudh and was only partially successful. It is a long story, which I will not inflict on you. It was supposed that the measures I carried out wd fix the security of tenure subject to moderate rents to about 25 percent of the ryots. I have reason to doubt if these great benefits did extend to so large a proportion of the ryots, still it certainly benefits a considerable number of them.

I cd not take up this question again with the view of fighting the battle. In which I did not illeg by compromise, under a pledge to the Telymdus? That I wd rest content with what has been done for the ryot. Nor indeed even then I illeg do I consider that I cd do any real good to the ryot by assisting his case. Most people in England are very indifferent to the interests of those in India, and when any feeling of sympathy does exist, it is at present felt for the higher and not for the lower classes In which as you remark the East India Assoc are in favor of the chiefs and not of the people

But to return to the case of Bengal and the yeomanry system. I wd not say that the ryots are absolutely in the condition of serfdom. There are many ryots even

in Bengal and Behar who have distinct and valuable rights protected by law, but as a rule, the great bulk of these cultivators are tenants at will, subject to the payment of whatever demands their zemindars may make on pain of eviction. The zemindars closely illeg When I was G.G. a great battle was fought in the High Court in Calcutta in which 11 of the 12 judges gave a decision in favour of the ryots in Bengal with ryots of illeg which did much for them. Sir George Campbell, the Acting Lt Gov of Bengal, was then one of the High Ct judges and took a conspicuous part in this decision. He is a very able man and could do more in such a struggle for the ryots of Bengal than any man I know. He is however now in the Council of India under the sec of state, and thus somewhat tied. And indeed as I have already said, I doubt, if at present, any one cd do much for the cause.

There is another man in England who is a great authority on all questions connected with the tenures in Bengal and Behar, Mr Walter Seton Ross. He it was who got into battle some ten years ago when sec to the Lt gov of Bengal, when Mr Long the missionary was prosecuted for libel by the Mofussil planters in Bengal. No other man cd give you better advice than Sir G. Campbell and Mr Seton Ross and shd you so wish I could consult them on any difficult point connected with your work. But with all that you can possibly do I doubt of any illeg, good at present can be done in England for the Bengal ryot. A time may, and prob will come, when a fortunate concurrence of circs may enable the friends of the ryot to work effectively for him.

I never saw the sketch by Chinnery of the Bengal peasant hut. But I will try and find out if such a sketch is in existence, and if so, where it is to be found.

I don't think that there are any peasant magistrates either in the Punjab or in the North West Provinces. The ryots however in these provs have some rights fully secured and are in a prosperous condition. It is just possible to place a large proportion of the ryots of Bengal and Behar in a similar advantageous position, but it wd be in the highest degree difficult to do so. The combination which would be formed to oppose such measures and the expense, the time and the labour which the work wd entail wd prove most difficult to overcome.

I am no longer the man I once was for work. My health is much broken and my eyesight is now so defective that it is with pain and difficulty that I can use my eyes continually for any length of time. When I return to town I will look over my papers and try to select some which will throw a light on the subject on which you are interested. At present I wd be disposed to dissuade you from publishing anything. Very sincerely yours Lawrence [last letter]

notes probably from a meeting with Lawrence, ff202-05v, pen

## f202

Feb 9/78 [10:476-79]

Lord Lawrence

immense improvement in India in the last 20 years in well-being of Ryots except where there have been droughts - immense improvement In Education but they try too much to get into Govt. employment in Punjab & NW. proprietors generally cultivators people don't hire themselves much out as labourers & when they do are paid not in wages but in kind

riches generally in wife's silver ornaments  
 when drought comes, they eat these  
 Ld Lawrence District Magistrate Ailcherry near  
 Delhi Sir Durand Sir Wm Baker others near  
 him  
 a man came to expose his grievances - I could not  
 understand him. When his boy, a child of 10,  
 called out: my father's an ass: let me tell:  
 & the people about said: hear him -

**f202v**

child explained perfectly  
 Ld L. took him & educated him  
 these become Clerks in Courts at £1 a month

Sir Arthur Cotton  
 tell him that each work will & must be taken  
 on its own merits  
~~there are not~~ river Deltas on theirs Punjab &c on  
 theirs x  
 most especially as he is not going to do these works

himself  
 prêcher un converti  
 have the Ho: of Commons Comm  
 these men are gentlemen  
 it is not a party question  
 give his schemes before these  
 the Govt will (only) have a majority on it  
 I was before that Comm: 3 days: the people kept  
 coming in & out & asking one after the other  
 the same questions; only Grant Duff Fawcett &  
 Wingfield (the man I had to contend with in Oude)  
 sat close or knew anything about it  
 x have the Irrigation where water is most wanted  
 South of Punjab & Sind there  
 you might as well try to grow anything ~~there~~  
 without land as without water.  
 Water there will pay; because the land tax is  
 the water tax: irrigated land is the only  
 cultivable land.

{f202 top of page}

Yes they bribe the police.

if there is a family crime, especially if there is a murder to be hushed up.

but that is the people's own fault:

they have not to bribe the police so much to get their rights, especially now the police is better paid.

they bribe the police but look at our Detectives trial & these Detectives were ~~worthy~~ men in responsible positions

yes native courts, native judges take bribes but except in Holland 25 years ago there was not a Court in Europe where you had not to oil the palm of every Judge

indigo planters & other planters 25 years ago: Zemindars

### **f203**

I don't think an Irrigation Cess stands in the same ground as Education or Road Cess

I think Irrigation Cess which goes into the Treasury to supplement works done extravagantly by Engineers is breaking faith

But Education & Road Cesses are spent locally

~~It is~~ These Engineers are gentlemen: but still it is a great temptation not to do a Canal frugally if the cost is to be made up by a tax, if it is not to be done so as to be made to pay

But the people if you will have patience with them & enlist them will always take the water in time

Illegal abwabs: ancient rascalities: the people always mind these ancient rascalities less: custom endears them: than new cesses & rates let whole villages to them & planters made ryots grow what the planters wanted

Act of 1859 has altered things much for the better Irrigation

there has been unhealthiness from percolation

Where (in N.W. Provinces people not taking the water - Engineers raised Embankments in order to carry the water farther on - water percolated & made marshes: 2 villages entirely swept by death from Fever

People with only pasturage lands for instance will not take the water in ordinary years

**f203v**

Inundation Canals are the cheapest to make  
the dearest to keep up .

Other Canals the reverse - the dearest to make &c &c  
Labour has also immensely risen in value &  
since the time of the native rulers when it  
was done by corvées - the expense of Canals is  
out of all comparison greater.

Godavery - works high up of Irrigation & Navigation

Col Haig's Estimate £200 000  
spent £400 000

Lord Northcote said: Stop

I b e g g e d t o g o o n  
& £700 000 were spent

& still not finished or a success

Estimates cannot be exact even in England

how much less so in India [London School Board

we built School on Thames Embankment

f o u n d a t i o n s n o t g o o d -

School cost twice the

Estimate] but Engineers should if they find  
unexpected difficulties or find they are doubling  
estimated cost announce this in time,  
ask for further instructions, & not go on for  
fear they should be stopped: which ends in  
their being stopped after immense sums  
have been spent

**f204**

-3-

on his authority for schemes/works/ localities of which he  
gives no account for execution which he  
is not to be responsible for

it is the more necessary to give a scheme -  
Bright only did as a S. of S. does - he only got  
up, crammed the scheme: he said he had

not examined the figures: why in Sir A.

Cotton's own interest, he should have done

just the contrary: he should have talked

it out with an opponent of Cotton's &

then given us his matured judgment.

People only listen not to a counsel, but a states-  
=man: to a man who knows & has thought for

**f204v**

himself - A counsel gets up his case, his  
 Brief, & forgets a week after all about it.  
 A S. of S. crams & gets up his speeches, knowing  
 little and caring less.

B u t t h a t ' s n o t w h a t y o u w a n t

Sir A. Cotton & those who know can  
 answer questions whenever they're wanted  
 B a l f o u r w a s o n l y :  
 I have confidence in the [that's what it is]  
 man. If he & Bright knew nothing  
 but what Cotton had told them, how does  
 that improve Cotton's case - what does  
 it go for? x  
 These are not the sort of men to help Cotton  
 I would rather have  
Campbell ~~would~~/to help me than 10 Balfour's

Ld Salisbury knows little & cares less  
 only gets up a speech  
 D. of Argyll cared more but he cares for the  
 least little home subject more than for the greatest  
 Indian subject.  
 Sir C. Wood the man who cared most  
 who would have 2 or 3 opponents together  
 to talk out the subject in his own room  
 That's what Bright should have done.  
 x If your wife or sister says she has confidence  
 in you, it's very nice - but what good does  
 it do a public man's schemes for Balfour  
 to say it?

**f204** {at the top of the page}

Government ought to do Canals which will only just pay & which would not pay a Private Co. because the property of the people is the payment. Not that I mean by that to pump & prey upon the people & raise the assessment but to do our duty to the people without putting any fresh taxes upon them.

They are always except in the Punjab only

just above the margin of want by 2 or 3 bracelets only just raised above starvation in times of drought by a few rupees' worth of silver ornaments which they eat.

**f205**

-4-

The ancient rascalities the illegal abwabs: people don't mind Lord Lawrence thinks income tax better than enhancement of rent.

thinks Road & Education Cesses which are for local purposes not on the same footing as

Irrigation Cess which is to go into the Imperial Treasury & supplement the cost of a too extravagant public work.

Engineers do not make Canals frugally if a Water assessment is to cover the cost.

The Orissa assessment for Water was too high:

[Did this go into the Imperial Treasury?]

8/ 4 rupees per acre

N.W. & Punjab only 4/ or 5/ per acre

**f205v**

Then you can raise it slowly  
It is not in India a clever individual or an  
idle individual as here in England:  
but a clever & industrious race  
& an idle or predatory race

C o m m u n i c a t i o n s       d o       n o       g o o d       f o r       p e o p l e

who have nothing to buy food with:  
there people are all agriculturists:  
they have no trades to go into:  
when a crop fails, they have nothing to fall  
back upon but the wife's silver ornaments.  
In Punjab ~~the~~ most of them small proportion  
who are also cultivators  
no large Zemindars  
few day labourers they don't have wages in  
money but in kind.       **[end 10:479]**

unsigned, incomplete letter, ff206-07, pen

**f206**

I feel it such an honour to be       **[9:624-25]**  
allowed to call myself  
even in the humblest degree,  
one of your followers.  
May I without impertinence  
lay my homage at the feet  
of Lord Lawrence for his  
splendid & patriotic part  
in heading the movement  
against the Affghan War?  
Though a majority, appealed to  
by the meanest & most  
clap-trap of motives, has been  
successful this time against  
a minority higher both in  
light & honour, - [a minority is  
not always in the right - but  
at least the right must always  
begin by being in the minority]  
yet immense good has been  
done not only by interesting  
the people of England but by



**f206v**

making the meanness & the  
 impolicy of charging the cost  
 of the Affghan War upon poor  
 dumb India more difficult  
 to carry out  
 The great Indian officials  
 returning home do not in  
 general interest England  
 about India. Especially  
 does an Ex-Viceroy think he  
 has 'a responsibility': he is  
 afraid of being an 'agitator'.  
 He has

a 'responsibility' indeed  
 but is it not that of interesting  
 England in India? You cannot  
 interest the I.O. unless you  
 interest the people of England:  
 You cannot interest ~~or~~ even Parliament; unless  
 you have a majority or a strong  
 minority of the people of England  
 at your back.

**f207**

How nobly India's statesman  
 Lord Lawrence has fulfilled  
 t h i s            d u t y            h i s t o r y            w i l l            t e l l .  
**[end 9:625]**

note, f207v, pencil

- 1 Famine *Lord Lawrence* 14/1/79  
 Comm. papers
2. Mr Knight's pamphlet N.W.
3. Col Sankey's Report  
 money. famine
4. Bengal Enhancement of Rent paper
5. Collector's ryots' boys at school.  
 What proportion?
6. Sen's pamphlet  
 Ex. from Lord Napier's letter  
 waste of manure  
 deserted homes & land. abandoned  
 Elliott
7. Punjab & Prinsep  
 forms
8. Lord L. against the Affghan War
9. Famine Deaths

Add Mss 45778, microfilm, 250 folios, 170 pages, Adam Matthew reel 20

ff1-170 Lord de Grey, Ripon, mainly copies of letters in 43546;  
ff171-250 Lord Lansdowne

{incoming letters are from Lord de Grey unless otherwise noted}  
ff1-2, 1 Carlton Gardens, S.W., December 8, 1861 re draft instruction for Dr. Rutherford. Confidential. Galton told me that I might send you a copy of the draft instructions to Dr Rutherford and therefore now do so. I shall be greatly obliged to you if you will look them over and send me any observations and hints you may be inclined to make on them. If you ... they are mainly founded on those approved by Lord Herbert for the China Expedition. They seem to me good as to illeg, though very uncouth in style. I shall be obliged to you to return them as soon as you have been able to go through them, as Dr Rutherford will start by the next steamer ...goes out.

f3, War Office, December 9, 1868 on WO stationery, re FN's suggestions. I am very much obliged to you for your suggestions and will get them embodied if possible. I do not anticipate any difficulty in doing so.

ff4-4v, December 10, 1861, re FN's suggestions WO stationery. Private. I have got all your suggestions inserted in Dr Rutherford's instruction and am greatly obliged to you for them. Drs Muir and Rutherford will proceed to Canada at once. One authority illeg increased ration of meat, if required, is to be sent to General Williams

ff5-6, undated notes re FN comments on hospitals, unsigned

ff7-7v, 1 Carlton Gardens, S.W. December 16, 1861, re possible appointments for P.M.O. in New Brunswick

f7v FN note  
Would you  
enable me to  
answer the question? F.N.  
Dr Sutherland. Dec 17/61

ff8-9v, December 17, 1861 re Instructions for Dr. Fraser and warm clothing for troops in Canada

unsigned draft note, ff10-11v, pen {not in FN's hand}

**f10**

The plan cannot be considered  
 includes only the mere office  
~~improvement~~ as an improvement  
 detail and how the correspondence  
 in real administration. In  
 is to be sent more direct to  
 some sense it is the reverse.  
 S. of S. but it does not include  
 The principle ~~appears then~~  
 departments with the separate  
~~to vest all (illeg) in~~  
~~responsibilities of heads~~  
~~the under Secretary & Assistant~~  
 while Lord Herbert vested  
 included in his proposed  
~~on~~ the Head of departments  
 changes by increasing their responsibility  
 & giving more energy to the  
 whole office  
 again the continued  
 watchfulness over all matters  
 connected with health is  
 & comfort  
 of the soldier not recognized ~~withdrawn~~, & buildings are placed  
 in the hands of those who  
 are not qualified. It  
 was never contemplated that  
 the Sanitary department  
 should ~~power~~ have less influence on the removal  
 of Galton, but rather that it  
 should have more by enabling  
 Galton to check all plans  
 & estimates before approval  
 or else that some equally  
 competent person should  
 supply his place.  
 What is wanted is more  
 direct responsibility on the part  
 of heads of departments and  
 a thorough care for the  
 health & comfort of the soldiers in  
 all buildings: barracks &  
 hospitals. So far as any  
 real advance in these matters  
 goes, the plan cannot be said to  
 concern the soldier at all.

**f11**

It is difficult to suggest where the scheme is so imperfect in important details as to amount to omission.

1st. There is really no great difference in this scheme and in that of the present office.

2nd. Such as it is the scheme refers solely to office intercommunication, and does not touch the core of the question, viz the departmental work. You say that each head of a department is to be made "separate". what does this mean? If the meaning is that there is to be a distinct responsibility on the part of each head, then the way this is to be exercised is the very thing I want to know, and as regards which there is no information in the scheme.

3rd. As the end & object of the whole change is to preserve the health & efficiency of the British army, it is very remarkable that the scheme contains no provision for this whatever. It is Hamlet with Hamlet left out. As to your communicating with Mr. Mennie: this would do very little indeed towards the distinct recognition of the subject.

You must trust to your army Med. Dept for field service, but the omission in the

**f11v**

office scheme of all recognition of the continual oversight ~~over~~ of healthy construction of plans and works is fatal to it.

You may say this appertains to the engineering department; I reply show them that it does. The scheme ignores it & would virtually pass the whole matter back into the hands of the Department which has made Home health of the Army what it was formerly. The work is not done. Hardly even instituted. The purpose of a commission is useful as your Barrack & Hospital Commission has been, but more than this is wanted. You require all the experience you can get, for it is a matter of experience, to prevent mischief. & yet there is no provision for this.

As I have said this is only one part of the question. What concerns me, & what I have given my life for & my influence is not that office papers should pass to the S. of S. in this or in that way, but that every department should do its work intelligently rapidly & economically towards the great ~~of~~ object the health & efficiency of the Soldier.

ff12-13, March 27, 1863, returns proof of India report and the "scotching" of the Longmore-Blenkins proposition, 1 Carlton Gdns. Private.

unsigned letter draft, ff14-14v, pen

**f14**

Long before your letter reached me the Director General had named Mr. Blenkins in place of Mr. Longmore, but from all I know there is great doubt whether Mr. Longmore will be transferred to the Army Med. Dep. There has I believe been some mis=  
=understanding of the School Constitution in the way in which the appointment was made, and ~~that~~ in future it is not likely that similar transfers will be permitted.

Mr. R. C. & the Medical School warrant certainly contemplated life appointments after a period of trial, & the D.G. appears not to have been aware of this when he promoted Mr. Longmore.

~~Now~~ In all such transfers (if ever they occur) and in all nominations of professors the Senate should I think be consulted & its opinion laid before the Sec. of State, who alone can

**f14v**

appoint.

If the proposed transfer of Mr. Longmore takes place the ~~real av~~ proper course would be for the Senate to name the Candidates & to recommend one for a two year trial, who if found competent would be appointed permanently.

~~Miss~~ This I believe, or something like it ~~would~~ will in all probability be done, that is, if the Sec of State agrees to transfer Mr. L. under these circumstances you will see that no recommendation of any candidate would be of service, further than his applying personally to the Senate. But at present nothing even in this way could be done until the question of Mr. Longmore's transfer is decided.

ff15-15v, May 31, 1863, re the proposed amalgamation of the English & Indian Medical Services

unsigned letter draft, ff16-16v, pen {not in FN's hand}

**f16**

In any plan of arranging the future Medical service of British and Native Regiments in India, it must be taken for granted that none of the advantages which Her Majesty's Regiments have derived from recent improvements are to be given up. And with this understanding the following proposals are made.

1. That all assistant surgeons unless attached to regiments shall on arriving in India be placed on a Staff under the officer commanding, to be employed on purely military duties.
2. That assistant surgeons shall be posted from this staff solely to European Regiments.
3. That they shall not be transferred to native regiments until after 3 years service, at least, with a European Regiment, in order that they may be thoroughly trained in their Regimental, Hospital, and Sanitary duties, before being transferred.
4. That after ---- years (2 or 3 years) service in a Native Regiment they be again transferred to a European Regiment for a term of - years, to renew their acquaintance with regimental duties.

**f16v**

5. That promotions to the rank of Surgeon take place ~~solely from~~ among assistant surgeons serving at the time in European Regiments.
6. That after promotion, Surgeons be transferable to Native Regiments, & back to European Regiments
7. That in order to bring into the Inspectorial service as much of European Medical discipline as possible, promotions to Inspectorial rank be as far as practicable made from among Surgeons serving at the time in European Regiments, so that the officer may take with him the most recent regimental experience, in this matter.



unsigned memorandum, ff17v-19v, pen

**f17v**

Sect. XX

The most important  
of all duties that a  
M.O. has to perform  
in India is protecting  
the health of British  
troops. This duty  
requires constant  
practice. Little or  
none of it would be  
executed with a  
Native Regt. A man  
would in a short  
time lose all he  
had ever learned  
at Netley. It should  
be clearly kept in  
view that the A.M.O.  
in India is a true  
Officer of health &  
not simply a Dr.  
The E.I. scheme  
would destroy this  
service.

**f18**

The question at issue is whether the A. M. Service is to progress in intelligence, experience & discipline, as intended by the R. C. or whether it is to be weakened & its progress arrested by the introduction of a Civil & Military Staff in India, of which it is to form part - & by sending the M. O.s indifferently to British & native Regts.

Proof of the latter is Dr. Baird's evidence - passage in the Report - the nature of the case -

Qy. Is the Indian proposal really an amalgamation?

This is totally denied Amalgamation should mean, putting similar Officers upon an equality. But no one will assure that a

**f18v**

Staff Officer, part of whose duties is to attend to civil & to leave military practice for years or a M. O. of a native Regt. is at all an equivalent to a well trained M. O. of one of H. M.'s Regiments. The W. O. might very well have required on its side that the whole service in India, Civil & Military, should be brought up to the level of H. M.'s service, before amalgamation was talked of -

The I.O. proposes to leave its service in the low position it confessedly occupies & to drag H. M.'s service into it. The only logical step under such circumstances

**f19**

would be to destroy the  
Military character of  
the A.M. D. altogether  
& to make it a purely  
civil service. Then  
you could amalgamate  
in the proposed way.  
But the Army reformers  
would immediately  
object most energetically.

Whatever is in the  
Army must be military.  
Private practitioners  
are employed  
occasionally for  
detachments. But  
no one ever thought  
of making them  
Regimental Surgeons.  
And yet they would  
be infinitely more fit  
than the generality  
of Indian men with  
their habits & experience

**f19v**

Separate the Civil  
from the Military  
Medl Staff.

Let all Army Asst  
Surgeons go on a  
Military Medl Staff  
in India under the  
C. in C.

Let these men be  
posted to Regiments  
as soon as possible  
& serve 3 years in  
one of H.M.'s European  
Regts.

If necessary afterwards  
let them serve a  
limited time (say)  
2 years in a native  
Regiment & then let  
them return to the  
British Service.

They might change  
again after 2 or 3  
years' more service  
with a British Regt.

It should be  
arranged so that

promotions to the  
rank of Surgeon  
should always take  
place from Asst  
Surgeons serving at  
the time in H.M.'s  
Regts.

f20, July 2, 1863, re the demise of the amalgamation scheme

f21 unsigned JS pencil note f21, pencil

unsigned JS pencil notes, f22

**f22**

Vacher's men for the Presidency Dr. Dempster  
 Y o u l { i l l e g t o o f a i n t }

Council Dr. McClellan

I kept back this bit because of  
 There should be a Para about Operating Theatres  
 to me a letter to Lord de Grey in case I should be so  
 fortunate as to get the Report tomorrow  
 {written at the side vertically}  
 Almost an insult?

{not in FN's hand} {archivist: July 1863}  
 send the very first copy of the Indian report {illeg}  
 could get before if it is ready for issue. Then  
~~mand~~ managed also to send a copy to Sir John  
 Lawrence in order to interest him in the commissions.  
~~Fun~~ The next point is to get these Commission appointed  
 and also some arrangement about the home Commission  
 It is certain that {illeg without home experience Indian experience ?}  
 is hopeless. But, if home assistance were ~~granted~~ given for  
 a time, until the Indian Commissions get into the way  
 of work, the improvement would go on. This is the  
~~point~~ most urgent point now in hand, and after I  
 have had an opportunity of considering the whole matter  
 perhaps you may see your way to bring about the  
 required cooperation between the Home & Indian Sanitary  
 Service. If the Barrack & Hospital Imp. Com  
 is to be ~~used~~ adopted as the basis then Sir Proby Cautley  
 & Sir R. Martin, with Mr. Rawlinson, would have to act  
 on it when Indian questions were discussed.  
 If an Indian Commission were appointed it should  
 consist of Sir P. Cautley

Martin  
 Sutherland  
 Galton  
 Rawlinson

**f22v** {in FN's hand}

Take out any of those plans for Vacher  
 as I am going to pack up the rest.

unsigned letter draft, ff23-24v, pen {not in FN's hand}, JS

**f23**

{archivist: summer 1863}

I send you the earliest copy possible of the Indian Commission report, before it is issued. The work so far as evidence & reporting can accomplish it has been done, but the practical work is all to do. Since the commission opened its proceedings India has undergone great changes, and if all the newspapers say be true it will before long receive no inconsiderable proportion of the English race seeking employment on their own account, and who will be subject to those unsanitary conditions which now afflict both troops & civilians as well as the native population, and so the subject has increased & will continue to increase in public interest & importance.

The real difficulty comes when the practical work begins. The commission has recommended local presidency commissions to initiate & carry on the work in India. Everything must have a beginning and it need not surprise us if India cannot all at once furnish the knowledge & experience required for dealing with this great question. These Presidency Commissions should be composed of the best men the India service can command. Cost of service is quite a secondary question when weighed against the work to be done. These local Commissions should know the Sanitary subject, & how to deal with its practical points efficiently & economically. But it is not likely that even the best men you can get in India will be able to do this for some time to come. At all events we have found that our R.E.'s at home are after several years drilling in Barrack & hospital Sanitary work, still far from being able to deal with the limited questions that come before them here. It was the difficulty attending the first introduction of Sanitary works into India which ~~put~~ led the ~~Co~~ R. C. to propose that either the War Office Barrack and hospital commission or a separate commission

**f23v**

~~for~~ under the Indian Government should be ~~requested to~~ called on to assist ~~hi~~ with advice & experience the Presidency Commissions, and the next practical stage is to get the working organization completed as speedily as possible. As soon as the decision of the First Army Sanitary Commission presided over by Lord Herbert was known, he with that practical sagacity which distinguished him foresaw that unless it were made some-ones express work to carry out the recommendations of the Commission the ~~who~~ whole enquiry would end in words. He found that four subcommissions of men specially conversant with the reforms would be required, and Lord Panmure appointed them. Three have long since completed their work & it is now part of the Army administration & ~~we~~ answering admirably. The other commission for improving barracks & hospitals still exists & it is the commission to which the Indian report alludes. The following are the members

The Quarter Master General

D.S.

Capt. Galton assistant under Sec of State

The Director of works War Office

The Head of the Sanitary department of the British Army.

If this Commission were made use of, it would be necessary to add to it men of Indian experience & none better could be found than Sir Proby Cautley & Sir R. Martin.



**f24**

Both are men of enlightened views. ~~& Indian experience~~  
It would be a great advantage also to have the opinion of  
the most competent Civil Sanitary engineer in England  
in questions of Water Supply and Station & town drainage.

No better man could be found than Mr. R. the  
Engineer of the Local Government act office. He would  
I understand be glad to assist, and I am sure all the  
War office members would do so.

Should you think a special Commission appointed by the Ind. Gov. would  
answer better I would suggest the following list  
as the best you could get

Sir Proby Cautley

Sir R. Martin

Dr. Sutherland

Capt. Galton

Mr. Rawlinson

You would then have all the ~~Me~~ best Indian experience  
and all the best home Civil & Military experience  
in one small Commission.

The present War Office Commission only *advises* the  
Minister at War. It deals with all questions  
sent from home & foreign stations, makes special  
local enquiries, replies to practical questions, but it  
has not & cannot have any administrative powers.

~~As~~ Its functions are consultative, & its advice may  
be totally disregarded, if the Minister sees differently.

**f24v**

{written in the left hand margin in large letters in FN's hand:} Colonial Native Hospitals

Your Indian commission, or the Combined Commission, whichever you choose, should have no other function. It should simply advise & assist with its advice & by collecting & diffusing information, the Indian government & the presidency Commissions until they are able to walk alone.

~~This is the~~ The initiation of this work is the great matter next to be done & I write to ask your consideration for it & your assistance in carrying it out.

In the course of my examination of the various Indian reports & documents, I have been struck with the small number of men of ~~practically men acquainted~~ / knowledge. ~~within~~ of health questions. The names of three men only occur to me ~~up~~ at present, Dr. Norman Cheevers of Calcutta, Dr. Macpherson Madras, & Dr. Ewart who was at Kerwarrah. These are all good men & would make good Sanitary appointments one for each presidency Commission. I could go over the documents with reference to engineers if you thought fit & give you my best advice.

unsigned letter draft, ff25-26v, pencil JS, Ld de Grey

ff27-27v, December 11, 1863, re his inability to see FN, but his willingness to attend to anything pertaining to India she might write

unsigned letter draft, ff28-28v, pencil

**f28**

With regard to the work of the Barrack & Hospital Commission, it is evident that there is great jealousy. We have told the Indian commission that they are ignorant of their duty in Sanitary matters & it is perhaps too much to expect the India office after this to instruct the B. & H. Commission how to define their right. They will never ask for aid, but whatever aid is offered they will accept.

If you could then either ~~in~~ in concurrence with Sir C. Wood or by yourself give such a {illeg general?} {illeg instruction?} to the Commission & could include the Indian work the sooner they are called together the better

To save time we have been engaged with the Sanitary heads of the code, & drawing up

**f28v**

certain directions about rules & Sanitary *measures*  
The W. O. has also improved Barrack & Hospital plans in progress & before long we may hope to have some useful matters to send to India

unsigned letter draft, ff29-29v, pen JS hand

**f29**

As there is reason to believe that the repeated recommendations of the R. C. will be brought before Parliament, it is most advisable that immediate steps should be taken to relieve the home authorities from the great responsibility which at present rests upon them.

Very much of the future efficiency of the Army in India rests with the Horse Guards & War Office. This will be seen from the points which can only be attended to by the W.O. These I have separated from the other recommendations. Now is the time to take these up & deal with them.

If I might suggest a Course the best would probably be to draw up a Minute including all that is proposed to be done by the W. O. & Horse Guards & to have it discussed with the H.G. On certain points they *must consent* to the assessments} for example as in the disuse of spirits in Indian canteens, & has been done at home, & also in introducing gymnastics & workshops

**f29v**

It would be necessary to separate what you at the W. O. can do from what they at the H. G. can do.

The H. G. through their regimental authorities could direct compliance with Nos. 3. 4. 7. 7. ~~10~~.

You at the W. O. could arrange with the Admiralty about Nos. 2 & ~~11-5~~ / & 11 I suppose Nos. ~~1~~ 5 10 & 13 could be done by you direct.

and that in concurrence with the H. G. you could arrange for carrying out Nos. 1, 6, 9 & 12.

ff30-31, de Grey letter October 27, 1863, re the First Report of the Superintendent General of Female Nurses

I enclose you a copy of the First Report of the Superintendent General of female Nurses, & should be much obliged if you would return it to me with any observations you may be inclined to make upon it in the margin.

There is one point on which I shd be especially glad to have your opinion.

Have we any nurses now in the Service fit to act as Superintendent of a General Hospital, or likely soon to become so. I am afraid from this Report that we have not, and if so, what should we have to do f31 if war comes upon us, & we had to send out nurses to a General Hospital in the field, as well as to keep up the staff at Netley?

We ought not to be unprepared for such a contingency. Yours sincerely, de Grey

unsigned letter draft, f32, JS pencil

unsigned letter draft, ff33-33v, pen JS hand

**f33**

The chief points raised in Col. Galtons letter relate to  
[9:563-64]

the *practicality* of carrying out sanitary reforms in Indian stations and towns in a specific manner. Now we all feel and acknowledge the difficulties, but these are of exactly the same kind as existed at home 20 years ago. The state of Indian towns generally cannot however be paralleled in ~~Europe~~ England without going back to the Middle ages. There is all the lapse ~~(illeg)~~ of time therefore between the Middle ages and the England of 20 years ago on which to work. The longer delay in civilization ~~ar~~ arose from the absence of teachers and methods. England was perhaps the last European state to arise at the average healthiness of Europe. Now India can be saved the whole of this long process, by a very simple actions on the part of the government. There can be brought to bear on the Indian question, experience, talent, knowledge & power. An enlightened government

can improve India in matters in which the people cannot improve themselves, & would very likely go on in for ages. The key to the whole is 1st water supply, 2nd Paving 3rd Drainage. This is the order in which civilization advanced in Europe. Society here ~~first~~ first got rid of the water carrier, but in England solely by private enterprise. In India the government could do it. Paving was done by the Municipalities. Drainage chiefly by government, in the first instance. Every ~~objection which~~ ~~Col Go~~ difficulty which Col Grethead points out had to

**f33v**

be met ~~with~~ & surmounted in Europe. No difficulty was experienced from the habits of the people - only from the apathy & ignorance of those above them. As to the peculiar methods to be used: - these are engineering questions. But it may be stated that with ingenuity, ~~most~~/ many of the existing water sources ~~if~~ available for stations & towns would afford sufficient water if economically used, & if the quality were found to be good. One town at last, Bombay, has been supplied ~~in~~ with water within a few years on a principle which cost England ten centuries ~~of experience~~ to arrive at. It was transferred bodily to India with perfect success. Calcutta is being drained professedly on principles which required two centuries to perfect after England had got her capital supplied with water. Steam power is not ~~requir~~ absolutely necessary. We have yet in England one Fort, Fort Pitt which in these days of coal & steam engines supplies itself by horse labour ~~to the extent of 500 p~~ for 500 persons from a single well & tank for water closets, water latrines, baths & every required appliance not only for healthy people ~~±~~ but for sick. ~~In~~ A very great deal of water is still raised in England by wind mills. I merely ~~men~~ ~~it~~ mention these illustrations to shew what can be done but of course in applying principles to specific cases it is the duty of the Engineer to do what is best. Certainly no drainage is far better than bad drainage with insufficient water. Very likely the measures will have to be varied at different stations, & to be improved & advanced from time to time, but all this will depend on the Engineer.

**[end 9:564]**

ff34-34v, India Office, April 23, 1866, re FN's opinion on a scheme appointing Mr. Strachey to Oude

ff35-35v, May 5, 1866, re FN's opinion on a Sanitary minute

signed letter, ff36-37v, pen, black-edged paper

**f36**

May 7/66

35 South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane,

London. W.

Dear Lord de Grey

I h a v e o b e y e d y o u r

**[9:554]**

desire, in sending, as

soon as I could some

criticisms on Sir John

L a w r e n c e ' s p r o p o s e d

m a c h i n e r y f o r P u b l i c H e a l t h .

**[end 9:554]**

[Nothing can be

better than the theory

at the beginning of

his Minute.]

A s t o s u c h q u e s t i o n s

**[9:554]**

as the initiative of the

Supreme Govt., the

functions of Secretaries,

**f36v**

I felt it would be an

impertinence, both to

you & to him, for me

to enter upon them.

Should you however

wish for any more

practical suggestions

before you make your

decision, - of course I

should esteem it an

honour to furnish

them.

I wrote to Sir J. Lawrence

on this subject by

last mail - & I shall

write again by next



**f37**

mail, by his desire. Of  
 course it would be a  
 very great advantage,  
 both for me & for him,  
 if I did not say any  
 thing in opposition  
 to your opinion.

I am not afraid of  
 your being startled by  
 our list of sanitary  
 duties - as you  
 know the subject  
 as well as we do -

I have indeed limited  
 myself to enumerating  
 what the Public  
 Health machinery in  
 India

**f37v**

will have to do - instead of  
 e n t e r i n g            u p o n            a n y            t h e o r y            -

**[end 9:554]**

I send you a copy,  
 a first rough Draft,  
 of the Report of your  
 Algerian Commission,  
 which will explain  
 better than I can  
 what an immense  
 work it will be in  
 India.

I write in haste, in  
 reply to yours of May 5.

Pray believe me  
 dear Lord de Grey  
 ever your faithful servt  
 Florence Nightingale

ff38-38v, de Grey letter May 30, 1866, re a Public Health Service in India  
I do not think you at all a "turbulent fellow" in making the enquiry contained in your letter of the 27th, though I can at this moment only answer it by saying that I want to send you a sketch of my notions as to the Report to be taken in regard to Sir J Lawrence's proposals relative to the Public Health Service in India.

I shall then make a claim on you for farther advice.

unsigned letter draft, ff39-44v, pencil FN hand, arch: memo on JL minute

1. to fulfil these functions the I.G of Prisons would require to be a very different man from the Ins Genl of Prisons in England He would require years of practical training at home to be fit for such duty. It is true that the I.G.s are M.O.s - But the duties are far from being Medical To do the work properly, a man should have a thorough knowledge of what sanitary works are. Otherwise, he would be in a position to judge as to whether certain proposed measures would be useful or injurious. As a general rule M.O.s are by no means so useful as sanitary inspectors as they would be at the bedside. This is certainly our experience in England, both Civil & Military. The best Indian M.O.s could advise on epidemic questions

### **f39v**

Bout in questions involving sanitary works & expenditures, certainly not. Use them by all means to keep a general superintendence over the Public Health, but you must have some other officer to say what kind of works & measures are required for improving it.  
E.G. at Herbert Hos there is a staff of M.O.s under an I.G. And they have a printed code of Instructions as to how to ventilate the wards. And yet both H.R.H. & the D.G. the other day found the wards foul. Of course if this neglect went on, it would be necessary to appoint a sanitary off especially acquainted with ventilation.

**f40**

2. It will be seen from this proposal that the Offrs of Health are to report to the Local Govt. Now his report if worth anything should indicate clearly the class of works required for abating causes of ill health - drainage schemes, water supply schemes &c &c &c - Or the Local Gvt should be provided with thoroughly competent officers of its own, capable of proposing such schemes of works.

In short, what is wanted is

1. a thoroughly competent man to direct the attention of Local authorities to causes of disease.
2. an equally competent man or men capable of drawing up with due regard to economy schemes of works required for improving the health of the locality

**f40v**

3. Perhaps this may be the proper place to state the classes of sanitary duties to be performed in India- premising that the causes of disease which are to be dealt with are pretty well known.

4. Duties of a Civil nature. Since the Report of the R.C. was published that important additional experience on Health questions in warm climates has been obtained. It has now been laid down as a fundamental principle viz that in warm climates the under lying cause of all excessive mortality ~~calamity~~ is malaria- And that the fundamental measure of all sanitary

**f41**

reform in these climates must be the removal of the poisonous state of the air. Having heard that the question would come before you, in the Report of the Commission which you sent to Algeria, I have obtained an incomplete first draft of the Report to send to you, as à propos of this Despatch, altho of course you will have a Proof after Commrs have considered it.

You will see that, in that Report, they have shewn the very striking results wh the Fr have obtained in Algeria by hitting at this root cause of both Civil & Army mortality there.

Now on comparing what the Fr have done with Sir J. Lawrence's machinery for improving health in India you will

**f41v**

find that his proposed Inspectors altho' they might report on the existence of fatal Malaria, could take no steps for removing it- And indeed the proposal contains no machinery for the purpose.

You will moreover see that the Fr have destroyed the antagonism which unfortunately with us exists between health administration & other administration. by making public health part of the ordinary administrative duties.

In fact with them it became a question touching their national verity for if they could not enable Europeans to live in Algeria, the possession wold exhaust the revenues of the parent state- & hence they must either slay the

**f42**

Hydra ~~or be eaten by it~~ or have their children eaten by it & go. They are in the process of slaying the Hydro now & if any good is to be done in India, administrative provision must be made for dealing with this fundamental cause of disease

This would involve the following improvements:

1. drainage (country agriculture (improved methods of) irrigation combined with drainage

These must be provided for:

Next in order will come

2. questions regarding drainage of Stations, towns & villages
3. structural improvements of towns
4. the whole question of water supply involving sources, qualities, quantities, methods of distribution, engineering works. (you will see how careful the Br are about this.)
5. general questions of conservancy, i.e. cleansing, which appear to be the main

**f42v**

improvements which Sir J. Lawrence's inspectors would deal with.

6. paving in relation to surface drainage U health.
7. sanitary condition of foreshores, river banks, tanks & the works required for their improvement.
8. all questions regarding provision & regulation of better markets, slaughtering places & qualities of food sold
9. the regulation or rebuilding of existing Bazars
- 10 the whole question of Epidemics, & the administrative machinery required for protecting the Civil population from their ravages including medical relief. dispensaries, Hospitals & vaccination
11. sanitary state of public civil establishments jails, prisons, schools,
12. all registration duties connected with births, deaths & possibly marriages

**f43**

13. regulations for the disposal of the dead  
You may take it for granted that these duties  
are the smallest number which will  
come under the Indian Civil sanitary  
administration--as the work extends, so  
will ~~the~~ its objects multiply  
It appears to me that an I. of Prisons could  
never deal with these questions. What you  
want is really an able administrative  
Officer or dept capable of grasping the  
whole length & breadth of these questions  
& of telling the Govt central or local  
the kinds of works necessary- the  
probable cost, how the cost is to be  
provided for-the amount of rating-the  
byelaws required-  
We ought not to forget that the whole  
scientific mind of Europe is now convinced  
that Cholera is grown in the delta of the  
Ganges

**f43v**

Like any other weed by the neglect of measures  
for preventing its growth.  
And that too the Govt in India the  
civilized world looks for the future  
prevention of this great scourge.  
How is an Inspector of Jails to perform  
such work?  
Even supposing he is made a Deputy Secy to  
the Local Govt, as is proposed in  
No. 3, You will see from the Report  
sent, that the Fr have put the Public  
Health administration in the hands of  
the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce  
Public works-& that as regards  
health questions, he is assisted by  
a Permanent Commn of the most  
eminent scientific & practical men  
in France--physicians, physiologists,  
chemists architects, engineers,

**f44**

sanitarians &c

Compare this with Sir J. Lawrence's  
Insp of Jails & Medl Sec acting  
without advisors.

I have not touched the Army question,  
for it is really subsidiary to the other.  
In recommending the sanitary commissions  
in the first instance, our view was  
that the President should be an able  
administrative officer, capable of  
dealing administratively with such  
questions as those stated above  
- & that he should be assisted in  
scientific & practical questions by the  
advice of a Commn consisting of  
Military, sanitary, medl & engineering  
officers--the President having a

**f44v**

distinct administrative responsibility  
Instead of this, they made the Prest &  
Commrs a consultative body antagonistic  
of course to other Depts & hence  
the break down

But any way it is doubtful whether  
the proposed scheme would be an  
improvement on the working of the late  
Commrs

I should feel disposed to ask Sir J. Lawrence  
to consider over the whole question  
de novo in its length & breadth before  
any decision is come to, and  
[JS hand ends]

with special reference not so much  
to inspection (the necessity for which always  
involves somebody's neglect) as to providing  
administrative machinery capable of  
dealing practically with the questions

ff45-46v, 1 Carlton Gardens, S.W. July 5, 1866, re a memorandum received from  
FN

ff47-48v, February 5, 1869, re the Home Sanitary Commission

unsigned letter draft, ff49-51v, pencil, JS hand

**f49** {archivist: [Feb 6 1869] [Draft of Letter from FN to Lord de Grey]}

After your letter {illeg} I shd have ? }  
that  
the Minute you had {too faint to read}  
which point is {illeg} that of  
calling attention to {illeg} really  
good affect the entire situation {illeg} in India  
It is this paper which {illeg}  
is in  
happened

Indian administration {illeg} & will  
I trust do good not only to our Sanitary  
work but in a good many other directions.  
It was worth serving in the I.O. {illeg to have?}  
done nothing else than ~~{illeg}~~ put  
forth views & opinions  
You will also find in the same blue book

**f49v**

a record of progress in India including  
your own term of office. It is something  
to be proud of. But you will also  
see that very much remains to be done  
especially in initiating a better ~~jail~~  
prison system & in extending public  
health {illeg}. The Volume does not  
contain all that has been accomplished  
on account of the {illeg work?} of official  
reports, but takes it as it is. The  
blue book is a manual in its way  
& will be improved year by year  
~~{illeg illeg illeg illeg}~~  
New principles have taken root & will  
with care & guidance flower & bear  
fruit. What we want now is ~~{illeg}~~  
a wise progress the spread of mind  
principle & of knowledge among the  
people. ~~we~~ And we should no doubt  
realize the fact eventually that  
India is no more necessarily fatal  
to Europeans than their own home.



**f50v**

It is more fatal to the natives of India than the worst parts of Europe are to natives of Europe. This, however, is in the figures of cure & some day you will no doubt look back with great satisfaction to the great part you took in initiating the work.

During the whole period of Sir J. Lawrence's reign I [10:92-93] have been in constant communication with him in all the subjects in your minute. He has entered readily into them & has done all he can to forward these views. There have been & there will be great delays there & the habits of people cannot be changed in a day. He has had much opposition to enter against, but his own personal weight & interest have been enough to set much of it aside, & India owes a great debt to him in this matter.

Ld Mayo I saw before he went out & I discussed with him all the points for progress with which he wisely {illeg entered?} & promised to look into the whole subject. [end 10:93]

It would take me too much of your time if I were to enter into any statements of his

**f51**

The only choice is to give Lord de Grey the {illeg} of sick at Plymouth & to include as instances?

+ + +

~~I may state in~~

A similar {illeg} these Sanitary improvements is afforded by the experience of two of our largest {illeg infirmaries ?} Plymouth & Woolwich at both of which places Lord Herbert proposed to establish General Hospitals. Plans were proposed for improving & extending the {illeg} hospital & a new hospital {illeg} was built at Woolwich but unfortunately for the General hospital administration the Barracks were {illeg} at both places & the practical result has been that the number constantly of sick at Plymouth has been ~~from 100 to~~ little more than 100 & at Woolwich about 400 fewer than the

**f51v**

Hospital was built for & 500 fewer than  
the Comm admn & P.M.O. at Woolwich  
sent a {illeg} for at the time the new  
hospital was under construction. The  
result has been that at Plymouth the general  
Hospital {illeg} could not be introduced  
& that at Woolwich the administrative machinery has been  
reduced to the lowest possible strength  
{illeg can tend ?}be administered at {illeg} The  
one General hospital likely to {illeg} at home  
will {illeg have to?} be Netley.

ff52-53, February 10, 1869, re the situation of Sanitary Reform in India

ff54-55, August 2, 1869, re the return of some of FN's papers

ff56-56v, October 30, 1869, re the work of the Army Sanitary Committee

unsigned Memorandum draft, ff57-69, pen & pencil {not FN's hand}

**f57**

at home & foreign Military Stations  
& in India in conformity with the  
principles ~~of the~~ & recommendations to the  
Army Sanitary Memorandum regarding  
Committee Sanitary progress ~~under the~~

? ~~War Office.~~ \_\_\_\_\_

There are two classes of Sanitary  
Questions connected directly and indirectly  
with the Army.

1st. The questions regarding Sanitary  
works properly so called involving enquiries,  
plans, specifications, Sanitary details &  
general structural improvements of  
Barracks, Hospitals, stables, quarters,  
including ventilation, warming, cooking  
apparatus, drainage, water supply &

means of cleanliness.

Questions of this class ~~have~~ come  
under the Army Sanitary Committee  
? for report, & recommendation ~~and~~ *The works have been*  
? *carried out* by the works' Department/ branch at  
the War Office on barracks & hospitals at home & foreign stations.  
~~& in India by the Public works dept. India~~

2nd Questions specially connected with  
the personal Hygiène of the soldier,  
including diet, clothing, duties, epidemic  
diseases, &c together with the practical efficiency  
of the various sanitary appliances provided  
on report of the Army Sanitary Committee.

These questions come directly  
under the Army Medical Department  
They are quite distinct from the

**f57v**

points of construction referred to, ~~but~~ any matters involving sanitary works would come before the Committee for discussion & report.

The following statement of progress refers solely to the work of the Army Sanitary Committee.

The Royal Commission of 1857 reported that the soldier suffered greatly from preventible diseases & preventible mortality. It traced most of this to the excessive amount of Tubercular & miasmatic diseases prevalent among troops on home service & it recommended the appointment of a Commission for the purpose of investigating the subject and reporting on remedial measures.

This recommendation was the origin of the Army Sanitary Committee. At a subsequent period questions of more extended character came before the Committee & the late Sir George Lewis being S. of S. reconstituted it /was with the Quarter Master General as President. 1867

At a still later date, after the Royal Commission on the Sanitary state of the Indian Army had presented its report - the Secretary of State for India in communication

**f58**

with the Secretary of State for War, being desirous of obtaining the aid of the Committee for initiating improvements in India, added two members to the Committee to represent the India office, and as many questions regarding larger works of drainage & water supply were now likely to come before the Committee, the chief engineering inspector of the Local Government act office was added, & in this way the Army Sanitary Committee was constituted as it now exists.

The work of the Committee has thus become extended by degrees from the improvement of Home Stations, to the improvement of Foreign Stations & finally to India.

Leaving out the Indian work, it may be stated generally that the Committee by reports & published documents has already laid the basis for improved sanitary works at every station where there are British troops.

In India the details founded in the principles laid down by the Committee are worked out by the local authorities while the plans have been submitted

**f58v**

to the Committee by the Secretary of State for India.

At all home & foreign stations the action of the Committee on the details has been more direct.

The following is a brief sketch of the work already done at Home Stations.

**[end 9:656]**

Nearly every Barrack room and Hospital ward in the United Kingdom has been ventilated in combination with warming.

The Cubic space per man and per patient has been gradually augmented toward the regulation of 600 cubic feet in Barracks & 1200 cubic feet in Hospitals. But much yet requires to be done in this direction before the evils of over crowding specially in Barracks are removed.

The drainage of many Barracks and Hospitals has been improved. Water latrines & water closets have been introduced. Cesspits and offensive middens have been abolished in many barracks & causes of foul air diseases removed.

Improved ablution arrangements

f59

have been very generally provided. The damp, unwholesome condition of many ablution rooms has been remedied and many Barracks & Hospitals have been provided with Baths.

Many Gymnasias have been constructed.

Barrack kitchens have been improved & provided with means of varying the soldiers cooking.

The requisite

Sanitary

Improvements have been

introduced into

a large number of

existing barracks

& many Army

& hospitals & principles of healthy construction

have been embodied in *all the recent plans* of Barracks, Hospitals, quarters stables &c, and it may be stated

with perfect safety that ~~no~~/ very few Military

Buildings any where for the accommodation of

either *men or horses* or sick ~~surpass if they~~

~~are~~ equal *those recently built* & improved at

home. ~~Some of them are considered as~~

~~m o d e l s e l s e w h e r e .~~

X

X

It is a new feature in the history of our Military buildings that ~~(illeg)~~ deputations should have been sent from foreign countries to see what had been done.

The foundation of all this was laid by Ld Herbert & Lord de Grey.

An enquiry is at present being carried out at Home stations to ascertain exactly the extent to which improvements require still to be carried out, as well as the practical results which have been arrived at. This enquiry has been completed for Baths, lavatories, Latrines, urinals, sinks &c. In fact

**f59v**

for the drainage & cleansing arrangements, and it has been found that notwithstanding the various classes of appliances which had to be made use of before the best could be arrived at, these have fully answered their purpose: the repairs have been trivial: in two thirds of the barracks into which these appliances have been introduced no damages have been incurred by troops on an average use of 5  $\frac{3}{4}$  years: in one third of the barracks the damage on the same period of use, chiefly from theft and wilfulness or carelessness has amounted to 31 shillings per barrack per annum.

The enquiry has elicited important points whereby it is hoped that the first cost & durability of the class of apparatus will both be rendered more favourable in future.

As these structural improvements in Barracks and Hospitals were intended to diminish the risk of foul - air diseases; it may be



well to compare the mortality & sick

**f60**

rates among troops at home stations  
with what these were before the Committee  
began its work.

Total  
Deaths per 1000  
per annum

Soldiers	all	ages	before	1857	-
17.5					
"	"	"	1860 to 1866	9.34	
"	"	"	1867	9.40	
English male population of					
Soldiers	ages			9.80	

The soldiers death rate is less by 8 per  
1000 than it was & it is now less  
than the death rate of the same class  
in civil life.

Deaths from Tubercular &

C h e s t d i s e a s e s  
per 1000 per  
annum

British	Infantry	before	1857	-
10.1				
British	soldiers	1869	to	1866
3.15				
"	"	1867		3.27
Civil	male	population	same	ages
4.50				-

Deaths from Miasmatic diseases

( f e v e r a n d t h e l i k e )  
Per 1000 per  
a n n u m

British	troops	before	186—/ 5 ? 7
- 4.1			
Do Do	1860 to 1866	1.09	
Do Do	1867	1.06	
Civil	Male	population	
-----			2.00

As Barrack and Hospital improvements  
were intended to diminish both tubercular & miasmatic classes

**f60v**

of disease (both are foul air diseases)  
the practical results are best shown  
by combining both together.

per 1000				
D e a t h	r a t e	B r i t i s h	t r o o p s	f r o m }
per annum				
T u b e r c u l a r		&	M i a s m a t i c	
14.20				
d i s e a s e		b e f o r e	1 8 5 7	

Same diseases among troops

1860 to 1867/6 4.24

Do Do 1867 - 4.33

S a m e	d i s e a s e s	C i v i l	p o p u l a t i o n
6.50			

The constantly sick in hospital  
have fallen off in a remarkable  
degree. The Queens regulations  
provide hospital accommodation for  
10 per cent of the strength, and  
on the supposition that this was  
formerly found to be necessary (at all  
events occasionally) we may assume  
it as an element in the comparison  
with recent years. In doing so, we  
find that in the years 1860 to 66 the  
constantly sick was /were 5 per cent &  
in 1867 4.24 per cent of the strength.

But about 1.8 per cent of this  
is due to syphilitic diseases, not  
influenced by the nature of the

f61

Barrack and Hospital accommodation.  
 By deducting this from both terms, the  
 constantly sick which was/ were 10 per cent  
 from all causes would become 8.2

O n a n a r m y o f 7 0 0 0 0 m e n  
 per cent from diseases not syphilitic

while at present the non syphilitic

Add constantly sick is/are 2.4 per cent.

In other words there are in England 567 men alive who would have been dead  
 & men on active duty who would have been in bed.  
 insert Nos -

A A So far as can be ascertained the  
 amount of invaliding is/ ~~was~~ less than it  
 was before 1857, but there are no  
 means of ascertaining this element,  
 comparatively with precision.

+ + + Up to the present time the sanitary  
 progress in the Home Army has been  
 satisfactory: but the British soldier  
 cannot be said to have arrived at  
 his just standard of health as yet.

The work at Home stations is by  
 no means complete. The disease  
 and death rates are still too high.  
 Part is due to overcrowding, but much  
 is also due to the unfavourable  
 local position or radically bad character  
 of a number of barracks & hospitals.

In these cases the committee has been  
 able to do little else than place  
 the facts on record. There are Barracks  
 and hospitals now occupied by troops

**f61v**

which ought to be either entirely rebuilt or so radically altered as almost to amount to rebuilding. As long as these are inhabited they will influence injuriously the efficiency of the Home Army.

The enquiry alluded to above, into the practical working of the sanitary appliances will no doubt lead to further improvements in detail, and also to the exercise of a more strict supervision on the part of Medical and other officers over their efficiency.

Were it practicable to abandon the worse class of barracks, those which from bad local position, and organic defects in construction do not admit of being materially improved, there is no reason why the death rate of a body of men so well cared for as the home army, ought to exceed the death rate among males of the same ages in the country districts of England viz. 7.7 per 1000. The present excess over this amount is mainly due to preventible diseases.

**f62**

As regards the health of horses, it may be stated in passing that the last communication received by the committee from the Principal Veterinary Surgeon confirmed the opinion formerly expressed by him as to the superior healthiness of cavalry stables constructed on their plans.

While this progress has been going forwards at home stations, the Committee has had local enquiries carried out at nearly all the foreign stations, in order to enable them to deal effectually with any questions connected with these stations which might be referred to them by the Secretary of State for war. Special enquiries have also been carried out at Gibraltar, Malta & the Ionian Islands by two members of the Committee Capt. Galton and Dr. Sutherland. And subsequently by Dr. Sutherland at Gibraltar and Malta with special reference to the local causes of epidemic diseases in both garrisons.

The result of these enquiries has been to shew that British troops

**f62v**

have in times past been transferred to foreign stations with fewer precautions for preserving their health than had been in use at home.

The practical result as shewn by the enquiry of 1857 had been that the then (altho' much lower) death rate was actually 33 per 1000 per annum besides the very large amount of invaliding.

Questions have come before the Committee from most of the west India stations where this high death rate had arrived. But unfortunately most of them have had reference to the local causes of epidemic outbreaks at the stations, themselves affording the strongest proofs of the local defects calling for remedy.

The following enumeration of these questions will shew to what they referred.

Yellow fever at Trinidad.

"	"	"	Barbados
"	"	"	Demerara
"	"	"	Jamaica
"	"	"	Bermuda

**f63**

Typhoid fever at Malta  
" " at Gibraltar  
Intermittent & remittent  
fever at Mauritius  
Fever at Ceylon  
Cholera at Gibraltar  
" " Malta

Besides the special enquiries carried out at Gibraltar and Malta by Members of the Committee local commissions of enquiry were appointed at Demarara, Jamaica, Bermuda & Mauritius: the two last with special instructions drawn up by the Committee. The Ceylon question was dealt with by a special commission with reference to improving the accommodation for troops by the Colony on principles laid down by the Committee.

The information elicited by these searching enquiries shewed with clearness why the troops had suffered so severely from epidemic diseases. At certain stations the Barrack and Hospital accommodation was inferior or bad in construction or locality or both.

But when remedies had to be provided



**f63v**

it was found that local authorities had to be considered, except in improving the barracks & Hospitals more or less and that in many cases little effectual could /{illeg} be done unless the local authorities could be induced to enter on the course of local improvement, except to remove the white troops.

In replying to the questions regarding foreign stations themselves referred to ~~us~~/them by the Secretary of State the Committee have been able to do little more than call attention to the facts & to place the alternatives on record. So far as is known, this course of proceeding has led to *one practical* result only, but it is a very satisfactory one, and it is hoped will pave the way for others. An order in Council has been issued for the Sanitary Improvement of Gibraltar, and ~~at last meeting/~~ it has been reported to ~~Any /by~~ to/of the Committee ~~it was reported~~ that the drainage scheme the sanction of which the Committee recommended several years ago had been completed. Every house

**f64**

and barrack in the garrison is now drained and by this time water will have been laid over the town.

The barracks have been very much improved in conformity with the plans of the Committee. Several of the Barracks are however, unfit for constant habitation. When these can be abandoned by reducing the garrison or by building suitable huts, there will be nothing to prevent Gibraltar becoming a healthy garrison.

The most recent information indeed is to the effect that the garrison & population have passed through the last unhealthy season without the usual ~~illeg~~ sickness & ~~that~~ that for the first time in its history this important garrison is exempt from any special disease.

In conformity with ~~our~~ the Committee's recommendation special surveys have been made for improving the water supply & drainage of the garrison towns in Malta, as a foundation on which to rest the improvement of the garrison itself.

An additional supply of water has been obtained, ~~and the question of~~ drainage

scheme approved by the army Sanitary Committee & which was referred for consideration to a Committee at Malta is still in abeyance.

**f64v**

until the proportion of the cost to be borne by the War Office and Admiralty is decided. The Committee at the War Office has estimated the value of the drainage scheme to BOTH branches of the public service at 30,000, and there is little doubt that if this proportion be borne by the ~~public~~/ W.O & admiralty, the local

BRITISH public?

Government at Malta will proceed with the work. Until the drainage & water supply are completed little effectual can be done to diminish the liability of the Garrison to fatal epidemics.

The barracks & hospitals at Malta have been partially improved and a number of excellent married quarters have been provided, But several large Barracks are scarcely fit for occupation by troops for which purpose indeed they were never intended, and there is no good hospital in the garrison.

**f65**

Plans for new hospitals ~~have~~/ had been prepared under superintendence of the Army Sanitary Committee.

It is understood that the plan ? of one hospital for Cotonera is at present which under consideration in the War Office with the view to its being erected.

~~I am~~/They are not sure that any steps have been taken with the main questions regarding Trinidad & Barbados which refer to providing more healthy accommodation for the white garrison excepting that the existing barracks have been improved in some points in conformity with the recommendations of the Army Sanitary Committee.

At Demerara the main causes of Yellow Fever are under the control of the local government & must be dealt with by them in concurrence with the War Office.

The Army Sanitary Committee has advised a specific course

**f65v**

of proceeding but no information has been laid before ~~us~~/them as to the results.

The Yellow fever questions at Jamaica refer especially to the Sanitary condition of Newcastle. This is entirely under the War Office and the Committee has recently advised on the steps required for improving this hill station.

At Bermuda much of the improvement of the garrison depends on the action of the local Government But much also may be done in improving the Barrack and Hospital accommodation. Some time ago the Committee laid down the principles to be observed in the works. & it is understood that some improvements have been already carried out.

The Mauritius case is one which can be dealt with in the first instance solely by the local government, which has been for some time seriously occupied

**f66**

with it. Nothing short of removing the troops to higher ground will meet the present emergency & this ~~we~~/ the Committee have several times advised.

Questions have been referred to the Committee from a number of other foreign stations, and to all of these foreign stations copies of suggestions & plans for carrying out stational improvements, adapted to the climates have been transmitted by request of the Committee.

At all tropical and semitropical stations subject to epidemic diseases the death rates vary remarkably from year to year. They are mainly governed by the prevalence of miasmatic diseases. A single example of this variation will be sufficient.

The latest published return gives for the year 1867 in the Windward & Leeward Command a death rate of 11.16 per 1000 of which 3.72 was due to miasmatic diseases.

**f66v**

while in Jamaica the death rate was 71.07 per 1000 of which no less than 57.10 was due to miasmatic disease (yellow fever).

It is by the rarity & disappearance of this class of diseases that the real sanitary state of tropical stations must be judged, and we should all be very glad of a steady decrease in these diseases evidenced (as it would be sure to do) a removal of the local causes on which their existence depends.

Up to the present time I/they fear that little real progress has taken place in this direction, notwithstanding ~~our~~/their reports.

? Algeria

One word about India. The Report of  
[9:567]

the Royal Commission on the Sanitary state of the Indian Army, together with the immediate action of the India Office, of the Government of India & of ~~our~~/the Army Sanitary Committee in tracing out the practical causes of proceeding has already produced results which could scarcely have as in well known to Lord de Grey

f67

been anticipated. The most recent reports show that over the whole of India the Sanitary officer is at work.

Inspections are made, requirements are pointed out. Barracks & Hospitals are being improved or rebuilt on

o u r i n s p e c t e d p l a n s

embodying the  
~~suggestions of~~  
recommendations  
of the Army

S a n i t a r y C o m m i t t e e

Improved Sanitary appliances are being introduced.

The great Capitals are being drained & supplied with water and in a few years the whole face of that country will be changed. The Calcutta Authorities state that any one who has been absent from that city for two or three years would scarcely know it now, and the ~~very last~~ report

~~a short time~~ which arrived from Bombay ~~a date few days ago~~ contains the

a short time following passage which is ago more hopeful for the future civilization of the country than any thing which has been recorded since ~~to~~/ it came under British rule. [end 9:657]

Writing on May 26th, 1869, Mr Crawford [10:99]  
the Municipal Commissioner of Bombay



**f67v**

says, "Nothing has struck me more of late than the evident recognition by the more intelligent of the masses huddled in the worst parts of the town, that mortality from certain diseases is due to a want of ordinary sanitary precautions, to dirt, foul water, & the like.

"A few years ago treble the present mortality in any quarter of the town from Cholera or Small pox would hardly have excited the attention of the inhabitants. Now one death spreads alarm in a neighbourhood, and the aid of the health department is promptly & clamorously invoked. In short the masses are beginning to feel & see that death from these and similar causes is *preventible*

Let us then do all we can to encourage that feeling by bringing facts constantly & clearly home to all."

The ~~present~~ death rate in Calcutta for the last 2 years     **[end 10:99]**

f68 ~~and Bombay are/here less than those in~~  
~~our large manufacturing towns at/~~ Liverpool & Manchester  
~~home. Calcutta less than London~~  
 ?

~~Bombay less than Liverpool?~~  
 London

The Bombay  
 death rate  
 in two years  
 has been lower  
 than that of  
~~the M~~ London  
 ? natives

included The Army death rates are also declining  
~~but they are still much too high./~~but they are still much too high.

I shall give the highest in 1867  
 as an illustration. During this  
 year a great epidemic of cholera  
 killed an *entire* /conf *regiment* of  
 men in Northern India & yet  
 the Bengal Presidency Mortality  
 was under 31 per 1000. Excluding  
 Cholera the death rate was 17.

In former times we should have  
 had to multiply these rates at

l e a s t b y t h r e e

T h e l a t e s t w o r k o f ~~our~~/ t h e  
**[9:657-59]**

Committee has been preparing the instructions  
 for ~~the~~ a great enquiry into Cholera in

India now going on. {there is a line drawn to a circle in the margin with  
 conf written}

~~w e s h a l l~~

/ The Committee will

have to reduce the reports as they  
 come in so as to arrive at

~~the results, & extend the enquiry/~~ with the view of being able if possible  
~~in such directions as may be~~ / to recommend measures for saving human

~~necessary~~ / life in India & elsewhere. add

The great about quarantine  
 importance of  
 this work may  
 be best estimated  
 by the fact that  
 during this  
 present year  
 cholera has already  
 destroyed a number  
 of British soldiers

in India nearly  
equal to an  
entire battalion.

**f68v**

These facts shew very generally the nature of the work hitherto done by the Army Sanitary Committee. This committee was invested with the duty of giving practical effect to the conclusions of two Royal Commission on the sanitary state of the army, at Home and in India. Its work has hence been strictly practical. It has studiously avoided all merely hypothetical discussion, and has dealt solely with well ascertained disease causes. The results to health hitherto obtained have justified this method of proceeding, while ~~a great additional advantage has been obtained, namely, that great~~ practical & administrative improvements have been gradually introduced over vast areas of country in such a way that there is every probability of the progress already made being not only maintained but extended, not without the hope of these improvements reacting on the slower progress incident to an home administration. It may also be stated that ~~The~~ great hospital improvements in the Federal Army during the late American Civil war, are ~~all~~ traceable to the communication at their own request of the labours of one report of the Committee & to the principles laid down therein.

f69

The future work of the Army Sanitary Committee ~~will~~/ should consist in extending the improvements already begun ~~over & la~~ and to so large an extent carried out by the Sec of State for War until every cause of disease ~~in~~ at home & foreign Stations is removed.

The work in India must be done in India and great ~~exceed~~ improvements in the executive will have to be made in that country before the Public Health is safe.

~~It has been stated~~  
The importance of the point may be estimated by what has been said ~~by~~ in France with reference to the Suez Canal Interests. It is stated that an opinion

has been spread abroad that Bombay is too deadly a place that the trade will have to be removed from it

t o S u e z .

T h i s s h o w s

[end 9:658]

the importance of having ~~an~~ a skilled advisory body which can ~~guide~~ afford guidance to these improvements at the beginning and almost every Sanitary paper received from India copies of most of which come into my hand shows that practical help is still necessary from Home to prevent mistakes

**f69v**

In this enumeration of work done must be included the important enquiry directed by Ld de Grey in Algeria into the causes of reduced mortality of the French army there. This commission was presided over by a member of the A.S. Com & the practical results as regards India has been to put the Indian Governmt in possession not of ~~the~~ proposals for improvement simply, but of examples of the success which has followed the adoption of the principles ~~laid~~ of ~~{illeg}~~ the A.S.C. in Algeria so far as they have been applied.

letter draft, ff70-72v, pen & pencil

**f70**

Memorandum **[9:655-56]**

regarding Sanitary progress under the

There are two classes of Sanitary questions connected directly and indirectly with the Army.

1. the questions regarding Sanitary works properly so called involving enquiries, plans, specifications, Sanitary details & general structural improvements of Barracks, Hospitals, stables, quarters, including ventilation, warming, cooking apparatus, drainage, water supply & means of cleanliness.

[Questions of this class have come under the Army Sanitary Comm: for for report, and the works have been carried out by the Works' Department

a t t h e W a r O f f i c e . ]

2. Questions specially connected with the personal Hygiene of the soldier, including diet, clothing, duties, epidemic diseases, &c together with the practical efficiency of the various Sanitary appliances

**f70v**

provided on report of the Army

Sanitary Comm:

These questions come directly under  
the Army Medical Department

They are quite distinct from the  
points of construction referred to:  
nevertheless any matters involving  
sanitary works would come  
before the Comm: for discussion  
& report.

The following statement of progress  
refers solely to the work of the Army

Sanitary Comm:

The Royal Commission of 1857  
(under Sidney Herbert) reported  
that the soldier suffered greatly  
from preventible diseases &  
preventible mortality. It traced  
most of this to the excessive  
amount of Tubercular & Miasmatic  
diseases prevalent among troops  
on home service and it recommended  
the appointment of a Commission  
for the purpose of investigating the  
subject and reporting on remedial  
measures.



**f71**

This recommendation was the origin of the Army Sanitary Comm: (at first styled the "Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission) At a subsequent period questions of more extended character came before the Comm: & it was reconstituted by Lord de Grey (Sir G. Lewis being then S. of S.) with the Quarter Master Genl as President. at the close of 1861 under its present name.

[Sidney Herbert was himself its first President.]

Two years later, 1863, after the Royal Commission on the Sanitary state of the Indian Army under Lord Stanley had presented their report, the Secretary of State for India, Sir C. Wood, in communication with the Secretary of State for War, Lord de Grey, finding it desirable to obtain the aid of the Army Sanitary Comm: for initiating

i m p r o v e m e n t s                      i n                      I n d i a ,  
added

two members to the Comm: to represent the India office - and as many questions regarding larger works of drainage & water supply were now coming before the Comm:, the chief Engineering Inspector of the Local Government Act Office was added - and in this way the Army Sanitary

**f72**

{The following paragraph has vertical lines drawn through it}

The great importance of this work may be best estimated by the fact that, during this present year, Cholera has already destroyed a number of British soldiers in India nearly equal to an entire Battalion.

The work is second to none which has been undertaken by the Army Sanitary Committee. Up to the present time the whole question of cholera & of epidemic & epigastic diseases has been in the hands of theorists. Men have {illeg anxious?}, we must suppose, to arrive at correct principles for managing these diseases, but hitherto all theories have led only to disaster. The attempt is now being made in India to ascertain facts by the help of the Military

**f72v**

issued by the Army Sanitary Committee used when these facts are obtained & reduced into practical shape we must hope ~~to that~~ for better success in preventing & managing epidemics than we have hitherto had for ~~up to the present time date in time~~ ~~in 1869~~ Since the beginning of the present year the British Army serving in India has lost nearly an entire battalion from Cholera.

ff73-74, Studley Royal, Ripon, November 21, 1867, re FN's memo on the Army Sanitary Committee

I have read with the greatest interest the Memo: which accompanied your letter of the 10th.

It is gratifying to see this brought before me how much this how much has been effected since 1856, though as you truly say, so much yet remains to be accomplished as sometimes to make one overlook what has already been done.

Your Memo: is on the whole very hopeful - it is clear from it that the Army Sanitary Commission is the mainspring of all progress & I shall always look back with hearty satisfaction to the illegs I had in preserving it from destruction

& placing it as I hope on a permanent footing f74

If the Enquiry into Cholera is conducted in the spirit upon admirable Instructions prepared by the Commission it cannot fail to be productive of great advantage & to place the theory of the subject upon the only sound basis for any theory that of wide collection of carefully obtained facts.

With many thanks...

unsigned letter, ff75-81, pen & pencil, original 43546 f158, another copy 9008/138

### f75

Private April {archivist: [14, 1881]}

& Confidential

Dear Lord Ripon

May I venture to recall [10:174-75]

to your kind remembrance

one Florence Nightingale

& to ask you a favour

for auld lang syne

connected with old times

at the War Office?

I have heard with delight

of your measure, which

was so very much needed

viz the creation of a native

Army Hospital Corps.

The wants of the present

system or not system of

### f75v

Hospital attendance in India

were so enormous: the name

even of Nursing was such a

farce: the ward coolies, who

are the Nurses at 4 rupees

a month & are not even enlisted

any day they may desert -

seem there merely to be

'kicked' by the European

soldier who says then, & truly, He didn't know who the Coolie was. ~~They are of course~~

~~utterly untrained for~~ They do

~~not even wear an~~ no uniform, &

cannot be recognised in the Bazar if they

abscond which they are always doing, ~~& are confounded~~

~~with~~ Then there is the Mehter, or sweeper

who is of a yet lower caste

& does indeed all the most

necessary work about the

sick soldier. Alike they are

Add Mss 45777

940

of course utterly untrained

**f76**

There is absolutely no supervision of these Nurses: ~~it is not uncommon~~ when the Medical Officer is not there ~~to find~~ the Indian Hospital is quite deserted. You hear, coolie! coolie! coolie! called but no coolie is there. And the Ward Coolie who washes & nurses the Patients is worse paid than the "Shop" Coolie who washes the bottles. The better paid ranks, the "Compounders" & the "Dressers", so called are ~~always to be found~~ in the Dispensary & none in the Wards.

But when in the Wards the Coolie Nurse seems to be there only to be gentle & to be 'kicked'.

This is the ~~true~~ /real state of things in a Military Hospital.

**f76v**

in India in time of peace. It is not ~~of course~~ known to inspection, because when the Hospital is inspected, of course, it is not there. Then every thing is in order & prepared ~~for/to be inspection/ed~~. But the very best Medical Officers are those who will tell you most of it - & who most anxiously longed for a remedy. A Regimental comrade is sent for to nurse a man dangerously ill. The old system of taking an untrained comrade from the ranks to nurse the worst cases, which Sidney Herbert ~~abolished~~/ condemned at home 20 years ago ~~is of course~~ / & far more prejudicial ~~constantly had recourse to~~ in India, ~~with~~ / there is this aggravation

**f77** notes, black-edged

-2-

In times of Cholera & Epidemic  
what the Hospitals are can  
scarcely be conceived: the  
Medical Officer has to do  
everything.

**f78**

-2-

that the Regt comrade, not knowing  
~~nothing of~~ the language,  
nurses the Patient by beating  
the coolie ~~yet more~~  
This is the state of things in ordinary times, with  
this crowd of untrained men.

What the Hospitals become in  
times of Cholera & Epidemics,  
in point of nursing attendance  
can ~~scarcely~~/ neither be conceived or  
described; tho' these poor natives are devoted in cholera  
wards.

The Medical Officer has to  
do everything, if it is to be  
done at all.

In time of War it is ~~even~~/ yet  
worse, especially in the  
last Affghan War./recent campaign. Then  
Hospital servants, one can't call them nurses, are not  
to be had at all. And the  
Medical Officer has to ~~drill~~/ had to 'scramble'  
his Dooly bearers into ~~to be~~  
Nurses

& so to improve attendance on the sick  
when there is not a moment to do it. And the Medical

**f78v**

Officers then die of it.  
 These Ward Coolies or Nurses  
 may be children of 10,  
 old men of 80, cripples,  
 blind: in short any one  
 who will come for ~~the~~ 4 rupees  
 a month. No other inducement  
 is given: no promotion: no reward:  
 no good conduct pay: no increase  
 of pay for long service: no camp equipage.  
 They Nurses lie for shelter under the  
 walls of the Hospital tents  
 during the bitter cold nights:  
 In a cholera camp in the  
 monsoon they are sometimes  
 roasted & sometimes drowned.  
 Having no uniform, they  
 may any day be stopped or  
 seized for entering their own  
 lines.  
 But ~~I will not~~ / it would be ~~so~~/ too indiscreet

**f79 [black-edged**

~~as~~ to enlarge to you on what  
 happened during the last  
 Affghan War.  
 In a word, there is no *training*  
 of native Hospital servants,  
 no *ranking*, no uniform,  
 no *supervision*, no responsibility, no organization,  
 & very little pay: of course  
 no esprit de corps. There cannot  
 be. There is nothing consistent, nothing  
~~done~~ that is not haphazard in the most critical &  
 essential  
 of all current duties.  
 And no steps had been taken  
 to attach the new representation  
 of the old Regimental Orderly,  
 viz. the Army Hospital Corps  
 men, to Indian Regiments. X  
 The Nursing is *the worst*  
*Nursing* in any existing Army  
~~And~~ /threatens often to become no Nursing at all.  
 the cooking is as bad.

**[10:177-78]**

x There is of course the difficulty  
 of the language here.

**f79v**

~~Now~~/ But all this will now be altered  
by your beneficent arrangements / measure.  
~~shd have~~/And might I ~~I am going to~~ ask you /is  
to be so very good as to  
send me the further arrangements  
~~further~~ & particulars of  
~~the~~ /your new Army Hospital Corps.  
I mean the details  
of the system.  
perhaps a copy of  
the Regulations.  
but especially  
what is the proposed  
system of *Ward training*?  
What the organization. What the  
supervision  
if I may be so daring as  
this to trouble you.

**f80 [black-edged]**

-3-

May I remind you of  
Recommendations 26, 27, 28  
of the R. Commission on the  
Sanitary State of the Army  
in India, of which Sidney  
Herbert first & Lord Stanley  
(Lord Derby) next was the  
head. & which reported  
in 1863:  
27 That *trained* Hospital  
attendants be introduced  
into all Hospitals in India.  
female Nurses at large Station  
Hospitals.  
28 European Hospital Orderlies "to  
"provide personal attendance  
"for the sick"  
26 x x x Hospitals to be  
supplied with properly trained  
cooks.



**f80v**

It seems like a God send  
that you should have taken  
up this mean though large  
& important & difficult  
question to work ~~it~~ out:  
difficult in India preeminently because of caste.  
But ~~one~~/ many things may be said  
for the poor Mehters & ~~Chumars~~ they are  
invariably sober: they are  
physically strong: they & the  
Chumars, from whom the  
Ward coolies are taken are  
gentle & tender: they are devoted in time of Cholera  
the material  
is good: but there has  
been no organization, no  
training. And material  
without these is like bricks  
without a building indeed,  
like bricks without burning -

**f81 [black-edged]**

May God speed your  
great, your immense work  
in India, with 200 millions  
of our fellow creatures. May  
its difficulty be your  
opportunity. I cannot say  
what I feel about this -

Pray believe me  
dear Lord Ripon  
ever your faithful servt

incomplete, unsigned draft letter, ff82-85, pen & pencil, original 43546 ff166-68

**f82** {archivist: 28 July 1881}

-2-

3. There should be 3 or 4 of such  
Central Hospitals for Bengal,  
should there not? ~~as~~ Such  
for instance as  
Lucknow or Cawnpore, Meerut,  
Umballa, Lahore or Meean  
Meer or even the dreaded  
Calcutta, if necessary?  
one or two for Madras &  
for Bombay: Poona,  
Secunderabad, Madras?  
Might It ~~not~~ /would then thus be worked  
—selecting Depots under the  
Deputy Surgeon Genl.  
adding a Training Establishment  
for the Army Hospital Corps  
giving an Assistant Medical  
Instructor from Aldershot.  
and a certain few, a very  
select number of readymade

**f82v**

N.C. Officer Instructors from  
Aldershot to form a nucleus -  
Dr. Moore, the Medical Instructor  
at Aldershot could name  
Army Medical Officers  
to be Assistant Medical Instructors in these  
Depots in India and A Hospl  
Corps N. C. Officers to be  
N. C. Instructors in India.  
It might be a condition of  
admission into the Service in  
India that young Medical  
Officers out of Netley should  
be sent to Aldershot to  
learn the Ambulance drill  
with the view of making it  
applicable in India.

**f83**

The nucleus of nursing establishments to  
be formed ~~under~~/ by medical officers ~~specially~~  
selected for their special aptitude  
~~is~~ either from England (Aldershot)  
or ~~(illeg)~~ India ~~to train as Nurses~~  
and ~~a trained~~ x a very select  
Nurse head N.C.O. Instructor thoroughly  
trained in nursing.

At worst it would seem to provide  
for ambulance drill and for this  
purpose x it would be best to  
have a very select number of  
N.C.O. Instructors from Dr. Moore  
the Medical Instructor at  
Aldershot And x

**f83v**

In parts of India it has been said by men of experience that The sweepers are ~~{illeg}~~ the kinds of men who are devoted servants who have no prejudice about work might it not be extended in such localities to allow ~~the~~ a sweeper of intelligence to be promoted to a ward servant or nurse or other work rather than take on a {illeg case?} man from the outside?

{illeg} of 8 p.4

**f84**

-2-

3. Is there any provision made for European soldier nurses or Orderlies? Without these men, the native Army Hospital Corps would lack a very essential element of efficiency The existing "Subordinate Medical Department", consisting of Apothecaries & apprentices, do nothing in the way of Nursing: they only give orders about it to the Ward coolie, who is the Nurse. In fact all, the Doctor, the Sub Medl Dept, the compounder, the dresser, &c &c all are giving orders about the Nursing. And there is no one to execute them none but the 4 rupees a month man, the

**f84v**

low paid untrained coolie. It is a farce to call him a *Nurse* till your arrangements have created him. There has hitherto been no well-paid Nursing at all. All the well-paid people give orders Even the "Sirdar Coolie" does not nurse: he makes envelopes, &c

Will not a small back bone of European Soldier Orderlies be much needed?

It was asked: why should not our English Army Hospital Corps send out detachments to India? At one time it was the intention that the Army Hospital Serjeant & one or two *trained* Orderlies should go to India with

**f85**

each Regiment, & there form the nucleus of the Hospital Nursing. But this is now impracticable, as the Regimental system is gone, & all the esprit, which is of so much greater importance than any Regulation, with it. Besides, since the change in the Army Hospital Corps, there have been so many complaints of the Nursing conduct of the men that sending them to India would be a doubtful proceeding.

We should not like to give you our 'bad'.

There used to be provision for training Orderlies at home. But does any good come of it now?

**f85v**

If there are then ~~no~~/few Army  
 Hospital Corps men trained  
 here fit to send to India,  
 other than some N.C. Officers to be sent as a Nucleus,  
 how might the following  
 plan possibly work?  
 viz. that men should be  
 allowed to volunteer from  
 the Regimental ranks  
 to the Garrison Hospitals  
 the Medical Officer to pick  
 out from among these who  
 serve for a time in the Hospital  
 the best men  
 - ~~an elementary~~ colloquial vernacular  
 Examination then to take place  
 [Of course were English Army  
 Hospl Corps trained men to  
 be sent out, even were they  
 trained, which they are not -  
 {printed address: upside down}  
 1 0 , S o u t h S t r e e t ,  
 the language would  
 Park Lane. W.  
 be a great difficulty.]  
 but good character & sobriety & the experience  
 their own immediate Officers gain of them to rank/ tell of course.

rough letter draft, ff86-87v, pencil

**f86**

But who am I that should take up your time/ I am [10:802]  
one of the most devoted & faithful of your servants.

W r i t e                      t o                      M r .                      I l b e r t                      &  
{archivist: [draft of  
Lord Ripon 29 June 1883]}

urging upon them the fatal  
consequences of resigning  
of yielding to clamour  
Ease it off.  
explain it as much as  
you can but don't ~~resign~~/ yield any  
~~thing~~ essential point  
Call him the Saviour of  
India.  
praise his measures  
[As he's begun, he must not  
leave off]  
& then bring in about his  
not resigning or yielding  
nothing is impertinent  
done with tact  
{written along the side}  
impression not only of enthusiasm but of rest & safety produced by Ripon  
measures.

{86v & 87 blank}

**f87v**

European element  
 bunkum  
 a pretext  
 what effect upon the natives  
 the resignation would have  
 of a Viceroy who has so honourably & wisely carried  
out the promises of Crown, Cabinet & Commons to them.  
echoes of Ld Ripon's own mind  
in this country  
 he who initiated these measures must  
 carry out & establish them if they are to be brought  
 in to working order - if they are to be safe.  
 the blunder was at home  
 in making appointing an  
 active G.G. -  
 carrying out Queen's Proclamn  
 & instructions of successive  
 S. of S.s & Parliaments  
 So much hangs upon the Bengal Tenancy Bill, upon  
 really carrying out principles of Perm. Sett. so  
 violated. So much upon bringing capital at  
 reasonable rates of interest into hands of indebted  
 a g r i c u l t u r i s t s i n B o m b a y  
 life or death hangs  
 upon these things. [end 10:802]  
 Arnold Page Mr. Franklin  
 Wellow Curate

ff88-89v, Government House, Simla, July 20, 1883, re FN's letter supporting Lord  
 R i p o n ' s w o r k i n I n d i a

I have been much gratified by the receipt of your letter of the 29th June. I  
 have a stiff battle to fight here and it is a great help to receive such roofs  
 as your letter affords of the interest which is felt in my work by my friends  
 in England and of the approval with which my policy meets from persons so well  
 qualified to judge of it as you are.

In your letter you have touched upon every point of importance & have shown  
 that you understand each and all of them - I only wish that there was even a  
 modicum of your intelligent sympathy to be found in the Indian Govt. F89 It is  
 not easy to tell you how pleasant it in the midst of much obstruction & mischief  
 to learn that one whose opinion I value so highly understands so thoroughly the  
 point in which I am labouring and then aims a hint I have set before me.

You urge me not to yield to the storm which rages round me. I have no  
 inclination to do so. Reasonable amendments I am prepared to admit, but to the  
 principles of my measures I adhere - I shall however need all the support that  
 those in England Who agree with me can give me, for my adversaries will leave  
 no stone unturned to secure the overthrow of my plans.

Again thanking you very heartily I remain always yours most sincerely

ff90-93v, Calcutta, March 4, 1884, re the "Ilbert Bill", the Local Self



Government Bill, the Bengal Rent Bill and the difficulty of carrying out his plans

ff94-95v, Government House, Simla, April 21, 1884, re FN's help with Agricultural and Administrative Reform planned for India

ff96-97, May 2, 1884, re permission received to proceed with an Agricultural Department

ff98-102, October 10, 1884, re what work Lord Ripon has accomplished during his term as viceroy, from ?

ff103-03v, November 6, 1884 re the departure of Lord Ripon from India

unsigned letter draft, ff104-15, pencil, or notes from meeting?

**f104**

Lord Ripon                July 30/86

Finances -serious crisis (1) the European  
troops - the most expensive were raised  
in number - because they were to keep  
in order the native troops the number of  
whom were to be raised. Then these  
were not raised -

(2). the serious depreciation of silver  
 $\frac{1}{2}$  a million was lost - that is a  
dead loss never recoverable - the year  
I came home - This year it is probably  
worse

Must there be fresh taxation?

What can be taxed? The Income Tax

a most unpopular tax brings in

{notes written at the bottom of the page and stroked out}

L e g i s l a t i v e                C o u n c i l  
against        Ld D.

Commandantnot obstructive

Native Princes        Civil Service

subjects for        & Sir W. W.

representation

Comm.

into C S -

RandolphI will not

Commn serve R.C. best

Sir R. Temple

this Parlt

not good

for

**f104v**

only about 750000 a year -

And I was told by an Anglo [10:836-38]  
Indian official I can trust  
that for every rupee that  
comes into the Treasury, 3  
rupees go into the native  
officials' pockets - If it is  
true, it is bad enough. This is  
not worth while for 750000

Yet the rich man should  
be taxed: but it is so difficult  
And he does so lie in  
returning himself -

We have nothing to fall back  
upon but the Salt Tax - And  
*must* that be raised again?

**f105**

The Land Tax? it ought  
not to be raised now - tho' as  
time & improvements go on,  
there is no doubt that the  
land will pay more.

If there is a famine -  
there will be a terrible  
financial crash

Bengal

Oudh

**f105v**

Yes; the N.W. Provinces are  
about to have a Legislative  
Council of their own -  
nominated of course -  
And this is a great step  
[hitherto they have only been a  
portion of the Viceroy's Council  
a step to representation -

Had I had the privilege  
of beginning representative  
Institutions, I would have  
given the great Municipalities  
(you can't give the country  
representation yet) - the right  
to send a representative to  
the Legislative Councils - the

**f106**

-2-

great Municipalities, Calcutta,  
Bombay, Madras, Agra, &c  
&c

But then the subjects which  
come before the Councils must  
be limited - you can't have the  
Native Princes' subjects discussed  
there - It would give room for  
boundless corruption & intrigue -

Representation must be  
introduced very gradually

Bombay  
ahead  
Native industries

**f106v**

The Commission to enquire into the Civil Service, with the express object of including a much greater number of natives in it. Ld Dufferin has not yet named it. Everything will depend on its members. There ought to be non- official independent members. Sir W. Wedderburn would do - but then he is against a Covenanted Civil Service altogether he or Sir Aitchison wd do. But both are occupied.  
{from the bottom of f107} Our Indian friends are against it. They are wrong  
{f106} ~~If then Sir R~~  
Ld Dufferin has the nomination it will be of people out there - Ind. off. will pass his nominations

**f107**

Ld Dufferin is not obstructive - he has allowed every one of my reforms to go on - but he has not forwarded them - he is a diplomat, not an administrator. And his hands have been full of Russia & Burmah. And he has done the diplomatic work by preference.

**f107v**

There are waves - the thing is to come in upon the wave - You would have done nothing for the Army Medl & Sanitary Service if it had not been for the crash in the Crimea. Now, the wave is against interest in India. Every effort would be wasted now - No interest in Parlt - This ~~wd be a bad Parlt~~/ parliament not good for the native Indians to sit in. Let us wait till spring - see what Randolph's commission comes to - Next spring the wave may be in our favour -

If there comes another Russian scare, all eyes will be directed on India. Then will be the time.

**f108**

-3-

*Parly Comm:*

Yes, Against the opinion of our Indian friends, I think a Parly Comm. to enquire into the Govt. of India - better than a R. Commission. A R. C. would go out & might in the Presy towns get some good native evidence. But in the country they wd only get the most unmitigated bureaucratic evidence Then you could not have a R. C. enquiring into the Viceroy's act & powers - criticizing the Viceroy - That would be unseating the Viceroy.

Viceroy

**f108v**

Ld Randolph's Commn of both houses -

If he has only official  
members, no independent members,  
I will not serve -

If he has only Sir R. Temple  
& the like, I will not serve -

We wanted 32 with  
independent members

he wanted a packed Commee  
of purely official members

Ld Randolph - so absolutely reckless  
Lord Randolph's despatches to

Ld Dufferin on finance  
matters absolutely reckless - but  
Ld D. just set them aside

**f109**

Ld. Hartington showed me last  
year - no, he did not show me,  
he could not find the letter, but  
he told me - Ld Randolph wrote  
asking him to be Chairman -  
of the Commee of both houses -  
but he declined - he thought  
it would be without  
independent members

Mr. Gladstone  
last Thurs

**f110**

-4-

Oudh - Ld Dufferin's Bill has  
been dropped -  
but there is no Session in India  
it may be resumed -  
it had received the Ind. Office  
assent  
but whether for the opposition  
out there I don't know -  
he dropped it There was only  
himself for it.

It was a thousand pities my  
Oudh Bill was negatived by  
the Ind. Off. The Talookdars  
then would have accepted  
it as a boon.

It did not ~~give~~/take away  
from them nearly as much  
as the Bengal Act - & they

**f110v**

would have accepted it  
gladly - Now, not

Bengal Act is, I believe,  
going on well: because  $\mp$ /we  
hear nothing of it.

**f111***Bombay*

I look upon Bombay as the  
most ahead of all parts of  
India - of both Europeans &  
natives, they have such good men -

National League?

Yes, both Ld Dufferin & Ld  
Kimberley know that that  
must be counted with -  
they know that the ball has  
been set rolling & cannot  
stop



**f111v**

Native industries -  
  buying things in India,  
I don't suppose Ld Dufferin  
wd stop it - but he has  
not been urging it forward

What a pity Mr. Gladstone is  
not 20 years younger - I  
urged India upon him last  
June twelvemonth - He said  
You are right - But I am too  
old. I cannot master the  
subject.

**f112**

Ld Ripon    -5-  
The thing is to make a Commission  
  popular. My Education Commn was  
from the very first the most  
popular thing.

  If Lord Dufferin could make  
his Commn to enquire into the Civil  
Service popular so that evidence  
shd be freely given (instead of  
being so unpopular) the thing would  
be done.

[For The thing is that the natives  
don't believe in Ld Dufferin's sympathy  
with & earnest desire to do them  
justice - They did in Ld Ripon's]  
Local Government going on very  
well

**f113v**

Mr. Gladstone wd wish that 2 or 3  
members of the Commission of  
both houses to enquire into the  
Govt. of India shd go to India -  
But it is the natives' own fault  
if they will not send good evidence  
to England. The Brahmins of high  
caste may come over the seas now  
without being out casted. But  
then they won't go out to dinner -  
[Their food must be killed & cooked  
in a particular way] And they  
know what an impediment  
that is to their usefulness in London. [end 10:838]

But a R. Commission is a body  
nominated by Govt. If the  
nominations are packed, - no  
public opinion can be brought  
to bear upon it, or upon its work  
in time.

**f114**

-6-

Whereas a Parly Commee of both  
houses has public opinion  
constantly brought to bear upon  
it, its constitution, its evidence,  
its work.

And, as I have said before,  
the evidence brought before a  
R. Commn in India would, except  
in the Presidency & large towns  
be, as a rule, strictly official  
& worthless.

**f115**

Ld Ripon -7-

Education Report

not much done  
something wd have been done  
in Bombay. but Lee Warner  
succeeded pro tem - Wordsworth.  
- Chatfield having gone on leave

unsigned draft or notes, poss from meeting? ff116-23v, pencil

**f116**

Ld Ripon June 9/88

1  
Viceroy must urge Local Govt. x [Local Self Govt  
[ A h m e d e b a d - M u n y  
Ramchodlal]  
censured

x else they go back instead of forward  
only thro' Local Bodies can Gov work Sanitation - especially

Village Sanitation - x  
2 Reduction of Military Expenditure  
} must  
be finished

Report of Army Commn - not done

3 Education Sir W.W. Hunter's Com  
Restoration in Agriculture - Sir C. Bernard

Revenue Secy  
good man \_

4 Finance Commn  
My Sany Comms what conclusions?

5 Land Tenure - get rid of re settlement  
give Ryot security

Madras -nothing done?

Bombay ?

Oude

Punjab

6 C i v i l S e r v i c e C o m m n  
Report - what?  
Separation of Judicial & Executive  
functions

7 Reform of Legislative Councils  
Reformed they will have to be  
give satisfaction to reasonable  
aspirations in time

f117v

1a

1a fundamental question in India  
improvement of public health \_

i n c l u d e s i n I n d i a  
c o u n t r y d r a i n a g e

agriculture - drainage manure & irrigation  
works connected with agricl  
Coolie deteriorated health in towns, villages  
at 5 & districts from irrigation without  
a month drainage - & Town Refuse  
death causes - local - in towns, villages &  
districts thoroughly worked out  
? SANITARY EXECUTIVE  
Dept of Govt  
superintende of Govt  
no Sanitary Executive except in  
Calcutta & Bombay  
part of old Village Executive shd be adopted  
under Govt control  
a thoroughly well informed, practical  
superintending authority  
to undertake not only local Sany inspections  
but to point out most economical method of  
dealing with disease causes & SEE THE WORK IS DONE  
CAUSE OF POVERTY = INFERIOR PHYSIQUE, due  
to disease causes

**f118**

(6a) Madras (3a) *Agricl Education*

6 Revenue Officers(including Tehsildars)

shd be *relieved of Judicial functions*

3d *fuller knowledge of agriculture*

rural economy

Sanitary matters

demanded

shd possess *Technical* certificates

for AGRICULTURE &

SANITARY SCIENCE at least

but wd prefer *Agricl diploma*

They wd go up for it

*IF Govt wd appoint to Revenue*

*Inspector posts* candidates possessing  
it

2 years of ~~p~~ mere *literary training/schooling*

& First in Arts Examn

chosen from Land Rev. Dept. needing

special knowledge of *agriculture*

3 years *agricultural* training (at College of Agricl)

& *College certificate*

c o u n t s f o r n o t h i n g

& Middle School literary

Examn

[like England & Nurses]

**f119**(7a)

We think we can give Education  
& let alone or not as we please all aspirations  
make Railroads & ~~put to~~ & communications  
so as to favour National spirit & Congresses arising  
& take up questions when we please or not at all  
as we please

Ld Ripon

We have given them English as a common language

(1d)     *Local Self Govt*

*Sirhind Canals*

did putting distribution of water  
into communities' hands answer?  
substitute for petty corruption of ill paid natives  
action of decent villagers

The great thing is to do this

I believe it answered     That was

Aitchison's doing

You can't tax the

natives to better pay the ill-paid native subordinates

You *must* engage the Deccan people in local

SelfGovt. You have no other resource to prevent them from being plundered &  
worried by

themselves

**f119v**1c)      (3b)

Town Refuse    Sir E. Bach  
                  paper  
 Municipal ? authorities & Govt  
   to be held? responsible for outbreak  
 of *preventible* disease  
   [Ahmedabad] banks of village  
                  tank soiled  
~~we~~ *villages* - nurseries of disease  
                  known in the dark by road  
*working men* lose a month a year  
 too ill to work from neglect of  
                  Sanitary Laws  
 BOMBAY DRAFT BILL    *my letters*  
                  to 2 bodies  
*water supply &c*  
                  hangs fire

x  
 not 1000 acres manured with Town refuse/ excreta  
 in Madras      Bangalore supplies S. India with  
   N   O   N   E                   i   n                   t   h   e                   c   o   u   n   t   r   y  
                  vegetables  
 B   e   n   g   a   l                   M   a   n   m   o   h   u   n                   G   h   o   s   e  
                  &c

*wished for Govt interference*  
 If *European Govt* quarantine wd hold Govt of India  
   responsible for cholera originating  
 in India - something wd be done for  
 Town Refuse & Village Impurities

x  
 Under good management cultivated LAND IN INDIA might be  
 kept *fertile* by *manure* of popn who eat 50 p.c. of prod.

**f120**

8

*Nurses at Rawal Pindi*

bad Hospitals

N a t i v e

O r d e r l i e s

*Army Medical Corps*

9

Famine due

(5a)

Land Tenure OUDE Punjab

(6a)

C. S. candidates (Age &amp; education)

(3b)

Madras

AGRI EDUCATION

TO BE MADE A MEANS OF

ADVANCEMENT &amp; PROMOTION

FOR REVENUE INSPECTORS

*Technical Education* supposed to be nowon a footing too expensive & theoretical for a poor country  
like India



**f121v**

1.b

Sany Commr  
has *no Executive* power  
too much of a mere Disease  
reporter

*Hewlett - influence over natives*

DRAFT DESPATCH FROM S. OF S.

1. *advice & aid from experts* Ld Dufferin's  
2. *Govt loans to municipalities* letter (McDonnel  
whole population laid aside by  
Fever for *weeks & even months*  
every year

No Executive {with a line drawn back to 'Despatch'}

Ld Ripon

approves

p.p. 10, 11

if there *is* a  
sinking fund to  
repay loan

Local SELF GOVT

what has been done is RURAL  
districts & most wants doing  
easiest to do  
water tanks  
fountains

**f122**

Ld Ripon working men have a  
myth about me  
they attribute things to me I have not  
done - my predecessors have done  
But I represent Liberal policy  
in India to them

S. of S.s for India  
have not shown party spirit

**f123v**

3a 5a

I don't know about whether Govt  
still gives its custom in India  
A Viceroy must see to that  
continually -

Else the I.O. continually falls  
back - It has its Stores -  
Everything is against its dealing  
in India

5c

The great thing is to reform the  
natives by themselves - If the  
*Brahmins* are taught to touch  
*manure*, then ~~they~~ the people will  
use *manure* -  
only thro' Local Bodies can  
you work Sanitation, especially  
Village Sanitation

unsigned letter draft, ff124-27v, pencil, original 43546 f123

*Private**& Confidential* Feb 1/89

Dear Lord Ripon - What a budget I  
am now troubling you with  
& not even

condensing & rewriting it for you {illeg}

~~I sent the~~ Packets Nos 1 & 2  
were sent on Nov 13

to your house in London - But  
finding you were absent &  
not likely to return soon at  
least not before Ld Lansdowne  
left England, I suppressed them,  
not liking / wishing to trouble you without urgent need/ ~~unnecessarily~~ &  
returned them to my "safe" box -

But we are now in a crisis  
at both W. & I.O. which I fear  
will end in a defeat of both your  
& S. Herbert's & your reforms / Sanitary arrangements / measures unless  
you ~~do/should not~~ think well to ~~interfere/vene~~ with  
~~give~~ /your help - ~~which is~~ founded on knowledge  
from the I. - knowledge in your The W. O. has decided  
beginning to abolish ~~ing~~ the *Army Sanitary*

The present crisis is this

**f124v**

*Comm: & to lend the I.O. no aid in the maintenance of that system -viz the "system of such reviews of "Sanitary Progress in India as were drafted for so many years by Dr. S. & which were :of the highest value"*

A viz

**f125**

? The W. O. ~~has actually~~/ appears to have written to the I.O. to this effect -

- But ~~still~~ it is thought that the matter must be still under discussion. ~~For~~ no notion has been received by the members or by the Secretary of the A. S. C - that they are 'abolished'.

A very strong Minute has been written by a Member of the Council of India - ~~also of the A.S.C.~~/dated Jan 22 ~~putting~~/to be put before the S. of S./ about the arrangements in loco Dr. Sutherland, saying that ~~it was~~ / they (the I.O.) ~~"~~ should ~~"~~ provide for ~~our~~/ themselves an Officer of the highest ~~importance~~/competence ~~it~~ in case of the W. O. carrying out its intention of 'abortion'

**f125v**

„ that we /they can find, to keep up  
these periodical reviews „ &c &c

Such an officer is now at  
home retired in his full usefulness viz; the Surgeon Genl  
Hewlett, who belonged to the India  
Sany Service, & ~~was~~ / as San. Comm.  
did such admirable duty for so  
many years in Bombay Presy

It is also strongly recommended  
that such an officer should be  
re-inforced by a Committee  
of members of the I.O.

I have mentioned to send  
you also - &c &c

**f126**

-2-

To you who instituted these  
arrangements it would be  
an impertinence to add more  
about their necessity

II. The Govt of Bombay (which used to be so friendly to  
Sanitation is

insisting upon {there is a line drawn through the following to the end of the  
page}

a reduction of the Sanitary Dept  
which is already but half the  
strength it ought to be for efficiency  
- on the sole ground of economy  
(It wishes to reduce the 6 existing Dy  
Sanitary Commrs to 4 - to  
throw Gugerat

**f126v**

& ~~to make~~ /that the Sany Commr  
of that great Presidency should take  
a District!!

It is almost like "abolishing"  
the Dept. altogether - {there is a line drawn from the beginning to here}

**f127**

It is something like saying  
~~Let these~~ The Bombay Sanitary Dept  
has told us how many millions  
of people die from preventable  
disease - causes. Let these millions  
go on dying.

{from f126v}

[Lord Dufferin kindly  
wrote to me that he had  
~~prevented~~/negatived any reduction of  
the Sanitary Dept]

[f127}

I have ventured to send you

~~besides/also~~ a confidential printed Minute  
of Dec 10 1888 - but I ask your  
~~to read~~ / attention not only ~~p.p.~~ /to 2 pages 14 to end  
No 1

**f127v**

I can only lay bare our dangers  
before you, you who have known  
all things from the beginning,  
before Parliament meets  
without venturing even to suggest  
what you might think well to do -  
~~before Parliament meets~~

You only can tell  
& I am ever yours gratefully ~~Servt~~  
& ffully

Bombay

It might give you pleasure, I think,  
to see a Bill proposed "to legalize  
trial by Panchayat Court in Civil Suits"  
a draft of which has been sent me -

But this is very inconsistent  
with putting Village Sanitation into  
the hands of the Collectors.

**f128**

Private {archivist: [24.10.88] ~~(13.11.88)~~

Dear Lord Ripon

You were so kind some months ago as to look over the Draft of a proposed I.O. Despatch on a Sanitary *Executive* for India - That Despatch is still in the clouds. But in the mean time Lord Dufferin has been good enough to give us the Resolution which is now no longer a secret - I venture to enclose it only to save you the

trouble of reference.

It is no

longer a secret - for it has been received at I.O & no doubt is in the Gazette of India

& is to be re-printed in their Annual Sanitary {there are diagonal lines drawn through the text at the

Blue Book] end of the preceding three lines}

It is, no doubt, a great step forward that the Govt of India

**f129**

should adopt the two most important principles for which we have contended

viz efficient central control

& provision by Govt of the necessary loans

The degree in which these reforms are likely to produce useful practical results must depend on the way in wh. the Govt of India regards the question & is willing to turn the new machinery to good account. But if the higher authorities in India are too busy, or too little serious to care - the I.O. too being so formidable an instrument of delay & obstruction then these reforms are likely to be coldly received & feebly worked.

Lord Dufferin has kindly ~~explained~~/ prevented disapptmt by a reminder that the Govt of

India does not administer directly - & that all it can do is to lay down lines of policy & to recommend those lines to the subordinate administrations - He is evidently in earnest in laying down those lines -

And in regard at least to the Bombay Presy in reference [10:333-35] to which more particularly I asked him how funds are to be [I am sure your interest does not desert your two fold child, big India] found for the sanitation of villages & whether the village organisation in Bombay will be fostered & an Executive village agency established he says

**f129v**

in some Provinces, Bombay amongst the number, the organisation of Local Govt Agencies did/ does not go down so far as the individual village. "We are however now engaged in correcting this defect, & I have at present under consideration a proposal for the introduction into the Bombay Council of an Act which not only provided for Sanitation in villages & establishes that Executive Sanitary Agency to which you refer but will also link the village community to the larger territorial area under the control of the Local & District Boards" -

I wish the *details* of this "proposal" were known to you. The detail will be so important.

**f130**

-2-

Is it not

It is a matter which will have to be very carefully safe-guarded - or else if the Local Boards have the funds raised by taxation in villages in their own hands, is not the danger that the money will be spent not on the village where it has been raised but in beautifying the approaches or in building Schools or Dispensary for the market town or Head Quarters of the Local Board? ~~The~~ villagers so often/ continually say we don't mind being taxed, if only we saw the results of our money in our own village - But this we never do - [Lord Dufferin was so kind as **[end 10:334]** to send me the Acts he referred to for all the Provinces

**f131**

& only in that of Madras of 1884 to which you gave your assent was there as far as I could see even such a provision / that was in your time as this - that the Local Board Fund shd assign to each Taluka for certain approved objects at least half of the money raised in the Taluka - But Madras is far in advance even of go-ahead Bombay in these matters.

2 If the Executive Agency is left in the hands of Local Boards will not this mean that every native overseer of labour will be a relative of the members of the Local Board?

The Collectors & their associates have not the time or knowledge to superintend the actual labourers - Ought they not to be the lowest rung of the San Dep ladder & be under the San Comm as the Taluka vaccinator is - This seems the best practical way

Govt of India mistaken                      Munies  
Panchayats

**f131v**

Lord D. says that we are "aware that the various "Municipal laws throughout India have recently been "re-cast in an ampler & more liberal mould, while local "Boards have been created in rural areas under Acts "of the various Legislative Councils - These Municipal & "Local Govt Board Acts confer on Municipal & Local "Bodies large powers for promoting sanitary & other "improvements, & for entertaining the agencies necessary "for these purposes."

The Govt of India however made a mistake in their / are "under a mistaken impression"

so says the Govt of Bombay  
"Resolution" regarding the Municipalities on the  
in very deed



f132

-3-

{I have sorted out the following lines to make sense since they are interwoven}  
Bombay side. What they say & what the Bombay  
Govt said in reply ~~is quoted in the Proof of the Bombay~~  
~~Sanitary Report of the year~~ last year is in print & now lying before me  
"which the legislation referred to much of the money wh the municipalities  
were formerly able to spend on Sanitation, they are now by law compelled to  
spend on

~~sanitation~~/Education. The Municipalities have  
had no increased power given to them.  
for improving the Sanitary condition of towns & villages

But we must,

I grieve to say, admit that they do not make use of the  
powers they have - e.g. Surat has a larger income than  
Ahmedabad, but has done nothing. And Govt brought out a  
capital Resolution ordering them to do what was wanted  
- but they will do nothing unless constantly "prodged up"

Ahmedabad is doing splendidly under its native President  
Mr. Runchorelal Chotalall who is worthy of you - They are  
now laying down a magnificent water -supply /sewering & water supplying. They  
have

obtained

from a well which they have built in the river with an  
inexhaustible supply - And a 5 p.c. Loan was all  
taken up locally above par value by Sept 1. We  
hope this will be a precedent for Indian gentlemen to put  
their cash into - Ahmedabad will be the first Mofussil  
town that has been/ to be sewered - It was the most unhealthy

b y n o m e a n s ~~n o t~~ E u r o p e a n i z e d  
town

This Mr. R. C. is who is a correspondent of  
mine

~~proper~~ /He does his pilgrimages properly to the Himalayas ~~I suppose~~  
~~He is high caste~~ I think it is/must be satisfactory to you when a Hindoo of  
the/man of this caste  
~~Hindoo~~ takes this enlightened & vigorous line, overcoming  
opposition from within & without.

**f132v**

But is not the main thing, ~~is is it not?~~ for GOVT not to impose taxation, but to give the PANCHAYAT power to impose taxation on their fellow villagers WITH THE ASSENT OF GOVT. - to make the people take an interest in this movement. For Govt to say it must be done i.e. ~~that~~ the villages must be cleaned & that Govt. will provide a supervising agency to see that this is done. *but* to let the people raise the necessary funds & do it in their own way. They will know much better than Govt. how to raise the money without causing irritation

Let the people tax themselves.

If however a tax is put on & that a house tax like the one in the Madras Act let it be clearly stated that all money raised in the village will be spent *in the improvement of the village* & not of the Town or its approaches.

The Bombay Village organisation would lend itself best, would it not? to carrying out Village Sanitation - What other Province has a village organisation work-able like that of Bombay? Is there not throughout India some Village System more or less perfect which might be made use of -

**f133**

-4-

Lord Dufferin ends with hoping "hopes that the Legislative authority "given in the several Acts, taken with the facilities "for raising loans, & the contributions to be made in "deserving cases from Provincial & Imperial funds, "ought to place the people in possession of sufficient money for necessary Sanitary ends"

P u b l i c                      H e a l t h                      S o c y                      J o u r n a l  
p. 93

To strengthen the position of the Panchayat, make the people feel that it is an honour to be elected a member of the Panchayat. So will you educate them?

Of course in any Act power must be given to Govt to take actions in case of any Panchayat being recalcitrant neglectful or obstructive

unsigned letter, ff134-42, stylized pen, the final draft of ff128-33, with some changes, original 43546 ff214-23

Oct 24/88

*Private*

Dear Lord Ripon

Do you remember kindly looking [10:204-05]  
over the Draft of an I.O. Despatch on a  
Sanitary *Executive* for India?

That Despatch never had the vitality  
to go. But Lord Dufferin has not waited  
for it, but has been so good as to give  
us what we wanted, so far as he could.

The Resolution is now no longer a secret  
But I venture to enclose a copy only for  
your convenience of reference, if you are so  
good as to consider it.

It is no doubt a great step forward  
that the Government of India should

**f134v**

adopt the two most important principles  
we have fought for

viz efficient central control &

*Executive Agency*

Provision by Government of the  
necessary loans

The degree in which these reforms  
are likely to produce useful practical  
results must depend of course on  
the way in which the Government  
of India regards the question & is  
willing to turn the new machinery

t o g o o d a c c o u n t .

But if the  
higher authorities in India are  
too busy, or too little serious  
to care - the I.O. Council too

**f135**

being so formidable an instrument of delay & obstruction then these reforms are likely to be coldly received & feebly worked. The Sanitary Commissioner with the Govt. of India is a time server but if energy is the favourite policy of the moment this is of course in our favour and I have observed of late in his Reports the foreshadowing of Executive Boards & of the loan policy [Perhaps the thing most against the good work is the present low stamp of Sanitary Commissioners in India. the no stamp of Sanitary Engineers there.

**f135v**

and what the reorganization of the Army Sanitary Commission here rendered necessary by the retirement from age & illness of Dr. Sutherland it working member hangs fire]

Lord Dufferin kindly reminds me in order as he says to prevent disappointment that the Govt of India does not administer directly - & that all it can do is to lay down lines of policy & to recommend those lines to the subordinate administrations. He is evidently in earnest in laying down those lines -

I am sure your interest does not desert your two fold child big India or I should not

**f136**

Strictly -2-

Private

venture to trouble you so much. [end 10:205]

2. And in regard at least to the Bombay [10:333-35]

Presidency in reference to which more particularly I screwed up my courage to ask Lord Dufferin

How funds are to be found for the Sanitation of its 24,000 Villages?

Whether the Village Bombay organisation will be fostered

and an Executive Village agency established

x As a matter of fact notwithstanding the supposed powers of the Bombay Local Boards Act there has never been any attempt made by any Local Board to cleanse a village, And if they were asked to do so, the answer would be that the funds are not sufficient.

**f136v**

Lord Dufferin kindly answers that in some Provinces, Bombay amongst the number the organisation of Local Govt Agencies does not go down so far as the individual village. "we are however" he adds "now engaged in correcting this defect and I have at present under consideration a proposal for the introduction into the Bombay Council of an Act which not only provides for Sanitation in villages & establishes that Executive Sanitary Agency to which you refer, but will also link the village community to the larger territorial area under the control of the

**f137**

"Local & District Boards"

I wish the *details* of this "proposal" were known to you. The *detail* will be so important. e.g. is it not a matter which will have to be very carefully safe guarded for, if the Local Boards have the funds raised by taxation in villages in their own hands, is not the danger that the money will be spent *not* on the village where it has been raised but in beautifying the approaches to or in building Schools or Dispensary for the Market Town or Head Quarters of the Local Board?

The continual complaint of Villagers is: we don't mind being taxed, if only we saw the results of our money in our

**f137v**

own Village; but this we never do.

Lord Dufferin sent me the Acts for each Province to which he referred, and & only in that of Madras - July 1884 - to which y o u g a v e y o u r

a s s e n t -

was there, as far as I could see, even such a provision as this - that the District Board Fund should assign to each Taluka Board for certain approved objects at least half of the money raised in the Taluka. But Madras is far in advance even of go-ahead Bombay in these matters.]

If the Executive Agency is left in the hands of Local Boards will not this mean that every muckadum or native overseer of labour will be a relative of

**f138**

-3-

t h e        m e m b e r s        o f        t h e        L o c a l        B o a r d s ?

The

Collectors & their associates have not the time or knowledge to superintend the actual labourers. The best practical way would seem to be that they should be the lowest rung of the Sanitary Dept ladder & be under the Sany Commissioner, as the Taluka vaccinator is - still preserving the Village organization or some such plan would it not?

3. Lord Dufferin says that we are "aware [10:334-35] "that the various Municipal Laws throughout "India have recently been recast in "an ampler and more liberal mould "while Local Boards have been "created in rural areas under

**f138v**

"Acts of the various Legislative Councils  
 "These Municipal & Local Govt Board  
 "Acts confer on Municipal & Local  
 "Bodies large powers for promoting  
 Sanitary & other improvements, &  
 "for entertaining the agencies necessary  
 "for these purposes."

The Govt of India however made a mistake in their "Resolution" of last year regarding the Municipalities at least on the Bombay side, as the Bombay Govt said in reply: "Under "the legislation referred to much of "the money which the municipalities "were formerly able to spend on "Sanitation, they are now by law "compelled to spend on education."

**f139**

"The Municipalities have had no increased  
"power given to them for improving  
"the Sanitary condition of towns &  
"Villages"

But we must I grieve to say admit  
that they do not make use of the powers  
they have - e.g. Surat has a larger  
income than Ahmedabad, but has  
done nothing except bring on a serious  
outbreak of cholera. And Govt brought  
out a capital Resolution "ordering them  
to do what was wanted - - but they will  
do nothing unless constantly "prodded up"

Ahmedabad is working splendidly at  
water supply & sewerage [it was a dreadful  
city] under its native President  
Mr. Runchorelal Chotalall, who

**f139v**

is worthy of you - They are now about to  
lay on a water -supply inexhaustible  
obtained from a well built in the river  
bed -[ a 5 per cent. Loan for this was  
taken up locally the whole of it  
immediately above par value. We  
hope this good example will be followed  
by other Cities for *their* cash hoards savings]

Ahmedabad will be the first Mofussil  
town to be sewered - Its death rate  
was enormous.

This Mr. Runchorelal Chotalall (who  
is a correspondent of mine) is by no  
means Anglicized. He does his pilgrimages  
properly to the Himalayas. I think it must be  
satisfactory to you when a native of the  
natives takes this enlightened & vigorous line  
overcoming opposition from within & without.



**f140**

-4-

But is not the main thing for Govt not to impose taxation, but to proceed something in this way: to say that in the interest of the people themselves the Sanitary Condition of the Villages must be improved. - that the people will be allowed to choose their own way of doing this - but that it must be done to the satisfaction of the Officers Govt will appoint to supervise the work.

The Government on their part will be ready & willing to assist the people, as far as lies in their power by re-establishing by law the position of the Village Panchayat.  
by giving land as *income* to the Village

**f140v**

menial servants (the Mhars & the Mangs)  
& for Village Sanitary purposes.  
by giving the Village headman authority to punish those who disobeyed the order of the Village Panchayat  
and to recover the hûks of the Village menial Servants by summary process.  
to give the *Panchayats* power to impose taxation on their fellow Villagers  
*with the assent of Govt.*

Will not the people know much better than Govt. how to raise the money without causing irritation? **[end 10:335]**

If however a tax is put on - a house tax like the one in the Madras Act should it not be clearly stated

**f141**

that all money raised in the village will be spent *in the improvement of the Village* & not of the Town or its approaches?

To strengthen the position of the Panchayat - to make the people feel that it is an honour to be elected a Member of the Panchayat. So, would you educate them?

Of course in any act power must be given to Govt to take action in case of any Panchayat being recalcitrant, neglectful or obstructive.

**f141v**

5. The Bombay Village organisation lends itself best, does it not? to carrying out Village Sanitation - Which other Province has a village organisation work-able like that of Bombay?

Is there throughout India some Village System more or less perfect which might be made use of ?

Have we left no Village system in Bengal?

It would be a grand thing if each Village had a Governor in its Headman.

**f142**

-5-

6. Lord Dufferin points to paragraphs 7 and 8 of the Resolution as "the tone  
"key to the solution of the question  
"how funds are to be provided for  
"the Sanitation of Villages" He says  
"Where the power does not exist (of  
imposing taxation locally for local  
purposes) "we as you will perceive  
"from paragraph 7 of the Resolution  
"urge Local Government to arm them=  
"selves with it."

And he ends with "hoping that the  
"Legislative authority given in the several  
"Acts, taken with the facilities for  
"raising loans, & the contributions to  
"be made in deserving cases from  
"Provincial & Imperial funds ought  
"to place the people in possession

**f142v**

of sufficient money for necessary  
Sanitary ends"

The Council of the Calcutta Public Health  
Society in making its 'note' (on the  
"Resolution" enclosed) observes "It seems  
"to have been lost sight of that under  
'these paragraphs 7 and 8 a by no  
"means impossible contingency might  
"see local bodies of importance, local  
"Governments for their provincial Loan  
"Funds, & the Govt of India all in  
"the market together, seeking resource  
"each for its special purpose"  
Is this criticism a just one.

initialled letter, ff143-44v, pen

**f143**

*PRIVATE* wrote to Lord Dufferin Oct 26

Ld Lansdowne came " 28

25/10/88

{printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Our Viceroy 'apparent' kindly [10:342]

came to see me in July. He  
was most favourably disposed  
to these objects we have at heart,  
but specially well disposed to  
Village native agencies, to  
Panchayats & the like, to  
Local Self Govt, &c, which  
I attributed to his having  
had the advantage of seeing  
& hearing from you -

He proposes to come & see me  
again some day during the  
next two or three weeks  
[he leaves England, I believe,  
On Novber 16]. Is there

**f143v**

anything that you would kindly  
advise me ~~to~~ particularly  
how to discuss?

Pardon me for troubling you  
at so great a length  
in this letter - Besides  
that your opinion would  
be invaluable on its points,  
if you are so kind as to  
give it; it would be most  
gracious if you would tell  
me; should I or not  
discuss these points of details  
with the in coming Viceroy  
as to what will enable this  
Govt of India "Resolution"

**f144**

to bear practical results?

One may go on with too true  
& frightful Death Statistics  
for ever; but that does  
not tell one how to  
cleanse a single Village,  
or find funds in ~~the~~ what  
the out-going Viceroy calls  
the "depleted revenues of  
"India".

The incoming Viceroy says  
he has asked why the practice  
of allowing solvent Local bodies  
to borrow of Govt at a little  
higher rate than Govt.

**f144v**

is able to borrow at,  
was discontinued,  
apparently in 1879 -  
& that he has not been  
satisfied with the answer.

What should I say to  
him about this? **[end 10:342]**

F.N.

The Marquis of Ripon K.G.

unsigned letter draft, ff145-49, pencil & pen

**f145**

Nov 13/88

Ld Ripon? Ld Cross

Resolution of the Govt of India July 27/88

Govt of Bombay at least as far as one member is concerned

is already revolting against the Resolution

It ~~styles~~/ condemns the proposed Executive Boards as "cumbersome

"& expensive" [I don't know how far this involves / he speaks for  
the Governor]

And condemns at once the Resolution for doing too  
much & too little -

[But there is no / it has not committed itself to this on paper as far as I  
know -

It condemns the proposed "Survey" which it says  
would take 30 years - in which it is right

**f145v**

while it says how deficient the Resolution is  
 speaking only of water supply &  
 while not alluding to Irrigation without drainage  
 - to the loss of life as at Poona owing to the Irrigation embankments &c causing  
 the water to stagnate

& not to run off  
 being brought in at a higher level than the native  
 city/ town - & the sugar - cane growing round the  
 city with Town Refuse & ~~manure~~ night soil & Irrigation Water

The only cure was/is raising the Water rate so  
 much as to be ~~almost~~ prohibitive - And we have  
 done so (? 40 p.c.) so as to be almost prohibitive

**f146**

-2-

by reviving the Mhars & the Mangs from time immemorial  
 t h e        v i l l a g e        m e n i a l        s e r v a n t s

[But this is done in the

p. 3. 3.        present Draft

A Draft Bill was actually  
 framed in 1885 embodying

~~some of the desirable/~~ desired provisions

~~I believe~~ I should mention that the present  
 Draft Bill is far from being decided upon - The  
 Govt. of Bombay must have received many letters upon it  
 And I ought to say that I was invited to criticize it  
 & have done so        I sent my remarks to Bombay as I  
 was desired        2nd

**f147**

Part III of the Bill is:

If the proposed Sany Commr does not do his work, then the Govt of Bombay is to have power to set on foot a Sanitary Board over two or more villages, appointed by the Collector not necessarily of residents with Mamlutdars (magistrates) upon it - ~~one of~~

The Mamlutdars know nothing of Sanitary things except to keep the road clean thro' which the Coll. or Ass. is to pass

The Sanitary Commissioner & his Dept are ignored - It is not said who is to decide (farther than the Collector or the Magistrate) whether the village is clean.

The Collector is to have power to appoint Sanitary Inspectors (above all officials dreaded by the people) natives, of course - But what their training or qualification is to be is not mentioned

The Sanitary Work to be done, ~~is only~~ to secure a pure potable water supply & ~~at~~ village surface cleansing is glanced at but of course power to make Village rules is given - And these Rules will be modified/ enlarged if necessary & increased.

The work is to be done by  
village menial servants  
contracted " "  
voluntary labour of villagers

Sanitary  
Inspectors

But who is to say whether it is pure? Some villages never know what it is to drink any but impure water out of the tank

**f147v**

But no power is taken to pay the village menial servant except by Govt lands & dues. But they cannot be expected to do more for these recognised dues than their forefathers did before them under native rule - & if more is demanded of them - and *must* not more be demanded of them - if the village is to be properly cleaned? they ought to be paid proportionately

Is not The Contracting System ~~is~~ work of this kind is notoriously /a way to defeat the wishes of Govt not to be depended on - It failed absolutely in Bombay City & the Sanitary work there is now done by municipal servants - & it is to be

hoped it will be done in villages by village servants paid - the village menial servants (mhars & Mangs) are too few

**f148**

Nov 13/88 -2-Ld Ripon ? Ld Cross

A.S.C. -

You will remember the Army San Comm which grew out of the B & H Improvement Comm appointed

by Sidney Herbert in 1859 ~~who was~~ / & of which he himself ~~its first~~ / was President

~~which by~~ to carry out the recommendations of the R. C. on the Sanitary state of the Army. But a minute of yours 1862 I think - all plans of new Barracks & all important alterations were referred to this Committee - & other questions were also referred to it by the S. of S. for War - A vast improvement in the health of the Army resulted -

In 1863 the Committee was re-constituted by adding

**f149**

two I.O representatives in order that it might report on the causes of ~~its~~ disease & the remedies in consequence/ pursuance of the recommendations of the R.C. appointed in 1859 to enquire into the San. State of the Army *in India* & presided over successively by Sidney Herbert & Lord Stanley (Ld Derby) It became the present A.S.C. - All Indian Sanitary reports native Civil & Mofussil are sent to it for criticism & suggestion. Dr. Sutherland

And its Indian business of course far outweighs its W. O. business has been the working member ever since its beginning. Dr. S. has now resigned on account of ill health

The A.S.C. ought now to be re-constituted & receive a new vitality - But it seems doubtful whether it will be re-constituted



Add Mss 45777

993

Mr. Stanhope (all this is Strictly Private)

copy of unsigned letter, ff150-53, typewritten {this appears to be the final version of ff144-49 with changes and additions}, original is 43546 ff226-33

**f150**

Private &amp;

Confidential N

o

.

2

10 South Street  
Park Lane  
Nov 13th.  
1888

Dear Lord Ripon

I did not sent my first letter, because the events upon which I wished to consult you have succeeded each other so rapidly - and some of them are very curious. I now only send No. 1 *for reference* - And will you pardon me for writing another?

Lord Lansdowne kindly came to see me in July He was most **[10:839]** favourably disposed to these objects we have at heart, but specially well disposed to Village native agencies - to Panchayats and the like to Local Self Government, &: which I attributed to his having had the advantage of seeing and hearing you. He has now been to see me again and has sent two others to see me (he leaves England on Thursday next

It is upon what I have learnt from them and others during the last *fortnight* - and all of it is *Strictly Private* -that I now wish if I may, to trouble you.

(1.). Already the Government of Bombay is in revolt against the 'Sanitary Resolution of the Government of India July 27. 1888 (enclosed in the other Envelope). That is, I do not know how far the *Governor* is pledged to this: And it has not committed itself to a word on paper, so far as I know. But it *condemns the proposed Executive Boards* as cumbrous and expensive" - And it condemns at once the "Resolution of the Government of India" for proposing too much and too little - **[end 10:839]**

**f150v**

(I will not now trouble you with details)

(II) The latest Draft (1888) "Bombay Village Sanitation Bill [10:346] was put into my hands and I was asked to make my criticisms and suggestions, and send them to Bombay, which I have done.

The Bill is of such vast importance to the Bombay Presidency: for it embraces the whole of its (more than) 24,000 villages, without reference to numbers of inhabitants being less or more.

The Bill has these two great merits: I. All the moneys raised in the village, are to be spent in the village.

II. The village menial servants (Mhars and Mangs) are to have Government lands and their dues are to be recovered as part of the Land Revenue.

Its defects are -

that it is a distinct return to stringent absolutism

that it leaves no initiative in the hands of the villagers -

but its machinery is: active interference by Government Officers -

that it gives great opportunities for being dishonestly worked.

You instituted a movement in this direction: namely - to put power into the people's hands - to allow them to choose their own way of doing what was necessary in their own interests, provided it was done to the satisfaction of the Officers Government would appoint to supervise the work - to revive their own immemorial Village organisation,

**f151**

## II

such as the Village Panchayat - to raise funds *thro' the Panchayat* for the Village Sanitation - to substitute the decent villager for the corrupt petty native official.

By this Bill we have (instead of the Panchayat) the Collector and a "Sanitary Committee" *appointed by the Collector himself* - to do the work. The Collector is to assess the rate for Sanitary purposes "in conference" with his "Sanitary Committee. The *Sanitary Committee-man* is to summon the offending neighbours, perhaps out of private spite, before themselves (not the Police Patel).

I will not enter into detail. The Draft is by no means a *final* Draft and might be altered, though not I fear in principle.

The Sanitary Commissioner and Department are entirely ignored, though the Collector does not know where to look for filth and disease-causes - with some brilliant exceptions, and the Mamlutdar (magistrate) who also comes on the stage - knows nothing about Sanitation except to clean the road the Collector is to pass through. [end 10:346]

III *Army Sanitary Committee*

You will remember this which grew out of the Barrack and Hospital Improvement Committee appointed by Sidney Herbert in 1859 and of which he himself was President - to carry out the recommendations of the "R. Commission on the Sanitary State of the Army."

**f151v**

By a Minute of yours (1862) all plans of new Barracks and all important alterations were referred to this Committee -- and other questions were also referred to it by the S. of S. for War. A vast improvement in the health of the Army resulted.

In 1863 the Committee was re-constituted, as you will perhaps remember, by adding two India Office representatives in order that it might report on the causes of disease and the remedies, in pursuance of the recommendations of the R. Commission appointed in 1859 "to enquire into the Sanitary. State of the Army *in India* and presided over successively by Sidney Herbert & Lord Stanley (Ld Derby). It became the present Army Sanitary Committee. All Indian Sanitary reports - Civil, native & Mofussil, as well as Army - are sent to it for criticism and suggestion. And its Indian business far outweighs of course its Home and Colonial Army business.

Dr. Sutherland has been the working member ever since its very beginning. He has now resigned on account of ill health.

The Army Sanitary Committee was now to be re-constituted and to receive a new vitality. But it seems doubtful whether it will be re-constituted

*Mr. Stanhope - all this is Strictly Private* - is quite impressed with its necessity - but admits the decided hostility of the R. Engineers and Department of J. G. Fortifications

**f152**

## III

He asks if a Sanitary Officer attached to Quarter Master General (who is the present head of the Army Sanitary Commission) as a substantive part of his Staff - would not suffice. But is it not necessary to have not a lining but a regular permanent body outside the regular Admin- {the word is misspelled }

istration as our Sanitary representative? especially for India. - Mr Stanhope says he is attached to the doctrine of *personal* responsibility - and does not like the system of so many Committees. But how to keep personal responsibility and give it the weight that a few good men of knowledge and experience would give it - is your question, is it not?

Mr Stanhope then asked about India.

At present India cannot be left safely to her own arrangements because she has neglected for 25 years to adopt measures recommended by R. Commission - Yet if *she* now gives vitality to Lord Dufferin's scheme (N.B. *it is doubtful if she will* e.g. Bombay) she ought in a few years to suffice for herself.

II. - *Lord Lansdowne* has not considered the subject but somewhat demurs to an Army Sanitary Commission because Sanitary things are so 'purely local'. (Not so. Are not Sanitary principles the same everywhere? the local conditions are to be considered. - And there would be an Indian Sanitary Commissioner, just come home, of 25 years' Indian experience on the Committee.

And India has done nothing for 25 years *by herself*.)

Lord Lansdowne liked the idea of an *adlatus* better at the F.O.? I.O.

**f152v**

But if you abolish the Army Sanitary Commission as a Committee and put the individual to do the work - do you not lose the weight that a Committee consisting of eminent Sanitarians gives?

Would you think it well, if you approve, to speak to Lord Lansdowne about this? Of course with no reference to me.

Lord Lansdowne is somewhat impressed by Lord Dufferin's scheme of Executive Boards being 'cumbrous and expensive' and that the thing should be worked, I presume, somewhat after the fashion of II.

It is II which was given me by the same man as told me I. and which seems to be the mechanism preferred, that is alarming.

**f153** original 43546 ff224-25 [original in vol 9]

No I.

Private                    10 South Street  
                            Park Lane  
                            13. Nov. 1888

Dear Lord Ripon

Will you excuse this hastily written letter the fruit of years of interest in these things. If you could see your way and thought well to speak to Lord Lansdowne about the re-organisation of the Army Sanitary Commission, to which I believe Lord Cross is still favourable and perhaps about Lord Dufferin's scheme (Envelope No. 1) if you approve it, it would be doing us a great service.

N.B. Why should Lord Dufferin's Executive Boards be 'expensive' Of the members, I suppose only the Sanitary Commissioner (and he is paid already) and a Sanitary Engineer, would have to be paid.

I know I need not ask your kindness to make no reference whatever to me or to any words I may have written here, but to consider it all *Strictly between ourselves*

And to believe me

With many apologies

ever yours gratefully and faithfully

unsigned letter, ff154-65, pen & pencil {not FN's hand, but there are insertions in her hand. This appears to be the final form of ff124-27v}, original 43546 ff234-39

**f154**

No 3.

private Feb 2 1889

~~Dear~~ Lord Ripon

What a budget I am now troubling you with - without which I cannot however explain our present crisis. I cannot apologize; your kindness must apologize for me, for my not even condensing and rewriting it for you now.

Packets Nos 1 & 2 were sent in November to your house in London. But finding you were absent and not likely to return soon at least not before Ld Lansdowne left England, I suppressed them not wishing to trouble you without urgent need, and I returned them to my "Safe" box here

**f154v**

But we are now in a discouraging crisis at both War Office and India Office which looks as though it would end in a defeat of your (and Sidney Herbert's) Sanitary arrangements and measures, unless you could think well to intervene with your powerful help - founded on knowledge from the beginning.

The present crisis is this:

1. The War Office has decided *to abolish the Army Sanitary Comm.* [in Packet No 2. I have given some of Mr. Stanhope's views.)  
"and to lend the India Office no aid in the maintenance of that system" -viz - "the system" of such reviews of Sanitary Progress in India as were drafted for so many years by Dr. Sutherland, and which were "of the

**f155**

highest value" especially in the Sanitary education of leading Natives in India. The War Office appears to have written to the India Office to this effect. But it is thought that the matter must be still under discussion. No notice whatever has been received by the members or by the Secretary of the Army Sanitary Comm. or any intimation that they are being "abolished".

A very strong Minute has been written/2b by a Member of the Council of India -dated Jany 22 to be put before the Secretary of State "about the arrangements *in loco* Dr. Sutherland" saying that they (the I.O. should provide for themselves - in case of the W. O. carrying out its intention of "abortion". An Officer of the highest competence they can

**f155v**

find, to keep up these "periodical reviews" &c

Such an officer is now at home - retired in his full usefulness - viz. - the Surgeon Genl T.G. Hewlett, who belonged to the India Sanitary Service and as Sanitary Commissioner did such admirable duty for so many years, including the great Famine, in Bombay Presidency.

It was also strongly recommended that such an officer should be re-inforced by a Committee of members of the I.O. (not necessarily of the Council.)

(I venture to send you in *this* Envelope

a "Confidential" printed Minute of Dec 10.1888

But I ask your attention now only to two pages 14 to end, No A)



**f160**

The Calcutta residents were those to whom Lord Dufferin addressed his now famous speech on St Andrew's day. These are chiefly planters & speculators or entrepreneurs in India, always rather uneducated - most of them non-official - though there are some few officials and lawyers among them. But they are all known to be men in opposition to every form of liberal government. They opposed Lord Carrington they opposed his successors - they

**f161**

were furious against Lord Ripon, and whatever Lord Dufferin did of good, they opposed. And Lord Dufferin conversationally expressed his dislike and contempt for them. They are always much less well educated than the English speaking Baboos, who take care to let them know it. The planters are those, who will suffer no interference whatever of a legal nature with their estates. They say "we are very kind to our coolies, we take care of them, but they are ours and we will punish

**f158**

-3-

"them ~~any~~ without any trial ourselves and we require no magistrate to come near us - native or English." This was the ~~great~~ secret of their frantic opposition to the Ilbert Bill. They said, "no native Magistrate shall come here." Of course they were by no means afraid of any injustice on the part of the native magistrate. Quite the contrary. The native Magistrates are perhaps almost too careful to keep within the Law and by no means to give offence to the English.

**f159**

This is well known & acknowledged  
But the planters would have nothing of the  
sort. They are accustomed to do without  
Law and they *will* do without it. But it  
was ~~sad to think~~ said to them " the native  
magistrates are famous for their truth  
and justice in administering the Law,  
The planters answered "We do not  
"want truth or justice. We want no  
interference." It was to such an  
audience, by no means reputable, by  
no means even sober that Lord Dufferin

**f156**

-3-

Unhappily addressed his speech  
He had had in his hands for nearly  
a year presented to him the Resolution  
of the Third Annual Meeting of the  
National Congress, couched in the most  
moderate terms possible. It was  
more than even his promise, it was  
his duty as a Viceroy to acknowledge  
this and give to the National Congress  
his verdict as bearing upon their  
Resolutions, which were submitted to

**f157**

to him. Unfortunately he took no notice  
of them. If he disapproved of them he should  
as the Governor - General have addressed  
his fatherly admonitions to them, which would  
have been cordially welcomed and made  
use of. He took no notice, but unhappily  
on the very eve of his departure, he ad-  
dressed a by no means orderly public  
dinner upon a subject so important,  
which embraces the whole educated  
Section of the Indian peoples.

**f162**

++

To you who instituted these arrangements  
it would be an impertinence to add more  
about their necessity.

3 2

II. *Govt of Bombay* It has asked its  
Surgeon Genl to reduce the "Medical Budget"  
by 1,25,000 Rs. including the *Sanitary Dept* [yes, it says 1,25,000]  
It is thought that two Deputy Sanitary  
Commissioners (out of six!!!) may go -  
that Eastern & Western Gugerat may be  
united - and that the overworked  
Sanitary Commissioners (of the whole Pre-  
sidency may hold a District!!  
It was hoped that the Bombay Sanitary  
Department had so far weathered the  
Financial storm. And Lord Dufferin

**f162v**

kindly wrote to me, that he had saved that  
Sanitary Dept. from any reduction.)  
It is needless to say that it is impossible  
to expect Mofussil natives to carry our  
sanitation or even vaccination without an  
efficient supervising establishment - and  
the *present* strength is not half what it  
ought to be to be efficient. It is something  
like saying: The Sanitary Dept. has told  
us now how many millions of people die an-  
nually from preventable disease - causes.  
Let *these millions go on dying*.

I can only lay bare our imminent  
dangers to you, to you who have guided  
or instituted all these things almost

**f163**

from the first - before Parliament meets -  
without venturing ever to suggest what you  
might think well to do.

You only can tell  
and I am etc.

*Bombay*            5

It must give you pleasure, I think, to  
see a Bill proposed "to legalize trial by  
"Panchayat Court in Civil Suits" a draft  
of which has been sent me.

But this is very inconsistent with putting

**f163v**

Bombay Village Sanitation into the hands  
of the Collectors -

see Draft Bill

Packet No 2

{written in pencil across the bottom in FN's hand}

If the Sany Dept  
were under the Revenue  
instead of the Judicial Member  
of Council as it is presumed the  
Collectors are - would not the Local Dept  
be then favoured, instead of opposed  
by the Collectors ?

**f164** {in FN's hand}

*Strictly* No 2

*Confidential* Minute{not FN} January 22nd, 1889

Arrangements for future Reviews at Home  
**[9:681-82]**

of Sanitary Proceedings in India

At present I feel quite unequal to writing anew upon this subject, but I desire in the most earnest terms to draw attention of the Secretary of State and/in Council to what I have written on the matter in the Paragraphs added at the end of my Minute of ~~the~~ Dec 10, 1888

I regard such Reviews of Sanitary Progress in India, as were drafted for so many years by Dr. Sutherland, as of the highest value; and I think

**f164v**

that a moderate ~~expenditure~~ /expen<sup>c</sup>se should not be grudged for the maintenance of such a system.

*Now that the War Office has decided upon abolishing the Sanitary Committee and to lend us no aid in the maintenance of this system, I think we should provide for ourselves an Officer of the highest competence that we can find, to keep up these periodical Reviews. There are several such Officers now available, who have belonged to the Indian Sanitary Service. I may name {FN} Dr. Payne, and Dr. Hewlett {other} either of whom would admirably perform this duty.*

**f165**

Whether it would be desirable to reinforce such an Officer by a Committee of Members of this Office - whether of the Council, of the Secretariat or of the Medical Dept., I will not venture positively to say, though I ~~am~~ inclined to think it would be very expedient to do so. It is well to divest such Reviews of a personal character as far as possible. No ~~new~~ expenditure would be involved except a Salary of perhaps 400 a year for the Sanitary expert, and some small outlay on copying.

I can add no more except to commend this matter very seriously & strenuously to the favorable consideration of the Secretary of State ~~and/~~ in Council, & to repeat my strong conviction of the importance of what ~~is~~/ I urged, now that my 14 years' connection with the Sanitary Dept., is coming to a close, {FN's hand)

(signed) H. Yule.

[end 9:681]

unsigned letter draft, ff166-68v, pencil

**f166**

Ld Ripon Feb 15/89

Army Sany Comm: letter

1 To see Mr. Stanhope - W. O.

1b names of A. S. C.

1a All Depts now under C. in C. (easier

2 to see Lord Cross I.O.

- Ld Dufferin's "Resolution  
Executive

2b

Minute Necessity of I.O. expert & Committee  
still 1Council

2 Secretariat

3 Med Dep

2a placing San Dep under Collectors  
Revenue

instead of Judicial

3 ? write to Ld Lansdowne

1. about 2a

2. reduction of Bombay San: Dep.  
letter

4. Bombay Village Sanitation Bill

4b Bombay Gazette

4c defects & goods

5 Panchayat - Trials by

**f167**

Ld Ripon Feb 15/89

The thing is: that the Commee  
*is not an Executive* but a  
*Consultative* body - & therefore  
 it does not divide the  
 responsibility - It fixes it  
 Q.M.G.

250 times the head to rule  
 250 millions of people In Sany  
 questions which decide the fate of  
     thousands you  
     can't tell whether  
     they are right or  
     wrong

{written the other way at the bottom of the page}

Lyall Sir Alfred

literary man

Sees both sides &

objections to both sides

so clearly [illeg]

a fine critic

Havelock {illeg}

but far less good

Lt Gov - is head of the

Civil Service - he thinks

it attacked

**f168v**

n a t i v e s s o c o n f i d i n g

If Burre Sahib is civil

they think they will get all their  
 ideas

I named to Ld Lansdowne some leading natives

He may get at the leading natives without

the liberal Civilians

{written the other way}

Hardly any of the High Civilians

are Liberals

They are so thin skinned

they all importuned me to coerce/ prosecute the press

I always refused. That was just of

course what the press wanted

**f168**

A Viceroy & that lasts for the first year & a half  
is better than any previous Viceroy  
-then he is on a table land for  
about a year - then for the next 2  
years he is on the decline - & that  
proceeds rapidly

Sanitary

*Missionaries* wanted in the Villages

Natives care for *education*

NOT for sanitation

The reason why they are afraid of letting  
natives tax themselves is that they  
always like to put on an Octroi - they  
will not bear any enquiry into their  
income

from the remains of the old Mahometans  
(when rich men were squeezed)

I proposed that the licence & income tax  
which together only produce little more than  
a million a year sh be assigned to the  
Local Boards but I.O. wd not hear of it

**f168v**

Education

natives don't like it reduced  
think it means we want to  
keep down the educated natives  
Auckland Colvin  
A



draft letter, ff169-69v, pencil, original 43546 f246, black-edged paper

**f169**

Private        22/2/89[9:]  
Dear Lord Ripon  
How can I ~~cannot~~ say how  
grateful I am to you for  
your great kindness & efficient  
exposition of the ~~case~~/ needfulness of  
the Army S. C. to Mr Stanhope  
which comes with more force from yourself  
of course. Might I hope that you  
may be able to see Lord  
Cross about this matter  
which as you said concerns India even  
more than home, before you go  
into the country.

I do not presume to  
urge the importance of it  
Because it is you yourself

**f169v**

who have taught us  
Pray believe me  
every yrs ffuly & gratefully  
F.N.

unsigned draft or note, probably from a meeting f170, pencil {archivist: [late 1880s]}

**f170**

Ld R  
Our rule has been made more difficult in  
India by our Communications/ & our Statesmen everywhere  
Before a million of people might  
die of Famine or of Pestilence  
now we are held & hold responsible  
for every death by Famine. It can be  
prevented, we say.

Educated natives are awakening  
to an enthusiasm about manure  
We *must* teach thro' to natives

Ilbert Bill stalking horse for Local Self  
Govt. that was the real offence  
Ilbert        Bill        as        I        expected        was        forgotten

according to Br Lib catalogue, corr with Lansdowne begins here  
incomplete letter, ff171-78v, pen & pencil

**f171**

Private

**[10:195-97]**

Confidential

"the principal questions

"which a Governor General (of India)

"should consider

"& perhaps the titles of some

"books which he should read"

I Finance

1 *Finance:* in {illeg}2. The early probability of *Famine:*

Past experience has shown

that there are about 9

considerable famines in a century

or one in 11 years. The last

was in 1877-8, between 10 and

11 years ago.

*Books:* bearing on both subjects

the Famine Commission's Report

on the last great Famine

(2 large Blue Books, very carefully

indexed, & divided under specific

heads, treating of /on the history &

t r e a t m e n t

o f

f a m i n e s

& going

**f171v**

into the financial position of India, the increase of its populations, & its natural resources. Such parts of this Report can be studied as may be more specially needed without going into the details of famine treatment.

Note

The brothers, Sir John & General Strachey's book on India, containing in small space notice of the more important Subjects of Govt.

N.B.

A plan of light railway, invented by the English Engineers of one of the native Princes, which can be quickly laid on a common road, for the rapid conveyance of food into a

**f172**

famine District, Sir James Caird drew Lord Dufferin's attention to this - By the Viceroy's order it was tried. Should this not be attended to, so that the plan may be in such readiness as to be utilized in any early need for it?

3 in connection with expenditures Finance most pressing question of the ~~Burnt Report~~

If Military expenditure not reduced, no money available for civil ~~purposes~~ expenditures Education Sanitary measures {illeg} improvements &c &c now grievously starved for money Cannot be got 'from taxation Must be got from reduction of expenditure - this is to great extent key of whole situation

Books Reports viz Irrig Commission & of correspondence which grew out of it (it has all been laid before

**f172v**

Parlt) - would inform any one  
 anxious to know about these  
 matters

H o m e            G o v t            s t i l l            r e f u s e s            c h a n g e s  
 r e c o m m e n d e d            b y            G o v t            o f            I n d i a

(unpopularity of {illeg}  
 Ought to be {illeg}) in last Governor  
 Generalship by Govt in India  
 which would have reduced expence  
 & *increased* efficiency

Books

3

Dr. Sutherland had better

**f173**

-3-

N.B. The Sanitary Commissioner  
 (of each Province & Presidency)  
 has no Executive power,  
 & is too much of a mere  
 Disease reporter - but Hewlett, [end 10:197]

⌘/the present Sanitary  
 Commissioner of Bombay  
 Presy, whose term of service  
 however expires in May, is  
 a distinct exception - And  
 from his immense practical  
 power & influence over the  
 natives has done a  
 great practical work  
 & might do more either there/ in India or  
 in England for India

**f173v**

We now know that the  
 real cause of poverty in  
 India is: the inferior physique  
 of much of the population;  
 & this has already been  
 distinctly traced to disease  
 causes, which ought not to  
 exist in any well governed  
 State.

In many districts, the  
 whole population is laid  
 aside by Fever for weeks  
 & even months in every year.

Diseases, their local causes  
 & remedies, are quite well  
 known. Unhappily up to  
 the present there has been  
 no Executive to deal with  
 them -

**f174**

Books:

Reports of Army Sanitary  
 Commission

Annual Sanitary Blue Books  
 of the India Office

Such as might be useful  
 shall be collected ~~here~~, if desired  
 & placed at ~~your~~ the disposal of any one  
 anxious to learn

There are no books on  
 Drainage & Irrigation which  
 would be of much use in  
 India - All such questions  
 must be worked out on the  
 spot by specially selected

f o r / C o m p e t e n t — c y O f f i c i a l s .  
 [by officials specially selected for competency]

**f174v**

-5d-

~~The great~~ danger

It is only thro' Local Bodies that  
 you can successfully work Sanitation  
 & especially Village Sanitation in India  
 But the Local Bodies will  
 need guiding (not directing)  
 & guiding in a friendly spirit  
 with patience & courtesy

**f175**

-4-

III This brings us to  
 4. Local Self-Government (in  
 Municipalities  
 villages  
 districts  
 [in rural districts least has  
 been done

& most wants doing]  
 The great danger is that unless the Viceroy  
 keeps a watchful eye & a steady pressure  
 of hand on the Local Govts they will go on

5. Land Tenure - Bengal Oudh  
 Punjab Bombay Madras passing {illeg}  
 Get rid as much as possible of re settlements  
 & aim at giving the Ryot the utmost degree  
 of decency compatible with financial safety

6. Civil ~~Service~~ administration

- employment of natives
- age & education of

Civil Service Candidates

here Separation of Judicial & Executive

functions a matter of growing {from the bottom of the page} importance,  
 especially

in Bombay

backwards instead of forwards - The  
 machinery is all there. The success of  
 the policy depends on the spirit  
 in which it is worked

{written along the left side}

Book. Civil

Service Commn:

Report should be  
 studied

**f175v**

Education

7. Primary *Education* in India

book to be used in

Primary Schools. including

- short lessons on Agriculture

astronomy & the like - on

health &c - gradually

combating belief in astrology,

superstitions, belief in demons,

Education report of Sir W.W. Hunter's Commn

a mine of information

*Technical* Education

especially in *agriculture*

proficiency in this to be made a means of

advancement & promotion

(&/as well as of appointment) for the

petty native Revenue inspector

- speaking particularly of

Madras Presy

Agricultural College at

Sydapet, near Madras

(Mr Robertson, Principal)

**f176**

Technical Education ~~at~~ (Madras  
still spoken of / now enlarged) supposed to be  
too expensive & theoretical  
for a poor Country like India)

Instruction in Agriculture

I.O. the great obstacle to progress

But Sir C. Bernard "Now Revenue

Secy there - ~~{Perhaps}~~ He may not

have specially studied this branch

of Agriculture But his tendencies

are right

**f176v**

P Introduction

A Govr Genl has to consider almost every inconceivable question connected with Govt in the larger sense of the word.

The relative importance of different questions varies very much from time to time.

This is what people {illeg} see they think that we have e.g. educated the Baboos & let ~~at~~ alone or not as we pleased all the {illeg special advisory ?} make Parliaments ~~as we pleased~~ & let it alone or not as we pleased put native Princes on Commns with each other &c &c &c & take up questions when we please or not as we please whereas

All the special questions which have produced such ~~blame~~ outcries came naturally / to in the course of business & would be no more driven back or set aside ~~or little as you said~~ than the /a tide could be driven back the tide from rising or set it aside



**f177**

-5-

## 8. Irrigation

consider putting distribution of  
water into communities' hands  
as in the new Irrigation Sirhind Canal Works  
opened by Lord Ripon in the Punjab  
to avoid the ~~immense~~/ well known petty  
corruption & bribery of the small  
ill paid native officials

N.B.

On ~~The~~ Great object in the new  
Local District Boards everywhere  
was to substitute for the universal  
petty tyranny & corruption of  
these ill-paid natives in  
almost every Dept the action  
of decent villagers -

**f178v**~~One~~

Reform of the Legislative Councils  
a question of the future Viceroy  
will have more {illeg}

Reforming them ~~{must be}~~ will have  
to be The man who can accomplish  
the work ~~{illeg}~~ & so as to give  
satisfaction to reasonable representatives  
will take a high place among  
Indian Governors

notes from a meeting with Lord Lansdowne, ff179-80v, pencil

**f179**

Ld Lansdowne -1-July 18/88

Real cause of poverty in India inferior  
physique from disease causes

Epidemics destroy more life & property in one year than crime in all time

S a n i t a r y E d u c a t i o n  
Civil Service

Jowett Agricultural Education

Civilians = Presidents of Municipalities

Sanitary Education in Colleges for native leaders

Govt appointments

Municipal

Commissn

Light Sentences Elementary Schools

Dr Cunningham

Murdoch

Ld Dufferin Way to Health

Sanitary Reform

2 Cunningham thinks best

to urge & coerce

thro *Sanitary Commissions* coerce

Stracheys thro Govt

Ld Ripon wished to suspend it mainly

to show them that they ~~are~~/were not

to do nothing or ~~do it any~~/ have their own way

Ahmedabad Rumchodlal

Expert

Engineer

communication

directly

with

Municipalities

not thro' Civilians

advise

not

order

3 A famine kills a million of people

here & there - Epidemics 38 millions in

10 years & 760 million cases of disease as far as

fever Things getting worse

**f180v**

1 Army Sanitary Comm: reorganization  
at home - Hewlett to succeed  
Sutherland

to see all Reports & certain papers  
at once

their Reports are 2 years old

W.H. Smith

of Exports

2 Central Sanitary Comm: / body in India  
& l o c a l

P r e s i d e n c y

Sanitary Engineers - none in India

Ld Dufferin

sanitary surveys ordered

where is the Executive?

must have some experts to advise  
especially Sanitary Engineers

3 Funds Grant of loans from Govt

to Municipalities & Local bodies

India Council made to be obstructives

draft letter, ff181-84, pen & pencil (follow-up from meeting above)

PRIVATE July 19/88

{ p r i n t e d a d d r e s s : }  
10, South Street,

Park Lane. W.

D e a r L o r d L a n s d o w n e

I cannot thank you enough

In answer to ~~what you said as/~~ your remarks about

**[9:673-74]**

~~to whether the Army Sanitary~~

Comm: here ~~were the right/~~ which seemed to say: What

~~thing to/~~ have I to do with urging them (it?) & directing ~~the/~~ And what has it

to do with practical Sanitary reforms

in India, I think I did not

explain (because I had

already trespassed too much

on your time)

that its name of "Army" is a

~~misnomer~~ -

that the Army Sanitary Commission

~~has~~ /is really far more to do with

the native population of India

t h a n w i t h t h e

A r m y

-

i n d e e d

**[end 9:674]**

in proportion to their relative

sizes - Notwithstanding its name  
of India & home  
& of the natives to the Army

**f181v**

that the Army Sanitary Commn  
 has really far  
~~and~~ more to do far with  
 India than with home,  
 since it was remodelled/ reorganized in 1864 after  
 the Royal Commission on the  
 Sanitary State of the Army in  
 India (1859) presided over by  
 Sidney Herbert & the present  
 Lord Derby successively, which  
 reported in 1863

t h a t                    i f                    M r .                    H e w l e t t ,                    S a n i t a r y  
**[9:674]**

Commissioner of Bombay, who  
 has returned to England, is  
 appointed (as successor to  
 Dr. Sutherland, the acting  
 member who has resigned)  
 as those who know best  
 desire - you will have in  
 him a man whose heart  
 & mind & experience ~~is~~ /are in India

**f182**

as his service has been for  
 so many years, & whose  
~~power~~ / knowledge & influence with the natives is  
~~wonderful~~ /beyond the common.

[The 'Proof' I

**[end 9:674]**

enclose is by him.]  
 You will have in the re organized  
 Army Sanitary Comm; (as now to be it is hoped) all the  
 elements you want for India  
 Their "Suggestions" (a Blue Book)  
 were ordered to be re-published  
 by the Govt of India in 1882,  
 & were then brought up to date.  
 Their Blue Books are habitually  
 recognised as authority by the natives  
 even the village natives, ~~as~~  
~~authority~~; they who are accustomed  
 to have these quoted as orders  
 & advice, & some municipalities & to get these for  
 themselves

**f182v**

But ~~we~~ want /it is needful to increase the  
**[9:674]**  
 usefulness of the Army Sanitary  
 Comm: by not limiting ~~them~~ / it to  
 reviewing Annual Reports  
 sent to it which makes  
 these Annual Blue Books really two  
 years old but to have  
 questions referred to it from  
 the Govts of India & the India  
 Office & for ~~it~~ /the A.S.C. to be able  
 to ask questions in return. **[end 9:674]**

2. There is an excellent **[10:764-65]**

"Resolution: Bombay Govt  
 March 29 1886" which  
 desired that the Sanitary  
 Commissioner, Mr. Hewlett's,  
 "highly valuable Memorandum  
 "for the information & guidance  
 "of village patels, (headmen) & the  
 "*explanation of its provisions*  
 "*at High Schools & Colleges*

**f183**

-2-

[we/ I do not know ~~that~~ / whether it has ever  
~~was~~/been so "explained"] may  
 "will contribute to enlighten the  
 "public on subjects of vital  
 "importance, & stimulate  
 "cooperative & private  
 "initiative Insanitary conditions  
 "of houses &c &c  
 This is part of the Sanitary education  
 we want  
 Another part is elementary  
 Sanitary education for  
 women & girls & boys  
 - & short paragraphs introduced  
 in Elementary School books  
 "Give me the "schoolbooks" of a  
 "country", " & ~~you may~~ /I will let any one else make  
 "its laws"  
 I venture to enclose a little  
 book ("Sanitary reform") by one  
 Murdoch/ of Madras [this is more for

**f183v**

native men & women/ not children) not a  
 Doctor, but one who has  
 been his whole useful life  
 in India this little book is one

And there is a small Sanitary  
 Primer of his (Way to Health)  
 which Lady Dufferin has  
 introduced into Schools  
 as being simpler than that  
 of the late Sanitary Commissioner  
 with the Govt of India,

D r . C u n n i n g h a m -

3. Inspection, ~~Inspection~~,  
~~Inspection~~, alas! there must  
 be - constant & independent  
 One excellent District Officer  
 told a friend of mine that  
 bathing & washing clothes in  
 tanks for drinking water  
 was strictly forbidden & never

**f184**

*took place* The two ~~men~~/gentlemen  
 then went & visited the nearest  
 Village tank, & found each  
 side of the square tank  
 thickly set with bathers  
 & washers !!! **[end 10:765]**

I s h a l l h o p e t o c l a i m  
**[9:674]**

your generous offer to see  
 me once again before you  
 leave for your kingdom.

Success to your great  
 work. God speed  
 ever your faithful servant  
 Florence Nightingale **[end 9:674]**

probably notes from meeting with, or for, ff185-86, pencil

**f185**

Ld Lansdowne Oct 28/88

{ p r i n t e d a d d r e s s : }  
 10, South Street,  
 Park Lane. W.

A c u r i o u s & t e r r i b l e b o o k

**[9:676-77]**

might be made of how we have  
 tried to benefit the natives &  
 sunk them deeper than they were  
 before

Debt ruin  
 irreproachable Courts of justice - & the  
 debtor has to pay for them -  
 very first [?]

comma bacilli refuse so bad that  
 comma bacilli cannot live in it

**f186**

Ld Lansdowne Oct 28/88

Objects to A.S.C. because

Sanitary things so "purely local"  
 can be treated only on the spot -

[not so - Sanitary principles  
 [the same everywhere

then we should have Indians of

(30 years Sanitary experience as Working members)  
 on A.S.C.

[And India has done nothing for 25  
 years by herself]

Ld Lansdowne

- impressed by Ld Dufferin's scheme  
 of Executive Boards being cumbrous  
 & expensive

& by the thing to be worked, I  
 presume, by the old Collector

17 years ago

**[end 9:676]**

a Collector  
 Sanitation  
 only 25  
 years  
 old

It is necessary to have not alining  
 but a body outside the regular Govt  
 as our Sanitary representative



unsigned letter draft, f187v, pencil

**f187v**

Sir R. West      Oct 30/88

not one of the Barracks

constructed according to R. C. 's  
recommends    Bks unhealthy  
have to be abandoned

unsigned note/draft, ff188-91, pencil

**f188**

Ly Lansdowne      Oct 31/88

1 to be President of Calcutta Public  
Health Socy

2 all the natives wd become enthusiastic  
to visit a Military Hospital in  
Upper India

Lady Nurses at Rawul Pindi  
& Murree

3. Ly Dufferin's Fund

to teach the native women & girls without books  
Sanitary things      by Lecturers

travelling native Lecturers - these "must  
previously have been educated by

lectures & elementary sanitary books  
& inducements offered them to study the subject

[Man Mohun Ghose simple political Lectures  
travelling about Mon ManMohun Ghose]

most native girls are in *Missionary*  
Schools - Primer for these

Ly Dufferin    Way to Health

Home Office - Mr. Macdonnell

the head - very much interested -

**f188v**

Give me the school & you may  
 make the laws.  
 Sanitary Primer in all Elementary  
 Schools - above all  
 short sentences in Primary Reading  
 books because then they  
*must* read them  
 couplets - superstitions  
 If the women & ladies of the  
 country knew any thing about  
 Hygiene - gentlemen do but  
 will not oppose their ladies -  
 spread Lectures & elementary  
 books - stories  
 written not in England  
 but in India  
 A.L.O.E. Miss Tucker  
 Ly Dufferin  
 Murdoch C.V.E. Secy

**f189**

2 ignorance of Dhaies  
 Miss Hewlett Umritsar  
 Ly Dufferin  
 Lancet  
 M i s s            H e w l e t t            n o w            c o m p i l i n g  
 a manual for Midwives  
 using Playfair & other books I sent  
 in Urdu with illustrations  
 most important to train native  
 Lady Doctors *and Midwives*  
 Ly Dufferin now gives the  
 Midwives a year's education  
~~formerly~~ / before native women did  
 not care for them.  
 Age the ~~only~~ qualification for  
~~women to/~~ medical attendants ~~country~~  
~~ladies of rank~~ women of high caste

**f189v**

Ly Dufferin compiling on the  
work of the Nat Assocn for the  
last 3 years  
giving Dhaie atrocities

to open female Hospital at Lahore  
" " Agra  
& begin a Lying-in Ward "  
" " Calcutta  
done at Nagpore

lying-in women in closest & dampest  
corner- large fire - crowd - no cleanliness  
Parsees impure at certain periods  
child burnt to death  
not {illeg iron ?} to woman undelivered  
what the women suffer in Childbirth  
a cheap simple book on diseases of women  
& children & midwives to be compiled in Calcutta

**f190**

-2-

cards for hanging up in Schools  
sh be written by Missionary  
Drs.  
Punjab Govt wanted a Primer  
Missionary teachers teach more  
native Girls than any one else

A meeting & speech

Eurasian Nurse trained by Clewer  
S i s t e r s            a t            L u c k n o w            -            a t            a            s m a l l

[Clewer Sisters    Nursing School  
- at Calcutta]    12 beds - 2 native  
Xtian pupils  
nursed Ld Clandeboyes

Miss Pechey - Bombay  
w i l l            t e l l            a b o u t            n a t i v e            w o m e n

**191v**

Sanitary education in Colleges  
for young Baboos who become  
Muny Sany Commrs  
" " " at Oxford  
& Cambridge here for C. S. candidates  
who become District Officers &  
Presidents of Municipalities

Ld Reay too secret - must not  
set up the backs of the Colleges  
but consult them & native  
*Apocy first* -

unsigned letter, ff192-95, pencil [10:343-44]

**f192**

Confidential Nov 6/88

Dear Lord Lansdowne

Sir Raymond West came to  
me, according to your kind  
desire - And he left with me  
the Draft of his Bombay Village  
Sanitation Bill, asking me to  
write my criticisms & remarks  
upon it for him - which I have  
done, & shall send by Friday's mail.

He said you wished to see  
his Draft Bill - & asked  
me to communicate with you -  
Shall I send it you?

The Bill has these two  
great merits: all the moneys

**f192v**

raised in the village are to be spent in the village -

& the village menial servants are to have Govt lands, & their dues are to be recoverable ~~by~~ as part of the land revenue.

But the Bill rather makes a show of granting local self Govt to the native public (which is quite shrewd enough to see that it does not) whereas I believe / fear you will think it ~~am~~ a Bill actively interfering by Govt Officers & giving opportunities for being dishonestly worked -

'It keeps the promises to the eye & breaks it to the sense.'

**f193**

I believe that you will think that ~~the~~ a provision ~~is~~ ~~an~~ relying on the villagers to raise funds among themselves in their own way without any Govt interference - any open Govt interference - no doubt there will be pressure put on the leading men to establish a Panchayat - but the villagers would believe they were doing it themselves & they wd raise the funds necessary for the purpose I believe you will think the proposed Bill will be an engine for private spite, for it will be very dear to the Committee man [the Sanitary Committee as it is called - not a Panchayat -

**f193v**

is to be appointed by the Collector -  
to be able to spy out all his  
neighbours' & enemies' shortcomings  
& summon him before the Punch -

Should not the power be  
thrown into the hands of the  
Police Patel & the recognised  
Headman of the village?

These two provisions & others  
were actually in a Draft Bill called the Bombay Village Conservancy Act of  
which the covering letter was  
dated Poona August 21, 1885  
No P/798 of 1885

The proposed Bill will, it is  
to be feared, be irritating to the  
people because it is a return  
to a stringent Conservatism. It

**f194**

-2-

throws everything into the hands  
of the Collector & leaves no  
initiative to the people -

~~Also~~ Also: it ignores entirely  
the Sany Commr.

The Mamlutdars or Magistrates  
know nothing about Sanitation -  
Even the ordinary Collector  
does not know where to look  
for filth & disease causes -

~~I will not presume~~

I am afraid / You thought this was the  
Bill of which Lord Dufferin  
spoke as a "proposal" now  
before him -

**f194v**

I will not take up one more  
moment of your precious  
time - But this Bill will  
decide the fate of more than  
20000 villages -

No words of mine can say  
with what hope we look  
forward to your filling the  
position which is the  
greatest in the world for  
doing good  
Will you direct some one  
to write me a card saying  
whether I am to send you  
Sir Raymond West's Draft  
Bill?

**f195**

This note is for yourself  
alone -

May I wish you all the  
best wishes for the highest  
success **[end 10:344]**

& beg you to believe me  
ever your grateful & faithful servt

unsigned draft letter, ff196-97, pencil & pen [10:215-16]

**f196**

*Private*

& C. Feb 22/89

Dear Ld Lansdowne

You were so very kind as to ask / desire me to write to you, if there were anything ~~wh~~ I might solicit / we wished to submit to you - this IF I am afraid I should make a very large "if" But at least I have refrained from troubling you hitherto at the very outset. But The first thing / "if" which ~~tho' it~~ / is seemingly about ~~what~~ "if I now venture to submit to you a very small thing tho' a very important &

"Immediate" - thing to us - It is a thing that Lord Dufferin believed that he had prevented ~~& kindly wrote to me.~~ & kindly wrote to me that he had saved the San. Dept. of Bombay from any reduction.



**f196v**

But the Govt of Bombay is or conceives itself to be much pressed by the Govt of India for retrenchment/reduction

And therefore it seems a proper subject to lay before you if you think well to entertain it.

The present strength of the Bombay San: Dep: is not half what it ought to be in order to be efficient.

It consists of one ~~overworked~~ Sany Commr ~~for the whole Presidency~~ over all and of six Deputy Sany Commrs with each a very large District under him -

**f197**

Under this small supervising Establishment is Vaccination, Sanitation, & of course all that belongs to it over the great Mofussill

2      3

The Govt of Bombay has asked its Surgeon Genl to reduce the "Medl Budget" by 1,25,000 Rs including the *Sanitary Dept.* It is thought that two Deputy Sanitary Commissioners (out of six) may go - that Eastern & Western Gugerat may be united under one - & that the overworked Sanitary Commissioner (of the whole Presidency) may hold a District!!

**f197v**

2 It is needless to say that it is impossible to expect Mofussil natives to carry out sanitation or even vaccination without an efficient supervising Establishment - And this cadre or skeleton of one it is now proposed to reduce

5

[It was hoped that the Bombay San: Dep: had so far weathered the Financial storm But this it seems is not to be.

4

It is something like saying: The Sanitary Dept has told us how many millions of people die annually from preventable disease - causes: let these millions go on dying. **[end 10:216]**

incomplete letter draft, ff198-99v, pencil **[10:221]**

**f198**

D e a r L o r d L a n s d o w n e  
June 7/89

How can I thank you enough for your most ~~gen~~ kind letter of April 27, going ~~into so generously~~ / so carefully with your Home Dept into the question of threatened reduction of the number of Deputy Sany Commrs for Bombay Presy & saying that as the Bombay Govt will ~~must~~ / have to apply to you before carrying it out - ~~& that~~ you have kindly given directions that, should this take place, the papers are to be sent to you yourself -

In a letter from Bombay which reached England on May 27 it is stated that Dr. Colah, who is ~~filed~~ / a Parsee & Dy Sany Comm of/for Eastern Gugerat Circle has had to take over charge of the Western Gugerat Office, altho' the sanction of the Govt of India

**f199**

has not yet been received for the abolition of that appointment. The inadequacy of the Establishment / staff available for Sanitary supervision & the necessity for increasing instead of diminishing it was being pointed out by the Sanitary Commissioner Dr. MacRury

It appears by the orders in the Bombay Govt Gazette published in Times of India of May 17 that "Surgeon W.H. Quiche & Dr M.B. Colah respectively delivered over & received charge of the Office of Supt of Vaccination, Western Gugerat at Circle on May 5 1889" - It is therefore done.

{illeg}?

The Supt of Vaccination W.G. Circle HeadQuarters were at Rajcote & he had under him the Vaccination Establishments maintained by native chiefs in Kattiawar, Palampur & the adjacent petty native State - "It is simply impossible for Dr. Colah to attend to even the Vaccination work in his own Circle, let alone that new one & the whole thing is a farce" The Sanitary work disappears altogether. Such is the information we have received.

These matters are matters of life & death to the Bombay Presy villages - And the

s e t t i n g i n m o t i o n  
I feel most deeply that ~~it is quite~~  
s o g r e a t a n E n g i n e  
~~unfair~~ to trouble you with them, &  
as the Viceroy ~~that~~ to set in motion so great a power

**f199v**

for this is quite unfair, yet the ~~great~~ interest you take in the Sanitary affairs of your vast Empire encourages me

2. You are so good as to send me ~~Sir~~ an account of Sir Raymond West's speech in introducing the Bill for rural Sanitation in Bombay - I have seen the Draft ~~Bill~~ Bombay Village Sanitation Bill, 1889 ~~And~~ I scarcely know how I venture to send you a copy of a letter which I have addressed to the leading native Associations, the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha & the Bombay Presy Association upon it. [It has been translated ~~into some~~ [end 10:221]

unsigned letter draft, ff200-01, pencil

**f200**

Ld Lansdowne June 21/89 [9:689]

Dear Ld Lansdowne

I feel even more than you can ~~do~~/now that I am presuming upon your great kindness - That kindness & my intense interest in the subject of Sanitation in India must if anything can plead my excuse

Might I ask what is the position of the Sanitary Boards proposed in Ld Dufferin's Minute/Resolution of the Govt of India of July 27 1888 No

~~have a~~ It would of course take some time to

**f201**

get these Boards even if organized into working order in the several Presidencies

Might I ask you to be so very kind as to empower some one to tell me whether any such Boards have been carried out?

There was some objection made to them in Bombay

Yet last month at the India Office it was given as a reason for abolishing the Army San Committee "that Sanitary Boards were being organised under the India Govt Resolution mentioned above"

And I believe that on Feb 21 the discontinuance of the Army Sany Commission was notified to you from the India Office

Am I too presumptuous in asking for information from the highest authority as to the position of these Sanitary Boards in India?  
[end 9:689]

unsigned letter draft, ff202-08v, pencil, cleaner version in next letter, ff209-12

**f202**

{archivist: [Aug 1889]} [10:225-26]

Dear Lord Lansdowne I cannot thank you  
enough for your letter of {FN writing between the lines; I have sorted them out}  
~~praise him unmitigatedly~~  
all that the Govt of India under you  
has done seems *good*  
deserves unmitigated praise if it be not  
impertinent to say so, for all that it has done  
& known what India & the Provincial Govts  
are) it had not been done but {illeg past?}  
and if they can only have Engineers  
who ~~can do~~ give their whole  
time to the work in time as you point out so wisely in matter of Bengal,  
wd be the means of training  
up /forming a school of Sanitary Engineers  
C.P.

~~Our~~/ And Engineers who have not  
been thoroughly ~~engaged~~ educated  
in sanitation but ~~have been~~  
who at the same time that  
they are appointed to look  
after Sanitary matters are

**f203v**

necessarily giving a large  
share of their attention  
to important works of  
another nature altogether  
wd not be able to study  
the ~~importance~~/ life & death  
questions with which Indian  
Sanitation presents / abounds so  
as to fulfil the object  
aimed at in the  
Provincial Board  
~~It Supt Engineers~~

**f204**

C. P. {archivist: [Aug 1889] [89?]}

~~We~~/Good men will hail ~~all that~~ /what you have done & I  
need not say agree with what you say  
The knowledge of Sanitation is a  
very special branch. It takes  
a life time to make a sanitarian -

In the constitution of the  
Boards, shall not those Engineers be selected  
who have in some measure studied the subject -  
Engineers have not necessarily  
Sanitary experience

Dear Lord Lansdowne I am  
~~most~~ deeply interested in  
hearing what your kindness  
tells me about these Sanitary  
Executive Boards - You have  
suggested that whatever Engineer  
were appointed should give his  
whole time

**f205**

-3-

~~that~~/should not those selected to act  
on these boards be ~~and~~ at all  
events for the present ~~be~~  
required to give their / devote themselves  
wholly ~~time~~ to the subject  
because there are ~~at~~ / now scarcely  
any Engineers in India  
~~at the present time~~  
who have made a sufficient  
study of the Sanitary question  
to enable them to take rank  
as ~~Sany~~ Engineer  
they are all sufficiently  
grounded in Engineering  
to make it certain that if  
they continuously apply their  
minds to Sany questions

**f206v**

they will in a reasonable time  
develop into Sany Engineers.  
And then others will study for  
the position  
Let him serve his whole time  
Other people will study for  
the {the above paragraph has a line drawn through it}  
the ideal constitution wd be  
a San Comm & a San Eng  
who would give ~~their whole~~ / themselves  
~~time~~ to the work associated  
with such officers as seemed  
desirable to the Gov for  
controlling the finances - &  
questions where Sanitation touches  
upon  
the General /function of the administrators  
of the revenue

**f207**

-2-

~~That~~ there shd be specially on each  
Board ~~a~~/the San Comm whose  
whole ~~time is~~ /energies are given up to/~~to consider~~  
the Medl side of San questions  
& there shd be an Engineer {FN has written between the lines}  
specially to consider  
these officers to give them what they have  
whose whole ~~time~~ /energies shd be  
equally given up to the  
Engineering side of Sany  
questions

This view seems to have  
been adopted in the Sanitary  
Board of Burma -

**f208v**

~~The~~ In Madras the arrangement to be adopted appears to coincide with this view - There the Board is to consist of the San Comm & of a special San Engineer who it is to be assumed gives his whole time to this work. In Bengal the same system will be adopted, if ~~provided~~ the Engineer gives his whole time to the work - add  
The proposals to the Central P do not seem to be equally satisfactory because it is absolutely essential if you are to develop Sany knowledge among the Engineers

unsigned letter, ff209-12, pen & pencil, or a better draft of above

**f209**

Private August 1889

{ p r i n t e d a d d r e s s : }  
10, South Street,

Grosvenor Square. W.

Dear Lord Lansdowne

I c a n n o t t h a n k y o u e n o u g h

for your letter of July 18

I a m m o s t d e e p l y i n t e r e s t e d

in hearing what your goodness tells about these Provincial Sanitary Executive Boards The Govt of India under you deserves unmitigated praise if it be not impertinent to say so, for what it has done - And knowing what India & the Provincial Governments are it has not been "slow" but fast. And if they can only have Engineers who give



**f209v**

their whole time to the work  
 as you so wisely point out  
 in the matter of Bengal,  
 this would be the means in  
 time of training up a  
 School of Sanitary Engineers  
 Good men will hail what  
 you have done, & I need  
 not say ~~agree with~~ /will think best what your  
 judgement best.  
 The knowledge of Sanitation  
 is a very special branch  
 in Engineering.  
 It takes a life time to  
 m a k e a s a n i t a r i a n .

In  
 the constitution of these Boards

**f210**

should not those Engineers  
 be selected who have in  
 some measure studied the  
 subject? Engineers have not  
 necessarily sanitary experience  
 They do not derive it from their innermost "I"  
 Also Engineers who have not  
 been thoroughly educated in  
 Sanitation but who, at the  
 same time that they are  
 appointed to look after  
 Sanitary matters, are obliged  
 to give a large share of their  
 attention to important works  
 of altogether another nature,  
 would not be able to study  
 the life & death Sanitary  
 questions with which Indian

**f210v**

sanitation abounds, so as to  
 fulfil the object aimed at  
 in the Provincial Board  
~~should not~~,/4.3 that as you suggest  
~~all those~~ / the Sanitary Commissioners selected to act  
 on these Boards be, at  
 events for the present,  
 required to devote themselves  
 wholly to it, because there  
 are now scarcely any Engineers  
 in India who know the  
 Sanitary problems enough  
 to enable them to take  
 rank as Sanitary Engineers,  
 but they are all enough  
 grounded in Engineering  
 to make it certain that  
 if they continuously apply  
 themselves to these problems

**f211**

-2-

they will in a reasonable time  
 develop into Sanitary Engineers.  
 And others too will study for  
 the position

Would not the ideal constitution

be: an experienced Sanitary  
 Commissioner, and an experienced Sanitary  
 Engineer who would give

themselves wholly to the work,  
 associated with such officers  
 as seemed desirable to the  
 Government for controlling  
 the finance, and the questions

w h e r e            S a n i t a t i o n            t o u c h e s            u p o n

the function of the administrators  
 of the Revenue.

Should not there be (after 4. 3)  
 on each Board the Sanitary  
 Commissioner whose whole

**f211v**

energies are given up to the Medical side of the question - and an Engineer whose whole energies are equally given up to the Engineering side of Sanitary problems?

This view seems to have been adopted in the Sanitary Board of Burma -

In Madras the arrangement to be adopted appears also to coincide with this view - There the Board is to consist of the Sanitary Commissioner and of a special Sanitary Engineer who it is to be assumed gives all his time. In Bengal the same system will be adopted, if the

**f212**

Engineer does give his whole time.

The proposals for the Central Provinces do not seem to be equally satisfactory for the reason ~~so often~~ given namely that it is absolutely essential if Sanitary knowledge is to be developed among the Engineers that they should be whole time Officers.

go on to 4. 3.

Your Govt a blessing to our crowded millions  
May the blesser be blessed.

[end 10:229]

unsigned note or letter draft, ff213-16, pencil

**f213**

L d L a n s d o w n e - 2—

{archivist: [c. 1888-1889]}

The Statute creating a [10:213]

Municipality should contain

some provision like this

20 000 a year should

be spent on water supply/ works

- - - - on

sewerage on scavengering

&c &c

They must not do nothing

or do a great deal all

their own way -

& the schemes/ plans must be

inspected by experts

& inspected afterwards by

experts & continuously

[And the *Health Officer* should be

an officer of Govt & *not* of the Municipy

And the *Chairman* of the Municipality

must be appointed & removeable *by Govt.* [end 10:213]

**f214v**

Quarantine

**f215**

E. g. -2A -

It is the Anglo - Indian [10:839-40]

who is standing still

the native who is making

progress

It is this progress,

inevitable, developed by

our own wise measures,

which Lord Ripon has

sought to guide aright.

- aright both for India

& for England -

Had he not given to

them natives local self-government,

they would have taken it

**f215v**

The question is; not  
*who* is to administer the  
country: for the bulk  
of the village administrations  
in this, the land of  
villages, *must* be done  
by the natives, whoever  
governs -

The question is: shall  
it be done by the low paid  
corrupt petty native official  
who pays himself out of it  
or by the decent villagers  
- in a country where  
from time immemorial

**f216**

they have administered  
themselves.

This is the problem  
Lord Ripon has solved  
And his successor will  
not allow it to become  
a sham. [end 10:840]

unsigned letter, ff217-19, pen & pencil, black-edged, pale paper

**f217**

*Private* May /92 [10:370-73]

Dear Lord Lansdowne  
I have lately received  
from the India Office  
Reports of the Provincial  
Sanitary Boards, or rather  
copies of the remarks &  
orders of the Govt of India  
on the Reports of the  
Sanitary Boards of Local  
Govts.

You will perhaps  
remember how kindly  
you yourself sent me  
the first notices of the  
appointment & action  
or *non-action* of these

**f217v**

Local Sanitary  
Boards, showing that  
you had taken personal  
interest in them. And  
I may be allowed to  
thank you for it, as  
I understand your  
interest has given  
them a great stimulus.

But in looking the  
papers through, I regret  
to see that in several  
of the Reports, no notice  
is taken of Village  
Sanitation. And in Bengal

**f218**

the Local Govt seems  
to have restricted the  
operation of Sanitary  
Boards to Municipal  
areas. In Assam  
something appears to /The Sanitary Board seems to have  
have been done / proposed some {illeg}

2. I take this opportunity  
to mention Village  
Sanitation in Bombay.

And your goodness  
makes me venture to  
send you privately a  
correspondence of mine  
with the I.O. (5 pieces)

**f218v**

which I understand has  
been sent you officially  
by Lord Cross' kind desire.  
It is on one point only  
of the burning question  
of Village Sanitation in  
Bombay - my deep interest  
in which has covered  
years. This point is  
perhaps a technical &  
small one, and yet not  
small - for without it  
the Village Sanitation Act  
is said to remain a  
dead letter - viz/ It is this that  
each village should be  
legally authorized to

**f219**

-2-

reserve & spend a part  
of its own cess paid  
by itself till the  
minimum of Sanitation  
required by this  
particular village is  
attained.

As I feel very keenly  
the importance of the  
question, I trust that  
I may without impertinence  
express the hope that  
if you think well, you  
will personally give it  
your support.

unsigned letter, ff221-24, pen & pencil

**f221**

June/93

Dear Lord Lansdowne

Your extreme kindness on [10:371-72]  
former occasions & the fear  
that you are about to forsake  
shortly your immense Indian  
family lead me to venture  
to ask again a great favour:

Your personal interest

has given to the Sanitary cause  
such a great stimulus in India which  
no doubt, it has much advanced.

Might I venture to ask  
for Reports as to the working  
of 1. the Village Sanitary Acts  
or Local Boards Acts  
detailed from each Presidency  
& Province  
& their *results* on the Public  
Health  
and the same on

**f221v**

2. the Sanitary Boards of  
Local Governments - but more,  
if I might ask, as to their  
working in *Villages* than in  
Municipalities, which  
Municipalities appear to have  
received the Lion's share.

or copies of the remarks  
& orders of the Govt of India  
on the Reports of the Sanitary  
Boards of Local Govts

3. In reference to Villages:  
you were so very kind as  
to mention that the Local  
Governmts have been asked  
for an expression of their  
opinion upon the point  
whether each Village could



**f222**

be legally authorized to  
reserve and spend a part  
of its own cess paid by itself  
till the minimum of Sanitation  
required by this particular  
village is attained.

This refers to my papers  
containing these proposals  
which had been sent you  
officially by Lord Cross,  
as you kindly told me -

These proposals then  
referred to Bombay alone

I am naturally anxious  
to know whether any thing  
has come of my 'brat'.

Other Provinces have, I  
believe some similar 'brats' -  
I trust they have increased  
in wisdom & stature  
4 Country Lecturer

**f222v**

& grown up to man's estate  
Then there are

*selected* villages

Village *Union* Committees  
for improving Village Sanitation  
but (subject of course to  
higher authority), we want  
villages to do for themselves  
rather than Unions.

In one Province the  
Sanitary Board proposed  
a scheme of sanitation  
for *selected Villages* to include  
a. improvement of drinking water  
b. improved drainage  
c. prohibition of deposits of  
manure

The results in these *selected*  
villages might be watched  
Could not the principle of

**f223**

-2-

allowing these villages or  
some of them to spend  
money themselves be  
tried?

Might one ask whether  
the Engineer on each  
Sanitary Board has  
been really a SANITARY  
Engineer? And does he devote  
his whole time to the purpose?

Board of two  
No doubt great strides  
have been made during  
the past twelvemonth  
I shall hail the arrival  
of the papers so kindly  
promised.

In several Provinces  
as we have lately heard,

**f223v**

"rules" have been made -  
"Rules" are quite necessary -  
But if left without action  
is it not almost like  
making a "rule" that  
chimneys shall not smoke?

The book & the pen  
It appears as if every thing  
depends entirely on the  
District Officer. And this  
is quite right. But it is  
to be hoped that provision  
is made now to ensure his  
having Sanitary inclinations  
& education

Otherwise the roads by  
which District Officers are  
to go may be cleansed,  
but the bye-lanes & houses

**f224**

& compounds of the poor  
be left in a horrible state  
Caste is always objected.  
Would enabling the village  
to reserve a part of its own  
cess enable matters to  
make progress? THEY the villages  
know what can be done  
with caste.  
In London the outside is  
~~clean~~ filthy but the  
houses are clean.  
In India the outside is  
clean, but the houses &  
interior courts are filthy  
beyond description  
Hence a world of fever  
& deterioration of national health

{ff225-26 are a printed copy of ff221-24, f226 has the conclusion of the letter}

**f226**

But to sum up: no doubt great strides have been made during the past 12 months. And we shall hail the arrival of the papers so kindly promised.  
But more than all we hail the help that so blessed a Viceroyalty in the midst of unexampled difficulties has been to India. And we thank God for it.

Ever,

DEAR Lord Lansdowne  
your Excellency's faithful servant  
(Sg.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

*Private.* P.S. - I hope you will not think the Master of Balliol more altered than the lapse of 5 years' warrants when you see him again. To us who saw him at the worst, it seems like a resurrection from the dead. On the whole, he is pretty good, whereas he used to be incredibly naughty, in attending to 'Brother Ass,' (the body). He has given up those long fatiguing tours of visits; he drives out most days, taking a lame fellow with him, of course; he comes less often to London; he has fewer large parties in his house at Oxford. And we do not see the 'sentence of death' in him, as we did.

If possible, more than ever, he looks upon all God's human creatures of whatever class as his brothers and sisters, and upon making his service a second education for his servants and for his Secretaries whom he trains out of poor young men. His influence at Oxford is, I believe, greater than ever. He goes on with Plato. Plato ought to be grateful to him. But you see signs of fatigue in him after much conversation.

Pardon this long P.S

F.N. [end 10:372]

ff227-28v, Viceregal Lodge, Simla, Lord Lansdowne to FN, June 28, 1892, in reply to FN's letter of May 27, re giving authority to villages to spend some of their own revenue

Although I am not yet in a position to send you a full reply to your letter of May 27th, I must not leave it unacknowledged.

The Sec of State has sent us officially your letter containing proposals for the expenditure of a part of the village cess on the sanitation of the village, and we have asked the local govts for an expression of their opinions upon the point. This procedure is tardy but inevitable and I fear that some time may pass before we receive the expected replies.

The case of the village illeg of Bengal and the attitude of the present f228 lt gov is being separately dealt with and will come before me shortly.

All can promise in the meantime is to illeg your wishes in mind & to expedite matters as rapidly as our somewhat cumbrous machinery permits.

It was such a pleasure to me to read your post straight about the dear old master. He writes to me now and again about my son or about other matters with all the indefatigable thoughtfulness which characterizes him. I am so glad that he is holding his own and that he is being well cared for. I have now every hope of finding him at his post when I come home. Many thanks for your kind thought of writing to me about him and believe me...

ff229-30, printed letter from Lord Lansdowne to FN, August 1st, 1893 in reply to FN's letter of June 16 re Sanitary Boards in Villages

unsigned note, ff231-33, pencil [10:227-28]

### **f231**

Ld Lansdowne's letter  
we don't want more "supervision"  
that means somebody who must be hard  
& who will oppress  
we want to carry the natives with us  
by means of good & sympathetic District  
Officers who will explain to & influence  
the natives - not by means of Departmts  
who know nothing about them & whom they  
know nothing about.

### **f232**

-2-

The English Govt is like Sangrado  
more bleeding & more hot water

The District Officer we want a good  
& sympathetic Englishman with a Council  
? of natives

### **f233**

-3-

P.S.S. They can't be always repelling &

insulting these people - & then ask for their help, their money & their Lecturers - for them to do the work of the Govt in short.

thinks an Indian village very like an English one - had quite as soon have to manage an Indian as an English one & much sooner an Indian than a Scotch village. **[end 10:228]**

f234, from Lord Lansdowne, August 9, 1892, re the work of Sir Charles Elliot. The enclosed may interest you. Sir Charles Elliot is, I think, doing his best. This note requires no acknowledgment  
yours sincerely  
Lansdowne

ff235-36, October 11, 1893, re FN's suggestion about village lecturers  
My special advisers at head quarters doubt whether it wd be possible to give effect to your ideas of organizing a system of lectures by itinerant lectures on sanitary questions, in the employment of a native association, but I mean to consult one or two of the heads of the local govts upon the point privately.  
As to manuals, I find that we have what appears to be a very sensibly arranged Text book of Domestic Economy and Sanitary Science by Dr Roberts - this book is now in use in the higher schools.  
In the primary schools, we have an accepted text book entitled "A Sanitary Primer - the Way to Heath - I am sending you copies of these by book post for your inspection.  
Believe me  
dear Miss Nightingale  
yours sincerely  
Lansdowne

ff237-38v, October 11, 1893, re the death of Benjamin Jowett. Viceregal Lodge, Simla.

Your letter of Sep 6 ended with a PS in which you wrote of 'the Master's illness and of the subsequent improvement which took place in his health. You tell me that 'please God, we might still have him with us a little longer' Alas! that hope is not to be fulfilled and our dear old friend is, as far as his bodily presence in our midst is concerned, lost to us. It is a real sorrow to me. I had no more constant friend and I cannot express the gratitude with which I look back to his unfailing interest in all that befell me and to his help and guidance t times when they were most needed. His saying that he meant to get better 'because he had yet so much to do' is touching and characteristic . He was one who would never have sate down and said that his task was done, or that he was entitled to rest from toil for the remainder of his days - It would however be very far from the truth to think that his work was at an end because he is no longer here to carry it on with his own hands.

I am sure his death will be in a very great sorrow to you as it has been to me.

ff239-40v, October 25, 1893, re Benjamin Jowett. Viceregal Lodge Simla printed address. Dear Miss Nightingale, I must not leave your kind letter of the 6th inst without acknowledgement altho' I have only just time to catch the mail. It was very thoughtful and good of you to tell me something of the Master's last days and moments. I wished so much to hear about them and yours is the only account which has reached me, nor could I have asked for a better or more reverent one. That last chapter is to me irrepressibly touching. There can, I think, have been no suffering of mind and probably not much of body at the end.

I wish I could have seen him again, even after all was over.

Of all the true and appreciative words which you have written of him, none seem to me illeg than those in which you speak almost impatiently of the shallow fools who thought that he had "no religion." His religion always seemed to me nearer to that which *The Master* taught his followers than that of any other man or woman whom I have met and I doubt whether any one of our time has done so much to spread true religion and Christianity in the best sense of the word.

But I must leave off, some day you will perhaps allow me to talk to you of all this.

Meanwhile dear Miss Nightingale...Lansdowne.

Many thanks for the extract from "India" with your excellent letter to that paper.

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u n s i g n e d      l e t t e r      d r a f t ,      f f 2 4 1 - 4 2 v ,      p e n c i l

**f241**

Oct 6/99[15:1022]

Dear Lord Lansdowne

I fear you will  
quite have forgotten,

tho' I have not, the  
kindness you have shown  
to old Florence Nightingale  
who is writing to you now

I write on behalf of  
my great nephew (by marriage)  
Ralph Verney, asking  
that he should be gazetted  
to the Rifle Brigade, of

**f241v**

which the List is very  
full. The Duke of Connaught  
put his name down for  
it 3 years ago - He  
bears the highest character  
with his chiefs.

Col: Delavoye, the  
Head of the Educational  
Department at the W.O.,  
after calling for the  
official returns of Ralph  
Verney's marks in the  
recent examination  
said to his father "It

**f242**

that it was indeed a  
feather in his son's cap  
that he should have  
"been able in ten weeks  
"to do such work as this.  
During the same time  
he has of his own accord learned to ride in  
the Aldershot Riding School  
& has had so many  
creditable falls from  
his horse during the process  
as to establish his  
character also for a soldier's  
pluck.

**f242v**

I know the lad's  
moral character  
well.  
If you should  
think well to  
have him  
gazetted to the  
envied Rifle  
Brigade, we  
should be truly  
grateful, & may  
promise that  
he would/ will not  
disgrace your  
patronage.

**[end]**

{written the other way on the page}

p.2

is not necessary, if the ventilation is  
good - A sick room appears to be  
a necessity. This of course would  
need a fireplace.

Miss Gethen

Miss Lückes

Sister Buxton

London

ff243-44, War Office, October 12, 1899, re FN's request for preferment for Ralph Verney



unsigned notes, ff245-46, pencil

**f245**

write to Ld Lansdowne  
when I hear that Mr. Frederick  
has sent his letter {printed address:} 10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W. in  
regret to hear that  
the Treasury have again  
refused to grant Mr. Frederick  
a pension for his Sanitary  
work.

& that as I understand  
he has sent in another  
letter asking for a gratuity  
on account of the extra  
work performed by him  
without remuneration  
I might express the hope

**f245v**

that Ld Lansdowne  
will be good enough  
not only to forward Mr.  
Frederick's appeal  
to the Treasury with  
a strong recommendation  
from him but also  
to kindly use his own  
personal influence  
with the Treasury so as  
to ensure some  
grant or other being

**f246**

made as a reward  
for his long & useful  
services

The Marquis of  
Ld Lansdowne  
S. of S. for War

initialled letter, ff247-48v, pencil, draft, black-edged paper

**f247**

Nov. 28/99

{ p r i n t e d a d d r e s s : }  
10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Dear Lord Lansdowne

Your kindness to me  
& my objects on more  
than one occasion  
encourages me to write  
to me/ you on ~~ms~~ a matter  
very near to my heart &  
that of some others.  
May I leap in medias res?  
Mr. Frederick (J.J.  
Frederick Esq) has done  
invaluable service ~~to~~ as  
Secretary to the Army  
Sanitary Committee

**f247v**

& to the ~~Army~~/Army Sanitary  
cause in other ways -  
Many can testify to this -  
as I could ~~in~~ at great  
length.

Mr. Frederick has been  
over 43 years in the  
Service

He has recently had the  
pension granted him by  
the Treasury last year -  
reduced by the sum of  
£66.13.4 - that  
being the amount of  
pension granted him

**f248**

on the £100 a year  
he received as Secretary  
to the Army Sanitary  
Committee, on which his  
labour was incessant.  
& priceless.  
[This seems based on the  
principles: The more you  
do, the less ~~you~~ shall you  
receive.]  
Might I express the hope  
that you would press  
the Treasury to reconsider  
the matter or see that  
this should be adequately  
made up to Mr. Frederick

**f248v**

in some other way  
We do urgently press  
this matter on your kind  
notice -  
Our debt to Mr.  
Frederick is great  
I could say much  
more, but am anxious  
not to ~~press~~ / trespass too much/ severely  
on your time.  
May I sign myself  
your faithful ~~srvt~~  
follower FN  
Marquis of Lansdowne K.G.

ff249-50, December 1, 1899 from WO, Lansdowne re FN's appeal on behalf of Mr. Frederick. The duke of Devonshire has sent me your letter about Mr Frederick. There has been a long corr between this office and the ...about Mr Frederick's case. We are fighting his battle to the best of our ability and the discussion is still proceeding! I hope we may prevail, I shall certainly try to do so. I am sure you are keenly interested in the war. I am so hard worked I have little time to spare, but I shall try to pay my respects to you one of these days in case you shd have any commands. Always dear Miss Nightingale yours sincerely  
Lansdowne