

Add Mss 45791

1

Add Mss 45791-45797, mainly family correspondence, 985 pages

Add Mss 45791 microfilm, 411 folios, 902 pages, correspondence with the Verney family, Adam Matthew reel 27

ff1-256 with Sir Harry Verney;

ff258-356 Parthenope Nightingale Verney;

ff357-411 Frederick W. Verney

**ff1-2** draft letter TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (COMPENSATION FOR HOSPITAL LAND)  
PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN, actual letter is 8998/3

**f1**

30 Old Burlington St.

**[16:783]**

July 7/59

My dear Sir Harry Verney

There seem to be three points  
to be attended to in the compensation  
(in re St. Thomas's)

1. the value of the number of  
square yards of the Hospital land  
to be taken by the Company, which  
should be the same as the land in  
the neighbourhood

2. a sum in the name of  
"dommages ~~&/et~~ intérêts" of the Hospital  
property, even if the Hospital were  
removed -- For the Railway will  
damage the ground for Building  
purposes

3. a sum to be paid for the total cost

**f1v**

of removing the Hospital -- ~~which~~  
~~should be certainly not less than~~  
~~the first cost of the two new stone~~  
~~wings.~~ There need be no controversy except about the amount  
to the land

It appears to me that an  
ordinary valuer could settle the  
point

£30,000 is certainly only a fractional part of what ought to be  
paid to the

{THIS INSERTED SECTION IS ACTUALLY ON **f2:**} JS hand  
charity, unless the Legislature intends  
~~intends~~ to lay it down as a  
principle that trust property  
and private property are to  
be sacrificed to the schemes  
of joint stock companies.  
{BACK TO **f1v:**}

~~£30,000 is certainly not more than  
the mere value of the actual ground  
the Railway will stand upon, if so much.  
The amount of land they take is 500 sq. yds.~~

~~Mr. Baggallay's proposal was  
certainly as unreasonable the  
other way.~~

~~The plan I propose might  
possibly lead to a compromise  
between the two.~~

If you can do anything in  
this matter, I am sure it will  
be a national benefit.

**Ff3-7** Nov 10 1860 letter to HV from Robert Ceely, Aylesbury re inf with  
notes by Ceely. I beg to enclose as you desired a revised copy of the  
Statistics and explanation which I furnished to the building com of the  
Bucks County Inf on Wednesday last. I think it comprises answers to all  
the questions which Miss Nightingale has suggested to you. Shd any  
further information be required that I can obtain, I shall be happy to  
supply it. It is much to be regretted that illeg space in our present  
site, limited funds and economy of admin have compelled the  
objectionable location of beds at the ends of each ward as well as the  
diminution of the desired cubic space within the wards. Doubtless Miss  
Nightingale will not approve of the two small bye wards or rather rooms  
attached to each of the nurse rooms by which we make up our 50 beds. But  
where else cd they be placed in our present plan? They were intended for  
"casualty" cases. We wish they cd have been larger and better ventilated  
by natural means. We derive some consolation however from the knowledge  
that a space admitting of 6 or 8 beds on the ground floor, in the site  
of the dispensary and waiting room, incl a portion of the corridor so as  
to admit of windows on both sides will be left available for the above  
and other contingent emergencies, but unhappily this advantage can be  
enjoyed only by an increase of admin cost.

The removal of the laundry from the main bldg and the transp of the  
kitchen to the side originally designed for the laundry affording the  
above illeg accom will doubtless meet with Miss Nightingale's  
approbation. We wish we cd hope to have the oak floor in the wards and  
are glad that double windows on the north aspect at least have been  
agreed to.

I feared the Parian cement to the walls and ceilings of the wards was  
not likely to be obtained, in consequence of the want of funds and the  
difficulty of persuading the mgt with the subject of its great utility.

With compliments to Lady Verney and yourself...

f6 Bucks Inf On an average of the last 3 years, the proportion of men to women in patients was 52 ½ percent. The proportion of surgical cases to medical in men was 68%, proportion of surgical to med in women 35 %, max number of surgical cases at one time, among women 6, ordinarily but 4, annual ave number of ops among men was 9, ...total number of capital ops in women since the opening of the inst in 1832, 28 years, 17, med officers hitherto placed med and surgical cases in same ward, and do not object to a continuation of the practice; on rare occasions only have they found it expedient to remove noisy or offensive cases into a byeward; neither fever cases nor any reputed infectious or contagious diseases are allowed by the Rules to be admitted; medical cases both in men and women are always of a chronic character, admission made but once a week; majority of the surgical cases both men and women are also chronic, scrofula in its varied forms affecting the bones, joints, glands, skin etc. 43 accidents have been admitted during the last 3 years, the majority being fractures, simple and compound

**ff8-9** NOTES ON BUCKS INFIRMARY PLANS PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f8**

*Bucks Infirmary  
plans*

The following points  
require consideration: --

**[16:647-48]**

1. The cost in  
proportion to the  
accommodation, on  
account of the great  
extent of the  
Administration.

The sick wards  
occupy an area of  
4508 sq. ft. out of  
a total area of  
above 9000 sq. ft.

2. Much of the  
accommodation for  
Administrative Offices  
is far too good.

3. All the Kitchen  
Offices must be  
removed from  
where they are. They  
spoil the ward  
above -- should

**f8v**

they not go into  
the Central basement  
-- if not wholly  
detached.

4. The Wash house  
(Now in the basement)  
must be detached

5. The five corner  
beds at the  
end of each ward  
are out of the  
question. There  
must be only  
two, one in each  
corner with 18  
inch between wall & bed  
~~& wall~~, & then  
a window.

Take out the  
bed in the middle  
altogether.

6. Why no end=

Add Ms 45792

5

window? & why  
not ablution &

**f9**

Bath Room in a  
projection at end?  
Is it on account of the ground?

7.       Why both grates  
          on the same side  
          the ward?
8.       I cannot conceive  
          how the Patient  
          is to be got up those  
          stairs & through  
          that door to the  
          Operating Theatre  
          -- still less how  
          he is to be got  
          down again.  
          If the Operating  
          Theatre is to be  
          upstairs, for  
          which there seems  
          no reason, as it  
          does not *appear*  
          to be lighted  
          thro' the roof,  
          there *must*, in  
          this case, be a  
          contiguous ward.

[end 16:649]

**ff10-11** letter to HV from C.B. Phipps

Buckingham Palace  
19 April 1861

*Private and Confidential*

My dear Verney

I have now the pleasure to inform you that it has been arranged that an apartment at Kensington Palace shall be put into proper repair with a view to its being offered by the Queen to Miss Nightingale as a residence. I need not tell you how grateful to the Queen's feelings it will be, even in this slight degree, to be able to mark her respect and regard for this most excellent lady, of whom everybody in this country must be proud.

I must beg of you to consider this letter as at present confidential, always with the exception of Miss Nightingale, as the estimate has not yet been submitted.

When this vote has passed the official offer of the apartment will be made.

sincerely yours  
C.B. Phipps

**ff12-20** LETTERS TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (WINCHESTER HOSPITAL) typed copies

**f12** [arch:] Original owned by Colonel Heathcote, pencil **[16:593-94]**

COPY

Winchester Hospital

Typed copies of two letters from Miss Nightingale to  
Sir Harry Verney Bart M.P.

50 Old Burlington St. W.  
May 25, 1861

My dear Sir Harry Verney,

As my name has been dragged into a discussion before the Committee of Winchester Infirmary, with reference to a request that the facts (almost unparalleled in a Civil Hospital) of the enormous mortality from Erysipelas in that Infirmary might be used as a proof of the absolute necessity of shutting up the present building as soon as possible, and as the Committee have declined to grant such permission; I feel bound at least to enter my protest against the continuance of such a state of things for one moment longer than necessary to provide new buildings, --

The Table viewed in any way is a sentence of condemnation of the existing building, -- What can you call it but a Pest-House, where a number of people are exposed to the risk of fatal illness from a special Hospital disease, while several have been literally killed off-hand.

The question for the County is, whether this is to be allowed to go on? Are we Hampshire people to go on tolerating an Institution which sends a number to their graves by a disease which I, with my

**f13**

[2]

Hospital experience, know need never appear at all in a well constructed & well managed building.

I need hardly say that this matter should not be allowed to rest.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

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Hampstead, N.W. [16:594-96]

Sept. 12 1861

My dear Sir Harry,

I will answer Sir William Heathcote's note first.

1. Mr. Rawlinson's Report entirely settled the question of the Winchester Hospital. The sub-soil is tainted beyond the power of cure -- The construction & internal arrangements are bad. -- In 9 months, in a Hospital of 100 to 120 beds, they cause 24 unfortunate creatures to run the gauntlet of their lives with Erysipelas -- of whom 8 die, -- a circumstance wholly unprecedented in my experience of Hospital massacres, excepting at Scutari during a short period -- so that Winchester aspires to rival the most colossal calamity of history, in its small way --

In a London Hospital of 500 Beds, badly situated by the river, in the 12 months of 1860 only 13 cases of Erysipelas occurred in the Hospital, and without a single death; whereas 72 cases of Erysipelas, simple & phlegmonous were admitted in the same period, of which 3



**f14**

[3]

only died -- (all of the latter severe form when admitted).

To the tainted subsoil alone the Winchester deaths cannot be referred, but to the other errors of its construction also, -- The Winchester Hospital Committee is therefore going to meet to discuss whether they shall try to do a thing which is impossible or whether they shall not rather do what is in accordance with common sense -- They are going to consider whether they can make a Hospital which killed 8 people by Erysipelas alone, kill fewer in future -- or whether they should not build a Hospital where Erysipelas will not shew its face, -- Judging by what I know about the present building, I have no hesitation in saying that if they try their hands at "adaptation" they will fail, & not only throw away their money, but kill more patients, before they finally make up their minds to give up a site & building where sick ought never to be placed, -- Hampshire should have as good a Hospital as any County in England; and why in these days men should even raise the question of preserving the present building passes my comprehension -- I understand that Lord Ashburton will give £1000 towards a new Hospital, if built upon a new site -- if not, nothing --

I would gladly give what I can, out of my own earnings, which would be £50, and might be £100, & I believe my Father would give as much more; & I would gladly revise & consider the plans for a new building, if desired to do so -- But I should be guilty of that crassa ignoratia which lawyers tell me is a ground of verdict of manslaughter, if I helped the Committee in any way to repeat experiments on the sick poor. -- Captn. Galton is now building a

**f15**

[4]

Pavilion Hospital (60 Beds) for a Regiment, at £70 per bed, with every modern appliance, the more extraordinary in cheapness as the number of beds is so few -- The Pavilions are end to end, as in your new Bucks. Infirmary, 2 wards of 28 beds: & 2 of 2 -- It will become cheaper to build good Hospitals than bad. With regard to Sir W. Heathcote's other questions,

2. I send him by post to-day, to save time, a copy of my Notes on Hospitals, 2nd Edition. But will you tell him that I am at the moment employed by Parker to write a Third Edition, leaving out all the Crimean part, and adding to all the construction, & arrangement part, which refer to all Hospitals; and I shall be undone if he does not return me my copy, (at his convenience) as this Edition is entirely out of print; and, strange to say, the War Office continually refers to me for information out of it.

The Report of the Barrack Commission, in speaking of *Military Hospitals*, really refers to *all*, as far as construction goes. -- But I shall be most happy, when it comes to building, to say in what internal arrangements consists the difference between civil & Military Hospitals -- Hospitals where both sexes are, and all Nurses are female, and Hospitals where adult men only are Patients, & all or most of the Nurses are men --

Otherwise that Report is a capital guide.

3. I know of no better authority than Mr. Rawlinson as to the site on which he has already reported, and he examined the Hospital on the spot.

When it comes to construction I am sure that Dr. Sutherland,

**f16**

[5]

either with Mr. Rawlinson, or alone, will gladly examine any sites which may be suggested, and advise.

I wish that Sir W. Heathcote's letter had come one day earlier as Dr. Sutherland & Capt. Galton have just sailed for the Mediterranean Inspection --

But I regret this the less, as, having fully discussed the subject of the Winchester Infirmary with Dr. Sutherland & Mr. Rawlinson, I am able to say that Dr. Sutherland declared that "nothing would induce him to have any hand in recommending any alterations in the present building, on the present site" and "if he were to examine the Hospital in the spot twenty times" (he has inspected it) "he could not say otherwise." --

I know no authority in Europe to compare with that of Dr. Sutherland in the sanitary construction of buildings, & the inspection of sites.

He will be home early in November, & I will let you or Sir W. Heathcote know.

Finally, I repeat, I shall be too glad to advise, criticize, & consider any Draft Plans which may be sent to me, but only for a *new building, on a new site* **[end 16:596]**

x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x xxx

(the remainder of this letter is on other subjects.)

Believe me, affecty yours,

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

f17 Original owned by Colonel Heathcote

[16:597-99]

COPY

Hampstead N.W.  
Sept. 14/61

My dear Sir Harry

It occurred to me to send you again the heads of our indictment against Winchester Infirmary (for Sir Wm Heathcote), as Mr. Rawlinson, Dr. Sutherland and I considered them after consultation, last January, in consequence of Mr. Rawlinson's inspection --

1. The present building stands in the midst of houses, on an undrained sub-soil, there are sewers & drains ending in a cess pool & forming part of the cess pool -- with an overflow outlet -- in the Hospital grounds. The surrounding sub-soil is saturated with its contents & for many years past.

The site could not be drained unless Winchester is sewered & even then would be improper for a Hospital -- which ought to be on a proper site outside the town.

2. There are 28 Patients in 5 wards on the ground floor, with an average of under 1000 cub. ft. per bed -- 43 Patients in 4 wards on the first floor, with an average of under 1000 cub. ft per bed -- 41 Patients in 3 wards on the 2nd floor; with an average of 900 cub. ft per bed.

The proportion of Surgical Patients is 68 out of 112 beds.

*Half the beds ought to be removed at once.*

Mr. Rawlinson says 2000 cub. ft per bed would not be enough.

I have no hesitation in saying that a Hospital which requires 2000 cub. ft per bed ought not to be there at all. And this fact is in itself *prima facie* evidence against any Hospital. If you want

**f18**

[2]

2000 to make your beds healthy, your beds won't be healthy with 20000. 1500 cub. ft per bed is the proper allowance in any Hospital which ought to be a Hospital -- excepting, of course, in single-or double-bed wards, which ought to have 2500 cub. ft.

(The Barrack Commission gives only 1200 cub. ft per bed. But this is in Military Hospls. where half the Patients are not Patients, but only not fit to be on duty-- This is one of the great differences between Civil & Military Hospitals.)

The small wards in the Winton Infirmary are altogether objectionable-- What an idea to distribute 28 Patients in 5 wards. There is not one good ward in the place--

I understand the Average Patients are as follow:

	Male	Female
(1) Accidents	7	
(2) Venereal	6	$\bar{6}$
(3) Surgical	36	25
(4) Medical	16	16
	----	----
	65	47

I would follow this distribution; & have 6 or 7 wards accordingly -- instead of 12 which there are. But, excluding the (2) which ought to be quite separate, you might have a very nice double Pavillion -- for men & for women -- with one large Medical & one large Surgical ward on each floor or each side. It is useless however to shew how this might be done when the question of removal is not yet decided.

3. I think I mentioned to you that upon my application to the

**f19**

[3]

War Office -- alas! during my dear master's reign -- Government consented to bear their fair share of expence for the Barracks, if Winchester were sewerred.

4. I understand that the Committee (Hospital) has estimated proposed alterations to give 1500 cub. ft per bed at £6000

Existing Site & buildings	)	
might sell at (say)	)	3500
		-----
		£9500

Therefore you have an old building, patched up, on the foulest of sub-soils; in a crowded situation -- & with only three fourths the requisite cubic space (for in that situation certainly 2000 cub. ft will be necessary -- & then it will not be healthy) to cost £9500

Whereas you might have a new Hospital, with air & light & view, and virgin subsoil,

to cost £12000 *or less.*

Believe me

Your affectionate

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

Mr. Rawlinson, who is quite the first authority in England on drainage & sewerage, says that he can sewer Winchester for £12000 -- & that the annual rate to extinguish the debt in 30 years will not exceed sixpence in the pound.

As he has great works to shew of this kind, in which the cost

**f20**

[4]

of main sewers in each city or town he has done never exceeded six pence in the pound of the local rateable value, he deserves to be believed. And this is to make a sinking fund as well as to pay interest on the money borrowed & pay for local management. **[end 16:599]**

F.N.

**ff21-22** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE [can't be a copy and handwritten by FN]

**f21**

*copy by Mrs N {by Mrs N IN PENCIL}*

4 Cleveland Row SW

Jan 30/63

My dear Sir Harry

My hand protests  
against much writing  
which I don't wonder  
at being myself of  
the same opinion.  
still I must say a  
word of thanks for  
having again had so  
comfortable a three  
months in your  
beautiful house of  
which I think the  
fresh air just the  
same as the country

**f21v**

(& quite as free from  
flacks) --

I really don't know  
so beautiful a town  
view -- not even in  
Paris & (don't laugh) I  
admire the N view  
from the fire side  
down Park Lane  
almost as much --  
I have often sat  
there enjoying it &  
thinking it like a  
French street with  
its yellow ochre stripes

**f22**

& its grass green placards

The public house  
at the corner is also  
a Vestal for purity --  
very unlike my  
public houses.

I have come  
down here into close  
proximity with the  
W O -- which convenience  
makes Dr Sutherland  
think it "the airiest"  
situation he knows  
(I don't)

God has taken  
away my "five just  
men" Albert, Genl Bruce  
Sidney Herbert, Alexander

**f22v**

& my dear Clough -- all  
within a few months  
& left none but men  
who don't know their  
right hands from their  
left -- & *likewise much*  
*cattle* Ever dear Sir Harry  
yours affectely & gratefully

F.N.

I was so sorry that I was  
too ill to see you when  
you were so good as  
to call here

**Ff23-26** Sept 7 1866 [date not clear] HV to FN from Liverpool, at workhouse.  
Sat. Feb 3 [1864] Rathbone's Greenbank, Liverpool. At 6.15 this morning  
Watson gave me breakfast at 7 young illeg drove me to Matlock Bath. At 8 I  
was steamed away to Buxton and then at 9 at 12 at the Adelphi Hotel,  
Liverpool and at 1 today in the workhouse It is a large agglomeration of  
buildings --as you may suppose, since it can contain 3500-- more than 3000  
are there today. Of these 900 in hospital. I think that I never saw more  
distressing specimens of humanity. Miss Jones is not here. She is gone away  
to recruit her health and strength at Derry.

I was well pleased with the governor, Mr Carr. He is a rough diamond,  
but I doubt not a valuable man. One of the objects which pleased me the  
most was a little inst of his own in the workhouse .... 30 or 35 of the  
taught cookery and will be cutting out of clothes and altogether ...

This he did entirely of his own accord and he got a very nice sort of  
matron to superintend and teach them.

I feel great confidence that Mr C will do what he can to aid Miss Jones  
-- and she will need all the consonance and aid that can be obtained for  
her - it must not be denied that it is a great undertaking, but Miss J has  
impressed Mr C and to hers ... She has ability, brightness, courage and ..  
Spirits. It is a will which you may well watch with ...

Each matron of a division has about 130 or 140 patients to attend to and

how they can be persuaded to care for such pittances about £16 as they ...

There is a great .. But it is a work well worthy of best efforts of a religious and benevolent woman, also witnesses the misery of should and ...

Thence to Miss Merryweather, who, with her sister, superintend one of the most satisfactory insts that I have visited, 32 nurses are in...

Miss M will be a great comfort and stay to Miss Jones. Miss M has her plagues and trials but ... [hard to read]

**f27-28** 1 Feb [1866] HV to FN from 32 South St. I have told Lord Napier that at present you are so poorly that you can see no one.

Parthe has been very weak and unwell for some weeks. She is rather better now. I know that it would be a great comfort and satisfaction to her to come to you when you may feel equal it. ...

Private Wilson from ... H. Storks.

**f29** Napier to HV from 24 Prince's Gate Feb 2 It will give me very great pleasure to visit with Miss N and to hear her views as to sanitary improvements as soon as she can do me the honor to receive me. I beg you will convey my best respect to her and say how much I regret to her of her prolonged indisposition.

I had some opportunity of seeing Miss Nightingale at Scutari.



**f30** HV to FN Feb 14 [1866] HV letter to FN re seeing Napier, she shd write him

**f32** HV to FN Feb. 14 Lord Napier told me that he shd very much like to be permitted to call on you and that if you cd receive him he wd go at any time that you wd name. I told him that you are very poorly and that you are always on your sofa. He will leave England on the 23rd

My dear Florence,  
Lord Napier told me  
that he should very  
much like to be permitted  
to call on you, and  
that, if you could receive  
him, he would do so  
at any time that  
you would name.

I told him that you  
are very poorly, and  
that you are always  
on your sofa--

v

He will leave England  
on the 23rd.

I beg you to send  
me a line in pencil,  
saying what you wish.  
Yours very affy  
Harry Verney

**f33** Feb 20 [1866] HV letter to FN has talked to Ld Napier about calling on her, he will go anywhere, any time, to see her

ff35-36 LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (MORTALITY OF TROOPS IN CHINA,  
"CONTAGIOUS DISEASES" BILL CLAUSES) DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN by FN, pale  
blue black-edged paper

**f35**

April 25/66  
35 South Street,  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

[15:414-15]

[printed address]

My dear Sir Harry

1. I should be very thankful to  
know what you think of the  
prospects of Ministers -- now --  
& what night the Division  
will take place.

2. I was very much obliged  
to you for the Mortality in  
Troops Evidence (China).  
I have read it all through --  
I should be sorry to give  
any opinion till I have  
read a great deal more --  
but it is *capital* evidence --  
It does not point out:-- Whom

**f35v**

shall we hang?-- But it points  
out very clearly, as far as  
it goes, what can be done to  
prevent a similar disaster.  
I think it is very clear what  
Government has to do -- viz --  
buy up all the Chinese  
interest in Kowloon -- take  
the best ground for the  
Barracks -- & the lower  
ground, if desirable, for  
soldiers' Gardens --  
The same in Hong Kong --  
Dr Snell's evidence makes  
it plain that both Hong  
Kong & Kowloon may be  
made as healthy as England

**f36**

I will tell you, some day, a very striking Minute which Sidney Herbert wrote on the subject of Kowloon -- shewing how Colonists go out to make money -- troops to defend them -- yet how Colonists shove troops into death --

3. Many thanks for the "Contagious Diseases" Bill Clauses. (Special Report) [8:458]

There is no practicality in the Bill. And it will not prevent a single case of disease. But an important principle is affirmed ("Moral & Religious Instruction", p. VI, Mr. Ayrton -- Not that, in my experience, it is possible to reclaim women in that way. But still it puts a decided veto on the French

**f36v**

system of legalizing vice -- (which this Bill does not do)

Otherwise the Bill leaves the thing just where it found it. And neither army nor Navy will lose one case of disease by it.

[end 8:458]

4. Temperance wants to go & see her relations for a week. If Parthe is going to Embley early next month, I would put off Temperance's visit till she could go with Parthe & her servants -- Either way I should pay her journey --  
ever yours gratefully  
F.N.

**ff37-38** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (REPORTS ON THE "SICK") DARK PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, black-edged paper

**f37**

Thursday

[26 April 1866]

My dear Sir Harry

Many thanks for the  
Returns -- Mortality of Troops (China)

They seem to show the "sick" --  
only on January 1 of each year --  
viz. the healthiest period of the  
year -- [It is bad enough even then  
in all conscience]

It has been suggested to me  
(at the W.O.) to ask you to  
obtain Returns *for each*  
*month of each year* (which  
the W.O. ought to be able  
to furnish) -- Or, if these  
cannot be furnished,  
for *August 1* of each year

**f38**

I am horror-struck at  
the idea of a change of  
Ministry -- because, as  
Lord Stanley will certainly  
not be Minister for India,  
if at all -- we can but  
change for the worse.

ever yours

F.N.

**f39** Dover May 14 [1866] letter to HV from Mr John J. Irwin, St James Rectory, Dover sends obs on mortality of troops at Hong Kong. I venture to submit a few obs to you bearing on the inq with ref to the mortality among the troops at Hong Kong. First, that station tho like every place within the tropics trying to Europeans is not necessarily unhealthy. The great mortality amongst the mil has arisen from causes wh might have been avoided. When I went out there in 1855, the 59th Reg was not sickly but a protracted period in the islands and the hope of being returned had a most depressing influence on the men, inducing recklessness of life and habits of dissipation from wh the reg suffered severely. What else, kept nearby ten years in such a locality. The arrival of native troops to reinforce the garrison and esp to take parco in the night guards had a most beneficial effect on the health of the Europeans. The latter she be exposed as little as poss to night duties.

The 44th Reg now quartered there are very healthy during the period of their service in China. [more details]...consequence was in a fortnight number of sick in the gen hosp rose from 24 to nearly 200 and many of the poor fellows who suffered there will never be effective soldiers again. I was acting as mil chaplain at the time and had the best opp of seeing the unfortunate results. I maintain and I am borne out in this by better authority than my own that a great deal of the deplorable sickness and mortality wh have occurred might have been avoided. Indian troops, throwing additional duties of the Europeans . A great deal of the sickness in China arises from illeg and needless exposure to the sun....crude absurd suggestions in papers...mt be useful to have a roomy ship in the harbour to receive convalescents and to afford quarters to any additional detachments wh mt be sent out

**ff47-50** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (WATER RIGHTS IN CHINA, ETC.)  
PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, black-edge pale blue paper

**f47**

May 19/66

**[15:415]**

35 South Street,

[printed address]

Park Lane,

London. W.

My dear Sir Harry

In returning Mr. Irwin,

let me say: --

1. we think Mr. Irwin  
should be examined,  
to ask about the  
licensing system
2. as to "whether Officers  
"Commandg Regiments  
"should not have a  
"concurrent power of  
"granting licenses to sell  
"spirits at Hong Kong,  
"so that, without theirs  
"consent, licenses could  
"not be given" --  
Certainly, if possible --

**f47v**

But Hong Kong is a colony --  
and all the Civilians  
will object to military  
interference.

3. as to "They cannot  
"trust the native watchmen".

It appears that all  
the worst class of China  
men, *who would be  
punished in China,*  
are received with  
open arms at Hong Kong.  
[What a picture Sir  
Hope Grant's sensible  
evidence gives.]  
Should not the conduct  
of the civil Government

**f48**

in this matter be brought  
under enquiry?

4. as to "within what  
"distance -- & whether  
"to include water supply --  
"rights should be  
"purchased out at  
"Kowloon" --

water may possibly be  
obtained from a  
deep well -- pumped  
up for use -- sufficient  
to supply us -- *in*  
Kowloon peninsula --  
Water can be obtained  
from the mountains  
in China nearest to  
our frontier, 3 or 4 miles

**f48v**

from the Barracks proposed --

There is no right to take  
these streams, because  
they are in China. It  
would be very desirable,  
if possible, by a treaty  
with the Chinese Government,  
to obtain the waters rights.

All rights within the  
territory *ceded to the*  
*British* should be  
*certainly* bought up.  
[This is the answer to the  
first part of the question.]

[end]

5. We think that Sir Hope  
Grant has brought  
up the Evidence to  
the point where Capt.  
Galton should be examined  
next.

**f49**

[3]

6. We think that Lord  
Hartington's cross-examination  
of Col: Jenner on the  
second day (of Col: J's  
evidence) has destroyed  
his evidence on the  
first day, as far as  
inculcating the War  
Office goes. We had  
no idea Ld Hartington  
was so clever a fellow --  
[I thought the putting him  
in Sidney Herbert's place  
much as if they had  
put my great handsome  
tom=Persian=cat in  
Sidney Herbert's place]



**f50**

I told Miss Jones (of King's  
College Hospital) of your  
most kind offer of  
taking her to Claydon --  
I knew she could not  
go. I believe she  
can hardly speak. But  
I knew it would please  
her so much to hear of  
your kindness -- she says

"how very kind of Sir H.  
Verney -- will you offer  
to him my grateful  
thanks? -- x x I feel  
deeply the great kindness  
of Sir Harry's thought  
for me".

My mother has telegraphed  
for her to go to Lea Hurst  
she will go -- but she

**f50v**

will not be able to go  
before Tuesday; and she  
takes a "Sister" to nurse  
her.

My love to Emily  
please

ever yours

F.N.

	{ I have heard
Whitsun Eve	{ nothing further of
1866	{ my mother, except
	{ the telegraph

{I have heard nothing further of my mother, except the telegraph IS WRITTEN  
IN DARK PENCIL}

**ff51-55** NOTES ON SENTRY-MOUNTING, DISEASE, KOWLOON BARRACK PLANS  
PENCIL & PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, pale blue black-edged paper

**f51** LIGHT PENCIL [ca. 19 May 1866]

1

*Private* {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY}

[15:415-16]

We have been told (at  
the War Office) that 70  
sentries could be counted  
*from one single spot* (at  
Hong Kong) where 4 or 5  
would have been ample  
The Commanding Officers  
don't know how to manage.  
To our men this sentry-  
mounting is fatal.

2.

The filthy cultivation of  
the Chinese is a great  
cause of our disease.  
We must buy them out  
of Kowloon at last.

**f52** LIGHT PENCIL

[2]

Next: what to do?

About 3 years ago, the  
War Office prepared x  
plans for Barracks  
and a Hospital, for  
Married quarters,  
Canteen, Officers' quarters,  
&c, for a whole Regiment,  
to be built at Kowloon.  
They had a long  
controversy with the  
Colonial Authorities,  
who wished to deprive  
them of the best site.  
The matter was finally  
arranged -- But, before

x all these plans passed thro' my hands

**f52v** LIGHT PENCIL

incurring the large cost  
of such buildings, it was  
decided to construct a  
single block or (permanent)  
Barrack room on trial.

Get to know in what  
state this question is  
in -- whether the trial  
Barrack has yet been  
built & occupied --  
*And, if so, the result.*

[end 15:416]

**f53** DARK PENCIL dated 21 or 28 May 1866, pale blue black-edged paper

Monday

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

The points on which Capt.  
Galton could give information  
would be: --

the whole course of the *Kowloon*  
barrack plans,  
Sir Hercules Robinson's opposition,  
& the present *lay* of the  
matter -- or rather no=matter. For  
~~Because~~ nothing has been done --  
[Capt G. has been in the  
W.O. ever since the beginning  
of the Kowloon plans]

I am sorry to be obliged  
to send this evidence back  
so soon & should like much

**f53v** DARK PENCIL

to see it again --

Yes: I should like a copy  
for myself very much, if  
possible, please

ever yours gratefully

FN

**f54** PEN & LIGHT PENCIL dated ca. End May 1866]

May 28 35 South Street, [printed address]  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

{PEN BEGINS:}

Col: Jenner's cross=examination  
& Sir Hope Grant's evidence

---

It remains to be seen  
why the power of  
providing accommodation  
*was not* exercised --  
such power being  
supposed to exist  
(or shewn to exist)  
[nothing new occurs to me  
It is all: *if they could*,  
why didn't they?]

---

{LIGHT PENCIL BEGINS:}

Get out, à propos of the  
papers handed in by Sir H. Grant,  
whether steps have been taken

**f54v** LIGHT PENCIL

by the W.O. to purchase all the  
Chinese rights of culture in  
the peninsula of Kowloon.

Ask Capt. Galton (he has got  
his summons) about this --  
and for a detail of the  
reasons why the construction  
of Barracks & Hospital  
at Kowloon -- was put off  
so long -- [*we know why*]  
particularly as regards the  
interference of the Colonists  
with the site selected by  
the W.O.

**f55** LIGHT PENCIL

Get out also all the facts  
about the trial ~~Barrack~~  
Barrack proposed to be  
built (by Dr. Rutherford's  
advice) to test the  
healthiness of the site  
& why it has not yet been  
built.

Let the Committee compare  
the original proposal of the  
W.O. in regard to the  
arrangement of Barrack  
blocks for Kowloon, (as  
shewn on the plan in  
these papers), with the  
alterations on the fly ship,  
which the W.O. was obliged

**f55v** LIGHT PENCIL

to assent to meet the  
requirements of the Colonists  
And they will see that the  
Colonial plan is by no  
means so good as the  
original W.O. plan.  
Can the Committee do nothing  
to resolve the original plan  
====

It is a pity that you  
cannot examine the  
General in Command who  
appears not to have  
exercised the legitimate  
power placed in his hands  
to hire accommodation for  
troops to any extent  
necessary. You ought to have  
had his account of it.

**F56** Liverpool Oct 3 [1866] HV letter to FN from Liverpool to forward this  
to Rathbone re est a school of nurses at the workhouse, rather a doubtful  
plan, re Agnes Jones "a sweet little body" and W. Carr inquired after her

**f58** Feb 10 [1867] Sunday from 32 South St. Hardy's bill, not yet presented,  
he will go to Bill Office tomorrow to try to get a copy for her

**f59v** REMINDER DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

I am to have it by  
11-30 today.

**f60** Gathorne Hardy to HV embossed 12 Grosvenor Cres SW 10 Feb 1867 Gathorne Hardy letter to HV I regret that I have no complete copy of the bill as I handed in the one I had in the House. It will I believe be in the hands of the members tomorrow

**f62** Feb 19 [1867] HV letter to FN asks to see him for a few minutes re Poor Law bill

**ff64-71** NOTES ON THE "SISTERHOOD" PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE [3:470-73]**f64**

Private Feb 15/67  
& Confidential 35 South Street, [printed address]  
Park Lane,  
London. W.

My dear Sir Harry Verney

You know the ties which  
bind me to the "Sisterhood"  
of St. John's House.

These are both "official",  
because Miss Jones so  
kindly organized & so  
efficiently carried out our  
little Training School for  
Midwifery Nurses for the  
poor at King's Coll: Hospl --  
---- And they are also  
ties of admiration & gratitude  
to her for having realized  
(the only person who has  
done so) the ideal of an

**f64v**

Anglican Sisterhood -- cordially  
& candidly uniting with  
a great secular London  
Hospital -- [with two indeed]  
in the Nursing work -- the  
only way in which, as has  
been proved by the experience  
of Christendom, Sisterhoods  
can be of real, perennial,  
efficient use.

You know the danger which  
now threatens them -- or  
rather, if I were to speak  
the truth -- which threatens  
St. John's House -- For, if  
the Sisterhood resigns, & St.  
John's Council remains with

**f65**

its Chaplain, I think it  
will rather be like a Regiment  
deserted by its Commanding  
Officer & all its Officers &  
men, & left with its  
drummer-boy, Band-master  
& Chaplain.

But, as you know the facts,  
I will go at once to the point.

For years there has been but one  
of three alternatives impending.  
Either the Chaplain must go.  
Or the whole Sisterhood  
must resign. Or -- hopeless  
disorganization must ensure.

You will guess that I am even  
presumptuous enough to  
wish that you would  
state to the Bishop of London  
who is not only their Bishop  
but their Visitor, who has

**f65v**

been uniformly kind &  
interested in the work --  
the view of the case which  
experience, of more than  
20 years, in R. Catholic,  
Lutheran, Reformed &  
Anglican Sisterhoods, leads  
me to take.

[Perhaps I may state that I  
am, I believe, the only  
Protestant who have served  
both under & over R. Catholic  
Sisterhoods.]

The following is the view  
which, if you thought well  
to submit to the Bishop of  
London, -- being the result of  
practical personal experience  
might possibly be useful --

**f66**

[2]

The Sisterhood, in its existence,  
is intended for the relief  
of suffering according to  
methods supposed to be  
best known to the Sisters &  
their Head.

It is the "outward visible" sign  
of their "inward spiritual"  
principle.

The care of the sick & not the  
care of their own souls is  
that principle.

Whatever arrangements may  
exist between the Council  
& the Sisterhood -- or  
whatever may be the  
spiritual functions of the  
Chaplain -- one thing is  
perfectly certain that as the  
Sisterhood have to perform  
certain duties which, from  
their very name, they are  
supposed to know better



**f66v**

than either Council or Chaplain  
such duties should be  
performed under the sole  
jurisdiction of the Superioress.  
She alone should be held  
responsible for fulfilling  
these duties -- And neither  
Council nor Chaplain nor  
any one else should interfere  
between the Sisterhood &  
Nurses on the one hand  
and their duties on the other --  
or between the Superioress  
on one hand & her Sisters  
& Nurses in the performance  
of such duties as the  
Superioress may require.  
Don't let your Chaplain be  
your Superioress  
The Chaplain always makes  
the worst Superioress.

**f67**

And I speak from experience  
when I say that, in the best  
religious orders abroad --  
religious orders supposed  
to be much more under  
the "priestly sway" than  
we are -- no Chaplain ever  
attempts it. Or, if he did  
he would be sent about  
his business directly  
somehow, they understand  
these matters of business,  
of defined units of  
jurisdiction abroad so  
much better than we do.  
It is very clear that, when  
St. John's House -- was  
founded, it did not  
know what it was about.

Of all things, there should  
be no interference  
between the Superioress  
& her Sisters, & especially

**f67v**

between the Superioress & her  
Nurses in matters of  
discipline. For it is a  
cardinal point in all such  
administrations that no  
spiritual adviser should  
give advice or interfere in  
the slightest degree -- least  
of all with Nurses -- on any  
such subjects, *except at  
the request of the Superioress* --  
And that, if he has any  
complaint to make, any  
suggestion to offer, regarding  
any of the Sisters -- still  
more regarding any of the  
Nurses -- it should be made  
*to the Superioress alone*, who  
alone is head of the  
discipline of all  
Sisters & all Nurses.

**f68**

[3]

The duty of Chaplain in such  
an organization is purely  
spiritual -- & must be  
exercised in such a way  
as to strengthen the hands  
of the Superioress. If he,  
in any way, injures or  
weakens her authority, he  
had better not be there  
at all.

If he, in any way, weakens  
her hands or the hands of  
the Nurses then the great end  
& object for which the whole  
organization exists -- (viz. the  
care of the sick & suffering) --  
will be seriously interfered  
with & so far rendered  
ineffective.

There *is*, certainly, a difficulty

**f68v**

in interfering between a  
clergyman & those whose  
spiritual interests are  
committed to him.

But this difficulty has had  
to be solved (or not solved)  
over & over again -- in  
all countries -- since  
Christian religious orders  
existed.

And, if the end is only kept  
steadily in view -- viz. the  
care of the sick ~~& not the~~  
~~care of their own souls~~ -- as  
the object of a Protestant  
English Sisterhood -- it  
does not appear that  
practically, the solution  
is so difficult.

By drawing a broad line  
between the spiritual &

**f69**

temporal function, there  
will be no difficulty in  
giving complete command  
to the Superioress over *her*  
work -- & limiting the  
Chaplain simply to his  
spiritual work.

Matrons don't want to be  
Chaplains.

Why do Chaplains want to  
be Matrons? --

But, if a Chaplain has ever  
tasted this, apparently,  
to him, dear delight -- he  
never can be put back in  
his place any more.

A Superioress who really  
understands her duty will  
always resist any  
interference in  
these matters. In England

**f69v**

she exercises her authority by  
moral means alone.

She has neither spiritual  
authority nor Church censure  
to help her.

This is said to be the great  
difficulty -- I should call it  
the great superiority, if only  
properly understood --  
in Protestant Sisterhoods.

But then people must not  
take the thing both ways --  
If they accept the Protestant  
principle, they must work  
it out.

Once be satisfied that the  
Superioress is fit for her  
work -- and she must be  
trusted and she must be  
trusted implicitly --  
without, in any way  
being interfered with.

**f70**

[4]

Most WRITTEN DIAGONALLY

*Private*

Practically, I *must* touch upon  
the personal view of the question.  
If they let Miss Jones go, they  
will never get any one  
like her.

R. Catholic Sisterhoods have  
failed or succeeded in usefulness  
exactly in proportion as  
they have shirked or  
frankly accepted the  
conjoining with great  
secular Institutions in  
work. Great are the  
difficulties, great the  
disagreeables of doing so.

But it is the first element,  
the *sine qua non* of all  
usefulness.

Now, Miss Jones is the only  
Anglican who has seen this  
& acted up to it.

Two other London Sisterhoods

**f70v**

are cited as having done this.

I can only say: -- they have *not*.  
But I am not "a dirty bird"  
to "fou' my own nest." And  
therefore I don't proclaim  
this at Street corners.

As for Pastor Fliedner, he has  
often been cited as an  
instance of a Chaplain  
*making* a Sisterhood:

If you can get another  
Pastor Fliedner, pray do.  
I never saw but one. He  
was two men rolled up  
in one. And you will  
never see his like. N.B. The same  
inconveniences have followed his death which  
are now felt at St. John's House.

You know already that, where  
Miss Jones goes, I shall go.  
I shall pack up our  
Midwifery School & Nurses,

f71

& be after her, wherever she is.

It is not the Council or the  
Chaplain but Miss Jones

who makes St. John's House.

And it is just because of her  
strong good sense -- of her  
great administrative powers --  
that, while entirely rejecting  
for herself all "Lady Abbess"  
autocracy, she rightly  
repudiates the feeble  
meddling of a semi=  
spiritual, semi=gossiping

Nondescript authority -- against  
whom they yet can bring no special charge --  
& who, without any slur on his character, might  
well be removed to another mission  
ever, my dear Sir Harry,

yours affectly  
Florence Nightingale

f72 HV to FN Sunday [17 Feb 1867] HV letter to FN. The second reading of  
Metropolitan Poor Bill stands for Thursday. I will endeavour to learn  
whatever Mr Hardy intends to bring it on

f73 HV to FN Feb 19 [1867] Mr Hardy intends to bring on his Bill on  
Thursday if he can. But ano' bill which he expects will excite discussion  
is before his. If I can learn anything more decided and satisfactory at the  
H of C I will send word to you and to Mr Rathbone

f75 HV to FN Mar 2 [1867] HV letter to FN re info in Mrs Wardroper's note  
to her, re Villiers not coming to House. I need not assure you how  
exceedingly distressed and shocked I am by the info contained in Mrs  
Wardroper's note to you. That any one recommended by me and coming from  
Claydon shd have been the means of intruding such a loathsome malady is  
indeed very painful to me. I can only say how grieved I am.

Villiers did not come to the House and I had no means of consultation as  
to the policy of the notice for a central board.

It will be better not to propose it and be in a small minority or not  
backed, because it wd thence be assumed that if House is against it and it  
wd on the account not be proposed hereafter.

F76 Mar 5 [1867] HV note to FN re Farnall letters and Rathbone, will send  
them, select committee

f77 Mar 11 [1867] HV letter to FN re his amendment, no good news, had to  
propose it immed after Ld Grosvenor had been negatived. I am sorry to say  
that I have no good news as to my amendment. I had to propose it  
immediately after one of Lord Grosvenor's had been negatived by about 3 to  
1. His was that the bldgs to be created shd be at the cost of the common  
fund. The arguments against his proposal wd many of them apply to mine, and  
Villiers' as well as the members near me who were tending to vote with me  
counselled not to divide as we shd pledge the very large majority against  
the pr.

I am very sorry. I believe that the opp is lost of doing great good and

that the suffering sick will suffer much more in consequence. I made the distinct offer by authority of the Trustees of the N Fund to train a matron and staff of nurses for one of the metro infs to be est under the bill, who might train them. In reply H said that he was glad that we were to have a staff of trained nurses for one of the asylums. I shall write to him tomorrow and request a more distinct reply. I am sorry that any wish of yours as an advocate as little efficient as yrs H.V.

F79 March 12 [1867] HV note to FN re J.S. Mill's clear statement of principle, You will probably wish to keep together all your papers on this subject at this time, so I return to you the acc. I am not at all dispirited by the result. I believe that a good deal has been gained. Stuart Mill's clear statement of the right principles of the Metro Poor Sick management was valuable, also Lord Grosvenor taking part in favor of common mgt and a common fund, a future year will see your wishes carried further. Now members are sitting on the Barracks [?] but their thoughts are with the Reform Bill, in which, altho' I take the intense general interest I take my little illeg as my Parl life is nearly finished. I send you a copy of my note to Hardy and his reply. If you train a matron and nurses for one of his large hosps and if that becomes a nurses' tr sch the bill will not be a barren one. Yrs H.V.

F80 copy of HV letter to Hardy. May I inform Miss Nightingale that you accept her offer wh is to train, at the expense of the Nightingale Fund, a matron and staff of nurses for one of the asylums or hosps to be est under your bill. If your reply is in the affirmative, I dare say that you will be so good as to communicate further with me on the subject when your plans are more matured.

F81 Gathorne Hardy to HV Your note finds me immersed in work. I certainly hope to take adv of Miss Nightingale's offer but I must have time to mature plans. March 12 1867.

f82 P.L. in House of Lords March 13 18867 HV to FN I do not recommend you to advise or to authorize any step in Metro Poor Bill in the H of Lords. Ld Derby is all powerful there and is sure to support Hardy, who as such had made up his mind on different points and wd yield nothing either to Stuart Mill or to Ld Grosvenor or to anyone. If Lord Shaftesbury or any other peer proposes illeg to take a part in favour of your views it will be so much the better but I think that if the suggestion comes from you it may be known that you have made it and that may disincline Hardy to avail himself of your aid in training nurses. If you supply a matron and nurses for one the most important of his asylums or hosps, you will have done the best thing resulting from the bill and more will come in time. The bill is an order of the day today (Monday sitting)

ff80-92 on P.L., incl Mill. Copy of HV note to Gathorne Hardy

**f80**

copy

32 South St.

March 12 1867.

Dear Mr Hardy,

May I inform

Miss Nightingale that you  
accept her offer, which is, to  
train, at the expense of the  
Nightingale Fund, a Matron  
& Staff of Nurses for one of the  
Asylums or Hospitals to be  
established under your bill--

If your reply is in the  
affirmative, I dare say  
that

you will be so good as



**f80v**

to communicate further  
with me on the subject  
when your plans are more  
matured.

I am, yours faithfully,  
(sgd.) Harry Verney  
Rt. Hon.  
Gathorne Hardy MP

**f81**

12, Grosvenor Crescent  
S.W. [printed address]  
Dear Sir Harry Verney  
You will find me immersed  
in work--I certainly hope  
to take advantage of Miss  
Nightingale's offer but I  
must have time to mature  
plans.  
Yr v truly  
Gathorne Hardy  
March 12. [1867]

f82 letter of H. Verney to FN

**f82**

32 South Street  
Park Lane  
London W [printed address]  
March 13, 67

My dear F.

I do not recommend you  
to advise or to authorise  
any step in ye "Metropolitan  
Poor Bill in ye H. of Lords.

Ld. Derby is all powerful  
there, & is sure to support  
Hardy, who, we saw, had made  
up his mind on his different  
points, & would yield nothing  
either to Stuart Mill or  
to Ld Grosvenor, or to anyone.

If Lord Shaftesbury, or any  
other Peer, proprio motu  
choose to take a part in favor  
of your views it will be so  
much the better, but I

**f82v**

think that if the suggestion  
comes from you it may  
be known that you have  
made it, & that may disin-  
cline Hardy to avail himself  
of your aid in training  
nurses.

If you supply  
a Matron & nurses for  
one of the most important  
of his Asylums or Hospitals  
you will have done  
the best thing resulting from  
the Bill-and more  
will come in time.

Yrs H.V.

The Bill is on order of  
the day today.  
(morning sitting)

**f83**

Thursday night

March 14

My dear F.

On ye 3rd reading J.S.  
Mill made such a speech  
as you would approve-&  
Mr Ayrton took ye same  
view & no one took  
any other & Hardy showed  
that he entertained much  
ye same he says  
that it must be the end  
of next year before any  
of the Asylums can be  
brought into use, &  
that if it is then found  
that any other authority  
general for London

is desirable, it can be  
applied for, if the Presi-  
dent of the Poor Law  
Board is not  
able to illeg one  
under ye bill.

Ys H.V.

Stuart Mill is rather  
unhappy that he was absent yesterday.  
Ld Derby has his meeting  
tomorrow, & he will

then tell his friends  
what will be his  
Reform Bill.

**F85**

May 14 [1867]

1 p.m.

I did what I could to find Stuart Mill yesterday. Went to ye House at 12, then to two clubs, hoping to find Mill and remained in ye House until 5.30. He did not come

Ye bill with amendments was merely read.

I suppose that he intends to move his clause on the 3rd reading, which stands I see for tonight.

I shall be there and hope to see Stuart Mill.

I return you the clause and if Mr S. Mill moves it I shall ask him to add the words which I have illeg.

I have been away from home all the morning. H.V.

**f86** May 14 [1868]

I think you will be of opinion that we had better leave this question for the present.

Lord C. gives to it a thoughtful consideration. I know no one more filled than he is to cooperate with you and further the success of your plans. I know that the govt illeg with him and listen to him because they hope to get him back.

**Ff88-90** Carnarvon to HV 24 December 1867. Embossed Highclere Castle, Dewbury. I have considered as carefully as I could your letter of the 19th and my impression is that at this moment the proposal of a Parl com wd be premature. If indeed it be necessary to appoint such a body I wd think that a commission armed with full powers to take evidence wd be more effective. But we stand at present in this position. The govt have distinctly undertaken to take some legislation on the subject and Ld Devon has complained that his powers are too small. I think therefore that we ought to allow them time to produce their scheme and to give the expls which are due. If these are not satisfactory or sufficient we can always call back upon the com or the commission. Meanwhile I do not think that we are really losing time. There is I know in many unions a certain amount of improvement in progress, under the influence of course of recent disclosures, and tho I am clearly of opinion that it wd be very unwise to trust to this without other security, still we are neither standing still nor going back.

If I get an opp of seeing Ld Devon I will speak privately to him on the subject and I will let you know the result. My own immed movements are however somewhat doubtful, as we are considering the poss of going for a few weeks to the south of France. But on these troubled times it is difficult to carry out with certainty any plan I wd not like to leave England if Fenianism were to take any larger development. **[6:427]**

**f91** HV letter to FN undated. I would suggest for your consideration whether it might be well that someone who has come forward on Poor Law matters (I cannot think of a more fit man than Ld Carnarvon) should write to you and refer to the evils which the illeg enquiry has shown to exist and ask you what attempt you think shd be made to remedy them.

You mt reply that the present H of C has shown every disposition to entertain the subject but that, after the bill already passed, it wd not be well to propose any further measures without a Parl enq and that prob the govt wd be as willing for such an enq as he (Lord C). Therefore you suggest that they be asked to appoint a com of the H of C as soon as can Parlt meets.

Then Ld C would ask you to allow your reply to him be sent to the Times.

H.V.

**f92** JS hand to HV in consequence of your letter I have entered into communic with certain persons about H of C enq into the country Poor Law adm. But it appears to me that such an enq must go far beyond the disabled. Already I have recd statistical proof that pauper patients go very long distances to certain improved WH hosps because they are better fed, treated and nursed as they themselves say. Now it is lamentable that half of England is apparently ready to live on the whole of the other half, if they are only illeg and a H of C enq to do any good wd have to include sick, disabled, able bodied and the provision of work for preventing pauperism. In the present state of matters, I cd not consent to appear in print but I shall always be ready to help as far as I can.

**f93** HV to FN Feb 14 [1868] I have just seen Sir Bartle Frere who told me that he has lately been a good deal at the WO and that he thinks that Sir R [H] Storks aided efficiently by Gen Balfour will be able to do a good deal there.

F95 HV to FN Feb 20 [1868] My dear F., If you would like me to go and see Mrs Wardroper this morning and consult her, I can do so. Is there anyone at L to undertake, at least for a time, Miss J's duties? Or has Mrs Wardroper anyone to send, or do you know anyone? If I can be of any use pray let me know, or if you wish to see me.

How do we see those removed whose stay in the world seems to us the most precious, but God's ways are not as ours, and we can only bow in humble submission to Him who does all things well.

F97 HV to FN I should make the slight alteration herein contained and send it to the Times and Daily News. And I should send Mr Rathbone's words to the Daily Telegraph and to the Liverpool papers.

The Daily telegraph is the penny paper the most read by the most respectable and thoughtful for the middle and artisan class.

You will let me know if I can be of any use by seeing Mr Whitfield or anyone. Would you write to ...

F100 HV to FN Feb 21. I wish that you wd let me try to be of some use to you today, by calling on Mr Whitfield or in any other way. I have 2 railway meetings, at 12 and at 2.30 but before or between or after them I could quite well do anything.

I must not say how truly Parthe and I sympathize in our grief and anxiety.

F102 not FN or...

F103 HV to FN Mar 8 Yesterday I dined at Sir E. Colebrooke's and sat between Lady C and old Lady Bell.

They had both read the account of Miss Jones and asked me about her.

They are the visitors at Middlesex Hosp and said that they wd speak to their matron, a new and good one, and ask whether she knew any suitable person

**f104** FN'S NOTE ON above LETTER of HV, LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

Sir H.V. has done this  
without my desire --

I don't know that any  
thing will come of it --

But, if there does, what  
shall I do?

Mr. Rathbone asks  
for some one whom we  
know & recommend --  
not for some one whom  
"Miss Campbell" or "old  
"Lady Bell", or the "new  
"Matron of Middlesex"  
knows & recommends.

F.N.

**f105** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (RISE OF PROPERTY TAXES) DARK PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN

March 19/68

My dear Sir Harry

Many thanks for what you  
have done about Ld R. Montagu  
& the D. of Marlborough --

Do you think anything  
will come of it?

What are you doing in the  
Ho: of C. to an unprotected  
old female like me? --

Look how my House &  
Property Taxes have mounted  
up -- Isn't it scandalous? --

I have not paid the last.  
Shall I be made to pay it? --

ever yours

FN.

**f106** letter to HV from Henry Vyner, Newby Hall Ripon April 6 1868 thanks  
for sending info re nurses and matrons; I showed your letter to Miss James.  
She tells me that Miss Osborn [Osburn] is an intimate friend of hers. They  
were together at Jerusalem. a post as supt of a school or inst be found; a  
valuable person; Pray thank Miss N for her. Shall avail myself; Mrs  
Wardroper see also 45800

**f109** HV note re Mr Carr says he will not be able to get back all the  
letters but he hopes that those which are still out may not lead to any  
prejudicial results, re nurses, was at St T, dines with Sir C. Trevelyan.  
My son Fred has taken his degree, and is going to have a holiday in ?  
Believe he will go to America

**ff111-13v** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (IRISH & ANGLICAN CHURCHES) DARK  
PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, dated 1869, pale blue paper

**f111**

35 South Street, [printed address]

Park Lane,

[3:488-89]

W.

My dear Sir Harry

I cannot think of any other  
foreign writer besides those  
you have mentioned who has  
written against the Irish Church  
in Ireland except

Cavour --

But Cavour & all the others have  
written against it as being unfair  
& anomalous --

Now it does not appear as if  
that were the truest ground  
against it.

And that is why Mr. Gladstone's  
speeches appear un=statesmen=like

Is not the true ground this? --  
The Popes claim, as the descendants

### **f111v**

of the Roman Emperors, to be  
the sovereigns of Europe,  
ruling either by themselves or  
by their Legates, or by the  
existing sovereign accepting his  
~~their~~ crown from them --

Our Queen is just as much a  
subject of the Pope as  
Cardinal Antonelli, according  
to the theory of the Papacy.

The Irish Church & the Anglican  
Church were founded -- [and  
it is in this that ~~I think~~ Mr.  
Froude is so clear] as a *protest*  
against the Papal power --  
not against the Papists as  
not being Christians -- on the

### **f112**

contrary -- we took our Liturgy  
from them -- but as a political  
protest against the Pope  
having any thing to do in our  
territory.

Now, has the Irish Church  
answered this purpose? --  
Certainly not.

There is no country in Europe  
where the Papal power is stronger.

There is no country in Europe  
where ye Civil Government is weaker.

There is, I believe, scarcely a  
potentate in Europe who is  
stronger than Cardinal Cullen  
speaking in the name of the

Pope in Ireland.

The Irish Church has not  
therefore answered her purpose  
she is a failure -- And it is

### **f112v**

on this ground really that her  
fall is decreed -- not because  
it is an unfair & anomalous  
Institution.

The true ground we should take  
up now is: having removed  
this unjust & unfair Institution  
our Civil Government is free  
to try whether we cannot be  
a match for the Pope.

The R. Catholics, I believe, have  
been much sharper than we in  
this matter. They know the  
full power of the Voluntary  
system -- I am told that,  
while the power of the Pope  
is dying out in Europe, while  
he is kept at arm's length of  
a Concordat by every R. Catholic  
sovereign in Europe, in America

### **f113**

R. Catholics are making  
immense strides -- *They*  
get money enough --  
have more worldly wisdom  
in this matter than we have.

Of one thing we are certain -- The  
theory of the Papacy is that  
~~their~~ her rights may be in abeyance  
-- never extinct. *The Queen*  
is just as much the Popes'  
subject as ~~she~~ sovereign ever was --  
To-morrow the Popes, would  
have a right to restore  
all ecclesiastical property in  
England to whence it came  
viz. to the Roman Catholic --

Now, the Irish Church having  
proved a failure as a protest  
against the Papacy -- over strong  
ground is, abolish the Irish

### **f113v**

Church, & let us then see  
what we can do to hold  
our own on the Voluntary  
system against the Popes --  
We certainly have not held

it on the Irish Church  
system --  
Now neither Cavour nor the  
others understood our true  
ground at all --

[end 3:489]

**f114v** JS NOTES ON MEDICAL RELIEF/VAGRANTS DARK PENCIL

medical relief                system in India  
gives medicine          dispensaries  
medical club aides [?] from State  
vagrants      5 per cent increase  
Emigration will direct directed in to [illeg] [illeg]  
relief to able bodied -- millions [?]  
                                 needing relief  
  
vagrants make towns [?]  
class manufacture  
                 system failure  
fall on owners {illeg}?  
         influential men's children  
         application of Tut  
District {illeg}  
{illeg} {illeg} to {illeg} {illeg. cottage?}  
vagrants {illeg} & {illeg} relief  
{illeg} want how {illeg} it  
vagrants our on fear of {illeg} {illeg}  
system failure  
fall in illeg  
illeg illeg children  
application of Tut  
district school [?]  
Illeg pauper to leave cottae  
vagrants wash & illeg  
in want how illeg  
vagrants act in fear of Singh army [?]

**f115** JS draft NOTE TO SIR HARRY VERNEY LIGHT PENCIL Sir H.V. [arch:] see Miss Torrance's letter of March 13, 1870. Mr Goschen said [before Dr B came] that the present is quite a temporary state of things lasting only a month or two with the S Pancras Board shall have settled their financial affairs with the Central Sick Asylum Board to which the Highgate Inf will be transferred. When all the officers will be changed or reappointed and when the inst will come under the authority of the Poor Law Board. He said that he knew almost everything that Miss Torrance had stated.

When Dr Bridges came Mr Goschen told him the general purport of our interview, and Dr Bridges said that he had very much the same statements made to him from private sources. He spoke most warmly of Miss Torrance saying that she is a very superior person (on this I was anxious to make him speak out as the value of her opinion of course depends on it). He said that the nursing was very good indeed, but he thought a little inclined to complain adding that they had been accustomed to anything quite first rate at St T. and ought not to expect to find things equally good wherever they went.

Dr B particularly asked if there was any specific complaint and Mr Goschen mentioned the number[?] of patients being kept waiting for their diets and the meat at sometimes not good. Mr G desired Dr B to make inquiry



on these matters when he goes to the inf. My dear Parthe .. Next Sat she and I are to dine with the duke of West and Ld ?  
 The enclosed letter came to me, a couple of days ago.  
 I can of course do nothing with it I send it to you.  
 In my opinion, and if you see no objection, it has occurred to me that possibly the best way to do would be for you to shew it personally to Mr. Goschen. It is of immense importance that the new [illeg] should have a fair start & possibly Mr Goschen [?] might be able to settle all the difficulties by a [illeg] from {illeg} of his {illeg},

if he considers the points of sufficient importance. Please return the letter to me as if merely written for my own information.

**f116** HV to FN re Goschen, Poor Law illeg 16. 70. I have had 10 minutes with Mr Goschen at the Poor Law Board. As soon as he learnt that I wanted to talk to illeg about, he called back Dr Bridges, who had gone out of the door. But before Dr B came in I read to Mr G all the passages marked in Miss Torrance's letter to you. Mr Goschen said (before Dr B came) that he illeg is quite a temporary....Dr B particularly asked if there was any specific complaint and Mr Goschen mentioned the illeg and patients being kept waiting for their diets and ...Mr G desired Dr B to make enquiry on these matters when he goes to the inf.

**ff119-26** handwritten copy of LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY PEN dated AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1870 with FN pencil note at top

**f119** [Aug? - Sept 1870]

My dear Sir Harry

I am sure that you will not think it unnatural that I should write to you after that terrible account of the state of the Sick & Wounded at Pont a Mousson.

This and many other recent letters from the great War places shew a deplorable amount of want of ingenuity, want of management, in providing for Wounded. I don't mean on our part, but on that of all the actors and managers, "Red Cross" and Government.

At Pont à Mousson, e.g. many weeks after hostilities have begun, there are thousands of wounded men (who are also sick -- no wonder!) lying on straw on the level of the ground one of the things which I have seen lower the constitution in war= broken men so as to make recovery little to be hoped for, and, rendering cleanliness and dressing all but impossible -- and this too inside closed buildings.

You say that the excellent Barton Smith was to take "250 iron bed-steads" back to Pont a Mousson. But "what are these among so many?"

Is it not possible that some one should be sent with the requisite ingenuity (perhaps from the "Crown Princess at Hamburg or some "Red Cross" Society) to put all the Sick and Wounded on beds and under

shelter by materials to be obtained on the spot.  
There are 5 or 6 ways of doing it *which* way depends

**f119v**

of course on materials available on the spot.

Everything required might probably be obtained there or within a short distance, if there were any one with the requisite head. And *some* materials and tools might be sent at once direct from England, under charge of one of your gentlemen.

But people with the fatal Hospital idea consider stone walls and a slated roof as indispensable. One way of doing better would be to take the outside walls of buildings put up posts all along throw over them from the wall a pent-house of canvas properly sloped.

It could even be done without posts by pegging the canvas.

A good bed with a canvas bottom might be made in an hour by the most simple workman. Hammers, saws, axes, rope, canvas, nails, would house sick comfortably and healthily by thousands.

Then again hay and straw for bedding -- and wood cut down for bed-steads, fuel &c. -- a sheet and one blanket -- (you know that a sheet of thick brown paper is an exceedingly warm material and might be put over the blanket) would give comfort to many a perishing man.

I have letters from Surgeons on the spot who say "we are losing all our amputation cases." [We thought the proportion of Deaths ~~and~~ to amputations terrible enough at Scutari -- but this, it appears, is more terrible still.] The Surgeons attribute it partly to the want and exposure endured by the men in the time, 2-5 days before they were removed from the field (I will go back to that) partly to the

**f120**

state of things in Hospital described. E.g. at Douzy what a deplorable helplessness and unhandiness of head and everything but heart was shewn by our people even when they were not in want of stores or Surgical skill.

We shall learn a great deal from dreadful experience in this War. And I am going to trouble you with some hints as to enquiries we should make; especially as to ambulance people being held responsible for bringing in all Wounded within a certain time.

But the thing is now -- to see whether something could not be done *at once* to get the Sick and Wounded housed and bedded properly, at the crowded places-- You are doing wonders.

But "9000 sick, in the state described at Pont a Mousson, and elsewhere a month after the 3 great battles of Metz and a fortnight after those

of Sedan and 2 months after war broke out is a disgrace to the Red Cross head, (not heart) -- is it not?

"Dysentery and Typhus" may well be there -- And there will be more.

2. While we must agree that the French "Red Cross" has worked miracles, (so that the "Intendance" have given to them in charge all the Wounded) poor Madame Canrobert-- fancies that there is "a day and night" "attendance" "organized" "at all the Stations, and an organization so that all the Wounded arriving by train can be received and tended at once -- we know what it is even at Calais, a place

### **f120v**

so entirely out of the great turmoil and far worse at other more crowded places, yet still distant from the Seats of War, and all the great battles. x x

What will it be if the most strenuous efforts at organization and utilizing materials with ingenuity on the spot are not made?

Xx This does not appear to be the case on the German side; all the Hospitals up the Rhine appear to be very well organized, and all the giving of help at Stations.

### **f121 [FN hand]**

The recent experience shews that these sufferings, consequent on being left long on the battle field, can be alleviated, because they have been alleviated on all the recent battle fields. But it also shews how much the work requires to be improved, before the intentions of the Convention and of the "Red Cross" are fully carried out.

One case appeared in Dr. McCormac's letter = a man had had no food for 2 days before or for 5 days after the battle and no succour. He is then brought in, operated on and mercifully dies.

This is only one case out of hundreds. Surgeons have written, (as I stated in my letter) that "all their amputation cases had died" -- attributing this to long exposure on the ground after being wounded, and want -- and to destruction of constitution in consequence.

This is in fact the Red Cross question -- ~~Can~~ Could what could be done after five days have been done after five hours?

The mortality, frightful among amputation cases, is to be attributed also to the crowding, without beds or cleanliness, in closed buildings.

This is the second Red Cross question. All Europe, ourselves included, have taken the *Hospital idea* as the fundamental one for

the Red Cross.

This appeared to be the error.

**f121v**

Hospitals properly conducted are of course most essential. But we must not forget  
1. the *immediate* want of help after the battle to the wounded 2. that nearly every kind of wound can be better dealt with, separately, in the open air, than by removal to the finest Hospitals.

[Even cases in farm houses do better But large crowded old buildings & churches are destructive

In every case however immed Supply becomes of the highest importance XX The amount of good work done by our Aid Society is vast especially at Sedan

But when we hear that a similar organ is being formed at Saarbrück 6 wk after ye battles fought there one is glad but one wishes it had been done the day after the battle

At the Tchernaya in 1855 the ~~Russian~~ Russian wounded were being brought in to our side before almost the battle was over. 24 hours after there was not a wounded man left I believe. They spent their whole strength in searching for & carrying off the wounded & next day buried the dead

This was but a baby battle -- At Solferino the gt grt ext of the bak for [?] prevented this I have always so do nothing to diminish a belligt Govts rspony for its own wounded its own Army Medical

X Ambulance departmt But the enormous masses of combatants

X Supply of food however appears in many places to have been neither immediate nor even now hardly to rush & the kitchen arrangemts to be almost not even at the present moment at such places near Sedan eg

**f122**

and numbers of wounded now concerned, the mile=long extents of battle fields now shew that it is just here where the "Red Cross" comes into use.

It is simply a matter of organization of being ready with a sufficient number of Agents.

The American War showed the difficulty, and, to a great extent coped with it.

-----  
The following is the problem --

1. Sick & Wounded            in towns
2.    "                        "    villages
3.    "                        "    scattered country  
                                 houses
4.    "                        "    in ditches, under  
                                 trees, hedges, in holes  
                                 where they have dragged  
                                 themselves for safety
5.    "                        "    in Ambulances

What are wanted are: --

searchers, bearers, Surgeons, Nurses: --  
supplies for such purposes brought to the  
ground during or immediately after battle

i.e. -- whenever the firing has ceased.

[N.B. I believe that our War Office are at last going to profit by all this sad experience to get out all the facts and failures, to try to improve the service of Wounded in this direction, and to embody as much as we can in our new Regulations for Field Service.

P.S. It is proposed that, with every flying column at Aldershot, a number of Ambulances shall be sent out to collect men who have been

**f122v**

previously concealed under hedges, in ditches, in barns, houses &c -- the Ambulance people being held responsible for bringing them all in within a certain time.

I am not sure that this has ever been done hitherto in any Service]

To return to the "Red Cross Societies." It is not easy to overrate their difficulties. But the results have been far from satisfactory. The people engaging in the work require a great amount of knowledge *which they have not* -- and also practical talent and practical experience.

What has happened has been -- briefly -- that all the Army methods of dealing with the Wounded have broken down more or less that a number of amateurs have attempted to supplement the defect or to supply it altogether with the practical result of alleviating much misery but also of leaving much misery unalleviated, which might have been alleviated had the Administrations been competent. [The Prussians have taken one really good step in dispersing the Sick and Wounded as fast as possible]

The central idea of the "aid Society has been, I fancy, (too much): -- Hospitals. Now Hospitals can never be managed by amateurs. And yet amateurs, Medical and non-Medical, have had most of the work to do (with what singular consequences, the letters published by yourselves shew more than anything to a practiced eye -- whether these are the consequences

**f123**

of ignorance in recognising or of want of practical ability in supplying the most vital conditions of recovery.

As before said Madame Canrobert told us that the French "Intendance" had given over the Hospitals entirely to the Paris "Red Cross" -- no doubt the best thing to do. But, had the Red Cross and its agents been thoroughly competent, the result to the Sick and Wounded would have been infinitely better. [The conditions shewn by the "Times" published letters -- and which they appear to think inevitable are those which directly produce Dysentery, Typhus, and a high Death-rate among amputation=cases -- e.g. in the Hospitals in old buildings, (not in Ambulances) and in the want of immediate help]

*It would be most desirable if we could have from Capt. Galton a Report on the methods in use in the two Armies for supplying the Hospitals -- where the weak points were -- and in what way we could avoid these*

**f124**

And in what way we could avoid these

Also the weak points in the Red X Societies' work

What would be the best direction to give to the Red X Socs work

What kind of tempory Hospl accommodn shd be used by the Red X Societies

-----

We need help to get a tradition estasd beginning with the Crimean War.

Historically ~~what~~ all that we did there was to show that the sufferings of Armies always till then considered inevitable were not so but preventible

But it struck a new chord which has been vibrating ever since with far higher tone

Ld Shaftesbury says that the results wld go farther towards abolishing war than all Peace Societies  
God grant it -- we seem far enough off at present

----

Now as far as the Rhine hospls go the superiority seems to be on the side of the private or Red X or Johanniter Hospls But certainly the details we have had of the Red X work round Sedan & Metz appear to shew either that they have not the experience to know or that they have not the ingenuity to control the first conditions of recovery after surgical skill has been supplied. Nevertheless great praise to them for their hard work under unparalleled pressure

--- --- -- But not to speak of what is proper for sick & wounded -- the first necessities of life seem to be wanting except in the completely organised Ambulances even now

**f125**

[Aug - Sept. 1870]

My dear Sir Harry

Pray excuse me for "pouring" my letters upon you "in little cups" -- the bad result of inevitable haste.

I had said that dispersion is a cardinal matter with wounded -- I was going to add -- but the cases must be selected.

There cannot be a doubt from recent (both public & private) accounts that the movement of bad cases of wounds is at present adding so much to the mortality that it ought if possible to be modified. The German Hospital notices all indicate the presence of wounds in these Hospitals which ought never to have been moved at all. The Prussian military authorities appear to exercise no discrimination in moving. They move every body. We can hardly suppose this is done under Medical advice. The Prussian Principal Medical Officers should consult with the Ambulance Surgeons of all nations of course -- if the organization is perfect -- before moving the wounded. Even from one Hospital to another the men seem sometimes to be peremptorily moved in a dying state. 6. The moving of the Hospital "Infirmiers" and attendants seems, one can scarcely doubt from accounts, both public & private, to be practised in the same peremptory & absolute manner -- without consultation with the Ambulance Surgeons (of all nations)



**f125v**

who are left in the greatest straights & the Patients in the greatest danger.

I own, as an old hand, that I cannot see how Hospitals Service is possible, if the "Infirmiers" are to be ordered off either in charge of wounded by train, or as prisoners -- without discrimination -- by Military authority -- independent of Hospital authority.

That Red Cross Societies should never interfere politically is of course the first condition of their being. I do not know whether it is possible either through the Crown Princess or directly through the Geneva Convention to endeavour to stop these two very serious causes of Hospital Mortality & inefficiency.

May I mention that

2. District Inspection is now everything.

Every place where there are Sick or Wounded should be periodically visited & supplied when necessary.

The only for amateur casuals is to have trustworthy inspection on the spot & reporting to the Society.

3. Would it not be right for the Aid Society to publish (or at least to make) a List of all the places where there are Sick or Wounded -- with the supplies sent -- & an approximate estimate or List of the numbers of cases treated.

It would be a check

The agents on the spot should supply the information

And these questions are otherwise important as leading indirectly to local action.

We now know, e.g. the exact state of matters in the N.W. of France, & you can send efficient aid

**f126**

at an hour's notice.

[Besides, the British public rather cried out for such information. And the British Lion which has contributed nearly £200,000 & very considerably valuable, bales, has rather a right to ask for some publications of accounts & of stores & bales sent & may roar for it louder]

4. There are several points in which the British Lion rather thinks the existing arrangements of all the Aid Societies may be improved.

e.g. could not every Officer besides having the badge & the papers of the branch have a paper signed or stamped by the Belligerent Ambassadors -- & countersigned by the Military authorities on the spot as often as a change in position is made? And could it not be that all persons, who have not the *necessary papers* as well as the badges incur the risk of becoming prisoners of war?

This would stop those disgraceful proceedings which have made the badged people a bye-word to the soldiers.

But this was suggested to me. People are rather horrified at these proceedings.  
A P.S. to what was said before  
that there should be a change in the venue as regards care of wounded  
that henceforth the whole or at least a great part of the work should rest on local capabilities including materials on the spot  
that Officers should be taught how to

**f126v**

do the very best with the materials to be found on the spot as a basis for providing (extemporizing sick accommodation on the field

R.E. Authorities concur, I believe, that nearly everything requisite can be done on the spot.

But how little the attention of any body is turned to this! -- how little, if at all, any Service is trained to do this!

Another P.S. --

the leaving their prisoners without food.  
I suppose the Red Cross has properly nothing to do with this.

But at all events people say we should cry out -- publish the information we receive when it can be trusted

**f127-30** JS to HV 6 Oct 1870 Oakleigh Alleyn Park, Norwood, re ambulance strengths, question put to him by Mrs S. Mrs S has put your question to me about the strength of your ambulance and I shall do my best to help you to an answer.

An ambulance as you know consists of two parts: one, the means of collecting and carrying wounded, i.e. the moveable part, and another comprising marquees, tents &c for the care of wounded. A few days ago I discussed the matter with an experienced mil surgeon and we both of us came to the concl that out of 200 beds, 95 mt be made moveable and 105 considered as fixed and not requiring transport to carry them about. But all this was on the supposition that your committee had already decided that 200 beds were to be sent.

The present aspect of the war, however, appears to me to justify some reconsideration on this point. The only places at present where mil ops are progressing are Metz and Paris. At the former there have been sorties and combats resulting no doubt in many casualties, but not on a sufficiently large scale to exceed the prob combined means of collecting and conveying wounded available on both sides. In this kind of warfare the chief thing apparently reqd, considering the season, wd be to see that the existing ambulances are sufficiently provided with supplies, bedding and clothing. At Paris Trochu is evidently exercising his troops under fire, rather than carrying out detailed mil ops, doing at the same time as much damage as he can. The practical result is no doubt a large number of wounded on both sides, but more on the Prussian side, not to speak of sick, who must also be numerous.

On the Prussian side there is every poss that they have formed ambulance accom sufficient for present needs out of suburban nurses. Their reg ests, if as complete as they were, ought also to be amply sufficient for collecting and treating wounded. Whether these ests are sufficient for both sick and wounded can only be ascertained by inquiry.

So far as one can judge the chief defect likely to exist will be in supplies, bedding and clothing, and this on account of the distance of the Prussians from their base.

The French on their side wd collect as many of their wounded as poss, and take them back to Paris to the hosps there, wh will always be sufficient in some way or other, or into the forts, but still many will be left outside to fall into the hands of the Prussians, and it is prob here (again considering the season) that there will be most suffering. The French wounded will prob want many essential things which Prussian wounded wd have. The difficult is how to deal with such a case. That ambulance help will be needed there is no doubt, but from the nature of the case it will be mainly for one side, and hence you were perfectly justified in liberally assisting the Monod Ambulance. But it does not follow that you wd be allowed to place an amb in the same service.

This cd only be done by the concurrence of the Prussians who are entire masters of the situation. As regards the existing ambulances for French wounded outside Paris, they will want all kinds of supplies and probably attendance. This cd be provided for with comparative ease. But for the hosps within Paris, I apprehend you wd have to send supplies with the full permission and cognizance of the Prussians and not otherwise.

These considerations being taken into account, it appears to me that before you make up your amb you shd send to the Fr and Pr headquarters and get all the facts and possibilities and decide what to do. You are quite right in having your preps complete to be ready to move at any time.

It is poss that coming events may call for your whole 200 beds and their necessary equipment. It is poss also that at present you mt not be able to

use to adv a fourth part of such an equipment. What you really require is info. This is the first thing and as soon as you have ascertained (1) what is required and (2) what can be done, you will be in a position to act.  
 ..PS It has just occurred to me that as soon as the Monod ambulance is in the field, you wd be able to obtain more practical insight from them than in any way. If you can usefully send out your whole equipment I shd do so, and if not I shd send such an amount as may be needed at present, keep the rest in hand.

**ff131-41v** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY {SPEECH TO NURSES} PEN  
 HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f131** [arch: See Sir H.V. 28.4.72]

Embley  
 Romsey  
 35 South Street, [printed address]  
 Park Lane, May 2/72  
 W.

My dear Sir Harry

It is very good of you to be thinking about your speech to our poor Nurses. I am sure you know much better than I cd tell you what to say. For, tho' I think I know how to speak to Nurses in private, I hardly know whether it will do for public. These are a few suggestions for the tail of your Speech: --  
 1. [Our Nurses are so conceited]  
 I should say: your Nursing is a thing which, unless you are

**f131v**

making *progress* in every year -- (the more experience, the more progress -- the progress you make in your year's training is nothing to what you must make every year afterwards) you have left us or are serving with us) unless then you are making progress every year, take my word for it, you are going back.  
 Un If you think in yourself, now I am a completed Nurse, a 'skilled' Nurse, a 'full' Nurse, -- take my word for it -- you are

**f132**

gone back -- For the very thing  
 of your not knowing that  
 you can know or learn but  
 little in a year -- & that you  
 will have to learn from every  
 month's experience, nay from  
 every case, -- shews that you  
 do not know what Nursing is.

Why, it takes 40 years to  
 make a good Nurse -- &  
 at the end of that time, a  
 good Nurse will say: "I learn  
 something every day."

2. [Our Nurses are so jealous  
 & punctilious about *ranks*]

I would say: when I hear  
 these jealousies about ranks,  
 classes & offices, I think  
 sadly to myself: what an

**f132v**

injury this jealous woman  
 is doing to herself not to  
 others. She is not  
 getting out of her work  
 the advantage, the improve  
 ment to her own character  
 the nobleness which  
 God has appointed her  
 her work for.

What a prerogative it is  
 the work that God has  
 given you to do! Because  
 you can be always useful  
 to, ministering to others --

As our lord was who said  
 that he came not to be  
 ministered unto, but to  
 minister --

This is not to say that you

**f133**

[2]

are to be doing other people's  
 work. Quite the contrary.  
 The very essence of all  
 good *organization* is  
 that every body should do  
 her (or his) own work  
~~with~~ so as to *help* & *not*  
 to hinder every one else's  
 work.

But, this being settled, that  
 any one should say: I am  
 'put upon' by having to  
 associate with so & so,  
 or -- by *not* having so & so  
 to associate with -- or by  
 not having such a post  
 or by having such a post  
 -- or &c &c &c &c --  
 this is simply making the

**f133v**

peace of ~~Christ~~ God impossible  
 -- simply making all  
 free-will Associations intolerable  
~~impossible~~ --

In some religions, this is provided  
 for by enforcing blind,  
 unconditional obedience  
 by the terrors of a Church.

Let me say that the greater  
 freedom of secular Nursing  
 Institutions as it requires  
 or ought to require greater  
 individual responsibility,  
 greater self-command in  
 each, greater nobleness in  
 each -- so that very *self-*  
*possession* in *patience*,  
 that greater nobleness in  
 each -- requires or ought

**f134**

to require, greater discretion,  
greater thought & greater  
tho' not slavish obedience.

For the slave blindly crouches  
-- the free woman in Christ  
obeys or rather seconds  
with intelligence.

3. It is a charity to nurse  
the sick body well -- it is  
greater charity to nurse  
well & patiently the sick  
mind -- the tiresome sufferer.  
But there is a greater charity  
than these: to do good to  
those who are not good to you  
-- to serve with love those  
who do not even receive your  
service with good temper --  
You are so blessed that you can

**134v**

always be exercising all  
these 3 charities -- & so  
fulfil the work your God  
has given you to do

My dear Sir Harry, something  
of this sort our Nurses  
want. But I am sure  
that you will do it much  
better than I can --

ever yrs

F.N.

**f135**

*Your Speech to our Nurses*  
*on May 8 1872*

[2 May 1872]

{[2 May 1872] &amp; 1872 IN DARK PENCIL

My dear Sir Harry

It is very good of you to be  
 thinking about this.

Here are a few suggestions for  
 the tail of your speech: --

1. I should say: your Nursing is  
 a thing which, unless you are  
 making *progress* in every year,  
 every month, every week --  
 take my word for it, you are  
 going *back*.

The more experience you gain,  
 the more progress you can make.  
 The progress you make in your  
 year's training with us is as  
 nothing to what you must  
 make every year *after* your  
 year's training is over.

**f135v**

A woman who thinks in herself:

'Now I am a 'full' Nurse,  
 a 'skilled' Nurse, a completed  
 Nurse -- I have learnt all that  
 there is to be learnt -- the only  
 wonder is how one head can  
 contain it all'--

take my word for it: she is *gone*  
 back -- she does not know  
*what a Nurse* is -- & she  
 never *will* know.

Conceit & Nursing cannot exist  
 in the same person.

For my part, I think it takes  
 40 years to make a good  
 Nurse. And at the end of  
 that time a good Nurse  
 will say: 'I learn something  
 every day'.

I have had more experience in  
 all countries & in different ways



**f136**

of Hospitals than almost any  
one ever had before. [There  
were no opportunities for  
learning in *my* youth such  
as you have had.] And if  
I could recover health so much  
as to walk about, I would  
begin all over again. I would  
come for a year's training to  
St. Thomas' Hospital -- sure  
that I should learn every  
day -- learn all the more  
for my past experience -- &  
then I would try to be  
learning every day to the last  
day of my life.  
And as a sick person, a prisoner  
to bed, a Patient, I would  
learn by *being* nursed, by  
seeing Nurses practise upon *me*.  
Even that is experience.

**f136v**

You have heard of Agnes  
Jones, (Una) who died as  
Matron of the Liverpool  
Workhouse Infirmary:  
in the last year of her life,  
she wrote to me: 'I mean  
to stay here 40 years, if God  
will: but I must come  
back to St. Thomas', as soon  
as I have a holiday: I  
shall learn so much now  
that I have experience' --  
----

When I was a child (before  
you were born, I dare say)  
I remember being struck as  
it were for life by reading  
that Sir Isaac Newton -- who  
was, as you know, perhaps the  
greatest discoverer among the  
Stars & the Earth's wonders

**f137**

[2]

who ever lived, -- ~~that~~, in his  
 last hours said: 'I seem to  
 myself like a child who has  
 been playing with a few pebbles  
 on the sea-shore -- leaving  
 unsearched all the wonders  
 of the great Ocean beyond'.

By the side of this was put  
 an instance of a young lady  
 leaving school, & reckoning up  
 what she had learnt, ending  
 with (what I have heard a  
 Nurse say): 'The only wonder  
 is that one head can contain  
 it all'.

I seem all thro' life to have  
 remembered reading that --  
 And to nurse, that is to cure  
 & to prevent sickness (under  
 the Doctors' orders) surgical &  
 medical, is a field of which one  
 may safely say: There is no end --

**f137v**

-- no end in what we may be  
 learning every day.

2. I should say:  
 when I hear & see as I have  
 done all my life about  
 jealousies & punctilios as to  
 ranks, classes & offices  
 (when employed in one good  
 work,) I think sadly to myself:  
 what an injury this jealous woman  
 is doing -- not to others -- or  
 not to others so much -- as to  
 herself -- she is doing it to  
 herself. She is not getting  
 out of her work the advantage,  
 the improvement to her own  
 character, the nobleness (for  
 to be useful is the only true  
 nobleness) which God has  
 appointed her that work for.

**f138**

She is not getting out of her  
work what God has given it her  
for. But just the contrary.

Nurses are not children, but  
women. And if they can't  
do this for themselves, no one  
can do it for them.

What a prerogative it is: the  
work that God has given us  
Nurses to do! Because we can  
always be useful, always  
ministering to others -- as our  
Lord was who said that he  
came not to be ministered unto,  
but to minister.

Cannot we fancy him saying  
to us: If any one thinks herself  
greater among you, let her  
Minister unto others --

This is not to say that we are  
to be doing other people's work.

**f138v**

Quite the reverse.

The very essence of all good  
*organization* is: that every  
body should do her (or his)  
own work *so as to help* -- &  
*not* to hinder -- every one else  
to ~~doing~~ her (or his) own work. {(or his) own IN DARK PENCIL}  
But this being settled -- that  
any one should say: I am  
'put upon' by having to  
associate with so & so -- or:  
by *not* having so & so to associate  
with -- Or, by not having such  
a post, or: by having such a  
post. Or &c &c &c &c --  
this is simply making the  
peace of God impossible  
the call of God (for in all  
work He calls us) of none effect  
-- it is grieving the Spirit of God  
-- it is simply making all free-will  
Associations intolerable --

**f139**

[3]

In 'Religious Orders', this is provided  
for by enforcing, blind, uncondi=  
tional obedience thro' the  
terrors of a Church.

Let me say that the greater  
freedom of secular Nursing  
Institutions as it requires  
or ought to require greater  
individual responsibility,  
greater *self-possession* in  
*patience*, so, that very  
self-possession, that greater  
nobleness in each requires  
or ought to require greater  
thought in each, more discretion,  
& more, not less, obedience.  
For it is the obedience of  
intelligence, not the obedience  
of a slave -- And you who

**f139v**

have to be Head Nurses or  
Sisters of a Ward well  
know what I mean. For  
you have to be Ward=Mistresses  
as well as Nurses -- And, if  
~~you~~ she (the Ward=Mistress) cannot enforce *upon herself*  
to *obey* with discretion, how  
can she *command/en* obedience  
in her Ward to rules  
with discretion?

I have known what it is to see  
slaves brought down from  
Central Africa (where Dr.  
Livingstone & Sir Samuel & Lady  
Baker are now, putting down  
in their several ways the Slave=  
trade --) -- to see their stupid  
obedience -- their deceitful evasion  
of service -- But the free woman  
in Christ obeys, or rather *seconds*  
all her rules, & mistress's & masters'

**f140**

orders, with intelligence -- with  
all her heart & with all her  
strength & with all her *mind*.  
"Not slothful in business: fervent  
in spirit: serving the Lord".

3. It is charity to nurse sick  
bodies well it is greater  
charity to nurse well & patiently  
sick minds -- tiresome sufferers.  
But there is a greater charity  
even than these: to do good to  
those who are not good to you --  
-- to serve with love those who  
do not even receive our service  
with good temper -- to forgive  
on the instant any slight, real  
or fancied, we may have received  
or any worse injury. *We* cannot  
'do good' to those who '*persecute*' us  
in our Lord's sense -- he who followed

**f140v**

up his maxim by praying for  
those who were nailing him  
to a Cross: 'Father, forgive  
them, for they know not what  
they do.' *We* cannot do  
this, for we are *not* '*persecuted*'  
How much more must we try  
to serve then  $\forall$  any who do  
not love us, who use us  
spitefully -- with patience & love  
-- to nurse such with all our hearts.  
*We* are so blessed that we can  
always be exercising all  
these 3 charities -- & so fulfil  
the work our God has given  
us to do.

**f141**

[4]

4. Just as I was writing this, a letter  
from Mrs. Beecher Stowe, (who  
wrote "Uncle Tom's Cabin"), ~~was~~  
reached me

She has so fallen in love with  
the character of "Una" (Agnes Jones)  
which she had just read,  
that she writes to me asking  
me to tell her of the progress  
of the work, -- supposing that  
we have many more Una s,

-- saying that that is "making virtue  
attractive," & asking me to  
tell about our 'Unas' for them  
in America.

Shall we ask her to write  
for us?

She ends: "yours in the dear  
name that is above every other  
H.B. Stowe"

She says that her brother, the Revd  
Henry Ward Beecher, of whom you  
may have heard as a preacher,  
has re-issued our "Una" with a notice  
by himself.

**f141v**

by himself, which she will  
send us.

They wish to "organize a similar  
movement" in America --

[ a "movement" of "Una" s --  
what a great thing that  
would be!]

Shall we try all to be  
"Una" s?

**f142** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

My dear Sir Harry

Since I wrote this, Harry B C  
writes to me, wishing that -- you  
should say ~~it~~ something for me in my name

I will do just as you like --  
I will alter anything you like --  
if you will return it to me --

I had almost preferred you  
should say it in your own name --

Excuse haste

ever yrs

F.N.

Embley

May 3/72

Parthe just arrived

all well --

**ff143-48v** LETTER & NOTES TO SIR HARRY VERNEY {ARMY MEDICAL HOSPITAL}  
DARK PENCIL & PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE**f143** DARK PENCIL DATED APRIL 3, 1876

*Army Medical School*

April 3/76

[15:504-06]

My dear Sir Harry

In your interview with *Mr. Hardy*,  
these *Supplementary* Hints may possibly  
be useful to you --

F.N.

**f144** PEN

ARMY MEDICAL SCHOOL: NETLEY

1/4/76

It is understood that, in place of the School,  
it is intended

- (1) to subsidize the *Chairs of Hygiene* in  
Edinburgh, Dublin, London: &
- (2) to send the Medical Officers, when they  
first enter the service, to the Stationary  
or *Depot Centre Hospitals*  
to learn in detail the routine of duty.

[ If the W.O. adopts this plan, it leaves  
the School as necessary as ever. (F.N.)  
The idea that *practical* training for

**f144v** PEN

*Military* purposes in any one of the  
branches coming within the province  
of the School can be obtained at any  
*Civil* College is utterly groundless.

The School is the *only PRACTICAL School*  
*in the United Kingdom:*

In the corresponding School at Paris  
the term of instruction is *double* that  
of Netley.]

The question is *not* whether there are  
any chairs at which *practical Military*  
instruction is given: for there are *none* such.

And *Lectures* are not what is wanted.

But what is wanted -- now more than ever  
-- is: that the 10 years' men shall be  
*practically* taught: (& possibly at their  
own expence: as they are to be liberally  
dealt with:) at Netley.

If *Mr. Hardy* thought well to refer the  
School in its relations to the *new Medical*  
*Department arrangement* --  
to the *Senate*: it would probably not be  
difficult to find ~~out~~ *what arrangement*  
could be come to. F.N.]



**f145** PEN

Army Medical School: Netley

April 3/76

[No. III]

[Supplementary]

1. If the 10 years' men be gazetted & get £250 a year at once, & are sent for 4 months to Netley, certainly they might *pay for their board*. They will do so *wherever* they are sent, whether to a *Station Hospital* or elsewhere.
2. If there were a *probationary period* of 4 months, with the allowance of 5/ a day *before* being gazetted, (as was wisely arranged when the A.M. School was framed), the Government would have the advantage not only of getting a considerable part of the routine duties done at Netley by the Probationers at 5/ a day, but they would also retain the *power of not accepting those* who show themselves to be *undesirable* as Army Medical Officers.

[In fact, several have been rejected in whom drunken habits have been discovered.

Once gazetted, the difficulties in the way of such selection are greatly increased.]

- 
- [3. N.B. In the Army Medl Warrant of 1870 there were 2 Pars. defining the probationary period of 4 months, & the attendance on a course of practical instruction in the *specialities* of Military practice (the details being left to the School Warrant & School Regs.) These clauses are, I believe, wholly omitted in the new Warrant: [this was done without any reference to the Custodians of the School -- the School Senate --]

**f145v**

4. The impossibility of Students getting a knowledge of the subjects taught at the School anywhere else *than at the School*, or in any other way than the *systematic* way arranged by those who organized it. is undoubted: or might be proved.

5. The foremost & most essential part of the teaching is most undoubtedly the *Hygienic part*.

But take another department, that of *Military Surgery*: the importance of maintaining a *special Chair* for the subject cannot be over-rated.

The general principles of Surgery are taught in all Schools: but their particular application to the *special* duties & circumstances of *soldiers* in time of war must form the subject of a *special course*. Lives & limbs depend on the subject being studied: for in numerous instances rules of treatment which guide Surgeons under the circumstances of Civil Life are rendered

6 [PEN]

inapplicable by those of *Military* life.

Many subjects bearing on the duties & practice of *Military Surgeons* are *never taught at all* in *Civil Schools*.

6. *Museum of Military Surgery*:

*Professor Longmore* has gradually formed, classified & catalogued what is now a very complete & valuable *Museum of Military Surgery*.

*No similar Museum* exists *in the country*: and wherever a course of Lectures on *Military Surgery* may be given, there ought to be such a Museum at hand for illustrating them.

7. Whoever is the *Prof of Military Surgery* will be constantly on the look-out for the improvements that are taking place *in foreign armies* as well as in our own: he is thus continually adding to his store of knowledge -- & making himself all the more valuable *as a servant of the Government in case of his being consulted* on matters appertaining to his Professorship & *all kindred matters* xx & all the more useful as a teacher.

But how can Army Surgeons *in general service* do this?

Xx It is needless to recount the occasions on which *Prof. Longmore's services* have been called upon by the Govt *in this way*: & the valuable services he has rendered thus.

**f146v** PEN DATED APRIL 3, 1876

8. The A.M. School at Netley has been visited  
by many *foreign Officers*:

its work has been studied & commented upon in  
published Reports --

a School in imitation of it has been established  
in Saxony

& a similar one is now about to be established

I am informed in Bavaria.

[The Paris Army Medical School, embracing a  
scarcely less important branch: that of teaching  
"*Infirmiers*" their duties: *also practised at Netley*  
with the *Orderlies* of the *Army Hospital Corps*:  
is well known.]

If the authorities wish to weigh the existence  
of the School by its usefulness, they might  
well put the evidence of some of these  
*foreigners* in the balance.

[end 15:506]

3/4/76

**f147** PEN

Army Medical School: Netley: March 31/76 [15:506-07]

I.

1. View understood to be that of the W.O.:

Since the Surgeons are now only to be engaged for 10 years' service, the Government ought not to lose 4 months out of this period by their attending the A.M. School:

[That is to say, (F.N.)

that SHORT SERVICE = NETLEY TRAINING:

One would think the argument was just the other way.

viz. that 4 months' training was too little for a man who has to gain his experience & do his work all in 10 years

Some of the best Surgeons used to say that 10 years' (when there was no School) was not too much for them to gain the necessary experience in to take care of the Army F.N. ]

**f147v** PEN

2. View of the W.O., as understood:

there are now Chairs of Hygiene established at various places to which Students can go for information on that topic:

the Govt is ready to subsidize certain of these chairs:

& as to the routine of Military duty, that can be learned during the first year of service at any Station Hospital:

[As regards, (F.N.), the acquirement by students in any Civil School or at any Civil Chair of the SPECIAL knowledge which has been imparted at the Army Medical School, it is simply IMPRACTICABLE.

As to the rest, it is merely recurring to the old rude rule-of-thumb practice, that every man is to puzzle out his own experience by his own blunders:

(which, it was thought, was done away with) --

-- 'A practical man', once said a Prime Minister, 'is a man who practises the blunders of his predecessors.'

-- Are we to return to this?

**f148** PEN

Besides -- the whole Medical profession of the Army, Navy & Indian Services is so different from *civil* Medical practice. *Army Doctors* are for life & health: civil Doctors only for disease. *These Army Doctors* are to keep *Englishmen in health*: not only to be called in to them in sickness.

they are to keep the *Camps, Barracks, Ships, daily life, food & equipment* in the highest condition of *health* (& so efficiency): of our Army, Navy & Indian Services:

is this to be learnt "at any *Station Hospital*," where soon those they have to learn of will be as ignorant of the *special* requirements of the *Indian, Army & Navy Services* as their pupils?

And all this to save the keep &c of the Short Service Surgeons!

F.N.

**f148v** PEN

3. Sidney Herbert, who created the School, made it directly dependent upon the *Secy of State*: and always he, as did Lord de Grey, made remarks on & initialed its "proceedings" & Minutes *himself* -- No subsequent *Secy of State* for War has done so.

The 'proceedings' of the School Senate do not now go beyond an *Under S. of S.*: -- so that the *S. of S.* is of course less 'au courant' of the good work done by it.

4. The best interests of the Army Medical Department: & thro' it *the health & efficiency of the Army at large* are threatened with a deadly blow: & for the merest trifle of economy!

There never was a time when the School was so much wanted as now --

F.N.

[end 15:507]

**ff149-50v** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (HERBERT HOSPITAL NURSING SERVICE)  
PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f149**

Herbert Hospital } 35 South St  
Nursing Service } Park Lane W  
Feb 17/77

My dear Sir Harry Verney

Do you think that *Mr. Hardy* would  
consider my intervention an interference, if  
I were to ask you to ask him to look  
himself into *Hy Bonham Carter's* reply  
of Jany. 21 to 6998 in reference

[15:227]

-----  
753  
-----

to the appointment of a Trained Superintendt  
of Nurses & 4 Trained Nurses to the

**f149v**

Herbert Hospital, for which Nursing  
Staff we were asked by Sir W. Muir,  
the Director Genl. of the Army Medl. Dept. --  
now at least 9 months ago. [The pros  
& cons on the side of the A.M.D. which  
have caused this great delay I am not  
going to trouble -- Mr. Hardy with.] Suffice  
it to say that we learn from the D.G.'s Office  
that the last letter, Jan 21, of Mr. Hy  
Bonham Carter, as Secy. of the "Nightingale  
Fund," "has been forwarded for decision  
"of the authorities at War Office"

**f150**

We apprehend that it is a mere question  
of money: & the letter is going thro' the  
ordinary official routine which does not  
allow any matter to be looked at under  
several weeks' delay.

It probably never will come before the  
Secretary of State at all: but a word from  
him would settle it at once. It is a  
mere trifle.

I should scarcely like to trouble Mr. Hardy to

**f150v**

expedite the decision of the W.O. on the  
 subject of the Herbert Staff of Nurses,  
 but that the delay is causing much  
 inconvenience to our Training School for  
 Nurses, as you, our Chairman, will  
 be well aware: & to the persons  
 selected for that Nursing duty:

[end 15:227]

Pray believe me, dear Sir Harry,  
 ever yours affly  
 Florence Nightingale

**f151** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY {MR. HARDY} DARK PENCIL  
 HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

*Mr. Hardy* 19/2/77

My dear Sir Harry

I may as well mention to you that I have  
 not told *Sir W. Muir* of this application  
 to Mr. Hardy thro' you:

I was not at all bound to do so: but  
 thought I had better tell you this.

How is your cold?

ever yrs

I have put on "Copy" } F.N.

"Please return to F.N."}

that is, eventually. }

**f152**

4, South Street,  
 Park Lane,

W. [printed address]

Tuesday April 29

My dear Florence,

I was with Mr Gladstone  
 today, and he expressed  
 a will to call on you.

Shall I write to him  
 that the time most  
 convenient to you  
 would be between 4 & 6  
 and that you would  
 wish to know a couple  
 of days before, in order  
 to inform him if the  
 proposed day does not  
 suit you.

Shall I also  
 say that Friday is Indian  
 post day, on which  
 day you are engaged?  
 Yrs affy  
 Harry Verney

**f153**

Claydon House  
Bucks.

July 10. 79

My dear Florence,  
I send you Ld Shaftesbury's  
note, which I ask you, at  
your leisure, to return.

My own opinion has long  
been that the First Man  
of Anglo-Indians was Lord  
Lawrence; but that  
"Primus inter Pares" of  
Englishmen was Shaftesbury  
himself--I much like  
his thought that old  
Bunyan described such  
a man as Ld Lawrence  
in JW Greatheart.

I hope that you have  
v  
consented to receive the  
Hereditary Grand Duke,  
who, I am told by Ernst  
Bunsen, has asked to be  
allowed to call on you  
by his companion Baron  
de Roggenbach. I have  
said that if he calls on  
you, you do not like two  
people in the room at once.

When one considers what good,  
or what evil, a young  
fellow like him may do in  
the world, how in a state  
like Baden, he may encour  
age all commendable things,  
or abandon himself to evil  
when one compares the late



**f154**

Prince of Orange with the  
Crown Prince of Germany,  
it appears all worth while  
to make a sacrifice in the  
endeavour to give to a  
young man an interest in  
right & good things. I hope  
that he knows Prince  
Christian & the D. of Connaught.

I send you a letter from  
Mrs Cox enclosing some  
very dreadful, disgraceful  
in my opinion, but, I  
doubt not, perfectly true  
accounts of our fighting  
with the Zulus. It  
appears to me that our army  
is in a disorganised state  
of confusion, and that we

v

send our men & officers to  
needless defeat & slaughter.

The remedy, I believe, is  
to be sought in highest quar  
ter, & that, D of Connaught  
ought to be at ye Horse Guards  
instead of ye D. of Cambridge.  
Col Stanley, I am very sure,  
desires to do his duty, but  
in appointing him, Ld. B  
thought more of appearing  
not to lose the Derby  
influence than of the wel  
fare of the Army. That is Ld. B's con  
duct in every thing.

Ld Northbrook has invited  
me to dinner next Wednesday  
so I shall stay in London on  
that night & call in South St  
Yr very affecty  
Harry Verney

**ff156-57v** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (PROBATIONERS AT NETLEY)  
DARK PENCIL & PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, black-edged paper

**f156** DARK PENCIL

11/6/80

[15:230-31]

My dear Sir Harry

The National Aid Socy  
has matured & all but  
started its plans for  
expending £1100 a year  
on training & maintaining  
Female Nurses in Military  
Hospitals:

The Probationers are to  
enter Netley almost  
immediately.

The plans are open to  
the very gravest objections:  
-- notably, one which I mentioned  
to you when you gave me  
the rough Draft some months

**f156v** DARK PENCIL & PEN

ago: viz. that the Probrs  
are to be trained at Netley  
& Woolwich where there  
are scarcely as many acute,  
especially Surgical cases,  
in a year as there are  
in a great Civil Hospital  
in a week -- & that the Nurses  
are to be scattered about by 3s & 4s.

You are a member  
of the *National Aid Socy.*

Has this plan been  
thus completed *without*  
*you?*

Or could you tell me  
any thing about it?

Last night I had an  
interview of several hours,  
(giving me the details of

**f157** PEN

this plan) which has  
utterly exhausted me.  
You will observe that we  
can do nothing about  
Mrs. Hawthorn's Memo  
without this plan, or  
vice versa.

I think the best thing I  
can do is to write  
down, if I am able,  
all that I learnt last  
night about what  
the Nat. Aid Socy is doing.

I would see you for  
a few minutes *to-day*  
at 6, if you wish it --  
(but indeed I am utterly  
exhausted). And you

**f157v** PEN

can tell me, after  
 reading my paper,  
 what you know about  
 it or think.  
 I think that *to-morrow*  
 my paper should  
 go to *Hy Bonham Carter*  
 There is not a day  
 to be lost, if we are  
 to do any thing: God  
 direct us.  
 aff yrs.  
 F.N.

[end 15:231]

**ff158-63v** NOTES ON THE COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL AID SOCIETY PEN  
 HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f158**

The Council of the National Aid Socy  
 appears to have matured & set in action  
 its plans for training & maintaining & paying Nurses  
 for Military Hospitals, or rather to have  
 set them in action without maturing them.

The plan, as far as understood, is this:  
 to devote £1100 or £1200 a year: to it:

9 Probationers to be sent at once

5 to Netley under Mrs. Deeble

4 Woolwich Miss Corfield

[def Corfield]

for a year's training: rooms are preparing at Netley  
 for them.

The Probationers to be selected by the Council  
 of Nat. Aid Socy.

the Probationers to be paid £12 for a the year =  
 -11/a week for rations to be paid with them --

-- at the end of this time to serve 3 years in

a Station Hospital, Portsmouth

Dover

Aldershot

are mentioned.

-then "to return to the world"

on condition that they be always ready to  
 be called on in time of war.

-----

a "Sister Supt" under the same conditions but at £80 a year  
 is to be at the head of each Station Hospital  
 Staff -- the whole to be directly under the  
 Medical Staff.

**f158v**

It is proposed (by the Netley Supt) that these Sisters Supt should be permanent: that they should be women of Civil Hospital experience (not training) --

who should also enter upon the one year's training at Netley at £12 a year:

The Netley Supt (Mrs. Deeble) has already 7 or 9 upon her books of Civil Hospital experienced women ready to come as "Sisters Supt" on these conditions: Professor Longmore has matured this plan: (he & Dr. Maclean are to give Lectures to the Probationers: Mrs. Deeble is to train them) the Director Genl & Dr. Munro have sanctioned it in conjunction with Col. & Mrs. Loyd Lindsay.

**f159**

1. The objections to this plan are obvious: the acute Medical cases at Netley are rare, still rarer at Woolwich: the cases at Netley are principally those of Invalids (sequelae) the Surgical cases at Netley are rarely or ever those which crowd the wards of a London Hospl. -- Operations are comparatively rare.

On this being alledged, it was contradicted but on particulars being asked, it appeared to be yet more the case than was supposed: & it was stated that "we do not want Surgical cases to make a Nurse".

*PRIVATE*

The real reason was then given, viz. "that all women who have had a year's training in Civil Hospitals were conceited" also: that they will not stand Orderlies instead of Staff Nurses" "that they will not stand Medical candidates nor Army Medical Officers as being inferior to Civil"

2. the putting down women in 2s, or 3s or 4s in Station Hospls without any superior female authority

**f159v**

Mrs. Deeble was to have an interview  
to-day with Sir Wm Muir  
to desire to be made Supt. *Genl.* of all  
the Hospitals which should receive  
her Probationers: !!!

& also to remonstrate against any  
Probationers being sent to Woolwich,  
on the ground of insufficiency both of  
Supt. (trained & recommended by herself)  
& of cases.

-----

Col. & Mrs. Loyd Lindsay arranged with  
her the day before yesterday

-----

Mrs. Deeble proposes to teach bandaging  
herself (on a dummy): sick cookery:  
& indeed to be the Training Sister,  
tho' not in the Wards

11/6/80

**f160**

Private &       }  
*Confidential* }

The Council of the National Aid Socy is supposed  
to have matured & started -- or rather to have  
started without maturing -- a plan for training,  
maintaining & paying Nurses for Military  
Hospitals.

The plan, ~~as far as~~ is understood to be this:  
-- to devote £1100 or £1200 a year in the following  
manner:

nine Probationers to be sent immediately  
    (5 to Netley under the Supt., Mrs. Deeble  
    4    Woolwich                      Miss Corfield)

for a year's training:

rooms are preparing at Netley for them:

the Probationers to be selected by the N. Aid Socy.

the Probrs to be paid £12 for the year

11/a week for rations to be paid with them.

At the end of the year to serve 3 years in a  
Station Hospl, such as Portsmouth, Dover, Aldershot  
then "to return to the world," on condition that  
they be always ready to be called on in time  
of war.

-----

a "Sister Supt" under like conditions, (to be  
paid £80 a year,) to be at the head of each  
such Nursing Staff.

- each to be directly under the Medical ~~Staff~~  
authorities

**f160v**

It is proposed (by Mrs. Deeble) that these  
 'Sisters Supt' should be permanent:  
 that they should be women of Civil Hospl  
 experience (not necessarily training)  
 but should also have the one year's training  
 at Netley at £12 a year.

[Mrs. Deeble has already 7 ~~or 9~~ such women  
 upon her books, ready to enter on these  
 conditions as 'Sisters Supt']

Prof. Longmore & some Medical Professor are  
 to give Lectures to the Probationers.

Mrs. Deeble is to train them herself (not the  
 Divisional Sisters).

Prof. Longmore is supposed to have arranged  
 the plan: in conjunction with Col. & Mrs.  
 Loyd Lindsay: the Director Genl & Dr.  
 Munro to have sanctioned it.

**f161**

The objections to any such plan are obvious:

1. -acute Medical cases at Netley are rare,  
 -Invalid cases (sequelae) are the principal  
 serious cases at Netley:  
 -Surgical cases such as crowd Civil London  
 Hospitals are not to be found at Netley:  
 -Operations are rare

[All this is still more to be said of Woolwich]

On this being stated, it was denied:  
 but, on particulars being asked, it appeared  
 to be yet more the fact than was supposed:  
 but, it was said, "we do not want *surgical*  
 cases to make a Nurse."

*PRIVATE.* The real reason against Civil Hospital training was then  
*privately* given: viz. that "all women who  
 "have had a year's training in Civil Hospitals  
 are conceited":  
 that "they will not 'stand' Orderlies instead of  
 Staff Nurses":

or Medical Candidates:

or Army Medical Officers instead of  
 Civil Hospital Doctors: (the latter being  
 superior & more permanent.)

2. Another objection is: putting down women in  
 twos or threes or even fours in Station Hospitals

**f161v**

without ~~any~~ suitable conditions, or any suitable female authority to keep them up to the mark.

N.B. Mrs. Deeble was to propose *herself* to-day to the Director General to be the *Supt General* of all Hospitals nursing staffs which should be started with her Probationers.

[it is not believed that this very unsuitable ~~plan~~ proposal will be listened to:]

also: she was to remonstrate against any Probationers being trained at Woolwich, on the ground of insufficiency both of cases & of the Supt. (trained at Netley & recommended by herself)

Col. & Mrs. Loyd Lindsay saw &, it is stated {CUT OFF} arranged with Mrs. Deeble on the 9th

N.B. Mrs. Deeble proposes to teach bandaging herself (on a dummy:) sick cookery: & indeed to be the Ward Training Sister herself, tho' not in the Wards.

11/6/80

**f162**

*Private & Confidential* June 11, [1880]

The Council of the National Aid Socy appears to have matured & started -- or rather to have started without maturing -- its plan for training, maintaining & paying Nurses for Military Hospitals.

The plan, as far as understood, is this: -- to devote £1100 or £1200 a year in the following manner:

9 Probationers to be sent immediately  
     (5 to Netley                      under Mrs. Deeble  
     4    Woolwich                      Miss Corfield)

for a year's training:

- rooms are preparing at Netley for them  
 the Probationers *to be selected by the N. Aid Socy.*

- the Probrs to be paid £12 for the year:

11/a week for rations to be paid with them.

At the end of the year to serve 3 years in  
 a Station Hospl, such as Portsmouth, Dover, Aldershot

- then "to return to the world" on condition  
 that they be always ready to be called on  
 in time of war.

-----

a "Sister Supt" under like conditions to be  
 at the head of each Station Hospl Nurses' Staff  
 to be paid £80 a year:

each to be directly under the Medical  
 Staff



**f162v**

It is proposed (by Mrs. Deeble) that these 'Sisters Supt' should be permanent that they should be women of Civil Hospital experience (not training)

but should also enter upon the one year's training at Netley at £12 a year.

[Mrs. Deeble has already 7 or 9 such women upon her books: one, she says -- from St. Thomas': willing to come on these conditions as 'Sister Supts']

Professor Longmore & Dr. Maclean? are to give Lectures to the Probationers

Mrs. Deeble is to train them herself: (not the ~~Ward~~ Divisional Sisters)

Professor Longmore has matured the plan: x the Director Genl & Dr. Munro to have sanctioned it.

x in conjunction with Col. & Mrs. Loyd Lindsay

**f163**

The objections to the plan are obvious: ~~the~~ acute Medical cases at Netley are rare, rarer still at Woolwich:

Invalid cases (sequelae) are the principal ones at Netley

Surgical cases such as crowd Civil London Hospls are rare: Operations rare

On this being alledged, it was stated not to be the fact: but, on particulars being asked, it appeared to be yet more the fact than was supposed: & it was stated that "we do not want *surgical* cases to make a Nurse."

PRIVATE

The real reason was then given: viz. that "all women who have had a year's training in Civil Hospitals are conceited:

"they will not 'stand' Orderlies instead of Staff Nurses

"they will not stand Medical candidates nor Army Medical Officers as being inferior to Civil."

Another objection is: putting down women in twos or threes or even fours in Station Hospitals -- without any Supt Genl or other authority to appeal to or to keep them up to the mark.

**f163v**

N.B.

Mrs. Deeble proposes herself to be the Supt  
Genl: of all Hospitals which should  
be started with her Probrs: or else to  
train the Probrs under protest !!!

She was to urge this to-day in an interview  
with Sir Wm Muir:

also: to remonstrate against any Probrs  
being trained at Woolwich,  
on the ground, of insufficiency both of cases  
& of the Supt. (~~tho~~<sup>tho</sup> trained & recommended  
by herself)

Col. & Mrs. Loyd Lindsay saw &  
arranged with her on the 9th

N.B. Mrs. Deeble proposes to teach bandaging  
herself (on a dummy):            sick cookery:  
& indeed to be the Ward Training Sister  
herself, tho' not in the Wards.

11/6/80

---

[This is in no connection with the above]

F.N. is in possession of Memoranda, (which will  
probably have to be shown to Mr. Childers),  
showing the infamous state of Nursing or rather  
non-nursing, of cheating & neglect, by the orderlies  
in Station Hospitals. And she has seen the writers  
of these Memoranda. Shall these Mema. be sent you?

**ff164-65v** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (NATIONAL AID SOCIETY & PROBATIONERS)  
PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, black-edged paper

**f164**

10 South St.

June 14/80

[15:232-33]

My dear Sir Harry

I am glad you are  
going to see Ld Shaftesbury

I am sorry that I am  
wholly unable to talk  
to day: so cannot ask you to  
come.

Pray don't trouble about  
Hy B. Carter

I not only sent him  
my Paper, but have  
received his answer.

It is very discouraging:  
but then you know he *is*  
discouraging.

Still I think you had  
better see it. And I  
enclose it with the  
file of papers.

**f164v**

I agree with what he  
says, but not with his  
conclusions.

The National Aid Socy  
are going to spend  
£1000 a year: We  
probably can't prevent  
them. But we might  
amend their plan.

If these *9 Probationers*  
had a year's training  
*at St. Thomas'* (perhaps  
we could not take in  
*9: but St. Bartholomew's*  
*or St. Mary's*, both  
under our own Matrons,  
might help us) --  
if we could have a

**f165**

voice in the *qualifications*  
of the "*Sisters Supt*"

- if we could give some  
consideration to the *system*  
under which the *station*  
*Hospitals* are to be  
*nursed* by such  
*trained women*

some of the most  
glaring defects in the  
National Aid Socy's  
plan might be  
removed.

-----  
You will ~~not~~ of course  
consider my enclosures  
from Hy Bonham Carter  
*as for yourself alone*  
not for Ld Shaftesbury.

**f165v**

(Please return them to me).

I think what Hy B.C.  
says of *Ld Shaftesbury*  
is true: but *you*  
*will be able to*  
*convince him*

God speed the work:  
yrs ever aff  
F.N.

[end 15:233]

**ff166-67** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (LADY LUCY, NATIONAL AID SOCIETY, CHEQUE) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, black-edged paper

**f166**

23/6/80

My dear Sir Harry

I have just heard that Lady Lucy has lost her Sister. I trust this may not be true: will you tell me?

Should it be so, will you take some fitting moment to express to her my deepest sympathy -- words are so poor -- & yet I can never mourn when a soul has "passed from death into life"

2. Thanks for your note about the National Aid

**f166v**

Socy -- "*As you said,* we have Mr. Childers to appeal to. *Mr. Childers* must "approve the scheme"

Also: you observe that the paper by Mrs. Hawthorn (what you call Col. Gordon's: I fear his name will not help it) recommends Nurses TRAINED AT ST. THOMAS' for Military Hospitals; NOT Nurses trained in Military Hospls

**f167**

I hope you are well  
ever yr aff  
F.N.

3. Could you cash me a  
Cheque for £15 or  
£20, please?

4.  
Miss Crossland comes  
to me to day: but  
I hope to see you  
this week.

**ff168-69** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (LOUISA SHORE, CHEQUE, LADY LUCY)  
DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, black-edged paper

**f168**

June 24/80

My dear Sir Harry

I am so very sorry  
not to be able to see you  
to-day --

But Louisa (Shore's wife)  
has offered herself ~~to~~ at  
6. And you know  
they leave York Place  
tomorrow. (Shore  
finding refuge here.)  
-----

I was grateful to you  
indeed for changing my  
Cheque: & sorry indeed  
that I gave you trouble  
by crossing the Cheque.

**f168v**

When I asked: could you  
cash me a Cheque, I was  
in hopes not to trouble  
you farther than by  
having money you had  
by you.

**f169**

I am very ill  
I hope Lady Lucy is  
tolerably well  
yr affly  
F.N.

**f170** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, black-edged paper

*Military Hospital* } 10 South St.  
*Nursing Orderlies* } June 26/80  
*Mrs. Hawthorn* 7. a.m.

My dear Sir Harry

You were so good as  
to say that *Morey* would  
copy any page, of which  
the ink was too *pale*,  
of this Memo by Mrs.  
Hawthorn, *for Mr Childers*.

In the copy I enclose  
there is not much, I think,  
to do: the *second* page  
is too pale.

I should like to see it  
again before you give  
it to *Mr. Childers*: please  
ever yrs affly  
F. Nightingale

**ff171-72v** LETTER TO HV, PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN, black-edged paper

**f171**

*Military Hospital* } 30/6/80  
*Nursing:* }

My dear Sir Harry

*Would you write in  
pencil* what you, from  
your interview with  
*Mr. Childers* would  
*propose to write, as  
he requested,* on the  
subject of your *Tuesday's*  
interview.

If you will kindly  
then *send it to me,*  
I shall know better  
*how to fill it up, &  
write, as you requested*  
-----

2. *Guy's Hospl*

Sir T. Acland has sent  
me a paper. I see he has

**f171v**

withdrawn his Resolutions,  
 which you sent me,  
 till after to-day's  
 Meeting at Guy's --  
 His questions, as to  
 Night Nursing &c &c &c  
 are very easily answered  
 by a good *system* of  
 Training & Nursing.

-----

3 *Madame Werckner*

I enclose her letter,  
 poor woman.

You see her husband  
 is actually *in Paris*:  
 & she has to return  
*to him there on Friday*.

Could you write  
 to her at *Lymington* --

**f172**

& say what you think  
 best *about the proposal*  
 which was made  
*to get up a Subscription*  
 for her ~~by~~ in the "*Figaro*".

You thought that she  
 had better ask some  
 one, *at Paris* whether  
 this would be likely  
*to interfere* with the  
 Govt keeping up her  
 1000 for *each year*?

Had you ever the  
 opportunity of asking  
 the French Ambassador?

ever yrs affly

F. Nightingale

How very good Lady }

Elliot has been: }

I earnestly hope Lady

**f172v**

Lady Lucy is pretty  
 well: will you  
 offer her my deepest  
 sympathy?

F.N.



**ff173-76** NOTES ON PREPARATION OF NURSES FOR FIELD DUTY DURING WAR PEN  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f173**

June 30 1880

[15:233-34]

You desired that I would state to you my object in calling on you in the interview which you were so good as to give me yesterday & I proceed to do so.

1. I wish to impress on you the very bad Nursing in our Military Station Hospitals & the grievous suffering entailed upon our soldiers in consequence.

2. ~~Also~~ I am told that the Committee of the Society for the relief of the Sick & wounded Soldiers in War has been considering the subject of ~~training~~ preparation for nursing in the field in time of war by training female Nurses in peace time in the Military Hospitals: & deems this a fitting object for applying a portion of the Funds of the Society & that they have applied to you on the subject

It is stated that a scheme is being prepared by the military medical authorities by which it is proposed to use £1100 or £1200 per. ann. in training a certain number of Probationers at Netley under the direction of ~~Mrs. Deeble~~ the Supt. of Nurses, and, when trained, ~~nursing~~ maintaining them to nurse at some 3 of the Station Hospitals

**f174**

[2]

Lord Shaftesbury & I do not approve the scheme because among other reasons we believe that training at Netley could not be satisfactory: acute Medical cases at Netley are rare, & those of severe Surgical injuries & Operations still rarer. ~~Even~~ The ~~absolute~~ obvious necessity of having such cases to train a good Nurse for War Service is even called in question.

We believe that ~~Mrs. Deeble is qualified~~ the Supt of nurses there is fitted neither by experience, ~~nor practice or theory~~ nor other qualifications

to train. And that all this is still more true of Woolwich & its superintendent.

? But if the Military Medical authorities are against us, we have little chance of success in urging our objections.

We believe that Nurses for attending on soldiers in time of war could only be trained in the large London Civil Hospitals where accidents, severe Surgical cases & acute cases of disease are the rule & not the exception: and where Training Schools which have won their experience

**f175**

[3]

already exist & could be made use  
of with all their organization & system  
for properly training ~~war~~ properly  
selected women to ~~carry out~~ know how to obey the directions  
of the Medical Officers & ~~carry out their~~  
~~treatment.~~

Happily the scheme cannot be carried  
out without the approbation of the  
Secretary of State of War.

I will ask you to read a statement  
which I enclose on the malpractices in  
some Military Station Hospitals, the  
names of which we know, before  
conferring with Sir William Muir,  
~~but~~ bearing in mind that ~~there require~~  
other reforms are needed besides the introduction  
of Female Nurses to remedy these evils:  
& that Female Nurses can at most be  
introduced in only 3 or 4 of the largest  
Station Hospitals.

**f176**

[4]

The question of Female Nurses therefore  
by no means covers the whole of *this*  
ground.

It is probable that the Military  
authorities desire to keep the affair  
in their hands, to which we fully  
assent, if they will work it out  
as well as it can be worked with  
all the modern experience & rapid  
growth of the best public opinion on  
the matter.

It would possibly not be disapproved  
by Sir Wm Muir if we proposed to  
consult some independent Civil authority.

**[end 15:234]**

**ff177-78v** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (MILITARY HOSPITAL NURSING) PEN  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, black-edged paper, und in red pencil

**f177**

*Military Hospl Nursing*

July 1/80

[15:234-35]

My dear Sir Harry

I have written the  
barest skeleton of a  
paper from yours.  
Please look it over  
& *put in in pencil*  
*all* the parts you  
would wish to have  
*added or enlarged*  
& *return it to me at once.*  
I will go over it  
again *this afternoon*  
But it would be

**f177v**

impossible for me  
to have any thing  
ready *before* Monday  
~~as~~ (you fixed Monday).

I am sure it would  
not do to suggest  
Hy Bonham Carter  
to SIR WM MUIR --  
And Sir Jas Paget  
would not help us  
much.  
Will you let me think  
over this?

**f178**

Please return me

~~the~~ your pencil paper  
enclosed as well:

yr ever aff

F Nightingale

The Station Hospl

paper is, you know,  
quite separate from  
the Nurse-training  
proposition of the  
Nat. Aid. Socy. If Mr  
Childers were to think

~~F.N.~~

them the same, he  
might say: `the Nat. Aid

**f178v**

`Socy answers the  
`need of the Station  
`Hospls.'

-----

I could scarcely have  
believed that anything  
so foolish as Lady  
Strangford's proposal,  
endorsed as it is  
by the Duke of Cambridge,  
could have been  
made now a days.

F.N.

[end 15:235]

**ff179-79v** LETTER TO FN LIGHT PENCIL, with FN notes on back

**f179** {THE FOLLOWING IS IN LIGHT PENCIL EXCEPT WHERE INDICATED:}

38 Upper Grove Ct.

July 1

32, South Street, [printed address]

Park Lane,

W.

My dear Florence,

In the places I have suggested  
a few words in pencil.

In the scheme it is not stated  
for *how long* the Probationers  
are to be *trained*  
nor *how they are to be retained*  
in the Public service  
or whether, when they are trained  
and sent away, *other Proba*  
*tioners* are to take their places.  
Of course, when trained, these  
nurses will have the offer  
of high pay in Civil Hospitals.  
they can be retained only by  
the prospect of good salaries,  
which, if the scheme prospers,

{WRITTEN IN PEN, SIDEWAYS ON THE LEFT SIDE OF PAGE:}

*All these questions answered in the sheet*  
*of mine*  
*which*  
*you have*

**f179v**

they will amply merit.

I suppose that you object to  
suggest *Provincial Hospital* {CUT OFF}  
In the mining & manufacture {CUT OFF}  
ing large Towns accidents  
& operations are frequent {CUT OFF}  
but there Probationers could  
not be *under War Office*  
*supervision*, as they can be  
in London.

FN hand: PEN: *They could not be*  
*so, while IN the Civil Hospitals*  
at all: could they?

{A LINE CONNECTS THE PARAGRAPH BELOW TO THE ABOVE COMMENT I suppose that  
you object to suggest. IN PEN:} (FN:)

No objection if only they  
have good organizations for  
training. But bad cases  
don't alone make a good  
Hospital. F.N.

July 2/80

**ff180-82v** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (MILITARY NURSING) PEN  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, black-edged paper

**f180**

Military }

Nursing } July 2/80

[15:235]

My dear Sir Harry

I entirely concur with  
you that, if you would  
write to *Col. Loyd Lindsay*  
to ask to have the  
scheme *in writing*

(perhaps give him your  
note yourself in the  
Ho. of C.)

that would be the  
right thing.

~~And~~ All *objections*  
to be stated *only at a*  
*meeting* of the Nat. Aid  
Socy: & only AFTER  
having seen & considered  
Col. L.L.'s scheme in writing.

[2]

I will send my "amplification  
of your pencil paper" by  
you to Claydon tomorrow.  
And you will kindly  
let me have it again  
on Monday. You will *not*  
make use of it at present.

ever yrs affly

F. Nightingale

Will you look in here

at 5.30 to-day? It is  
Louis' birth day: & they  
drink tea here.

I, alas!, have a Matron

-----

Gladly will I look over  
Ly Strangford's pamphlet  
with you some day

-----

I don't think War Office  
Supervision of Probationers  
in training at a Civil  
Hospl either possible or desirable

[end 15:235]

**f181***Military Nursing*

July 2/80

**[15:235-36]**

My dear Sir Harry

You will find all your *pencil* questions answered in the sheet I wrote for you, a copy of which you gave Lord Shaftesbury, & which is attached to the Draft letter of the National Aid Socy.

But you will of course remember that my sheet consists of entirely *private* information, received thro' me alone: & that the only document you have really to go upon with Mr. Childers is that Draft letter of your own Committee.

In your pencil paper for Mr. Childers & my amplification ~~for~~ of it, things are stated & persons named, of which we know *nothing* except thro' my *private* information.

Does it not appear to you that that paper (*your pencil one which I re-inclose*) should be addressed *not to Mr. Childers* -- at least not at present -- but *to Col. Loyd Lindsay?*

You are on the Council of the Nat. Aid. Socy

**f181v**

-- Col. Loyd Lindsay is the Chairman, I think Is it not rather awkward to be as it were circumventing or forestalling your Chairman with the War Minister? BEFORE the matter is ~~openly~~ discussed in the National Aid Socy Committee, which is yours.

Besides, would not *your position* with Mr. Childers be *so much stronger*, if, after you & Lord Shaftesbury had *stated your objections* to the scheme in open Committee at the Nat. Aid Socy, you were then to bring the matter before the War Minister -- stating at the Committee, if you & Lord Shaftesbury are beaten, that you should ~~do so?~~ appeal to Mr. Childers?

Has *the letter of the Nat. Aid. Socy*, of which you gave me the Draft, which I returned to you, ever gone in to the War Office? Even this I do not know -- Could you tell me?



**f182**

Would you not discuss the whole matter  
with *Col. Loyd Lindsay* now?

[he told you, I think you said, that they  
were "waiting for a scheme from Mrs. Deeble"  
-- that "then he should call a Committee".

You would *then*, with Lord Shaftesbury,  
state your objections fully on Committee.

And then would be the time, would it  
not? *for you to go to Mr. Childers* -- (not  
now -- when you would be as it were  
*forestalling* your own Committee -- (which  
has not yet definitely spoken or even discussed)  
-- with the ultimate authority, *the War Office*)

2. Besides, it scarcely appears wise to put  
down on paper your opinion of Mrs. Deeble,  
tho' it might be given viva voce.

If I have, as is probable, to discuss the  
matter with Sir Wm Muir, I should not  
put in writing my opinion of Mrs. D.

**f182v**

3. Hy Bonham Carter whom as you know  
we have taken into counsel is very  
strongly of opinion that the scheme  
of Female Nursing should be discussed  
*first with Col. Loyd Lindsay*, & that your  
objections should be stated on your Committee  
-- & then only, if you fail, be stated to  
*Mr Childers*. Would not this be your opinion?

ever, dear Sir Harry, yrs affly

F. Nightingale

4. In reference, again, to your pencil note;  
I have "no objection" to "Provincial Hospitals",  
provided they are on a good footing, with  
proper organization for training. But  
where are these? Bad cases don't alone make a  
good Hospital.

~~Also~~: there can be no "War Office supervision  
over the "Probationers" while training in the Civil Hospitals  
whether they are in London or in the Provinces,  
can there?

F.N.

5. Would you wish me to go with you into the extraordinary  
pamphlet on *Soldiers' Wives as Nurses*, which  
you sent me? from Mr. Childers --

[end 15:236]

**ff183-84** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (GUY'S HOSPITAL) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, black-edged paper

**f183**

*Guy's Hospital*

2/7/80

Would you thank ~~Sir~~  
~~T. Acland~~ Sir Thomas Acland  
for sending me his  
paper on the crisis  
at Guy's: (you sent me his  
Resolutions) --  
& ask him whether his  
"Committee" was carried,  
as proposed, on  
Wednesday, at Guy's,  
(at the Meeting), before  
I go into the thing further?

F.N.

My dear Sir Harry I re-open  
my note, having just  
received yours. There is

**f183v**

no real difficulty  
with the *Night Nursing*  
in a properly organized  
system.

But till I know whether  
Sir T. Acland has  
carried his Guy's  
Committee, I will not  
trouble you further.  
God speed them!

Alas!

I am so overwhelmed every  
day with my 4 hours  
Matrons & Nurses  
that I have not a  
chance of seeing you  
today, I am sorry to say.

**f184**

And as for driving out,  
when could I do it? It  
is impossible. I am too ill {I am too ill IS IN PENCIL}

I am quite sure you  
were right in your  
Bradlaugh vote. To  
exclude him is to give  
him power: to give  
him liberty is to  
put "a *fatal* arm in  
his hands" against himself

F.N.

Hy Bonham Carter goes {PENCIL}  
abroad on Monday {PENCIL}

**ff185-86** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (MILITARY HOSPITAL) DARK PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, black-edged paper

**f185**

My dear Sir Harry  
I enclose my "amplification"  
according to your desire  
for *Morey to copy* if you  
wish it.

But I would again say that  
I would not use anything  
against Mrs Deeble on  
*paper* -- [I shall not  
if I see Sir Wm Muir]  
nor some other things  
On the first page are some  
pencil additions for a  
short letter of mine to him

**f185v**

Please not to rub these  
out: (they are *not* for  
Morey's copying:) & to  
return me my paper on  
Monday.

**f186**

2. Were you so good as  
to ask *Sir Th. Acland*  
about *the last Wednesday's*  
*Meeting at Guy's?*

3. Good cheer to you at  
Claydon.  
Please ask *Joseph* what  
book he would like  
me to give *his boy*.  
ever yrs affly  
F.N.

**ff187-87v** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (TERMS OF PROBATION) DARK PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, black-edged paper

**f187**

[August 1880]

My dear Sir Harry  
These "terms of probation"  
are no "terms" at all  
The most important of all  
are totally omitted:  
viz. where to be trained?  
under what system?  
by whom selected?  
appointed?  
dismissed?  
under what supervision?  
&c &c &c &c &c  
Sups Sisters: same questions  
yet more important  
totally omitted --  
And Col. L. L. sends you  
this the day before the fair!  
[What does he mean by  
"trained under the Army

**f187v**

"Medical Department"?]  
*What is to be the system of training?*  
I am driven beyond any  
one's strength:  
but would see you to day  
for a few minutes, if you  
wish it, at 6.30 or at 6.

**f188** 6 Aug 1880 R Loyd Lindsay to HV encloses draft for sisters paid by soc

**f189** June 16 1881 HV letter to FN, Last night at Ld Carnarvon's, Sir  
Frederick Roberts told me that he shd much like to call on you. I hope you  
will tell me this evening that you will receive him. I enclose Margt's  
note.

**f190v** NOTES from a meeting with Fryer, ON HOSPITALS DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, see other notes in 47763 f61

Miss Fryer                                  June 9/81  
Infy at Gloucester (Workhouse) Death room  
    put in there to die alone          Sister  
Jas Clark uncle  
    Manchester Miss McKie better than  
Miss Mackenzie, Tents (Probrs) in enclosure  
rain comes thro' --  
    telephonic communication  
Female Medl wards  
    hospital 700 beds most unsanitary  
Erysipelas, Typhoid, Hospl Gangrene  
arising in Hospl  
    food very bad  
"I had always been taught to eat what  
    was set before me" -- Butter uneatable  
meat often

**ff191-94v** NOTES ON RETURNS DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f191**

You would "like to move for a return shewing the  
    "result of this new system", viz. "putting the  
"discipline, as well as the Medical attendance, in  
"Hospitals under the Medical men".  
    You ask me "to tell" you "the words of the Return"  
which it would be "desirable to propose" --  
    I have jotted down some heads --  
    Will you add yours?  
    And then I will add more, if necessary -- & if you  
wish it  
It is so difficult in a Return, where you cannot  
    cross-examine, to obtain all the information you  
want  
Seeing however that great changes have been made  
in the Army Hospital Corps, the return you want  
should show what these changes are:  
    I do not see how to ask the Medical men if  
the Nursing is satisfactory -- Nothing can be got by a  
return of that sort: because it is immediately  
interpreted into hostility -- And whilst the opinion of  
Commanding Officers would be useful, for Mr. Childers,  
he would not let the Ho. of C. see hostile  
inter-departmental remarks, even if they C.O.S. would make any

**f192v**

[2]

Mr. Childers is the only person who could  
 make an enquiry into the Medical Service;  
 & it seems he satisfies himself by consulting  
 those whose whole interest & object is to tell  
 him "smooth things"

**f193**

*B Suggestions for Heads of Return 3/4/82*

*Please return to F.N.*

The number of Army Hospital Corps

----

Number in each grade, i.e. Officers, N.C.O., & men

----

Distribution of Corps at the several Stations --

----

Explain relations between Army Hospl Corps  
 and Army Medical Dept

----

How are the men selected for the Army Hospl Corps?

a. for the Bearer companies? b. for the Hospitals

What training does every man who enters undergo?

a. for Bearers b. for hospital service

What is the length of training?

What is the description & character of training?

a. and b.

Where is the training carried on?

What is the length of service for men in A. Hospl. Corps?

----

What is the system under which the men are  
 moved from Station to Station?

What the fixed period of service if any, at a Station?

How is the promotion effected? How far

~~is it~~ by seniority through the whole Corps?

How far by merit? and ~~if so~~ in this case how ~~far~~ are the  
 promotions fairly adjusted between the men at  
 different Stations?

**f194v** DARK PENCIL AND PEN {IN DARK PENCIL:}

[2]

In what respects is the Nursing by the men of the  
Army Hospl Corps satisfactory?  
in what respects unsatisfactory?

{IN PEN:}

Proposed to ask for two separate Reports  
(besides the Return) by the Army Medical  
& by the Military Officers showing  
the results of the new system, viz. the putting  
the discipline as well as the Medical attendance  
in Hospital under the Medical men --  
and what the changes are that have  
been made or are being made in the  
Army Hospital Corps

**ff195-96v** DRAFT FOR SIR H. VERNEY'S LETTER TO JAMES G. VOKES SEC. of NAT  
SOC FOR AID TO THE SICK & WOUNDED IN WAR DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY  
NIGHTINGALE, dated 7 March 1882

**f195** [arch: Draft for Sir H. Verney's letter to James G Vokes Sec. of Nat.  
Soc. for Aid to the Sick & Wounded in War. Mar. 7. 82]

Dear Sir

I beg to acknowledge your  
letter and to return to you  
the reports which you have  
been so good as to send me  
-- but the reports telling me  
of the Ward training & the  
Lectures, do not inform  
me of all that I wish to  
know, and I shall feel  
obliged to you if you will  
give me information on  
some particulars --

Could ~~we~~ I have a return  
showing

**f195v**

- the names of the Nurses,
- the dates when engaged,
- & when their training commenced
- & the results in each case  
of the Examinations which  
are stated in Dr. Longmore's  
letter as intended to be  
held.

Will you tell me what  
record there is of the  
progress made by the  
Nurses in Ward work,  
& how it is tested?

You inform me of the  
Lectures given but we  
all know that they may

**f196**

be attended without  
profit accruing to the  
hearers unless notes are  
taken showing that the  
Lecture has been thoroughly  
understood.

Will you tell me whether  
notes are made and  
if they are how supervised?

In Germany I have seen  
the hearers of a Lecture,  
one after the other, being  
required to give the Lecture  
That is a true test of the  
Lecture being well drilled in.

Without proposing this, I  
think that the National Aid



**f196v**

Society may ~~demand~~ request some certain proof that Lectures have been understood, & progress in ward work tested -- and then, *after the year's training has been completed*, proof of the results of the training, & the qualifications develop by the training in the Nurses

The Report which you have sent me is dated 7 months since. Can you tell me what has been done since that time?

Subscribers of the Fund occasionally enquire what is done with the money, & I am always anxious to be able to give satisfactory replies --

**ff197-97v** NOTES ON RETURNS PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE**f197**

B	Suggestions	}	<i>Army Hospital Corps</i>
	for Heads	}	11/4/82
	of Return	}	
	& Report	}	

I think the idea of asking for Mr. Childers to procure reports from the Commanding Officers, as well as from the Medical Department, is a very good one: but I think I should feel disposed if it were possible ~~as~~ to endeavour to get the report of the Commanding Officers framed in such a way as to include an opinion upon the present system of ~~general~~ Station Hospital administration

What one wants is opinions based upon facts.

It is not only the nursing but the general supervision of the sick.

What one would like to see in a Commanding Officer's report is a statement of the advantages of the present system over the former system or the disadvantages if any.

I mean apart from the Nursing. And then one would like a further report upon the efficiency of the Nursing system under the Army Hospital Corps.

[N.B. It would be impossible to go back upon the old {PENCIL}

**f197v**

Regimental Hospitals which were as bad as could be.] {PENCIL}

I do not find that I can particularize  
any special heads for report beyond  
those which I have enumerated in  
paper B.

You propose to write Mr. Childers a  
letter to "keep him up" to what he  
promised in the Ho. of C. on Monday night  
April 3: to his 'hon: friend, the member  
for Buckingham'.

writing out & adding to "suggestions" B  
& asking for two separate Reports, (~~not~~ besides the  
Returns), by the Army Medical & by  
the Commanding Officers  
showing the results of the new system  
viz. the putting the discipline &c &c &c  
[see paper B p. 2 (ink)]

**ff198-99v** NOTES ON RETURNS PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE**f198**

6 a.m.

April 14 1882

10, SOUTH STREET, [printed address]  
PARK LANE. W.

Surely the information is yet  
more wanted from *abroad*  
than from home, as the  
Hospital results have been,  
of [**query: if?**] possible, more disastrous  
abroad than at home.

I would therefore omit "in Great  
Britain & Ireland". It is  
like condoning Natal!

Would you specify "the  
Officer commanding EVERY  
Battalion"? It sounds  
alarming. As you said, it  
has much better be left to  
Mr. Childers *how* to do it.  
And unless you say, "every  
Battalion *abroad* & at home,"  
it does not cover the ground.

**f198v**

Is not what you want  
a Report from  
Commanding Officers  
but probably it would be  
done thro' the  
*Lt General Commanding*  
and a separate Report  
from  
Principal Medical Officers  
Of course it would be better  
to have a Report  
from every Commanding Officer  
& from every Medical Officer  
in charge of a Station Hospital.

**f199**

But while it ~~is~~ seems asking too much in a Return  
to ask it from every officer,  
it is asking too little to ask it  
only from *home*.

I have ventured to make  
some alterations.  
Never to ask for an "*OPINION*"  
but for a "statement" or  
a "report"  
Is it not so?  
And never to ask ~~f~~ a leading  
question -- seems a good rule  
But I am quite doubtful about  
what I have written on  
the second side of the "Return"

**f199v**

I wish you could ask  
some M.P. about this Motion  
Pray excuse

**f200** NOTE ON MR. CHILDERS DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
dated 14 April 1882

I think Mr. Childers *could not*  
object to answer the question I wrote  
last about the *punishment*  
(which you said was better)  
He has already said that he will  
give no further information  
to the questions written first

**f201** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (RESIGNATION OF MATRON) PEN  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

London April 25 1887

My dear Sir Harry

Really grieved I am, even  
more than usual, to be entirely  
unable to come to the Meeting  
of our Probationers, old friends &  
new -- because the resignation  
of our dear Matron has taken  
place.

How can we thank her  
for what she has done for us  
-- in our past of 27 years?

How many rise up & call  
her blessed. And may she  
be blessed is the earnest prayer  
of us all as of her oldest friend

Florence Nightingale

**ff202-04** Sept 23 1888 letter to HV from J. Doulton, ought to have written  
long ago but at St T. only time for work, good of him to come and see him  
that Sunday in town, sons; no going to India this winter, an earlier  
applicant got the Simla post; Miss Pringle says wd be glad to have me back  
at St T

**ff205-06** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (TIMES ARTICLE/PIGOTT) DARK PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED ca. 2 MARCH 1889 [5:314-15]

**f205**

Sir H.V. Pigott -- Times  
(but everything is providential  
May we not say that it was  
"providential" -- ~~that~~ this affair  
of the "Times" being so flagrantly  
misled by that poor/miserable wretch,  
Pigott, & going head foremost  
into the trap -- & dragging the  
Govt with it -- providential  
for the Times, & for the world.

No Pope can write with  
~~the~~ a greater tone of infallibility  
than does the Times.

You say truly that the  
Times is the voice of England  
all over the world.

Is it not better that this  
delusion should to a degree  
Jowett {DIAGONAL}  
no other  
paper

**f205v**

cease?

The Times is or might be  
just as aware of the untrust --  
worthiness of its organ at Calcutta  
~~as it.~~ who gives it all its  
Indian news -- & who made  
it make that great blunder  
about Lord Dufferin's last  
speech (at a rowdy dinner)  
as it was not or/but might have  
been of the villainy which  
all the world knew of this  
unhappy Pigott.

Only the Calcutta man's falsifi-  
-cations are not amenable to  
the law -- And Pigott's were --

**f206**

There is no other difference --  
 Yet the Times Indian news is  
 believed by the whole world.

Pigott & the Calcutta man ~~are~~  
 both paid by the Times

It is not that I wish to  
 see any other newspaper  
 in the place of the Times --  
 the leading newspaper of the  
 world.

But surely the state of  
 things is alarming when  
 men, cultivated men take  
 their opinions from the Times  
 -- merely for the sake of talking,  
 they talk Times.

**f206v**

There is no remedy for  
 this -- certainly not the  
 substituting any other paper  
 for the Times -- but the  
 deepening of the education  
 of the world.

~~All~~ the leaders of Education  
 among the cultivated classes  
 will tell you -- we have  
 less vice, less "rows" now --  
 but we have also much less  
 character -- And one main  
 reason of it is: the reading  
 & frittering away of/by newspapers  
 & magazines. People don't read  
 to inform themselves except on  
 certain subjects but to talk --  
 and pray God that  
 if the ~~w~~ Times with its great power

may be reduced to  
 modest

**ff207-08** 2 Sept 1889 Crossland letter to HV and FPV re postponing probs'  
 visit

**f209** March 26 [1890] letter of Theodore Acland to HV re election of treas  
 of St T. Much to be done for the well-being of the hosp and the better  
 application of the funds for the benefit of the patients that it is a  
 matter of the utmost importance to obtain the services of a high minded man  
 with broad views and a clear insight into the best methods of utilizing the  
 forces at his disposal. I trust we have got such a man and we all owe a  
 debt of gratitude to those who like yourself have helped us in our  
 difficulty.

**ff211-13** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (GOD) DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, DATED AFTERNOON 12 MAY 1890 [where?]

**f211**

My dear Sir Harry

I think of you & learn a lesson  
at/of your faith.

I never see a soap bubble when I am washing my hands  
without thinking how good God  
was when he invented water  
& made us invent soap he  
thought of us all & thought  
~~would~~ how he could make the  
process of cleansing beautiful/delightful to  
our eyes so that every bubble  
should show us the most  
beautiful colours in the world.

And it is an emblem of His  
spirit, when we put our own  
into it & handle them too  
roughly immediately they break disperse  
& disperse & disappear-- So I  
try to put as little of my own as possible  
into things

**f211v**

Some Scotch Doctor says wait for  
the buds & the birds & trust in  
God. So I scarcely ever see  
that lovely thing, a bird; without  
thinking: it teaches me to trust  
in God. And I think  
God thought of me & of others  
when he had that tree in  
Dorchester House Garden put there  
-- for the little birds fly up from it to  
be fed at my window -- tho'  
they are often disturbed by the  
crows & the workmen in the  
other houses. I have had no  
end of thrushes & other birds  
besides sparrows this year

**f212**

My mother was so fond of  
these verses

O Lord how happy we  
If we cd put our trust in  
If we from self could rest [?]  
And feel at heart that One above  
In perfect wisdom Love  
Is working for the best  
O let these wayward hearts of ours  
Such lessons learn from birds &  
flowers  
Leave/Bid all things to a Father's will  
And feel/taste before Him lying still  
e'en in affliction peace  
Fare you very well --  
ever yours & hers  
Bid them from self to cease [?]

**f213**

Some of the commonest things in  
the world combined with His light  
-- drops of water, soap bubbles,  
are the most beautiful.

**ff214-15** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (AGING) DARK PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f214**

Gd Duchess of Baden Jan 12/91 Karlsruhe  
New Year: after great trials nothing seems less [1:604]  
impressive than the dates of the Calendar. The flight  
of time increases with age -- more so thro' afflictions  
we may well call: blessed -- as they draw us nearer to  
Eternity. Days & years x x but small influence on our  
grief. Their chief influence is to show us progressively  
the coming nearer of that time which will be at last  
perfect peace -- But first therefore may we be  
thankful for every New Year given to us by God-- Is  
it not a step more & nearer? Is it not *the way down*  
which leads us on? Is it not the blessed tool given to  
the faithful workman to do his work in confidence  
& faith awaiting the words of welcome when work



**f215**

is over & evening's rest will begin?

That God may bless 1891 for you, dear Sir H,  
is a wish deeply felt.

I often wonder whether you feel how much has  
been granted to you in being able to do so much  
good by your words & principles x x

My eyes are very weak, but I have learned  
to thank God that in giving me this heavy cross  
to bear, with so many others, He has prevented  
me from other illnesses & that I am still able  
to do my work & to fulfil my duties which  
are -- who knows it better than you? -- the  
only consolations for suffering hearts *believing*  
firmly *in God's love to mankind*

Nurses -- I think discouragement ought  
never to prevail -- rather ought one to consider  
the difficulties & "ups & downs" as given to us for the sake of  
proving that we think highly of this question

My heart is very sad -- as sad as ever --  
but ever full of peace & quiet under God's  
leading & strengthening hand.

Once more God bless you

**ff216-19v** LETTER FROM SIR HARRY VERNEY TO SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH (NURSING)  
LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED 12 MARCH 1891

**f216**

Telegraph, {PRINTED, DIAGONAL}  
Steeple Claydon, Bucks.

Claydon House, [printed address]  
Winslow,  
Bucks.

*Private* {DIAGONAL}

Dear Sir M H B / *Brit. Nurses' Assocn. Application*

As having been your Parly brother member  
for so many years, I trust that I am not  
presuming too much in writing to you  
about the application of the British Nurses'  
Association to the Board of Trade.

As Chairman of Council of the Nightingale  
Fund Training School for Nurses, I  
am of course deeply interested in the  
whole subject of the training & status of  
Nurses --

And I may be allowed to state to you

**f217v**

[2]

without entering into detail uninteresting  
to you that our whole experience goes  
to this: that the time is yet far off when  
such a proposal as that made -- viz. that  
the Br. N. Assn. ~~should~~ any inexperienced body without being under control  
of any kind shd have the controlling of  
all the Public Registration of Nurses, both present  
& future ~~would be injurious to the best~~  
of experienced Training Schools & ~~Nurses~~ Hospitals --  
would not be injurious to the best interests  
alike of the Nurses who serve the Public & of

**f218**

the Public who need the Nurses

~~Very~~ The strongest reasons for this conviction  
I could place before you: but I am aware  
that you will lay more stress on Medical  
& Technical opinion than on a layman's.

May I therefore ask you to read the  
enclosed letter to me from Sir William  
Bowman, a man whose experience in  
the Nurse Training Schools of various  
Institutions may truly be said to be as  
large as his professional skills & experience

And may I ask that his letter ~~may~~ be

**f218v**

[3]

returned to me?

May I also add with regard to the  
weight you may justly attach to Medical opinions  
that I know that one of the most eminent  
of these who gave his name to the Brit.  
Nurses Assn. thinks ~~that~~ this object of its ~~present~~  
Application to the B of T -- an ~~most~~ objectionable  
one *at present* -- I *believe* that this is the  
case with others of the eminent -- I think it  
very hard on Royalties who wish to do  
that which is right & wise & who when

**f219**

[4]

they seek advice, receive not that *which is the best*, but that *which is acceptable*.

May I hope that ~~the whole ques~~ you will see well to defer the whole question as being premature in the opinion of the best Medical men. At all events, for a time?

Nursing is one of many subjects greatly advance & improved in the last 30 years-- But ~~it~~ will it not take almost as much again before it is so improved & so advanced as to warrant such a

**f219v**

[5]

measure as the Brit. Nurses' Assocn. proposes  
from Sir Harry Verney  
to Sir Michael Hicks Beach  
March 12/91

**f220** March 17 1891 Hicks Beach letter to HV from Bd of Trade re BNA applic for license under section 23 of Companies Act, 1867, to register with ltd liability but w/o adding word "limited"

**ff222-23** FN copy of letter of Hicks Beach to HV, re BNA Mar 17 1891  
The British Nurses' Assoc have applied to me for a licence under Section 23 of the "Companies Act 1867" for permission to register with limited liability but without the addition of the word "limited" to its name, on the ground that it is formed for promoting a useful object.

The application is being strongly opposed for reasons similar to those set out in your letter & Sir Wm Bowman's. At present I cannot say more than this--that these reasons appear to me very weighty and will receive my careful consideration when the time comes for me to decide whether to accede to or to refuse the application

ff224-25 9 March 1891. Bowman letter to HV, see next

**f226** March 9 1891 copy of above Bowman letter to HV, Joldwynds Dorking, re register 45791.

FN pencil note at top:  
Please return to F.N.

I reply with pleasure to your suggestion. No one can doubt the excellence of the intentions of the promoters of the British Nurses Assocn of which I believe the main object is the est of a general reg of nurses, the giving nurses a "legal status" and the obtaining by a charter of incorporation some quasi public authorization on its behalf. But you will remember the course we felt it our duty to take in 1888 deprecating premature precipitate action in this direction, wh seemed likely to be attended with some evil consequences until the educ of nurses and the means of adequately testing their professional qualifications, and esp their personal and moral characters while remaining on the register became more matured and developed in the country. These considerations seemed to us to go to the very root of the matter, and I for one wd deprecate at present the movement for forcing on by any artificial method the rapid creation of a large

registered list of "highly competent" so called "nurses," having what under the circs is and I fear likely to prove a delusive guarantee of competency, the means of really ascertaining "competency" in the best sense not being to any large extent in existence. Quality is that element of the question wh is above all things of greatest consequence to the sick, therefore to the nation, and the power of guaranteeing this can only by slow degrees. Even would be guarantors have still be reared and educated. They cannot be extemporized however good the intention and wish.

**f228** HV letter to FN re Prss Xn April 30 1891 with FN comment on back **f229v**  
My dear F. As you and Princes Christian have the object common to you both, to obtain for the country the best possible nursing, I cannot believe in the failure of your endeavor to do so. Let me propose to you that which appears to me the most likely way to effect it--that you and Princess Xn shd talk it over together. I think that prob you wd not require the presence of any third person, but if you do, requiring inf on some point, wd you not have Bonham carter, or Sir Henry Acland or both in the dining room and ask either of them to come to you in the drawing room in case you want to ask a question. The article in today's Times with Sir W Savory the first name shows that the reg in some form or other will go on. If it does, I wish that it cd be with the princess's name and yours at the head. You and the princess will make it an inst as useful to the country as it can be made. Pray consider my suggestion. My dear F. If your name and the princess's are at the top you will find that there will be a sort of enthusiasm. You and the princess will found an inst most precious to the country, a most noble profession for females. I suppose that you have read the leading article in the Times of the 23 inst....If you write to the princess, you will, of course, refer to th impossibility of going to her of which she is probably aware. H.V.

FN comment, ink:

How are unworthy

Beckwith ("left the Council")

Nurse who chloroforms herself

The "Sirs"

not men of large experience

in Hospital Training Schools

men of great private practice

**ff230-33v** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (PRINCESS CHRISTIAN/BRITISH NURSES' ASSOCIATION) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, black-edged paper

**f230**

10. South St. May 22/91  
Princess Christian  
& Register

My dear Sir Harry

I am sure that you will  
forgive in your kindness a  
very hard driven person for  
not having sooner answered  
your letter of April 30.

It is so very difficult to  
answer except by returning  
to you the letters of Sir  
W. Bowman & Sir M. Hicks Beach  
to you, which I ought to  
have done before -- & recalling  
to you that you have  
kindly added your signature  
to all our Protests & Memorials  
against Sir Wm Savory's &

**f230v**

Pss Christian's most mistaken action-- & by stating that we, the Training=Schools, are not losing a day in trying to prevent this becoming compulsory upon us, & have applied to the President of the Board of Trade to receive a Deputation from us--

It is difficult to answer you, because I must either recapitulate from the beginning or say that the Training Schools will not allow the 'question' to be thus 'begged'.

There is so much of a melancholy farce in the ignorance of the Pss Christian side, scarcely a member of

**f231**

which has any experience of Training Schools, while nearly the whole of the experience is on the side of the opponents, that one gets very sick of this wretched controversy. Still we yearn to stick to our hard earned post, where the fight is well worth fighting; & where defeat would be ruin to almost all we have done.

The farce is e.g. this:  
Sir M. Hicks Beach very naturally points to the *Sir's* (great Doctors) who have given their *names* to Pss Christian & Co -- [I cannot bear using this lady's name.  
B.N.A. -- British Nurses' Association

**f231v**

is the proper name] Another great authority says: "why do not Sir H. Acland & Sir James Paget tell the Princess she must get out of the B.N.A?" to which Sir James Paget answers that he considers himself & the other Vice Presidents as "*irresponsible dummies*". I think I *must* tell the Prest of the B. of Trade that we have it on the highest authority that the Vice=Presidents "consider themselves as irresponsible dummies"! 2. But to be more serious: & say what I am sure you will agree in:

**f232**

[2] <sup>2</sup>

The letters to which you allude -- ~~The~~ letter signed by *Sir W. Savory* & other Medl men, which "appeared in the "Times" of "April 29," states it to be the conviction of the writers "that the sick should be protected from ignorant & untrustworthy Nurses, & that the calling of Nurses should be cleared from those who discredit it". It goes on to say that the "registration of Nurses as carried on by the Association would accomplish that and exactly as the registration of members of other callings has proved to be of similar advantage to them".

This last sentence contains

**f232v**

the whole grounds of our  
difference with the promoters  
of the Register & we venture  
to say that the expression  
of their conviction shews  
that they have wholly  
failed to appreciate the  
causes which have been  
instrumental in producing  
the great improvements  
which have taken place  
in the nursing of the sick  
& in the character & position  
of nurses

I believe you also agree  
with us that as regards  
"training", & "Registration", there  
is no similarity between  
Nurses & "Medical Students"  
& the "members of other callings"  
e.g. plumbers.

**f233**

3. You say that the "Times"  
"with Sir W. Savory's the first  
"name" "shows that the  
"Registration x x x will go  
"on". In one sense it *is* going  
on. You have doubtless seen  
the first No of the Register  
for 1891 with Prss Xtian  
in a policeman's collar  
& shock head on the outside.  
Taking the two largest London  
Hospitals; -- in the Pr. Xtian registered,  
names of the one, nearly  
one third are impostors,  
in one sense or another --  
as appears from the *Hospital*  
Register-- In the other, which  
gives much larger numbers,  
only one third are *not*  
impostors, in one sense or



**f233v**

another-- that is, are "duly  
certificated" Nurses. I have  
sent these papers to Bonham  
Carter, at his desire, &  
cannot therefore enter into  
detail. Besides, we might  
easily get prosecuted for  
libel -- because it is true--  
No INFORMATION whatever  
has been sought from the  
Hospitals.

In another sense, the  
"Registration" "will" not "go  
"on", because we, the Training  
Schools, will leave no stone  
unturned, no *legitimate*  
means, to prevent the B. of  
Trade from letting this Registration become  
binding upon us. And for this  
we have already received your  
help.

**ff234-39** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (PRINCESS CHRISTIAN/BRITISH NURSES' ASSOCIATION) TYPED

**f234**

10 South Street,  
May 22/91.

My dear Sir Harry,

I am sure that you will forgive in your kindness a very hard driven person for not having sooner answered your letter of April 30.

It is so very difficult to answer except by returning to you the letters of Sir W. Bowman and Sir M. Hicks Beach to you, which I ought to have done before -- and recalling to you that you have kindly added your signature to all our Protests and Memorials against Sir Wm Savory's and Princess Christian's most mistaken action; and by stating that we, the Training Schools, are not losing a day in trying to prevent this becoming compulsory upon us, and have applied to the President of the Board of Trade to receive a Deputation from us.

It is difficult to answer you, because I must either

**f235**

recapitulate from the beginning, or say that the Training Schools will not allow the "question" to be thus "begged."

There is so much of a melancholy farce in the ignorance of the Princess Christian's side, scarcely a member of which has any experience of Training Schools, while nearly the whole of the experience is on the side of the opponents, that one gets very sick of this wretched controversy. Still we yearn to stick to our hard earned post, where the fight is well worth fighting; and where defeat would be ruin to almost all we have done.

The farce is e.g. this: Sir M. Hicks Beach very naturally points to the *Sirs* (great Doctors) who have given their *names* to Princess Christian and Co. (I cannot bear using this lady's name, B.N.A., British Nurses' Association is the proper name). Another great authority says: "Why do not Sir H. Acland and Sir James Paget tell the Princess she must get out of the B.N.A.?" to which Sir James Paget answers that he considers himself and the

**f236**

other Vice Presidents as "*irresponsible dummies*."

I think I *must* tell the President of the Board of Trade that we have it on the highest authority that the Vice Presidents "consider themselves irresponsible dummies!"

2. But to be more serious; and say what I am sure you will agree in. The letter to which you allude, "The letter signed "by Sir W. Savory" and other medical men, which "appeared in the 'Times' of April 29," states it to be the conviction of the writers "that the sick should be protected from ignorant and untrustworthy Nurses, and that the calling of Nurses should be cleared from those who discredit it." It goes on to say that the "registration of Nurses as carried on by the Association would accomplish that end, exactly as the registration of members of other callings has proved to be of similar advantage to them."

This last sentence contains the whole grounds of our difference with the promoters of the Register, and we venture to say that the expression of their conviction shews that they

**f237**

have wholly failed to appreciate the causes which have been instrumental in producing the great improvements which have taken place in the nursing of the sick, and in the character and position of Nurses.

I believe you also agree with us that as regards "training" and "Registration" there is no similarity between Nurses and "Medical Students" and the "members of other callings" e.g. plumbers.

3. You say that the 'Times' "with Sir W. Savory's the first name" "shows that the Registration . . . . . will go on." In one sense it *is* going on. You have doubtless seen the first Number of the Register for 1891, with Princess Christian in a policeman's collar and shock head on the outside. Taking the two largest London Hospitals;-- in the Princess Christian registered names of the one, nearly one third are imposters, in one sense or another -- as appears from the *Hospital Register*. In the other, which gives much larger numbers, only one third

**f238**

are *not* imposters, in one sense or another -- that is, are "duly certificated" Nurses. I have sent these papers to Bonham Carter, at his desire, and cannot therefore enter into detail. Besides, we might easily get prosecuted for libel -- because it is true. *No information* whatever has been sought from the Hospitals.

In another sense, the "Registration" "will" *not* "go on," because we, the Training Schools, will leave no stone unturned, no *legitimate* means, to prevent the Board of Trade from letting this Registration become binding upon us. And for this we have already received your help.

But we may fail.

A Memorial on our side, signed by 2 1/2 foolscap sheets of the names of Medical men *of large experience in Nurse-Training Schools* was sent to the chief daily papers yesterday; the 'Times' put it in.

But there are only three "*Sirs*" among the names. And English people look first to see whether there are "*Sirs*." Now

**f239**

it is not the men of large private practice, but men who have worked at Nurse-training, whose names are worth having.

Alas! how unprofitable all this is.

I need not say that much more might be said against the Register.

You say that if my name "and the Princess" were at the "top of the Register, there would be an enthusiasm." I have no doubt of it, felt by the incompetent and the imposter. "You and the Princess will found an Institution most precious to the country -- a most noble Profession for females," you say.

It is "a most noble profession for females" -- *that is* "founded". It will cease to be so if *public* Registers come in between the Nurses and the Hospitals. It will then, will it not? be a "profession" in large measure for the incompetent and the impostor.

**ff240-45v** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY (PRIVY COUNCIL TRIAL/BIRDS)  
PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f240**

10 South St. Nov 22/92

Please {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY, IN DARK PENCIL}

return

to F.N.

My dear Sir Harry

Many thanks for your kind  
& welcome note.

Yesterday was the first  
day of the Privy Council trial  
[R. Charter: Princess Christian/the R.B.N.A.]

We had to change our Senior  
Counsel at the last moment,  
because Mr. Finlay was  
engaged on an Election  
Committee -- And our previous  
four days therefore {therefore IN DARK PENCIL} were, as you may  
suppose, very busy. Sir Richard  
Webster we were fortunate  
enough to have.

Sir Horace Davy (is that  
the right name?) opened the  
Ball on behalf of Prss Christian.

**f240v**

His speech was dull & contained  
only the common-places we  
have heard for a year in  
favour of a R. Charter --

The Judges were  
Lord Ripon who only stayed  
half the time  
Lord Monson (now Oxenbridge  
& two law Lords

-- Hannen &  
-- Hobhouse --

They appeared to have been  
chosen as knowing nothing  
of the matter -- & as *not*  
having been on the Lords'  
Committee on Hospitals --  
Our side Sir Richard Webster  
followed with a masterly  
speech, masterly from being  
that of a shrewd man of  
sense & from his splendid  
(without rhetoric) {IN DARK PENCIL}

**f241**

getting up of our ~~facts~~ case at short notice {case at short notice IN DARK  
PENCIL} &

conclusions -- He put ~~it~~ very  
strongly our contention  
that *character, unregistrable* --  
rather than technical training  
makes the Nurse -- & other  
of our points -- The Judges  
adjourned till Monday  
in the middle of his speech  
where he was saying as  
we do - - - what is the use of  
saying that a Nurse has  
had 3 years' training at  
such a Hospital -- how  
can you certify the Hospital?

He will resume this subject  
& others on Monday.

The Judges asked all the  
questions -- not to the point --  
that you can fancy men  
perfectly ignorant of the

**f241v**

subject to ask -- which we  
have answered over & over  
again --

Monday next is the final  
day. They do not call  
evidence.

Sir R. Webster said:  
"the judges are dead  
against us" -- to Bonham Carter  
at the end of yesterday --

The R. Charter pledges  
itself to admit on the  
Register only nurses of 3  
years' Hospital training  
-- which the Judges pronounce  
could do no harm -- But  
it provides for itself what  
may put into its hands the  
whole control of what  
constitutes training --

Is it not wonderful these  
men do not see this?

**£242**

**[3:436]**

[2]

Well. "we are in God's hands,  
"brother, not in theirs" (the  
Privy Council's).

In all my strange life  
through which God has  
guided me so faithfully --  
[O that I had been as  
faithful to Him as He to  
me]-- this is the strangest  
episode of all --

to see a number of Doctors  
of the highest eminence  
giving their names to what  
they know nothing at all  
about-- Sir James Paget  
told me himself that the  
names were asked for at a  
Court ball, following  
each other like a flock of  
sheep-- to see their Council

**f242v**

of Registration made up of  
Sirs only one of whom  
knows anything about  
Nurse=training --

Sir James Paget himself  
asked me: Why can't  
Nurses lodge out as  
students do?!!

to see all these able, good {good IN DARK PENCIL} &  
shrewd men ignoring that  
such a thing is sure to  
fall into a Clique of very inferior people {of very inferior people IN -- &  
they have let Princess  
Christian fall into such an {such an IN DARK PENCIL} one  
already. She is made a tool of  
by two or three people who almost openly say: "It pays."

"Lift up your heads,  
                                hearts {IN DARK PENCIL}  
ye gates" - - - - "& the King  
of glory shall come in".  
Who is the King of Glory? The

**f243**

Lord strong in battle - - - - -

"O God of Battles, steel Thy  
soldiers' hearts" against  
happy-go-luckiness, against  
courtiership, fashion,  
& mere money-making

on the part of the Nurses & Societies {IN DARK PENCIL}

This trial will cost us

£700 at least. We have

already spent more than £400

If you kindly like to return

this to me, I will finish this

strange story next Monday

**f244**

[3]

*Steeple Claydon*

I grieve that did not see

Lower Steeple Claydon which is to

Church End Steeple Claydon as the Inferno

is to the Paradiso -- nor Guardian Ingram's

foul pool where his cows drink which

I learn from the highest authority was

carried (*not* by angels) straight from the

former ~~place~~ region mentioned. {mentioned IN DARK PENCIL}

I trust that your interview with

Guardian Ingram has brought about

the best results.

**f244v**

I rejoice to hear, thinks *earth closets*

inspected by the Inspector of Nuisances

the only thing.

Rocher's death I am so sorry for [Archer's?]

**f245**

*Birds* I don't believe a word of it,

that Sparrow. Clubs are at an end

and Bird slaughter stopped.

Ask Morey

I saw a sensible diminution of birds

in my *last* few weeks at Claydon

over & above the extraordinary

disappearance of the last ~~few~~ two years

Some species have entirely disappeared.

One wretched half-starved Starling who



**f245v**

came to my window to beg is the sole  
 representative remaining of the splendid  
 crown of Starlings which used to sit or  
 parade along the top of your Church  
 tower -- {DARK PENCIL BEGINS:} I hope Lettice feed the birds --

Please thank Morey for his Telegrams  
 about the pamphlets for Fred  
     ever dear Sir Harry  
     yours in hope & trust  
         F.N.

**ff246-47** LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f246**

Ap 11/93

Thank-you sweet Sir Harry  
     for your Sunday letter -- you  
     say you like to write to me  
 on Sunday, because you can  
 write only what is agreeable  
 to you to write & not disagreeable  
 to me to read. But how or [?]  
 to you to write & to me more than  
 agreeable to read. The effects  
 you are making to bring the  
 K. of h. into secular life.

I know not what the  
 frequent expressions of our  
 Lord about bringing the K. of h. on  
 earth can mean but this  
 when all that we are pleased  
 to call secular life as if it were  
 not all, all God's life, is

**f246v**

brought under God's life,  
 under Christ's rule, then is  
 indeed the K. of h. come *now*  
*here*.

You speak of Mr. Robertson  
 in a way that I am sure he  
 deserves & I ~~rejoice~~ know that you  
 feel.      The sweetest  
 Sunday thing that you  
 could tell me is that his  
 long trial about his house, the  
 ruin to his health & purse  
 that it has been is over--  
 that you mean to build him  
 another at once as you  
 have so kindly said -- Nothing,  
 nothing can make the present

**f247**

house safe to live in --

It is saturated with filth  
& disease.

~~Not~~ It wd give me joy, as  
you are kind eno' to speak about  
this, if you would tell me that  
the new house is to be begun  
directly--

Excuse my writing now  
-- very poorly

£40 a year --

**f248** July 22 1893 Sarah Acland letter to HV for her father, to visit with  
or w/o Mrs Verney; Pss Xn coming to tea with 130 nurses. My father begs me  
to write and ask you if you cd and wd like to come in with or w/o Mrs V on  
Monday. The Princess Xn is coming to us at 4:30 to tea and 130 nurses. The  
latter will be downstairs in the dining room. We are doing this that the  
nurses may have a house of rest and some tea before they leave, and it wd  
not in any way commit you to the assoc. Our notice has been very short, as  
we were only asked last night to do this.

I am therefore going to ask you a great favour Cd you and wd you send us  
some fruit for the princess's tea. There is so very little this year in the  
market that with such short notice we cd not get anything nice and there  
was not time for it to come up from Kilverston on Monday before 4, had we  
asked ..We very much hope you will come to see the princess as I am sure it  
wd please her and coming to our house in this way it wd be to a private tea  
not one of the assoc....Sarah Angelina Acland. My father and I have ...

**ff250-51** [7 Oct 1896] Dear Verney. I stole Irish Times from Miss  
Nightingale to lend you on strict promise (which I made for you that you'd  
return faithfully to her and not let me stand in the dock of her memory as  
a thief. No other copies left!

**f252** pencil note to FN. I have seen Ld Northbrook. Shall I tell you what he  
says?

**f253v** blue pencil note HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

Sir W. Muir	assistance
Mr. Jenkinson	sympathy &
	information
	in India
Sir A. Hobhouse	partisan
with Jenkinson's help	not earnest
	in religious
	matters

Gordon           Comm of Mysore  
T H Thornton DC &       in London?  
Elliott Al       Sen [Ser ?] Famine Comm  
Dr Hunter       not an admirer  
Morley to consult   writes like Defoe  
Editor of Fortnightly  
Mr. Cunningham  
81 Sloane St.

**f254** UNFINISHED LETTER TO SIR HARRY VERNEY PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

My dear Sir H.

I think your note perfectly  
"satisfactory". But I should like  
to see you, please,

**f255** NOTES ON HOSPITALS DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

If it is proposed to have a  
Small Receiving Hospital in the  
town -- and the larger hospital  
outside --

It would be necessary to have as  
the smaller receiving Hospital  
a male division

female division --

?Probationary wards for suspected  
cases of infectious disease

----

In each division -- some surgical or accident cases --  
& some Medical cases --

The numbers to be provided for  
must depend on local condition

----

The operation other than those arising  
from accidents which could not be delayed would be best  
treated in the country division  
of the hospital.

----

**f256** NOTES ON DISEASE DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN, not FN hand

Why not spend the  
money in endeavouring to  
relieve children from  
the diseases incident  
to bad air bad food  
defective light -- and  
resulting from hereditaryism  
(In France there are sea  
side hospitals for this purpose  
which are most successful  
les "Hopitaux Marins")  
Ricketts tuberculosis -- deformed  
limbs are cured by this treatment  
Assistance Publique [blue]  
Berch sur Mer [blue]

**f257v** NOTES DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
Manchester & Liverpool

**ff258-69v** copy of LETTER TO PARTHENOPE Nightingale PEN, original Ms 9016;24

**f258**

Oh my dearest I have had such a day --  
my red Dominical -- my Golden letter -- the  
15th of December is its name -- & of all my  
days in Rome this has been the most happy  
& glorious -- Think of a day alone in the  
Sistine Chapel with E, quite alone, without  
custode, without visitors -- looking up into  
that heaven of angels & prophets. But I  
must tell you how it came about. We were  
to have gone to Albano with the Herberts,  
but Mr B was not well enough, so we gave  
it up, & to compensate me E thought we would  
make a day of it. After going to Gibson's studio  
with him & then putting him into the Sapienza  
to read, (for illness makes no difference with him,  
he can always read just the same). E & I went  
down to the ferry by a little back street in  
Piazza Ripetta, & crossing it, walked by the  
desert way to St Peter's. St. Angelo seems  
to stand here in a perfect waste, though one

**f258v**

is close to a great city -- one only sees the back  
of the Angel, & his out-stretched wings, &  
he looked as if he had just lighted from  
heaven for a moment there -- Oh that he would  
light some day on his ministering course  
in England, coming "to succour us who succour  
want".

We went in at Porta Angelica, & straight up  
the long noble staircase into the Capella Sistina.  
There we were left quite alone, & yet not  
alone, for with an innumerable company  
of angels & prophets we began to praise God.  
Oh my dear for words to describe to you those  
figures -- but there are none, except the own  
words of the men themselves in the prophecies --  
there they are, each breathing the very spirit  
they had breathed in life & handed down to  
us. You see the likeness, you feel sure that it  
was they, that you will know them again.  
I did not think that I was looking at pictures

**f259**

but straight into Heaven itself & that the faults of the representation & the blackening of the colours were the dimness of my own earthly vision, which would only allow me to see obscurely, indistinctly, what was there in all its glory to be known even as I was known, if mortal eyes & understanding were cleared from the mists which we have wilfully thrown around them.

There is Daniel my dear, opening his windows & praying to the God of his Fathers 3 times a day, in defiance of fear. You see that young & noble head, like an eagle's, disdaining danger, those glorious eyes undazzled by all the honours of Babylon.

Then comes Isaiah, but he is so divine that there is nothing but his own 53d chapter will describe him. He is the Isaiah the "grosse Unbekannte" of the Comfort ye, Comfort ye

**f259v**

my people" not of the previous forty chapters.

Next to him comes the Delphic Sybil the most beautiful, the most inspired of all the Sybils here, but the distinction which M Angelo has drawn even between *her* & the *Prophets* is so interesting. There is a security of inspiration about Isaiah, he is listening & he is speaking, "that which we *hear* we say unto you" -- there is an anxiety, an effort to hear even about the Delphian, she is not quite sure, there is an uncertainty a wistfulness in her eyes, she expects to be rewarded rather in another stage than this for her struggle (it is still a struggle) to reach to the Unknown Isaiah knows already, to gain the prize of her high calling -- there is no uncertainty as to her feeling of being called to hear the voice but she fears that her earthly ears are heavy & gross & corrupt the meaning of the heavenly words.

**f260**

I cannot tell you how affecting this anxious  
look of her far-reaching eye is to the poor  
mortals standing on the pavement below,  
while the Prophets ride secure on the  
storm of Inspiration.

I was disappointed at first that my  
Tiburtine Sybil was not there, that I might see  
her again once more, but afterwards I was  
glad, because if it had not been like, it might  
have bewildered me -- & I will tell you in confidence  
that she is not at all like the Delphian,  
she is much taller & older & paler, her hair  
is white & her mantle long & grey, & she has  
dwelt less on the glowing inspirations of Greece,  
& more on the shadowy visions of solitary  
caves & rainbows & twilight hours. The  
Delphian's flushed cheek tells how she has  
fed on the hues of the sunset & gazed at the  
cloudless sun while mine has drunk at the  
cold moon=beam, & her cheek is pale with awful  
visions of the night.

**f260v**

Oh how Michelangelo must have prayed,  
how he must have filled himself with the spirit  
of the prophets, before he could have had these  
forms revealed to him -- how they must have  
welcomed him when he came among them.  
~~Behold~~ Here is one of the servants of the Lord.  
I feel these things to be part of the word of God,  
of the ladder to Heaven. The word of God  
is all by which he reveals his thought, all  
by which he makes a manifestation of Himself  
to men -- it is not to be narrowed & confined to one  
book, or one nation, but all, all by which he has  
vouchsafed to make Himself known to men is  
the word of God surely -- & no one can have  
seen the Sistine without feeling that he has  
been very near to God, that he will understand  
some of his words better for ever after -- & that  
Michel Angelo, one of the greatest of the sons of  
men, when one looks at the dome of St Peter's  
on one hand, & the prophets & martyrs on the

**f261**

other, has received as much of the breath of God, & has done as much to communicate in to men, as any seer of old. He has performed that wonderful miracle of giving form to the breath of God, chiselling his inspiration, wonderful whether it be done by words colour or hard stones.

Are you tired, or shall you have patience to go through the prophets with me? There is Daniel, with one book lying on his knee & copying in it from another, he is evidently sitting with his windows open in his chamber towards Jerusalem, & the hot wind of Babylon is fevering his brow reminding him of the fiery furnace.

Opposite him is Jeremiah, not hearing, not reading, not speaking but plunged in melancholy thought, his head upon his hands, seeking deep in himself the judgements of the Lord of Hosts, & mourning not for himself but for his

**f261v**

people. He seems to be measuring Heaven above, & searching out the foundation of ye earth beneath, to foresee the natural consequences of the sin of his people. He sees deep written in his heart, that the daughter of Zion is become a widow, & that there is no sorrow like her sorrow. The most profound & heart-searching of all the prophets, the bitterest & tenderest mourner (that has ever spoken) over the sins of men, is so well expressed. You see that he is past the stage when he said, Is it nothing to you all ye that pass by? It is nothing to *him* now, all they that pass by -- *they* can add nothing to his bitterness, which sits upon him like a cloud, but even now, when he has no comforter, it is peace to him to acknowledge that the Lord has done it, & that he is righteous.

In wonderful contrast Ezeckiel comes next to him, with a strong & striking character of his own.

**f262**

He is starting from his chair, that impetuous resolute energetic priest, the fearless denouncer of all the sins of his time, who makes no shudder with the nakedness of his exposition of them, who lifts us up with him by the forelock between the earth & the heaven, even as he was lifted up. You see actually before you, the man who conducted himself in his captivity like a king & a judge, who, when his fellow captives came to beseech him & acknowledge his authority, refused to be enquired of at all by them, would only answer them according to the multitude of their idols; the man who defied sorrow & forebore to weep even for the death of his wife, the desire of his eyes; while Jeremiah's eyes would have failed with tears, & he would have poured out his heart like water all the more, because her loss was a foretaste of the destruction of the "daughter of his people."

Next comes Joel, severe & calm, steeled in

**f262v**

his resolution, every emotion & every passion repressed in the sternness of his denunciations -- for as a destruction from the Almighty is it come.

And the remarkable expression of their countenances is that they all read not as if it was their own productions which they were reading, but as if they were reading aloud those of another. There is an expression of eager & fearful *curiosity*. Joel seems to have *just* heard that the day of thick darkness is at hand, the day of the Lord, & therefore irretrievable & inevitable, & to be calling on his people to howl & cry.

With Jonah I was not much edified, he is only the backslider & renegade. But Zachariah, oh how beautiful he is, the old man meekly yet anxiously reading his book close to his eyes, which seem to be deceiving his impatience -- he is just making the great discovery that Immanuel, our brother, our fellow, the god *like unto us*, is



**f263**

also the fellow of the Lord of Hosts, is also like unto Him -- at the same time he is looking upon this our brother whom we have pierced, & his old eyes are mourning for him as for his only son -- he is not thinking of his people like Jeremiah -- but only of him.

I have kept Isaiah to the last, because I do not know what to say about him. I was rather startled at first by finding him so young, which was not my idea of him at all, while the others are old. But M Angelo knew him better, it is the perpetual youth of Inspiration, the vigour & freshness, ever new, ever living of that eternal spring of thought, (the prophecies of the last 26 chapters,) which is typified under that youthful face. Isaiah never grew old, for Genius has no age, while Mind (Zechariah) has no youth. Most of the others are reading, but Isaiah, that greatest of the prophets is hearing -- straight from  
the source

**f263v**

of inspiration the voice comes to him, & he is listening in direct communion with the All-knowing -- his face is serene, secure, without anxiety, without eagerness, he knows that he has found his God, there is no doubt.

How M Angelo must instantly have recognised them all when he met them, spirit to spirit -- how those who are considered worthy one day to do this, will look back & say, I have seen your earthly form before, once even on earth. There are few moments which we shall carry with us through the gate of Death most probably, few recollections which will stand the eternal light which the last moment will throw upon them, but this, I am sure will be one of mine. My first sight of the Sistine chapel will be one of the moments I shall carry with me, & it will be a constant light to the reading of the prophets from this time.

I just looked through that wonderful series

**f264**

of the Creation in the roof -- they are almost too wonderful for mortal eyes, one feels as if with the thoughts of God -- the word *Almighty* seems revealed to one for the first time in the fullest sense capable of being appreciated by mortal minds -- that awful figure separating Light from Darkness, the creation of matter -- & in the next compartment but one, the same figure giving his first statutes & precepts to man, separating as it were light from darkness in him, the creation of mind -- & in the next compartment but one to that, his first fall from light, typified by the story of the apple -- oh why would he do it, he was so full of grateful adoration but one moment before -- & then his expulsion into darkness, the angel still following him with looks of compassion & Eve stricken shrinking, crouching, less with the fear of her punishment than crushed by strong remorse

**f264v**

blighted under the consciousness of her guilt. I only just looked through them. *I was afraid* of coming to the Last Judgement. I really hoped that we should not have light today to see it, but we did come to it. It is all true, I have felt it felt it in myself -- & can be a witness to its truth. In the belief of a "General Judgement" at what is called the Last Day", with humility I feel I do not share. I cannot look forward, I mean, to an actual embodying at a particular definite time, the same for all, of the feeling of Conscience in all our hearts, which puts us now & at once in possession of the Justice of God -- that this becomes an event, that this ideal of the Eternal Judgements takes form, & becomes place & time I have no expectation. This M Angelo's Judgement is to me the form suggested by & representing the *idea* in our hearts

**f265**

(which exists now & always) rather than that this idea prophesies a form i.e. portends an actual event. The idea may be awakened now in some, in others in times to come, & then there will be indeed as the sound of a trumpet in our souls & our dead consciences will indeed arise but there will be no need then of exterior trumpets or tribunals, the tribunal will be between us & our God.

I would not let me stay so that I can tell you very little about this wonderful vision -- besides you can fancy what a contempt comes over one in Rome for our art of words, one has no faith in reading or writing, it seems such a slow & gradual process of representing an idea, instead of bodying it forth at once -- like dressing the Apollo piece by piece in clothes, & then shewing his suit & saying, Look what a fine fellow he must have been, instead of presenting him at once "the

**f265v**

Sun in human limbs arrayed" -- oh it is a melancholy task -- but conceive, for you can, the imagination, the moral daring, so like the Bible's of that man, who disregarding all the rules of composition about the contrast which there ought to be between the blessed & reprobate, absolute rapture on one hand & despair on the other &c &c &c has ventured to shew what seems so much more true, the agony of suspense, the slow awakening, the doubt, the fearful hope & suspense, the intense expectation of what are called the blessed. If I never see it again I can never forget the expression of St Peter, offering his keys -- it is so true -- his utter uncertainty -- have I kept them well oh my Master, have I fulfilled thy intentions? no I have not fed thy sheep as thou didst expect of me, here are the keys of thy fold, take them from me for I am not worthy." This must be all so true

**f266**

This must be all so true, his agony of doubt & humility. St Peter's is the only figure I had time to understand, but the whole effect is one & undivided, & you stand there expecting that your turn will come next.

A great deal was lost upon me for my want of art, & oh how I regret still more that I am not better acquainted with the spirit of the Prophets. So much I felt that I could not enter into those six figures for want of knowing them more intimately. If any one coming to Rome the first thing needful is to be filled with the thoughts & individual characters of the Prophets.

Σ carried me off & (as we wanted to pay a visit to St Peter's after dusk, & it was only 2 o'clock, & we would not see anything else that day,) we went out to rest ourselves by taking a long walk up Monte Mario.

**f266v**

How the dancing fountains played like silver beams, & how brilliant everything looked in the sun lit Piazza, as we came out of the dark Sistine; as if God had dressed his earth to repose the mortal minds of his children, unable to dwell for more than a moment in the mysteries of his heaven. At a little Caffé just behind the Colonnade, we went in, & had a sumptuous vinfresca of caffè nero & bread for five bajocchi; 1 1/4d each & then passing through our dear Porta Angelica (as we were out for the day we determined to do the thing magnificently,) we bought a pocket=handkf=full of roasted chesnuts of the old Crone at the gate, for 2 baj more, & eat our feast all the way up the winding road to Villa Mellini, where we spent an exquisite half hour, mooning or rather sunning about, the whole

**f267**

Campagna & City lying at our feet, the sea  
 on one side like a golden laver below the  
 declining sun, the windings of the Tiber  
 & the hills of Lucretilis on the other, with  
 Frascati, Tivoli, Tusculum (places in  
 whose very name is magic) on their Cypress  
 sides -- for in that clear atmosphere, you  
 could see the very Cypresses of Maecenas'  
 villa at Tivoli -- with long stripes of violet  
 & pomegranite coloured light sweeping  
 over the plain like waves (even E said  
 it was like Hymettus -- one stone pine  
 upon the edge of our Melini hill, & the city,  
 the fallen Babylon, like a dead city beneath;  
 no sound of multitudes ascending, but the  
 only life these great crimson lights and shadows  
 (for here the shadow of a red light  
 is violet) like the carnation=coloured wings  
 of angels, themselves invisible, flapping over the plain

**f267v**

& leaving this trace behind them. We  
 were obliged to rush down as fast as we  
 could, for the sun was setting, & we reached  
 St Peter's just as the doors were going to  
 close, but the Sacristan told us that he  
 would let us out through a side door in a  
 Pope's monument, if we liked. So we had  
 the great Church all to ourselves, & the tomb  
 of St Peter wreathed with lights. And it  
 felt like the times when a Xtian knight  
 watched by his arms the whole night (before  
 some great enterprise) at the Holy Sepulchre  
 & one shadowy white Angel we could see  
 through the window over the great door,  
 (which window as you know is the shape of  
 Raphael's picture of the Deliverance of St  
 Peter by the Angel) & do you know he quite  
 made us start as he stood there in the  
 gloaming. Of course it was the marble  
 statue on the façade; & there two workmen  
 still

**f268**

laughing & talking at the extreme end, & their sounds, as they were repeated under the long vaults, were like the gibbering of devils, & their lanterns as they wavered along close to the ground, like corpse lights. I thought of St Anthony & holy knights & their temptations. And at last the Sacristan took us out of that vast solemn dome through a *tomb*! & we glided out into the silvery moonlight, & home over Ponte St Angelo -- where I made a little invocation to St Michael to help me to thank, for why the Protestants should shut themselves out, in solitary pride, of the Communion of Saints in heaven & in earth I never could understand.

So ended this glorious Wednesday & I must end too. I always regret, my dear love, that it is not you instead of me, who am so little worthy of entering into it.

I have a most curious morning to tell you

**f268v**

of, spent with Mrs Herbert & a real live Cardinal at an Asylum.

Thank Mama for her last letter & give her a kiss, & please write again. I trust you will see my boy during the holidays. I have an anxious heart about him -- See how boys like -- go into Parliament even, so wretchedly & brutally ignorant of the commonest principles. But anxiety is impertinent, as Aunt Mai says, as if God did not know how to drive us. Besides you will want to hear about Rome from Rome.

I have seen the Cenci. You cannot imagine how it makes one's heart swell. I could not live in the room with that picture -- the cheeks are stained with tears, but she is past them now. It is as if she were saying, All will be over soon -- the utter despair -- she has given

**f269**

up by her crime the hope of salvation as well  
as of life -- there is no comfort -- in those  
eyes is the extinction, pang by pang, of  
all desire save that of annihilation --  
Guido does not call upon you to observe  
her youth or her beauty or her intellect --  
there is a creature whom you are to pity,  
that is all, & you go away with an iron  
hand grasping at your heart that such  
sorrow should be upon earth.

There is a Fornarina by Raphael in the  
same room. My dear if I had caught Milton  
in a disgraceful act I could not have been  
more shocked -- but he must have repented of  
it long since, & of all the acts he committed  
upon earth, probably this is the one he most  
wishes to recall. How strange that he is not  
allowed now to destroy the picture -- but he must

**f269v**

have repented of it, or he never could have had  
the Dresden Virgin revealed to him. But one  
cannot look at it twice & I have forgotten  
it already, as he wished me, & as one is bound  
to do in tribute to him!

[end 7:158]

**ff270-72v** LETTER to her sister (VISIT TO GREECE) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f270**

My dearest

[7:364-66]

I kept your birth day in my heart,  
tho' I could not do it upon paper --  
& indeed thanked God for the day that  
you were born,  
seeing that I think the world is a  
great deal better for having you in  
it, as I am sure I am -- & that  
you fulfil your vocation in it. I did  
indeed thank God & meant to have  
written to tell thee so, but could not  
& I am sure you know these are not  
mere words -- April 19 is a very  
blessed day to me & to many others --  
I hope I shall find letters from you  
at Athens --

We are on board the Austrian  
Lloyd "Arciduca Lodovico", a little  
old boat which, in every respect  
deserves the inverse character of the  
fine & fast sailing ship "&c -- seeing  
she makes no way at all, when  
she has a head wind, which she  
always has, & is to be broken up  
next year. But we have had the  
inestimable comfort of being the only  
ladies all the way, & the only  
gentlemen from Brindisi to Corfu --  
so that we have had the cabin all  
to ourselves & lain in all the berths in turn.



**f270v**

But the real reason of our taking  
this boat ~~was~~ (instead of the grand  
Constantinopolitan one) was, that you see  
we certainly should have gone on to  
Trebizond, & been carried twice  
round the Black Sea & then by  
the White sea home -- wherefore,  
choosing this boat which goes to  
Lutrâki, we have this advantage  
that we *cannot* get any further,  
but must run aground -- wherefore we  
have every reasonable chance of  
landing.

We are just arrived at Patras,  
having made the Voyage round the  
world from Corfu to Patras in the  
~~time~~ short space of exactly ten days & two  
hours from the time of starting.

We did not land at Zante, for  
the boat would not let us -- it is  
a lovely town, more beautiful than  
Corfu, which squeezed together,  
looks as if its narrow houses pressed  
out the inhabitants, like two  
sheets of pasteboard, into the streets.

The sun was just setting behind  
the Echinades, as we steered into  
the Gulf of Lepanto -- the first sunset  
we have had, (excepting a very wonderful  
lurid one at Trieste,) for weeks --

**f271**

The finest scenery one ever sees in  
all one's life is what one sees as  
a child on the map. I have never  
seen any scenery like what I used  
to see in Papa's little old torn  
Latin map=book in that dirty  
Greek page, particularly about  
Ambracia & Locri Ozolae. There  
never was any Turner like that map,  
my dear, was there? such fairy tints,  
such dream land, such bays, such  
mountains. Well, do you know I  
have seen that at last again -- &  
this is like it -- really I think  
written a degree of its beauty. It is  
not quite so ethereal, but very nearly.  
Look at that dear old map, &  
you will see what I saw tonight,  
while I call over the places. First  
of all, the whole Gulf was land  
locked with islands like a fairy  
lake. The Echinades, of fairy shapes,  
were fringed with bright trimmings  
from the setting sun Monte Oleno,  
just behind Patras was virgin white  
with snow -- a cold dead white --  
while Parnassus was the most  
ethereal rose=colour, more like an  
Aurora Borealis than stone & earth

**f271v**

against the sky -- or like the veiled  
image of Saïs, as if the spirits there  
would not let themselves be seen  
the snow was reflecting the setting sun  
Just ahead, a bosom in the mountain  
& a few miserable ruins on the shore  
shewed the spot where once Missolonghi  
stood, (I cannot call her poor Misso  
longhi, sure such a gallant feat of  
arms was never seen before), where  
once Marco Botzaris died. We had  
half a dozen palikars on board,  
with their red caps & white sheep  
skin cloaks, lying in a little heap  
on the deck at night, & living on  
a few olives by day. The two projecting volcanic looking cliffs  
beyond  
Missolonghi were all bathed in light  
& just beyond, the two castles of  
Repaetia [?] & the Morea (Rhium & Antirrhium) spread out  
their arms & shut in the bay.  
The hill above the white Patras was  
of that bright etherial violet, which  
I have never seen before except in  
a rain bow, quite un=paint=able  
quite indescribable and the little  
moon above all. But such transparent  
such living tints -- And then ridge behind  
ridge & again behind ridge, not like a  
wall -- but as if all the country were  
mountain & valley, but look in the  
map & you will see it all. And when  
the sun had set, Parnassus grew so spectral

**f272**

& Missolonghi so dark. Sick  
& faint & miserable as you may  
be, you would think that view  
worth going twice round the World  
to see -- ~~that~~ alone, without going  
farther -- i.e. if you have never  
been a child, nor looked in Papa's  
little torn map book --

The snow is quite unprecedented  
as the Captain said - questa  
notte scorsa e la notte ante  
cedente, affiamo avute piogge  
piuttosto dolci -- ma la neve  
non si è liquefatta, per quanto  
era incrudelita. And the wind  
which blew off that snow tonight was  
icy. In January it was down  
to the shore & they say it will  
not melt till May.

We anchored in Patras soon  
after dark -- tomorrow the fine  
& fast sailing ship &c carries  
us on to Lutraki, & Monday  
we cross to Callimaki & so to the  
Piraeus, please God.

And now goodnight my beloved --  
the first Lieutenant was singing so  
beautifully as we steered through  
the Gulf tonight.

**f272v**

farewell my dearest & pray for  
your F.

Remember me truly to Charlotte  
Coltman when you see her --  
suppose you are now in London  
Patras. April 20. 1850.

[end 7:366]

**ff273-73v** LETTER TO PARTHENOPE NIGHTINGALE (FAMILY MATTERS) PEN  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED AUTUMN 1850

**f273 [not FN]**

to write to McCrasken enclosing the Bill of Lading  
& sending the box to  
[illeg]

[FN:]

Things are not all mine --  
I have a list -- [arch: Autumn 1850]

Will you send the bird  
to Margaret Wigram's  
with this note, when you  
reach London -- please --

I will get my petticoat  
made up here -- don't  
Parthe, trouble yourself  
about it --

I found Uncle Sam &  
Shore waiting for me at  
the Amber Gate -- with  
friendly faces -- come to meet me.

Aunt Mai has made  
up her mind to stay here  
for a fortnight -- she thinks  
Miss Hall has been so  
tried by her Tapton visit  
that her health & reason

**f273v**

could not stand another  
such winter without a  
fortnight's holiday &  
Miss Hall joyfully accepts  
Uncle Sam goes to town  
on Tuesday -- Shore has  
had a bad foot for  
Two months -- in consequen{CUT OFF}  
of the accident -- &  
himself proposes to  
see Mr. Poyser -- repor{CUT OFF}  
whom consequently wha{CUT OFF}  
he does depends -- when  
this foot is to be nurse{CUT OFF}  
&c -- I am almost  
certain to come to you  
on Thursday -- but  
should I find I can  
be of use to Aunt Joann{CUT OFF}  
who is rather alarmed

**ff274-74v** LETTER TO PARTHENOPE NIGHTINGALE (FAMILY MATTERS) PEN HANDWRITTEN  
BY NIGHTINGALE DATED JANUARY 1853 **[1:313-14]**

**f274** [Jan 1853]

Tapton Monday 8

Oh my dearest Pop, I wish I  
could tell you how I love  
you & thank you for your  
kind thoughts as received  
in your letter to day. If you  
did but know how genial  
it is to me, when my  
dear people give me a  
hope of their blessing &  
that they would speed  
me on my way -- as the  
kind thought of Cromford  
seems to say they are  
ready to do. I will write  
to Mama about Paris &  
Cromford.

My Pop, whether at one  
or the other, my heart  
will be with thee. Now,  
if these seem mere words,

**f274v**

because bodily I shall be  
leaving you, have patience  
with me, my dearest -- I  
hope that you & I shall  
live to prove a true love  
to each other.

I cannot, during the  
year's round, go the way  
which (for my sake, I  
know) you have wished.  
There have been times  
when, for your dear sake,  
I have tried to stifle  
the thoughts which I feel  
ingrained in my nature.  
But, if that may not be,  
I hope that something  
better shall be. If I ask  
your blessing on a part  
of my time for my absence,  
I hope to be all the happier

**ff275-76** NOTES ON THE ARMY PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE [5:188-89]**f275**

(copy)

Scutari March /56

I have never been able to join  
 in the popular cry about the  
 recklessness sensuality helplessness  
 of the soldier. On the contrary  
 I should say (& perhaps few women  
 have ever seen more of the  
 manufacturing & agricultural  
 classes of England than I have  
 before I came out here) that I  
 have never seen so teachable &  
 helpful a class as the Army generally.

**f275v**

Give them opportunity promptly  
 & securely to send money home  
 & they will use it.  
 Give them schools & lectures &  
 they will come to them.  
 Give them books & games & amusements  
 & they will leave off drinking --  
 Give them suffering & they will bear it.  
 Give them work & they will do it.  
 I had rather have to do with  
 the Army generally than with any

**f276**

other Class I have ever attempted  
 to serve --  
 And when I compare them with  
 the Medical Staff Corps, the Land  
 Transport Corps the Army Works  
 Corps I am struck with the  
 soldier's superiority as a moral  
 & even an intellectual being  
 FN --

**f277** typed copy Lady Verney to Miss Ellen Tollet. Lea Hurst Oct 7  
 [1856].... [re Balmoral] Nothing can have been kinder and more considerate  
 than the Q and both she and the P show such sympathy in her objects as is  
 very pleasant. Poor Papa only went over once, he was so unwell, but he said  
 the queen's manner to her was very pretty indeed and she said all that was  
 kind to him. F has now seen her many times and had a great deal of talk--  
 one morning she came over to call, with duchess of W and 2 babs, in a  
 little open carriage, met F and Sir James who were walking about half an  
 hour from Birk Hall, got out and walked back with them, and then had tea  
 and more talk. We have not heard since F went to Balmoral on Saturday, for  
 the post is a three days one, and it is real business with F you very well  
 know where she is, so that she has no time for gossip, besides that she  
 will be at home before long. We were very uneasy at her being sent for to  
 these distant parts when she so much needed rest, but I believe really that  
 the change has done her good (tho she has been laid up with sore throat)

certainly the sympathy in her objects has helped her and with her you know such feelings overweigh a multitude of physical toils. Moreover the Q's thoughts are more at liberty in the north, she is quieter than in the rush of life in London altogether this is very well. Re Lady Byron ill.

**f279** typed coy of Lady Verney to Miss Ellen Tollet Monday night. -Oct 1856] Andersen's stories, the "Ugly Ducking", reminds me. We are a duck's nest and have hatched a wild swan, yes and are well content and grateful to God for having given us to live with her. No my love I don't' meant to say we have not passed through bitter waters, but the struggle was not very sore to give her up to such a thing as Harley St where there seemed a waste of her great powers and cramping of her great energies, but now it is very different, we have seen her doing what no one else was capable of, and if she had died as she and we thoroughly expected at the toil, we never grudged her for a moment. You cannot think what it is to watch a great mind like hers fully at work and fully equal to that great work. To see each emergency as it arises met and conquered, to see in her great plans for reform and improvement how even each hindrance only seems to serve to give a fresh impetus of power to overcome--if my heart was not in each move of the game it wd be like watching a gigantic game of chess, whereof the pawns were men and the result the lives of thousands. How she collects the honey out of each man's info and sense and binds it up into the whole that is to carry on the work. It is so wonderful to sit by and watch this (tho so much goes on behind that closed door and I in my bed) that I now never for more than a moment regret that she is not my sister any more, but the mother of a great army, one on whom the welfare of 50,000 men has hung to a degree wh you really cannot fancy without going into the details from different people as we have done. How she provided for their educ, for their sending home money for their amusement, for their nursing and comfort--no I feel it a great privilege to be helping even by the negative way of not regretting what one is reduced to when one has 3 weeks bout of the rheumatics.

**ff281-32v** not FN letter, Parthe letter. My dear Don't' lose Lord Panmure please and send me Miss Glascock to answer as I have kept her music. Have you got he good lady's direction who gave you the 1000L. I want it.

Lady Sherborne is not dead but rather better on the whole. The Dunsanys at Hastings for the winter. He not well.

Dr Sutherland does not come till Wed. The Sabins are poor persons that is she has been sick and is better.. He is agreeable and gentlemanlike and seems well at work. He can't get his reading huts lighted properly. Govt or the niggard tack now.

Papa declared that he wanted to overlook your accounts with Uncle S before he sent them. I made them... At illeg the doctors are punished if their patients die, like your doctors who must not try experiments in their patients not sanctioned by Charles II without suffering for it if they die.

**ff283-87** Parthe to My love, You put in no query with Bence Jones, so we did not know that it came from you in any way and we sent it back accordingly. WE know nothing about he 20: this is the first we have heard of it. [early Jan 1857 arch]. List of books, prices.

You are to pay one quarter's account for the two nurse boys. They have been two years here. She doubts about clothes for the other three but it is resolved in your favour.

I beg leave to say that I did my business about the soldiers' books, maps &c at once and put down the list wh Papa sent yesterday at the time. There was a garbuglio about paying it but not in my dept.



**f285** 6" we kept and it was never paid in to Glyn's £5 from a Mrs Ford 1£ Mrs Frere paid in by post office order spent in stationery and pins buttons and needles &c sent out quite early in the day.

I repeat again that you must take 20£ from Mrs Bentinck and put it down to Mr and Mrs R Holland as Miss Stanley took it for her own purposes. Mrs Bentinck had given Mrs Herbert power to do what she liked with it so I believe she was within the bounds of honesty. But this I put down in the list I made at Lea Hurst with Mrs B. I wd like to see the proof sheets of the lists that anything which occurs to us may be put in.

If you have no objection Mrs Holland sent 5L additional for nurses' outfit which Miss Stanley took. I don't think this shd be put down to you.

**f287** My love, Bertha told me that you had a letter from Glascock while I have the music. Therefore I asked for it to answer. We have never had it. You sent Bence Jones w/o a word, so of course I cd not guess you wanted info and forwarded it as a letter wh I supposed you had not seen. We know nothing about it.

Lord Panmure's speech cannot be found. We will send it if it turns up but I told you all. I stopt 3 begging letters in England and one in German from a woman who has plagued us 3 times before.

Papa wants to know when Aunt Mai goes to London. You do not go up there to stay with them, I suppose from what you said here. We hold ourselves in readiness for you.

**f288** [11 Jan 1857 arch] FPN letter to FN re JS hopes to have good news to give him, re plans on commission, MM and Annabel came up for a long afternoon

**f290** Embley Friday [16 Jan 1857 arch] FPN letter to FN from Embley, JS will be at your call on Monday if it suits you. He goes home tomorrow. He is not well nor calls himself better My dear, how strange and original a mind it is. I can't add up my sum a bit or put/mould the drains of Crimea camp and speculate on the Apocalypse in Embley library with the man. However there is the ....

**f292** Embley Thursday Jan before 26th arch; I had rather a cross letter from Mrs S.C. Hall about her own virtue in not having troubled you altho she knew you were in town and supposing we were all

undated letters to my love

**f294**

**f295**

**f296**

**f298**

**f300**

**f302**

**f304-05** Dr Sutherland gave me a great many messages for you. But I think it will be much more satisfactory to you to have it in its own words that I have set him down, .. To tell you his news which sounds to us as pleasant that we hope you will consider it as the first heave of the liver.

He thinks the illegs

Altogether considering that he is ill and has been under influence of low fever for so long I don't think he is likely to see ... I hope you will be cheered by his evident pleasure in the step made and belief that things are much more likely now to make progress. He is very anxious evidently to

see you before the Tuesday meeting of Victoria Hospital. The question of accommodation for nurses &c, whether indeed they are to be, he of course cannot settle without you nor many other things which of course he has put into his note to you.

It is curious that they should have come to their senses about the Victoria so late in the day, however better late than never.

There is one thing I want to say tho I am afraid you don't quite like illeg opinions upon what they don't understand, I feel a little nervous whether people will not say that you are eating into what does not concern you when you open the whole question of army reform, and whether this will not weaken what you say about hospital reform in their eyes, if they say you have ....

Ff306-07 In case you have not come... Lord Panmure's note, we telegraphed this morning: calling in Burl W on Tuesday at 12:30. I keep the note as I cannot help praying that this joined to Sutherland's letter is likely to bring you up. Alas that you shd be so hurried when I dare say that the quiet may be doing you good, at all events is the most calculated to do it.

Mrs Roberts has just been here. She dined with us but wd not stay the evening. Nothing cd be illeg than she was. And telling us so much that was most interesting of those 2 long years.

But this you can conceive.

She is to come to Embley in May, the day we are to settle.

Mr Clark says that Dr Mapleton called to see you here, and he talks of bringing him here if you like it. He says that you like, he thinks and rather sided with him against some of Sutherland's plans for the Victoria. I don't think Sutherland looked at all up to fighting any battles alone. He seemed ill and dispirited but I ought not to tell you this when I want you to stay away. He was more hopeful about public matters than I have seen him.

Ff308-09 My love Tuesday [14 April 1857] M wrote to Panmure as you desired and told him you wd be back the end of the week. I hope you laughed as you read and wrote. Bison for benefit of Telegraph people. I am sorry for the delay as I am afraid it will be you to leave so much going here, but the business you are upon is so important that you cannot not be satisfied that it is *most* necessary among so many thoughts of the necessary.

I shd like you to see Hilary before she starts which is perhaps Sat, but I suppose it is not likely.

The Murchisons want us to drink tea really alone with Livingston. It is wonderful what things that man has done, circling a continent as one may say, think of America going back to Africa forward in the race towards perfection. They used in the interior to sell their children thinking they were sending them to perfect bliss. Now he has quite stopped this.

The Eastlakes make many salutation and wish you wd go quiet to private view of the R.A.

I hope you will have a warmer day than this tho we have no snow as we hear of. We saw poor Rev Mother yesterday and 4 of your sisters, seeming well but they report badly of her. I took some flowers ...the Balfours and Mrs Roberts

f310-11 [beg May 1857] George Spottiswoode wants a sort of matron for his house wherein dwell 30 or so boys and himself. She must be active and conscientious, must understand plain cooking as with assistance she does the de quoi for 30, must look after the linen and the moeurs of 3 maids. They think perhaps you may have one....

There is a Mrs Montagu writes to tell you she is out of place which I dare say you are not at all anxious to hear, wd she do? .. Recommending a Smyrna woman... The Tullochs came to say they were gone out of town for a week if you shd want to say anything. He goes on improving gains flesh and weight says his mother ... It is clear people think that something may be made of the new Parliament, the breaking up of parties is as complete and the individuality greater, so that if Palmerston does not bring in measures he will be past. If he does not give reform in Parl and others, Lord John will come in says George Lefevre. You asking what he hears.

F312 [Aug 1857]

Mama was so unwell that she cd not go down to Palmerstons on Saturday and she seemed altogether so entirely done up that I have carried her off to the Hurst to see what the air will do with her. As Aunt Mai writes word this morn that she is ready to take you up either to London or Malvern, Uncle Sam going to ... To Embley with Bertha and perhaps Shore.

I have sent off two letters of Mr Herbert and a packet from Balfour, nothing from Farr, nor anybody else.

The last of the Londoners go tomorrow and there is no more .... Poor Mum is sadly worn.

F313 Burl. Dearest, we are very unhappy with George's [arch: Georgiana Hurt] account of you. We are ...both her, Mama was too unwell to go to Ravensborne and I did not like to leave her. Mr Clough has been here saying that they all leave Buxton on Friday or Saturday to come to London or elsewhere. Uncle Sam to look after his building, perhaps to shoot at Embley. Aunt Mai wants to go to you. You know how anxious she is to come to you. You know how anxious we are to come to you--telegraph to us if you will have us and we will be off directly. Or Mariette, please let Mariette come. ...

ff314-15 Lea Hurst. My love Aunt Mai writes word that she wd much like to come here on her road and that Georgiana Hurt is with them at Buxton till Saturday, so that it is most pleasant they the shd stop here and you will write word to her what day you wish her to meet you. ... I never say anything so beautiful as this place--the bathing of one's eye s and soul in the green pastures and rushing waters, the wooded hills and the night flowers is something overpoweringly delightful. It certainly wd do you much good if you can manage to give yourself a taste of it some time or other this autumn. I wrote to Sutherland and wife to know if it were possible for you to work with them here or at Embley. |But Mrs Sutherland's letter must have been forwarded to you I think for I have not had it. ... Only an answer to my question about the translation of the Lariboisiere names. They say "Communauté" must mean "Nurses quarters" and that I had better put "manège" simply as they cannot tell what a illeg House has to do on a hospital. So shall I do unless I hear from you to the contrary.. I shall also consider that you want 500 copies of the small size and 700 ?. The blue book ...Ready for your précis whenever that is. Mama is still very unwell but I think mending. We are most ...

F316 re reading Roland. Aunt Mai.

F318 We do so rejoice at each day wrung out of your torturous life tho I fear rest is the hardest work of all to you and that there must be many discomforts to prevent it doing all it shd do. Aunt Mai is gone today, Uncle Sam wanted to be on the spot at Combe for the alterations and wished her to be there too, as it appears all decisions must be made now or never.

The girls follow on Monday... Anne Dunsany . . . The Mohls come tomorrow..

F320 typed Lea Hurst. FPN

f321 My love. Lea Hurst. As I had told Sir James that you were at Malvern and had asked about his return at poor Lady Dunsany's request, I opened this, thinking it must be to me. I am very sorry, no I am not, because I am glad to say that nothing in any letter suggested it...

**Ff323-24** Lea Hurst Monday [ca 5 Oct 1857] FPN to FN One word to say how sorry I am you were troubled by Mr S.C. Hall sending his letter to Malvern. Dr Beddome had asked Mama to give his son a letter to Sir George Grey at the Cape, and she thought if there had been a subscription for you it wd be rude not to notice it to him, so I wrote to ask Mr S.C. Hall the question.

There is a curious question stirring that may get in the edge to the War Office. I meant hat middle class volunteer corps that are proposing to arm if they are allowed to be illeg from their own ranks. It will be difficult to refuse this the feeling seems so general and it illeg make the WO so impopular and yet how can they accept? Every Times is full of letters about it. We cannot help hoping for good out of it. Also fine old Sheffield offering her 500 men is very gallant. It strikes the "Debats" very much as a proof of English illeg Also the generals have been superseded in India for illeg and culpable ..Also the troops at last, Lothian goes on Friday . Calcutta. The other to Kurrache on the 18th To spare the pachas feelings in a disguise of white illeg and white hats. He has been home again for one day. I suppose you have heard enough to rejoice over Havelock's march. My love, but we rejoice if you do not read such exciting things just yet. I write so short thinking you are perhaps best without even letters.

**f325** FPN to FN from Dover St Thursday Well my dear love we have never written while Aunt Mai was with you ... We intended to pass through London w/o telling you hearing how sadly feeble you were and that any small additional load of excitement was to be avoided for you by those who loved you, so that, when we arrived last night and found you flown it was a great joy. Aunt Mai had written word that you were going but not certainly. What a day, how fortunate that you did not wait for it. You cannot conceive anything so pathetic and pretty as the feeling of Manchester for you. As we were luckily out of the scrape I cd enjoy hearing of it, but your representative, Lady Newport (a very sweet looking woman in black) was treated like a saint of the middle ages one day in the Ex and Mrs Gaskell told me we cd have no idea how deep the feeling was for you in the hearts of the people. I tell you dear, because in that stern struggle you are making for the rights of the people it may help you a little know how truly and earnestly they love you. "Let me touch your shawl only" they said, "let me stroke your arm." as they crowded round your representative. Papa and I had made our escape just before, as soon indeed as we heard the illeg of your name. Next day the papers contradicted your being there so there was as much trouble...The Exh was wonderfully interesting and we went about with Miss Stirling (of Paris) Mr Scott, the Gaskells, and Paulina ..such a history of art as I never shall see again and then the portraits are such a history of ones kind in letters of fire and smoke.

**ff327-28** Embley Dec 12 [1857]. Poss by Mary Smith? Many thanks for your Asiatic report wh we read with the greatest interest and your prophetic feeling as to what was coming to pass. Clearly the Brahmins were right, we were unconsciously on the threshold of a new world, new in every point of conduct. I was talking to General Ludlow (who you know did so much to stop

suttee and infanticide) and he said as to stopping the abominable indecencies of the ceremonies, as proposed, it is imposs, it is their essence not their adjunct. He said too most positively (and he is anti missionary and the very reverse of a fanatic) that it was a sore discouragement to be a native Christian, they were not employed by govt in consequence! This must and ought to be altered.

I am very sorry that the horrors which come out in private are worse than cd have been conceived. Such hideous and revolting cruelty w/o object or provocation as makes one ashamed of one's kind. I had rather be cousin to a tiger. You know we are not addicted to making demonstrations of our feelings or fireworks of our sentiments, so we conceal the horrors, cannot bear to enter into them, but nothing you can imagine is too bad and all too well authenticated to leave any doubt. I think the way in wh our soldiers have behaved is quite noble. The streams of people who poured out of Delhi unharmed and the way in which they spared all women and children there, tho they found that the wounded had been burnt alive and torn in pieces and one European woman raving was found naked fastened in the arm to a bastion on which we had illeg. No I do believe our men have acted the heroes and because we don't choose to soil our newspapers with the beastly iniquities of their worse than illeg the French and such like folk who know [?] caves full of Arabs w/o a sigh lift up their hands because we punish such men. The peasants seem to have been faithful and kind almost everywhere except when frightened by ruffians escaped from gaol or infuriated sepoys, and this very morning we recd the thanks of the governor in council to several native gentlemen for their conduct at Benares. The judge there, Mr Gubbins, is the brother of a great ally of mine near here, Mrs Sloane Stanley, and a capital fellow, he made and manned a fort there and kept the whole district in order. Held a hosp in his house and little rajah from the Punjaub who was very fond of him fought by his side, was wounded in the knee, was nursed by him and is one of the thanked, a sweet little fellow. Such stories of heroism we hear, in out of the way districts no one will ever know. Hardly a man or a woman seems to have failed but to have lived or died like heroes, God bless them. We are very uneasy about Lucknow where the women and children have been living in the underground chambers on half rations for so sadly long that it is fearful to think of. Poor Mrs Inglis wife of the commander sent her mother a bit in a quill telling of them and 3 children else hardly anybody has heard a word and all the last telegram did not known since May whether their dear ones were alive or dead. Havelock is a grand fellow, indeed every illeg colonel is worthy a baton in this war. We shall not have honours enough to give. The sepoys fight well and very desperately behind walls.

We have been reading Mottley very diligently to give ourselves a little change at least of horrors. If the author comes to England we shd like to know him much, if he is like his book he must be very ...

**ff329-30** Embley Sunday [Dec 1857] I suppose you think that the person who gave a gift has the best right to that gift. But I am not as literal minded. I have been looking over your letter from Paris July 1 wherein you presented me "with the Genie Adorant which you had long wished me to possess" also "the Sophocles to Mama" when you went to Harley St, I lent it to you to make your room look pleasant but it reverted to its owner when you left that lieu de delices. The bracket is still there.

As I suppose you want it for a present we send up some black marble illeg and candlesticks wh we bought as being the prettiest illeg curtains, but having no memories connected with them may go out into the wide world without regret.

Mama even says you may have the Sophocles, wh she cares for less than the Genie Adorant, but does not like renouncing your gifts at all. We hear such bitter complaints from India of the delays in sending troops, nothing Lord Derby says can be too strong. The utter disrespect of their sufferings by the sailing vessels and not sending by Egypt made men frantic who were fighting for their own and their children's lives at odds of 1 to a thousand. Pan deserved hanging for it, if he is the guilty one, but if he will resign he shall pass out alive you may tell him. The Times is become so sinister [?] that it does not put in these "cries of the Britons" but they are not the less real. Think of the sufferings 5 weeks mt have saved at Lucknow Agra &c. Women and children huddled in closets underground rooms in that intense heat on half rations as we hear of them from private letters.

**f331** Embley Sunday My dearest. We rejoice to hear that you are going to give yourself a chance for we have felt very uneasy at the quantity that you were taking out of yourself. It is the greatest of comforts that you have a remedy wh has succeeded and with that dear one by your side to make all as smooth as can be done. God grant that it may succeed as we all wish. There is such a quantity for you to do in the world that you must not spend your capital in the way that you have been doing, I fear.

I believe that it is better for Mama to put off our coming. She is not fit to move Tuesday as she intended, when she is ready to go however I think the change will do her good, for I think the attack was brought on by overdoing herself. She paid those farewell visits in the village where we have a great deal of sickness, next day I went to spend a couple of hours with Isabella Dalton whose only child has been very ill (the only time I have been beyond the village) and she got into mischief while I was out of the way and was found cutting boughs and illeg all round the houses! (tho not off the terrace) and at night she was quite ill and then came the spasms. Now this sort of chill she wd escape in London.

Dear old Tenboy Pope is dying. I never saw anything more beautiful than that placid patient under old patriarchs and he tells me so much. One learns great things from such "two worlds at once they view, who stand upon the threshold of the new" a deal of "less light comes in at cracks which time hath made." There is a peculiar temerity illeg the outdoor life I believe which ...

**f333** UNADDRESSED LETTER LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED MAY 12, 1861, black-edged paper

Dear

Please tell me any  
changes in your plan  
as I hope to see you for  
a few min: the day you go,  
whatever day it is --

And I hope perhaps to  
see Sir Jas Hope as he is  
so good as to be willing --

Would to-day at 4  
for 1/2 an hour suit him?  
But if he is out for the  
afternoon it is not  
worth while to bring him  
FN -- Thursday would

suit me -- But he will be gone.

**ff334-35v** DICTATED UNADDRESSED LETTER (ILLNESS) PEN DATED MAY 1861, black-edged paper

**f334**

*Thursday*

dictated to me  
from her bed yrday Hy BC  
My dear, I did not know  
that you had been "a case  
"of poisoning by Belladonna"  
"a top of a state of"  
"rheumatic fever for a month"  
[sèc Dr. Williams] -- when  
you are we will compare  
sensations. As for mine  
I did not know that any  
pain could make me groan  
& here was I groaning for  
12 hours aloud, on Monday

**f334v**

night -- I've had  
to send for Willms two  
nights -- Of course  
Willms. does *not*  
acknowledge this to the world  
because he sanctioned  
tho' he did not originate  
the treatment by Mr.  
Brown Sequard --  
which was blistering the  
Spine (with Belladonna  
which is now nothing  
but one raw place from

**f335**

top to bottom" the  
general rash was all  
that appeared to the vulgar  
eye so I suppose it is  
that of wht. you heard --

Had Hilary been in town  
I should have sent for Mr.  
Roberts, who is the only  
doctor who does good &  
no harm, but now I  
am glad I did not.

Neither experience nor  
theory have ever enabled  
me to comprehend the

**f335v**

doctrine that a patient  
is better for having another

disease a top the  
original one, but the  
reverse. I mean to  
put into "the Lancet" "Case  
of poisoning by Belladonna"  
& then Brown Sequard will see  
it & say: "Singular Case"  
"but not well reported."

Thank you very much for the  
Sponges -- Williams  
won't let me have a bit of  
fruit or vegetables now, but  
don't let that stop the supplies  
because I've always plenty  
of folk to give to --

-----  
"now please I'll write to Papa"

**ff336-36v** UNADDRESSED LETTER (INDIAN SEEDS FROM MADRAS PRESIDENCY)  
PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED 22 AUGUST 1862, black-edged paper [1:328]

**f336**

My dear

I send tomorrow by  
Dr. S. a packet of  
choice Indian seeds  
sent me from the  
Madras Presidency

I offered them  
honourably to Mama.  
But she says her  
gardener has no  
idea of gardening  
And yours has.

If you don't  
think so please  
return them *faithful*  
and I will send

**f336v**

them to Wilton or  
to the Belpers.

I suppose they  
want stove heat  
(?)

ever your F.  
Thanks for the grouse

-----  
I write now, because  
Dr. S. is quite sure  
to forget  
Aug 22/62 the seeds.  
And you  
must ask  
for them.



I had a letter from Major  
 Powys Keck's niece, asking me  
 to help a young lady who has had  
 a "*passion*" for "*soldiers*" all  
 her life & wants to "*get her*  
*bread by it*". In profane English,  
 how would you construe this?

**ff337-37v** UNADDRESSED LETTER (THANK SIR HARRY VERNEY) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY  
 NIGHTINGALE DATED AUGUST 24, 1862

**f337**

My dear

I was really not able  
 to give my message to you  
 yesterday to Dr Sutherland,  
 which is to the effect  
 that will you thank  
 Sir Harry very much  
 for beautiful flowers,  
 grapes & grouse & say  
 that I thought he was  
 not going abroad till  
 quite the end of the  
 month & was very  
 much in hopes that  
 I should have been

**f337v**

able to have seen him,  
 if he could have ~~dr~~  
 ridden down here.

As he is abroad  
 only for a few weeks  
 tho', I hope to be able  
 to see him while still  
 here when he returns

I am rather sorry  
 you are not going to  
 see Emily

My love to her

Yours ever

F

Aug 24/62

**ff338-40v** letter (GENERAL BRUCE'S DEATH) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN, black-edged  
 paper

**f338**

Hampstead NW

Aug 27/62

My dear I should be  
 glad if you would  
 send back the Indian

seeds you don't want  
to me. If your  
gardener would ~~put~~ write  
on any, too big for a  
private Greenhouse,  
this same, I should  
be glad too.

Many thanks for  
all things. I am  
indeed very glad of  
~~the~~ grapes & other  
fruit, as it is the only

**f338v**

thing that seems to  
agree. You desire me to say  
this.

Thanks too for the  
shell which makes  
a very pretty vase.  
But it must be  
filled with wet sand.  
For the water runs out.

Thanks for the  
magnificent Gladiolus's/(?),  
which I nourish in  
wet sand.

I had a message  
from Sir Harry yesterday  
by Fletcher.

Where is Emily now?  
& where do they meet?

**f339**

I cannot think what  
you mean by saying 9  
Chesterfd St is "a larger  
house" than yours. What  
can you be thinking of?  
Yours has a whole  
story of "chambres de  
maître" more than  
the other. Your basement  
is about 3 times as  
big. And when the two  
roomed ~~at~~ floor (at  
C. St) ~~even-when~~ is made  
into a four roomed  
floor (i.e. two upper stories)  
the smaller room is  
so small that my  
Walker refused to  
sleep in it. So that

**f339v**

when Papa was with

me, you had to sleep  
in the drawing room  
& your maid in the  
dining room -- & we  
never could lodge Papa's  
man at all -- Whereas,  
at South St, you have  
four good rooms, two  
large & two small,  
(Because you cover the  
stair case), *over your*  
bedroom floor -- 4 or  
5 servants' rooms *over*  
*that* -- & you can put  
a bed in the pantry.  
[32 South St. makes up  
just twice the number of  
beds of the other.] Ever your F

**f340**

Genl Bruce's death is  
the greatest national  
loss we have had  
since Albert's--

The most touching  
letter I ever received  
was one from him  
on his appointment,  
speaking of all he  
gave up for it, of  
the single sense of  
duty which determined  
him, of his unfitness  
for the task, but that  
as a true soldiers,  
he must not shrink.

I think he was of  
the noble Army of

**f340v**

Martyrs. May he  
have his reward in  
the duty for which he  
died being fulfilled  
& in the Prince being  
worthy of such a father [?],  
such a Governor --

I have written to  
Lady Augusta. For Genl  
Bruce once said to me  
that none but I could  
tell how anxiously he  
felt his "trust".

In one short year  
God has taken away  
three men who are  
irreplaceable, Albert,  
Sidney Herbert & Genl  
Bruce.

**f341** black-edged, FPN hand P.S. I saw Harriet at Ambleside this day week and was agreeably surprized to find her better than I had anticipated and quite as full of energy and interest as ever. I had two interviews with her of nearly 2 hours each and the same afternoon and evening. Her niece Jane seems to do very much, but I thought with illeg of Maria. .... Now to business, Mr Villiers and Mr Farnall and in fact their right hand working ..is a Mrs ?? A very valued friend of ours who we had known from a boy he was a lawyer here but Mrs Bouverie knowing his value got him ..for the Poor Law Board where he is most valuable with a kind heart and a good head. I have seen him today and expressed to him how much I wished he cd be once put in possession of dear Florence's views of the poor laws and hospitals, he cd bring them into such practise and she wd be so pleased with his quiet business like way of doing things. It wd not be mere talk and he knows nurses cannot be picked up like daises just where you see them and thinks much may be done by training girls minds to wish to be useful in that way

when they are old enough so as to get a supply from the large orphan and poor law ests proposed for tr when old enough by looking to it as far better and happier than 'service" &c.

I am sure you wd be so pleased with him that I cannot help asking if you think it cd be that she wd see him or that Sir Harry wd judge whether things wd get on faster if she was in communication with them man as he does the work as well as talk about it, and who knows the difficulties and also that they must be remedied. You will wish I was too ill to write so I will only say Adieu. Forgive me my heart is in the thing. Yrs affly R Fowler

**f341v** PART OF A LETTER (FN'S HEALTH) LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED 1864

I am so feeble that the least thing does it. Sir H. Verney came last afternoon, when I did not expect him. I had been working till he came. He was only with me 1/2 hour. But I had spasms of the heart till 7 o'clock this morning. I was not able to be down one minute  
Sir J. Lawrence & Dr. Walker  
{LETTER CUT OFF}

**f342** black-edged, April 20 1865. My dear Lady Verney. I have been poorly or you wd not have been so long at peace I believe I was made by a case from the workhouse where a girl said to be bright and well when she went there was found by her sister little if at all better than when ...

Mr Villiers and Mr Farnall and in fact their right hand working bee is a Mr Lambert a very valued friend of ours whom we had known from a boy, he was a lawyer ...

**ff345-46** ca 6 April 1867 letter of M. Thornton to FPV. If you think Florence wd like to see these letters wd you let her have them. I have scruples about troubling her with anything that is not of supreme importance, but you know she wished to see the former letters of Eliz which had gone back to her mother. And please wd you let these be returned to Mrs Kilvert, 18 Somerset Place, Bath

**ff347-48** FPN to FN [2 Dec 1867] Harry has started the nurses from Gravesend. Wind bitter, hearts cheerful nevertheless. No crying, the cabins excellent--all most comfortable. Harry B.C. was there, Mrs Wardroper and Mr Whitfield. Altogether very successful.

He's only come back just in time for a little food and is off to the H of C. Pray dear have a doctor if you were so poorly yesterday with a mild day what must you be today when the thermometer is down ...30 degrees.

Emily ..coughing. She must be very careful or she will not be able to go with Jenny Lind on Thursday Week. Pray consider that it may save you a long time to have Dr Williams now.

I went in to know whether you wd like some orange jelly or some or some quenelles. You must ask for what you want now for we go on Wednesday...

**f349** pencil note. My dear, I hope you may see me today. To think of you in this grievous sorrow.. Poor work what blow it has had but still it has ...

**f350** UNADDRESSED LETTER PEN & LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  
{LIGHT PENCIL} DATED APRIL 19, 1868 **[1:337]**

FPN

My dear

I hope you will see me today --  
if so what time. Emily arrived last night all safe  
I think  
{THE FOLLOWING IN LIGHT PENCIL -- WRITTEN BY FN:}  
Dearie -- I am so overwhelmed with work -- but can=  
not not wish to see thee on thy birth=day --  
at 3 please -- but not to stay later than 4 --  
or at 4.30 -- Love to Emily --

**f351** FPN Mr Froude says we have a capital article from Miss N and hope for another extremely. May I some day do you think call you?? Mrs Cowper sent me...

**f352** pen Dear Church on Dante is very interesting. It is Mrs Bryer's book.  
I think that our .. Inwood who works for us (and has just done up the back drawing room here) had better polish the ...

**f352v** NOTES ON HOSPITAL LIGHT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

Ward business: the only book

x

" furniture

Ward administration

Hospital "

Principles of Hospital Construction

~~Preventive Medicine has made~~

~~immense strides during the last~~

~~quarter of a century~~

business habit necessary for a

Nurse *in charge*

x What is to be done

Now [**query: how?**] it is to be done

x A Hospl. Nurse

cannot do her

work well

without good

tools

or at least not

so well

**ff353-54** letter not in FN hand, Dictated

Claydon House, Winslow, Bucks 5 June 1887

My dear, Nothing can be better than your inscription, although Harry thinks as I do that 'noble & splendid' had better be left out. Mrs W. is a capital woman, a most efficient worker, common sensible, ambitious, painstaking & successful, but she never struck me as having the noble zeal of self sacrifice or indeed absence of self of for instance Miss Pringle, who I believe is giving up Edinburgh, which she knows & loves for the to her uncongenial I believe difficulties of St Thomas'.

I am grieved that you have lost your old friend Miss Jones. I hope from what you say that she has done great work but her wrecking of the nursing at King's College, which they do not seem to have recovered in all these years, must have been a sore blow, & great discouragement & it is very beautiful of you to have forgotten it altogether.

Poor Mrs Scharlieb. I am so sorry she did not go to you, she must be quite un illeg, she chose her day here & then wrote to put herself off till the Saturday, then she wrote that she was afraid of the Whitsun railroads & put herself off again. I have written to her to come any day she pleases & have had no answer. Poor thing, it s very sad.

Have you seen Grant Duff's Madras lecture, if not I will send it. It is very clever & very wise. that proportion politics should bear to a man's life, the relative values of knowledge & whether a man cannot generally help forward the world better by doing well whatever his hand & his mind have been given to do &c There is as much in those thirty little pages as would fill a year's thought.

We were delighted with Judge Windeyer, he is a splendid! fellow, very strong & very .... he and his wife doing great things at Sydney. They both worship at your shrine in a very touching way. We had Canada last week, a good quiet man but I cannot think what they sent him for he will not set the St Lawrence on fire, they might have sent a better man than some of the delegates considering what trouble we are giving ourselves in England to get hem. Adieu my dear, come soon.

**ff355-56v** LETTER TO LADY PARTHENOPE VERNEY (MOSES AND COURAGE) LIGHT PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE [similar to pen letter in 9012/58, so this  
presumably is the draft] **[1:388-90]**

**f355**

Oct 21/88 I do pray indeed, my dearest Pop, that, as you  
said you "be not dismayed". But God says to you, as  
He did to Joshua, after Moses' death: "Be strong & of a  
good courage, for I am with thee", & thy spirit is heroic.  
I have a great reverence for Moses & Joshua. Seems to me  
that Moses was the greatest statesman that ever lived &  
the most devoted hero. Others select the best tools. He took  
the worst Others have legislated He alone led -- led,  
probably knowing that he never would live to see even the first result of  
his leading. It was as if Cavour had left Turin & Rome  
& had given himself to influence & educate to civilize & lead  
& form into a coherent nation the miserable superstitious  
creatures of the Abruzzi whose name is 'abrutissement' -- or the  
wretched slaves of Africa. [last 6 words dropped from pen version]



**f355v**

That Moses, brought up as a king's son, nursed in luxury, educated 'in all the learning of the Egyptians', should leave all this to go back to a parcel of wretched slaves from whom he had been saved, to head them himself & lead them about for the whole term of his natural life in the desert without a country & die in extreme old age without reaching a country his goal, 'without fee or reward', because he saw that they would be totally unfit without this discipline to become a people at all beats everything we read of in history. And the result is as unparalleled as the preparation -- A nation without a country which has survived every species of degradation & is still the strongest & most abiding element tho' scattered over the whole world in the world

**f356**

Out of it has come our religion --  
It still holds the purse of Europe

Money & spiritual life

To Joshua having, without Moses, to put the key-stone to the organisation of this great work -- comes a spirit which happily for us is very fully described:

Joshua I "as I was nor forsake thee"

"Be strong

"Only be thou strong courageous

[and so you are, my Pop -- "As thy day, so shall thy strength

"be", as you said] "courageous law"

[& how little thy had then to go by, compared to what we have! they scarcely knew that God is the Loving Father]

turn not from it day & night [how little, how

**f356v**

very little they had to "meditate" on at night, compared to what we have -- and yet how very, very few, even of the Sts. & philosophers, think out the plan of the Almighty Father, of His moral government -- or how to manifest it or "observe to do" it "that thou mayest observe  
" whithersoever thou goest"

**ff357-61** LETTER TO FREDERICK WILLIAM VERNEY (GENERAL GORDON) PEN & PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE **[5:504-08]**

**f357**

[arch: London Aug 30/86]

My dear Mr. Fred Verney

Perhaps ~~an~~ my old tie ~~with~~ dating 32 years back with the troops whose faithful servant I have been so proud to be -- coupled with what you tell me is Genl. Higginson's wish -- may be a sufficient reason for sending a few words to those N.C. Officers & men whom I would so gladly meet were it possible upon the General Gordon who so interests us all & whom I had the

privilege to know

What were/made him what he was?  
 courage in so many senses -- The courage of numbers  
 is common. But his was the courage of being quite  
 alone, & courage rising with loneliness. ~~is never~~  
~~failed with him -- not tho'~~ his very friends were  
 enemies. English soldiers are rarely called upon  
 to exercise courage in such strangely isolated  
 positions as Gordon held from first to last.  
 His materials/his rough materials whom he had to organize were for the most  
 part what would be called scamps,  
 but he made them loyal to a higher self while  
 he had his hold upon them. His was the courage of  
 thinking & acting entirely alone under circumstances

### f357v

In China he came into the field to reorganize  
 a defeated mob against troops that had ~~been~~  
~~constantly~~ carried everything before them  
 under an extremely able religious fanatic.  
 He was organizer, commander-in-chief, engineer  
 banker, Commissariat, ~~manufacturer~~ gun & steamboat maker, Arsenal,  
 -- in the Soudan also Civil Governor Genl.

His was the courage of thinking & acting entirely  
 alone, under circumstances of great anxiety, constant  
 danger & overwhelming responsibility.

He was the bravest of men where God's cause  
 & ~~his fellow~~ that of others was concerned -- He was  
 the meekest of men where himself only was concerned.  
 You could not say he was the most unselfish of  
 men: he had no self.

What made him what he was?  
 sympathy in so many senses, care for others --  
 carelessness for self. Gordon's work was a living  
 work of continuous sympathy wherever he was,  
 whatever he was doing -- sympathy with the  
 oppressed in China -- sympathy with the oppressed & the slaves  
 in the Soudan -- sympathy with the miserable at  
 Gravesend & everywhere. It was quite enough to  
 be miserable to be beloved of Gordon. Misery  
 was the safe pass port to his heart.

### f358

His very name was Victory against a hideously  
 cruel rebellion in China & the weary oppression of  
 slavery in the Soudan. Gordon's /fighting was  
 chivalry. ~~As a leader~~ All his exploits were those of a  
 Paladin [?]

They say that fighting is a bloodthirsty trade. With  
 Gordon fighting was ~~his~~ sympathy & benevolence  
 in action. So may it be with every soldier ~~of you all~~  
 like him, every soldier may be & many a soldier is loyal to  
 the highest feeling of chivalry. Rather than fail in  
 sympathy, ~~Gordon he would ever have fallen in fight~~  
 No one had more close & frequent  
 experience of the bloody trade in its most repulsive

form than Gordon.

Who doomed to go in company with pain,  
And fear and bloodshed, miserable train!  
Turned his necessity to glorious gain  
~~And yet~~ never did he fight but  
in the cause of the weak against the strong, of the  
oppressed against the oppressor -- he himself taking  
more chances of death than any other man going  
into action with no other weapon than a little cane.  
~~If he slaughtered thousand,~~  
The lives ~~he~~ of those he took were infinitely fewer than  
the lives he gave.  
If he slaughtered thousands, to tens of thousand he  
gave the blessing of peace & of a rest which he never  
claimed for himself & from his hand spread broadcast  
the gifts of prosperity & wealth ~~of~~ which he would  
never touch ~~a morsel~~.

[3]

Rag I took a poor old bag of bones {IN LIGHT PENCIL}

### f358v

What was it that made him what he was?  
his disinterestedness. The Chinese found & "so convenient"  
to have an honest man who wanted nothing & who  
gave everything -- who cared neither for money nor place.  
His generous expenditure of money, particularly his  
own, & always his own when possible, for other peop{CUT OFF}  
was coupled with a persistent refusal of money  
as a present ~~for~~ to himself -- a refusal which sometime  
risked losing his favour with the highest authorities  
in China. His sense of honour was so keen as to be  
always cutting down the rewards pressed upon him  
for his own services. The Khedive assigned him  
£10000 a year. And he would take only £2000.  
Here again was the sympathy of his nature, for he  
remembered from whom that money was wrung.  
~~Gordon~~ His disinterestedness raised our character in  
the East, alas? so often pulled down by small as [see]  
well as great  
until to many millions of men the word Gordon meant  
chivalry, honesty, sympathy, purity, faith.  
And as these men came to know him, they came to  
trust him with a perfect trust.  
Everywhere he was a man, manly  
dealing with those under him as with fellow men  
Can we all say the same in India?

f359 {[Gordon], [1885 or later] and 86}

[2] [Gordon] [~~1885 or later~~]

86

That kind of goodness, that wonderful combination  
of qualities could not exist with narrowness --  
No one knows to what class of faith he belonged,  
yet the relievers [believers?] of every kind have claimed him  
~~Yet~~ every one knows that every act to him was

a religious act. God was everything ~~to him:~~  
 Gordon was nothing to him. ~~In one's intercourse~~  
~~with him Gordon this, without a word from him,~~  
~~was what struck one most deeply~~

[light pencil] "do nothing of this. I am a chisel which cuts  
 the wood, the Carpenter above directs it".

I have an enormous province to look after  
 but it is a great blessing to me to know that  
 God has undertaken the administration of it  
 & it is His work & not mine

{chisel administrator IN PEN; THE REST OF FOLIO IN LIGHT PENCIL:}  
 chisel I took a poor old bag of bones into my camp a  
 administrator month ago & have been feeding her up,  
 but yesterday she was quietly taken off  
 & now knows all things. She had her  
 tobacco up to the last & died quite quietly.

### f359v

~~A word about Hospitals:~~  
~~his~~

Gordon's battlefield in time of peace was the  
 Hospital, the Workhouse, the slums, the  
 street Arabs, the Ragged schools.  
 His love of the sick & his experience made him  
 of the same profession as I am  
~~For~~ He carried the wounded soldiers in on  
 his back. And he carried the ~~unhappy~~ dying old  
 women slaves & the ~~little children~~ babies into his camp in the Soudan.  
 When he went to Palestine he said to me that  
 if his country demanded no other service from  
 him he hoped to devote a remainder of his life  
 to Hospitals  
 But I know also that the cause of the destitute boys  
 was his. It is just carrying on his own living work.  
 He who took the stray boys at Gravesend into  
 his house & lived with them on the commonest food,  
 nursed them in Fever himself, taught them with  
 the same cool ardour as heled the Forlorn Hope,  
 called them his "Kings", marked the voyages  
 of those he got out in ships with pins on his  
 great map, & prayed for them ~~at every turn~~  
 wherever they were -- has bequeathed to us  
 to carry on for him this work.

### f360

If this movement is to succeed, the intention &  
 the object is to be entirely spontaneous. It must  
 be done by the men themselves. And that  
 alone will do honour to Gordon who was so  
 spontaneous

The heart of every one that is in sympathy  
 with Gordon will be gladdened by seeing our  
 young Prince enter upon the heritage of sympathy  
 bequeathed to him by two living generations  
 of ~~the~~ our beloved Royal Family in identifying himself

so early in his public life with Genl. Gordon's highest work.

### f361

[3?]

If ~~the whole of England~~ all Britain, all the world, one may say, has proclaimed him as the perfect hero, the whole Army has proclaimed him as the ideal soldier -- if proof were needed, is this not absolute proof that the highest qualities & all of them are or may be at any moment required for a soldier's life? [end 5:508]

~~He~~ Gordon was above every thing a soldier & therefore all soldiers will be with us: & vie in doing honour to his memory. His special talents & his special training were those of an Engineer. And those who have had the same training may find a special interest in the story of his life.

That story as told is wonderful, but the story as untold is infinitely more wonderful -- ~~mainly owing~~ He the only man who knew it would never tell it.

Hero worship is the living memory of the best part of a noble life {When one finds such a It is not the concealing {character as Gordon's, of faults {what but good can it do any one to worship it?

**ff362-64** NOTES ON ACCOMMODATION FOR GORDON BOYS DARK PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED JUNE 1888

### f362

D. Galton

Cubic space for 20 boys of 16, each 400 to 500

Window space 1 ft to 60 cubic ft

" 2 ft x 3 ft to each boy sash top & bottom  
or to open entirely  
inwards from bottom

the whole of the window-space ought to be  
available to open - At G.B.H. quite  
insufficient.

He thinks the two iron gratings open into *shafts*?

but says the shafts must be *much too small*.

He thinks there are two ? fire-places to each Dormitory

He discourages Tobins --

but would put Sherringhams -- in the middle, as gratings are at the corners.

Cubic space for 20 boys of 16 each 418 400 to 500

1 ft window space

60 cubic feet

7 windows 4.9 x 4 137 6 3/4 8 to each boy {top & {bottom  
to each boy inch

13 panes open 2.4 x 12 1/2 each 2 iron gratings/shafts 9 x 6

below the ceiling		fire place & chimney
in the middle <i>Sherringham's</i> & <i>Tobins</i>		2 & 2
1 for 10 boys	in each angle	
Average space between	2 4 4	bed space 5 ft. 6 3 ft
	+ 1/5	4 ft 6
at end	3 6	
	Sup space per bed	
	40 to 50	
Width	16 17	
Length	55	
Height	9 6 10	

**f363**

[2]

D. Galton  
 Sup. space per bed 40 to 50  
 Bed space 5 ft 6  
 Space between beds 3 ft  
 " " feet 4 ft 6  
 I Hospitals the beds are placed in twos, which  
 gives on one side each bed a much larger space  
 between beds  
 Width of Ward 17  
 Height 10  
 when new block built boys will be spread out  
 at least for a time. sheets

D. Galton  
 was perfectly aghast at the rolling up the  
 bedding (but I thought showed an unholy  
 pleasure at thus accounting for the ~~bedding~~/"appalling smell").  
 He says: the boys are "quite certain", "as sure  
 "as fate", to have Typhus fever -- that this has  
 been known for 100 years -- to every body but  
 the Gordon Boys authorities -- that the worst  
 epidemic of Typhus ever known was in the Horse  
 Artillery in 180? (~~in the~~/before 1810) *from this cause alone*  
 That in Barracks we roll up the bedding,

**f363v**

[3]

because it is a living as well as sleeping room  
 -- but that the bedding is always exposed  
 to the air first for 1-2 hours --  
 that the Gordon Boys' Bedding ought never  
 to be rolled up at all -- why should it? --  
 it should be exposed out of doors/hung out in the yard -- & then  
 hung up in the Dormitory with all the  
 windows open.

They, the Building Committee, had a Meeting  
 last week -- in which everything *but these things*  
 came out. Butterfield has disregarded all  
 their injunctions -- & actually made the Contractor  
 go right against them. And there is no  
 resource except to cashier B., which Hamilton  
 won't do. D. Galton maintains that

the space I have/he has given above is enough, if only the ventilation is sufficient, & ample opening window-space.

At their Meeting they ordered a Zinc frame

**f364**

[4]

for the windows to open entirely. And there must be more outlet. And then the Bedding rolling revolutionized.

They have also ordered another well -- being aware of the failure of water-supply

Do the boys have a bath every week? On this he insists, of course -- ~~And~~ (besides the green Swimming-bath). And what amount of Lavatory work do they perform?

I am afraid I shall not see him again before next Thursday, at earliest But any questions or answers or commentaries that you will make I will *make* him entertain. (He is going to Paris again) before *Wednesday*

Now, is it not the oddest thing that these men whose business & profession it is to house men & boys should have left all this to your benevolence to do?

**f365** Feb 6 1891 Memo from W. & R. Chambers Ltd to F. Verney, Esq. Dear Sir, The editor desires to return his warmest thanks to you and to Miss N for the correction of which and the info about "Nightingale School" all of which we will utilize as far as space will allow. Yrs faithfully D. Patrick

**ff366-67** to Aunt Florence Fred 18 Nov 1892. I My dear Aunt Florence. I am as ignorant of Cabinet and Privy Council ways in such a matter as this as anyone can possibly be but I jot down the sort of letter to Lord R which it seems poss for you to write. Those who make the request to you shd have found out long ago whether you cd, with propriety, act on it. The part between [ ] shd, I think, be on a separate sheet, signed by you, with the date, to be sent to Lord K or shown to him by Lord R if he thinks well to do so. The rest is your private letter to Lord R marked "private," which however he can show to Lord K. if he likes. Both shd be copied. Maudie or I will do this if you like. I know A. Acland pretty well, and wd ask if he wd see me about this if you wish it. But I shd warn him only I ask to see him.

I am seeing Lord Rosebery today at 3 pm, your ever loving Fred... Don't kill yourself and don't let anyone or anything kill you. To ensure the cabby taking this direct, I tell him he will get 1/ at 10 South St.

**f368** draft letter for FN Dear Lord Ripon Fred V hand

I am not unmindful of the wholesome and necessary restraint wh prevents any judge being accessible to interested parties in an action at law. There is a case coming on on Monday before the Privy Council where there are no "parties" in the usual sense of the word, i.e. no parties opposed to each other whose private and personal interests are at stake. I therefore venture to trouble you with what is not a request but merely a suggestion,

asking you to be good enough to use your own discretion absolutely as to whether it shd be acted on or not. The case is shortly this, whether a Royal Charter--

I am one of those who are opposed to the granting of it chiefly on the following grounds --

My opposition to the grant of the Charter is based as you will see not on any hospital usages or even on experience gained in hosps but on far wider and more general grounds, which affect the employment of nurses in hosps and elsewhere throughout the whole country - -

An urgent request has been made that I shd "introduce" the case to Lord Kimberley. I have not the honour of his acquaintance and if I had shd be the more careful not to approach him without being assured that this cd be done with perfect propriety. The only way in which it seemed poss to me such a request was to appeal to one whose experience [breaks off]

**f369** env Suggestions from F Verney about writing to Lord Ripon.

By Hansom Cab

No 9855

Miss Nightingale

10 South St.

Park Lane

**f370** 30 Nov 1892 Fred Verney letter to FN with enclosure, re General Henderson wants good price, met Lord Ripon these eve at a soirée, spoke to him re Nurses' charter, he said nothing wd be declared before January, thinks he is against her...

I met Lord Ripon this evening at an 80 Club soiree. I said a few words to him about the Nurses' Charter. He said that nothing wd be declared before January. I think he is against you At least so his manner seemed tome

Your loving Fred.

We are going to Claydon on Saturday

**f372** draft ca 1782, A register of nurses may be of two kinds [Fred Verney hand]

**f374** Fred Verney 5 July 1893 Fred Verney letter to FN re charter. I read with the greatest interest the proclamation as to the true effect and construction of the Charter. It is a great public service as it seems to me to put clearly down before the eyes of all including royalties what has and what has not been done. The very words "Royal Charter" seem to suggest a wreck, and it is a good thing to hear that the nurses are stili afloat, tight and trim, and ready for any emergency. Moreover the opposition has evidently succeeded in substance, while the promoters have gained a formal victory. "They have their reward." Your trouble and anxiety and all your work is ending better much than you feared, if not as well as you hoped. Maudie and I are so glad. Your loving Fred

**f376** Fred Verney 13 July 1893 note (presumably at her house) to Aunt Florence. I have just met (at Lord Breadalbane's) and brought with me the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, who wants much to see you about hospital accomm at Edinburgh. Miss Brooke Hunt says she can quite as well see you later. But the lord provost can also call again at 5:30, if convenient to you. I am a DREADFUL culprit, but the L.P. is only in London for today, your loving Fred.



**f378** Fred Verney not. *Private*. The L.P. does not personally approve of the Charter. But as L.P. he has to be neutral. He will come at 5.30. Yr lv V.

**ff379-82** LETTER TO FREDERICK WILLIAM VERNEY (re SIR HENRY ACLAND) PEN & PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, black-edged paper

**f379** PEN

10 South St. August 15/93

Sir H. Acland 7 am

*Strictly Private*

My dear Fred

I am so sorry to disturb you. But I did not see at once the whole consequence to us, last night when you told me that "Sir H. Acland" had, it was said, "written "to the Queen" "or to the Princess Xtian" anent the R. Charter ~~which it is quite for the R. British~~ which has been granted to the Princess Xtian's "R. British "Nurses' Association".

It is quite possible that he has done so. And if he has, it is ~~quite as~~ more than ~~possible~~ probable that he has described the situation

**f379v** PEN

thus: `that he has  
`arranged with me  
`that I will fall into the  
`R. Charter & its dominion  
`over the *whole* body of  
`Nurses after a suitable  
`interview with Pss Xtian  
`in which I should arrange  
`an organisation'.

This is what he said to me himself -- & wrote to me himself the day after he had seen me & I had explained to him that nothing of the sort was possible or desirable or in conformity with our whole standard of action for nearly 40 years.

**f380** PEN

I am really aghast.  
1. Could you tell me whether the (supposed)

letter of Sir H. Acland  
has appeared in any  
*publication*?

2. Could you kindly  
tell me what exactly  
you *heard* that Sir H.A.  
had done?

3. whether from himself?

4. whether perhaps in  
some letter from Sir H.A.  
to Sir Harry?

Or &c &c anything you  
can kindly tell me

---

It is really impossible  
to describe to any one

**f380v** PEN

how wild, impracticable  
& inconsistent this  
excellent man & sincere  
humbug can be.

5. And I am afraid of  
another thing. I told him  
that he was mistaken  
about a certain Queen's  
Jubilee Nurses Committee --  
& that all the work had  
been done by the LAY  
members upon it, Bonham  
Carter &c.

Immediately he said:  
then we will have them  
upon this.

I need not say that  
the most iron refusal was  
given when I told what had  
occurred in Sir H.A.'s interview  
with me.

**f381** PEN

[2]

If Sir H.A. has been mad  
enough to put in his  
letter (to the Queen or --)  
that he has arranged  
this, he has put  
the fat in the fire  
indeed.

I am really so uneasy  
that it overcomes my  
dread of embarrassing  
you to write anything.  
And I shall be truly  
grateful to you to write  
me exactly what you

know.

Perhaps you will *return*  
*this* letter.

Ever, my dear Fred, your loving  
Aunt Florence -- Sir H.A.

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE:}

P. T. O

**f381v** PENCIL

told me himself that he  
was going to write to the  
*Empress Frederick* what  
had passed

And as this was of the  
nature of a private  
communication, & as I  
knew from the E.F.  
herself what *she* thought  
about it, I did not  
interfere.

Is it possible that  
this (supposed) letter of  
Sir H. Acland's was only  
to the *Empress F.*?

It would be the most

**f382** PENCIL

immense relief to me  
if I could think so.  
Nothing can ever shake  
my gratitude to Sir H.A.  
for his immense kindness  
to Claydon--

But I am glad that you  
know something of his  
wild impracticability  
to justify the positive  
*terror* with which we  
regard him & his  
interference & his  
inconsistency with the Court.

*Please reply* F.N.

So sorry to trouble you

f383 Fred Verney to FN 15 August 1893. *Private*. I know about the letter in question from Sir H.A. in a word dropped by my father to me. I do not know to whom the letter was written, or what is in it. From what my father said,...one word. I thought that you must know all about it, as you have so lately been in communication (personal) with Sir H.A. Knowing so very little as this silence wd have been more fitting for me and I am very sorry that I shd have set your dear tender nerves in vibration by an incautious ignorant word spoken at random. It may possibly only be a draft letter, not yet sent, and to be submitted to you before it is sent, if it ever is. When the real activities of an active life become impossible, then it becomes hard for a man who has had a busy mind not to become a busy-body. To know how to be old is a very difficult set of learning it seems to me. Your ever

loving Fred. I return your letter, as suggested. Please destroy this one.

**ff385-94** LETTER TO FREDERICK WILLIAM VERNEY (DISTRICT NURSES) PENCIL  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, black-edged paper

**f385**

*Private* {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY}

[13:889-91]

a.m.  
May 9 5.30 [1895]  
10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE. W.

[printed address]

My dear Fred

*Mrs. Cheadle* was so good  
as to come here yesterday  
Wednesday evening after spending the  
greater part of Monday  
& Tuesday with *Miss Bartlett*  
To our immense relief, she  
reports well of Miss B.'s  
great success with the  
women. I do not mean  
merely in the Lecture  
but in her friendship &  
*practical* influence with  
the Mothers at Home.

**f385v**

She/Mrs. Cheadle defined the difference  
between the two ladies thus:

*Miss Deynes* more refined,  
cleverer -- reads  
*Miss Bartlett*, *chatters* -- but  
is indefatigable, and is also  
in touch with all the women  
-- Mrs. Cheadle said it was  
quite affecting on their way  
in a trap to Chetwods to  
lecture, they passed on the  
road one & another, (up to  
19 instead of 5 or 6, as  
was expected, were at the  
Lecture) all 'cleaned up',  
dressed in their Sunday

**f386**

clothes, on their way to the  
Lecture. The houses are  
from 1/2 mile to 1 mile apart  
-- no two together -- & all quite  
a mile or more from the  
School-room.

The Lecture was practical  
-- "what to do till the Doctor  
"comes."

She describes *Miss Bartlett* --

but this was more  
 particularly at Buckingham  
 -- where they spent going  
 from house to house nearly  
 the whole of Tuesday -- as  
 N. Marston

**f386v**

being received not in the  
 musty parlour but in the  
 kitchen where scouring &  
 cleaning tables &c was going on  
 by every woman coming forward  
 with a bright face to shake  
 hands -- often taking them  
 into the bed-room --  
 consulting Miss B. about  
 every thing -- [one miserable  
 woman whose husband  
 drank was not deterred  
 but cheered up quite lively  
 to consult her too.]  
 Miss B -- seemed to know  
 every poor woman in  
 Buckingham to be her  
 friend -- A curate there is very kind

**f387**

[2]

10, SOUTH STREET, [printed address]  
 PARK LANE. W.

This is what you asked me  
 for -- *history of Miss Mansell*  
 (Mrs Cheadle)

*Superintendt* of District  
 Nurses at the Central  
 Home Bloomsbury -- i.e  
 the "National & Metropolitan"  
 Assocn "for Nursing the  
 "Sick Poor at their own  
 "Homes" -- 1877 to '91  
 14 years  
 then when the "Queen's Nurses"  
 were appointed on their  
 creation to this Assocn,  
 she was appointed immediatly  
 as their *Inspector* -- & remained

**f387v**

a year -- inspecting them  
 at the places where they  
 were first sent, Liverpool,  
 Dublin, Edinburgh & others  
 [But I would recommend  
 if I might, that you  
 do not give exact dates



questioned one of the best women  
 in the class, (a lady), 'what  
 'would you do if a leg were  
 'broken?' 'I would hold  
 'firmly on to the heel &  
 'pull with all my might'.  
 'But', he said, 'if you were to  
 'do that, you would put  
 'the Patient to agony, & probably

Cookery: Bartlett

### f390

'convert a simple into a  
 'compound fracture'. 'O but  
 she said, 'if it were *really* a  
 'broken leg. I should not do  
 'that'!!! 'Then what would  
 'you do'? No answer --  
 Now, this was not the fault  
 of the Teacher, who was an  
 excellent Medical man, &  
 who was standing by aghast  
 at the result of his careful  
 instructions.

My Examiner's conclusion was  
 from this & other things, that  
 the *Ambulance Classes* not only  
 did no good, but did actual harm

Now this tho' it was  
 communicated to me privately

### f390v

could have been communicated  
 to Mr. Soames & others  
 privately if they had sought  
 for it.  
 But this is not the worst. The  
 Teacher has to teach, the  
 Examiner has to examine  
 {CUT OFF} a little book, cost 2, a{CUT OFF}  
 {CUT OFF} little book, which I have.  
 My Examiner had to give  
*certificates of competency* !!!{CUT OFF}  
 call who could answer the  
 questions in this book, which  
 they did *word for word*, having  
 evidently learnt them by rote  
 (as you do a Hymn,) without  
 the least comprehension --  
 Can human stupidity any  
 farther go? than to call this  
 teaching?

**f391**

[3a]

10, SOUTH STREET, [printed address]  
PARK LANE. W.

I return to *Miss Bartlett*

*Mr. Soames*: Cookery Classes

*Appendix A*. I see he says  
the demand for these is  
falling off.

Mrs. Cheadle, as I understood,  
heard the poor women telling  
Miss Bartlett that they got  
more from her teaching than  
from the Cookery Classes.  
One woman said, "the Cookery  
"teacher showed us how to make  
"a little meat pie which cost  
8d. Well, you know, my boy would  
"have gobbled it all up at one mouthful".

["Well, you know," *F.N.* says  
you can get an excellent dinner

**f391v**

whether in town or country  
for a working man for 8d  
as much as he can eat & to  
spare -- on purely Trade  
principles]

Long months ago, I should  
say 2 years, I heard at the  
Claydons that the Cookery  
classes were no use -- the  
dishes were too expensive.  
And this I communicated  
to Margt or ~~you~~, I forget.  
But why does not *Mr. Soames* know this?

The cookery under Miss  
Bartlett which *Mrs. Cheadle*  
told me of, sounded  
nourishing, economical &  
tasty.

**f392**

II

I am the less particular  
about places because  
*Mrs. Cheadle's Report Letter to*  
*you* she says shall  
be ready by Friday tomorrow night  
[I could not prevent her  
sending it to me first. But  
I will forward it to you as  
quick as possible]  
I told Mrs. Cheadle all you  
wished about the contents



of the *Letter to you*

**f392v**

III

I send you back by your  
     desire *Miss Deyns*           }  
         & *Miss Bartlett's* } *Diary*  
*Miss Deyns* has greatly  
 undervalued herself by not  
 putting down her *Invitations*  
 in that column which  
 were *Legion* & *passim*

**f393**

    [4  
     10, SOUTH STREET,           [printed address]  
     PARK LANE. W.

*Mrs. Cheadle*  
 told me a great deal about  
*water supply* &  
*earth closets*  
 N. Marston a pump from a  
 mile to 1 1/2 miles off, I  
 understood, supplies the only  
 safe drinking water -- very hard  
                                 -- constipation  
 little wells in gardens -- very bad  
*Buckingham* -- the majority  
     *earth closets*  
         elsewhere cesspool privies  
 But I leave everything to her  
     Report to you  
 No words can tell her sympathy  
     & her efficiency.

**f393v**

I wish she could have  
 seen *Miss Bartlett* at  
*Winslow*. Then we  
 should have known!  
*If not too troublesome,*  
     *might I have these*  
     *notes back, when you*  
     *have done with them.*  
     *They remind me of things*

**f394**

ever your loving  
     Aunt Florence  
*Is Margt back at*  
     *Claydon* that you  
     write to her to come?  
 And how is she?  
 Excuse pencil

[end 13:891]

**ff395-96v** NOTES ON THE WORKING MAN PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE**f395**

Ld Rosebery's letter 18/8/95  
agree entirely  
but what is the "blessing in  
"disguise"?  
To know what the working  
man is thinking of -- what  
he needs to raise himself -- what he knows  
how he  
can use responsibility  
Ayrshire miners

Yes: the weather cock points  
that way -- but it does not  
make the wind.

They are simply putting the  
working man where capital

very interesting man = knows the  
working men of London & Melbourne  
but not fit for a P Minister

**f395v**

is at the top able to  
lay down the law -- for every  
one -- Emperor of Russia  
raised from the bottom.  
The Millennium -- but  
when is it to come? --  
& how are we to keep the  
worst workman like the  
best --

But we can't blame them  
as thinks it out any more  
than blame a Russian for  
speaking Russian

Cobden Club

**f396**

But Scotland is not England  
The Counties where is the  
highest pay are the most  
drunken (Statistics) --  
Northumberland, Durham,  
Cumberland, Yorkshire  
lowest drunkenness -- Wilts

Well, we know what  
the Working Man's Club in  
Wilts is --

living wage

They want high wages  
not co-operation or  
profit-sharing

Times of 21 "ideal"

**f396v**

Ayrshire -- I felt quite  
cast down at first, as if  
were this Millennium (for  
themselves) this "first charge  
were the Millennium -- *when*  
to be ripe? -- of the most  
educated workman -- one  
might as well try, as  
I once did, to read up &  
teach Fourierism

how long will it take  
to make the change?  
as long as changes take  
in India?

**ff397-98v** LETTER TO FREDERICK WILLIAM VERNEY (WORKING MEN) PENCIL & PEN  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED AUGUST 18, 1895 [5:194]

**f397** PENCIL

My dear Fred

To know what the  
working man *is* thinking  
of -- what he needs to  
raise himself -- what he  
knows -- how he can use  
responsibility -- is surely  
a much deeper enquiry & more  
pressing at the same time  
than mere party  
mechanism.

One of your ablest  
Radical M.P.s came to  
me the other day &  
after discussing the ordinary  
battle-cries of the working

**f397v** PENCIL & PEN

{PENCIL:}

man, began to propound  
the real thing as shown  
by miners in a Scotch  
county -- These people say:  
'they don't want England  
to be rich -- they want a  
better distribution of wealth  
-- now it all goes to the  
"Royalty", which is the 'first  
'charge', -- the manager --  
& lastly only to the miners.  
They want themselves to  
be the 'first charge'.

I was so aghast to find  
that my man seemed to  
think it all right, {PEN BEGINS:} the  
real remedy, & the easiest  
thing in the world -- that  
I did not ask the most

**f398** PEN

obvious questions. (But I  
shall see him again)  
such as is this a sort  
of Land Nationalization  
of Mines

&c &c

II. It appears, however,  
not from this man,  
that all English workmen  
prefer *high wages*  
to any kind of  
co-operation or profit-  
sharing.

And above all none  
will consent to share  
in the loss.

This is characteristic

**f398v** PEN

III. Things might do  
in Scotland, where  
there has been education  
so long, which would never  
do in England, where  
there is still no  
education at all in  
the sense we mean.

Is there any doubt  
that where wages are  
the highest, there the  
Statistics of drunkenness  
are the highest -- e.g.  
Northumberland, Cumberland  
Durham, Yorkshire.

**ff399-402** LETTER TO FREDERICK WILLIAM VERNEY (HOSPITAL NURSE TRAINING)  
PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED ca. 1895

**f399**

My dear Fred

I am a little startled at  
the ~~ignorance~~ a certain want of knowledge  
of Hospital Nurse training ~~of these people~~ --

It is now quite two months since  
Miss Lückes

Matron

The London Hospital

White chapel I  
(you ask for her name & address)  
made out a clear & well  
digested scheme for giving  
Miss Deyns a quite  
exceptional course of  
preparation for 6 months  
as a HEALTH MISSIONER  
to begin immediately, because  
she was told that immediate

**£399v**

action was necessary to save  
Miss Deyns' progress on/occupation  
I don't know whether  
she would take her  
now -- as for October  
I don't know whether she either came or went x

She said that there was no occasion for Miss Deyns to do more than fill up the form which she gave me -- & that she might then come in at once.

All this I wrote to so your  
suggestion to Miss Deyns -- &  
sent her the Form to be  
filled up.

It would all have to be done over again  
x The question is not at all whether there  
are more cases to be seen in

October as whether the exceptional course of instruction will/or can be given

**£400**

[It is true that Hospitals are now so poor that there is perhaps not one except St. Thomas who will not take for money a person for a certain number of months to be made anything a Doctor for India? or to take a Voyage to the moon. But what arrangement is made for their instruction? None can be made & none is made. They are just left to "pick up"]  
To return

**£400v**

The questions now asked  
me are  
if I think there is sufficient  
in Miss Deyns' suggestion to  
make "delay advisable" --

somebody has probably put into her head  
 that she can be taken in any October  
 like a Medical student, completely  
 ignoring the fact that this is an  
 entirely new experiment & a  
 carefully planned one for a *Health Missioner*  
 It will be obvious to every  
 one that Miss Lückes would not  
 have taken the trouble she had  
 as a mere matter of business  
*with a stranger for any stranger*  
 my party            6 months' training

**f401**

[2]

"Begin her course at once"  
 if even that be yet possible.

Miss Lückes *is* the only  
 Matron I know who would  
 have done or proposed what  
 she was then ready to do.

I am asked  
 II "how the arrangement  
 should be actually made?  
 Is the Matron now ready  
 to hear from Mr. Williams  
 our Secretary?  
 The arrangement was made  
 of course No fault of Miss Deyns  
 one question  
     But I cannot at all  
 say whether the Matron would

**f401v**

now be ready to confer  
 with a stranger as she  
 did 2 mos ago with a friend  
     I must answer by another  
 question  
     Has Miss Degns sent in  
 her form, filled up?  
     Will she accompany it  
 with an ~~apology~~? explanation  
 of Delay  
     The best way probably  
 to send it thro' me --  
     But I have not a moment  
 to spare &  
 II my party  
     You are well out of it

**f402**

It is most difficult  
 to advise

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:}

If it is etiquette  
     assert subtlety  
 Mr. Williams it may be  
 It is very unlikely that a lady  
     so supremely busy as  
     Miss Lückes with  
     some 200 Nurses  
     shd remember  
     exactly an  
     offer made  
     so long  
     ago

{END OF DIAGONAL WRITING}

I have pointed out the  
 difficulties -- but none  
 would be more disappointed  
 than myself if it were  
 entirely to slip thro' --  
 And none seem less to  
 understand the position than Miss  
     D

**ff403-04v** LETTER TO FREDERICK WILLIAM VERNEY PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f403**

*Health Missioners* April 29/96  
 10, SOUTH STREET, [printed address]  
 PARK LANE. W.

[6:621-22]

My dear Fred

The very day that you  
 told me Miss Degns would  
 have nothing more to do  
 with Hospitals, I wrote  
 to the Manchester lady  
 I told you of, Mrs. Redford,  
 who is the working member  
 of the Manchester & Salford  
 Health Society, & also of  
 their *Health Visitors*, (who  
 answer to our Missioners)  
 & is also a Guardian.

She has sent me  
 a great deal of very  
 valuable information --

**f403v**

[you know I always  
     thought it a complete  
     non-sequitur -- training  
     *Health Missioners* in  
     Sick Hospitals]  
 how they train them -- &c  
 their *Health Visitors* work  
 under the Medical Officers  
 of Health. They seem

to me the most sensible  
 people I have met with.  
 In some respects a town  
     like Manchester is more  
     easy to work than a rural  
     District. But they are  
     much more ambitious

**f404**

than we are. However I  
 hope we shall rise to them.  
 The two great enemies of the  
     poor, they say, are  
 1 Overcrowding  
 2 *Personal* uncleanliness --  
     And they are now trying  
 to organize a system of  
 penny *baths* -- one bath to  
 every \_ \_ \_ \_ of population  
 They truly say that  
*personal* cleanliness is  
 impossible to many poor  
 women -- many have never had  
 a bath in their lives.

As you are returning to  
 London & as I am very  
 busy, I only tell you now

**f404v**

that I *have* this inform  
 =ation, in case I should not  
 be able to go over it  
 with you. Their Reports  
 are interspersed with  
 storiottes, as all Reports  
 should be --  
 In short, they are the  
     antipodes of the Technical  
     Record.  
 But -- they have the difficulty  
     which has encountered us  
     in London. If the poor  
     people complain, the  
     landlord just turns  
     them out.  
 I wonder whether Mrs. Redford  
     was Miss Ramley Wrigh{CUT OFF}

**ff405-06v** NOTES ON DISTRICT NURSES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f405**

*Fredk V.* } p.m.  
             6.30      Nov. 24/98  
             Thursday  
             10, SOUTH STREET,    [printed address]

[13:897-98]



PARK LANE. W.

List of *District Nurses* (London

X Miss Perssè 7 see p.2

4(?) Randolph Road

Edgware Road

Paddington & Marylebone

& Kilburn: St. John's Wood

(all trained by Edith B.C.

& Miss Johnstone)

- Hampstead

- East London District Assocn

Miss Cairney

- Holloway - Miss de Lüttichan

Miss Myers

1 Edgware Road: Miss Perssè

2 Camberwell Home: Mrs. Minet

10 years ago

#### **f405v**

Miss Perssè not to say why is wanted

whether Health Lectures

are given -- by the Nurses

or by the ladies

relation to clergy?

to the lady?

President or Chairwoman

of the Committee

wk

manual work

not part of the bargain

Huxley's Essays

3/6 each

Science & Christianity

#### **f406**

Visiting lady to be in connection

with Hospital. Hospl to

tell what child should have

what qualification ~~has~~ is the

Lady Supt. supposed to have?

not paid

[would not do to have any

unpaid]

pay your ladies x

immediately under the

organizing Secretary Miss Pycroft

x under the

in touch with the M.O.s of Health

#### **f406v**

[2] (1,2,3 all have}

5 Nurses }

3 Bloomsbury Sq. | most excellent

Miss Hughes | Nurses

Miss Gray | \_\_\_\_\_

36 Lectures 3 x 12

---

Country } see Miss Perssè  
 x 2 in Lancashire 7  
 1 Doncaster  
 1 Gateshead on Tyne  
 Emily Knight  
 1 East London Association  
 1 Miss Perssè  
 1 Swanage District Nurse  
 Midwife  
 Cottage Hospital

---

7

all trained by  
 Edith B.C.  
 & Miss Johnstone

[end 13:898]

**ff407-08v** LETTER TO FREDERICK WILLIAM VERNEY (HEALTH VISITORS) PENCIL  
 HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE **[6:578-79]**

**f407**

March 1900

And this is not mere  
 words 10, SOUTH STREET, [printed address]  
 PARK LANE. W.

My dear Mr. Frederick Verney

I send/you have my warmest/heartiest  
 sympathy if sympathy can be sent in the plan of  
 having Health Visitors for  
 London not to scold  
 the people for being dirty  
 but to show them how  
 to be clean & to win them  
 to ~~being so~~ be clean.

To find ~~or~~ and to train  
 the necessary ladies to do this is of  
 course the necessary beginning  
~~preliminary~~. Sympathy &

**f407v**

tact in which ~~you~~ one can  
 can hardly be *trained*/taught  
 = it must be natural --  
 the necessary qualification

It is of more value  
 than many 'rubies.'  
 [blue pencil] But the Health Visiting  
 has been done in a  
 great & busy town in England  
 with success -- of independent  
 people  
 population  
 It therefore can be done.

**f408**

*Private*

My dear Fred

You have a great & noble plan before you to carry out. But pray be cautious. "Rome was not built in a day". You are young in the work -- a great advantage in some respects. Who was it who said that he would give all his acquirements to be young? But we must not teach our "grandmothers" to suck eggs". Our own

**f408v**

Our own dear & noble Queen was young ~~w~~ at her accession to the throne but she made Lord Melbourne her tutor -- yet gave him up tho' with tears when he could not/ceased to command a majority x -- And he retired. Don't say: `that's all an old story isn't it? ~~it~~? The Radicals originate -- but the Conserva=tives steady & ~~make form~~ carry out & confirm You must have money. And it must come from private sources. And I hope to contribute, tho' my contribution {WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE:} must be very small

x It was perhaps the noblest act in her noble life

**ff409-09v** LETTER TO MAUDE (NURSES) PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f409**

*Ladies for Mr Morant 8/12*

Dearest Maude

Could you kindly tell me (I can remember *what* you said but am afraid of confusing the names)

which was the one you said	}	
you liked the best -- Mr. Morant	}	Miss Crichton
the least	}	the only clean one.

which was the one you liked	}	Maudie liked Miss
but was dirty	}	Allnutt next to Miss Crichton

did you like Miss Shakespeare	}	Maudie did not
very much -- only she would	}	like her at all.

have Miss Allnutt whom you didn't	}	F.W.V. liked her
		a little
which was the one who was on	}	Miss Cooper
every Council in Europe, and would	}	Maudie did not
only go for 3 years to Siam	}	see her nor did F.W.V.

which was the one of whom Mr. Morant	}	
said he foresaw when she would not	}	Miss Allnutt
stick to Agnostics on	}	

&c	&c	&c	Miss Anderson
----	----	----	---------------

F.W.V. has not seen Miss Crichton  
 or Miss Allnutt. He has seen Miss Shakespeare  
 Miss Anderson not without Miss Allnutt  
 Girls High School FN  
 Banbury Road Oxford

**f409v**

she was able to make the very best of her rather unpromising pupils *by winning their enthusiastic affection*

a patient *tact which divines & does away with the difficulties* of her class

apt & ready to take hints

her *sympathetic & affectionate interest* in her pupils & her power of *finding means to raise their moral tone, to excite their interests & to*

**ff410-11** LETTER TO FREDERICK WILLIAM VERNEY (MATRON'S DUTIES IN GORDON BOYS' HOME) PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

**f410**

I must remind you of the great difficulty of making rules *now* instead of at the beginning &

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE:}  
 yet more of enforcing them on Major Collins, & Sub official

{BACK TO NORMAL:} n.d.

My dear Mr. Fred

The conversation, as far as I can remember, with Genl Higginson, about what the Matron of the Gordon Boys' Home was to do was as follows:

that she was to be called to any boy taken ill ~~in the~~ at night in his Dormitory -- that she was to have the power of inspecting the Dormitories occasionally at night -- [I can hardly believe that what you first discovered could ever have been had she had it] -- that any boy on first

arrival where it was judged necessary should

**f410v**

spend a few days in the Hospl under inspection  
that she should be brought into contact with  
the boys in every way -- she would of course  
with those who do fatigue work in the Hospl --  
that the boys with cut fingers, colds, heads (sore) & stomach aches  
should go to her in the Hospital without  
being admitted if unnecessary as Patients

2. that she should inspect the general kitchen  
& make varieties in the diets -- on this Genl.  
Higginson laid particular stress -- according  
to the time of year -- & in the modes of cooking  
-- see to the serving -- & making the most of things

of fats [?] &c &c  
of the meals, that it  
should be nice, clean, hot & palatable &c &c  
I particularly remember Genl Higginson's  
saying all this con amore

3. that she should have an eye upon  
the work in the General Laundry

4. that the Matron shd exercise some supervision over the boys' underclothing & its mending

But we were told he thought all the mending was done in the ? Tailor's shop or Laundry

**f411**

[2]

Fred

But I am bound to say that Genl Higginson ~~made~~ had so many qualifications that at the time I felt certain that little or nothing wd be carried out -- Eg as to 1. he said that if she were given any power in the Dormitories that was infringing on & lessening the responsibility of the N.C. Officers in charge of Dormitories as to 2. which Genl Higginson was most strenuous about, I heard afterwards that G.B.H. had

## f411v

changed

Add Mss 45792, correspondence with (Uncle) Samuel Smith 1856-61 ff1-253, microfilm, 253 folios, 138 pages, Adam Matthew reel 27

**ff1-2v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MONEY MATTERS) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f1**

<sup>2</sup>  
Scutari  
B. Hospital  
Jan 6/56

Dear Uncle Sam

As you are so kind as to say that you will undertake my Money Concerns, tho' I really think you hardly know what you have thereby offered, I send you the First Fruits in a week's Money Orders for soldiers & women.

They are individually in not such small sums as usual.

The ~~small~~ (under £5) sums I pay by P.O. Orders & the larger ones in any way your prudence directs. I enclose a Cheque for £248 -- the overplus of £1.6.0 I have allowed for the price of P.O. Orders --

Harry Carter or Parthe will,

-----  
I shall be too glad to give £6.6.0 or £8.8.0 (whichever you think proper) to the Clerks at Glyn's for their former trouble about  
small cheques

**f1v**

I feel like a culprit in detaining your wife, my dear Aunt Mai. And I am sure you must look upon me as such.

With regard to the sums for Savings Banks herein inclosed, those for the *Atherstone* Savings Bank Mr. Bracebridge will pay in & then is an enquiry for one "Book" at the *Bloomsbury* Savings Bank for a sum £10 which he paid in -- which must be ~~paid~~ made of him. The sums for the *Oxford* Savings Bank must be sent to

Miss Felicia Skene

18 Beaumont St

Oxford

who manages those matters there

**f2**

I am sure, help you.

And Harry Carter must, I believe,  
be a man of business. For I can assure  
you that the boxes he has sent me  
are the only ones which have not  
cost me hours of unnecessary labor.  
Because he has given me Invoices  
of the Contents of each box,  
announcements of the same per  
"Ossian" -- & Bills of Lading -- One of  
his Boxes per "Ossian" is still missing.  
But, as I had the Bill of Lading,  
I could claim it -- & shall presently  
get it from Balaclava -- Otherwise  
I could really state that the things  
which go astray & are lost -- & the  
things which I have to search for  
all over the two sides the Bosphorus  
make the time lost to me not worth  
the contents of the Package. The Nurses'  
Clothing sent out by Ly Canning & Mrs. Bracebridge (which arrived  
here  
6 weeks ago) has |  
not all turned up |  
yet |



**f3** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MONEY MATTERS) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

Dear Uncle Sam

I enclose Treasury Bills  
to the amount of £150 which  
please pay into my Account  
at Glyn's -- I will explain the  
necessary ~~Account~~ complication of my  
Accounts, (by which I am compelled  
not to do as you advise with regard  
to the different Balances to be  
kept at Glyn's & Hansen's)  
another time. What I have to  
do now is to keep a good Balance  
at Glyn's

Believe me  
ever most truly & gratefully yours  
Florence Nightingale

Scutari

Jan 10/56

**ff4-4v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MONEY MATTERS) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f4**

Scutari Bk Hospl Jan 14/56

5

Dear Uncle Sam

I send home a Treasury Bill  
for £50 to you in this cover. Last  
week I sent home 2 Treasury Bills  
for £100 & £50 to you -- & previously (to  
Mr. Bracebridge) one for £500 -- I should  
like to acknowledgements to all these.  
I of course retain their Duplicates.  
Wishing to have as little money as  
possible at Hansen's, Constantinople,  
I shall employ this method of sending  
home money, of which I have always  
a great deal too much in my  
quarters. The Government is now  
in my debt £1100, which it  
has never paid me -- & I see no  
signs of its doing so. The "Times" Fund  
is also in my debt between £400  
& £500, unless it has paid it into  
Glyn's -- The excessive complication  
of my Accounts owing to almost

**f4v**

every Department here, from Queen  
Victoria down to my own Staff,  
making me their real Banker  
& overdrawing their Accounts, is  
obvious -- I am happy however  
to be able to add that the only  
accounts which have been made up & gone in  
to Government for the past year  
from any Department here have been  
mine.

Dear Uncle Same believe me

ever yours

Florence Nightingale

**f5** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MONEY MATTERS) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

I also enclose Scutari  
a Cheque for Jan 24/56  
£25 also to be  
paid into Glyn's --  
Two Hundred & Twenty Five Pounds in all  
Dear Uncle Sam

Will you please pay  
the enclosed Treasury Bill  
for £200 to my Account  
at Glyn's? This is the  
best means I have now  
of sending home money.  
The Purveyor still owes  
me £1100. I don't &  
won't believe in Peace.  
Do pray promise to recal  
your wife, my dear Aunt

**ff6-7v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MONEY MATTERS) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f6**

~~18~~

Scutari

Barrack Hospl

Feb 7/56

[14:329]

Dear Uncle Sam

I enclose a Cheque  
for the amount which  
you state (in your  
letter of Jan 25) that  
my Father has paid  
for me, for which I  
am most grateful.  
But I will observe  
to you that it is of  
rather more importance  
to me to have the  
Accounts forwarded  
to me than it is to  
any of

**f6v**

those who suspect  
others of putting the  
Sum of Two Pence into  
their own pockets  
(which is what I  
have just been  
complaining of the  
Govt for towards me)  
because these Accounts  
are the only Invoices  
I ever receive. My  
only Packer is Myself --  
And I leave you to  
conceive what the  
labor is -- without  
Invoices. For instance,

**f7**

the beautiful *Groombridge*  
box I put off unpacking  
for twenty=four hours,  
in order that it  
might be possible for  
me to be present  
myself -- It was im=  
possible -- The Scutari  
authorities then fell  
upon it (with my  
permission) & tore  
it piece from piece  
i.e divided it  
among themselves --  
leaving the refuse for  
my beloved Crimea,

**f7v**

for whom I meant to  
keep the best<sup>x</sup> And to  
this day I do not know  
what the Contents were,  
nor to *whom* is gone  
*what*. For our authorities  
are far too unbusiness  
like to account for  
anything -- And if I  
were to wait till I  
have time to make an  
Inventory, the winter  
would be lost

**[end 14:329]**

Many thanks for  
your letter which I will  
answer at length. Yours  
ever gratefully F Nightingale  
x & of whose wants I am  
much better able to judge  
than these are

**ff8-9** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MONEY MATTERS/PEACE/SULTAN) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY  
FN

**f8**

~~16~~

Dear Uncle Sam

I enclose a Cheque for  
Seventy Pounds & the P.O.  
Orders you are so good as  
to take the trouble to forward.  
Among these is one from  
a German of the German  
Legion, to a Madame  
Hagendorf at Berlin,  
for One Pound, which  
perhaps Harry can  
contrive to have paid  
by the kindness of some  
one at Berlin perhaps  
Leonora Pertz. I enclose

**f8v**

the man's letter to Madame  
Hagendorf, which gives,  
of course, his name to her as  
in this case his name  
is no use *for the P.O.*  
*Order.*

I shall never believe  
in peace till I see the  
last man embark for  
England & then I shall  
believe in it still less.  
We shall have as  
iniquitous a Treaty as  
that of Vienna in '15.  
The Sultan going to Lord  
Stratford's ball, the first  
time of such an event

**f9**

has made a great  
sensation. Perhaps we  
shall yet live to see him  
take his rank among  
Xtian potentates &  
behave like a civilized  
ruler. It was really  
a great event --

He goes tonight to  
Thouvenel's ball also --  
ever yours truly & gratefully  
Florence Nightingale

Feb 4/56

**f10** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (REMITTANCES FROM SOLDIERS IN BALACLAVA, SCUTARI  
& CONSTANTINOPLE/BRIDGET TURNER) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

Scutari Feb 18/56 ~~20~~

Dear Uncle Sam

The men *rush* to the P.O. Pay Offices  
now established by Govt at Head Quarters,  
Balaclava, Scutari & Constantinople.  
Yesterday £400 were remitted home from  
this Station alone -- a convincing proof  
that it is all nonsense the stuff which  
officers talk about soldiers' recklessness.  
In consequence, your shop is falling off  
which I am very glad of -- tho' in one  
sense, I think it bad, as it used to [cut off]  
give me a chance of getting at the hea{ [cut off]  
of the "well" men, more than the Port  
Serjeant does.

Bridget Turner is to be found, I assure  
you. For I have seen many letters from  
her, acknowledging my remittances. Pray  
try again. It is a very pitiful case.  
I send now another £1 for her with  
the direction which has *always* found her.  
The remittances sent home thro' Pay Master  
never reached her & an infant died (of  
poverty & neglect).

Ever yours gratefully

F Nightingale

Turn Over



**ff12-16** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MONEY MATTERS/STOVES & SOYER) PEN HANDWRITTEN  
BY FN, in Goldie 219

**f12**

Scutari B.H.  
3/3/56

Dear Uncle Sam

1. I enclose a Treasury  
Bill for £500 -- I  
have another in my  
pocket, but which  
I think better to keep  
for an emergency.

By writing a most  
impertinent letter to the  
Purveyor in Chief, to be  
transmitted to the  
Examiner of Accounts  
in London, which is  
the only way I find  
at last to treat these

**f12v**

people. I got by return  
of Mail £1100 of the  
£1500, which has  
been accumulating as  
due to me since  
June/55. The quibble upon  
which it was withheld I have not time to tell.

I will not submit  
to the impertinence of  
these War Office  
Clerks, of whom one  
John Milton is the  
chief-sinner. If these  
cringing officials out  
here would keep as  
steady a tone, they  
would not be *made* to

**f13**

cringe as *they* are.

But how am I  
reminded of S. American  
slavery in my official  
life. Could you but  
be one half hour behind  
the Medical scenes as  
I am. In the list  
of Medical C.B.s, I  
see but one name  
of those who nobly,  
humanely & stedfastly  
withstood the prince  
of Red Tape & inhuman  
routine, *Sir John* Hall.  
With this one exception,  
all those who have

**f13v**

been thus rewarded  
have been *Sambos* &  
*Quinbos* to *Legree*.  
I cannot think that,  
of you knew the things that  
I know, have seen  
with these eyes &  
heard with these ears,  
you would think these  
words too strong. ~~Oh~~  
What honest man can  
ever care for official  
honors again. Life is  
so hopeless in official  
trammels. I doubt the  
Decline & Fall of the  
British Empire is at  
hand.

**f14**

2. I am so tired of  
that Talbot of Peterboro',  
who has written to  
Mr. Herbert, ~~you~~ Mr.  
Bracebridge, (I believe  
to you) & to me about  
the £1 his son never  
gave me, drunk it, I  
suppose. After I  
had received four letters  
on the subject, I got  
hold of the son, who  
told me a very long  
story about it, gave  
me £1, which was transmitted  
same day by me to  
you. I wish you would  
tell this to any of the above who may ask you.

**f14v**

3. The General Commg  
& I have been both too  
busy this last week  
to look for (or *copy*)  
the *copy* in his possession of a letter of  
his to Mrs. Bridgeman,  
when she went up to  
Balaclava -- which is  
a complete answer to  
the unworthy cavil  
made at the W. Office,  
as you state it to me,  
about "Miss Hutton  
having given her sanction  
to Mrs. Bridgeman's going."  
In that letter, the  
General Commanding,

**f15**

(backed by the Ambassador)  
informed ~~her~~ Mrs. Bridgeman that "a  
great irregularity had  
been committed by her",  
that "his permission,  
which was the only  
one to ask, had never  
been asked", but that  
"he thought it best,  
at the stage at which  
matters had arrived,  
not to stop their  
passages, to the Crimea, as he  
otherwise would have  
done". These were  
as nearly as he & I  
can remember, his  
words. But I see

**f15v**

so little use in dragging  
up all this history  
again that, had not  
this aggression been  
made by Dr. Hall (& even  
by the War Office) the  
*excuse & motive for*  
*farther aggression &*  
finally, as Dr Sutherland  
states, for rooting me out  
of the Crimea, I should  
have taken no farther  
trouble of recapitulation.  
The General Commg states  
that Miss Hutton never  
had or never exerted any  
authority over Mrs. Bridgeman  
at all. Believe me  
ever yours faithfully & gratefully  
F Nightingale

**f16**

4. Will you please  
send me out, as soon  
as may be, the Account  
paid by Papa for me  
for Stoves &c  
amounting to £160  
& odd?

It is, of causes impossible  
for me to arrange my  
Accounts at all till  
I know the items of  
this. Nor should I have known  
the sum but from you.

Half the Stoves are  
going up to day to  
the Crimea, viz. 20 --  
Soyer having been directed  
to prosecute his operation

F.N.           there.

**ff17-18v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (UNSUPPORTIVE WAR OFFICE) PEN, blue paper,  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN Goldie 224-26

**f17 33 {SIDEWAYS}**

**[14:350-51]**

Dear Uncle Sam

I am very anxious to correct  
a false impression which seems to exist  
in your mind, that I have had a  
steady & consistent support from the  
War Office -- that, such being the case, I  
kick against every prick -- & am unduly  
impatient of opposition, inevitable in  
my or any situation, to my work.

The facts are exactly the  
reverse -- I have never chosen to trouble  
the W.O. with my difficulties, because  
it has given me so feeble & treacherous  
a support that I have always expected  
to hear it say, "Could we not shelve  
Miss N.? We dare say she does a great  
deal of good But she quarrels with  
the authorities & we can't have that".

I have therefore fought my  
own battles -- not only as I can truly  
say, unsupported by any official  
out here, with the exception of Genl.  
Storks, so that I was amazed the  
other day at getting the loan of the  
little Govt tug for carrying goods --  
but exposed to every petty  
persecution, opposition & trickery  
that you can mention.

I have never had time to  
keep any records whatever except in

**f17v**

the way of accounts. But I should have liked to have left some record of the way in which officials can torment & hinder a work.

And, as they now see, torment, not only unmolested but rewarded, as every man who has been in any way instrumental in our great calamity, has received promotion or honors.

I will give you the slightest, pettiest instance of the hindrance which the pettiest official can make out here, if so minded.

When I came out, an order to furnish me with money was, of course, forwarded from the W.O. to the Purveyor here. I have never availed myself of this to the amount of one farthing. On the contrary, they have been frequently in my debt to the amount of £1500. But the Senior Purveyor at Balaclava refuses to cash my Cheques, for no other reason discoverable than the love of petty annoyance & the hope of injuring my credit, in the minds of ignorant servants.

As I think it is a pity that he should have the pleasure of doing this, I now send up *cash* to the Crimea or take it.

**f18**

Otherwise I could, of course, if I chose to complain, get an order to compel him not to refuse my Cheque.

This is the little Fitzgerald, who, after a course of successful villany, has like id genus omne, been promoted to be Depy Purveyor in Chief, with back pay & all his little soul desires. This is Dr. Hall's doing. But his is only one specimen of the promotions.

I do not like to use hard words -- But I have no time to give the facts which would support them. But even to Sir J. McNeill's Report I could add a few facts which, if they were told (I being now one of the oldest inhabitants in Scutari & the Crimea) would make us feel that the times of the Scribes & Pharisees were nothing to these.

This little Fitzgerald has starved every Hospital when his store was full -- & not, as it appears from ignorance, like some of the honorable men who have been our murderers, but from malice prepense.

I know that you think the credit of a wild imagination belongs to me. But I cannot but fancy that the W.O. is afraid of the Irish Brigade -- and I know that Card. Wiseman, who is supposed, right or wrong, to have



**f18v**

some influence over Hawes, has been busy in this matter.

A "sot" in the hands of "habiles méchants" can do much, as I know to my cost. And perhaps you do not know that Card. Wiseman has publicly, in his Indults, noticed with praise Mrs. Bridgeman's Insurrection -- Now Mrs. Bridgeman & Fitzgerald are one.

Fitzgerald topped up, with his "Confidential" Report against me -- for which he is rewarded -- while a poor little Asst Surgeon, for a true & public letter in the "Times", is dismissed the service.

I assure you that our utter disgust at these latter promotions would tempt us, (the few honest men as I hope,) to preach a Crusade against the Horse Gds & War Dept, feeling as we do now that not one step has been gained by our two years' fiery trial & that more Aireys, Cardigans, Halls & Fitzgeralds will be propagated for the next war.

**[end 14:351]**

Believe me

faithfully yours

Scutari

Florence Nightingale

6/3/56

**ff19-19v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MONEY MATTERS ON BEHALF OF HENRY WHYTE FOREMAN) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f19**

34 {SIDEWAYS}

10/3/56

Dear Uncle Sam

Many thanks for all  
the Accounts, received by me  
last mail, which were  
beautiful, (including those  
from Papa £157.16)

Would you say to Mr.  
Bracebridge that a very  
respectable man whom I  
know well

Henry Whyte Foreman  
Royal Ordnance Departmt  
shewed me a letter yesterday  
from his wife, *dated Feb 22/56*  
saying that she had not  
received his £8. Upon  
referring to my books with  
him, I found the entry  
December 31/55 From the above

To Mary Ann Whyte  
6 Ogilvie St  
Woolwich

£8.0.0

**f19v**

The man behaved very well  
but was greatly distressed --  
so was I.

I can only account for the  
fact by supposing that  
the sum being too large for one  
P.O. Order, it was sent by  
Cheque & some mischance  
occurred -- \*

Please have this set right.

Ever yours gratefully

& faithfully

F Nightingale

\* The woman's father, as a man  
of business, left town to try &  
hush up the mistake for her  
but without success.

ff20-27v LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (SIR JOHN HALL/SLANDERS OF FITZGERALD) PEN  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN Goldie 232-35

**f20**

Scutari 36

Barrack Hospital

March 16/56

[14:354-57]

Dear Uncle Sam

I should have  
received your letter in  
the *Crimea*, but that  
we have had such  
gales of wind that no  
Steamer could leave this  
port. Had the "Severn"  
& the "Medway" been able  
to sail, ~~I was going to~~ we should have been aboard  
taking up fourteen females  
to serve two new \*L.T.C.  
Hospitals in the *Crimea*.  
We shall probably sail  
to-day.

\* Land Transport Corps

**f20v**

I shall be very glad  
to find myself in  
"General Orders" there, as  
it will enable the  
work to be much  
better done, & without  
such an exhausting  
& ever=recurring struggle.

And now about  
Fitzgerald -- the Purvr at B'clava.

I have had a private  
& an official letter from  
Sir B. Hawes.

(What I am going to say,  
I say without intending  
anything offensive either  
to him or to Lord Panmure,

**f21**

both of whom I respect,  
both have been uniformly  
kind to me. Both  
have now done a decisive,  
though tardy, act of  
justice to the work  
in putting it into  
G.O.)

What the Government meant in these letters  
virtually asks me to do  
is to "let them off" -- they  
say ~~virtually in their~~  
~~letter~~ "pray say nothing  
about it".

I am not at all  
surprised that the  
Govt *is* very anxious  
to say nothing, but hush

**f21v**

up the matter\* I have  
that confidence in  
British honesty that  
I think, were Fitzgerald's  
"confidential" slanders  
known, & the answer I  
could make to them,  
it would make a  
considerable disturbance.

But I can afford  
to be generous -- & I am  
willing to "let" the Govt  
"off". Two practical  
consequences, however,  
I must, as a practical  
woman, cause to follow.

1. I ~~will not~~ think it is a pity to give Mr.  
Fitzgerald the pleasure  
either of refusing my

\* which if known ~~is~~ would be considerably the worse for them

**f22**

[2]

Requisitions (he is now  
Deputy Purveyor=in=Chief,  
i.e. Purveyor=in=Chief  
in the *Crimea*) or of  
reporting them, or rather  
not them, home to the  
W.O. I shall therefore  
take up everything  
with me which my  
Hospitals will want  
& leave the Queen to  
provide only meat,  
bread, porter, fuel & candle.

2. I cannot, as a  
Superintendent of women,  
expose any woman  
directly under my charge  
to come within the

**f22v**

slanders of such a  
scoundrel (I do not  
wish to use hard words,  
but I have looked  
in Johnson in vain  
for another synonym  
to Fitzgerald) & therefore  
while he remains at  
Balaclava, only I &  
the Bridgeman Nuns  
~~shall have~~ whom he  
has taken under his  
Aegis, shall have any  
thing to do with his  
Hospital proper. This  
is a matter of common  
prudence.

**f23**

The Govt ask me to  
be silent. They refuse  
me a copy of Fitzgerald's  
Report (I would here  
remark that *I* was  
compelled to write my  
answer at a great  
disadvantage, without  
being able to confer  
with my Supt., or to  
shew them the charges,  
& I should be really glad to  
know with what part  
of my answer Sir B.  
Hawes "is not quite  
satisfied, as not  
meeting the exact points"

**f23v**

I have no doubt there  
may be many such  
lacunae -- & I should  
be glad to fill them up  
if I can)

The Govt wishes me to  
be silent. But will  
Fitzgerald be silent?  
He, of course, has a copy,  
if I have not, of his *secret*  
Report which is no "secret"  
in the Crimea. You say  
"his lies" about the Nurses  
"are not believed by the  
"very few who have seen  
"them". But they have  
been both *seen* & *believed*  
by very *many* (in the  
Crimea).

**f24**

[3]

If the Govt had the  
spirit of men, could they  
endure to put themselves  
in the power of such  
a scoundrel? Do you  
imagine that if Fitz=  
gerald had not been a  
R. Catholic, he would  
not have been degraded  
instead of promoted, as  
he has been?

See the difference --  
A wretched little Acting  
Assistant Surgeon, by  
name "Bakewell", publishes  
a statement in the Times,  
a part, at least, of which  
every one knows to have been true,  
for which he loses his



**f24v**

Commission & is dismissed  
the service.

So that Bakewell's  
statement ~~brings~~ is slander  
because it is true &  
Fitzgerald's is not slander,  
because it is false.

Again, Cardigan whose  
character in the Crimea  
is such that I will *not*  
look for a word in Johnson  
to be *his* synonyme obtains  
his Court of Appeal against  
Sir John McNeill

And the Govt ask *me*  
to be quiet. I will be  
quiet -- Because, tho'  
Fitzgerald can starve me  
& slander me, I can do

**f25**

without him. But, if  
HE will be quiet is  
another question. The  
thing will come out,  
sooner or later, you may  
depend upon it. The  
R.C.s, who, if they  
cannot use one side  
will the other, will make  
use of it one way or  
another against the Govt.

If the Govt had had  
the spirit of men, they  
would have brought him  
to a Court Martial, or  
by an arbitrary exercise  
of power, dismissed him  
from his office. We hear  
of Courts Martial every  
month for much less

**f25v**

flagrant offences.

It appears to me that the want of moral, & even of intellectual, perception in Sir John Hall is ~~so~~ remarkable. The Govt cannot prevent *private* slander. But they *can* prevent *official* slander. But Sir John Hall presents a document as "confidential", & founds an official letter upon it. *He cannot make thus a double use of it* to say nothing of the impropriety, is not this a want of perception that he does not see that he cannot do this, & that the Govt do not make him see that he cannot do it with impunity.

**f26**

[4]

We used to call this *corrupt* & so I believe it would still be called did it come out in the Ho. of Commons.

At all events, a Govt so weak cannot stand.

I have nothing more to say. I do not wish anything more to be done -- But I have not the least objection to this, my opinion, being known.

I should have been in the Crimea before this even without my "General Orders", had it not been for the gale. But I am

**f26v**

very glad that the Govt  
has put it in my power  
to do its own work and  
I shall write to Sir B.  
Hawes to thank him.

The gist of the  
Official Dispatch which  
has been written to me  
is to allow me *unlimited*  
*extravagance*, in return  
for the Purveyor's calumnies,  
a power I shall *not*  
hasten to make use of  
quam parvâ -- the proverb  
is somewhat musty.

Finally, it is a matter  
of the utmost indifference  
to me whether Fitzgerald

**f27**

speaks ill or speaks  
well of me. Indeed, I  
think that you would  
rather prefer the former --  
he is a kind of *Squeers*,  
only lower & with a more  
sneaking flattery, &  
without the energetic  
barbarity of that celebrated  
master of Dotheboys *Hall*.

But Sir John *Hall*\*  
is a more formidable  
enemy, as he could  
entirely paralyse my  
usefulness & frustrate  
the object of our being  
here.

Unless the Govt therefore  
have, with its curious system  
\* who is as completely his slave as that  
other *Hall* was of *Squeers*.

**f27v**

of double dispatches &  
official & private letters,  
given Sir J. Hall a private  
rap for *officializing* the  
Purveyor's slanders, I think  
it will find itself in  
a difficulty.

It appears to me that  
all sense of honesty in  
official life is gone.

However, it is much  
the most dignified thing  
for my work for me to  
be quiet -- And I am  
satisfied.

Believe me, dear  
Uncle Sam, in too great  
haste to be short

Yours very faithfully  
& gratefully

F Nightingale

[end 14:357]

**ff28-31** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MONEY MATTERS/SIR JOHN HALL/MR. FITZGERALD)  
PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN Goldie 253

**f28**

47

Balaclava April 17/56

[14:383-84]

General Hospital

Dear Uncle Sam

I enclose the 2nd half  
of the Treasury Bill,  
indorsed by me.

I am very sorry that  
you should have had  
so much trouble with  
it. The former Treasury  
Bills which I sent were indorsed  
by General Storks -- &  
when I had leave to  
draw Treasury Bills on  
my own account, I said  
to the Commissariat Officer:  
"I suppose I must indorse  
these" -- No, he said, there  
is no occasion. I was

**f28v**

sure he was wrong.  
But we are not  
allowed in the Army  
to know better than  
our Officers, be they  
Military, Medical or  
Commissariat -- and  
therefore I can only hope  
that you have not  
had very much trouble  
extra, & that you  
will not think the  
worse of my habits  
of business.

Thank you very  
much for your letters.  
I have not time  
now to reply at length.  
Suffice it to say that

**f29**

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 in *here*,  
~~aft~~ the day of Mrs.  
Bridgeman's departure,  
Sir John Hall gave

**f29v**

the Nurses' huts over my head  
to Purveyors' Clerks. I  
sat down before the  
door, it being then  
dusk, & said quietly  
that I should stay there  
till the keys were  
brought -- ~~which~~ 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 the Stores for  
the Patients, for food,  
lodging, "leave to toil"  
for ourselves.

Your pigsty is  
cleaner than our

**f30**

quarters or than the  
wards of the Hospital,  
as left by Mrs. Bridge=  
man. The patients  
were grimed with  
dirt, infested with  
vermin, with bed sores  
like Lazarus, (Mrs.  
Bridgeman, I suppose,  
thought it ~~Scriptural~~  
holy) I have never  
seen but one similar  
scene to it. Mrs.  
Roberts & the Scutari  
Nuns whom I brought  
with me were  
horrified. After

**f30v**

two days hard: white=  
washing, & cleaning --  
after three days  
washing & dressing  
the Patients, one of  
whom takes Mrs  
Roberts 6 hours  
daily -- being one  
mass of bed sores --  
Sir John Hall visited  
the Hospital and --  
-- wrote an angry  
letter, saying that  
he was "disgusted  
with the state of  
the Hospital" &

**f31**

"ordered it all to be  
put back into the admirable  
order ~~state~~ it was in  
previously" -- ~~and~~  
instructing the Principal  
Medical Officer 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 &  
healths of the Army,  
in a great measure,  
depend -- (For he is clever  
& this is all temper).

[end 14:384]

ever yours faithfully  
& gratefully

F Nightingale

**f32** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE PAGE:

Just now we  
have a great  
deal to do  
here --}

General Hospl  
B'clava 52  
May 15/56

[14:403]

Dear Uncle Sam

Might I trouble you  
to go with the enclosed  
yourself to Sir B. Hawes,  
& act so that corresponding  
orders shall come out  
to me."

Every mail 2 or 3  
letters come to me, How  
are you to come home?

The question practically  
is a very simple one  
Empty your Hospitals  
of Nurses as you empty  
them of Patients -- neither are emptied en masse

In haste ever yours  
faithfully & gratefully  
F Nightingale



**ff34-35** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM ("TIMES") PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f34**

Barrack Hospital

[14:430]

Scutari ~~71~~

July 7/56

Dear Uncle Sam

Would you manage this business  
cleverly for me?

The "Times" still continues to send  
me twelve copies of each day for the  
men. As we have now only 100 men  
in Hospital & about 300 in Depot,  
I ought at the same time to stop these  
papers & to make my warmest acknowledg=  
ments -- grounded principally upon  
this that the newspapers sent by  
the Queen, of which I have the list,  
and by various Officers to the  
Principal Medical Officer here for distribution  
never, to the best of my knowledge,  
reach the wards. I have seen them

**f34v**

in the Sick Officers' rooms -- and I have  
heard of them in the Medical Officers  
ditto. But, *to the best of my knowledge*  
during the whole war, the only  
newspapers in *this* Hospital which  
have found their way into the ward  
or in *this* Depot into the huts have  
been the twelve thus sent *me* by  
the "Times". And they have done  
good service. In the General Hospital  
at Balaclava I never saw a newspaper,  
though I know that the P.M.O. had  
plenty -- & it was no use having  
newspapers forwarded to me, as they  
were all *changed* in the P.O. for old  
ones.

If I state all this in writing,  
it will appear in the "Times", to which

**f35**

I should most particularly object -- as  
 I am considered quite enough of a spy  
 already. I do not choose to see  
 the Times Correspondent here. So that  
 I will thank you very much to make  
 my most handsome acknowledgments  
 in person to the Editor of the Times  
 in London, I believe it is Mowbray  
 Morris who does this part, telling  
 as much of the above statement  
 as will make them handsome  
 without compromising me

Believe me

dear Uncle Sam

Yours ever truly

F Nightingale

**f36** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MONEY MATTERS ON BEHALF OF PATRICK KEARUS) PEN  
 HANDWRITTEN BY FN [for soldiers]

Scutari

Barrack Hospital

[14:430]

July 14/56 73

Dear Uncle Sam

Patrick Kearns 47th Regt, No 1710,  
 says that he sent through me  
 to Jane Kearns

care of Silvester Kinchla

Pound St

Parsons town

Kings County

Ireland

on September 8/55 £1.10.0

" 22/55 2. 5.0

£3.15.0, which is true,

& that £3 only ever reached her.

I wrote to Mr. Bracebridge to remedy  
 this, & Patrick Kearns writes to me  
 again, that it has never been remedied.

Would you kindly send the 15/ without  
 farther dispute, charging it of course  
 to me. I think it probable the man

is right. Believe me ever yours gratefully

[end 14:430]

F Nightingale

**f37** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MONEY MATTERS) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

75

Dear Uncle Sam

[14:430-31]

I send you a Cheque for £67 odd,  
which I owe Aunt Mai, & a Cheque  
for £20.9.6 being 10/6 per week for  
9 months which I wish to pay my  
people for Laxton.

The Treasury Bills are stopped  
so that I cannot send money home  
now that way.

I send you a Bank Post bill for  
£14.17.1 which please negotiate  
for me.

[end]

I hope to be home soon  
& believe me ever  
yours gratefully & faithfully

Scutari F Nightingale  
17/7/56

**f38** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MONEY MATTERS) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN [arch: BEFORE  
AUGUST]

Dear Uncle Sam

I enclose a  
Treasury Bill for  
Fifty Pounds. Please  
do it for me -- using  
that on the Cheque  
as gives you least  
trouble to pay the P.O. Orders.

**ff39-39v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MONEY MATTERS) PEN HANDWRITTEN ON BEHALF OF NIGHTINGALE arch: before August 1856

**f39**

F desires me to say that she knows so exactly what her expenses, Bankers Book, & the mistakes in it are, that you need not be uneasy about her overdrawing it. She begs me to add the following items --

Mr Bracebridge has had ~~£5454.0~~ -- £5454.0.3 out of it, as repayments, -- besides for P.O. orders 1157.11.7 of these sums 1976.5.1 are mistakes, and will be repaid to Flo. £1217.14.10 are still due by Flo to Mr Bracebridge. The Subscriptions in Glyn's Banking Book amount to £2650.0.3 the remaining 4039.0.3 include £2900 repayments by Sir John Kirkland of sums advanced by Flo for the government. The remaining 1134.3.0 are repayments by Mr. B. of sums advanced by her or cash paid in. She has directed Hansens to pay immediately £850 from her acct with him into her acct with Glyn. The Purveyor to pay £700 of monies advanced by Florence into Glyns & the Times Fund from three to four hundred pounds of monies advanced by Flo. She has besides £400 cash in her box & the New Zealand thousand pounds is not yet paid into Glyns -- (Of the private subscriptions above mentioned

**f39v**

she has spent about £600) about £770 have been paid by Glyn's to Hansens & £400 to your account for F. F has all the cheques which she has drawn returned to her & has kept with the assistance of her Banker's Book separate accounts for all the sources of her receipts and all the different heads of her payments. She will furnish you with all these, if you like it, & will let me know. There will be, when all these items are settled about £2610 at her acct at Glyns. There are *about* £400 private subscriptions, the expenditure of which Flo cannot at present make out, but she considers that while there are so many accts fluctuating between her & Mr Bracebridge -- the Purveyor & others that cannot be all ascertained, & either the money itself may turn up as due to her or Mr B may account for how it has been spent.

Subscriptn	4039.0.3*	B. by S.S. or Get 3.0. The Amount
Sir J Kirkld}	2650.0.3*	of F.N.'s credits was, (by her B Book
& me }		6689.3.3 -- whence I conclude
6689.0.6	that one of those 3es is an Error for 3)  F's balance	
accounts to Flo		

Pd to Mr B.	5454. 0. 3	
Do P.O. orders	1157.11. 7	
	-----	
Total Pd to B.	6611.11.10	
Deduct Errors	1976. 5. 1	
	-----	
Payment correctly made to B	4635. 6. 9	
	=====	
Glyn's Accts	6689. 3. 3	
Deduct Pd to B	4635. 6. 9	
	-----	Glyn's credits
	2053.16. 6	
but she owes B.	1217.14.10	
	-----	
Remains	836. 1. 8	
And Hansen will pay	850	
Purveyor will pay	700	
Times will pay	300	
(about)	-----	
	2686. 1. 8	

**ff40-43** James Clark to S. Smith from embossed Osborne Aug 23 1856 re FN, heard from SH that FN fatigued, needed to mend for a short time; when she has recovered her full health I hope she will be able to come to Scotland to rest and be braced by our mountain air. It is only the physician that has occasion to observe the effects of anxious brain work....I think Miss Nightingale has rather to fear from any remarks that may be made on her state....The Queen I know wishes to see Miss Nightingale and this she can do very conveniently and quietly when both are in Scotland. The queen knows that we have asked her to come. I am desirous of not long a rest as I fear that I may ....

f44 letter of Sidney Herbert 49 Belgrave Sq, black-edged, to Sam Smith, only found his letter this eve on return from Ireland, anxiety re FN, James Clark, has a letter from the duke of Cambridge approving of the proposed mily hosp as far as Bath is concerned, re public funds, thinks wrong and hopes to convince

ff49-50v LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MONEY) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f49**

Barry's Hotel  
Edinburgh 86  
Sept 15/56

**[14:448]**

Dear Uncle Sam

The Purveyor in Chief  
has still my last  
quarter's Account to the  
amount of about £500,  
which I sent in at  
his request before I left  
Scutari -- & of which I  
have no copy. (It was  
always his business  
to make me copies).  
This is still unpaid.

Upon some pretence  
he came to me just as

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS IN THE LEFT MARGIN:}

War Department, Pall Mall, London is his

address --

**[end 14:448]**

yours ever

FN --

**f49v**

I was going away &  
asked for *my* copy  
of the *Penultimate*  
quarter's Account,  
(which is paid me).

I do not wish to  
be dunning for my  
money. But I do  
wish to remind them  
that they have these  
Documents. And  
Robertson has behaved  
latterly so like a  
scoundrel that I am  
always suspecting  
both him & Milton

**f50**

of foul play against  
me. In this case,  
I have them so  
completely in my  
power, (because I  
could, of course, tho'  
at the cost of great  
labor, make out from  
my waste=book all  
the items over again,  
& they have no  
Receipt of mine to  
shew,) that they only  
get themselves deeper  
into the mire, as  
they have always done,  
by every trick they

**f50v**

play me. In fact, I shall  
always consider that  
Hall & the 3 Purveyors  
have been the making  
of me.

All therefore that  
I want to ask of you  
now is whether it  
would not be fair  
play on my part  
to give them the  
opportunity of righting  
me by your writing  
them a lawyer's  
letter by way of  
reminder.

J. Scott Robertson Esq  
(late Purveyor in Chief to the  
War Hospitals in the East)

f51 letter to Sam Smith from Purveyor in Chief's office, 1 Whitehall  
Yard, ack his of 17th, re accounts



**ff54-55v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN **[14:449]**

**f54**

B.H.        88  
Sept 25/56

Dear Uncle Sam

Would you have the  
goodness to tell Mrs.  
Skinner what has  
been done about  
her boxes & forward  
my letter enclosed?

I also enclose a  
letter from a Mr. Nunn  
which I should be  
much obliged to you  
to answer in the  
negative. I remember

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS IN THE LEFT MARGIN:}

We were so very sorry to miss Shore & Berthe  
at Edinburgh.

Did they not  
ask for us?

**[end 14:449]**

**f54v**

the man perfectly &  
I have a strong  
suspicion that he has  
another wife living  
in Deptford. Did  
I answer the letter  
honestly, I should say  
"for *which* of your  
"wives do you want  
"a situation?" I believe  
the man's real name  
is Rolf. But I am  
not sure enough of  
this latter identity to make  
mine a crime of

**f55**

condonation/complicity (no that's  
not the word) of bigamy.  
However, I don't want  
to answer the man  
except civilly. He may  
be very much to be  
pitied.

I have had most  
satisfactory interviews  
with the Queen, the  
Prince & Sir G. Grey  
(Ld Clarendon was  
most unfortunately  
gone) satisfactory  
i.e. as far as their

**f55v**

will not as far as  
their power is concerned.  
The Queen has wished  
me to remain to see  
Panmure here rather  
than in London  
because she thinks  
it more likely that  
something might be  
done with him -- here -- I  
don't. But I am  
obliged to succumb --  
I fear Papa will leave  
me here. But I hope  
to persuade him to stay  
I hope you are better.

ever yours gratefully

F.N.

**ff56-58v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MONEY) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f56**

Birk Hall

Ballater ~~89~~

Sept 25/56

**[14:449-50]**

Dear Uncle Sam

I have signed &  
enclosed a Copy of  
each account -- for  
you, please, to forward.

But the proceeding  
appears to me

unbusiness=like --

For 1. they have

*already* my

*receipted* copy

of the Account

ending March 31,

(which *is* paid,)

**f56v**

-- why want another?

2. I have never

done this before

without seeing &

comparing the account in my

own handwriting,

which they do not

now send

3. I have never

receipted before,

without having

the money given me

**f57**

in Treasury Bills,  
or my having  
desired it to ~~p~~  
be paid into Glyn's.  
I think I would,  
at least, before  
sending my Receipt,  
ask how I am to  
draw the *last*  
Account -- as it  
has never been done  
this way before.

**f57v**

(I would waive  
the not seeing the copy in my own  
handwriting. It does  
not signify if there  
are mistakes -- I see *one*.)

It has always  
appeared to me that  
Govt was the unbu  
siness=like person in  
most of our transactions.

Please however to  
do in this matter  
as you think best.  
I think they should  
be told to pay the  
£494 odd into Glyn's.

**f58**

Please to tell Aunt  
Mai that Vickery is  
absent on furlough  
but that if she  
writes to

Pte Samuel Vickery  
1st Batt. Coldstream Gds  
Tower

London  
his Pay Sergeant  
ought to forward  
it to him.

**f58v**

Many thanks for  
the rest of your kind  
letter. I will  
think about the  
Lord Murray  
business.

**[end 14:450]**

ever yours gratefully  
F Nightingale

**f59** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MONEY MATTERS) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN~~90~~

Dear Uncle Sam

**[14:453-54]**

I have just received the  
enclosed -- Perhaps it should  
now be the proper course to  
write to the Pay Master General  
to pay the £494.5.11 into  
Glyn's to my account -- & simply  
send my Receipted Accounts to Robertson  
without comment.

ever yours gratefully  
F Nightingale

Sept 29/56

f60 J Scott Robertson to FN at Lea Hurst 26 Sept 1856 notif from asst  
sec to Treas re paymaster gen £494.5.11 to you for payments made to  
the nursing staff in the East.

**ff61-62** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (LORD MURRAY, MILNES) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY  
FN

**f61**

Sept 29/56

92

Dear Uncle Sam After thinking,  
I assure you, very seriously over your  
very kind letters & being really  
impressed with Lord Murray's fairness,  
I have come to the conclusion which  
I have stated in the enclosed letter to Lord Murray but  
which I have not ventured to send  
to Lord Murray without your assent.  
You know it would be endless if I  
were once to make a counter=  
statement (except to authority) &  
in any future work I might have  
to do, if I live, think what it  
would be. I must resign myself  
to be calumniated. Nurse Tandy  
will think she could make better  
rules than I can as to drink, Nurse Jones as  
to ~~propriety~~ morality, Miss Tebbutt as to flirtation,

**f61v**

Miss Hutton as to marriage, Miss  
Stanley as to lavishness of expenditure,  
Miss Salisbury as to honesty, the Nuns  
as to religion. ~~Of~~ Mrs. Burton as  
to feeding the Ladies on good things &c &c &c &c  
And, of course, every one of these  
will veil her own personal disap=  
pointment in an accusation of me,  
the more dangerous because the clever  
ones will put on it at least an appearance  
of impartiality & give it a savour  
of truth. Silence I am sure is my  
best position -- especially as I cannot  
tell the whole truth without inculcating  
my employers S. Herbert & Co. very seriously for (at  
least) great want of judgement.  
I hope you will agree with me.  
I should be sorry to degrade the  
great question I am struggling for  
now into a mere personal female  
quarrel. Let what has been done speak

**f62**

for me -- ~~What have Miss S. & Mrs.  
B. done?~~

I like your letter to Mr. Milnes,  
every word *being true*, though I  
should not have written it.

**[end 14:454]**

Believe me

ever yours gratefully  
F Nightingale

**ff63-64** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (ANN SINCLAIR DISMISSED FOR DRUNKENNESS)  
PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN **[14:455]**

**f63**

Birk Hall  
Ballater  
October 1/56

Dear Uncle Sam

The enclosed "Ann Sinclair" has  
written to me three times, &  
I have not answered. Now  
that she has written to the W.D.,  
I suppose that I must. She  
was guilty three times of  
drunkenness -- twice it was condoned  
and the third time, for a most  
aggravated offence, she was  
sent away. But, out of mercy,  
a *passage home* was given her,  
but no more. If you would  
write to her, would you simply  
refer ~~to~~ her to her Agreement  
where it says that, if discharged

**f63v**

for intoxication, she forfeits all further claim, and only in case of sickness has a right to a passage home, pointing out to her that the passage home was pure compassion -- Or is she too hardened? -- A copy of our answer must be, I suppose, sent to the W.D.. (I have sent in her name to them in the list of *discharged* Nurses)

I hope I am getting on well here. But, remembering as I do that I gave all these suggestions & plans at the beginning of the war, *that they were accepted*, & that nothing has yet come of it, I feel but little encou=

**f64**

agement in making converts of these people -- altho' I think I have succeeded with P. Albert & General Grey.

Lord Panmure comes on Saturday

Believe me

ever yours gratefully

F Nightingale

[end 14:455]



**ff68-69v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MAKING A WILL) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN  
arch: Nov. 6 1857 with envelope f70 **[1:474-75]**

**f68**

Dear Uncle Sam/I have  
thought often of what  
you said that I ought  
to make a will about  
that money, that F.  
I am sure I don't  
know how -- And I  
think it would be  
much better left to  
the Council. I know  
no one but Mrs.  
Shaw Stewart who  
would do any good

**f68v**

(or indeed any thing  
but harm) with the  
money. And she, I  
know, would not take  
it. I really believe  
that the way to do  
least harm would be  
to leave it to (say)  
St. Thomas's Hospital,  
where the (very good)  
Matron & the (very  
sensible) Resident  
Medical Officer, Mr.

**f69**

Whitfield, have a  
great idea of raising  
the Nurses, but  
cannot, because the  
Treasurer won't  
give them the Funds.  
It seems a pity  
that £40000 should  
be going about begging,  
when there are so  
many old & good Institutions  
in want of funds.

    Please advise me --  
I don't see that I am  
called upon to make *any*  
                    will.

**f69v**

    I assure you, tho'  
I behave like an  
infidel, that I am  
not without shame  
or without gratitude  
for my possession  
of your wife.

    ever yours affectly  
& gratefully

    F Nightingale  
Nov 6/57 -- three years  
from Inkermann

There is correspondence with Samuel Smith regarding the Fund in *Life and Family* (1:475-76)

**ff71-74** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MAKING A WILL, MILITARY HOSPITAL NURSING)  
PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN **[1:475-76]**

**f71**

~~74~~

30 Old Burlington St.

London W.

Nov. 11/57

Dear Uncle Sam

1. To tell you the truth,  
my share of the fund,  
included in my father  
& mother's settlement,  
had slipped my memory.  
I quite agree that it  
should not be disposed  
of by my failure in  
making a will. I have,  
however, not the least  
idea of what it  
amounts to. If it were

**f71v**

anything like £30,000  
or £40,000, the thing  
I have principally  
at heart, which  
others could do as well  
as I, & without doing any  
harm, would be to  
build a Barrack or to improve  
an existing one,  
according to my ideas,  
i.e. with day-rooms for  
the men, separate  
places to sleep in,  
like Jebb's Asylum at

**f72**

Fulham, lavatories,  
gymnastic=places,  
reading=rooms &c,  
not ~~excluding~~ forgetting the  
wives, but having  
a kind of Model  
Lodging=House for the  
married men. Sir  
John McNeill, Mr.  
Herbert & Dr. Sutherland  
would best carry out  
any plan of this kind,  
& I would not tie  
them up in any way,

**f72v**

but let them apply  
it to these purposes  
whether in Huts,  
old or new Barracks,  
~~or what not~~ one or more, or in  
any place or country  
belonging to us, as far as the  
sum would ~~not~~ go.  
~~far any way.~~

I should like to  
give a few hundreds  
to help Beatrice in  
the Lea Hurst or any others School,  
a few to Aunt Mai  
to publish her "Stuff",

**f73**

& a few to the Cloughs'  
children, if they have  
any -- merely as a little  
present, not that it  
would be any worth  
to them. And it would  
make no difference  
to the Barrack, £2,000  
or £3,000 more or less.

This is really all  
I have to say.

I take for granted  
that my mother, even  
if she survived my father,  
would have the enjoyment  
of the money till her death.

**f73v**

2. With regard to the F.,  
I have in type a few  
suggestions as to the  
defects in Hospital  
Nursing, as a guide  
to the T. supporters.  
And, in my evidence  
before the Herbert  
Commission, there  
are some more definite  
~~rules~~ hints as to *Military*  
Hospital Nursing.  
Mrs. Shaw Stewart &  
Mr. Whitfield would

**f74**

be the best counsellors.  
Indeed, most of the  
Suggestions (in type)  
are hers. Clough  
would be able to  
produce these at any time. They  
are entitled "Private  
& Confidential" &  
he superintended  
the printing of them.

Many, many thanks,  
dear Uncle Sam, for  
all you have done for  
me & believe me ever  
yours gratefully  
Florence Nightingale

f75 envelope: S. Smith Sq  
Roslin House  
Great Malvern

**ff77-78** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MONEY TO CLOUGH & BLANCH) PEN HANDWRITTEN  
BY FN **[1:476]**

**f77**

London ~~16~~

June 29/58

Dear Uncle Sam

I wish you would  
give Clough & Blanch  
my £500 *now* -- and  
I had rather they  
should not say  
thank you.

I have been  
consulting the Sanitary  
greater & lesser lights  
about the site for  
a house -- And it  
seems that a few  
hundred yards often

**f77v**

make the difference  
of health or disease.  
If £500 would  
enable them to give  
£30 a year more  
for a house, it  
would be something.  
And that difference  
in price often makes  
the difference in  
health. And for  
Blanch, who is  
unable to walk much,  
& who cannot keep

**f78**

a carriage, it is so  
peculiarly important.

ever yours gratefully

dear Uncle Sam

Florence Nightingale

**f79** envelope S. Smith Esq

Combe Hurst

Kingston on Thames SW

**ff80-80v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MONEY TO CLOUGH) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN  
arch: July/58 or August [1:476]

**f80**

Dear Uncle Sam

Clough really <sup>MUST</sup>  
take the £500. I  
wish I could buy them  
a house. But, as that  
can't be, a trifle like  
£500, dribbled out  
by £50 or £30 a year  
as long as it will  
last, (to give themselves a  
better house) is, for  
the sake of health,  
really what they can't

**f80v**

refuse.

As for Clough being  
shy, if I could give  
him £10000 a year,  
it would be a poor  
acknowledgment of  
what he has done  
for us.

ever yrs sincerely

FN



**ff82-82v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (SOLDIERS' DAY-ROOM SCHEME) PEN  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN **[1:477]**

**f82**

Great Malvern 9  
Feb 9/59

My dear Uncle Sam,

Thank you very much  
for your very kind letter.  
"Like a reasonable Christian"  
I have signed & reinclosed  
the enclosed;--because first  
I am not in a condition to  
fight & secondly, if, as I hope,  
we get forward the  
Soldiers' Day=room Scheme  
enough before I die, (not  
that Sutherland has struck  
a stroke at it since I have  
been away) [illeg] sum of

**f82v**

say £1700 is wanted to  
start a specimen with,  
I can always repay, the  
inclosed amount into  
Glynn's to make it up  
ever dear Uncle Sam  
gratefully yours  
Florence Nightingale

**ff83-84** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (INDIAN SANITARY COMMISSION APPOINTMENT)  
PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f83**

[sideways] 34 C

Private May 10/59

Dear Uncle Sam I was very glad  
(I mean very sorry) to hear your account  
of my man -- I was not at all  
surprised. You cannot imagine how  
little choice we have had. And we  
are now commanded by H.M. to  
add a seventh devil worse than the  
six first (this is not metaphorical --  
out of my six there are only two  
who will be of the least assistance)  
and I want you to help us to choose  
~~make the~~ a seventh devil as harmless  
as possible. H.M. has stipulated  
for a "Queen's Officer of acknowledged  
experience in India" to be seventh on the  
Indian Sanitary Commission! No one  
who has not made the enquiries which

[9:84]

**f83v**

I have, can possibly imagine the  
difficulty which this stipulation has  
put us into. There does not appear  
to be any "Queen's Officer" of any  
ability at all who is now at home.  
Tulloch is out of the question -- Sir E.  
Lugard declines on the score of  
the pressure of business.  
Brigadier Greathed & Colonel Alison,  
late Mil. Sec. to Lord Clyde, I am  
now hesitating between.

Now, if I could get Sir John  
Lawrence's opinion to recommend  
one of these two or any other man,  
I should be a happy woman. He must  
know all the (Indian) Queen's Officers.  
[And, he will say, what a pack  
they are!]

Could you either directly, or  
indirectly thro' Sir R. Vivian, get  
Sir J. Lawrence's opinion?

In the latter case, Sir R. Vivian

**f84**

must be taken into the confidence  
which I shall not mind if only  
he will consider it as "confidential", [end 9:84]  
-- & he must also be so asked so  
as not to let him think that  
we undervalue his opinion for  
Lawrence's. But you will  
manage this.

The worst of it is I have [9:84]  
not a day to lose -- For I must  
give an answer.

I have already consulted  
Galton, Martin, Sir J. McNeill  
& one of Clough's friends through  
Clough. [end 9:84]

ever yours gratefully  
FN

**ff85-85v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (SIR J. LAWRENCE'S OPINION ON INDIAN  
SANITARY COMMISSION APPOINTMENT) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f85**

West Hill Lodge 35

Highgate Rise

N

May 11/59

Dear Uncle Sam

Thank you very,  
very much for all  
the trouble you have  
taken for us. I think  
Sir J. Lawrence's  
opinion so important,  
as who would not?,  
that I shall do my  
best to keep the

**f85v**

appointment open  
till we have his  
answer, if Sir R.  
Vivian will be so  
kind as to get it.

yours ever gratefully

F Nightingale

**ff86-87v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (INDIAN SANITARY COMMISSION APPOINTMENT)  
PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f86**

[12 May 1859] [arch:] 36

Dear Uncle Sam -- Many,  
many thanks for all  
the trouble you have  
taken for us. I am  
so very anxious for  
Sir J. Lawrence's  
opinion that I wrote  
last night to beg  
that, if it were  
possible, the appoint=  
ment might be  
kept open till Friday.

**f86v**

And I have no  
doubt it will be.

Perhaps you will  
arrange that the  
answer shall be  
sent up to me --  
without delay, if  
you will be so kind.

I am not at all  
wedded to Greathed's  
appointment -- of  
whom in fact I  
know nothing. ~~But~~

**f87**

And I think the  
reputation of Alison's  
family *is* against  
him.

But I should  
hardly like to  
propose either  
Franks or Ashburnham,  
unless with the  
weight of Lawrence's  
name, because  
enterprising Civilians,  
like Mr. Herbert  
& Lord Stanley, do

**f87v**

think them such  
"old fogies". [I don't  
know that they are  
old *in age*] In fact,  
we never were so  
puzzled for a choice.

Thank you very,  
very much for  
taking us in hand  
with so much pains.

~~trouble~~

ever yours gratefully

FN

May 12/59

**ff89-90v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (INDIAN SANITARY COMMISSION APPOINTMENT/  
BRATBY) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f89**

West Hill Lodge  
Highgate Rise  
N 37  
May 16/59

Dear Uncle Sam

I just write this  
line to say that it  
was quite impossible  
to move Bratby today.  
But that it is hoped  
he will be able to go  
tomorrow -- & that the  
Bathman can meet  
him at the coach, as  
you have so nicely

**f89v**

arranged, tomorrow, (Tuesday) I must  
say I think him  
in a very uneasy  
condition. He is so  
thin, weak, helpless, & has such  
perspirations. Perhaps  
you had better tell  
Dr. Johnson that he  
has taken "no end  
of" Colelicium under  
Dr. Gardner.

Many thanks for  
your note.

I don't think I

**f90**

could have told Aunt  
Mai that I had had  
"no letter from Sir R.  
Vivian" -- for I had  
the one I enclose at 8  
o'clock on Friday  
morning. Then none  
till 8 o'clock on  
Friday night by the  
post, after she was  
gone.

The worst of it  
is that Col. Greathed  
was proposed that  
very day to Ld Stanley,

**f90v**

who has accepted  
him. But Mr. Herbert  
has not, vide note whom I  
see today. So it  
is not final. But  
Sir J. Lawrence  
himself does *not*  
recommend *any one*  
heartily. And I  
~~be~~ am not surprised  
yours ever gratefully

FN

*note*

For I wrote to him twice  
that day, to beseech him not,  
but to wait for Lawrence's  
answer.

f93 letter from J McNeill June 22/59 from Granton House, recd this  
morning and endorse cheque for Steele he sent, encloses receipt,  
thanks for what he tells of Miss N., hears from her occasionally and  
at length but never about herself, with env Jn 23 59 to Sam Smith  
House of Commons



**ff95-98v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (INHERITANCE/SOLDIERS' DAY ROOMS) PEN  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN **[1:478]**

**f95**

30 O. Burlington St

August 11/59

Dear Uncle Sam

I think it is only  
fair that the 1/4 of the  
"Entailed Estates" which  
would come to me  
under the circumstances  
you mention should  
go to Shore's children  
in the way he would  
apportion it, if he ~~ha~~  
could. And if there  
were none I think  
it had better go with  
the £26000

**f95v**

under the same  
conditions & in the  
same way as the  
£26,000, viz. to  
Clough. Because I  
don't know any one  
else who would be  
so likely ~~as~~ to carry  
out the objects on  
which I should  
have spent it  
myself, if I had  
had it. And at  
the same time I don't

**f96**

want *him* Clough to spend  
it *all* on those  
objects.

I hope & believe  
the "contingency" you  
mention is so very  
remote, speaking  
like a Life Insurance,  
that I don't trouble  
myself much to  
think about it.

I don't speak  
about Beatrice's  
objects, because she  
would have money  
to spend upon them

**f96v**

if the same event  
which gave me mine  
gave her hers.

2. A thing came to  
my knowledge on  
Sunday which makes  
me think that  
John Sutherland  
M.D. should have  
£1000 out of the  
"£26000". With all  
his faults, he has  
worked hardest  
certainly at the  
Army matter. And

[15:284]

**f97**

Mr. Herbert, like  
many another great  
man, has not  
considered this.

At the same time  
I should like to  
consult you about  
this. And if there  
will be much  
trouble in re=  
making or unmaking  
that blessed old  
will, don't do it.

[Mr. Herbert told  
yours affectely [sideways in margin]  
& gratefully

FN

**f97v**

me on Sunday that  
he did not mean  
to do a thing for  
Sutherland which  
I had *quite*  
understood was  
to be done]

[end]

3. The Soldiers' Schools  
have been handed  
over to the Horse  
Guards -- Lefroy tells  
me -- And he has  
nothing more to do  
with them. So the

[15:427]

**f98**

fund at Glyn's which  
I want to devote to  
furnishing Soldiers'  
Day rooms will  
have to go to Galton  
& Sutherland alone.

**f98v**

But I should like  
to have the power  
of handing it over  
by cheque or in any  
other feasible way  
at any moment  
to Galton & Sutherland

**[end 15:427]**

**ff99-99v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MONEY MATTERS/MARGARET MCLENNAN/MARY  
BRATBY) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN, Uncle Sam at Lea Hurst

**f99**

Montagu Grove 65  
Hampstead NW  
Sept 24/59

Dear Uncle Sam

Would you be so good  
as to send me at any  
convenient season a  
Cheque for £16. 0. 6  
one " £10.10.  
one " £13. 9. 6  
£40. 0. 0 {AMOUNT CIRCLED}

[This is independent of our  
Housekeeping expences]

I wrote to ask Papa  
to come here *before*  
Claydon. I hope he will  
not fail to come. But

**f99v**

of settlements continue  
to be so happily settled  
as at present, I do not  
mind whether it is  
before or after Claydon.  
If he does not ~~mention~~ discuss  
~~to~~ with you about the day  
of his coming here, perhaps  
it will be better not  
to mention it to him.

I am so sorry to hear  
of Margaret McLennan's  
rapid decline.  
I hope you are better.

Yours ever gratefully  
F Nightingale  
I hope that Mary Bratby  
is pretty well. Give her my love.

**ff100-01** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (WINTERHALTER'S PRINT OF QUEEN, PRINCE  
ARTHUR & DUKE OF WELLINGTON) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f100**

Hampstead NW

Dec 24/59 58

Dear Uncle Sam

[16:363]

There is a framed print  
(at Embley, I believe) of  
Winterhalter's "Queen,  
P. Arthur & D. of Wellington",  
which was sent me by  
the Queen for "her wounded  
soldiers" at Balaclava  
in the spring of 1856.

I have great fears  
of this being mislaid  
or otherwise appropriated.  
I had intended it

**f100v**

to be placed in the  
first Army General  
Hospital completed  
in England -- thinking  
that it would be  
Netley.

But it seems likely  
that Netley will never  
be more than an Invalid  
Depot.

And I now put  
the print under your  
charge, (in order that  
it may *not be confounded*  
with my property, but)  
that it may

**f101**

be sent, with a notice  
what it is, to ~~either~~  
Aldershot (or Woolwich)  
(or Chatham) General  
Hospital, (whenever any  
one of these is ready,)  
as Dr. Sutherland,  
who is *au fait* as to  
the buildings of the Army,  
shall advise.

[end]

Yours ever

F Nightingale

**f102** envelope S. Smith Esq  
Embley  
Romsey

**ff105-06v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (DR ALEXANDER'S DEATH) PEN HANDWRITTEN  
BY FN

**f105**

Hampstead NW

[15:289]

Feb 2/60 4

Dear Uncle Sam

Alexander, (26 Norfolk  
Sq., his widow's address)  
who is dead was my  
great friend as you know.  
His loss is irreparable.  
Mr. Herbert does not  
know where to look  
for his successor.  
He truly says, "he was  
the honestest man  
I ever knew".  
yours gratefully F.N.

**f105v**

I look North & South  
and I see none who  
can replace him at  
that Office -- none who  
really & efficiently can  
work as he did for  
the good of the soldier.  
He is irreplaceable to  
us.

There was a little  
estrangement between  
us lately -- [He had  
made an appointment  
which he knew I  
knew to be a job]

**f106**

I should be very sorry,  
tho' his widow is not  
likely to think of me  
that, if she did think,  
she should think of me  
as disparaging his  
great services.

Three years he & I  
have worked together  
at all the Army  
improvements. He  
knew that it was I  
who worked to have  
him brought home  
from Canada & made  
Director General.

**f106v**

I don't know what  
is the right thing to do.  
It is a long way for  
you to go. But I wish  
somebody, whose name  
is known to her, could  
call at the house &  
leave some message of  
enquiry from me, & of  
my ardent respect &  
deep grief for her  
husband, which is all  
true. And I wish,  
if it is the proper thing,  
that somebody from  
us could offer to go to  
the funeral. Perhaps Sir  
Harry Verney would? ever

**[end]**

f107 envelope Immediate  
S. Smith Esq [no address]



**ff108-10v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (DR ALEXANDER'S DEATH) PEN HANDWRITTEN  
BY FN

**f108**

Feb. 3/60 ~~5.~~

[15:289]

Dear Uncle Sam

Very many thanks for  
going to see poor Mrs.  
Alexander.

His loss is indeed  
irreparable to us. God  
is indeed extraordinary.  
Had the whole Army  
Medical Department had  
~~of~~ "gout at the heart",  
what would it have  
signified? Nay, what  
a blessing it would have  
been! But for him to

**f108v**

be taken and in such  
a manner too! The only  
one who signified.

What will become  
of our poor "Regulations"  
now? He was the only  
man who could have  
worked them. We had  
trained him (in the  
R. Commission). We  
never can train  
another.

Mr. Herbert is  
left without the only  
two people who

**f109**

understood the Regulations.  
For when I am gone  
what will Sutherland  
be to him?

Thank you very  
much for your hint  
about the Indian Dr.  
I don't know that his  
name would ever  
have been mentioned.  
I had not thought  
of it. But I am  
very glad to hear  
all information.  
And your character  
of him is quite  
enough. It is

**f109v**

honourable discipline  
that we want above  
all in that Dept --  
And Alexander was  
giving it.

Yours ever gratefully

F.N.

Alexander's death was, so  
to speak, an accidental  
one. He was downstairs  
on Sunday. Paget &  
Ferguson attended him --  
-- saw him on Tuesday,  
thought him almost  
recovered -- on Wednesday  
morning he got up fell  
back & died of difficulty

**f110**

of breathing in 10  
minutes. It was  
not apoplexy. And  
the cause of death  
is supposed to have  
been a clot of blood  
becoming detached  
& plugging up the  
pulmonary artery.  
It was a sudden  
death; ~~&~~ *not gout*  
*at all.*

**[end]**

I always think  
it worth while to  
make circumstances

**f110v**

known -- Because  
for the next 10  
years, every old  
woman will  
comfort every body  
who has gout with  
"I knew a case:  
poor Mr. Alexander;  
he died in this  
way &c &c &c

**ff111v-12** NOTES ON MEDICAL VS. CLERICAL PROFESSION PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f111v** {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:}

These  
miserable  
ecclesiastical  
quacks! Could you  
give them a lesson?  
Could you, in answering this  
man, say, that I form no  
opinion of Mr. Reed's treatment  
from one or two reported cases; but  
that, if *all is* true which is said by him,  
how much the more wicked he (& other such  
quacks) who, having such a secret, do not  
make it known for the use of suffering  
humanity? What would they think  
of me, did I possess such a  
discovery & keep it a secret?  
Could you say this civilly,  
without exposing  
yourself to  
prosecution?

**f112** {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:}

I often rave  
against the  
Medical profession;  
But they are philanthropic  
angels, as compared with  
the Clerical.

f113 1 Feb 1860 letter to FN from Feniton Rectory, Honiton, Rev H.E.  
Head [?], re a remedy for cancer, has FN comment in it:  
Is this *God* or *gas*?  
and "'Dr Cronin" - the most frightful quack going!

f115 letter to Sir from Enniskillin

f117 letter to Sam Smith from Feniton Rectory, Honiton 8 Feb 1860 re  
medical journals

**ff118-19** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (EDITING) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f118**

**[11:30]**

May 30/60 23-----

Dear Uncle Sam

I sent on Saturday  
to Combe the first  
instalment of the  
second Vol: of

stuff {WRITTEN IN PENCIL, not FN hand}  
τοό σιόφφος -- "more  
shame for you",  
you will say.

The first 24  
pages you have  
done twice -- &

**f118v**

they are already  
printed off.

Pp. 25 to 119.  
marked "Revise"  
you have done once.

[I put "*diabolical*  
dignitary" but the  
Printer would have  
it "*distinguished*  
dignitary". So I  
gave in.]

Pp 1 to 32 marked

**f119**

"Proof" are new --  
i.e. I am afraid  
they are very old  
indeed. They  
were meant to  
come on as P. 120.

There is more  
coming, worse than  
the first.

ever yours gratefully

F.N.

**[end]**

f120 letter to FN from Sam Smith from Combe re will, N Fund, Sunday 9  
[Dec]

**f122** NOTE REGARDING MRS COWPER'S LETTER PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

[? C. 1854]

[ -1860 ]

Perhaps Mrs.  
Cowper's letter had  
better not be  
answered till I  
have thought (&  
talked with you)  
a little about it.  
Shall I see it?

ff123-25

Sam Smith to FN; no heading dated 1860

We have gone through  
Jowett's comments--of which  
some are practical (worth  
attending to--but on the whole  
I will say that on recurring  
to the text, we felt increased  
satisfaction with it-& that  
Jowett does not on the main  
subjects, criticise with sufficient  
grasp of mind--Far from  
thinking your letter to him  
'all jaw'--we think it very

**f123v**

easy, vigorous, & much to  
the purpose--I do not think  
that anything we had  
written, (and on the subject  
of 'free will' we had, un-  
fortunately, written a great  
deal (destroyed it) could  
have been well worked  
up into illeg to him  
I was but a tame esse  
tition of the former arguments  
in the book in a totally

**f124**

different style from your  
own. Mary has worked  
[illeg] in ]?] early morning  
when all the rest of us were  
in bed, but was reachable  
to satisfy herself with the results  
Indeed I never saw any one  
suffer as she does from de-  
pression under a sense of in-  
efficiency to carry out what  
good will would promise to--  
No one can have known but  
[so Mary responsible for destroying free will!]

**f124v**

[top bit in FN hand:]  
exert *all* their faculties  
in work (I said, *not*  
"work) M.A. never did  
exert all her faculties.

as I have, without being  
sure that she has the good  
will to work in this, or in  
any other good cause, if she  
did but see her way.

Mary objects to your position,  
that 'work' will tell the worker  
whether God 'be a God of prayer  
or a God of Law'--& instances  
'Mère Angelique'--Mormons  
& other good workers who have  
lived & died in untrue principles

**f125**

Is there not some mistake  
in the passage in the last  
page of your letter, which  
begins 'Of this sick life  
&c?

I will bring up your  
letter & book tomorrow.  
Yr affc  
S.S.  
Combe-Tuesday  
Your mother goes to Ravensbourne  
tomorrow--We know no more

ff127-30 in Uncle Sam hand? On stuff [1860 Mr S. Smith criticisms on  
Jowett's criticism on stuff hard to read]

The problem which B. Jowett proposes is the reconciliation  
of 'Law' with 'Free Agency'  
Admitting that we have evidence (unto which we  
as it wd involve illeg examination of  
the whole of the illeg  
do not illeg) that the rule we illeg reveals  
a righteous illeg all the Vice & Misery which

**ff131-33** TO UNCLE SAM PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f131**

Jan 4 1861 {IN PENCIL}

Dear U. Sam

I cannot be happy  
without making you  
understand (in case Dr.  
S. did not) that

1. I am quite ready  
to write the letters ~~in~~ poor  
Bl. wishes. But

2. I consider Lowe's  
letter final: and I,  
from my experience of  
official life, think  
farther interference  
prejudicial

3. Johnson's opinion  
that weather has any  
effect on A.H.C's case



**f131v**

is certainly wrong

4. the account of  
A.H.C. is certainly good  
altogether

5. (but not at all  
in consequence of 4.)  
one month more or one  
month less will make  
no difference in his case

6. he may come  
back in February as  
in March, & do  
several months work  
at his office

7. he may come back  
in March or April  
as in February & won't

**f132**

be able to hold the Office  
for more than months.

But 8. my judgment  
is not final. And  
I am ready to do  
whatever is wished.

-----

I hope you don't  
suppose that there is  
any misunderstanding  
between me & Lord H.

**f133 [NOTE blue pencil]**

I don't at all doubt this.

On the contrary I have always thought  
B. so essential to him that she ought  
never to be away from him.

His, tho' an aggravated, is not an  
~~ess~~ unusual case. And he, like all  
such, wants never to draw on his  
own mind either for a decision or  
for amusement

**ff134-35** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM {ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH'S HEALTH AND PLANS}  
PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN arch [1861]: **[1:479]**

**f134**

Dear Uncle Sam

I think AHC by  
no means well enough  
to return to work in  
a hurry.

I have told him  
what I think, viz.  
that he wants  
travelling, amusement,  
want of thought.

I know that Bl.'s  
condition makes  
difficulties -- but they  
should be got over.

It is difficult, without

**f134v**

alarming a man too  
much) as they have  
done with Mr. Herbert)  
to tell him how  
serious his case is.

I am certain that  
he ought to have now  
six weeks (best only  
a fortnight at each)  
at 2 or 3 different places  
with Bl & the children  
-- & then 3 months  
travelling abroad at  
Paris & in Greece, where  
he seems to have a  
fancy to go. I fear  
Bl. cannot go with

**f135**

him. I wish some  
man could. He ought  
not to travel alone.

I have written  
to Bl. but of course  
without alarming  
her.

I hardly think  
she is at all  
aware that minor  
considerations must  
be postponed to his  
state.

F.N.

**ff136-43v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (ADSHEAD'S DEATH) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f136**

30 O. B. St.

Feb 25/61

**[16:624-26]**

Dear Uncle Sam

Adshead of Manchester  
is dead -- my best pupil.

I wrote to condole  
with a friend of his  
-- intending my letter  
to be sent to his widow  
whom I do not know --  
saying how great the  
loss was -- & how I  
hoped that Manchester  
would pay his memory  
the tribute which, of

**f136v**

all others, he would have  
liked -- the carrying  
out his plans (all  
finished) for a  
Country Hospital

The friend writes  
me back the answer  
(enclosed) asking me  
to let my letter be  
published

And this is  
what I want to  
consult you about.

I am afraid  
you do not know who  
Adshead is. So I must

**f137**

explain.

How often I have  
called him my "dear  
old Addle=head".  
And now he is dead.

I had a letter  
from him about his  
plans -- perhaps the  
last he ever wrote --  
saying he was "better".  
And then the next  
thing was -- a pair  
of black gloves and  
a fine white Mausoleum  
printed on a black  
card -- from the Undertaker.

**f137v**

-- dear old custom of  
my North country --  
which I have so  
carefully fulfilled  
for my own old  
people & cannot  
laugh at -- minus the  
Mausoleum.

Adshead was a  
man who could  
hardly write or speak  
the Queen's English  
(I believe he raised  
himself) & was now  
a kind of Manufacturer's  
Agent in Manchester.

**f138**

[2]

He was a man of  
very ordinary abilities;  
common=place appearance  
-- vulgar but *never*  
unbusiness=like  
which is, I think,  
the worst kind of  
vulgarity.

Having made  
"a competency", he  
did not give up  
business, but devoted  
himself to good works  
for Manchester --  
And there is scarcely  
a good thing in

**f138v**

Manchester of which  
he has not been  
the main=stay or  
the source --  
    the Schools  
        Infirmary  
        Paving &  
        Draining  
        Water=supply  
        &c &c &c  
        &c &c &c

At 60, he takes up  
an entirely new  
subject, Hospital  
Construction, fired  
by my book, &  
determines to master  
it.

**f139**

    This is what I think  
is peculiar to the  
Anglo=Saxon.

    He writes to me  
whether I will  
teach him -- (this is  
about 18 months ago)  
and composes some  
plans for a Convalescent  
Hospital ~~for~~ out of Manchester,  
to become the main  
Hospital, if the wind  
is favourable.

    He comes up  
to London to see me  
about these.

    The working plans

**f139v**

passed eight times  
thro' my hands and  
gave me more  
trouble than anything  
I ever did -- *Because*  
*Adshead would*  
*not* employ a proper  
Builder but *would*  
do them himself  
-- which is part  
of the *same character*,  
I believe.

The plans are  
now quite ready --  
but nothing more.

He meant to *beg*

**f140**

[3]

*in person* all over  
Lancashire -- & had  
already some promises  
of large sums.

Now all this is  
cut short.

He had been  
ailing for about a  
year -- but never  
intermitted anything.

I don't know  
whether you remember  
that I had a three  
months' correspondence  
with him (and  
oh! the immense trouble  
he took) about the

**f140v**

transplantation of  
the Spitalfields &  
Coventry weavers  
to Manchester & its  
districts, Preston,  
Burnley &c And  
how ill Miss Sellon  
behaved. It never  
came to any thing  
about *her* people.  
I hate Miss Sellon  
now for it, because  
I think it hastened  
his death, tho' *he*  
would not have  
minded it, if it  
had come to good.

**f141**

He was 61 when he  
died.

This is the character  
which I believe is  
quite peculiar to our  
race -- a man -- a  
common tradesman --  
who, instead of  
"retiring from the  
world" to "make  
his salvation" -- or  
giving himself up  
to science or to his  
family in his old age  
-- or founding an  
Order -- or building a  
house -- will patiently



**f141v**

(at 60) learn new  
dodges & new=fangled  
ideas in order to  
benefit his native  
city.

Oh how superior  
I do feel this sort  
of character to the  
Sutherlands who  
pursue the same  
things for the love  
of science & capriciously  
-- to the Sellons  
who cut themselves  
off from the world  
& from all progress  
in ideas to found

**f142**

[4]

"Orders" -- to the  
statesmen, like Lord  
Spencer, & to the  
R. Catholics like  
Pascal, who retire  
from their life's  
business for their  
own "individual  
"Salvation".

And how I do  
feel that it is the  
strength of our country,  
& worth all the  
R. Catholic "Orders"  
put together. I  
hate an "Order" &

**f142v**

am so glad I was  
never "let in" to  
form one --  
-----

Do you know that  
St. George's Hosp<sup>L</sup>  
have embezzled  
A. Morley's legacy  
for a Convalescent  
Branch? and that  
Adshead was  
actually employed,  
when he died, upon  
my information, in  
trying whether it  
were legally possible

**f143**

to institute Chancery  
proceedings against  
them. For it was  
*not only* Manchester  
that he cared about.

However, that is  
all over now -- And  
his plan for Manchester  
is the only one which  
will fulfil my ideal  
of a Country Hospital.

Now, what is  
to be done? For that  
is the question.

I don't want  
to be dragged into

**f143v**

holding subscription  
Lists -- neither into  
an opposition to all  
the Manchester Doctors  
There is a hot  
controversy in the  
Manchester papers  
now -- EVERY day one  
side or the other  
sends me an Article

Please return  
the enclosed

Every yours gratefully  
F.N.

**[end 16:626]**

**f144** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (OFFICERS CHILDREN'S SCHOOL) PEN HANDWRITTEN  
BY FN

Dear Uncle Sam

It would be a  
great pity if this  
school should fail.

But I don't care  
a doit about the  
Officers.

Let her ask  
Major Yelverton --  
not me.

Will you tell  
her so?

ever yours gratefully  
F.N.

Mar 7/61

f145 letter to FN from Julia Ellis Officers Children's School,  
Aldershot, re FN's interest in soldiers.  
has FN comment on it: Yes but not with the  
officers F.N.

**ff149-50** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (UNHAPPY EX-PROBATIONER) PEN HANDWRITTEN  
BY FN

**f149**

Dear Uncle Sam

Would you choke off this  
woman pretty strongly -- returning her  
her certificates.

I think it *is* rather hard  
for her to scold me for having  
tried to get her in as a Probationer  
-- when it was *she* who asked  
*me* thro' Mrs. Herbert & I dissuaded  
the latter by every argument in  
my power -- saying "she would never do".

I had to write four letters  
to get her in & now I have to  
write a fifth to say she won't  
come.

There is no "Sister's" place  
vacant. And if there were, they

**f149v**

would take one from their own people.

She *must* NOT let me hear from her again.

Please give her a very strong expression of opinion from yourself that, seeing the utter impossibility of my finding her a situation & my being so ill, her writing to me in that tone is &c &c

If she would think for one moment, how am I to find her a place?

By setting up a Register Office?

The mischief she does *me* is that these kinds of letters

**f150**

from old friends deprive me of the little sleep I get -- while I am equally incapable of serving them.

I don't justify my weakness in this.

I only say, leading the *unnatural* life I do, such are always its *natural* consequences.

F.N.

Please don't delay returning the certificates. She will be calling every hour.

**ff153-58** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MRS SHAW STEWART) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f153**

30. Old Burlington Street.

W. [printed address]

May 17/61

Dear Uncle Sam

I don't know what  
to do with Mrs. Shaw  
Stewart's letters, of  
which I enclose one.

I think it *must*  
be opened. But it  
always consumes a  
week of my strength  
to read her letters.

One has preceded  
this (addressed to  
A.H.C. too) *16 large=paper=*  
*pages* long in close  
small

**f153v**

written lines -- to the  
effect that, as my  
health "or" my "temper"  
(sic/ prevents my  
"reading or writing" my  
"own letters" to her, (sic)  
she addresses this to  
him, "a scholar, a  
lawyer, a gentleman  
& one of H.M's  
Education Commissioners"  
(sic). I need not  
recapitulate the letter.  
I dare say Aunt  
Mai could say it off

**f154**

to you by heart. It  
is all the old story  
(1) about my treason  
to her (2) about  
having "chaste" women,  
(as if we wanted to  
have *unchaste* ones)  
(3) the same wilful  
confusion ~~about~~ between  
"printing" & "publishing",  
(referring to the Private  
Report) (4) trying to  
convince A.H.C. that  
I am wrong now  
about *all* my Hospital opinions;  
because I was wrong

**f154v**

in ~~an~~ Hospital opinion, which  
she quotes for the  
100th time, & which  
I told her ~~of~~ I was  
wrong in -- in my  
Kaiserswerth pamphlet  
printed 11 years ago  
(5) ignoring or rather  
refusing to believe  
that I am in ill  
health.

Of course I have  
not told poor A.H.C.  
of this shell exploded  
to his address. And  
I am now rather at

**f155**

[2]

a loss what to do about  
this 2nd letter. The occasion of the  
1st was this: --

Three old Military Hospitals in  
England Woolwich, Portsmouth, Plymouth are to be put  
on the footing of  
General Hospitals --  
which includes  
Female Nursing --  
which includes *her* --

[Woolwich] {IN PENCIL}

One of them will be  
actually ready in  
6 weeks -- And (if I  
can bring Mr. Herbert  
up to the scratch,)  
organized by that time.

I thought it wrong

**f155v**

TO HER not to allow  
her a voice in these  
plans-- And I sent  
~~them~~ copies to her on Feb 28.  
And she has kept  
them till this time,  
merely for the sake  
of giving herself time  
to write this diatribe.  
There are about 3  
words about the  
plans, "sinks" &c.  
And those might  
have been written  
by a barbarian of  
the 15th century.



**f156**

It is quite out of  
the question that  
I should ever trouble  
her again for hints.  
For she gives ~~me~~  
none.

And she makes  
the being asked an  
occasion to write  
all the old abuse  
about me to A.H.C.  
(poor A.H.C.!!!) -- the  
real provocation in  
her mind being  
that she is precluded  
from the pleasure  
of abusing  
me in person. [She

**f156v**

almost says as much]

But the real grief  
in my mind is that  
this should be the  
woman to begin the  
new Military Hospital  
scheme. And yet I  
cannot find another.

If she is mad,  
what will she *not* do?  
and if she is not,  
how much worse we  
must think of her?  
Her letter to A.H.C.  
is not cruel, it is  
*brutal*. For  
what could have been her  
object in writing it? Merely  
if she could, to "aggravate" him against me?

**f157**

[3]

I have written so much to you, (especially the information about the Hospitals -- it is the old Woolwich Hospital which is to be ready on June 24 for the new scheme of Organization, IF Ld H. can be got to execute his own intentions. But he has neglected more important things than these) because it may help you to answer

**f157v**

her letter.

It is needless to say that all her hints (such as they were) about the plans came too late. For the W.O, probably because it is so slow itself, never *of course* waits for other people's slowness. And if I were to show you *what* she made us wait upwards of 2 months for!!!

ever yours gratefully

F.N.

**f158**

[4]

But, (~~if~~ perhaps she asks the question,) there is no chance of Portsmouth & Plymouth being done this year, for there is no money.

But oh! the useless writing which is the real grievance of all this business of hers

F.N.

f159 Sam Smith to FN from Lea Hurst re Mrs Shaw Stewart May 23

f161 Jane Shaw Stewart letter to Sam Smith from St John's House, Norfolk St. May 22 1861

**ff163-64** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM re MRS SHAW STEWART, PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED END OF MAY, 1861

**f163**

Dear Uncle Sam

Do not please mention my "plan" to Mr. Bracebridge -- & warn Aunt Mai not to do so.

"Mrs. S.S.'s demand" was not "in her letter to AHC of May 6" which I have -- & you have not seen. It was you who told me of it her "demand" in a letter (from Lea Hurst (I think)

**f163v**

I think it must have  
been after that letter  
to AHC which you  
opened at my request  
& which I suppose you have --  
altho' from your  
(then) letter to me,  
I argued that it was  
in ~~the~~ her letter to yourself,  
"regretting AHC's  
illness."

I would certainly  
you did *not* write to her  
*unless* you can find  
the supposed request.  
She will only take it  
as an "additional insult"

**f164**

There is no "uneasiness"  
between me & Ld H.  
I ~~don't~~ am sure that  
he does not at all  
realize what I feel  
about his failure --  
but thinks I do not  
see him or write to him  
because of my own  
health.

**f166** letter of Jane Shaw Stewart to Sam Smith

St John's House,  
Norfolk St., ..W.C.  
June 8, 1861  
Dear Sir,

You received, I dare say, my note  
of May 22, referring to my letter to Mr. Clough  
of May 6. I request you to be so kind as to let  
me known in the course of next week, ending  
June 15, whether Miss Nightingale wishes  
me to hold myself at liberty to serve as  
Nurse in the contemplated Female Service,  
and if so, I shall do so. In that case I also  
request to know when that service is likely  
to begin.

Sincerely hoping that your accounts of  
Mr Clough are favourable,

I am

Dear Sir,

Yours very truly,  
Jane Shaw Stewart  
Samuel Smith Esq.

**ff167-67v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (re PORTRAIT OF FN FOR QUEEN VICTORIA & DUKE OF WELLINGTON) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f167**

This is one of the  
best men we have --  
& has made one of  
the best Reading Rooms  
we have. I only  
wish it had not  
asked me for my  
portrait.

Shall I send the  
Queen (big) & the  
D. of Wellington (big)  
& a little photograph  
of me? If so, could  
Aunt Mai get Parthe  
to have the Steell of  
me photographed -- or

**f167v**

would she buy me  
a photograph of  
myself & send it  
here for me to  
sign?

Please return  
me his letter.

The P.S. is  
important.

**f168** ADDRESS OF CAPTAIN PILKINGTON JACKSON PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

Captain Pilkington Jackson  
Royal Artillery  
(to the account of the "Gibraltar &  
other Soldiers' Homes")  
65 Chapel St  
Devonport

{WRITTEN IN PENCIL, SIDEWAYS, ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE, SS hand}

June 11/61

Sent him

£5 from Mary [?]

£5 [illeg] for?] [illeg Hanble?]

**f169** NOTE TO UNCLE SAM (MISS MATILDA WRENCH) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN  
JUNE 11, 1861 Sent Miss Wrench £2 from Flo £1 from self

I believe all this:  
tho' I don't know the  
woman from Adam.

Would you send her  
£2 for me: at the  
same time giving  
her a hint that  
to write to me at all  
is much like  
"Borrioboola=Gha"  
vide Dickens' Bleak House  
Because £2 can do  
nothing for her. I should  
like to have given my  
help.

f177 from Shaw Stewart, on House of Commons embossed paper  
June 17 [1861]

Mrs Shaw Stewart begs  
to be apprised as soon  
as anything is known  
as to the time of beginning  
service--*And she reiterated*  
*her determination to be*  
*nothing* but a Nurse--not  
a Superint--[illeg]  
or particular--What

contd f 178  
shall I say to "L  
Bucket'? You have  
.....hard to read

**f177v** in FN hand

All the names Governor &c for the  
"General Hosp" were sent  
to Lord Herbert on Friday  
And whatever is done  
will be done before July 10 ~~in this~~  
~~month~~ or not at all,  
for the best of all possible  
reasons.

What *is* the use  
of Mrs S.S. worrying  
in this way? Why,  
of course she will know.  
How should she not  
know? If she puts  
an end to it by  
declining to take it  
"for a year," (the proposition  
which will be made to  
her) she will still



**f178v** INCOMPLETE LETTER TO UNCLE SAM PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

know. The reason  
why I am so cross  
is that she is  
worrying Miss Jones  
just the same, who  
writes to me, to  
whom I have  
written the same  
thing over & over  
again every week.

f179 letter from Berlin June 10 1861 to FN from L. Bucher for leave to  
translate Notes on Nursing. In the moment of leaving England after a  
ten years' exile from my native land, had your Notes on Nursing given  
me by a German lady with request to introduce the book into German.

**f180v** NOTE REGARDING Mlle BUNSEN'S GERMAN TRANS. PEN HANDWRITTEN BY  
FN, on back of above letter from Berlin

Mlle Bunsen's German  
translation is out  
(published by Brockhaus  
Leipzig) with a very  
idiotic preface by a very  
clever man, Dr. Wolff,

I have two copies in  
the house -- or I should  
not have believed it  
was done.

**f181**

stationery of Ladies' Sanitary Association  
14a Princes Street, Cavendish Sq London W.

May 28 1861

Madam,

I beg to inform  
you that Subscriptions  
to the above Association,  
are now due.

I am, Madam,  
Your obedient servant,  
E.S. Griffiths  
Corresponding Secy.  
Miss F. Nightingale

**f181v** NOTE REGARDING THE LADIES' SANITARY ASSOCIATION PEN HANDWRITTEN  
BY FN

I give  
£1.1 for  
Mrs. Sutherland's  
sake, *provided* they  
don't send me any more  
of their stupid books, & don't  
let this unbusiness like woman  
write any more of these unbusiness  
like letters. F.N.

**ff182-85v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MRS SCHWABE) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f182**

30. Old Burlington Street.  
W. [printed address]  
June 20/61

[7:325]

Dear U. Sam

I find (in the Hotel)  
that Mrs. Schwabe  
desired all letters to  
be sent to

University Hall  
Gower St.

So perhaps it is safer  
to write there than  
to Manchester.

She told me that,  
*by the desire of Naples,*

**f182v**

SHE was to collect all  
the money, and I was  
to write all the Statūtes

I suppose she said  
this a hundred & fifty  
times, fumbling all  
the time among all  
my papers on the  
table, like a mad  
woman, as if she  
expected to find  
all the Statūtes there.

"You are to do all  
the clerical work &

**f183**

write all the Statūtes,"  
she repeated "*as you  
do for the Army*".

I really thought  
she might be in the  
first stage of a  
brain fever.

She congratulated  
me upon my appearance  
of health -- And,  
tho' I really talked  
as loud & as fast  
as I possibly could.  
~~But~~ I doubt if  
she heard a word.

**f183v**

It would signify  
little, if I did not  
know her to be a  
woman of extraordinary  
energy -- & by this time  
she may have cited  
me to all Manchester  
as being about to  
write "the Statūtes"  
for "Ragged Schools  
"Infant       "  
"Industrial   "  
"Provident Societies  
&c &c &c &c at  
Naples" (sic) I am  
exactly repeating her  
words.

**f184**

I could not find  
that she had done  
anything, except see  
Ly Shaftesbury & me.

"And you & Ly  
Shaftesbury and Ly S.  
and you" will, she repeated.

Neither had she the  
least intention of doing  
anything but talk.  
She had not an idea  
of remaining an hour  
in London for this or of  
writing a letter herself.

But she actually  
told me to write  
a letter to a lady

**f184v**

(whom we all of us  
know) & send her  
down to *her* at Manchester.

In Italy she had  
made no kind of  
enquiry -- tho' she  
had been at Turin  
& tho' she told me  
all she had said  
to Poerio & all she  
had said to Garibaldi  
at Cassera -- & all  
she had said to her  
hired coachman  
at Naples -- but  
nothing of what these  
had said to her.

**f185**

But, as I say, she  
is a woman of such  
restless activity  
that it does not do  
to let things bide  
with her.

She came here  
nearly every day for  
a month last year,  
to get information  
about Hospital Stores  
to send out to  
Garibaldi & really  
did succeed in it.

Her visit (just  
last month) to Caprera  
is to be a

**f185v**

dead secret, she  
told me -- And  
Garibaldi's letter  
is to appear as if  
unprompted.

If she can be induced  
to write something  
practical to you,  
I think that something  
might be done to help.  
But don't tell her that her  
conversation ever yours  
with me F.N.  
was repeated  
to you -- For she begged me  
not.

**ff186-88v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED JUNE 22,  
1861

**f186**

30. Old Burlington Street.

**[8:785-86]**

W. [printed address]

Dear Uncle Sam

This is not what  
Mme Schwabe said  
to me yesterday.

She came to me  
with one of the most  
preposterous plans,  
I think which  
ever occurred to woman.  
viz. That I should  
help *her* to set up  
a whole system of

**f186v**

Education at Naples  
(she to be neither  
at Naples nor  
even in London)

And she has made  
Garibaldi actually  
write a letter to  
the women of England  
which will appear  
in a few days -- in  
all the papers.

She preached me  
a Sermon, apparently  
learnt by heart,

**f187**

into which I could  
not interpolate one  
word -- she went  
on so fast & so  
loud --

    All that I  
could cram in  
(*& that* writing  
it down & thrusting  
it into her hand)  
were the names  
of Italian women  
in Italy -- who  
had done something  
for Education there.

    She wanted me  
to write to half the

**f187v**

people in London.

    What I want  
you please, to do  
is to write to

    Madame Schwabe  
    Manchester  
in your own name --  
& to ask her to put  
on paper what she  
wants -- to you --

    I told her that  
the only practical  
thing -- instead  
of all her wild  
notions -- (she  
actually told me  
that the Italians



**f188**

wanted to persuade  
me to come over  
& do it myself)  
would be to invite  
the Sisters of Charity  
(Italians) from Turin  
who are for  
Education, to send  
a Staff to Naples.  
And that in  
England we could  
perhaps ~~do~~ raise  
a Subsn towards  
the expences.  
But she is so

**f188v**

utterly ignorant  
of her own subject  
(she thinks  
that S. of Charity  
are only for  
Hosppls!! & that  
they set up on their  
own hook where  
they like!)  
that I wish  
I had never seen  
her.

**[end 8:786]**

ff189- Mme Schwabe to SS

**f197v** NOTE REGARDING LETTER FROM HANNAH SYLVIA HANNE [?] PEN  
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED JULY 3, 1861

Please answer this fool. But  
don't give her my address.  
This came to me  
thro' Ld Herbert.  
Ansd *July 3*

on letter to FN June 28, Eaton Terrace  
Belgravia  
HANNAH Sylvia HANNE

**ff198-201** TRACT TO THE CHRISTIAN MOTHERS OF ENGLAND PRINTED {SEE  
PHOTOCOPIES}

f202 letter to Sir from Rhodes House, nr Manchester from Julie Salis

Add Mss 45792

322

Schwabe re Garibaldi appeal, will send Ms

f205 letter to FN from Charles Batty from 196 Marylebone Rd, re  
diagram of patent atmospheric grate, marked Ansd July 15

**f206v** NOTE REGARDING LETTER FROM CHARLES BATTY PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN  
DATED JULY 15, 1861

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:}

Please thank  
him & say why I  
can't see him. Galton's  
grate is the one which  
has set on foot all these  
"Improved Grates" & has thereby  
done a great benefit. But  
this is by no means so good  
as some of the other "Patents" --  
thus started by Galton's  
original

{WRITTEN STRAIGHT:}

Batty {SS HAND}  
Grate Manufacturer  
Ansd July 15

f207 letter to FN from William Moseley, Edenhurst Fulham, re an  
evangelical minister

**f208v** NOTE REGARDING LETTER FROM WILLIAM MOSELEY PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN  
DATED JULY 15, 1861

Montague might do  
for this old man --  
or would you simply  
answer that I am in  
no condition to make  
a Registry Office?

Don't give him my  
address.

This came round.

Dr Moseley {SS hand to end}  
wants a Nurse  
can't help him  
July 15/61

f209 letter to FN Dr Moseley presents his compliments to Miss N re her  
not answering his letter, well known to Mr Bickersteth.... with FN  
comment

**f210v** NOTE REGARDING LETTER FROM WILLIAM MOSELEY PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN,

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:}  
Is this from  
the same old  
gentleman of 90, for  
whom I thought perhaps  
Montague would do?  
I think he must be answered.  
Please tell him too I have left Hamp=  
stead these 6 months (he writes there)  
but don't tell him where I am.

**f212v** NOTE REGARDING LETTER FROM JOHN CRAIG (VICAR OF LEAMINGTON)  
ABOUT THE DISCHARGED SOLDIER, JAMES BLOOMFIELD PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN  
23 July 1861

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:}  
On the case,  
as set before me,  
no reason whatever  
can be assigned why  
the man should come to  
London. He will be better at  
the Eye Infy either at Southam or at  
Birmingham.

I do not remember the man,  
tho' his story may be quite probably true.

-----  
Ansd 24 July  
SS

**ff213-16** draft LETTER TO DAVID SMITH (HOSPITAL PLANS) PEN HANDWRITTEN  
BY FN DATED AUGUST 1, 1861

To David Smith Esq. {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN}  
chairman House Comee Glasgow Royal Infirmary  
(He is a shoemaker) Please write **[16:537-39]**  
very respectfully:

"to thank him very much for the  
Reports

"to say that I do not know  
how to thank him for the kindness  
of his invitation -- but ~~that~~ which it is  
quite impossible for me to accept,  
because I am confined to bed, --  
have not been out of these walls  
for 6 1/2 months, nor for 3 1/2 years  
have been out except to be moved  
in an Invalid Carriage" (It is  
necessary to say this -- because, you  
see, Isa Craig, who knows it  
perfectly well, does not)

"I have looked over the plan of  
the new part of the Hospital & should  
have felt the greatest diffidence in

**f213v**

criticizing it, had not reference been made to the "central fire place" in the wards, as being a suggestion of mine. I have certainly suggested central fire places with the view of saving heat, & increasing window=space & bed=space. It certainly never occurred to me to carry the chimneys up inside the wards. In a large Hospital, about to be erected, every long ward will have two central fire places but no chimneys. The flues will all be carried under the floors & up the outer walls. It is of the greatest importance, in any system of good nursing & administration, to have the ward clear from end to end.

The Pavilion plan of structure I have also advocated: on account of its great sanitary advantages for sick.

**f214**

This plan, you say, has ~~also~~ been adopted in the present instance (of Glasgow). But it has been so adopted as to negative many of the results aimed at. E.g. there are beds against the end walls -- whereas the Pavilion structure says: a window between every two beds, at most, & no more than one bed therefore in any corner.

Again, the wards, instead of being open from end to end, are shut up by water=closets, scullery, nurses' rooms, day room & small wards. It would have simplified the construction immensely to have had all your Administrative Offices at the end next the stair. Besides, for really good Hospital discipline, you *must* have your Sculleries and Nurses' rooms *not* at the far end of the ward but at its entrance. And

**f214v**

for the Patient's sake, certainly no small wards should be there viz. at the far end. The wards of each Pavilion should open straight into the air at the far end by a large end window. The W.C.'s, Bath & Ablution rooms should be at the far off corners on each side of the large end window; with windows to the open air on three sides, -- & should not opening directly into the ward.

Again, you have no less than four flights of wards -- whereas one floor (& never more than two) of wards ~~are~~ is the best & now the actually adopted principle.

Again, your Nurses are in the basement whereas, in dwellings even, the use of basements is ~~& a~~ becoming (& always should be) discontinued altogether.

**f215**

I can hardly understand the intention of putting "40 Patients" into these basements "in case of pressure upon Hospital space" (Report. P.6) Does it mean that, when the Hospital is most crowded, & most care is required, it is contemplated to put the excess into cellars, where experience teaches that no serious case will recover?

Again, is it true of these basements, where the Report proposes to put sick, that the back wall is near an old burial ground? If so, is not the exercising ground over the same Burial ground (as shewn in Elevation) so that the living above will walk over the dead below? It puts me in mind of a London Hospital, lately extended by excavating & removing thousands of

**f215v**

corpses.

As it is intended to present the plans before the "Social Science Meeting" at Dublin, I have (sadly & unwillingly) felt it the more necessary to do what I can to guard the principles of Hospital construction from mis-application. Certainly, as applied at Glasgow, they are hardly to be recognised as the same principles.

[I laid a short summary of these before the Liverpool "Social Science" Meeting.]

A number of new Hospitals are now being built, ~~in Engla~~ in which these principles are correctly applied.

F.N.

**f216**

P.S.

It would be quite essential to pull down the small houses on the fourth side of the square, to secure a better external ventilation.

F.N.

The Mortality, as indicated in the Report, is exceedingly high. Paul Tossinard, a well known French Medical writer, has lately published the fact that the ill=success of Surgical Operations in Glasgow Infirmary is notorious among the Hospls in Great Britain (from no want of Surgical skill but from ~~the~~ circumstances connected with the Hospital itself)

[end]



f218 Julie Salis Schwabe to Sam Smith re his letter re FN, with env  
f222

f223 letter to FN Aug 5 1861 from John Bullar, Basset Wood, nr Southampton [definitely John]. I heartily rejoice that by publishing your ? book in a sixpenny edition, you have provided the means of a more extensive circulation of instruction that are of universal concern, and that ought to be found in every family, high and low, which, also it may be confidently hoped, will do the inestimable service of teaching many to observe and reflect who have yet to learn the "art of seeing." May a stranger, much interested in your objects, be allowed, respectfully to suggest ...even in the present cheap for of your book, the little folks who are most employed in "Minding Baby" are not likely to get hold of the valuable chapter...to be printed alone. Booksellers find that very small pubs give them, a good deal of trouble....Will you grant me the favour of permitting me to get a few hundred copies of "Minding Baby" printed at Southampton for my own gratuitous distribution at my own expence.

**f224v** NOTE on above letter FROM JOHN BULLAR WHO ASKS PERMISSION TO REPRINT ALONE "MINDING BABY" PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY ON THE LAST PAGE OF BULLAR'S LETTER:}

To thank  
him very much  
& tell him I am  
particularly pleased  
he likes "Minding Baby" --  
that what he proposes would  
please me particularly but the  
book is out of my own hands --  
and he must write to Harrison --  
which I should be very glad  
he should do.

f225 Sam Smith letter to Sir from Combe Hurst, Kingston re FN unable to answer

f227 John Bullar to Sam Smith, acknowledges his

**ff229-32v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MR WHITFIELD) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED AUGUST, 1861

**f229**

Dr U. Sam

There was a man  
who said, when his wife  
was burnt by spontaneous  
combustion, "Sweep up  
your missis & bring  
fresh glasses". [Dr. J.  
is that man]. But to  
me the process is so  
agonizing of sweeping up  
my dead master's ashes  
that I will ask you to  
give *no one* my address  
at Hampstead. I shall

**f229v**

be found out quite soon  
enough. With your  
permission, I shall  
always give my address  
in future

(care of S. Smith Esq.  
6 Whitehall)

I allude particularly  
to Chadwick and to  
the Herberts, who may  
probably ask you for  
the purpose of calling  
on me. I shall hope  
that my address will  
be ignored at this Hotel  
~~place~~ & that no one

**f230**

will give it ~~here~~ to the  
people here.

Du reste, you know  
that, for letters, "Hampstead"  
will find me only too  
well from those who  
*must* know that I am  
there.

But I cannot have  
people calling with  
models or propositions,  
now that I am so ill.  
To any one whom I  
want to see I can  
write myself.

Mrs. Bracebridge  
told a lie to A H Clough

**f230v**

about my health to spare  
him -- me consentient  
after the fact. And I  
cannot see why people  
should not tell lies  
in order to spare me.

===

I have a letter from  
Beatrice, announcing her  
safe arrival. But as  
the only news in it is  
about Tom, I will not  
"insult" you by sending  
it down to you.

====

I am anxious that  
H.B.C. should have some  
acknowledgment for his  
labour and, [ends abruptly]

**f231 arch:** [Aug. 1861]

[1]

Mr. Whitfield has written me an  
immense letter, full of mistakes  
about Hospital plans, including that  
for the removal of St. Thomas

**[16:784-85]**

Also the enclosed -- as to which  
please to tell me what I (or any  
one) can do.

Mr. W. is one of my many friends  
who is always preaching to me to  
do nothing & compelling me to do  
something & that something 1000  
times more harassing than my own

**f231v**

[2]

business.

Would you write & tell him  
 (in civil language)  
 that ~~my~~ a great & overwhelming  
 affliction entirely precludes me  
 from attending to any but pressing  
 business at present

[he knows this just as well as  
 you do: how happy widows are,  
 because people don't write them  
 harassing letters in the first weeks  
 of their widowhood -- & yet I

**f232**

know no widow so desolate as I]

[16:409]

that he appears entirely to have  
 misapprehended the Woolwich Hospital plans for  
 every objection he makes to them  
 is answered by the plans them=  
 selves -- in fact, his own letter  
 answers itself

that I will write as soon  
 as I am able & shew, point by  
 point, how the plans exactly  
 correspond to his requirements

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS, IN PEN, SS hand  
 Ansd. Aug. 9  
 to Whitfield.

**f232v**

[4]

as put forth in his letter --

that meanwhile I entreat him  
 not to spread his statement  
 concerning them till I can have  
 shewn him his error -- not as  
 to principles but as to the  
 actual facts of the plans --

[end 16:409]

don't take any notice (to him)  
 about the letter about his son --  
 no wonder he wishes it to be  
 "private"

& don't give him my direction

[end 16:785]

**ff233-36** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (EMPLOYMENT FOR MR WHITFIELD'S SON) PEN  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f233**

Hampstead NW

Sept 2/61

Dear Uncle Sam

**[16:571-72]**

I enclose you a  
2nd letter of Mr. Whitfd's  
about his son; & beg  
you to be so kind  
as to answer it.

I have made  
every enquiry at the  
fountain=heads  
(magnify to him the  
extent of my  
exertions as much  
as you can)  
& find

**f233v**

1. as to Govt Dockyards  
They do employ some  
but "very few" Civil  
Engineers. And it  
would be most "difficult"  
to introduce one there  
now.

2. as to the War Office  
They employ "none", of  
course.

3. As to Contractors  
They choose their own  
"& generally not" (with  
a great 'not' underlined  
a great many times)  
"gentlemen".

**f234**

My authority  
concluded his answer  
to me with a very  
strong caution "that  
"a man is always  
"spoiled & lost who  
"goes into Govt employ=  
ment".

My authorities  
also said: "his  
"best chance of  
"employment is from  
"the leading men of  
"his own profession  
"who are always  
"wanting assistance  
"of some sort -- perhaps

**f234v**

"he is too grand for  
"that".

However correct or  
incorrect this  
information may be,  
it is quite obvious  
that my authorities  
do not intend to do  
anything. And  
therefore it is useless  
my going on.

I trouble you to  
write this to Mr.  
W. because he is  
quite capable, from  
my five years experience

**f235**

of him, of writing  
to me next, if  
I write to him, to  
ask me to apply  
to the Sultan at  
Constantinople for  
his son, "in consequence  
"of my known  
"influence in that  
"quarter" -- (that  
is his favourite  
formula).

A H. Clough  
says "there is

**f235v**

"nothing people  
"think too selfish,  
"exacting, mean  
"or false to do  
"for their own  
"families"

He does not  
often give us a  
sentiment. I re=  
echo this.

[end 16:572]

=====

I hope you received  
a note from Sir H.  
Verney to me about  
Robert; with an  
enclosure from R.R.

**f236**

which Sir H.V. wished  
to have returned

=====

Please tell Aunt  
Mai not to think  
of coming here  
tomorrow (Tuesday)  
Mornng -- even were  
she thinking of it  
as I could not  
profit by it.

ever yrs gratefully  
F.N.



**ff237-37v** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (IRISH WOMAN WANTING TO ENTER NURSING)  
PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f237**

Sept 17/61

Dear Uncle Sam

Would you answer  
this Irish fool something  
according to the enclosed  
& without giving her my  
address.

My impression  
is that it is an honest  
letter, only written by an  
Irish fool. But it may  
be from the Yelverton=  
Salisbury faction.

Whether or no  
you would civilly ask her what  
good she could expect  
to come from keeping  
the anonymous, whereas  
she expects me to do  
just the contrary, I leave

**f237v**

to your better judgment.

She had got my  
address (30 O. B. St) quite  
pat -- which is  
wonderful

If you can put  
about "my own hand"  
less conceitedly, I should  
be glad -- I mean that  
I would write to her  
"between herself & me".

It is curious that  
she does not know  
whether she has lost  
a "parent" or a "child"  
vide 2nd page.

**ff240-40v** DRAFT OF A LETTER TO BE SENT TO IRISH WOMAN WANTING TO ENTER  
NURSING PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED SEPTEMBER 25, 1861

**f240** {IN PEN, IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S (POSSIBLY UNCLE SAM'S):}

Sent this Answer  
to A.F.  
P.O  
Youghal  
*Sept 25 [1861]*

{IN PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}  
Madam

Miss N. is obliged  
to make it a rule to  
answer no anonymous  
letters for reasons  
which will be readily  
obvious to you

She however bids  
me say that, if you  
please to give her  
your real name &  
address, she will,  
with her own hand  
altho' suffering from severe & constant illness  
give you all the  
information concerning  
two Institutions in London  
which she thinks will answer

**f240v**

your purpose --

**ff241-42** LETTER TO UNCLE SAM (MONEY) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

**f241** {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:}

I hope  
you are  
better  
& not  
going  
to get  
damp.

{WRITTEN STRAIGHT:}

Dear Uncle Sam

I have paid £100  
from my private  
earnings -- of which  
£77.3.9 as per  
Bill enclosed  
£10 to Miss Mayo's  
servants, not as per  
Bill, but as per  
transport of enthusiasm  
of my own -- at having  
seen the only clean  
housemaid known  
to be yet existing

**f241v**

(of an extinct species)  
& whom to see I  
expressly took that  
house -- & having  
eaten the first  
wholesome cookery  
I have seen for  
8 years.

The remaining  
f12.16.3 I will  
account to you for;  
when I account  
for *this* house -- {FN'S INSERTS FROM **f242:**} which is as dirty &  
unwholesome & as much  
the reverse generally  
(as can be seen on  
a leap year) of the other  
{BACK TO **f241v:**}  
& which I believe  
I shall leave on  
Thursday week.

**f242**

Thanks too for your  
letter about Robert.  
I am quite satisfied  
that he is learning.  
And all I meant  
to express was that  
I never trusted to  
Sir H.V. or Ld B's  
promise, if it  
were made at all.

Oct 22/61

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:}

Many  
thanks  
for Cheque  
of £30  
received

**f244v** NOTE REGARDING LETTER FROM REVEREND HENRY PAULL, INCUMBENT OF  
ST. AUBYN, DEVONPORT, DEVON PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:}

Would you  
send this man  
£1 for me, if you  
think it desirable for me  
to do it.

I have had a shoal of  
these letters, ~~from~~ owing to that unfortunate  
Volunteers' letter of mine.

**f245** ADVERTISEMENT FOR DONATIONS TO ST. AUBYN SUNDAY & DAY SCHOOLS  
PRINTED {SEE PHOTOCOPY}

**f247v** NOTE REGARDING LETTER FROM REVEREND HENRY ALLEN (RE: BRIGHTON BRANCH OF THE UNITED BRITISH ARMY SCRIPTURE READERS' AND SOLDIERS' FRIEND SOCIETY) PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:}  
I believe  
this is a good  
thing. Would you  
send them £1 for me!  
or whatever you think desirable.  
I have the greatest objection to  
be "Hon. Member" in general. Do you  
think I ought to waive it in this instance?  
I am like Paul Ferrol who never  
would engage in anything; knowing  
that he was a murderer  
x might be found out  
any day. So I think  
qua "stuff".

**ff248-49v** ADVERTISEMENT FOR SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS TO THE BRIGHTON BRANCH OF THE UNITED BRITISH ARMY SCRIPTURE READERS' AND SOLDIERS' FRIEND SOCIETY PRINTED {SEE PHOTOCOPIES}

**f252** NOTE REGARDING LETTER FROM THOMAS QUICK HUTCHINS PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED CA. OCTOBER 22, 1861

It is gratifying to  
observe that this is  
not the first fruits  
but the one & fortieth  
fruits of my Volunteers'  
letter -- And that I  
could have as many  
husbands as  
Mahomet's mother  
Alas! it is I who  
am the grey donkey.

**f253** NOTE REGARDING PROTEST AT THE DUBLIN "SOCIAL SCIENCE" MEETING PEN  
HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED 1861

If it would be more civil  
to write it in my name  
& for me to sign -- will  
you judge?

Would you kindly  
write this letter as  
soon as possible -- ~~in~~  
~~your own name~~ --

And would you  
keep a copy of it  
(or even my *foul*  
would do) and send  
it me -- as I must  
enter my protest  
at the Dublin  
"Social Science" Meeting

You cannot make  
your letter too civil

F.N.

Add Mss 45793, microfilm 225ff, 109 pages, continued correspondence with Uncle Samuel Smith ff1-74, Adam Matthew reel 28 ff75-225 with Mary Shore Smith, Aunt Mai

Letter, ff1-3r, pen, black-edged paper

**f1r**

31 Dover St.

Feb 9/62

Dear Uncle Sam

I am sorry ~~you~~ I did not know that you were here on Thursday. For I wanted to ask you where these three enclosures had better bestowed so as to be forth coming at the right time.

The one to Papa was one you suggested to me to write a year

**f1v**

ago.

The one to Sutherland is one which has been much on my mind. I have an immense number of unique govt. documents, belonging principally to the India Ho. which never could be replaced. With Sutherland's incredible looseness of thought, & recklessness of action, I am always afraid that these will be lost. And



**2r**

I want to lodge an  
authority in safe hands  
for him to claim them  
(he knows all  
which they are) & to  
*remind* him to claim  
them--after my death.

The third (about  
the "Stuff") you know  
about. Alas! it was  
to have been given  
to Clough.

It would be a  
great relief to me  
to know that,  
whenever I die,  
these things will be  
attended to. ever yours  
gratefully  
Florence Nightingale

**f3r**

Would you kindly  
answer this letter,  
whichever way you  
think best? I am very  
sorry to give you so much trouble.

-----  
I am exceedingly  
anxious to make  
known *out of* London  
and in the County papers  
(by advertising) these  
two Training Schools,  
*especially the one for*  
*midwifery nurses.*

**[12:126]**

Also to make known  
that the whole of the  
N fund income is  
herein employed.

Would you kindly  
give these to Dr.  
Walter Johnson & also

**f3v**

to Dean Dawes, who  
is, as you know, one of  
my Council. I hope  
he will spread the  
knowledge of it. I  
would send him more  
papers, if he could.

Also, if you could  
advertise them in  
those parts.

[end 12:126]

Ever yours gratefully  
FN

Letter, ff4-6r, pen {arch: Chesterfield St.} black-edged paper [1:479-80]

**f4r**

Fever compelling Fury's  
May 3/62

Dear Uncle Sam

What are missions  
for? Here have I  
been applying to the  
Earl of the "Syrian  
Missions Aid" Society  
& to the Baronet of  
the "Syrian Relief Fund"  
Society & to all the  
Missions, Christian,  
Jew & Infidel - both  
the above having had  
large parties at their  
own houses in Grosvenor  
Sq and St for the purpose

**f4v**

to help poor Fliedner  
who is the only person  
who has done any  
real good in Syria -  
& who has just paid  
£1000 & has immediately  
to pay other £1500  
for *his* Mission Schools  
at Beirut & Sidon,  
upon an income of  
three pence a year,  
and I cannot get  
a half penny for him.  
You don't know of any  
Fishmonger Missions, do you?

I send him £25,  
which is all I can,  
& which he asks me  
to send him "either in

**f5r**

Banknotes or in a  
cheque on my Banker."  
But as I don't know  
what is safe, I send  
you the Cheque & ask  
you to be so good as to  
settle how to send it  
-----

An Herrn

Pastor Fliedner  
Diakonissen Anstalt  
Kaiserswerth am Rhein  
Düsseldorf  
via Ostend  
-----

2. About my own affairs.  
I believe I must ask  
you to send me other  
£60 for housekeeping &  
other £30 for other things

**f5v**

You must not think the  
last £60 are all gone  
in housekeeping.  
£22 went in 6 months'  
wages to 2½ women. It  
was paid in quarters.  
But the first quarter  
I drew upon myself.  
Also I have paid the  
last instalment of  
whitewashing & cleaning  
(house) out of the last  
£60. Also I have had  
to buy a few things. The  
Fury (of dirt) had not  
left out even towels  
for her own servants!  
I believe they never  
used any in this house.

**f6r**

Also, my Dr's fees still  
come very heavy. And these  
I have often paid out of  
my own money.

Letter, ff7-12, pen, black-edged paper

**f7r**

Hampstead NW

Oct 4/62

Dear Uncle Sam

1. In answer to your  
questions.

a. [red pencil] Rent of Miss Mayo's  
house - Aug 1 to Nov 1.

13 weeks at £8.8

£109.4.

b. [red pencil] Board to Dec 31  
about £80

I did receive your  
four tens, thank you.

I presume I shall  
go to South St on Nov 1.  
The truth is, I have no  
where else to go.

**f7v**

The money I have  
in hand will not  
all go for board. I  
have 3 servants'  
quarters to pay. (I  
pay the maid's wages  
who is now keeping  
the Verney's house)  
& handsome gratuities  
to Miss Mayo's two  
servants. I have  
also two or three  
large bills to pay -  
presents for Australia,  
bedding for King's Coll.  
Hospl, Statistical Work  
done for me at the  
General Register Office.

**f8r**

So that I think the  
money I have in hand  
will just carry me  
free from this house.  
But I will send you  
an account of the  
part which went  
for board & that  
which went for other  
things.

2. Somebody sent  
me the Fraser for  
October, apparently  
just to draw my  
attention (there was  
a mark put in) to  
a disobliging remark  
made on me, Note,

**f8v**

p. 522, "Spiritualism".  
A sentence out of my  
book (on "nursing") is  
quoted in support  
of their own remarks,  
viz. on the want of  
accurate observation.  
And it is added, "Is  
it possible to suspect  
that in these last  
stories the writer is  
affording unconscious  
exemplification of  
her own remarks?"

If this article were  
written by a woman,  
it would be quoted  
to shew the illogical

[2]

**f9r**

mind which would  
first adduce an  
authority ~~to~~ in support  
~~her~~ & then try to  
overthrow that  
authority's authority.

I suppose as a  
rule it is best  
never to take notice  
of any criticism  
on oneself. Don't  
suppose I am eager  
to do so. If however  
you think it  
desirable to take  
notice of it, (Froude  
is now the Editor,  
as of course you know)

**f9v**

I could supply any  
one with evidence  
who chose to write  
for me, that I  
have actually  
understated "these  
last stories". ~~The last~~  
All happened to  
myself. The "last"  
of all was a  
statement made  
*in writing* to Lord  
Panmure by Miss  
Innis, now Mrs.  
Hill Burton, who  
was one of Miss  
Stanley's ladies who

**f10r**

came out to me at  
Scutari & who chose  
to make a written  
statement against  
me on her return  
to the War Office,  
which they sent  
me. The penultimate  
story was told  
against me by  
Margaret Goodman,  
one of Miss Sellon's  
sisters, who has  
since published  
that disgraceful  
book of falsehoods,  
called "Experiences

**f10v**

of an English Sister of Mercy"  
about a year ago.  
The "story" before that was  
told by another  
sister of Miss Sellon's,  
Miss Langston, now  
become a R. Catholic,  
who, living cheek  
by jowl with us  
in the same quarters,  
said that Dr. McGrigor  
dined with me every  
day, who had never  
dined with us  
but once, (& then  
it was *not* with  
us) These three were

**f11r**

[3]  
at Scutari. The first  
of all happened at Harley  
St., & was set on  
foot by a Miss  
Brounder. [?] She said  
& led twelve other  
Patients to say that  
I went to Warwick  
St. chapel every  
morn at 7 o'clock  
- a place which I  
had never been near  
for years. This "story"  
was known to a  
great many people  
3. I hope & trust  
you are taking care  
of yourself & not  
losing ground - ever yours



**f11v**

The four "suspected" "stories" are at P. 73 of the last Edition of my little "Notes on Nursing". And the only difference from the exact event is that I have ~~u~~put "his" instead of "her."

P.S. Dr Sutherland is of opinion that it *ought* to be noticed but by *Froude* himself, who ought to put in his next no, ~~that~~ a note to the effect that, having noticed the passage, he had

**f12r**

[4]

~~seen~~ examined the facts alluded to; & considered Miss N. had understated them, or was perfectly justified in her use of them (as illustrations of the principle) to that extent. ~~on &c &c~~ at the very least or &c &c

Turn over

**f12v**

[5]

I suppose Ld. Berners  
does not provide for  
his servants seeing  
the Exhibition. Would  
you think well to  
write to Robert & say  
that he may come up,  
if he can get leave,  
for two days, & see it,  
at my expence? I  
have no doubt he  
can have board & a bed at  
South St.

I send him the  
"Times" now. Do you  
think this a work of  
supererogation & that  
the "Estate Office" is  
sure to have a "Times"?

Letter, ff13-15r, pen, black-edged paper

**[1:480]****f13r**

Jan 18/63

Dear Uncle Sam

I have for some time  
wished to say, could  
I not relieve you  
of part of my money  
matters? and now  
that you are not  
well, that Parly=  
business presses, &  
that of course poor  
Blanch's affairs fall  
more heavily upon  
you, it seems more  
urgent to urge it.

**f13v**

If you could tell me  
exactly how you do it,  
what board & lodging  
you refer (separately)  
to Papa, & how you  
draw & pay in the Cheques -  
what items you refer  
to his yearly allowance  
to me, what that is,  
& how you pay in & draw the  
cheques, I am sure  
I could do it.

Perhaps you would  
kindly get Glyn's &  
the Jt. Stock Bank Books  
for me once more this

**f14r**

year, as I have been  
obliged to draw rather  
heavily on both this  
Xmas. And I want to see  
what is left.

Perhaps you would  
kindly keep on your  
protection of Robert,  
as I could not  
undertake to correspond  
with him.

As for the rest,  
pray accept my warm  
thanks for all you  
have ever done for  
me & consider that  
it might be better  
for you now to let me

**f14v**

try & do it (I have  
no intention of  
charging Hily. or any  
one else with it)

I have signed the  
agreement for 4  
Cleveland Row -  
£432 from Jan 21  
for 6 months or  
£150 from Jan 21  
to April 7. It is  
a bad bargain. But  
Mrs. Sutherland had  
seen 41 houses for  
me! The house is  
(completely) newly done  
up. But it is too small

Ever yours gratefully

FN

**f15r**

Perhaps you would  
also give me Mr.  
Jansen's direction,  
in case I should  
ever want any one  
in that line to  
apply to.

FN

Thank you very much  
for your last "Account"  
& letter, which you  
wrote here yourself.  
I was too ill even to  
reply verbally that day.  
But I had it on my mind  
to say this then.

Letter, f16r, pen, black-edged paper [1:481]

**f16** 4 Cleveland Row

SW

Jan 27/63

Dear Uncle Sam

I am so sorry to  
be worrying just now.  
But the Account ~~can~~ need  
be looked over neither now  
nor never - I am  
afraid I must  
ask you for £60.  
You see the Board  
is not more than  
usual. But Xmas  
Bills have had to  
be paid.

Yours ever gratefully

FN

ff17-18 letter to Samuel Smith Feb 20 1863 from George Waldegrave Leslie [?] re question to be asked in House tonight re amount and disposal of charitable subs and Sir George Grey thinks that prob some remarks may be made about the N Fund; he is anxious to be justified with any statement or facts that can be stated, suspects a private affair, D. Galton, on embossed Sec of State Home Dept.

**f19** another letter to Samuel Smith Feb 20 1863 from same

Letter, ff20-21, pen, black-edged paper 45793

**f20r**

4 Cleveland Row

S.W

Feb 21/63

Dear Uncle Sam

I am afraid you  
are almost as little  
able to attend to  
these things as I am

But I am told  
that the Craven Charity,  
now worth about £700  
a year, to provide the  
London poor (of certain  
parishes) with Hospital  
accommodation for  
*plague*, is now before  
you - to all which  
information I attach  
as much importance

**f20v**

as I do to all the  
other information I  
receive (now that  
Sidney Herbert & Clough,  
each the most accurate  
of men, are both gone.)  
It seems to me I never  
hear a word of truth.

But if there should  
chance to be 1 gr. of truth  
in this, may I say that  
£700 a year is quite  
useless to afford Hospital  
accommodation, of  
which there is enough  
& too much - but of  
*convalescent* (country)

**f21r**

accommodation, of  
which there is hardly  
any, for the London  
poor, it might afford  
enough to be signally  
useful.

E.g. St. John's House  
(King's College Hospital)  
has long been trying  
to establish such, at  
Hampstead. A china  
merchant has  
guaranteed £500 a  
year for the first two  
years & a house.  
Some besides myself  
have given all we

**f21v**

could afford, viz £100.  
each. But a ~~small~~  
part of the Craven  
Charity even, yearly,  
would enable it to  
be set up, which it  
is not yet. X

Do not trouble  
yourself to answer this,  
if there is no truth  
in it.

ever yours gratefully

FN

X It would not be confined  
to the Patients of King's Coll.  
St John's House has a large  
number of Out Patients,  
nursed at home.

Letter, f22, pen, black-edged paper

**f22r** {Archivist's note: beg. March 1863}

Dear Uncle Sam

1. How are you?  
2. Would you like  
Bratby & Mary to  
come here on the  
7th for the Procession  
& on the 10th for the  
Illumination. On  
the 10th I would make  
beds for them, tho'  
we are smally  
accommodated. It  
is no obligation.  
Because it would  
be a great relief to  
my mind to have

**f22v**

B. to take charge of  
~~th~~ my maids.  
Also, could he ascertain  
whether, if I were to  
hire a carriage to  
stand here, at the  
end of this street,  
to hold the maids  
to see the Procession  
on the 7th, the Police  
would let it stand  
outside the standing  
ranks.  
3. Thanks for the £60.  
I would not trouble  
you to come tomorrow  
on purpose. Do you  
sleep at 8 S. Crescent.



Letter, f23, pen

**f23r** {Archivist's note: 25 March 63}

Dr U. Sam

I wish I had asked Mr. Jansen in October last when this letter came to obtain the money for one. But I didn't. I sent it to Mrs Bracebridge & nothing has been done. Nor have I had the letter back till now.

Margt Goodman's 2nd book is so much more lying than the first (that I have given up all idea of answering it - I have only put a letter into Miss Sellon's hands, at her own request, saying that in what has come under my own personal observation, the book is untrue) But I do want to get my money

**f23v**

back, because it is (so much to) the support of a most wicked liar. Do you think it could be claimed after this 5 months' delay - on the whole if the £10 claimed - & what reason could be given for the delay. I cannot write to her myself.  
March 25/63

Letter, ff24-25r, pen, black-edged paper

**f24r**

4. Cleveland Row

S.W

March 28/63

Dear Uncle Sam

Many thanks for  
your letter & two cheques.

I ought to have told  
you, if I didn't (about  
my house rent) that  
if I keep it, the house,  
on till July 21, the  
full term, as I have  
given notice to do, -  
half the rent, viz  
half of £432, viz £216,  
is to be paid (by Agreement)  
on April 17, to the {continues to f25r}

**f24v** {written horizontally; follows from f25r}

Could you remember what was  
done after all about that (plague  
of our lives) print of the Queen  
& P. Arthur, sent by her to  
me at Balaclava, & destined  
for the first General Hospital  
in England & which bothered  
you so long at 6 Whitehall.  
Two years ago, there was a conflagration  
between you, Capt Galton & Dr Sutherland  
about it

**f25r** {follows from f24r}

account of Colonel  
Brown, at Messers Cox  
& Co, Gray's Court.

I will not trouble  
you with the squabbling  
& lawyer's letters that  
have passed between  
us even about a  
term of 4 days.

2. Ever yours gratefully  
F. Nightingale

Draft?, f26r, pen Arch: 4 Cleveland Row., end of Mar. 1863}

**f26r**

Dr U Sam

I am thinking of going  
out to Hampstead for Easter.  
I have not made up  
my mind. Nor need  
I till Monday.

Could you or yours  
make any use of this  
house? x I should  
leave two maids in  
it.

Probably the reason  
which takes me *out*  
~~at~~ (Easter) will prevent  
you or yours from  
wanting to come *in*.

Draft?, f27, pen, black-edged paper

**f27r** {archivist's note: May 63}

Thanks

No, nothing "in the Dining  
room" is to be burned.  
Or you will be prosecuted.

I ~~told~~ heard from  
Harrison 3 weeks ago  
that he had sent  
the bundles (*to be*  
*burned*) to you, as  
you were so good as  
to permit.

Pray don't take  
Dr Lobb on Mrs B's  
recommendation  
*alone*, if you have  
no other. She & I

**f27v**

agreed not a fortnight  
ago that he was a  
quack.

And pray don't  
take Homeopathy up.

Take good German  
advice & a good  
German bath, when  
possible, for her.

I have paid  
£16.16 from my  
private account to  
Miss Fearon's [?] for  
1 fortnight's rent.

How is Uncle Oc?  
I was so glad to hear of  
~~our~~ dear Shore going to him.

**f28r** SS note to FN {written horizontally}

It has been simply  
Harrison's neglect, that  
has caused the delay  
in attending to yr letter -  
- which he showed me -

He now promises to  
have all ready for my  
Messenger on Monday -

**f28v** FN reply on verso

Thank you very much, dear Uncle Sam  
-----  
-----

I have always wished that Mr. Paget  
should see Aunt Mai. But I feared  
to advise. He is the first opinion  
(Surgical) in England, now Brodie  
is gone. Some say in Europe -  
& so sensible & kind

I shall be very anxious to  
hear the result.

Letter, ff29-30v, pen, black-edged paper

**f29r**

freedom of the Athenaeum Club -  
ever yours           4 C Row S.W.  
gratefully           June 23/63

F.N

Dear Uncle Sam,

This is not a letter in  
answer to your very kind  
one, for which I was  
very grateful, but only  
an account.

I am afraid I must  
trouble you for another  
Cheque of £60. tho' I  
am not quite out.  
And I propose that in  
future you should be  
so good as to send me  
a Cheque on the 1st  
of each month of £50,  
or if you are going  
abroad or away for  
more than a month,

**f29v**

accordingly - - I sending  
you, if you please, my  
account as usual, tho'  
not at regular times,  
to which I am now  
often unequal.

I need not spend  
the whole £50 per month,  
tho' I am afraid you  
will think that is but  
too likely.

I fear this will  
have been a very  
expensive year - the  
necessity of going to  
Hampstead &c - you  
will see that I have  
paid 3 bills by cheque.  
This has been a sadly  
expensive house - also

**f30r**

I propose to take a semi-detached  
house (Mr. Remington's)  
in the row of five twos of Oakhill  
Park from July 23 to  
Oct 23, at 8 guineas a  
week - [ Miss Mayo could  
not let me have her  
house for more than  
two months.]

2. I believe that  
Harrisons have sent  
you the letter press  
to be burnt as manure,  
as you kindly permitted.  
If Bartlett charges  
you, please charge me,  
for carriage. I told  
Harrisons to send me  
(which they have not done)

**f30v**

the *Diagrams* out of  
the letter press. These  
are on single sheets  
not folded in with  
the printed sheets.  
Would it be much  
trouble if you would  
be so good as to have  
these picked out &  
sent me? They are  
always useful as  
presents & do no  
harm - They consist - of  
1. a map of Scutari  
3. Mortality Diagrams  
1. plan of Lariboisière  
1. Camp kitchens (the  
    only one which is size  
--- of printed page only)  
6.

-----  
I am afraid there has been no great  
improvement yet in Aunt Mai.  
I was glad to hear that Shore had his

Letter, ff31-32v, pen, black-edged paper

**f31r**

Hampstead NW

Aug 18/63

Dear Uncle Sam

I have been beset  
with these circulars, like  
every body else, no  
doubt - shall I go  
on dealing with the  
Foreign Ass. - or with  
Mr. Stapleton? Please  
return me the  
circular of him  
whom I am to favour.

I have been meaning  
to write about all  
things & some others  
& will as soon as I

**f31v**

am able.

4 C. Row was so  
long in sending me  
in its bill of  
dilapidations that  
I ~~filled in~~ sent to your banker your  
rent order, £216.  
as I should not  
have liked to have  
been reminded of it  
by those rascals -  
I wrote to Banting  
that I had done so -  
I have received  
no acknowledgement  
Is that unusual?  
I have since paid

**f32r** {arch: Aug. 1863?} pale blue, black-edged paper

The Rent for my  
Hampstead House to  
Sept. 25 is £122.7  
which should be paid  
to my Acct at  
the L.I. Stock Bank  
F.N.

(Query - as to dilapidations, S.S.) [SS line]

There ought to be none -  
I have not once been  
out of my bed rooms,  
which, with the exception

**f32v**

of 5 Indian (locked)  
bullock-boxes had no  
furniture, (not even a  
carpet in it,) but my  
own. The drawing rooms  
have not once been  
occupied - a great  
disappointment to me  
not to have been able  
to have, as always,  
before, Miss Jones, 2 or  
3 times, Revd Mother,  
once or twice, & sometimes  
Mrs. Wardroper - [But it  
has been quite impossible.  
I can't talk for 10 minutes.]

I shall leave it to  
them to send a Bill for  
£50 "Dilapidations" after me,  
if they like it - Otherwise  
I shall only get in the Gas Bill.

F.N.



Letter, ff33-34r, pen, black-edged paper

**f33r**

Hampstead NW

Sept. 25/63

My dear Uncle Sam

In answer to your  
kind note, I send you  
my 13 weeks (ending  
Sept 21) account -

Also in answer to  
your enquiry, I think  
the most convenient  
thing for me would  
be to send me a cheque  
of £50 on the 1st of every  
month, allowing me  
to send you this account

**f33v**

whenever I am able,  
which is not always.

I have spent since  
January £153 for  
Government printing  
alone, independent of  
stationary!!

Well, I am a better  
Under Secretary than  
Hawes & not so expensive.

I wish you could  
send a better account  
of *yourselves* - But  
the after = effects

**f34r**

are always to be hoped  
for.

I go to 32 South St  
on Nov. 1.

Thank Aunt Mai  
for her dear letter. I  
will write to her when  
I am able.

Ever yours gratefully

F.N.

I paid your cheque to me for  
£125 into the Bank  
when I sent yours for  
the Rent (£216) to the  
same

Letter, ff35-38v, pen, black-edged paper

**f35r**

*Private*

Jan 15/64

[hosp]

Dear Uncle Sam

Very many thanks for  
sending me Mr. John  
Bullar's friendly letter.

But we read it  
twice over, before we  
made out that it was  
anything but a bad  
joke - such complete  
ignorance does it shew  
of the subject: -

I mean it is as if  
I were to write to Mr.  
Mohl (& date my

**f35v**

letter "11 1/2 P.M,") pointing out to him a "serious error" in his version of the Schah - Nameh, without knowing my Persian letters.

Mr. John Bullar obviously does not know his letters in Statistical methods - and though we thought it better to answer him as Dr. Sutherland has done, certainly a man who could write such an exposure

**f36r**

of his own ignorance as *this*, is incapable of being convinced by being told what the methods ARE in such a letter as *that. Dr. Sutherland's* [It is as if Mr. Mohl were to try to teach me the Persian grammar in a note sheet of paper.]

For

1. had Mr. John Bullar had the smallest acquaintance with the existence of the General Register Office as by law established,

**f36v**

in his own country,  
since (I believe) 1827,  
its Weekly Tables  
    Quarterly Reports  
    Annual Reports  
    Census Reports,  
he would never have  
set up his own  
authority against  
that of the National  
Statistics; or fallen  
foul of poor me,  
who have simply  
quoted the only  
Statistics which are  
"national" & authorized.

**f37r**

And  
2. if he had read the  
last Section (on Statistics)  
in my own book, he  
would have seen that  
I have myself suggested  
a better method of noting  
~~collecting~~ Hospital  
Statistics, which has  
been adopted by two  
International Statistical  
Congresses - & which  
is (not against Dr.  
Farr, but) an  
improvement on the  
present methods -  
& which Dr. Farr

**f37v**

himself has sanctioned,  
by sending copies to  
all Hospitals from  
the General Register  
Office, three years ago,  
(& again this year -  
as to the Sub. Section,  
"Surgical Operations")  
And

3. Mr. John Bullar's  
own method is no  
method at all: It is  
obviously impossible to  
get any Hospital Statistics  
at all by his ~~way~~ method

ever yours

(in great haste  
of business) F.N.

**f38r**

What I am afraid of  
is that Dr. Bullar,  
who is attending at  
Embley now, will be  
openmouthed to tell -  
(& they ~~will~~-to believe,  
open=eared) my  
dreadful "mistakes"  
& "serious errors" -  
And that my own  
people will be the  
first to cry; "poor  
Flo!" - And that I  
shall have letter  
upon letter to write,  
in the thick of my  
business! just as I

**f38v**

had about the -  
Indian Statistics,  
to people - *not*  
my own people -  
who ought to have  
known better.

But even this is  
far better for me  
than to let me  
be in ignorance of  
these attacks. Pray  
believe I feel this -  
FN.

Letter, ff39-40r, pen, black-edged paper

**f39r** {archivist's note: Jan. 16 1864}

Dear Uncle Sam

I write the enclosed,  
out of a lurking regard  
\*and Mr. John Bullars  
for truth \* - not for  
my book - or myself -

Because what it  
takes out of me to  
explain to people (who  
might find the  
explanation in the  
published records  
of their country) is  
not at all ~~equal to~~  
commensurate with -  
but much more than,  
what I *put into* people  
by said process. ever yours  
Jan 16/64 F.N.

**f40r**

omitted from my  
letter of this morning  
touching Mr. John Bullars  
F.N.  
Jan 16/64 -

Letter, ff41-42v, pen

**f41r**

115 Park St. W.

Feb 2/64

Dear Uncle Sam

I enclose a letter  
from Robert. But when  
he wrote this, he had  
not had mine, telling  
him that we all agreed  
he had better stay where  
he is, as long as there is  
a chance of Lord Kinnaird  
finding him a place -  
but enclosing him an  
invitation from Papa to  
Lea Hurst, IF that chance  
vanished. I think  
it would be very kind

**f41v**

of you, if you were to  
write to him again  
as you propose with a  
"small sum."

Pray forward Robert's  
note to Papa, if you  
think fit - but *not*  
to Parthe.

It is a bad job. For,  
by all accounts, McLaren  
is a first-rate man in  
his business. But I don't  
think poor Robert to  
blame - much -

=====

Thanks for the note  
about the Dr. Bullars  
An attack in the

[hosp]

**f42r**

"Medical Times" came out on Saturday on my book - as intemperate as Mr. J. Bullar's was courteous - but in the same sense - It was a covert attack on the Registrar-General. Dr. Farr is going to answer it - *he* calls the writer "the savage" - but says his (own) anger must cool down first (at the "stupidity") before he can answer

The article is so inconceivably ignorant, beginning its onslaught upon me, by stating that

**f42v**

"it has been clearly proved that Hospital Death= rates are almost *wholly independent* of Sanitary conditions" - & then warning me of my "serious & elementary errors" - that the sting of it is taken out for me -

If you like to send us Mr. John Bullar's *second* letter, my party are rather curious to see it - [I cannot say I am. I am too weak for curiosity] -

It was as I anticipated. Dr. Bullar ran straight to Embley. And Parthe fell foul of me



Letter, ff43-44r, pen, black-edged paper

**f43r**

115 Park St W.

March 15/64

Dear Uncle Sam

I mourn about Uncle  
Octs - what a valuable  
life! - but no interference  
of mine would do any  
thing (but harm) - I  
wish, like you, that  
somebody, anybody,  
might have to be called in  
before he leaves London.

I am rather glad  
that you are thinking of  
Bath tho' not that  
you find it necessary -  
& that Aunt Mai is  
able to go there.

**f43v**

I return Mr. Jones -  
would Mr. Ross, who  
has been so kind, write  
to him with some  
message from me, as  
the "scamp" has actually  
refused the 10s.?

I had a note from  
Mr. Jowett yesterday  
with this characteristic  
sentence. "I think  
the Oxford Convocation  
were quite right in  
not endowing the Greek  
Professorship." It  
reminds me of our  
dear A.H.C. But you

**f44r**

must not repeat it  
[I was sorry I told it  
to Parthe]

I am over my ears with  
a most disagreeable  
business with the  
W.O. in which I  
have none to help -  
Sir John Lawrence  
has done all I asked;  
& complains the W.O.  
has done nothing he  
asked, which is QUITE  
true. Sutherland, as  
usual, behaves like  
a Cluricaune.

Please burn  
ever yours

F.N.

Letter, ff45-46r, pen

**f45r**

115 Park Street W.

July 16/64

Dear Uncle Sam

I am so almost beside  
myself with pain & over  
work, fever & sleeplessness,  
that I cannot just now  
arrange with the W.O.,  
which, besides, loses  
some of its most  
important papers daily  
under its present  
Management - let alone  
a paltry print.

I have therefore today  
desired, Vokins

framer

Gt Portland St,

**f45v**

(with whom I have had  
very large dealings) to  
send for the print on  
Monday or Tuesday, if  
you will be kind enough  
to arrange that they  
shall have it when  
called for. Or if they  
do not send perchance  
would you send it to  
them?

Many thanks for housing  
it so long.

I shall then arrange  
with Vokins for a  
suitable inscription,  
& to keep it till

**f46r**

Herbert Hospl. ready.

Many thanks for  
the money

I shall be very  
glad to hear when  
your plans are settled.

I am very sorry  
for poor Beatrice  
ever yrs

F.N.

Letter, ff47-48v, pen

**f47r**

Oak Hill - Hampstead  
N.W.

Sept 12/64

Dear Uncle Sam

I write to you as  
thousands of people  
write to me, saying:

I would not have  
written if I had not  
had something to ask  
of you -

Mr. Hughes' house,  
113 Park St. Grosvenor Sq  
is *not* let - (as who  
ever could expect to  
let a house of that  
kind in *July*!?) Do

**f47v**

you think there would  
be the least use in  
asking them whether  
they would let it from  
November 1st till as  
long on into the next  
year as ----? & at  
what price?

I am quite too feeble  
now to make the move  
from South St. in January.  
- tho' I have said nothing  
yet to the Verneys about  
not going into South  
St. in November.

For the same reason,

**f48r**

I should not of course  
take any other house  
from November till  
January only.

What I intend to try  
for is a house in London  
from November 1 till  
August 1.

Pray tell Mary the  
bath woman how much  
I have felt for her in  
Charlotte's death -  
whom indeed I mourn  
sincerely.

Thank you very much

**f48v**

for your letter - I am so  
glad to hear that Aunt  
Mai can walk again.  
I wish your own account  
of yourself were better.  
I saw Shore's lovely little  
girl in London, who  
sate like a self=possessed  
little Princess on my  
bed - all by herself -

Please give my kind  
Remembrances to Dr.  
W. Johnson. Thank you very  
much for the sermon. That & ~~the~~ Aunt Mai's  
tract  
on the Sheffield  
flood are  
the only  
religious works  
I have seen, this  
many a year.

& believe me  
ever yours

F.N.

Letter, ff49-51r, pen, pale blue paper [1:481-82]

**f49r**

Oak Hill  
Hampstead N.W.  
Oct. 10/64

Dear Uncle Sam,

I am in perplexity  
about my houses for a  
political reason (!), of which  
houses I have a great  
choice, thanks to good  
Mrs. Sutherland.

Could you tell me  
what the probabilities  
are next year of  
whether Ministers will  
go out & when - &  
when the General Election  
will be (there *must* be

**f49v**

one next year, must  
there not?)

At our shop many  
think Ministers will  
be out as soon as Session  
opens - In that case,  
~~when~~ will the General  
Election probably be then?

I can have 1 Bolton  
Row, (which is *stably* &  
quiet,) for £400 a  
year for one year from  
Nov 1, which, if I lived  
in it all the year, would  
be hardly £8 a week.

I can have 27 Norfolk  
St for six months (which

**f50r**

is beautiful & noisy) from  
Nov 1 for 300 guineas -  
with a chance of staying  
on, tho' I suppose at  
an enormous price.

I have made up my  
mind (almost) not to  
go to South St., as being  
too feeble to move in  
January, with the *additional*  
chance of being forced  
to go into a hotel (as  
2 years out of the 3 I  
have been there) It is  
almost impossible, at  
least it is the very  
worst week in the year,  
to get a house for exactly

**f50v**

the third week in January.

Please advise me -  
I should not like to  
\* a whole summer in  
find myself nailed to \*  
Bolton Row, when the  
business Season is broken  
up by a General Election,  
& I might come down  
here. Still less should  
I like to find my father  
nailed to paying an  
enormous price for  
Norfolk St., when everybody  
is out of town for the  
election.

Suppose the election

**f51r**

should take place *after*  
 the Easter recess, I  
 believe Norfolk St. would  
 then be the best thing I could  
 do. For I should have  
 it till May 1, & then  
 I should come down  
 here (perhaps going to 115 Park St.  
 for a few weeks in July.)

Each year I have  
 hoped that the nature  
 of the business would  
 allow me to spend the  
 summer out of London.

I hope so this next year.  
 But then I have always  
 been disappointed -

How long does it take before  
 ever yours                      a Parliament  
                                     F.N.                      re: assembles  
    after a dissolution?

f52 SS letter to FN 13 Oct [1864] Dear F. I have used the short opportunity I  
 have had to consult the Recorder (Economy) & Sick illeg as to the probably  
 time of the coming election, & find that the general expectation is (barring,  
 illeg as I illeg before) that it will be *after* the harvest in 1865. yr afly  
 SS)

Letter, ff54-55r, pen, black-edged paper

**f54r**

{printed: 27. Norfolk Street.  
                                     Park Lane. W.}

5/11/64

Dear Uncle Sam

You see the result of  
 the last vote to Mr.  
 Jowett. He takes it  
 quite coolly. But he  
 told me himself that  
 "latterly he had spent  
 nearly £100 a year  
 in getting assistance"  
 (in his Professorship.)  
 So that you *may* be a  
 heretic (& the most  
 useful man in Oxford)  
 at the price of paying  
 "nearly" £60 a year of



**f54v**

your own. Of all the  
extraordinary silly  
persecutions!!!

You have heard of  
Pastor Fliedner's death  
at Kaiserswerth. It  
makes me very sad.  
It is still uncertain  
~~how~~ who succeeds him.  
He placed the appointment  
himself in the hands  
of a Committee: of that  
Prussian Protestant  
Church, of which Newman

**[7:585]****f55r**

speaks with so much more  
terror (in the Apologia)  
than he does of the Devil.

Mr. Jowett is greatly  
interested at the fact  
that Father Newman  
is going back to Oxford  
[It was he who told me].  
He is not sorry for it.

**[end 7:585]**

Please thank Aunt  
Mai for the account of  
dear Lydia Shore's  
last days - She like  
Fliedner, is irreplaceable.  
Each made this world  
the "better world." ever yours  
F.N.

Letter, ff56-57v, pen, black-edged paper

**f56r** {archivist's note: see S. Smith's letter Jan 29 re: application of Patriotic Fund}

*Private*

{printed} 27. Norfolk Street.

Park Lane. W.

31/1/65

Dear Uncle Sam

I have not the least  
doubt in my own mind  
that Dr. Peren died of  
his services in the  
Crimean War -

I think the statement  
of the sister-in-law  
remarkably clear &  
convincing.

But it is unfortunate  
she should have been  
advised to put in that  
about the second year

**f56v**

(for the Medical Officers)  
having been as bad as the  
first on board the  
Transports. Because  
every body who knew  
both years knows that  
the state of the Transports  
in the second year was  
as much better than  
it was in the first  
as the state of Scutari  
or of Balaclava was.  
And it really makes  
no difference in the  
question. Dr Peren  
would not have died

**f57r**

less from his exertions in  
the second year, because  
the first year was worse,  
(for the Medl= Officers)  
-----

Unfortunately I cannot  
speak of Dr. Peren, as I  
could of the similar case  
of Dr. French because I  
knew Dr. French & his  
work at Scutari as  
I know my pocket.  
And I cannot recall  
Dr. Peren. But this is  
nothing to the purpose,  
for I cannot recall  
the Commander of the  
"Thames." Yet I knew no  
transport better. ~~You~~  
At the end, as you

**f57v**

perhaps know, ~~that~~ there  
was actual danger of our  
soldier's wives & children  
being left behind when  
we evacuated the Crimea,  
if I had not made  
personal application to  
the Chief of the Staff &  
Quarter Master General.  
And the "Thames" was  
told off to take them  
home, besides all our  
\* in the Crimea.  
Nurses who remained \*  
Consequently I had to be  
on board the "Thames" to  
arrange all their quarters.  
Nothing could be better  
than what they did for us  
as to these Transport quarters  
on board the "Thames." ever yrs  
F.N.

Letter, ff58-59v, pen

[1:482]

**f58r**

3/2/65

Dear Uncle Sam

I am overcome with  
joy at your news of  
this morning. And it  
was very, very good of  
you to give it me.

[Of course no one will  
hear of it through me.]

No one so capable of  
leading the single life  
with advantage to herself  
& her country as Beatrice.  
And yet I am glad it  
is not to be her lot.

glad,

**f58v**

at least, that it *is* to  
be her lot that she  
can find some one  
worthy to share the  
work of God with her.

I have the very  
highest opinion of  
Godfrey Lushington  
chiefly, as you say,  
from A.H.C. I do  
believe, if anybody is  
worthy of Beatrice,  
he is. Yet it will  
take a great deal to

**f59r**

convince me that any  
man *is* worthy of *her*.

I deplore the loss to  
Lea, to my father, to  
you all (tho' you will  
probably, and I hope,  
be nearer to her) to the  
"preaching" the "stuff" -  
which last grief will  
make you laugh. But,  
for all that, though  
an old maid myself,  
& never having regretted  
my old maid=ehood  
for one moment, I

**f59v**

rejoice with exceeding  
great joy.

May God bless her - &  
God will bless her - &  
him too - & you too - is  
the wish

of ever yours gratefully  
F.N.

I hope there is a little  
pecunia on his side

Letter, ff60-62v, pen, pale blue, black-edged paper

**f60r**

June 29/65

{printed:} 34 South Street.,  
Park Lane,  
London. W

Dear Uncle Sam

I understand Papa  
is coming to you at  
Combe -  
Would it not be better  
if the £51.1.6 for  
repairs were repaid  
to me quarterly only,  
thus: -  
this house, when I first  
saw it in its rough  
state, I thought was  
dear at £450 a year

**f60v**

I think it cheap at  
£500 - now it is done  
up -  
call the £51 &c £50 -  
change the £10 for  
week's rent, while  
repairing, to me -  
then Papa would have  
to pay £125 per quarter.  
All I am afraid of is  
that it is troubling  
you with little intricacies.  
All I am anxious about  
is that the £122.10  
should be paid in on

**f61r**

August 1 to Lady Clarges  
at Drummond's. But  
that you are so good as to  
undertake.

-----

But here is a much  
worse matter.

I had in my own mind  
quite given up going to  
Hampstead this year.  
I did not feel equal  
to a second move. I  
thought I should do  
very well here. But  
now, tho' I have not  
yet taken the house  
at H., I feel I must  
go. I am so ill, spent

**f61v**

& harassed, I must get  
out of the reach of  
~~people~~ appeals from  
people who have no  
right to appeal to me  
- of worrying suggestions  
which are quite beyond  
my power & strength  
to deal with. Or I don't  
believe I should go on  
for another 3 weeks  
at work at all.

Mrs. Sutherland has  
not lost a single  
chance of a house at  
Hampstead for me  
but none of those I  
wished for are to be had

**f62r**

The only one that I would  
go into, which is to be  
had, (& *that* is not so  
nice as my old one,)  
is at £10.10 a week.  
~~And~~ I can go in on  
Saturday week, (nothing  
will be done in our  
offices for the next  
3 weeks) after July 10)  
There is a garden to be  
kept up at my expense  
besides. I certainly  
should not stay my  
usual 3 months -  
having *this* house on  
my hands - not more

**f62v**

than 2 months at all  
events. But it will be £11 a  
week - altogether -  
If I had not so  
completely broken down  
these last 6 weeks,  
I would not go at  
all.  
But I must be quiet.  
I have had lately to  
do business for 10 hours  
without stopping - &  
worries from people besides  
every day.

Ever yours gratefully  
F.N.



Letter, **f63r**, pen, black-edged paper

Oakhill Park  
Hampstead N.W.  
July 10/65

Dear Uncle Sam

I have heard that  
Lord Cranworth has  
appointed Mr. Godfrey  
his principal Secretary.  
I hope this is true -

I have also heard, not  
from newspapers, that  
probably the Chancellor  
may make Mr. Jowett  
the (vacant) Canon of  
Bristol. How glad I  
should be if this were  
so. Do people interest  
themselves to get this done?  
ever yours F.N.

Letter, ff64-65r, pen, black-edged paper

**f64r**

Hampstead N.W.  
Aug 9/65

Dear Uncle Sam

I have been too ill  
even to ask you - what  
shall I do with this?  
None bother me as my  
old Patients, of Harley  
St do - tho' it is 12  
years since I went  
there - and I have had  
an Army on my hands  
since. Of course the  
Ladies of the two \*  
Committees are those  
they ought to beg of -  
But if I write to

-----  
\* of 1 Upper Harley St  
& of 66 Harley St - most of them  
richer than I

**f64v**

decline, they tear off  
my signature &  
return it to me with  
(written above)

"The Lord forgive Miss"

This hurts me very much.  
The writer of the enclosed  
is a poor, helpless, good,  
hysterical creature,  
whom I have helped  
before.

If you think I ought  
to send the money,  
pray do so for me.

**f65r**

I have no reason to  
think that, in her case,  
(but I *have*, in some  
other cases,) the money  
goes in drink.

ever yours

F.N.

\* & inaccountably

I have periodically \* a  
shower of these letters.  
This shower is here now.  
I am afraid this unlucky  
woman has been calling  
at South St.

And the discharged soldiers  
won't let me alone here,  
even while I am eating  
my little meal.

Private note, ff68-69v, pen, pale blue black-edged paper [3:272]

**f68r**

{archivist's note: June-Nov 1865}

*Private*

Dr. Manning turns  
Sister Gonzaga and Co.  
out of house & home,  
bestowed upon them  
by a Deed of Gift by  
Card=Wiseman. I have  
had a terrible collision  
(terrible to me) with  
Dr. Manning about it.  
It is just the old story  
of the Jesuits & the  
Jansenists.

You must not mention  
this at all - least of  
all to them - the Sisters. But, if  
aunt Mai, or Bertha,  
could call, or send garden

**f68v**

produce - either to Revd.  
Mother at Bermondsey,  
or to Sister Gonzaga  
in Great Ormond St. -  
(they are not ousted  
yet) I think it would  
gratify & soothe. Revd.  
Mother is broken-hearted  
about it.

F.N.

[end 3:272]

**f69r**

P.S. I give Reily,  
Lady Clarges' agent,  
who really has served  
me well, & had a  
great deal of trouble  
about this most  
vexatious affair,  
a fee of £5.5. for  
it when completed.

Is that too much?  
Lady Clarges takes it off his Commission.  
F.N.

----

The Sutherlands go to  
Dulwich on December 1.

----

!!!!

I assure you I had thought

**f69v**

a good deal as to whether  
you would like to come  
into this house for your  
Parly. work with  
(perhaps) the G. Lushington  
?

But what could I do?  
I know the woman of  
the house to be a thief.  
I could not offer the  
house to any one without  
telling them so. Yet,  
how am I to prosecute  
this woman?

F.N.

{printed, upside-down:  
London, W.  
Park Lane.  
34 South Street,}

Letter, f70, pen

**f70r**

June 16/66  
[printed] 35 South Street.  
Park Lane.  
London, W.

Dear Uncle Sam

I don't want to have  
anything to do with  
Lord Townshend - nor do  
I wish to give my name.  
But, if you think this  
a thing to be contributed  
to, & will be so very  
kind as to do it for me,  
giving for me what  
sum you think right,  
"Barkis is willing."  
N.B. My objection to Ld  
Townshend is this:  
he picks out the

**f70v**

most worthless of my  
Crimean Nurses, &  
sends them to me  
with a letter, saying  
that I *ought to* induce  
the Trustees of the N.  
Fund to provide for them  
for life - there is no  
fitter object - for the  
N. fund" &c &c  
ever yours  
F. Nightingale

Letter, ff71-72v, pen. f71r {archivist's note: Ormond St sisters}

**f71**

April 16/68  
{printed:} 35 South Street.  
Park Lane.  
London.}

Dear Uncle Sam

Many thanks for your  
announcement about the  
"quarterly payment."

My father paid  
the Ground Rent to Lord  
Grosvenor, £50, for  
one year up to Lady Day  
1867 - since when no  
payment has been  
made. There is  
consequently one year  
due *last* Lady Day.

I am very, very glad

**f71v**

that you can say that  
your Neuralgia  
is better - I  
wish you could say, *gone*.  
This weather is trying  
to all. But we will  
hope when summer  
comes - you will be able  
to say, *gone*.

Aunt Mai will be [3:274]  
sorry to hear that Revd.  
Mother, after ailing for  
many months, has been  
very ill. She is now,  
however, thank God, better.

The affairs of the Ormond

**f72r**

St. Sisters still in the  
same unsatisfactory state.

Rome has written to  
Manning (an event to  
which I believe we  
contributed) to know  
why the Hospital is  
not re=opened. And  
Manning replied that  
he did not know before  
what their (the Sisters')  
rights were.  
However, he has done nothing.

But the Bishop of London  
has played just the same  
trick to the Sisters of  
St. John's House (Miss  
Jones')

All ecclesiastics are

**f72v**

alike.

I have heard lately that  
the Bp of London is  
not unknown for such  
'sharp practice.'---.?

I will not trouble you  
more now -

[end 3:274]

ever yours

F. Nightingale

Your stay at Embley,  
except for seeing you  
suffering, was the very  
greatest boon you  
could make, you & Aunt  
Mai, to my poor mother.  
She writes to me now, about  
Beatrice: - "was there ever  
any so good & wise as she?"

Letter, ff73-74r, pen

**f73r** [archivist's note: rates Taxes increase of work]

35 South Street.] Xmas Day/68

Park Lane.] [printed address]

Dear Uncle Sam

In answer to your kind  
note, desiring me to send  
the remainder of my  
this year's *paid* Rates  
& Taxes to you at Embley,  
I am sorry to say that  
I have never had one  
minute till this morning  
to set them down -

But do not trouble  
about them - if it is more  
inconvenient to send them  
than to give them to my  
father -

**f73v**

It is really no excuse to say  
that I could not find a  
minute to answer yours  
while you were at Embley.  
For, while my outward man  
decayeth, I can't say that  
my inward man is  
renewed day by day,  
but I can truly say he  
has more business calls  
upon him day by day.  
With best Christmas love  
to you & all yours, &  
hoping that you are  
still becoming better,

**f74r**

believe me, with many thanks,  
ever yours affectely  
F. Nightingale



Letter, f75r-76v, pen, not FN hand, perhaps a copy of letter, arch: 1850

**f75r**

of time under the best circumstances  
I hope Uncle Sam is quite well again  
Au revoir, dearest At Mai. Athens. May 2.

Many, many thanks, dearest  
Aunt Mai, for all your welcome  
letters - I have really not answered them, not ~~filleg~~  
because I had nothing to say,  
but because I had so much to  
say in return - But now I  
must write one line just to tell  
you that I have become more  
& more penetrated all the winter  
with the things that you used  
to talk about at Cromford?  
Bridge - which is not much  
worth saying truly, except in  
as far as you will see that I  
shall come back with a truer zest  
in them than ever. I have seen  
a great deal (both at home &  
abroad in Egypt which would have been  
very painful, almost insup =  
portable, had it not been  
for your truth, that the doctrine  
of responsibility, as we hold it,  
is not hold=able - but that

[7:390-91]

**f75v**

what man *does* is as much  
God's will as what he *has*.  
That the Egyptians did not  
admit the theory of repentance  
as we hold it, I feel certain  
there is no trace of it - change  
of mind (to be brought about  
by circumstances) not *remorse*,  
was their doctrine, I do believe.  
It was very interesting to me  
to go through their Tombs, their  
Monuments of a future life.  
& read their opinions on this  
point for you - & without you,  
dearest Aunt Mai, I am certain  
I should never have thought  
of these things - or of any of  
the things which are now most  
interesting to me - to you, to that dear  
little visit at Cromford Br. I owe the chief  
interest of my voyage.

I am more & more admitting  
into my *feeling*, as well as my  
knowledge that "I wish" &  
"I regret" are two things untrue.

**f76r**

To be sorry for anything that  
has happened is clearly, according  
to all that you say, untrue - &  
Xtians, in all their ages, Stoics, in  
previous times, have been  
searching after this state of mind  
darkly, under different names,  
Resignation, Stoicism &c - but  
without clearly seeing why  
there can be no regret.

To hope for a thing must  
be as untrue - as all that  
is worthy of hope is *certain* -  
for "I believe in God." & I do [therefore, 3 dots]  
earnestly try to have done  
with those untrue things, hopes  
& regrets - thanks to you, I  
believe them to be untrue -  
more & more, I feel them to  
be untrue - Yes, I do feel  
what you say, [~~illeg~~] how when I see  
a horrible evil, I am inclined  
to say, not "how mysterious!" but

**f76v**

"how good God is - *I must* have interfered - must have played the schoolmistress."

I am here in a Missionary's house - a real missionary - not one "according to the use of the United Church of England" but such as missionaries live in one's *imagi* = nation - & it is so interesting to me to see the "same mind, as it was in Christ Jesus," clothed in a different coat, in different parts of the world - My Madre at Rome, whose mind was dressed in black & white nun's robes, even more than her body - & the Evangelical American here, Mrs. Hill, my true missionary, are so alike - & both I see, are always listening for the voice of God, looking for his will. [end 7:391]

My best love to dear Bee. I shall have much to talk about with her when I come home - I cannot help rejoicing that dear little Puff is at Mr. Martineau's. I have felt strongly against boys travelling since I have been here - it is pure waste

ff77-78, incomplete letter of Mary Shore Smith to FN [July-Aug? 1851]

Thanks, dearest, for your bit, most welcome, for my thoughts are more and more bent on such things, are more and more impressed with the truth, beauty, love, wisdom, righteousness of God's ways, and how by trying to look into His thought and purpose we may practically help ourselves and others. More and more I feel the oneness in mankind and wish that they may have one will and that God's will, Uncle Sam just now takes so much interest in these things that he engages me to make out in writing as well as I can our thoughts, if only to help him and me it may, if it helps him and we get on to help our children, but I'll point at helping him and me and leave doing the more to be as it may, but I move with the purpose of helping him as well as myself feel redoubled eagerness, therefore you may judge that I am thankful for anything from you which always clears and enlarges my [illeg] I quite enter into what you say of Love.

Shore is I think more engaging and affectionate than ever, nothing fixed, but I think the tendency of Shore is to go on with his engineering then perhaps Cambridge for lecture on in mathematics and machinery. This would seem to me very satisfactory. He thinks much of you and asks much. I told him you had been at KI [Kaiserswerth] but that as it might be thought peculiar your mother might not like it to be talked about. "Oh what pluck she has," he said. He said he should like to see you. He's not had the measles and I should fear his catching them and bringing some possibility of Parthe's catching them, but I hope he will see you at Christmas or at any rate before you go to Derbyshire. I see a fine career before you and a sensible one too. A thought beautiful to me just now, and comforting is the organic unity of things, as I think I have begun to understand it. [?] We just [illeg] is the organic unity of things, as I think I will [?] begin to understand in Goethe [?], how the future is growing organically, habitually, beautifully out of the past.

illeg my beloved

ever yours M.S. [page cut off]

v

I find Dialogue, I think not between teacher & pupil, but between friends the easiest and best in saying to write what Uncle Sam wants.

FN letter Add Mss 45793 ff80-81 arch: 1852?

Tapton, Monday

My dearest, I feel very sorry to think of the quantity of unmeaning stuff I have written. When I know that you have been thinking for years & looking out for anything that could be done & are ready to move heaven & earth to do any thing possible, it is folly in me to mention what will probably be instantly felt by you out of the question and I hope I shall not be so guilty in this way in future.

But one small thing it does seem to me, it is straight forward to say. I have been reading the "Protestant Deaconesses." I read that "a few individuals are desirous of making known to the women of England of every class" what woman has done. I also read that any one disposed to forward the

v

work proposed "either by funds or by personal assistance is requested to communicate with Revd H.G. Bunsen."

Now Mrs Clarke has, in the most express words, offered her personal assistance after reading the "Protestant Deaconesses" so I think she ought to be notified to Revd H.G. Bunsen as having made this offer. Abundant references she gives, as to her past life. She is evidently anxious to have such references made with a view, not only of satisfying about her any who might be thinking of her, but in the hope that this enquiry as to whether the persons to whom she would

f81

refer would consider her fit for the work, might lead those persons to be interested in the work when they heard of it, might lead them to subscribe to it. Shall I send you the "Protestant Deaconesses" or shall I leave it at the Hurst?

My dearest mother is, I can see, overpowered with that which she feels our lost fortune. Whenever I go to her she breaks out with the most earnest & passionate expressions of blessing & good wishes. She little knowing the good the life which she

has thought useless to me, has  
been to all that is real life in  
me. Oh how this quiet time  
with you has helped

me, & how the quiet time  
with my thoughts & books &  
writing has helped me &  
the hour spent when I could not see to  
do anything, in the moonlight  
as I walked backwards & for  
words in sight of the house,  
suggestive of such infinite  
thoughts and experience. How  
those rich & beautiful fuchsia  
have talked to me. One es-  
pecially touches me. She said  
"That at the corner is so pretty.  
I thought it was so touching that  
those fuchsia, not seen for so  
long dwells in her imagination  
in that room where she lies in [&  
darkness. "Darkness,  
darkness," she exclaimed, when  
I put up the curtain for light to  
read Miss Hall's letter to her. As soon  
as it was finished she earnestly wished  
again for "darkness" to calm feeling  
too strong for her to bear.

ff82-88 Tapton Sunday

Most precious, it is very diffi-  
cult not to grieve over you,  
driven on to 10 days of weariness  
frittering. I have been  
thinking - Could you say to  
your people "In 4 years (may it  
not so?) you see you think I  
ought to be free to follow  
what course I myself think  
best, but I shall then be  
unprepared to the course I  
may right, it will  
be putting what I would  
wish to be able to do if  
I am then to seek how to  
do it. I cannot indeed  
answer for myself that then  
I may wish to do what more  
I would wish to do, Life

& ideas develop. they are

v

not stagnant. but without  
preparation, I however shall  
be unable to do it. I wish  
therefore to visit institutions  
where I may learn. I wish  
to go to Dublin in October  
at a future time to Paris  
& fear of its being thought  
improper, at my age to  
start an institution is the  
reason you feel against my  
doing so. It cannot be  
thought improper that I  
should be where there is  
the most enpress (?) matronly  
superintendence. On the  
question of home, I will do

f83

all I can, I will gladly con-  
sider my time yours to be  
spent where & as you would  
think right, not my time but  
my heart also, if you could  
also with your heart's good  
will agree to we having  
a portion of the year for  
harnessing what I desire  
to think I ought to learn,  
having that desire illeg-  
ed in me. It is an imposs-  
ibility to me to give all  
my heart always to the mode of  
employment I have at home,  
for love of you all I could  
gladly give all my heart  
for a portion of time,

v

happy in the thought that  
I pleased & satisfied you,  
if I might have that though  
you will say how little I  
am at home. But I would  
not ask for any absences.  
I would not desire them if  
I might thus, with peace and good  
will from those I love,



give a portion of my time  
to learning what I want to  
learn in institutions  
Whether Catholic, whether  
Protestant, if they are willing  
to receive me, tho I profess  
not what they profess,  
I shall be thankful to learn  
what they can teach.  
It is my wish to go to

f84

Dublin in October (for whatever  
time you think right) at a  
future time I wish to go to  
Paris but I will illeg  
rejoice to give (whatever time  
you think right) to home  
to be at the entire disposal  
of my parents,  
never wishing to leave them  
unless it might be for a  
visit to Grandmama.

In saying this, if it were to  
be accepted, I do not forget  
that *I* should be cut out  
from seeing you at Combe,  
where I have so hoped we  
might work together in town  
at some thing in the  
way of a class, and at home

v

presuming that which we  
would wish to awaken people  
to. But I should hope to  
see you in your home, & when  
you were in town & I should  
be so glad to see you saved  
the harass of the discussion  
of visits to Combe or any  
where, and to have your  
life put on an understood  
footing, instead of one of  
perpetual wearing uncertain  
ty, of perpetual harass.  
I really do not see how yr  
people could refuse this.  
Your mother has, in the most  
express manner, said she thought  
you ought at that future

**f85**

specified age, to be left uninterfered with. She desired me to write so to Mrs Bracebridge. Mrs B asked whether I could get a written agreement from yr mother for them. I did not attempt it, I thought having from her written this to Mrs B would answer the purpose better. To Mrs B I could always refer yr poor mother, even if she forgot it, would not deny the evidence. Having agreed to this it seems to me ought ask (illeg mt you not express with all  
Kindly & considerate &

v

respectful expression) your intention to spend a part of your time in learning at institutions if at the same time you expressed your wish that the other part of your time shd be theirs. I have not (pray do not trouble yourself to answer me) you may at once see this impossible, if so only excuse my troubling you with it (I want no answer--  
I read B's letter, it is so very characteristic, & as you are not busy, just as sketches of characters, I read Uncle Nicholson's & Aunt Anne's. Please return the three

**f86**

announced it to him he feels bound to speak the truth in religion. I shall be eager my be loved to honour what you do, Oh take care of your precious self, care, I mean, such care as you can, to keep up your spiritual life,

for the work of our Father,  
whatever it may be) In y  
ou the care of the sick  
has been so early & strongly  
worked as a vocation, I  
strongly expect *that* to  
come about to be a fact  
of your work if you can keep  
yourself alive for it.  
Mrs Clarke has not been to  
day. She said Friday or

v

Saturday so I shall expect  
her tomorrow. If  
she does not come I shall  
think she may not have  
found Tapton, and shall go to  
see her.

One does get such blows,  
sometimes one is hammered  
upon for a long time together  
& thinks one is dead, but  
after a time, some illeg  
influence comes, & one  
finds the very blows &  
hammering have been  
somewhat roughly opening  
veins of experience, very  
valuable. Farewell  
most beloved.

Letter of MS to FN Add Mss 45793 ff82-86

Tapton

Sunday [1852]

Most precious

It is very difficult not to grieve over you driven on to ten days of  
wearisome frittering. I have been thinking, could you say to your people, "In  
four years (was it not so?) You say you think I ought to be free to follow  
what course I myself think right, but I shall then be unprepared for the  
course I may think right, it will be putting off what I would wish to be able  
to do if I am then to seek how to do it. I cannot indeed answer for myself  
that then I may wish to do whatever I would wish to do. Life and ideas  
develope--they are not stagnating. But without preparation, I however shall  
be unable to do it. I wish therefore to visit insts where I may learn. I wish  
to go to Dublin in Oct, at a future time to Paris. I fear of its being  
thought improper at my age to start an inst is the reason you feel against my  
doing so. It cannot be thought improper that I should be where there is the  
most enpress [?] matronly superintendence. On the question of home, I will do  
all I can, I will gladly consider my time yours to be spent where and as you

would think right, not my time but my heart also, if you could also with your heart's good will agree to we having a portion of the year for harnessing what I desire to think I ought to learn, having that desire illeg in me. It is an impossibility to me to give all my heart always to the mode of employment I have at home, nor love of you all I could gladly give all my heart for a portion of time, happy in the thought that I pleased and satisfied you, if I might have that though you will say how little I am at home. But I would not ask for any absences. I would not desire them if I might thus, with peace and good will from those I love, give a portion of my time to learning what I want to learn in insts. Whether Cath, whether Prot, if they are willing to receive me, tho I profess not what they profess, I shall be thankful to learn what they can teach. It is my wish to go to Dublin in October (for whatever time you think right) at a future time I wish to go to Paris but I will illeg rejoice to give (whatever time you think right) to home to be at the entire disposal of my parents, never wishing to leave them unless it might be for a visit to Grandmama.

In saying this, if it were to be accepted, I do not forget that I should be cut out from seeing you at Combe, where I have so hoped we might work together in town at some thing in the way of a class, and at home presuming that which we would wish to awaken people to. But I should hope to see you in your home, and when you were in town & I should be so glad to see you saved the harass of the discussion of visits to Combe or anywhere, and to have your life put on an understood footing, instead of one of perpetual wearing uncertainty, of perpetual harass. I really do not see how yr people could refuse this. Your mother has, in the most enpress manner, said she thought you ought at that future specified age, to be left uninterfered with. She desired me to wry so to those Bracebridge. Those B asked whether I could get a written agreement from yr mother for them. I did not attempt it, I thought illeg from her written this to Mrs B would answer the purpose better. To Mrs B I could always refer yr poor mother, even if she forgot it, she wd not deny the evidence. Having agreed to this it seems to me you may ask (illeg mt you not express with all kindly and considerate and respectful expression) your intention to spend a f part of your time in learning at insts if at the same time you expressed your wish a the other fact if your time shd be theirs. I have not (pray do not trouble yourself to answer me) you may at once see the impossible if so only ensure my troubling you with it (I want no answer--I had B's letter, it is so very characteristic, and as you are not busy, just as ...I read Uncle Nicholson's and Aunt Anne's. Please return the three announced it to him he feels bound to speak the truth in religion. I shall be eager my beloved to honour what you do, Oh take care of your precious self, care, I mean, such care as you can, to keep up your spiritual life, for the work of our Father, whatever it may be) In you the care of the sick has been so early and strongly worked as a vocation, I strongly illeg that to come about to be a fact if your work if you can keep yourself alive for it. -Mrs Clarke has not been today. She said Friday or Saturday so I shall expect her tomorrow. If she does not come I shall think she may not have found Tapton, and shall go to see her.

One does get such blows, sometimes one is hammered upon for a long time together and thinks one is dead, but after a time, some illeg influence comes, and one finds the very blows and hammering have been somewhat roughly opening veins of experience, very valuable. Farewell most beloved.

f87

I believe in conscience. She would be most willing that you undertook a mission like Mrs Fry or Mrs Chisholm, but she thinks it necessary for your peace & well being that there shd be a Mrs Fry or Capt Chisholm to protect you, & I think in conscience she thinks it right to defend you from doing anything which *she thinks* wd be an impediment to the existence of Mrs F or Capt C. She told me she had told those illeg you were at liberty to carry out yr wishes either at Embley or here (at Hurst illeg

v

or Boldec Farm) She says all she objects to is yr going to a distance from yr friends, that Parthe wd so much prefer yr doing such at thing near home. She wd not interfere &c that begun in the small way you propose the expence wd not be too great that the church might help ou. I don't want to bother you with any professions, only to say how she is looking at the thing yr poor mother talked to me in a way that made my heart bleed as usual said she cd only live

in the drawing room & the carriage. That she & Parthe agreed on every subject that silence & solitude must be his lot for even to enunciate anything seem ed to unite them to oppose. To this purport I mean exactly the not in these exact words he spoke. She expressed most strongly his feelings of

yr dependence, so much so  
that I ventured on the fam  
ta illeg for Grand  
mama's looking out of her  
bed &c & he did not  
contradict. He had evidently  
been reflecting whether he  
could arrange so that you

v  
could take up any money  
you wanted, deducting the  
some from his will, said  
he had been thinking of  
expressing to Uncle Sam  
but I reminded & he saw

that this would be illeg  
yr future by the present\means, while the  
other 2 have their friends  
without lessening the fu  
ture so I only mention it  
as showing that his thought  
illeg on your difficulties  
tho I am quite conscious  
how illeg his illeg  
I go home tomorrow.

Letter, ff89-90, pen, FN hand I think poss?, arch: before Dec. 1852

**f89**

Cromford Bridge

Dearest Aunt Mai

You will keep the enclosed  
to yourself & return it,  
please. The answer about  
Shore is more favourable  
(*prospectively*) than I  
had expected.

I have not time to tell  
you what a help *for all*  
*Eternity* your visit to me  
has been - what new ideas  
& motives & support it  
has opened to me - what a  
new prospect - what a  
new past - a whole new  
& helpful theory of life to  
think out - God bless you

& yours

At Evans is very well, not too much

**f90r**

upset by your departure.  
I read the XVII of John to  
her. She said "what a  
noble, & I may say a  
glorious prayer. how  
benevolent he was, how thoughtful  
for their feelings his last  
feelings were. Put in a paper  
for me at the place.

{ff91-99 notes, prob MS, hard to read. La Femme

La Femme. There are some  
periods in my life,  
some weeks & days, which I  
feel invaluable in having  
illeg to me what illeg  
illeg is  
Le Prêtre. Yes, not true  
happiness, truly married  
enriches in the recollection  
& it, as well as while  
the circumstances  
in which it arose re  
ally exist. "Nessum ...  
quor dolor, so quoted &  
adored, is an unworthy  
sentiment, untrue to the  
illeg

La Femme, one of those  
happy times to me was in  
the year '51 when I spent  
a fortnight with that dear  
one whose life I am now

mourning. Yet in saying  
the word, I recollect her own  
words "Having not for her  
wife with submission resigned her  
self to her God" & I will  
not know I will keep up  
as ever fervent treasures  
those recollections  
It was in May & I used to  
get up in time to open  
my window. look upon  
the Derwent, flowing at  
the bottom of her garden  
as the church clock  
struck 5. Then I had a "peace

ful time for work till  
8 when before going to  
breakfast, I went into her  
room. Sweet gentle tender

**f92**

we think, illeg  
the look that illeg  
I always found her  
sitting up in bed. She never  
... she had lived  
so long to see & hear, was  
illeg her  
but she  
it for [hard to read]  
...I knew it by her bed  
her blessing her  
while she talked to me  
she seemed unconscious  
of ... so eagerly  
was she  
...

recollections of the past  
in her lll  
Such a tender ..."I have suffered every  
thing" she once said to me  
Still she returned a most  
cheerful & engaging spirit  
She had all the activity  
that was possible to me  
...  
I used to find her before  
breakfast

..."It reminds me of life"  
she said to ...

**f93**

I have a thread that I can  
wind quickly without my  
... I am sure I am not of  
unusual nature. I do not  
believe any human being is

...  
f94

**f95**

what I have  
Le Prêtre. "In my Father's  
house are many mansions"



I doubt not that this  
"Law of Love" awaits all

loving spirits at the right  
time.

La Femme. This

f97

La Femme. they ..

f100 not in FN hand, to Dearest Aunt Mai, Embley Monday, [arch Oct-Nov 1854]  
poss a copy of FN letter, re commissions. Guido,

f102 MSS to from Constantinople. From Flo. MS copy?

Letter, ff104r-05r, pen not FN hand, arch: copy by Mrs. N.

**f104r**

Scutari July 18 - 1855

Dearest Aunt Mai

If you can come, you  
only know what a support  
it will be to me. but all I  
shall see of you will be for  
2 or 3 hours a day at my  
little house at Scutari where  
you would live. you must  
judge whether it is worth  
while for you to have the  
long journey for this. I can  
hardly think so. you are  
very good to think of it.  
but it would be no comfort  
to me you well know if you  
were to give up the time to  
me when wanted at home.

**f105r**

If we were left far off there  
is no one gives me strength  
& courage & keeps me up  
like you - you raise me  
up to God.

we think it quite out of  
the question to have dear  
Bertha here. It is not a  
place for her indeed -  
thank her for me -

Yours ever gratefully  
FN

Letter, ff106-09v, pen, black-edged paper, {archivist's note: 49}

**f106r**

Castle Hospital  
Balaclava

Oct 19/55

[14:244-46]

I have been appointed a  
twelvemonth to day - And  
what a twelvemonth of  
dirt it has been, of  
experience which would  
sadden not a life but an  
eternity - Who has ever  
had a sadder experience?  
Christ was betrayed by one -  
But my cause has been  
betrayed by every one -  
ruined, betrayed, destroyed  
by everyone alas! one may  
truly say excepting Mrs.  
Roberts, *Revd. Mother, firstly,*  
& Mrs. Stewart - All the rest,  
Wear, Clough, Salisbury, Stanley,  
et id genus omne, where are  
they? And Mrs. Stewart is  
more than half mad - A cause

**f106v**

which is supported by a  
madwoman & twenty fools  
must be a falling house.

I never expected that  
the Bracebridges would  
come back & therefore your  
information was not such  
a shock to me as it  
would have been three  
months ago -

Also, I find much less  
difficulty in getting on here  
without him than with him.  
A woman obtains that from  
military courtesy, (~~who~~-if she does  
not shock either their habits  
of business or their caste  
prejudices,) which a man,  
who pitted the Civilian against  
the Military element & the  
female against the Doctors,

**f107r**

partly from temper, partly  
from policy, effectually  
hindered.

I am in the midst of  
[~~illeg-illeg~~], reading-rooms,  
boring for water - felting huts  
for the winter, bending down  
roofs with strong iron  
against the wind & building  
Extra Diet kitchens - Soyer  
is still here -

Dr. Hall is dead against  
me, justly provoked, but not  
by me - He descends to every  
meanness to make my position  
more difficult.

Generals Airey & Barnard  
are very kind to me -

This is only a preface to  
what I want to say - You  
have given me a lift, over  
my most difficult time. -

**f107v**

God bless you - But it  
would make me quite  
miserable for you to spend  
your winter here. I should  
be always thinking that they  
wanted you at home. I shd.  
never have a moment's  
peace in your society -  
I have not the least  
expectation of returning home.  
I am quite determined, Deo  
volente & the War Office, to  
remain with our Army as  
long as that Army is carrying  
on war, & as long consequently  
as it has General Hospitals.  
All here expect what they  
call "a good rattling campaign"  
next summer - whether that  
campaign will be here or on  
the Danube who can tell?  
In the latter case, the General

**f108r**

Hospitals would be at Varna.  
As long as there is work to  
do, I shall stay & do it  
if I can - I do not understand  
the arguments which are used  
against this What can I do  
better in England? As General  
Airey said to me, the Civilians  
can understand nothing at  
all of what we are about.  
Why, it would take five  
months to move this army,  
if peace were made today -  
Tomorrow we expect an  
attack - This winter it is  
true we shall have no  
trenches - But we shall have  
a very sickly winter in all  
probability - What better  
can I do in England? There  
I might have as many  
hundred Patients as here I shall  
have thousands - Every where  
UNDER WHATEVER circumstances

**f108v**

we have  
to organize kitchens, baths,  
linen=stores, washing -

I hear Soyer called a  
"humbug" because he leaves  
work half=done & goes to  
something else, while that  
goes to ruin, which is true -  
& I hear myself called a  
humbug, because, after a  
year of the hardest work,  
the thing is only just orga=  
nized & I will not leave it.

To leave a work which one  
has undertaken, in order to  
try something else which  
sounds better, is a dangerous  
experiment, at best. But  
I leave that which is  
succeeding to fly to something  
I know not what -

It is quite true that Drs.  
Hall & Hadley sent for a  
list of vessels going home &

**f109r**

chose one, the Jura, which was  
NOT going to stop at Scutari,  
because it was *not* going to  
stop at Scutari - & put me  
on board of her for England,  
(when I was ill here before) -  
And that Mr. Bracebridge &  
Lord Ward took me out, at  
the risk of my life - to save  
my going to England, though  
unconscious at the time that  
it was *intended* -

I do not intend to go home  
while the War lasts - And  
I am sure that the impatience  
to get you home will tend  
very much to entreaties &  
*supposed conviction* that  
it would be better for me  
to come home - You cannot  
stay long enough to bring me  
home - Do please go before  
the winter - I do not mean now,

**f109v**

or till I come back to Scutari,  
but before the very bad weather,  
tell them that you will -

There is not a hut, not a  
stove, not a provision for  
winter come out yet -

I have written to Dr.  
Blackwood negating Mr.  
Hadow's proposition -

Let Horsfield have the  
1/2 pint (the same as Vickery)  
daily - Between ourselves it  
is a pint they have - &  
Robert 1/2 pint - But, if  
Vickery is content with 1/2  
pint, so much the better

Yours for ever

F.N.

[end 14:246]

f110-12 MSS re Miss Salisbury  
f112-22v MSS letter, green paper  
f110 re Miss Salisbury

f123 receipt by FN to Aunt Mai for comforter {archivist's note: The Free Gifts were not intended for nurses}

Scutari November 23 1855

Received of Mrs. Samuel Smith  
the Sum of One Pound £1 0/0  
to replace three Comforters (out  
of the "Free Gifts") given by her  
to three Nurses going home - the  
remainder to be expended for the  
"Sick & Wounded."  
£1.0.0

Florence Nightingale

The £1 has been expended as above - F.N. March 19, 1856.

f124 letter April 27 1857 MSS letter to FN from Lea Hurst

f124 Aunt Mai to FN n.d. re her mother, Friday.

Dearest, Uncle Sam does not leave Derby till a late train, but I have opened your letter. Please be sure, my very dearest, that your taking Hilary is not the very slightest inconvenience to any body. Indeed it is quite the contrary, for it is always uncomfortable to leave half a dozen people with so little to do as now at Combe--therefore I trust you will press Hilary to return with you for I am quite certain that we do not, & shall not want her. I need not, yet I cannot help repeating with what pleasure Uncle Sam would have gone with you, but though he could well have employed himself, it is not necessary to him to go & we both saw at once that it will be more comfortable to you to have nobody to keep informed of movements, that you must leave uncertain. Hillie will this morning have received my letter telling her to expect to hear from you what day you go. God bless you, speed you in the work you are doing for each & all of us. Yours for ever MSS  
Sheffield Infirmary another day.

f126 MSS to Mrs June 57, little party Florence, Dr S followed immediately by going to an appt with the Herbert, she lay down a few minutes only before Dr Mapleton came, with whom she was at work till 10 last night

ff127-28 Aunt Mai to FN 18 re reconciling FN and mother and Parthe [Aug 23 1857]. 4 The Squarer, Buxton Sunday. My dearest F

With as few words as possible let me trouble my dearest for whom such poor rest as this world can afford for her is one of the most earnest wishes of my heart.

I have ventured to urge your Mother to come with Parthe to the Hurst tomorrow in the earnest hope that you will let me join you either at Malvern or in town, according to your plans. Parthe writes to me those ideas about Aunt Anne (relatively to your Mother) which we know illeg & consequently she wishes her to come to the Hurst, this being so I feel convinced that it is most peaceful for us all that she shd come to the Hurst. I am quite at liberty. We are going South and all my desire is to join on to you, either at



Malvern or in London, according to your plans, any day after Friday where you are, there let me be, I will be a quiet mouse.

Embley is ready for Uncle Sam & our girls at any time. He wishes this as much as I, witness his hand (Samuel Smith==SS hand). If your are staying on at Malvern, possibly he might stay on a little with me in a lodging but the fact is this is holiday time & we are quite illeg & whether he is at Malvern or Embley is really indifferent. your sever M.S.\Please put the day of the month in the inclosed paper. if you will do that & not write more we shall thank you because we shall see that you understand us.

**f129** letter n.d. [Aug 25 1857] MSS to FN, 4 The Square, Buxton, Tuesday  
Dearest F., You may depend upon me at the Burlington on the 29th unless I  
hear from you fixing some other day. ever yours MS

f130 letter Combe Hurst Thursday Sept 10 [1857] MS to FN; My dearest love, It  
is an unspeakable comfort to us that we can DEPEND on your sending for me at  
your own time. I do not hesitate to go to Embley today for you know that I  
come as gladly & as readily from one place as the other. I have no idea that  
it will be possible for Shore to stay at Embley beyond Monday.

I have not the least doubt that it has been best for you to be alone & am  
most thankful to hear of your comfort & good nursing. The work "Come" to  
Embley will bring me, I am sure you know, how gladly leaving Embley at 8.40 I  
shall be at Worcester 5.33 We are not sure however whether the letters arrive  
at Embley in time to leave Romsey at 8.40 the same day as receiving a letter  
from Malvern. Perhaps you know, & we shall enquire . Uncle Sam says he shd  
come with me to Malvern *or a illeg* not wishing to see you for we grudge your  
seeing any body ourselves in cluded. Oh if only you can stay long enough in  
such comparative peace is all our desire.

We will be very careful in what we say to the Hurst. AHC & SS will take  
care about Greenwich Report & acknowledgement of Dr Macpherson's letter. ever  
your MS

f132 notes by MS

ff134-36 Aunt Mai letter to FN Feb 9 1858

ff137-45 MS letter to dearest Fanny Thursday Old B [Feb 11 1858?]

ff150-52 letter [Feb 26 1858] green paper, MSS to dear friends Thursday, re  
change of ministry, Dr S speaks most regretfully of deal and additional  
trouble and anxiety consequent upon; re getting ready for Parl meeting thanks  
for Paulina's letter, article in Times Dr S said the best yet, MS, Hilary  
just here, to return something from Lady

ff153-54 [Feb 27 1858] MSS green paper

f155 February 28/58 from Old Burl Sunday

ff158-61 Feb-March 1858 green paper MSS to Mrs N prob re Fl, re their coming  
to town Feb-Mar 1858, signed MS

f162 n.d. MSS green paper, Dr S. has just stated that they do not expect the  
précis to be out above 3 months, better not to come out yet. He said Lord  
Panmure had no power to ?? himself by any reforms after the fatal day. He  
says they have no means of judging how the new govt will comport themselves  
in regard to commission affairs but that no adverse spirit has been shown yet

From a letter by John Sutherland to Mary Shore Smith, Add Mss 45793 ff163-64  
[11:210-11] 16 July 1858

Dear Mrs Smith

I return you Florence's papers with some running comments. I feel very deeply that there is no chance of any substantive agreement between us on the philosophical questions at issue. Nothing gives me more delight than to agree with her, and feeling so closely alike on all practical matters, it perhaps matters little that in merely speculative points there should be a difference.

I confess that perhaps I have expressed my opinions sometimes too strongly, but my excuse must be that I have felt strongly. The points at issue would never separate us in any practical work. They are therefore harmless so far as that is concerned. In other hands then hers they might not be so harmless and it is for such a reason that I have felt strongly about them.

I have little more to say in the matter at issue than I have already said. Any scheme of the moral government of the universe which subordinates free will in the most minute degree I could not assent to because I know in as true a sense as I can know anything that volition is free. I can never be urged out of what I know. [comment: Comteist?]

Again the whole Comteist method of enquiry is radically vicious. It is seeking the living among the dead who have no will and then asserting that the living have no will. To me it is astounding that the idea should ever be entertained or accepted. It could only have originated in such a slough of despond as Parisian society present and to tell you the truth I do not think it can never take root in our healthy British nature.

Not one of us would dream of going to the charnel house to learn philosophy. Why should we go among the phenomena of dead souls to learn what we can never get--the laws of living souls, when we have so many living souls of which we can learn? And why should we go into the abyss of human wickedness to learn God's moral government when He has written His plan with the sunbeam?

I have preferred sending this to you because yon Florence is very unwell and in our work we have enough of difference of opinion to make it desirable not to have more. I regret that on this most important of all subjects we should differ at all. Believe me to be,

yours ever sincerely

J. Sutherland

f165 MSS going down with Uncle Sam, leaving Burl St ...Dr S and Clough come to us at...from Waterloo [Oct 1858]

f166 MSS

f167 MSS

ff168-94 Shaw Stewart letters to MSS, JSS letters hard to read on mf

1, ff168-71 2 June 1859 JSS to MSS from Salp. Dear Mrs Smith, details, f168 faint

2, ff172-73 2 July 1859 JSS to MSS from Salp, just recd your letter...  
f174 continues arch: reproaches FN for printing her words, but will continue to send info, which it would not be wrong to print  
3, ff183-86 8 Sept 1859 JSS to MSS re Vincennes, arch: desires to send box w/o fuss through a custom house

4, f187-88 7 Sept 1859 JSS to MSS from Vincennes, arch: re box of technicalities, against female printing and publishing

ff189-90, Letter from Hilary SS to MSS for FN

5, ff191-92 25 Nov 1859 JSS to MSS Val de Grace, intends a flying visit to Lyons, Bordeaux and poss Toulouse? Returning about new year, asks re English mil hosps

ff193-94 JSS to Madam, 12 Dec 1859, Val de Grace, re FN, will write her a line when visiting Paris (not sure to whom)

Note ff194r-95r, pen, written at 45 degree angle across page} comment on letter of M.A. Baines I think

### **f194r**

"Sanitary Reform:

"what it is & what

"it is not." Certainly

not this lady.

Miss Sellon says that  
I have had so much to do more  
with men than with women that  
I don't know how England swarms  
with this type of women - nor how much  
harm they do the cause of the employment  
of women. I think I do.

The more shortly she is answered the  
better. I think I would simply tell her that I have  
delegated my Powers to the Council - that the plan is  
already settled for the expenditure of the money -  
which, even had this not been the case,  
could not have been expended by  
terms of the Trust=deed in the  
way she proposes. And tell her  
that as she begs her letter may

Add Mss 45793

429

be published, I beg  
mine may not -  
But I think

**f194v**

the impudence  
of this woman telling  
me (who can know  
nothing about it) that  
"Hospitals possess ample machinery  
for the training of Nurses" &  
teaching men the value of "Sanitary  
Science."

Perhaps Uncle Sam or you will  
answer her -

Should it be added that her  
letter shall be laid before my  
Council or not?

{other incoming letters from ff195-202}

ff195-99 letter to FN from M.A. Baines 40 Sussex Square [Kemess Town?] with  
suggestions FN didn't like Dec 19 1859, "I hope I may be pardoned" FN:  
Certainly not. FN for suggestions, re money lying idle FN: *not* lying idle FN;  
"impudent woman! FN, with PS that acting independently of the Ladies Sanitary  
Association in addressing her, connection recently ceased, the work of  
sanitary reform "My deep interest in this subject has alone induced me to  
trouble you with this letter" FN: Then don't do it again. FN and PS f199 with  
offer to allow publication of her letter "Then don't publish mine. F.N.  
acting independently of Ladies San Assoc. 2 PSs

ff200-02 Aunt Mai. green paper letter to dear friends from Penzance, re dear  
invalid in England, Sam went to Tremeneheere, and Cornish, but if damp to be  
avoided, Penzance not the place

Letter, ff203-04v, pen, arch: about ground rent rates & taxes  
whether to be paid by her father [1:484-85]

**f203r***Private*

35 South St. W

April 16/68

Dearest Aunt Mai

I have had a very kind note from Uncle Sam, telling me about quarterly payments - & asking me up to what date my father had paid the Ground Rent &c which I have answered.

There *is* a point which has been in abeyance since I came into this house 2 1/2 years ago - which Uncle Sam has desired me, very kindly, to settle several times - & which I should have settled this last winter, had it not been for his illness.

I could not bear to trouble him - Then I felt that the least little worry would bring on his pain - you also said so - And now I ask you, rather than cause him any trouble whatsoever, to put this letter in the fire.

This is the reason why I ask you whether I shall ask him anything at all.

The matter is this: - when I came into this house (in 1865) he told me that my "father was to pay all the rates & taxes & the Ground Rent."

**f203v**

\* Uncle Sam

Later, (& indeed nearly every quarter) he \*  
has desired me to *estimate* for the rates &  
taxes - to send *him* in the *estimate* - & let  
him obtain it from my father.

I never had the time to do this - till  
I went to Malvern in January, when  
I made up the account of the Rates &  
Taxes for the past year 1867, which  
I have now before me - (& for that year only -  
not for 1866.)

I could not *estimate* for 1868, because  
this house, previously assessed at £200,  
was raised lately (from £200) to £300  
[The inhabited House tax is 9d. in the £.]  
The property tax was raised last Session  
from 4d. in the £ to 5d. On paying  
my Lady Day taxes, I find that my  
Rates & Taxes *for 1865* will be more  
than twice as much what they were  
when I first came into this house.

Last autumn, when Uncle Sam was  
here, he again wrote me a very kind  
note (from the Dining-room) which I  
now have before me - saying: "W.E.N.



**f204r**

"must pay rates & taxes & the ground  
"rent" (£50 per ann.) "I will ask him for  
"it thereafter."

[Uncle Sam's illness was the reason why  
I did not send him in the account  
in January.]

I have paid all the rates & taxes since  
I came into this house - & everything -  
except one year's Ground Rent (£50)  
from Lady Day 186~~5~~6 to 18~~5~~67 Lady Day -  
which my father paid himself - &  
which, when he was here two or  
three weeks ago, he reproached me  
rather severely with, as if wishing  
me to refund to *him*.

I do not wish (or ask) to be repaid the  
Rates & Taxes I have paid, (altho'  
I was promised them) ever since I ~~paid~~ came  
into the house. viz. for 1866 & part of 1865.  
But the account for 18~~5~~67 I have now  
before me, made up as I was  
kindly invited to do by Uncle Sam -  
& also up to this Lady Day 18~~5~~68.  
This I could send you at once, if desired.

**f204v**

I do not press for it. Indeed if it is decided  
that I am to pay everything I will gladly do it -  
But I should like it to be decided  
one way or other - whether I am  
to pay the Rates & Taxes and Ground  
Rent - or whether my father is to do so.  
It is quite beyond my enfeebled powers  
of body & mind to bear ~~to~~ what he  
says to me (every time I see him now)  
about this house & his buying it for me  
And the most curious part of it is

\* brought this upon myself by

that I have never once \* asking him  
for the "Rates & Taxes & Ground Rent,"  
(altho' he said that he was to pay them).  
What he says to me is entirely gratuitous  
Nor, as you are aware, did I ever ask him to buy  
this house for me -

I admit that I have been so overwhelmed  
\* & spring

this winter \* with cares & sorrows &  
overpowering increase of business that  
I have felt at times as if I could not  
go on with the little calls upon my  
time & attention which the Assessments  
& other claims (of having a house) bring  
upon me - my father & brother-in-law  
never really taking the smallest business  
off my hands - in haste  
ever yours  
F. Nightingale

Letter, ff205-06r, pen

**f205r**

April 18/68

At *Julia's Cheque* 35 South Street {printed address}

*Maid* Park Lane  
London. W.}

{archivist's note: 7 or 8 hours daily writing about Liverpool  
workhouse}

Dearest Aunt Mai

I am afraid you will hardly  
believe that I have been so  
busy I never have had a  
moment to despatch this  
business - which I have  
so much at heart.

I am very glad it is  
settled. But I am afraid  
the present little maid  
was not of a capacity to  
be promoted to the rank  
of Reader - at least not  
while Papa was at the Hurst.

**f205v**

Will you allow me to enclose  
the Cheque (to order)  
(for £10) to you?  
I shall remember to pay it  
at Easter annually.  
I have put "for Miss J.S.'s maid"  
on the Cheque merely as a  
reminder.

The reason why I am over=  
worked to this degree now  
is= that, almost before  
Miss Jones of Kings' Coll:  
Hosp: & her fatal persecution  
& resignation was off my  
hands, came dear Agnes  
Jones of Liverpool Workhouse

**f206r**

& her illness & death - since  
when I have scarcely  
ever had less than  
7 or 8 hours daily writing  
(in addition to my natural  
business) to settle the  
affairs of the Liverpool  
Workhouse - And  
before this is off my  
hands, I have another  
Hospital (Winchester) to  
do - And I don't find  
that I do the work in 3  
hours now which I  
used to do in one -

I hope that you have

**f206v**

good reason to believe  
that at all events Uncle  
Sam is not worse -

ever yours  
F. Nightingale

**f207** letter by Aunt Mai with a note on it by FN, MSS asks FN to say a word for them to Mrs Bracebridge with sympathy, I have helped to educate poor Greece. I have often thought of that as almost the only good Greece was receiving. Uncle Sam has often mentioned his zeal for a monument to the 300 soldiers & sailors who went down standing in reach of the troop ship burnt off the coast of Africa after having ensured the safety of every passenger--not a man...I liked the ...sent to your father very much;

**f207** FN comment pencil

But to me it seems as if you two were the crew of the burning ship, as if after having given life & happiness to all this poor world's passengers whom you ever had on board, you two go down

**f207v**

"standing on parade" to a glorious  
tho' painful end not long to be parted/about Mrs Bracebridge

The martyrs used to sing a 'Te Deum' of praise  
to God when they were marching  
to torture & death--not so very long ago.

**f208** pencil draft to Aunt Mai

Aug 25/72

*Calling the Order of Nature  
a sufficient account  
of its cause*

Dearest Aunt Mai

I have no doubt you read Dr  
Carpenter' speech. [arch: Pres Br Ass, Brighton]

Is not the latter part of it marked  
in red a remarkably good putting  
of the Metaphysical error in which  
are so many at the present day?

It seems to me that to revolve  
round a Metaphysical formula/idea without  
ever developing it into the innumerable  
Laws ~~of~~ which if it is true at all  
are the only true expressions of it is  
simply the bar to all progress-

[You object to the word: Metaphysical  
I am quite willing to change it--  
*Metaphysical*: is the operation of reflecting  
upon one's own consciousness--Say what  
word you please. "an intellectual conception"--

**f209r**

You object to the word Law: I am quite willing to change it. It is a matter of *absolute indifference* whether when I say: Sewer gas breeds Typhoid Fever Purify your water & you remove Cholera-- I call these Sanitary *Laws* or Sanitary anything else.]

But what I contend is that, if during these 19 years, I had gone on repeating ~~'The~~ 'Laws of, 'Sanitary Reform will obviate all disease' without discovering the laws I should not only not have been promoting progress--I should have been absolutely preventing it.

That: 'Sanitary reform prevents disease'-or: 'the observance of Sanitary Truths or Laws prevents disease'-is a formula--a Metaphysical idea--that is an idea of my own mind--evolved out of my consciousness, as it were. It is only *what I think*.

**f210r** {ff210r-14

{2}

But if I proceed to say *what* these truths, *what* these Laws are: then it ceases to ~~become~~ a mere Metaphysical formula - and it becomes a living truth.

1.

When I talk with Positivists, it appears to me that they have not a leg to stand upon. Their more than flimsy metaphysical formulae - as: 'Every thing is governed by Law' - which is true - but they never get any further - it remains a formula as: 'we have no faculties to enable us to apprehend God' - which is not only not true but is absolutely absurd - the fact being that we have *no one* more *intimately* present to (every one of) us or more *constantly* present than God



**f211r**

And then they expect me to believe in their Dr. Congreve (of whose existence I have no proof) & not to believe in God.

When they come to their Duke of Somerset=ting, only my excessive civility prevents me from laughing.

2. But - it does not appear to me that to say:

"Ever-increasing evidence shows us that by the Laws or Order of a Perfect Being we are all of us approaching to perfection, directly or indirectly -" (tho' this is true)

is at all less of a mere metaphysical formula than what the Positivists use - *Metaphysical* is: *what I think*.

This is only *what I think* -

unless I show

1. the evidence
2. the Laws one by one
3. the paths to perfection -  
by which we are being led -

As to the "ever-increasing evidence," it appears to be nothing but the

**f212r**

†3†

"ever increasing" number of mornings in  
 which I have thought this before  
 getting out of bed -  
 [I do not say there is *not*: 'evidence' -  
 on the contrary, no one believes the  
 above proposition, as I do -  
 I only say that to repeat the formula  
 is not to give evidence.]

3.

It appears to me that St Teresa: did  
 exactly what the Positivist  
 (tho' there *can* be no 2 people more  
 unlike)

does -

exactly what we do -  
 She worked herself into a rapture over  
 an idea of her own consciousness -  
 there is a God -  
 exactly as the Positivists work themselves  
 into a rapture over: there is *no* God -  
 exactly as you work yourself into a rapture:

**f213r**

over: there is a perfect God -  
 Neither they nor we nor Mr. Jowett nor any ~~one~~ have  
 ever gone on to find *what* are the  
 Laws or paths or Order by which He  
 is leading each one of us to  
 \* or by which the moral world is governed at all, -  
 perfection - \* - tho' the word "Law" is now in  
 every one's mouth.

*And this, it seems, is What is  
 Wanted*

When Emerson goes into a rapture over  
 the "feast of Law," I go into a rage -

It is as if I had gone into a rapture  
 over "there is Sanitary Law" all these 19  
 years - & left all India, all the Crimea,  
 all the British Army at home, all the  
 American Army to die of Fever & Cholera.

People who go on about 'God governing

**f214**

[4]

by Law' - or `the Moral World being all  
Law' - &c &c &c without  
finding out or attempting to find out  
the Laws which are to save us -  
but stopping at the formula - also  
seem to me to be leaving the world  
to die of (Moral) Fever and Cholera -  
or as if, when I was starving, they offered  
me not bread but ~~a~~ the formula - that  
"bread is the staff of life" -

Yet *nothing* can be more *practical*  
than: if we were to go on finding out these Laws  
- nothing more *impractical* than  
sticking at the formula.

**[end vol 11]**

**f215** pencil draft or copy**[5:657]**

Aug 30/72

HEREDITARY QUALITIES

MANKIND CREATING MANKIND

*Mr. Galton's Essay*

Dearest Aunt Mai

I had so much wished to see this Lecture on "Blood Relationship" that I wrote to ask Dr Farr to ask Mr Galton to lend it me.

[Let us say at the outset that it is all the more trustworthy because he admits that we are "profoundly" ignorant of "most if not all" of the "points of detail"--& can only at present indicate a "fact"]

It seems to me that this "fact" when the points of detail are discovered & the "facts" which Quetelet's book (which I have) indicate modify--indeed transmogrify--the whole of our theory--of what you & I have talked so much about--about fathers & mothers about God's plan in creating their children.

**f216v**

in creating mankind

[As I cannot go into all we have talked about, I shall merely allude to 2 or

3, not the most important, of our cogitations, in order to recall them to you]

You & I have often discussed the extraordinary variety there is between sisters or between brothers born under almost exactly the same circumstances specifying, for want of a better, the difference between my sister & me

You, I remember, had 2 theories to account for it--1. that a year might make such a difference between the respective conditions of the Parents--2. that the difference in the children was the direct hand of God.

To both of these I demurred--And I believe both were dropped--

Now Mr Galton's theory or fact places [breaks off abruptly]

**[end 5:658]**

ff217-18v FN has marked article

Article, ff217-18v, printed {appeared in "NATURE," June 27, 1872, pp. 173-76.  
FN has underlined passages}

## f217

### BLOOD-RELATIONSHIP\*

I *propose* in this memoir to deduce by fair reasoning from acknowledged facts a more definite notion than now exists of the meaning of the word "kinship." It is my aim to analyse and describe the complicated connection that binds an individual, hereditarily, to his parents and to his brothers and sisters, and, therefore, by an extension of similar links, to his more distant kinsfolk. I hope by these means to set forth the doctrines of heredity in a more orderly and explicit manner than is otherwise practicable.

From the well-known circumstance that *an individual may transmit to his descendants ancestral qualities which he does not himself possess*, we are assured that they could not have been altogether destroyed in him, but must have *maintained their existence in a latent form*. Therefore each individual may properly be conceived as consisting of two parts, one of which is *latent and only known to us by its effects on his posterity*, while the other is patent and constitutes the person manifest to our senses.

The adjacent, and, in a formal sense, separate lines of growth in which the patent and latent elements are situated, diverge from a common group and converge to a common contribution, because they were both evolved out of elements contained in a structureless ovum, and they *jointly contribute the elements which form the structureless ova of their offspring*.

The annexed diagram illustrates my meaning, and serves to show clearly that the span of each of the links in the general chain of heredity extends from one structureless stage to another, and not from person to person.

Structureless	.....Adult Father	.....	Structureless
elements in			elements in
Father	.....Latent in Father.....		offspring

I will now proceed to consider the quality of the several relationships by which the above terms are connected together.

The observed facts of Reversion enable us to prove that the *latent elements must be greatly more varied* than those that are personal or patent. The arguments are as follows:--(1) There

\* Read before the Royal Society, June 13, by Francis Galton, F.R.S. [June 27, 1872]

**f217v**

must be room for very great variety, because a single strain of impure blood *will reassert itself after more than eight generations*; (2) an individual has *256 progenitors in the eighth degree*, if there have been no ancestral intermarriages, while under the ordinary conditions of social and neighbourly life, he will certainly have had a considerable, though a smaller, number of them; (3) the gradual waning of the tendency to reversion as the generations increase, conforms to what would occur if each fresh marriage contributed a competing element for the same place, thus diluting the impure strain until its relative importance was reduced to an insignificant amount. It follows from these arguments that for each place among the personal elements there may exist, and probably often does exist, a great variety of *latent elements that formerly competed to fill it*.

I have spoken of the primary elements as they exist in the newly-impregnated ovum, where they are structureless, but contain the materials out of which structure is evolved. The embryonic elements are segregated from among them. *On what principle are they segregated?* Clearly it is on some principle whose effects are those of "*Class Representation*," using that phrase in a perfectly general sense, *as indicating a mere fact, and avoiding any hypothesis or affirmation on points of detail*, about most, if not all, *of which we are profoundly ignorant*. I give as broad a meaning to the expression as a politician would give to the kindred one, a "*representative assembly*." By this he means to say that the assembly consists of *representatives from various constituencies*, which is a *distinct piece of information*

*so far as it goes*, and is a useful one, although it deals with no matter of detail; it says nothing about the number of electors, their qualifications, or the motives by which they are influenced; it gives no information as to the number of seats; it does not tell us how many candidates there are usually for each seat, nor whether the same person is eligible for, or may represent at the same time, more than one place, nor whether the result of the elections at one place may or may not influence those at another (on the principle of correlation). After these explanations there can, I trust, be no difficulty in accepting my definition of the general character of the relation between the embryonic and the structureless elements, that the former are the result of election *from the latter on some method of Class Representation*.

The embryonic elements are {developed-italics} into the adult person. "*Development*" is a word whose meaning is quite as distinct in respect to form, and as vague in respect to detail, as the phrase we have just been considering; it embraces the combined effects of *growth and multiplication*, as well as those of *modification in quality and proportion*, under *both internal and external influences*. If we were able to obtain an approximate knowledge of the original elements, *statistical experiences* would no doubt enable us to predict the average value of the form into which they would become developed, just as a knowledge of the seeds that were sown would enable us to predict in a general way the appearance of the garden when the plants had grown up. But the individual variation in each case would be

great, owing to the large number of variable influences concerned in the process of development.

The latent elements in the embryonic stage must be developed by a parallel, I do not say by an identical process, into those of the adult stage. Therefore, to avoid all chance of being misapprehended when I collate them, I will call, in the diagram I am about to give, the one process "Development (a)" and the other "Development (b)."

It is not intended to affirm, in making these subdivisions, that the embryonic and adult stages are distinctly separated; they are continuous, and it is impossible but that they should overlap, some elements remaining embryonic while others are completely formed. Nevertheless the embryo, speaking broadly, may fairly be looked upon as consecutive.

Again, the two processes are not wholly distinct; on the contrary, the embryo, and even the adult in some degree, must receive supplementary contributions derived from their contemporary latent elements, because *ancestral qualities indicated in early life frequently disappear and yield place to others*. The reverse process is doubtful; it may exist in the embryonic stage, but it certainly does not exist in a sensible degree in the adult stage, else the later children of a union would resemble their parents more nearly than the earlier ones.

Lastly, I must guard myself against the objection, that though structure is largely correlated, I have treated it too much as consisting of separate elements. To this I answer, first, that in describing how the embryonic were derived from the structureless elements, I expressly left room for a small degree of correlation; secondly, that in the development of the adult elements of the embryonic, there is a perfectly open field for natural selection, which is the agency by which correlation is mainly established; and thirdly, that correlation affects groups of elements, and not the complete person, as is proved by the frequent occurrence of *small groups of persistent peculiarities, which do not affect the rest of the organism, so far as we know, in any way whatever*. {FN has marked a large question mark here}

The ground we have already gained may be described as follows:--

Out of the structureless ovum the embryonic elements are taken by Class Representation, and these are developed (a) into the visible adult individual. On the other hand, returning to our starting-point at the structureless ovum, we find, after the embryonic elements have been segregated, the large residue is developed (b) *into the latent elements* contained in the adult individual. All this is summarily expressed in the first two columns of the diagrams below. I might have inserted vertical arrows to show the minor connections between the corresponding stages in the two parallel processes, but it would have complicated the figure.

In what way do the patent and latent adult elements respectively contribute representatives towards the structureless stage of the next generation? We know that *every quality they possess may be transmitted to it*, but it does not follow that they are invariably transmitted. The contributions from the patent elements cannot be by "Class," because their own original elements have been themselves *specialised*, and therefore can contain no more than one or a few members of each class (which, it is true, must have been somewhat developed, both in numbers and variety). Their

contributions may therefore be justly described as being effected on some principle that has resulted in a "*Family representation*," though whether in a strictly universal representation I do not profess to say.

As regards the large variety of adult *latent* elements, they *cannot all be transmitted*, for the following obvious reason; the *corresponding qualities of no two parents can be considered exactly alike*; therefore the accumulation of sub-varieties, if they were all preserved, as the generations rolled onwards, would exceed in multitude the wildest flights of rational theory. The heritage of peculiarities through the contributions of 1,000 consecutive generations, even supposing a great deal of ancestral intermarriage, *must far exceed what could be packed into a single ovum*. The contributions from the latent adult elements are therefore no more than representative; but we know they cannot be so on the broad principle of "*class representation*," if the word "*class*" be applied to the same large orders as before, and if the representatives are few in number, because it is incumbent on them to furnish all the various members of each Class whence the representatives have to be drawn. Therefore, bearing in mind what has been just argued, that it is *impossible for the elements of every individual quality to be contributed*, we are driven to suppose, as in the previous case, a "*Family Representation*," the similar elements contributed by the two parents ranking, of course, as of the same family. It is most important to bear in mind that this phrase states a fact and not an hypothesis; it does not mean that each and every Family has just one representative, for it is absolutely reticent on all matters of detail, such as those I enumerated, when speaking of Class Representation. To show the importance which I attach to this disclaimer, I may be permitted to mention what appears to me the most probable *modus operandi*, namely, that it is in reality a large selection made on a broader and not a narrower system than that of classes, and similar to that obtained by an *indiscriminate* conscription; thus, if a large army be drawn from the provinces of a country by a general conscription, its constitution, according to the laws of CHANCE, will reflect with *surprising precision*, the qualities of the population whence it was taken; each village will be found to furnish a contingent, and the composition of the army will be *sensibly the same* as if it had been due to a system of *immediate representation* from the several villages.

The following diagram expresses the whole of the foregoing results:-- It begins with the structureless elements, whence the parent individual was formed, and ends with its contributions to the structureless elements, whence his offspring is formed.

I will now inquire, what are, roughly speaking, the relative proportions of the contributions to the elements of the offspring made respectively by the patent and latent elements of the adult parent? It is better not to complicate the inquiry by speaking, at first, of these elements in their entirety, but rather of some



**f218** [June 27, 1872 Nature 175]

special characteristic; thus, to fix the ideas, suppose we are speaking about a peculiar skin-mark in an animal. The peculiarity in question may be conceived (1) as purely personal, *without the concurrence of any latent equivalents*, (2) as personal but conjoined with latent equivalents, and (3) as existent wholly in a latent form.

Letter, ff219-23r, pencil

[5:657-59]

**f219r**

Aug 30/72

Dearest Aunt Mai

The most enlightened Rationalists -  
those who believed in a God *and* in a plan  
have hitherto been content to say: -

there are Laws which if kept *this* way  
ensure your progress -

if kept *that* way  
ensure your deterioration.

Not a word about bringing us all to keep them *this* way -

The question of (your & my) Rationalism  
goes much farther & says: -

that God's plan includes the teaching us each  
& all \* 1. *what* these Laws are

2. *how* to keep them

3. & the *will* to keep them *this* way -

\*i.e. in Eternity -

*Is not this your question?* - to bring evidence  
*for this* - & to state the "*paths*" of 1.2.3. - the "*facts*" -  
But what a tremendous item the Galton law is  
in this.

How are we to get all our "256 Progenitors"  
to keep the Laws? It seems to me they have

\*a Gatling Gun

the most unfair advantage over us - They reach us by \*  
(the old villains) from behind an ambushade. And we *can't* reach them

**f220r** {unsure of continuity from f219}, pencil note  
[2]

the whole thing on an immeasurable [immeasurably?] larger basis -  
but also on an immeasurably more remote one  
& more difficult to manage.

E.g. you may marry with every attention to Moral,  
Physical & Sanitary Law - (& no attention to  
your own happiness) for the Sake of ~~your~~ creating proper  
children - But what are you to do with  
"256 progenitors"? -

You may avoid        first cousins  
                      madness  
                      Syphilis - consumption  
                      &c &c

But what are you to do with your "256  
progenitors"? whom you *can't possibly* even know?

And with all *their* "latent qualities"? -  
"qualities" which you *can't* even know? -  
& which it appears are 256000 times  
more important than the "patent qualities"?  
tho' you can't even know *these* -

I must despair of knowing even the "*patent* qualities"  
of "256 progenitors" - But to know the "*latent*  
qualities" of 256 progenitors is & must  
remain for ever impossible -

**f221r**

[3]

Yet upon the "latent qualities" (of "256" at least  
\* whom we can have but the faintest idea of  
progenitors - \* -) *picked out of* by God by a *Law*  
which we have not the remotest idea of  
but by *Law* we may be sure depend  
the qualities of my children.

This opens so enormous a field that I am quite out  
of breath

It seems to take it so entirely out of our own hands -  
(We have sometimes said, you & I, that if we would  
attend to Law - the Law which created Socrates - we might  
come to having Socrates's for our children

But the prospect seems now inconceivably remote.

\* we ever CAN have

Yet this tells on ~~any~~ any idea \* of the plan of God, the order  
of God - almost more than anything else.

We, you & I, are always writing: 'circumstances &  
organizations': 'organizations & circumstances'  
(make the man) 'God brings the human being into the  
world with exactly such & such an organization'  
'& no other'- &c &c.

He does indeed - & we have not the smallest, not the  
faintest, not the remotest shade of an idea  
upon what principle he makes the selection/segregation among the

**f222r**~~†4†~~

- "latent qualities which we don't even know  
of my "256 progenitors"      1. to make Parthe  
   2. to make me -

[There is but one regret in *all* my life that I *never*  
have. And that is: that I never married -  
Yet, fortunately for those who desire the continuance of this  
world, probably I am the only person in the world  
of this persuasion -      Except those who are married,  
there is perhaps not one who does not wish or did not  
at some time wish to marry - or who does not regret  
not having married.

But to me the idea of bringing children in the world  
- not at random we know - God takes care of that -  
but of performing an act so entirely beyond our own  
control (i.e of modifying the children's natures)  
has always appeared too immeasurably awful to  
perform -      And this whether marriage was  
or was not for my own happiness - ]

In anything that you & I may ever write again  
about mankind creating mankind  
we must look at Galton's "fact" as all important.

**f223r**

+5+

If ever God's laws or order should be discovered  
 as to ~~the~~ his principle or law of selection/segregation among the  
 "latent" qualities of the "256 progenitors", in order  
 to make me to make A, B, C, D &c &c  
 - it must form of course the all important  
 essential in any Theodikè of ours - in  
 any theory about "mankind creating mankind" -  
 - in any thoughts about *how* God is leading every individual  
 of mankind to perfection - because He makes the  
 'organization' of each individual.

---  
 Again, e.g. *for want of a better illustration*, I have often told  
 you that I felt in myself qualities of Eliza Shore,  
 qualities of dear Grandmama, & that I felt for them  
 a sort of compassionate reverence - tho' knowing them  
 to be much better than I - because they had passed out

\* as it were

of the world with those qualities \* only in a "latent" state  
 And I, tho' I have passed a life not of years but of  
 "lives of mental agony", (as Mr. Jowett once said of me)  
 should still *not* have liked *not* to have had those qualities.

---  
 I seem then to have been groping after Galton's Law -

---  
 And this, tho' an unimportant item I am obliged to recall,  
 in order to recall to you the whole discussion. **[end 5:659]**

**f224** {written sideways}Memorial to Aunt Mai, Add Mss 45793 f225 **[1:493]**

Farewell, farewell, our dearest friend  
 And it does fare well with thee  
 O lovely, loving soul  
 O humble mind of high & holy thought  
 gone home unto thy Maker  
 Unto the high & lofty One that inhabiteth Eternity  
 in the high & holy place  
 that dwelleth within them also that are  
 of a humble & contrite spirit  
 to thy blessed memory this Cross & Crown

f225

Mary Smith  
 Florence Nightingale  
 January 17 1889

[end of volume]

Add Mss 45794, 292 folios, 198 pages, microfilm, Adam Matthew reel 28, correspondence to Hannah Nicholson ff1-75; to Joanna Hilary Bonham Carter ff76-237b; Edith Joanna Bonham Carter ff238-91b

Letter, f1, pen

**f1r** archivist's date: about 1844?

[1:339]

Pray write to me, dear Aunt Hannah  
- the struggle is too hard. life is too  
long. I am weary before I have  
gone a third of the way - oh faint-  
hearted & of little faith, you will  
say - but it is a long while before  
we shall sleep side by side - and  
meanwhile I do not perceive that I  
sin a bit the less than I did before -  
the punishment of the "ungodly" does  
indeed begin in this world. I wrote  
to you a month ago at Pyworthy -  
not knowing your direction at

**f1v**

Mrs Ludlam's. I was very, very  
sorry to hear of your loss in  
Isabella Nicholson, not for her,  
but for those who are left -  
dearest Aunt Hannah ever  
your affect & grateful Florence.  
Embley. Saturday.

Letter, ff2-3r, pen. f2r archivist's date: Before Easter 1844?

**f2**

My dearest Aunt Hannah I  
hope you have not thought me  
ungrateful - you do not know  
how I have thought of you at  
all times & seasons - you let me  
love you & that is all I want -  
ask me to do something for  
your sake - something difficult -  
& you will see that I shall  
do it *regularly*, which is for me

**f2v**

the most difficult thing of all.  
think of something for me to do  
in your dear name.

A friend of mine has lent me  
a book, the twin brother to  
yours, (by the same Mr. Steven-  
son) on the 23rd Psalm - there  
is a chapter in it on Restoring  
the Wandered, which is beautiful  
& so true - & I loved the book

**f3r**

for your sake. I have yours  
with me in London. When we  
come back to Embley after  
Easter, I shall hope to see  
you, my dearest Aunt Hannah,  
I do not say how glad I shall  
be, because people say *that*,  
when they are not, but you  
will believe me when I say  
that I am yours, ever yours  
Florence N.

Letter, ff4-9, pen. **f4r** archivist's date: 1844

Embley. July 10

Thanks & thanks a thousand,  
my dear Aunt Hannah, that  
in the midst of your occupations  
& of the many friends you have  
to write to, a little time should  
have remained for you to think  
of me. I shall never forget so  
gentle a thought - & never believe  
that I could be ungrateful enough  
not to like writing to you. It  
is only those correspondences  
with Miss \_\_\_ & Miss \_\_\_, to  
whom one's letters come at last to be

**f4v**

only Monthly Chronicles, that  
I dislike. But *your* letter  
I should have answered dear  
Aunt Hannah, directly, if  
the establishment of a new  
clergyman, & a new school  
mistress on the same day, &  
Parthe's being away, had not  
made the thoughts of my  
bewildered brain still more  
wandering than usual.

Dear Marianne & William  
have been staying here, & have  
carried back my sister with  
them. The house sounds strangely



**f5r**

silent with only me in it, to  
make a noise, & my two clergy  
men, (for Mr Giffard is come  
to instal his successor) - and in  
the evening, while Mama  
sleeps a sound & a quiet sleep,  
& Papa writes, & my two  
friends & I harangue in turn,  
I [~~illeg~~] principally on  
the duties of keeping tallow  
candles a sufficient time before  
burning. I sadly miss Mari-  
anne's delightful grace and  
talent in making life easy.

**f5v**

In the day - time we have  
plenty to do, for schools flouris[h]  
education is "riz", & little  
boys are at a tremendous dis-  
count, ~~hiring them~~ charging  
high by the hour to be taught  
upon & experimented on.  
Mr. Empson has not yet  
brought his wife, as the  
parsonage is painting.

Henry Nicholson came down  
too for a day or two. I thought  
them all out of spirits. William  
alas! it is too certain, must  
leave for Australia in November  
for he will not get his company without

**f6r**

[2]

but he & Henry will go abroad  
first, I hope. Jack is gone.  
They will have told you delighted  
they are with your picture - which  
is really *beautiful* & will be  
such a comfort to them, for I  
really think the parting will  
almost break Lolly's tender  
heart. I do not know, but  
they seem to me all to be losing  
~~their~~ this fountain of spirits, which  
used to seem inexhaustible.  
There is nothing I reproach myself

**[3:340-41]****f6v**

more bitterly for, than for my  
want of faith. I recollect when  
Hope died, saying to myself,  
Now if she is allowed to watch  
over her child, no harm can  
happen to it, - as if she were  
more ~~merciful~~ benevolent or compassionate  
than God - & now I should  
like to have the making of  
*these* people's lots myself.  
How lucky for them I cannot.  
But it seems so easy to carry  
one's own misfortunes in one's

**f7r** pocket, but when one sees  
the dark ways opening before  
those one loves, there is nothing  
for it but to lay one's whole  
soul in God's bosom. Oh if  
one did but think one was  
~~getting~~ coming nearer to the divine  
patience, when to us as to  
Him a thousand years will  
appear but as a day, even  
as now alas! a moment of  
discouragement seems a thou-  
sand years. But you will  
be getting weary of me, dear .  
Aunt Hannah. The Longs  
send very good accounts of

[end 3:340]

**f7v**  
themselves. Ly. Catherine's novel  
comes out this week. I confess,  
as the realities of life come in  
hemming one round, they are  
so much more interesting than  
anything in a novel, & there  
are such dreadful varieties  
in common existence, that I  
have no curiosity left for rea-  
ding what is not true - & is so  
much less interesting.  
You are afraid, I see, of the  
"attractions" of London for me  
but I assure you I never was  
so glad to leave it. there was  
not a thing I was sorry *not*  
to see again, & scarcely a person

[3:340]

**f8r**

[3]

except the Hertford St people.  
I hope, dear Aunt Hannah,  
that I shall show some day  
the good you have done me.  
indeed I think now any pride [my?]  
is falling down about me, like  
the walls of Jericho, at some  
unknown voice, & that is worth  
living for. Sam is coming  
to us for the agricultural  
meeting at Southampton. I  
was sorry for him going back  
to Waverley by himself - spea-  
king of you, as he does, with  
that affection, which is all  
his own, when it is question of  
you.

[end 3:340]

**f8v**

Mama is in great force & sends  
you her best love. We have been  
exceedingly interested in Arnold's  
life. though I am disappointed  
to find from his letters that  
even he, who, one wd have  
thought, would have been free  
from the general curse of  
not being satisfied with the  
plain prosaic *now*, but of  
always planning what might  
be done in the dramatic  
positions of the fancy -  
even *he* could not find *rest*  
in the heart of duty. but  
always thought he might have  
been

[3:340]

**f9r**

[4]

doing more elsewhere. But  
as dear old George Herbert says,  
I suppose, God in bestowing  
all other gifts on his new-created  
man, reserved Rest for him-  
self, that the wearied heart  
might always gladly return  
to Him - & even Arnold  
was not an exception. [end 3:340]

I will not excuse myself  
for ~~this~~ writing you a volume, or at least  
~~this~~ a pamphlet. though I think  
I hear you sigh, 'I wish she  
disliked writing a little more'  
but I know you believe in  
the grateful & affectionate

**f9v**

homage of my heart to you,  
my dear kind indulgent Aunt  
& she will excuse me.  
Hannah. F Nightingale.  
Parthe would send her best  
love, if she were here. & pray  
give mine to any of your party  
who are kind enough to re-  
member me. I need not say  
that should you have time to  
write to me again, I cannot tell  
which wd be most welcome  
the contents of the letter itself,  
or the idea that you were  
still loving with equal affection  
your Florence.  
Your old friend Gale is, I am  
sorry to say, still very unwell

Letter, ff10-15r, pen. f10r archivist's date: 1844 Sept?} [1:458-59]

Wednesday.

I long to thank you for your message, my dear Aunt Hannah, my own self though I have nothing worth writing about to you. I feel that I saw so very little of you at Waverley, that I often wished I had been ill again, in order to be allowed to come & sit quietly again in your place of rest - truly I may say it was the sweetest hour of the day, for the peace "which passeth all understanding" which you seem always to be full of, sometimes passes from you to those who are with you. Small peace have I had since, & I cannot think now

**f10v**

how I could enjoy so little of it at Waverley, except that I am so infirm of purpose, that if any body asks me to do any thing at the time, I know I shall never have the courage to say no. But I hope you will not desert your poor old child, my dear Aunt Hannah, & that you will not forget your promise to come & see us here, some time before the spring - you must let me look forward to that, though in general I know you think it is best for us neither to look before nor behind, as far as things here are concerned .

[end 1:45]

**f11r**

I wonder how long you think I am going to keep your books, but I have such pleasure, when I am by myself in reading over again any thing which belonged to you, & which reminds me of my illness at Waverley, that I have been looking at much of Mr Stevenson's book again since I came home. We like our new clergyman & his wife very much. & they seem as happy as if, they say themselves, they had picked out their own lot & been allowed to cut it out for their own selves. I am sure

**[1:459-60]**

**f11v** their hearts are in the right place & when that is the case, everything else goes right. & I am sure he does not take to his profession merely as a livelihood, but because he has his soul in it. I think he gives us very good sermons too. The school, I am sorry to say, is not so flourishing, though the school-mistress is very earnest but she has had little circumstances against her, which I hope will pass away. Mama has left her 2 poor infants to themselves all this time - as perhaps you know. but poor

**f12r**

Aunt Mary is so much in want  
of her, that she may remain I  
think, till it is settled whether  
Aunt Mary goes to Switzerland, in  
which case Mama will certainly bring  
Beatrice home with her, (I hope  
to spend the winter here). Mean  
while we are a very quiet  
little Quartete. William being  
the most regular & industrious  
of human beings, in the prospect  
of Sandhurst, - & a very good boy  
in all respects, as I need not tell  
you - How little  $\mp$  one ever thinks that  
one is talking to a handsome  
young soldier, when one is with  
him, he being the very reverse

**f12v**

in every respect to that tribe  
of individual. Mr. Noel is  
doing great things at Romsey Church,  
& really renewing it beautifully, ha-  
ving collected a very considerable  
fund, (by his own personal influence,  
I suppose we must say.)

**[end 1:460]**

I remember most things that you  
have ever said to me, Aunt Hannah,  
but there are some that are always  
present with me. How often  
I think I hear your voice when  
I am reading what we have talked  
of together, in the Bible - how  
you said that we fancied God  
too much like one of ourselves,-  
& that he *would* heal our back-  
slidings - & we must have faith,

**[3:341-41]**



**f13r**

not that we shall be this day without  
sin, but faith in those beliefs which  
will one day make us without sin.  
Otherwise when one thinks that "He  
visits us every morning & tries us  
every moment," one might well  
sink at the idea how often one  
has said to one's conscience, to-  
morrow, & now when at last to-  
morrow is come - perhaps he will  
not say It is to-day with me -  
yesterday I would have heard thy  
voice, he may say, but thy to-  
morrow is not my to-day. If  
you still pray for me, dear  
Aunt Hannah, pray that he  
may pour upon me the spirit  
of grace & of supplications, of  
supplications that I may know

**13v**

for what to pray, & of grace that  
I may really wish what I ask for,  
which I don't, too well. I know, but  
that which I say I would, too often  
I would not.        There are so  
many things about out sinning  
willfully after we have received  
a knowledge of the truth. & I  
can so little plead being one  
who was not called till the 6th  
or the 9th hour.        but on the  
contrary have had every assistance  
that I often feel that I ~~could~~ can say  
to corruption, Thou art my father,  
& wonder if I shall ever pray  
or love God as I ought. There  
is no pure thought in me - &  
only the pure in heart shall see  
God.        The desire if happiness is

**f14r**

human. but the desire of holiness is divine - & to have this, to bring every thought into obedience to Christ, & to be a partaker of his holiness - seems to me so impossible to hope for I have learnt to trust so fully to your love & sympathy, that I am afraid I have begun to think I can never tire it - but I must leave off. Well I remember your saying that it was a sort of unbelief to think our sins greater than God's power to give pardon & purity again. but if one has done it all in cool blood - waiting till the commands of Duty should

**f14v**

have become easy - & saying, only this one day 'more of the wages of sin. You see that I seem to think your kindness my lawful property. I hope, dear Aunt Hannah, that it will bring you here this winter. Parthe desires . her kindest love, & Papa hopes that I will remind you of him - he desired me to say, when I wrote, how sorry he was not to see you the morning he left Waverley, before he went, to wish you good-bye - Pray remember me kindly to

[end 3:342]

**f15r**

Mrs. Copus, & only think of me, dear Aunt Hannah, as your grateful & ever affectionate  
F Nightingale.

Letter, ff16-19, pen archivist's date: 44 or 45 [3:342-43]

**f16r**

Embley Friday

My dear Aunt Hannah I most  
gladly profit by your kind  
permission, to keep two of your  
books, till we have the pleasure  
of seeing your dear face again -  
as I have not half done with  
Mr. Stevenson nor he with me,  
& Searle's subject is particularly  
interesting to me in his searches  
into the Old Testament. I return  
by William the other two, as I  
know I can see them in London  
& Nicholls is a book of reference,  
which is so useful to me in  
*teaching*, to give one hints and

suggestions, that I shall get it  
at the Xtian Knowledge. I do  
not mean to say that it is not  
equally useful in *learning*.  
I think parts of Robinson are  
very striking, particularly man's  
'state of condemnation' & his "inability  
to save himself" but I confess  
to thinking, that the fault of us  
young people is too much groping  
in our own minds, too much re-  
fining on our own particular  
feelings, & thinking & subtilizing  
in our own private names -  
& that the looking into the  
nature of God, the re-attaching

**f17r**

ourselves to the great system  
as parts of it  
of the Xtian dispensation, is  
what we want - which is, what  
researches into such grand &  
sublime subjects as Searle's, will  
one wd hope, help one to do.  
I only say this, dear Aunt Hannah,  
to shew you that your kindness  
& your books, are, I hope, not  
entirely wasted upon me. x  
that I have not neglected ma-  
king the most of them that I could.

But if you knew how little  
of the spiritual life there is in

**f17v**

me,- I often wonder how much  
the proportion is, whether there  
are not 99 parts of bread and  
mutton & only 1/100th of the  
spiritual part, which will live  
forever, in my composition.  
If you knew too how grateful  
I am for your interest in me,  
how your letters will stay by me  
& warn me, when the dreams  
of life come one after another  
clouding & covering the realities  
of the unseen, you would  
never think that you could  
write any word, which would

**f18r**

not be received with humility  
& gratitude by me. One shd  
indeed be thankful, when the  
invisible Sympathy takes a visible  
form, & speaks to one through the  
mouth & life of a human creature,  
when higher things take a  
tangible shape - & show one the  
Father.  
I have been reading lately a  
Report upon lunacy, which in-  
sists above all upon exercise  
in the open air for the patients,  
upon working in the garden for instance, as  
having an almost extraordinary  
effect in soothing the irritation

**f18v**

of madness. It says "gardening"  
in order to supply them with an  
interest to takeing them out &  
adds that the patients *rarely*  
resist, it even says, *never*,  
when it is set about in the right way  
& in company. That this can  
only be done in an asylum,  
I am afraid, is too evident,  
but I thought of poor Mrs.  
Haydon's melancholy depression  
as just a case in point - only  
that it seems hard to urge  
the relations to send an Insane

**f19r**

person from home. But it says  
that the company of the Insane,  
which one wd think enough  
to drive a sane person mad,  
often has just the contrary  
effect upon the Deranged.  
The invariable effect of madness  
in [~~illeg~~] disordering the circulation & de-  
pressing the life & warmth of  
the extremities, gives, it adds,  
the *physical* cause as well, of the  
wonderful effect of working in  
the open air upon Insanity. The  
rich Insane, & especially the  
female part, are I believe, much

**f19v**

worse off than the poor in that  
way. & have consequently less  
chance of happiness & of recovery.  
Pray remember me kindly to Mrs  
Copus, & forgive me for having  
written so much of myself. It  
seems as if I thought your sym-  
pathy inexhaustible. & that  
it was impossible to intrude on  
it. Accept all our best loves,  
& above all, that of my dear  
Aunt Hannah's grateful & affec-  
tionate Florence Nightingale.

[end 3:343]

Letter, ff20-23r, pen [archivist's date: Feb 1. 46?] [3:343-44]

**f20r**

My dearest Aunt Hannah, I  
cannot leave this place, without  
telling you, how very sorry I was  
to learn from your letter, that  
we have no chance of seeing  
you before we go,- I was in  
hopes till the last, that you  
would have come. In answer  
to your question, as to my feelings  
about going to London. I really  
do not care. The day of personal  
hopes & fears is over for me.  
~~How~~ Now I dread & desire no more.  
I should be very glad, if I  
could have been left here, when  
they went to London, ~~but~~ as  
there is much to be done, but as

**20v**

that would not be heard of,-  
London is really my place of  
rest. for people talk of London  
gaities. there you can at least  
have the mornings to yourself.  
to me the country is the place  
of "row". since we came home  
in September, how long do you  
think we have ever been alone?  
not one fortnight. a country  
house is the real place for  
dissipation. sometimes I think  
that every body is hard upon  
me, that to be for ever expected to be looking  
merry & saying something lively,  
is more than can be asked, ~~of~~  
          mornings, noons & nights,

**f21r**

of any one. & then I remember  
every body's patience with me,  
& am very much ashamed of  
myself. I should not have  
written two pages on this subject,  
which is just two pages too  
much, if it had not been for  
your question, & to explain how  
London can be really a place  
of rest.

But there is peace every where.  
I do not deny it. *peace & food*,  
there is food sufficient to  
verify the promise, that "they  
shall hunger no more". when  
we are fed with the "meat of  
doing the will of Him that

**f21v**

sent us". there is peace, when  
we exchange the search after  
one sort of sympathy, which  
begins. "*you do not know how &c*  
for that which begins, *Thou*  
*knowest*".

Anxiety however must always  
remain. though all restless anxiety  
is from want of trust in God.  
but when I think that my  
dear lad might be like St.  
John, except in Inspiration -  
it makes my heart burn  
within me. And do you believe  
that there is any inherent  
reason why he should not be?  
The will of God must be as



**f22r**

strong for our sanctification now  
as it was then. And my boy  
has such a pure heart and  
affectionate soul. As for me,  
I have said to corruption, Thou  
art my mother & sister. But  
he might be all that I would  
have been. [end 3:344]

But I must say goodbye,  
dearest Aunt Hannah - for I  
have much to do. I am afraid  
dear Lolli is rather lonely  
without MN but I do hope  
the sea may be of use.

My boy left us this morning.  
Blanch some time since. She  
reminded me so of my own

**f22v**

early days. but she has principles,  
which I never had.

With best love to Lolli,  
take the same for yourself, my  
dearest Aunt Hannah, from  
your ever loving & grateful child

FN

I delivered Sam's message.

Feb 1.

**f23r**

I read ~~the~~ your "Mount of Olives"  
with my boy, who was excee-  
dingly interested by it.  
which, & the necessity of fitting  
my readings to him, have  
prevented me from reading  
your last little book till  
now.

I ought to say, forgive me for  
talking so much of myself - &  
I do ask forgiveness - even  
from my dear, kind, indulgent  
friend.

in haste, ever yours.

Letter, ff24-27r, pen.

f24r archivist's date: Wed. Ap 22. 1846

My dearest Aunt Hannah  
will guess the petition I  
am going to make, which  
is, that she sill not longer  
delay her visit here, but  
come with the rest of the  
party, if they can be  
persuaded to come to us,  
~~but~~ or that *she* at least will  
not fail us, should *they*  
not be inclined. I have

**f24v**

been at home since Monday.  
but did not like to urge  
your coming before, as I  
thought that you wd ~~like~~ wish  
to remain at Waverley, till  
they went to London. Now  
I hope that you will not  
disappoint us - the day  
which is most convenient  
to you will be the most

**f25r**

agreeable to us. Tuesday  
the 28th my people dine  
out, but I shall be at  
home, so I trust that that  
will make no difference  
to you, if that or any day should  
suit you better than  
Saturday. I was very sorry  
to hear how bad a cold  
dear Aunt Anne had had.

**f25v**

we are going to be quite  
alone, except the two Oc-  
tavius babs, who come on  
Thursday with Parthe. but  
I know that dullness will  
not be an objection to *you*  
and I hope that when  
we have you, we shall  
keep you. I do not write  
more now, or any thing  
in answer to that most

**f26r**

kind letter, which, though  
unanswered, is unforgotten.  
for I am writing against  
time, & hope so soon to  
meet face to face, that I  
will not trouble you now.  
my best love to dearest  
Lolli, who I ~~hope~~ trust, has  
quite rid herself of her  
troublesome cold. we  
have some faint hope of

**f26v**

seeing her here, with Aunt  
Anne & Marianne, who I suppose,  
are still in London, where  
Aunt Jane told me that  
they were going yesterday.  
How glad I am, dearest  
Aunt Hannah, to be able  
to say to-day, instead  
of "goodbye", "I shall see you  
again," & with kind  
remembrances to Mrs.

**f27r**

Copus, believe me your  
ever loving & grateful  
child

Florence Nightingale.

Embley. Wednesday

22nd April.

I shall not soon forget  
the last evening which  
I speak with you.

Letter, ff28-31r, pen. f28r archivist's date: [April - May] Early in year.  
1846?

**f28**

Embley. Friday.

My dearest Aunt Hannah I  
cannot resist thanking you di  
rectly for your most dear &  
welcome letter. though I have  
not time to do more. I had been  
hoping for it for a long while,  
& your letters, when they come,  
are never disappointing. because  
they are always like your ~~yourself~~.  
And now I am hoping that,  
when all is quiet again, we  
shall not only see your hand  
writing but yourself. Mama  
desires me to say with her best  
love, that you have promised  
to pay us a visit some time  
before Easter. & you will not

**f28v**

forget your promise, I am sure,  
my dear Aunt Hannah, when  
you think how much pleasure  
it will give all of us & me  
especially. Your tender care  
over us, that you should be  
thinking of us so much, as to go  
apart ~~into~~ order to watch over  
us still more constantly, touched  
me to the heart. I knew you  
*would* think of us all. & I do  
feel so much what you say about  
times of retirement. one cannot  
judge, when one is in a bustle,  
when all one's personal feelings  
are in vehement action every  
moment. one can see nothing

**[3:344-45]****f29r**

clearly. I so often think ~~that~~ how Hagar  
did not hear the voice of the angel  
telling her what to do, & where to  
find the waters to save her child's  
life, till she went & sat her down  
over against him a good way off.  
~~& then she saw clearly~~ & wept.  
how often one is obliged to sit  
one down a good way off in life,  
& how often one finds that tears are  
the best lens, through which we  
see all things closer & clearer.  
It's a *scratting* world, dear Aunt  
Hannah, as we say in Derbyshire,  
& but, when I am with you, I  
always feel some of your peace  
come over me. some of your

**f29v**

peace and love. for your whole  
life seems to me to be love, & you  
always find words in your heart,  
which without the pretention of  
enlightening, yet are like a clearing  
-up to me. You always seem to  
rest on the breast of the divine  
Teacher, & to participate in his  
mysteries. to draw from the  
fountain of love itself. & that  
is the reason why your wisdom  
is so convincing to me, for I always  
think the Scriptural "wisdom"  
means love. You never argue,  
but your soul opens to you  
heaven, & then I see the God,  
whom you see. Arguments can  
be answered with counter-argu

**f30r**

ments, but you are like an in-  
spiration to me. And then you  
are always good to me, not because  
it is a beautiful thing to do good,  
but because I need it. I have  
found it a difficult world already,  
dear Aunt Hannah, I suppose  
every one does. & that one  
cannot live so long as I have  
done, without finding out that  
there is nothing worth living for  
except to keep the peace. It is  
more difficult to trust God with  
other people's happiness than with  
one's own, but you have often  
told me that faith is the gift of  
God, & indeed I believe it.

**f30v**

I assure you the greater part of my disappointment in not going to Waverley, was that I should not see you again, but I hope you will compensate me by coming here. & very soon. This is not a letter, dear Aunt Hannah, but only a scrawl to thank you again & again for yours, which will give me a great deal to say very soon. & in the meanwhile always believe in the grateful & faithful affection of my heart to you, my dear Aunt Hannah.

F Nightingale

[end 3:345]

**f31r**

For your interest I do not know how to thank you. there is such a mysterious power in sympathy, that it seems to give us ~~the~~ our daily air to breathe. & when I think of you watching over us, & of our all meeting in His bosom every night in prayer, it is like being together.

[3:345]

[end 3:345]

Letter, ff32-37r

. . .

**[3:345-46]**

f32r archivist's date: 22 May 1846

Embley. Friday.

I cannot let the day pass, dearest  
Aunt Hannah, which tells me where  
you are - without thanking you for  
your note of this morning, for letting  
me see your *hand writing* again.  
and without telling you how very,  
very grieved we are not to have  
seen your *face*. But your letter  
tells me that we are remembered,  
and I must fain be satisfied.  
Perhaps we may see you in the autumn,  
we shall be returning here early  
this year, as we go northwards the  
beginning of next month. Weeks pass,  
months pass, and I still keep your  
books (*not unread*) as hostages  
that you will come again. Years pass

**f32v**

away so quickly,- whether we are tra-  
velling that bit of our road towards  
Infinity, travelling as fast as the  
unseen part of us as the *seen*, is a  
still more painful question. I mean  
in that course, at the end of which is  
laid up for us the crown of *righteousness*.  
that word always strikes me more than  
any thing in the Bible. Strange that  
not happiness, not rest, not forgiveness,  
not glory, should have been the thought  
of that glorious man's mind, when at  
the eve of the last & greatest of his  
labours. but all desires so swallowed  
up in the one great craving after  
*righteousness*, that, at the end of all  
his struggles, it was mightier within



**f33r**

him than ever, mightier even than the desire of peace. How can people tell one to dwell within a good conscience, when the chief of all the apostles so panted after righteousness, that he considered it the last best gift, unattainable on earth, to be bestowed in Heaven.

I like your critique upon my seal, dear Aunt Hannah, better than my seal itself. it is very true and very sweet. i.e. that the single idea, which is the foundation of all, must be the love of God. That the sufferings of Christ's life were intense, who doubts? but the happiness must also have been intense - only think of the happiness of working, & working successfully too, & with no doubt as to his path, & with

**f33v**

no alloy of vanity or love of display or of glory, but with the ecstasy of single-heartedness. all that I do is always poisoned by the fear that I am not doing it in simplicity & godly sincerity.

~~every thing I do~~ all my intercourse with my fellow-creatures seems to me false without being a lie. But God has been very gracious to me, dear Aunt Hannah. my helplessness has been the same to the last. unseconded by any effort of mine, he helps me & leads me by a way which I have not known, by a way sometimes agonizing & crushing, & afterwards raising and consoling. and if the miserable feelings are not mine, which I have known, it is his unsolicited doing. What can David, (who did generally rememb-  
~~bered~~ Him,) say in His praise, compared

**f34r**

[2]

with what He has done for me. I  
trusted *not* in Thee & Thou hast sought  
me. I thought *not* of Thee & Thou hast  
delivered me. The sorrows of hell  
compassed me about. we learn to know  
what these are beforehand, when we  
cannot command our thoughts to pray.  
when all our omissions give themselves  
form & life, & shut us up as within a  
wall, over which there is no looking, no  
return - when they hold us down with  
a resistless power, & we are hemmed in  
with our remembrances, like a cell  
compassing us about. what can the  
future hell be other than this? The  
Unspeakable Presence may be joy &  
peace unspeakable, but it may be  
a Horror, a Dweller on our Threshold,  
a Spirit of Fear to the stricken conscience.  
Jesus Christ prayed on the Cross not

**f34v**

for life or safety, but only for the light  
of His countenance, why hast thou  
forsaken me? and all sorrows disappear  
before that one. Let those who have  
felt it say if it is not so, & if there is  
any sorrow like unto that ~~one~~ sorrow.  
How willingly would we exchange it for  
pain, which we almost welcome as a  
proof of His care, & attention. Grief in  
itself is no evil - as making the Unseen,  
the Eternal & the Infinite present to our  
consciousness it is rather a good,- one  
only wishes sometimes one *could* recall  
the convictions attending it, even at  
the cost of the pain. But when all  
one's imaginations are wandering out  
of one's reach, then one realizes the  
future state of punishment, even in  
this world. Pray that He will not  
leave my soul in hell. How little can  
be done under the spirit of fear. it

**f35r**

is the very sentence pronounced upon the serpent "Upon thy belly shalt thou go all the days of thy life." Oh if any one thinks that, in the repentance of fear, that this is the time for the soul to open to the Infinite goodness, to the spirit of love & of power & of a sound mind, in the heart's death to live & love,- let him try how hard it is to collect one-self out of distraction,- let him feel the woes of saying *Tomorrow*, when God has said *Today* - & then, when he has found how "weary, stale, flat & unprofitable" seem all the uses of the world, let him try with a dead heart to live unto God, to love with all his strength, when all energy to love is gone. . . .

[end 3:347]

The two youngest Octaviuses are still with us. they are little cherubs. though, as upon applying to our Hebrew, we find Cherubim to mean Knowing

**f35v**

Ones or Fulness of Knowledge, it may be doubted whether *my* cherub, (big one or little one) according to strict etymology, is entitled to the term of a Knowing One. Nature, who has provided all other animals with the talent of self-preservation, cats with claws & us with thick skulls, has allowed these to indulge in all sorts of Saltatory Exhibitions, leaving to us the entire care of the Vital Spark during the same.

I feel that I am presuming too much upon your love, dearest Aunt Hannah, in these long out-pourings. but I look upon love as the gift of the God of Love. the *free* gift. & consequently can neither have the feeling of exultation at having won it, nor any weak distrust that He can have blessed *me* with such happiness, because the gift is always measured by the substance of the giver, not of the

[3:347-48]

**f36r**

receiver. & ought one ever to look  
the gift horse in the mouth, & speculate  
how much use he can stand?  
This place is looking lovely - the voice of  
the birds is like the angels calling us  
with their songs. & the fleecy clouds look  
like the white walls of our home. I should  
so have liked you to see it in the summer -  
for every thing is such a blaze of beauty.  
nothing makes my heart thrill like the  
voice of the birds. but the living chorus  
so seldom finds a second voice in the  
stained and earthly soul. which, like  
the withered arm, cannot stretch forth  
its hand, till Christ bids it - & yet,  
if the man had said, "I can't, Lord," Christ  
would probably not have healed it.  
"Without me ye can do no good thing"-  
& when we really believe this, then  
rejoice & be glad, o child of the dust,  
for thy redemption drawest nigh.

**f36v**

How intelligible becomes to us the otherwise  
seemingly strange blessing upon *poverty of spirit*,  
(which <sup>WE</sup> think ought rather to be bestowed  
upon *strength of heart*,) when the Bible  
tells us to use this world as not abusing  
it, possess it as though we possessed it  
not. On such poverty of spirit as this  
naturally follows the blessing ~~that~~ of their  
being the kingdom of heaven. for the single  
eye cannot look at the two things, earth  
& heaven, & reach after both.

I do not tell you any news about the  
families in London, because I dare say  
you know more about them than we  
do. Fan has made her journey up  
very comfortably, and is pretty well.  
We shall leave this place the first  
week in June. but shall only stay  
a few days in town on our way to Lea  
Hurst.

**f37r**

All my people desire to be most kindly remembered to you. & pray do recall me to the recollection of any of yours, who may not quite have forgotten me - Aunt Anne, I hope, is pretty well again. I am rather glad to have our time in London over. If there is any thing I dwell upon with comfort, it is that description of there being no variable-ness nor shadow of turning in *Him*. There is peace too, though not to be found in circumstances, since He said "My peace I give unto you," yes, my peace, he said, at the dreariest & stormiest moment of his life.

But I must positively not start again. so ever believe me, my dear Aunt Hannah, yours gratefully and overflowinglly FN [end 3:348]

Embley. May 22.

Letter, ff38-45, pen, pale blue paper, f38r archivist's date: 1846

Embley. Sept 24.

My dearest Aunt Hannah, how long it is since I have heard from you, or written to you. this house is now overflowing with people, for all the philosophers have adjourned here from Southampton, but I cannot resist writing you a line to say that silence on my part is never forgetfulness. I had your kind letters at Lea Hurst. I was almost heart-broken to leave that place. there are so many duties there, which lie near at hand. & I could be well content to do them there all the days of my life. &

**f38v**

that content is not difficult to have - for  
what is the use of gleaning here  
& there, in this world, a small  
harvest of pleasures & pains,  
when there is no fortune so great  
but that our desires are far  
greater. I have left so many  
poor friends there, whom I shall  
never see again. & so much  
might have been done for them.  
One's days pass away like a  
shadow, & leave not a trace  
behind. how we spend hours  
that are sacred in things that  
are profane, which we choose  
to call necessities, & then say "we  
cannot" to our Father's business.

**[3:349-52]****f39r**

We think & reason, & none of it  
remains behind us. we dream  
our intellectual dreams, which  
please us. where will they be  
when we are gone? our thoughts  
open to us a world of wonders,  
but nothing of it lasts.  
I feel my sympathies all with  
Ignorance & Poverty - the things  
which interest me, interest them.  
we are alike in expecting little  
from life, much from God. we  
are taken up with the same  
objects.

I know from experience, that the  
new manifestations of God's dealings  
with His kingdom, from time to  
time unfolded to us,- of His appearingances

**f39v**

even among those things which  
try our faith the hardest, viz  
the hopelessness of sin, & its pu-  
nishment, Gehazi's leprosy, torturing  
the children, who had *not* sinned,  
for ever. the glimpses which are  
given us of His light, streaking  
the gloom even of such desperate  
mysteries as these, - I know that these  
peeps, the slow development in  
our own minds of newer & still newer  
views of His character, is sufficient  
"excitement" & "variety" for life,  
even with nothing, which can move  
the heart to desire or hope. I  
*feel* it or I would not say so,  
if I only *believed* it.

I never pray now for any thing  
temporal,

**f40r**

[2]

even for my lad. but when each  
morning comes, I kneel down before  
the Rising Sun, & only say, Behold  
the handmaid of the Lord - give me  
this day my work to do - no, not  
my work, but thine.

My imagination is so filled with  
the misery of this world, that the  
only thing, in which to labour brings any  
return, seems to be helping or  
sympathizing *there*. & all that  
poets sing of the glories of this  
world appears to me untrue. all  
the people I see are eaten up  
with care or poverty or disease.  
Well I know that it was God  
who created the good, & man the  
evil, which was not the will  
of God, but the necessary consequence

**f40v**

of His leaving free-will to man.  
I know that misery is the alphabet  
of fire, in which history, with her  
warning hand, writes in flaming  
letters the consequences of Evil  
(the kingdom of *man*) & that  
without its glaring light, we  
should never see the path back  
into the kingdom of God, or heed  
the directing guide-post. But the  
judgements of nature (the law of  
God) as she goes her mighty,  
solemn, inflexible march, sweeps  
sometimes so fearfully over men,  
that though it is the triumph, not  
the defeat, of God's truth & of  
his laws, that falsehood against



**f41r**

them must work misery, and  
misery is perhaps *here* the  
strongest proof that His loving  
hand is present, yet all our  
powers, hopes, & fears, must, it  
seems to me, be engrossed by  
doing ~~this~~ His work for its relief.  
Life is no holiday game, nor is it  
a clever book, nor is it a school  
of instruction, nor a valley of  
tears. but it is a hard  
fight, a struggle, a wrestling  
with the Principle of Evil, hand  
to hand, foot to foot. every  
inch of the way must be  
disputed. The night is given us  
to take breath, to pray, to drink

**f41v**

deep at the fountain of power.  
the day, to use the strength which  
has been given us. to go forth to  
work with it till the evening.  
The kingdom of God is coming.  
and "*Thy Kingdom Come*", does not  
mean only "*My salvation come.*" The  
good soldier, though sore wounded  
& half dead, though the hosts  
against him be many & strong,  
yet turns not to fly, for he  
is aware of the horsemen of the  
Lord, which fight at his right  
hand. & his war-cry is, my  
country and my God. fight on,  
brave heart, courageously, till the  
spirit & the bride say, the kingdom

**f42r**

[3]

is fought for, the kingdom is won.

In the dark nights of our lives,  
now, as of old, God appears to us  
as a bright light to lead us  
through the wilderness, whereas,  
in the hard glaring sunshine of  
prosperity, He is to us too often  
only as a cloud, a dim vague  
cloud we scarcely heed, or heed  
only as shadowing our fierce  
blaze of pleasure. True, it  
still shows us the way, but  
shows it like a cloud, threaten-  
ing rain & storm, as we think,  
& therefore unwelcome to us.  
we wish, ungrateful wanderers,  
it were not there.

I often think, what if the first

**f42v**

hour of our waking in what  
we believe will be a clearer  
atmosphere, should also be the  
first hour of our seeing,- not  
darkly, but face to face,- a  
multitude of duties unseen, un-  
done, unlooked-for till then.  
as the flash of lightening first  
reveals to us the object, which  
it is striking.

You say well, in your last  
dear letter, that I have not  
found "permanent" peace. but  
I do feel it *sometimes*, & can  
pray now, that such discipline  
may be appointed me, that soon  
I may not have *one personal*  
feeling left. may be able to say

**f43r**

in all things "not as I will but  
as thou wilt." I have thanked [wilt?]  
God more for two hours' sleep  
now, than I did, in the days of  
my health & prosperity, for a  
whole night's. & feel what  
you say, that  
sweet are all things, when we learn  
to prize them,  
not for their sakes, but His, who  
gives them or denies them.  
I believe so truly what you say  
about our Guide. I seem to my-  
self standing on a narrow strip  
between the eternal seas of  
darkness. nothing to hope for.  
nothing to look back upon.  
nothing before, nothing behind.  
but there is room on the little

**f43v**

island for me and my God - who is  
now as a light to my paths,  
though I seem to myself as a  
traveller in a dark night on a  
blind road with a lanthorn  
which moves with me, & sheds  
just light enough for me to walk,  
just one patch of light before  
me - not enough to illuminate  
any range of prospect before  
or behind. any distant view  
any of the country to which I  
am coming - nothing but the  
bit of road I tread is light  
& one strip of dawn just breaking  
on the horizon. but it is the  
*Eastern*, not the *Western* Horizon  
it is the dawn of the day, which

**f44r**

[4]

is rising. not the last setting  
light of the day, which is done.  
These are the elements of my peace,  
& nothing more, I trust, will move  
my heart to desire, or hope, but that  
The words of my mouth & the  
meditations of my heart may be  
acceptable in the sight of my  
Strength & my Redeemer.  
I have sinned so deeply, I have  
led such a life of hypocrisy, that  
I can sometimes scarcely believe,  
that I am not deceiving myself,  
& that God is really with me.  
But He knows that I am  
willing to drink the cup of  
repentance to the dregs. & if

**f44v**

there is any more reparation to make,  
however crushing, He will give me  
light to see it, & strength to do it.  
I can never be sure now, that  
my judgment is not *wilfully* wrong,  
for there was but One whose  
judgment was always just, & he  
tells us the reason why, "*because*  
He sought not His own will, but the  
will of the Father who sent Him".  
Perfect obedience alone can give  
us a perfect judgment. "God  
forgive what was wrong", I ~~say~~ pray,  
& in that prayer must be  
included, not only *forgiveness*,  
for "His own sake", (for God can  
find no reason for our pardon,

**f45r**

but from His own infinite goodness,) but also, that, in the eternal double thread of consequences, which springs from every deed, He may cause the good to increase, & overcome the evil. "O God, forgive," includes a prayer that the suffering caused by sin bear repentance, & that repentance *life*, not *death* [end 3:352]

Excuse this letter, written at many different times, & before breakfast, which is the only time I have to write. It is only meant to shew, that you are never forgotten by me. In the summer I had my boy, & no time to write. I trust that

**f45v**

you are well, & that next time you move from Devonshire, you will not disappoint us again, but let us see you here once more. My father & mother & Parthe desire their kindest remembrances & best love. Laura, I know, keeps you in the family news, or I would tell you how *entirely* recovered Aunt Anne, who is now here, appears,- she is able to take long walks. ~~Fran~~ Frances Carter is still at Brighton, still unwell. I trust that all your family are quite well. & if they remember me, will you give them my kind love. And now I must say, not "farewell", my dear At Hannah, but,- in the bosom if the Eternal Spirit I take, not my leave of you, but *meet* you there.

Letter, f46, pen.

f46r archivist's date: 1846?

Embley. Xmas Eve.

Dearest Aunt Hannah

I cannot see a letter going to you without putting in my word of grateful love & strong remembrance. I am sure you have not forgotten me. tho' we hardly ever meet. And if you knew how deeply I think of you! If you could know how often, in my sad & struggling life, I turn to you. I think of you, as I used always to find you, in the little Waiting Room, waiting for prayers.

**f46v**

I am sure you must be happy in one respect, dearest Aunt Hannah, in seeing your two nieces so happy this Xmas, both with such pleasant futures before them.

Farewell, dearest Aunt Hannah. I am expecting every day to go with my father into Derbyshire. I don't know when I may see you. but believe me ever here as there [fixed] your loving & grateful child

Florence Nightingale

Letter, ff48-49, pen.

f48r archivist's date: 1846

30 Burlington St.

Friday.

My dear Aunt Hannah

Henry desires me to write  
and tell you how Aunt Jane  
is. There is the best account  
of her to-day. though she is not  
yet allowed to speak, all  
danger of inflammation seems  
to be over, and nothing  
now to be feared but ex-  
haustion. She has had a

**f48v**

most severe illness - she was  
in convulsions for eight hours,  
and when she fell asleep,  
Dr. Lee did not expect she  
would wake again. but  
since that she has been  
gradually recovering. she  
does not yet see the children  
but she is in pretty good  
spirits. when she recovered

**f49r**

her senses, she was aware  
directly of the whole ex-  
tent of her danger, and  
was so calm, so resigned,  
though with the most  
earnest desire to live  
for her children's sake,  
that Dr. Lee believed that  
it was that submission  
which saved her life. He  
said he had never had

**f49v**

a case of recovery from such  
suffering as hers, before.  
I am writing for the post,  
dear Aunt Hannah & have  
no time to say more to night,  
only to ask you to believe  
me always my dear kind  
friend your truly affecte

Add Mss 45793

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and grateful Florence  
Nightingale



Letter, ff50-55, pen. archivist's date: 1846 [3:352-53]

**f50**

30 Burlington St. Monday.  
Your letter which has just been  
given to me, my dear Aunt Hannah,  
welcome as the sight of your hand  
is to me at all times, was so  
particularly welcome at this  
time, that I cannot help sitting  
down directly to thank you for  
it. The sight of your handwriting  
peoples my room with so many  
delightful guests, it recalls those  
happy days which will never,  
never come again, so much, that  
when I see it, the tears come  
into my eye to think what a [eyes?]

**f50v**

friend I have had, what I might  
have been with her, & how far I have  
wandered since then. oh dear Aunt  
Hannah, if instead of having a  
vague, surmising opinion, an uncertain  
hope that the Lord of glory is our  
friend, ~~one~~ I had the simple, earnest prac-  
tical belief in his real presence  
that you have, how different it  
would all appear. how valuable  
would be the life, his gift, which  
I can now take so little interest  
in. how much interest one  
would take in oneself, if one REALLY

**f51r**

felt oneself the object of the  
interest of some higher Being.  
but I can hardly believe that He  
can take interest in me now. I  
have sunk so low. but dear  
Aunt Hannah, yours does me  
so much good, you never can  
tell how much. it gives me tears,  
that precious gift of heaven. &  
gives me hope. I am so terrified  
when I look forwards. & see the  
endless consequences which one  
little act bears. I am accustomed  
to hear people doubt the doctrine

**f51v**

of eternal punishment, because it seems inconsistent with the mercy of God. The difficulty to me would be, even without the Scripture, not to believe in it. I think one's own experience every day speaks in truth one little error, one apparently little failure in self-government, (perhaps one may have said to oneself - Thus far I will go & no farther. thus far will not be wrong) is visited with such endless consequences not only upon oneself - that is nothing, but upon others. and

**f52r**

2

it seems as if God allowed the natural consequences to work themselves out to their whole limit, as if his Wisdom saw best that his great laws should ~~follow out~~ be followed ~~themselves~~ out to their fullest extent, rather than interfere to save individuals from their results. It seems to me that there are great turning-points in people's lives, when one error in judgment, one act of selfishness is the beginning of a long downward course, which is to be stopped I do not know how.

**f52v**

So I have found it, my dear Aunt Hannah. I used to wish to acquire the strong and perfect will, the government over my own brain. now I do not care about it. one must have such a strong interest in oneself, in one's improvement, to attain this government. one has not enough interest in oneself, by oneself, to take the pains to acquire self-control. it does not seem of enough importance to oneself or others. provided one does not disturb other people's happiness by betraying one's sufferings,

**[end 3:353]**

**f53r**

what does it signify. I always feel;  
I do not care enough about myself  
to make the effort necessary to direct  
oneself. I did not mean to write  
this long piece of [~~illeg~~] selfishness, I never  
write to you now, dearest Aunt  
Hannah, because I know that when  
I do, the flood-gates of my egotism  
are opened by your sympathy.  
Aunt Jane, I am thankful to say,  
is slowly recovering, for tho' slowly,  
it is without any draw-back. all danger  
of inflammation seems over, and  
she has been moved out of bed.

**f53v**

We do indeed trust that she may  
be long spared to us, she has been  
brought to the very gate of death,  
her medical man said that he  
had never before seen recovery from such  
a case, & she must be long before  
she does recover the exhaustion,  
but we do hope now for her com-  
plete restoration. The Carters are  
enjoying London very much, and  
Marianne and Laura too exceedingly.  
I believe William and Sam come  
up to-day. I do not think we  
shall be more than a week longer

**f54r**

[3]

here. oh that I could hope, dear  
Aunt Hannah, to see you there  
when we go back to Embley. how  
strange it seems that those who seem  
to have the secret of influence over  
us, whose every word we think  
would find an echo in our own,  
we meet in this queer world only  
for a few short hours. If I had  
staid with you, what a different  
person I would have been! How  
strange it is and how sad to find  
a few, whom one could trust in every  
thing, with them to think & speak  
& feel, and then to part, till even

**f54v**

the remembrance is gone. But you,  
I know, never forget, because the  
Eternal makes part of all that you feel,  
and one may always call upon you  
for sympathy. & never be repulsed.  
But you see that I do not deserve  
to write to you, because it is all  
so selfish. People say that God  
writes our names in his book with  
the pearls of our tears. I wish I  
could believe it - but our tears, mine  
at least, are often so selfish. A  
letter is a thankless thing, dear Aunt  
Hannah, the very distance chills it,

**[3:354]****f55r**

and perhaps it is not read in the  
spirit with which it was written, and  
it seems written so coldly while we  
are really feeling so warmly, letters  
often only hide the thoughts they  
are written to tell. but if you  
read this as from one who values  
your interest almost more than  
any thing else, I do not fear miscon-  
struction. Your letter was a real  
drop of dew from Heaven to me to-day,  
and has been something more like  
a real pleasure than I have [~~illeg~~] felt  
since those days in your room. I  
will leave off now, very much against  
my will, because I feel how unrea

**f55v**

sonable I am. upon your sympathy.  
I had almost said to myself that I  
would not write till I could write  
something less unworthy of you. all  
my people desire their kindest love  
and hope to see you at Embley before  
very long. and as for me, my  
dearest Aunt Hannah, I can only  
say do not let your kindness  
grow weary of me, and believe  
in the grateful & earnest affection  
of your ever loving Florence  
who longs to see you again.

**[end 3:354]**

Letter, f56, pen.

f56r archivist's date: 1844 - 1846?

How glad I am my dear Aunt Hannah,  
to hear that you are at ~~Embley~~,  
Waverley (does not that mistake  
look ominous, & as if Embley had  
marked you for her own). & how  
glad I am to be coming southwards  
again. no pilgrim ever turned  
his face to Mecca more gladly than  
I turn our heads to the south.  
there perhaps I may see you again.  
There is life in the old dog yet, Aunt  
Hannah, ~~though~~ & it means to live  
to torment you for a long time ~~yet~~ still.  
I wish there were any chance of our  
coming to Waverley, but I do not  
see much. A thousand thanks

**f56v**

for your dear letter. I have so  
many things to say to you, but can  
not say them now. but the idea  
of you at Waverley again in the  
dear old room, makes me send  
this little reminder of my existence,  
though indeed, Aunt Hannah, I know  
that you will never forget your  
grateful & affectionate Flo.

The sight of the Nicholsons on  
Wednesday gave us such a delight  
& life. But I must stop.  
Farewell - my dear Aunt Hannah

Letter, ff57-58, pen archivist's date: 44-46? [3:352]

**f57r**

Xmas Eve.

I cannot pretend to thank you, my  
dear Aunt Hannah, for your last  
kind letter. The feelings such good-  
ness excites, can only be told in deeds,  
not words. They ought to be great  
thoughts, which should bear one up  
to the feet of God, as on "eagle's  
wings," there to take what work  
He has for us to do for him. But  
this note is only to ask you to  
think of me to-morrow, as the [at?]  
Sacrament. I have not taken it  
since I last took it with you, (do  
you remember when? at Farnham) -  
except once, with a poor woman,  
on her death-bed. Time has sped

**f57v**

wearily with me since then, Aunt  
Hannah. If, when the plough goes over  
the soul, there were always the hand  
of the Sower there, to scatter the seed  
after it, who would regret? but  
how often the seed time has passed,  
it is too late, the harrow has gone  
over, the time of harvest has come  
& the harvest is not.

*Goodbye*, my dear Aunt Hannah,  
in the good old meaning God be  
with you - though I have more  
need that you should say that to  
me. I suppose we shall dance  
in the New Year like other people.  
surely we might with as much  
reason dance out a real death - is it

**f58r**

not almost as solemn & awful a  
moment? and with how *much*  
more security we can, in many cases,  
look forward to the happy fate  
of that dear lost one, than we  
can to the happiness of the danced-  
-in year for most of the dancers!

**[end 3:352]****[1:460]**

I am afraid you will not come  
to us now, for, from the day after  
to morrow, we shall have a crowd  
of people, & when they will be gone,  
I do not know, but do not let  
another year pass away without  
coming to see us. it is now  
more than a year since I have  
seen you - give me your thoughts

**f58v**

to morrow, my dear Aunt Hannah,  
I want them sadly, & take me  
with you to the Throne of Grace,  
bless me too, as poor Esau said,  
~~how~~ I have so felt with him and  
cried with a great & exceeding  
bitter cry. Bless me, even me  
also, O my father - but He  
never has yet - and I have  
not deserved that He should.  
I shall think of you, and find  
no words to say how very  
earnestly I am ever your loving  
& grateful Florence.

Embley. *Christmas Eve.*

Letter, ff59-62, pen. archivist's date: Spring 1847

**f59r**

Embley. Saturday.

I hope you were not very much surprised, my dear Aunt Hannah, ~~to~~ not to see some of your library coming back by Marianne & William. It will keep me in your recollection at all events, to think "what a long time she keeps that small fortune I left with her." It is not that I have been idle in reading them, I hope you will not think so, for I have not read *much else*, but that I have found so much to compare & to read over again

**f59v**

that it has taken me much longer than I expected. I like the researches of Searle into Ancient History very much, & the trace which he finds every where of the same truths are ~~very~~ particularly interesting. I hope I shall have finished some of them at least before we go to London, in order ~~to~~ that they may go back by Sam & ~~Henry~~ William. A thousand thanks for your attention to

**f60r**

my Commercial Views. & it is not the fault of that celebrated pen, that the beauty of my hand is not hereby exemplified, but of the treacherous Romsey paper, may Aunt Anne be free from it! which takes seven jab's to make the steel pen move over it. being all hairy. & every hair thirsting for an intemperate allow-



**f60v**

ance of ink. I hope you  
were as glad to see Marianne  
& William as we were ~~as~~ sorry  
to lose them, though that  
pre-supposes such tears of  
joy on all your parts. that  
on second thoughts I am no  
advocate for such excitement.  
Uncle Nicholson will be glad  
to hear that drains were,  
with some difficulty, laid  
down here soon enough to  
carry off the dangerous sur-  
plus of our woe, & no typhus

**f61r**

fever has yet appeared, -  
owing to Thursday's wh. we  
now hear wd. have been soon  
enough, having hastened itself  
on to Wednesday.  
I hope you take our part  
about the 10 hours' bill for  
Factory Women. Otherwise  
I shall think human nature  
is lions, & tigers, monkeys, &  
what is that cunning little  
thing - stoats. I am no  
stoat. I do not know  
whether Parthe has thanked

**f61v**

you yet for your kind note about  
William's picture, she desired  
me to do so, & I should have  
written yesterday, but it was  
a full day & I had not time.  
I hope you will remember  
me, to morrow, my dear Aunt  
Hannah, wherever you are.  
I wish we could expect to  
see you again this spring.  
We shall be alone till we  
go to London, which I am  
very glad of,- except the  
Nicholson party, whom we

**f62r**

hope to see on Tuesday.  
And begging your pardon  
for taking up so much of  
your time, which however  
I shall ask leave to do  
again, believe me, dear Aunt  
Hannah, with all our best  
loves, ever your grateful &  
loving child Florence Nightingale

I hope Miss Parker is better

**f62v**

I hope Mrs. Burnett is  
suffering less - & that that  
poor little boy of Mr. Hay-  
don's is feeling the benefit  
of this glorious spring.

Letter, ff63-64, pen. f63r archivist's date: 1847

[first 4 lines are end of letter, from bottom of f64v. VR]  
Write to me, your grateful child,  
at Rome sometimes, & believe me  
yours ever & always, in whatever  
place I am Florence Nightingale  
-----

Oct 22

[3:354-55]

You will not be more surprised  
than I am to hear, my dearest  
Aunt Hannah, that I am going  
to Rome with the Bracebridges  
for three months on Tuesday.  
Poor old me, who certainly  
never expected nor intended  
to leave England again. But  
I am told that a winter in  
Rome will set me up for life,  
- certainly there is no one, whom  
I could have made up my  
mind to go with, but Mrs.  
Bracebridge - But, as you  
may fancy, there are many  
draw-backs, - I need not tell  
you how loath I am to leave  
all my little plans, which

**f63v**

will stand still, more or less,  
during my absence - and it  
seemed to me very doubtful,  
at first, whether it was  
not the will of God, that I  
should stick by them. I did  
pray earnestly, as you have  
told me you did, for light  
to know, which was the will [what?]  
of that loving Father for me.  
~~but~~ and I never could have gone,  
if my earthly parents had  
not almost urged it, thinking  
it would be good for me. **[end 3:354]**  
Dearest Aunt Hannah, I  
try to follow many of your  
suggestions - if there have  
been

**f64r**

no letters between us, it  
was not for want of memory.  
between us two, I trust that many  
words are not wanted. &  
that there is no *silence*  
in our sympathy for there  
being no *words*. This plan **[3:354-55]**  
was only settled on the day  
before yesterday, & I go on  
Tuesday, so that I have many  
arrangements to make among  
my poor little schemes. To  
you, dearest Aunt Hannah,  
I can say what I can say to  
no one else, & you will  
believe me, that most of  
my desires are for home, &

**f64v**

that the "*wish* was not  
father of the *thought*" which  
makes me believe it right  
to go. But the uncertainty  
whether it be so, in the view  
of our ~~Creator~~ guide, still  
hangs about me. As a  
companion Mrs. Bracebridge  
is ALL that you, one of my  
best friends, can wish for me,  
can I say more? After all, is  
it not the object of all life  
to try & prove & find out, &  
then put ourselves under, the  
circumstances favourable to  
hearing the voice of God? &  
these, I trust, may be found  
at Rome as well as elsewhere.  
Mrs. B's society, I am sure *is* one  
of the favourable.  
[concludes at top of f63r]

Letter, ff65-66, pen. f65r archivist's date: 1849 [1:460-61]

Embley. May 16

My dearest Aunt Hannah

I cannot say what a  
disappointment it was to me  
to hear that you were  
actually determined never  
to come to us again. But  
you will *know* how I grieved,  
when I heard there was  
no hope of seeing you. I  
did think you would have  
come this time. you would  
have been quite quiet. How  
am I to see you? Am I  
hardly ever to see you  
again? Except that  
little sight of you at  
Laura's marriage, I have

**f65v**

hardly seen you for years.  
And you know how much  
your kindness always is to me.  
I cannot admit the goodness  
of your reasons of not going  
anywhere more except to  
relations! Are we not  
relations? Related in heart  
to you, dearest Aunt Hannah,  
I sometimes hope that I am.  
Related in life it must be  
a very long while yet  
before I can *hope* to be.

But I had much to tell  
you of, which I think would  
have interested you, because  
it interests me (you see I

**f66r**

always reckon on your  
sympathy, as if it were  
impossible to trespass on it)  
my little thieves ~~at~~ in  
Westminster, my ragged  
School which was my  
greatest joy in London,  
& many other things which  
I have never time to  
write about - but which  
I always lay by as - I will  
tell Aunt Hannah this  
when I see her.

I know you never forget  
me, dearest Aunt Hannah,  
that you remember me  
where I best like to be

**f66v**

remembered. & that you  
always will. But it  
would be a sore trouble  
to me never to ~~see you~~  
be with you again, as we  
have been together, except  
just at flying moments -  
I have not time to say  
more, as we have ~~our~~ a house  
with divers children &c  
in it. Let me wish you  
joy however over dear William's  
marriage, & believe me  
ever my dear Aunt Hannah's  
grateful loving longing  
child Florence N.

Letter, f67, pen f67r archivist's date: Sept. 1850 archivist's note: letter refers to death of Henry Nicholson.]

My dearest Aunt Hannah  
I little thought I  
should have to write to  
you, the first time after my  
return, upon such a  
subject. I know that  
nobody will feel this  
more deeply than you,  
& yet all you will think  
of will be to comfort the  
poor father & mother.  
& sister.

Will you hold me a  
partner in this care, if  
you think I can be  
of any use? I shall  
think it very kind

**f67v**

of you, & a great comfort  
to me, if at any time  
you will send for me  
that you think they  
will like to see me.  
I shall hope that you  
will be so good as  
to give me any tidings  
you hear. I shall be  
at my grandmama's  
Mrs. Shore's

Tapton

Sheffield

Believe me, dearest  
Aunt Hannah, ever  
your loving grateful  
sorrowing child Florence N.

Letter, ff68-69, pen archivist's date: Dec? 1850.

**f68r**

My dearest Aunt Hannah

Don't think I had  
forgotten the Horae  
Solitariae, which I  
have kept so unrea-  
sonably for so many  
years. I only waited  
to send the other two  
books with it, which  
you were so kind as  
to lend me & which  
I had not finished.  
Don't think the Horae  
Solitariae has been wasted  
upon me. it went up  
the Nile with me. &  
has seen the Temples  
of Nubia. But I am

**f68v**

quite ashamed and  
frightened at having  
kept it so long. &  
only hope that you  
will not bear the  
blame of it. To me  
it has been a most  
interesting book. so  
interesting that it  
led to my taking up  
the study of Hebrew,  
for the purpose of  
reading the Old Testa-  
ment for myself.

We were very glad  
to have had Uncle  
Nicholson for that

**f69r**

little time. very sorry  
not to have had him  
for longer. I hope,  
dearest Aunt Hannah  
that we may look  
forward to having you  
some time this winter.  
Many thanks for your  
note. I send back  
the books now, that  
I may not be tempted  
to play the same trick  
that I did with  
the Horae Solitariae.  
I think what Mr.  
Bickersteth says about  
~~the~~ our duties at the  
present time is so



**f69v**

very true.

I am looking forward  
to the return of Lothian  
as a means of cheering  
dear Marianne. I shall  
be so glad to hear of  
his arrival. I pray  
God that all may  
work together for good  
for our dear sorrowing  
people & believe me,  
dearest Aunt Hannah  
your ever loving &  
grateful child

FN.

Embley. Dec 21

Letter, ff70-71r, pen

**f70r** archivist's date: 1844 - 186?

Dearest Aunt Hannah,  
I have not time today  
for more than thanks  
so many for your most  
welcome new year's  
gift. which could only  
have been more acceptable,  
if it had come in your  
own hand. but I trust  
that this year will  
not pass away, without  
my seeing it there.

**f70v**

I shall read it till then  
with comfort & peace.  
I have many things to  
say - but can only now  
repeat that I am as  
ever yours in love &  
gratitude, yours in hope  
too. FN.

Do not think me  
ungrateful for not  
having written yesterday  
I had not a moment.

**f71r**

but your letter was  
my first reading in the  
morning, & my last at  
night.

Letter, f72, pen

**f72r**

1 Upper Harley St  
January 10, 1854

My dearest Aunt Hannah, many many  
thanks for your dear little book & more  
still for your kind remembrance of me,  
though indeed I did never think that  
you would forsake me.

Our vocation is a different one, as  
you, I am sure, know - & though there  
are many consolations & very high ones,  
the disappointments are so numerous

**f72v**

that we require all our faith & trust.  
But that is enough. I have never repented  
nor looked back, not for one moment.  
And I begin the new year with more  
true feeling of a happy new year than  
ever I had in my life.

I hope you will come & see me  
whenever you are in London, dearest  
Aunt Hannah, & believe me ever  
your loving grateful child

Florence Nightingale .

I have no time for writing, as you will suppose

[end 3:355]

Letter, f73, pen

**f73r**

1 Upper Harley St

9 March 1854

Dearest Aunt Hannah

I know how much  
you must have to do,  
& therefore I hardly  
like to say *how much*  
I should like to have  
one line to know how  
dear Aunt Anne is.

I hope that she  
does not suffer. You  
have them all about  
you, which is a great  
comfort. Do not write,

**f73v**

if there is no change  
I am ashamed to ask  
you at all

I can only say how  
much I am thinking  
of you all & believe me,  
dearest Aunt Hannah,  
ever yours lovingly &  
gratefully

F Nightingale

Letter, ff74-75r, pen [1:461]

**f74r**

1 Upper Harley St

12 March 1854

My dearest Aunt

Hannah

Thank you very  
much for writing.

Your [~~illeg~~ casualty?] death-bed room  
has scarcely ever  
been out of my  
thoughts. But life  
is a more awful  
thing than Death.

**f74v**

My many thoughts  
you will guess, as  
I believe I can  
yours. But I  
must prevent  
myself from writing,  
for I have much  
to prevent me.

Shall I never  
see you?

**f75r**

Ever my dear  
Aunt Hannah's  
grateful & affecte  
FN.

Letter, ff76-78r, pen [1:430]

**f76r**

Jan 23.

One word, my dear dear  
one, on this thy birth day,  
though I am not given  
to the above "mother", in  
respect to people's entrance  
into this poor dear young  
world;- all Psalms & Prayers  
begin with praise for the  
light of another day.  
but often, of the morning's  
light, behold us very  
weary.

**f76v**

You, however, who have  
exchanged the, *I* want  
to do *something*, for, to do  
*the* thing which *is* wanted -  
(conjugating the Active &  
Passive verbs, so as to  
correspond exactly. and  
making the article the  
definite one, defined i.e  
by a call from without.)  
you cease, I do indeed believe,  
to feel the weariness of life.

**f77r**

for such naturally inherit  
the blessing, given to that  
divine "poverty of spirit."  
& such too receive the promise,  
that they shall hunger no  
more, for they are fed  
with the same meat, (which  
Christ found all sufficient  
for him,) to do the will of  
Him that sent them - for  
what is duty, or conscience,  
but the will of God for

**f77v**

the particular Dutist.  
therefore, my dearest, I can  
truly & sincerely say, Joy, joy,  
on thy birth day.

Aunt Julia is here. Jack  
just gone. to me his visits  
are one of the greatest  
pleasures & helps.

I have just discovered  
your library done up in  
a small parcel. which,  
by the system of exhaustions  
only

**f78r**

was determined to be  
yours. Till Blanch was  
gone, I always thought it  
~~was~~ had been hers. It consists of  
Taylor & Thiodolf, & shall  
be sent by Shore.

Mrs. Empson returned  
yesterday - better.

best love to Fan, & to  
Miss Becker, with thanks  
for her letter, which I  
will answer, when I am  
not, as ever, thine hastily  
in word but not in thoughts.

FN.

Letter, ff79-80, pen

**f79r**

Jan 26

Dearest light. most sorry  
am I that thy note, going  
round by Jack, only reached  
me this morning. I have  
looked straight thro' thy  
Laienbrevier, (which I read  
in, every morning, deriving  
great strength therefrom,-  
or, at least, it's my fault  
~~if~~ that I don't) & cannot find  
exactly what thou askest,  
but, hoping that it may be

**f79v**

this, I send the one we read  
together, which comprises,  
it seems to me, all the philosophy,  
the suffering, & the experience  
of a life time, & wonderfully  
expresses the unfinished  
feelings of so many as one.  
I do not remember ever  
reading any thing which  
struck me so powerfully  
as truth, while the common

**f80r**

poetry of "living" in the  
"Ideal", in "Hope", in a "world  
of Beauty", always vaguely  
conveys an undefined impression  
of unsoundness. That  
little poem hits the right  
combination of the Real &  
the Ideal. methinks.

I have a thousand things  
to ask, & to say, & regret -  
not for thy sake, but mine,

**f80v**

not to be able. When I  
go to London my place of  
rest, perhaps.

I gave my poor birth-day  
blessings to William yesterday.  
I do not think poor Ju is  
well. thine, my life, ever.

I am really sorry that I  
did not know, that Fancher  
was to be alone two or  
three days, it might have  
made a Briefchen a little  
worth. Xcuse haste.  
I have found some music of Miss Becker  
which I will send you by Shore.

Letter, ff81-86, pen (Incomplete - beginning missing) [1:430-32]

**f81r**

how often do we say to children,  
both of larger & smaller  
growth - how you do fret  
yourself about such trifles. it  
really is beneath you. when  
we should say. your trifles  
are not my trifles. as I once  
heard dear J.P. say. "his  
prejudices are not my prejudices" -  
one person thinks it very absurd

**f81v**

that another should vex  
himself about a rail-road,  
& the other answers. But  
you don't consider. it makes  
the whole face of Nature [~~illeg~~] whom  
I love so dearly, ugly to me. another thinks  
it quite ridiculous that a  
third fashes himself about  
some one having taken "some  
trifling offence". but doesn't

**f82r**

~~it~~ that make the whole face of  
*his* friend ugly to *him*?  
"Since trifles make the sum of  
human things," & every thing  
human is sacred, I think one  
shd never approach even a  
child's tears for the loss of its  
pet rabbit without reverence.  
the immeasurableness of the  
bitterness of sorrow contained  
in that little heart, we cannot,

**f82v**

with our limited understanding,  
comprehend, nor dare to say  
whether it does not = Napoleon's  
for the loss of his Empire. For  
the heart is infinite, while the  
Intellect is bounded. & the  
least of sorrows shd therefore  
be to us of awful & mighty  
import, for they are of an  
eternal significance, which  
we cannot see, & before which

**f83r**

[2]

we veil our faces.  
I think I wd never either try  
to persuade myself or my friend  
to get over a sorrow, because  
it is a "trifle". Chacun à son  
goût. & the secret of the love,  
which *understandeth* all things,  
for giving happiness, is to serve  
every one according to that  
goût. what is trifling to us



Add Mss 45793

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is not trifling to them, & vice

**f83v**

versa - if it is something, which  
must be a stumbling block, if  
not removed, let our wisdom be  
instead of bearing, to overcome,  
instead of forgetting, to cure,  
instead of resigning ourselves,  
to conquer. The Epicurean's  
wisdom of "taking things as they  
come" is impossible of attainment.  
~~it's no use going~~  
one might as well "go stand upon the bench"  
as go telling people  
to "bend to circumstances", because

**f84r**

[3]

that's Common Sense, & we  
never shall have Common Sense,  
& besides advice can be of no  
use, which requires us to des-  
troy our own identity. Common  
Sense accommodates itself to  
circumstances. but the better wisdom  
accommodates circumstances to  
itself. the obstacle, which it  
cannot get rid of ~~we must~~ it  
mounts upon, as a step upwards.  
I always long to cry "that's a lie" when I

**f84v**

hear people saying "it is *such* a trifle, he's  
a fool to care about it."  
But I didn't mean to give you  
all this intolerable deal of sack,  
I didn't. & now I must leave off.  
having no time for more.  
will you ask At Patty, when  
you see her, if she has received  
a £5 note. in two letters,  
from me? if I write, it looks  
as if I wanted an answer, &  
I only ~~wanted~~ wished to know, because  
if the letters were stolen,

**f85r**

she wd think that I had been  
so unpardonably forgetful.

Farewell my best beloved  
ever thine FN.

My best love to Fan, if  
she is with thee again.  
Aunt Evans pretty well,  
but all but blind, very  
patient though, always  
remembers thee.

f86v [written vertically up left side of page]  
into precious wisdom, to be made use  
of for

were true the moment before, we poor  
mortals may all obtain

Letter, ff86-87, pen, pale blue paper (To Hilary Bonham Carter)

**f86r**

I went to Vespers & dined with  
the Richardsons on Monday.

~~May~~ Mar 3. [1844 works for Sunday Mar 3]

Dearest, I am looking  
forward to next Saturday,  
if I can ~~get~~ go any how  
tacked on to some body's  
apron string. how often  
I wish for grey hairs.  
they are the greatest  
possible convenience - &  
if they could be had  
before other infirmities,  
would be of as much

**f86v**

advantage as Brevet  
Rank If any body  
wishes to read about  
the May of life in the  
little ink marks of  
poets, it's all very  
well, if they wish to  
read of it in real life,  
it is a series of scrapes,  
of dull bothers & sharp  
remorse, of useless  
giving of pain, and

**f87r**

hopeless perplexity.  
we reckon our young  
years by their failures  
& not by their months.  
& fifty times a day  
have I remembered,  
ever since, what an  
elderly woman once  
said to me, about the  
privileges, the joys, the  
*exemptions* from youth,  
which her age enjoyed.

**f87v**

But however, I have  
gone off at score about  
a large subject, when  
I only meant to say,  
that as the weather has  
changed, I hope to come  
this Saturday or next.  
Papa & I go to Ld Love  
Lace's today for 2 nights.  
I have never thanked  
properly for the veil  
which has been a  
treasure. with best  
love, ever, dearest thine

f88 is an envelope: Miss Bonham Carter, no stamp or address

Letter, ff89-92r, pen archivist's date: 1844

**f89r**

How sorry we are, my dearest,  
to hear that Aunt Joanna  
is not able to go out yet. I  
hope that there is nothing  
which will keep her in very  
long. though at Combe she  
would not find a very cheer  
ful party. What an anxious  
account this is of poor  
Blanch! You have heard  
that Aunt Mai is only  
waiting for more letters &  
then thinks of joining her, as  
the Fernières are afraid the

**f89v**

bilious fever may turn to  
a nervous one like Beatrice's.  
And De Fellenberg's illness  
at the same time. those  
two poor mothers seem doomed  
to anxiety. & crosses in  
knowing what to do  
with their children, to be  
the lot of those much-tried  
hearts. Mama writes that  
Aunt Mai is much cast  
down. & no wonder. though  
one might always say of her  
too. troubled on every side,

**f90r**

yet not distressed.

I have made but little use of  
your books yet, mein Engel,

~~[sentence crossed out & over-written~~

~~[illeg]~~ but some little

I have made. We did

our duty by Mrs. Empson as

soon as we came & have been

calling incessantly since. She

very cordial & lady-like &

he hugged my hand in a

transport of joy. & then

such a luncheon, neat but

**f90v**

not gaudy, elegant but not

expensive. then we grew

rhapsodical, philosophical &

a very eloquent trio on the

physiology of blue curtains

& bad characters. & swore

eternal friendship over their

muddy drinking-water. &

parted, mutually comforted

at having found the only

Socrates of modern times in

the other. To see people so

perfectly happy in this curious

world is very interesting. &

**f91r**

I could have blessed them from

the bottom of my heart, if I

had not been afraid of the

maid who was by. I had

not been there half an hour

before she said, she longed

to see me to tell me how

happy she was. What joy

there is on earth, after all.

& I hope trouble never pre-

vents any one from being glad

in it. or makes them hang

the earth in black, because

they have put on mourning.

**f91v**

I have been waiting, my dear,  
with the pen in my hand  
for half an hour for some  
thing to amuse you ~~sentence illeg~~ because in  
amusement after all does not so much  
matter in you. but you  
will forgive me & I will  
leave off - with best love  
to Fan. who I hope had a  
note from me, which I  
directed to Waverley. ever  
my dearest, your over flowingly  
& penitently FN.

**f92r**

our best love to Aunt Joanna  
& hopes of betterness very soon

Letter, ff93-94, pen. archivist's date: Autumn/44

**f93r**

The fatherland & we greet  
you, dearest hil. & as you  
ask after Miss Clarke so  
much, I sent you the last  
letter ~~I have~~ just received  
from her, which I am sure  
you will like to see, though  
it is a sad tale. But it

**f93v**

is "presque un bonheur de  
regretter ce qu'on aime,"  
as somebody says, aupres de  
quelques autres regrets that  
one has. She will be so glad  
to hear from you. Pray  
return the letters.  
Papa is gone to your dear  
& tenderly loved Harrogate,  
not being alas! at all well.

**f94r**

& we three are leading  
what is called a *regular*  
*life*. Miss Otter having  
left us on Monday, after  
three delightful days for  
us. but the light of *our*  
countenances was all which  
shone upon her. As she will  
be at Fleafood on Thursday,  
I dare say Marianne will  
soon hear from her. Grandmama

**f94v**

is at Cromford Br. & asks after you  
much. You will be delighted to  
hear that J.P. had the warmest  
of receptions from his constituents,  
among whom he made his first  
appearance last Thursday (since  
the crash) at the Cutten's Pearl. He  
had sent his excuses, but mus-  
tered courage under the Fitzwil-  
liam wing. & made a most  
affecting little speech, thanking  
them for their forbearance to him  
under his troubles, giving the  
reasons for his "vacillation" about  
staying in, & offering now to stand  
by them. It was beautifully done  
& beautifully received. but what  
an effort for him. & now it is  
done, he writes to Papa quite relieved.

**[5:332]**

Letter, ff95-96, pen. archivist's date: Aug 17 1845 top right corner - some words cut out

**f95r** [End of letter, continued from f96v, written vertically across the top. VR]  
had gone  
every day  
before she  
became  
so very ill.  
I was thin  
king only  
of myself  
then. &  
shall always  
repent it.



Add Mss 45793

529

Ever yours

[about 12 more lines cut off

Dearest child you did not happen  
to see a little book of Abbott's  
called The Way to Do good. when  
you were here, did you? I was  
reading some of it to Shore once  
and cannot find it now.  
My young people are not yet come  
home, you see. Mrs Hogg died  
yesterday morning. and the face  
which was just before so convulsed  
is now so calm. I have so much  
to tell you of her, when we see  
each other. When that weary head  
rolled upon my shoulder, it seemed  
to me as if "many things were becoming  
clear to me." Now we go to life  
and she to death: which of us  
for the better part, the Gods only know."

[1:432-33]

f95v  
[top left corner - some words cut out]  
I am sure patience had its perfect  
[2 words cut out], as long as she was  
sensible, last week her sufferings  
were too great. She had her prayer  
at last that she might see before  
she died - she saw us all & a few  
hours before, asked me why I had  
my bonnet on & where I was going.  
Now she can speak truth & be  
understood. now she knows even  
as she is known. she has awa-  
kened from the dream of life & left  
us behind to envy her rest. [end 1:432]

I am so glad you are more  
satisfied about your Hugh. I  
hope Aunt Joanna is getting rid  
of her cold.[illeg section]

only to ask for further leave for  
my young people. - just a line.  
Farewell, mein Kind, I have so  
many things to say to you, but  
I cannot say them now. I took  
the Sacrament with Mrs. Hogg  
a few days before she died - one  
feels such a reverence before the  
spirit, that is waiting to put on  
incorruption & being tried in its  
painful, painful passage to the  
grave whether it is capable of

[1:432-33]

Add Mss 45793

531

infinite endurance & able to

**f96v**

bear the weight of immortality.  
How one feels then that the most  
real presence in the room is the  
invisible presence which hovers  
round the death-bed & that we are  
only ghosts, that have put on form  
for a moment, & shall put it off,  
almost before we have had time  
to wind up our watch. we are  
the apparitions. But I must  
have done, my dear - best love to  
Ju. I shall hope to see you soon.  
Do you recollect your last visit  
to poor Mrs Hogg, she always knew  
my voice, & sometimes when she  
was in convulsions, she would  
answer & then the tears would  
come & she was still. I never  
saw such sufferings. I wish I

[concludes at top of f95r. VR]

f97 envelope postmark Au 17 1843? Miss Bonham Carter/38 Gordon Sq/London

Incomplete letter, ff98-105, pen. [first sheet missing - see FN's request, f98v. VR]

f98r archivist's date: c. Ap 25 1846

[2]

seemed to me a different creature  
in solidity - & tho just parted  
from her "chum", very cheerful and  
sociable. A little story, please,  
a little story, was very pathetic  
from the widowed Bird, but she  
got off my knee, & went to her  
nest the moment she was called.  
& seemed altogether in good trim.  
I cannot help a ~~hopeful~~ anxiety  
to hear, every day a letter comes  
from Combe, about Beatrice -  
I have heard so much about  
mille Julie from Mrs. Bracebridge,  
& whatever Mrs. B tells me, I  
believe. what do you think? is  
the hope enough to make your  
heart beat - oh dearest, what  
a grand time this is we live

**f98v**

in. I am so glad to be in this age.  
I hope we shall all last to see  
*great* discoveries, *great* increase  
of knowledge about the unexamined  
laws of the connexion between matter  
& mind. the laws of matter have  
been patiently sifted already.

Mariette & I made our way home  
on Monday thro' difficulties, which  
might have deterred a Hannibal.  
mind you burn the last sheet,  
dear, as soon as you have read it.  
From having learnt to find trifles  
sometimes no trifles at all, I not  
only *burn*, but *hold down* with  
the poker, that the sweeps may not  
read the fragments in the chimney  
flue. Only think, dearest,  
it is really - - how long that I  
have not seen you. yes, really

**f99r**

since the day before Gale died,  
which was the 20th of October, & [28th?]  
I rode back part of the way with  
you & Alf. no, you must have  
been here since then. no, I believe  
the moment at Winchester with  
Hughie *is* the only time I have  
seen you since then. is it possible  
that it is 6 months - tho' sometimes  
it seems to me more like 6 years,  
so much has passed in my inner  
life since then. oh that tadpole  
whirl of "restless activity", which  
swims round & round under the  
glassy surface of our civilised  
life. we talk & we dine & we dress,  
as if the tadpoles, our hopes, were  
not breeding in thousands in silence,  
& abandoned in despair,- as if  
the struggle between Fear, the

[1:433-36]

**f99v**

Dwellers of the Threshold, and the Spirit of Light, with ~~its~~ his sun-beam wing, was not going on fiercely, ceaselessly, - as if the cup, wh. we have filled, with the deep fountains of the soul (where, "by strong convulsions rent apart ~~& which and~~ we have garnered them up in this ~~this~~, as in a lachrymatory, that they might not all run to waste, ~~was not often~~ or be dried up,) was not often dashed to the ground, & its waters lost - as if the deepest passions of our hearts were not roused in all of us - & those hovering hopes & plans (which though so unsubstantial, are not unreal, oh no, for they make up our whole real life.) were not struck by an arrow & fallen as if we did not all feel that we are always standing on the

**f100r**

[3]

edge of an abyss, so dark that we see not the bottom, & so deep that our head swims round, & we are afraid to speak or to move. for fear of the next step. how truly you say, that all seems unreal. & that all actors are not on the Theatre. Every thing reminds me of the Indian in the fable, who sitting in the tree, with Terror, under the shape of a tiger, climbing up ~~it~~, is only engaged in fighting with the fly (care) ~~who~~ which is whizzing in his face. All is like a dream, you say, - yes, the world, & the ~~wa~~ pink satin ghosts in it, & ourselves most of all - if we could always be true to ourselves, have a sacred trust in our intentions, we should need no other truth. but we lie to

**f100v**

ourselves first, the lying to others follows of itself. That the sufferings of Xt's life were more intense, who doubts? but the happiness must have been intense - only think of the happiness of working and working successfully, too, & with no doubt as to his path, & with no alloy of vanity or love of display or glory. but with the ecstasy of single heartedness - all that I do is always poisoned by the fear that I am not doing it in simplicity & singleness of heart. every thing I do always seems to me false without being a lie. But God has been very gracious to me, dearest; my helplessness has been the same to the last; unseconded by any effort of mine, he helps me,

**f101r**

& leads me by a way which I have not known, by a way sometimes agonising & crushing, & afterwards raising & consoling. & if the miserable feelings are not mine, which I have known, it is his unsolicited doing. I trusted *not* in thee & thou hast sought me. I could write in a new Psalm.  
I think we shall be quite quiet at present. Helen is not coming yet. The Nicholsons were asked for to day, but none of them come - Aunt Anne, I am afraid, far from well. If I ever said to myself, I wish or I do not wish, I shd be sorry now that our time in London were not coming with yours, but I am quite sure it is best that it shd be over and done - and as it is. I do not like writing to you, dearest, because I

**f101v**

feel as if I never should stop, the  
more pity for me I cannot see you -  
& I have not told you a word yet  
of my friends at Richmond &  
London. Miss Clarke we heard  
from yesterday. she will not come  
to us till Lea Hurst. I had  
such a walk before breakfast, every  
thing in a blaze of beauty "As if a God  
had been abroad and left his  
impress on the world" There is nothing  
makes my heart thrill like the  
voice of birds. much more than  
the human voice, it is "the angels  
calling us with their songs "& the  
fleecy clouds look like the white  
walls of our home. & then one  
falls back from the ideal world  
into one's own apothecary's shop,  
where one is perpetually pouring  
from one bottle to the other of one's





**f103r**

takes form & shape & fain reality  
when touched by her Ithuriel's spear,  
for there is an Ithuriel's spear for  
good as well as for evil. & till  
that touch I never know whether  
my plans are mere shadows, which  
the removal of the light, which  
gave then birth, will send to their  
real home, the house of nothingness.  
or are capable of being moulded into  
form. *She* is not the light, which  
originates plans in any one's mind,  
but she is the bright & true mirror,  
which reflects faithfully all &  
every impression brought to her by  
those desirous of the clearing-glass of her  
sympathy. I hope you will see  
Louisa in London. I cannot talk  
to you about her in a letter. &c &c  
- - - - -  
are one's earthly friends not too  
often Atalanta's apple, thrown in

**f103v**

each other's way, to hinder that course,  
at the end of which is laid up the  
crown of *righteousness* - & so, dearest,  
it is well that we shd not eat too much  
of one another. that word *righteousness* always  
strikes me more than any thing in  
the Bible. Strange that not happiness,  
not rest, not forgiveness, not glory,  
not success, shd. have been the thought  
of that glorious man's mind (when  
at the eve of the last & greatest of his labours,) but all desires so swallowed up in  
the one great craving after *righteousness*  
that, at the end of all his struggles,  
it was mightier within him than  
ever, mightier than even the desire  
of peace. How can people tell one  
to dwell within a good conscience,  
when the chief of all the apostles  
so panted after *righteousness*, that he  
considered it the last best gift,  
unattainable on earth, to be bestowed  
in Heaven. Farewell à regret, my  
beloved one - best love to dear Fan - to  
whom pray give this letter, if you like it.  
[appears to conclude at bottom of f102r]

**f104r** [Looks like an additional sheet to previous letter; This sheet is cut off a third of the way down. VR]

[6]

There are 2 beings in us all - nether beasts  
I shd. say - rabid enemies  
who fight without peace or truce.  
& as the undermost always insults  
the uppermost, whichever side gets  
it, there is no danger of the latter  
ever enjoying himself, or surviving  
the *pison*, the cup of cold *pison*,  
administered by the former. I told  
[2 or 3 words cut off] I think she believed me  
[rest of sheet cut off]

**f104v**

I was tempted to come over just  
for one night from Winchester to  
see you & dear Fan - it may be now  
so long ~~now~~ before I see you, except  
just uncomfortably, when we pass  
through London. I dare not propose  
your coming over here, before you  
go, it would be too much for  
[rest of sheet cut off]

f105 Envelope for previous letter ff98-104, addressed to Miss Bonham  
Carter, post-marked April 25 1846

**f105v** [written on inside of envelope flap, f105v:]

The Simpson's are in  
the highest preservation and  
beauty. Farewell, my dear dear one  
why may it not be Auf Wiedersehen instead  
of Lebewohl-  
in greatest haste

Letter, ff106-07, pen. f106r archivist's date: June 1846 [1:436-37]

**f106**

Embley. Friday.

Dearest child I am very glad to hear that you have been at Kempstone, where you would hear all that could be told about our dear old friend - and I hope we shall hear it in due time. I do not know how long Ju is going to stay in London, nor whether she is likely to see Mrs. Jameson, who, I am afraid, is abroad, but I should be very glad if she could get any particulars from her (Mrs. Jameson)

**f106v**

of the German lady she - Mrs J. - knew, who, not being a Catholic, could not take upon herself the vows of a sister of Charity, but who obtained permission from the physician of the Hospital of her town to attend the sick there, & perform all the duties, which the Soeurs do at Dublin & the Hôtel Dieu, & who had been there 15 years when Mrs. Jameson knew her. I do not want to know her name, if it is a secret, but

**f107r**

only if she has extended it further into any thing like a Protestant Sisterhood, if she had any plans of that sort, which should embrace women of an educated class, & not, as in England, merely women, who would be servants, if they were not nurses. How she disposed of the difficulties of surgeons making love to her, & of living with the women of indifferent character, who generally make the nurses of hospitals, as it appears she was quite a young

**f107v**

woman when she began. & these  
are the difficulties which vows  
remove & ~~which~~ one sees nothing  
else that can. If Mrs. Jameson  
would tell Aunt Ju all she  
knows about this German lady,  
& Aunt Ju would ask her, I should  
be truly obliged to her. I am  
glad you are with Aunt Jane,  
dearest, who I am afraid, is  
sadly *wored* out. I hope we  
shall see you here before the  
rows begin. as I want  
badly to see you - as for me,  
[last line missing - cut off or water-damaged]

Letter, ff108-09, pen. archivist's date: June 1846, Embley archivist's  
note: after Harry's accident. H's accident was in 45

**f108r**

Wednesday

Dearest one word, I must  
write thee of congratulation, tho'  
you will hear from the others  
how wonderfully rapid his  
progress has been - all plasters  
taken off the cut to-day, & he  
eating meat like a Christian,  
whose distinguishing characteris-  
tic that is. & looking at  
himself in the glass like a  
Pagan, I regret to say - he has  
eaten & sung & slept & is  
in the nursery - & I think  
looking better than before his  
accident. Mr. Taylor does not

**f108v**

wish him to move before Monday  
and so there must be a necessary  
further delay about his Tutor's,  
which is a pity - but he told  
me yesterday that he thought he  
should go up to Cambridge next  
Easter, which he can do in one  
of the Bye} Terms. His health  
is perfect, Mr. Taylor says,  
and the *Bragian* boldness  
of the boy is excessive. he  
even uses highly reprehensible  
terms about that great and  
good man, bage boy!  
There is not the slightest danger

**f109r**

of fever, can we be thankful  
enough! A delightful case,  
says Mr. Taylor, I could not  
have done it better myself  
with a knife. it is scarcely  
a blow, but a cut. The liga  
ture of the artery, with a genius  
peculiarly of its own (there was  
a small artery which had to  
be tied) came out this morning  
of itself, to Mr. Taylor's exces  
sive exultation, who said, this  
has advanced you a week, to  
Harry - the boy has never  
suffered from head-ache from

**f109v**

first to last. farewell, my  
own dearest, we go alas!  
to-morrow. I have much to  
say to thee - a great deal  
but will not say it now. I  
hope too to see thee on Friday.  
bless thee for thy last letter,  
which I will answer then -  
we go out of town on Saturday.  
give my best love to thy  
Mum & to Fanny Hanford  
ever thine, with heart & soul,  
FN.

Dearest, as I find that Ju will  
not write if I have done it,

Letter, ff110-16, pen. archivist's date: Lea Hurst, 14 Aug, 1846, with  
envelope f116 postmarked Au 14 1845 Matlock to Miss Bonham Carter, 38  
Gordon Sq. London [1:437-40]

**f110r**

Pray excuse this dirty letter - a bad pen  
always will spell wrong.

Thursday.

My dearest, your letter is very dear  
to me. though I cannot quite enter  
into all you say about the sufficiency  
of good intentions. the kingdom of  
God is come, I know; Jesus Christ  
says so, & we feel it. but my life  
is so full of anxieties, of eager fears  
about things which are inextricable,  
things ~~that~~ about which I really don't know *which*  
I wish, that I ~~only~~ kneel down,  
when the sun rises in the morning, &  
only say, Behold the handmaid of the Lord,  
give me this day my work no, not my work but thine to do. I  
ask no other blessing. For the  
things which I ask for I do not wish,  
& the things I do wish, I know I shan't have.  
In a world into which we are come



**f110v**

under so many disadvantages, how can  
we help anxieties & morbid responsibilities.  
Well I know that it was God who  
created the good, & man the evil, which  
was not the Will of God, but the  
necessary consequence of His leaving  
free will to man. I know that misery  
is the alphabet of fire, as you say, in  
which experience with her warning hand  
writes, in flaming letters, the consequences  
of Evil (the kingdom of man), & that  
without its glaring light we should  
never see the turn back into the  
kingdom of God, or heed the directing  
guide-post. But the judgments of  
nature, (the law of God), as she goes her  
mighty, solemn, inflexible walk,  
sweep sometimes so fearfully over

**f111r**

men, that, tho' it is the triumph, not the  
defeat of God's truth & of these laws,  
that falsehood against them must  
work misery, & misery is perhaps  
here the strongest proof that his  
loving hand is present, yet still  
all our powers, our hopes & fears must  
be engrossed by it. we cannot lay  
down our anxiety that, even with  
good intentions, we ~~might~~ may not have  
~~more~~ conscientiously improved our  
judgments - that we ~~might~~ may ~~not~~ have  
sinned against the Holy Ghost by  
voluntary ignorance, by thinking truth  
nothing more than what one "troweth"  
by letting light in only ~~no~~ in one way,

**f111v**

by seeking to illustrate, not enlarge  
our minds. With Shore, for instance,  
when I see how no things are trifles,  
how a Vizier got out of prison by a  
black beetle with a bit of butter on its head,  
how a wave propagates itself over  
the whole lake, I am sometimes almost  
mad with anxiety. & feel that I cd.  
say Thy will be done to anything ~~rather~~  
except his turning out ill or a mere sporting  
man. When we trace back some of  
our own strongest associations, for good  
or for bad, to some casual word  
dropt by a person in a temper, or under  
a false impression, & feel how a  
whole existence depends on a beetle's

**f112r**

[2]

having a bit of butter on its head *or*  
*not*, the county of Yorkshire must  
be given up for a lunatic asylum, if  
we had not the liberty of carrying all  
these eager anxieties to the Father of  
spirits. But in the night he always  
shines a brighter fire, while in the  
prosperous day he appears to us often  
only as a cloud, *now* as he did of old.

Pray believe, dearest, that I never  
think that you are affronted knowing,  
as I do, that while others judge us  
~~you~~ by the consequences of ~~your~~  
actions upon themselves, or by whether  
~~you~~ we do what they think right -  
you judge by whether we do what

**f112v**

we think right.

But I hope you will not misunderstand now, - I mean that suffering as we do from a great many faults that are not our own, as Cain came into the world under much greater disadvantages for Adam having been not quite good, and so ad Infinitum, proving that the fable of Original Sin has, like all fables, oh *how much* truth in it, we must not be angry with ourselves for making of this life a fievre douloureuse, for I doubt whether even those happy ones, who are able to have the most sacred trust in

**f113r**

their own intentions, can do otherwise, we cannot sit above the stars & say, I did my best. *advienne que pourra*. we cry - life is a fever - where shall I find repose? but let us resign ourselves to it, for if we were not in fevers, perhaps we should do absolutely nothing - the best tonic is an uneasy mind. And as long as Evil has its reign in this world, I want no other heaven, I can desire no further benefits, than to be allowed to return & return with renewed & better powers from the Fountain of power till the kingdom of God is really come here.

Your news was most welcome, for I had heard none of it, my

**f113v**

dearest. I had not heard from  
Ma since Aunt Anne came up to  
London. I should have written to her  
& you, but while my man was here,  
I really had no time. I wish, dearest,  
that Fan could have come here. I  
should have liked it so much - (and  
Jack has not been here since  
in or about the Year of Grace 2 or 3)  
but Mama said that, if Fan went  
out taking long rides, as she did  
last year, she wd. kill herself, &  
we could not help it. I am *not* sure  
that I agreed with her, but if Mama thought  
so, it was the same as if it was so.  
I wish you could all have come -  
but I hope for Embley.

**f114r**

[3]

Louisa Mckenzie writes from *Brahan*;  
Miss Dutton comes here next week.  
I have no news, for excepting jaunting  
up to Derby with my lad on his way  
South, I have not crossed my threshold.  
The James Martins came yesterday.  
well. When I think, as  
you say, that the influence of each  
of us is *endless & boundless*, being  
perpetuated to the "last syllable of  
recorded time," & (like the Voltaic  
current) running along from link  
to link of the infinite chain, we  
might well sink for fear, if it were  
not for the feeling that we have  
really no work of our own to do, &  
that God knows his vessels, & made

**f114v**

an ass into Balaam's best friend &  
a gourd into Jonah's. But you will  
be tired, & I must stop. excuse  
the wanderings of a bad pen - thy  
verse is beautiful, & as poets are  
the true prophets, is doubtless true, -  
not in the next world, but in the  
next world but two (or three) In this  
I doubt if Duty will bring Beauty yet,  
except in a sketchy outline or two  
here & there, but for the whole group,  
must we not wait? What was that  
sublime selfishness which made Addison  
say, Come & see how a good man can  
die. was that Beauty, when there  
were numbers of miseries about him  
dying like dogs, & to whom no possi

**f115r**

bility had ever been given of living  
but as dogs. What if the first hour  
of our living again in what we believe  
will be a clearer atmosphere, will  
also be the first hour of our seeing,  
not darkly, but revealed to us face  
to face, a multitude of duties unseen,  
undone, unlooked for till then. as the  
going out of a candle reveals to us the moonlight without  
Alas this class of God's school room  
has fallen (or risen, I don't ~~know~~ care which)  
into such a state, that, *whatever* we  
do, we ~~can~~ may see ~~so~~ clearly all the evil  
which *may* arise from either course,  
whichever we take, so that your inter-  
pretation of, O Lord, forgive, occurs  
to me at every step.\* Bless thee,  
my dearest & believe me thine ever  
& always. I should dearly

[footnote]

\* The worst of having once sinned is, not that we shall suffer next day, but that, whatever we do next day, however right, must drag after it some bad consequence, so that Experience is

**f115v** [footnote continued]

but an earth born flower after all, & seldom bears angels  
but crabs here until grafted with a more heavenly wisdom  
hereafter, it opens into St. Paul's apple of hope. [end of  
footnote.]

have liked to see Hughie, before the  
holidays were over. but I believe  
it was thought as well by all the  
mothers, that the few remaining days of holiday  
should be passed in strict penitence,  
seclusion, Optics & Catoptrics. Will  
you tell Fan, dearest, how very  
sorry I was not to see her here. &  
that I would have written, but for  
the reason which prevented my  
writing any letters, but will. &  
give her my best love. I forgot to  
say how Blanch made me love &  
respect her, while she was here. her  
soul is heavy with stuff. as a rose  
is weighed down with dew. but in a  
few ~~years~~ hours the sun will rise, & fecondes  
the dew, & the rose will lift up its head the  
brighter for having been so laden.

ff116-29, envelope for the previous letter, addressed to Miss Bonham Carter, post-marked Matlock Au 14 1846.

f116v written inside the flap of the envelope]

**f116**

Once more thanks  
for all thy news, & once  
more fare thee well. You say, dearest  
how hollow words are true, unless the word ought to [~~illeg~~]  
is merely the trail of light left by the  
thought passing into the action ~~but then~~ it is ~~not~~ hollow  
~~and~~ but I never feel that thy  
words are hollow.  
~~just~~ because of this  
very thing

**f116** envelope, postmarked Matlock Aug 14 1845

Letter, ff117-20r, pen. f117r archivist's date: ? March 1847

**f117**

Tuesday  
dingy old Burlington  
My dearest, The principal [1:441]  
object of this speedy invoca-  
tion is to entreat, that my  
sponge be sent me in  
a small parcel per post.  
as it, like my dressing gown,  
has been the charm of my  
youth, & is now the solace  
of my declining years. The  
secondary object is to say  
how happy was the time I  
spent with you. Ich habe  
genossen das irdische gluck,

**f117v**

ich habe geliebt u' gelebt -  
as you once said - & I  
mourned my "habe" with  
silent tears the rest of  
the journey. I saw Aunt [end 1:441]  
Jane today - & your two  
"pitchers" were received  
with a rhapsodical chorus.  
They are in good cue, & I  
think will go to Waverley  
at Easter. & they have  
written to ask the terms

Add Mss 45793

552

of a large house to be let  
1 1/2 hours row from Achrannich.



**f118r**

I also took Mrs. Money  
to call on Mrs. Trotter - who  
is quite confined to her sofa.  
Mama is in bed with a  
bad cold. I mentioned to  
her the desire I had to  
have Fan - & she was  
quite agreeable - & I do  
hope, my dear, though nothing  
need be said about it  
yet, that is may be  
compassed. Val's face is  
quite well. I thought [1:442]  
Shore looking rather bad

**f118r**

the last day. In all other  
respects he charmed me,  
all that he told me was  
good, excepting, my dear,  
the absolute want of all  
intercourse (about the things  
which, after all, old & young  
find the most interesting,  
in that school. It is no  
worse than other schools.  
but I was in hopes it wd  
be better. but the absence  
of it is complete.

This thing I must testify  
to - in the atmosphere of  
your house, which is that,  
in *any* other, even in

**f119r**

Bedford Sq. my boy, if I  
were to approach him, much  
less to run at him, except when  
we two were quite alone,  
wd be so overcome with  
confusion, that it wd be  
quite impossible for me  
to have any intercourse  
with him in public.  
I always renounce it. but  
at No. 82, he actually sate  
with astonishing coolness  
on the arm of my chair,  
I may say stroked my

Add Mss 45793

554

velvet with a composure,

**f119v**

amounting to audacity-- &  
I felt at once that, in that  
atmosphere, he might be  
spoken to, without bringing  
all his mauvaise honte into  
his English cheeks. I had  
not the least idea that  
he wd have dared before  
his school-fellows to have  
come within the hundredth  
part of an inch towards  
showing us the school room.  
or that he wouldn't have  
turned blue at all such  
jokes as calling me his

**f120r**

grandmother.

With best love to Aunt  
Joanna & many thanks  
to her for all her kindness  
ever thine

Tell Miss Becker, please,  
that I was so sorry not  
to have one word with  
her.

Incomplete letter, ff121-22, pen

**f121r** archivist's date: before Easter 1847?

Monday

I was just writing to thee,  
Hillie, when thy note  
arrived. & now I am  
going to enjoy the meeting  
thee spirit to spirit (not  
face to face, alas!) & i.e.  
saying my little word &  
being believed. Father  
went home this morn -  
we move on Thursday.  
Parthe with the Coltmans  
to 7 Oaks - mother to  
you. I had been looking  
forward all this last

**f121v**

week to going with her.  
but now for a few reasons  
of which you will not  
want the catalogue, I  
am going to Combe on  
Thursday. Uncle Sam  
is ill & out of sorts. &  
On Easter Tuesday I must go  
home to Pa. There, dearest,  
are our little plans -  
when shall I see thy  
face? I thought we  
should have gone to Mr.

**f122r**

Sortain's together & taken  
the Sacrament there together,  
having a weakness in my  
old age for a quiet Easter -  
& missing at dear, very  
dear Combe the possibility  
of doing those things quietly.  
But thou wilt not forget  
me on that day, though I  
shall not be there. Dear-  
est, shall we not see thee  
at Embley this summer?  
If Fan will come at

**f122v**

any time in April or  
May with Miss Becker,  
I assure you she will be  
welcome to Mama. I am  
sorry if we were wanted  
at Waverley.  
Dearest, I do not know  
if you know all this  
miserable Lynch story -  
it was kept a secret  
as long as possible.  
all ruined, every thing  
to be sold. & they  
went off on Friday to

Letter, ff123-24r, pen. mounted as open spreadsheet; archivist's date: June 9 1847]

**f123r** left hand page.

Lea Hurst

Dearest, I meant to have told you of the James Martins, (she, I am sorry to say is far from well,) & of the Bracebridge visit, where we met the Archer Clives, & like him as much as we did her last year, (he is such a good husband) & of a most curious visit I paid to the workhouse with Mrs Bracebridge, but have no time, & must send this patchwork (of which the first patch was begun

**f123r** right hand page. archivist's date: Sherborne? 9 June

This is a magnificent pile of buildings, but I am ill as describing. My people have been some beautiful expeditions. & Mrs. Plunkett & I creep about at home. She is very, very happy - and truly Providence has married her & not she herself.

But to return to Oxford. Mr Hallam has discovered that Gladstone is the Beast 666 in the Revelations. It came to him one day in the Athenaeum. he tried, with the Greek numerals,

**f123v** left page.

Pusey & Newman, but they would not do, then it came to him by inspiration that it must be Gladstone. but the epsilon at the end would not do. then it occurred to him that no Greek word ends with an epsilon, & I subjoin the whole hog, the complete animal - for Hughie's benefit. only premising that any body might have thought of Pusey or Newman, the open beasts, but the

**f123v** right page.

beauty of the Inspiration  
lies in revealing the hidden,  
the secret beast, & [~~illeg~~  
~~2 words illeg~~] costing him heaven  
or his election, which is  
of rather more consequence.

γ	g	3
λ	l	30
α	a	1
δ	d	4
	s	200
τ	t	300
ο	o	70
ν	n	50
ε	e	8

---

666

**f124r**

to Fan,) to you as it is, on  
account of expressing our  
gratitude for the Dove.  
We have got no housekeeper  
yet, though we are expecting  
one. I am just setting off to  
see dear Aunt Evans. We  
came up here last night  
as we have done every year,  
curiously enough, in a  
thunder storm. I saw your  
poor Mde de Montfort in  
London - best love to dear  
Fan & all. thine ever,  
whatever else I am.

June 9

Letter, 125-29, pen archivist's date: 1847 [1:442-44]

**f125r**

L.H. Sept 10

Dearest - How long it is since I have written, & yet how much I have had to say. There is no danger of my ever forgetting you a single day. The first thing in the morning I read one of your Schefers. then I think how much I shd like to sit down & write to you. & then the "material interests" come and consume all my article, meaning time. Still I always feel as if that made no difference, as if there were no silence in our sympathy, because there were no words. & as if between us many words were not wanted. May God make thee like the ain, as the ostiaks say, that is, incapable of suffering. But happiness, eternal happiness, what do we think it to be? not to be without (what the "idle & inconsiderate

**f125v**

at their festivals" call) ~~misfortunes~~ suffering unchangeably lucky. The next state will probably have greater trials, greater temptations, greater events of good & evil change, than this miniature world. That the mind makes its own happiness & its own suffering we see already here. it makes its own "Extract of joy" & "Extract of Sorrow" out of the things which are assigned to each man's lot, & out of which ~~as we see~~, every suffering can come to one & every joy to another, each one moulds his fate. What then is eternal peace? It is a peace, (as we see in the great type of the Man of Action,) which springs up out of the deepest depth of human



**f126r**

misery, our Saviour's peace.  
this must be what we should  
expect in another state. peace,  
"his peace," as he emphatically  
acknowledged it to be in the  
most dreadful moment of his life.  
what can we ask for more? what  
can we desire so much? His  
must be our eternal happiness,  
*his* must be what we are to  
hope for. he says it is for us  
& in the expectation of the greatest  
trials & disappointments, (such as  
he perhaps is even now not ex-  
empt from,) and in their Eternal  
happiness, such as he said he  
had, we may take courage. &  
go on

**f126v**

Laura, Lothian & Blanch are  
with us. Aunt Mai & Beatrice  
come today. Selfishly, I am over-  
whelmed with disappointment  
that you are not going back to  
Brighton for the winter. Your  
presence there was such a godsend  
to the boys, especially to mine.  
The King school is too enormous  
a subject to enter upon now. as  
also ~~his~~ Shore's obligations to you. And  
with regard to the spirit of the  
School, (I don't say the spirit of  
*our boys*,) I have long since drawn  
my conclusions, as I dare say  
you have yours.

But the subject - ever fresh  
ever new - ever beautiful. ever  
wonderful of Mrs. Mohl. how  
seldom Providence manages so  
well. Although he has clearly  
marked out some (as I always

**f127r**

declare) to be old maids, yet I  
think he had as clearly marked  
her to be a wife. In single life,  
to her class of mind, the stage of  
the Present & the Outward World  
is so filled with phantoms, the  
phantoms, not unreal though  
intangible, of Vague Remorse,- Fears  
dwelling on the threshold of every  
thing we undertake, alone,- Dis-  
satisfaction with what is,- and  
Restless yearnings for what is not,  
Cravings after a world of wonders,  
which is, but is like the charriots  
& horses of fire, (which Elisha's  
frightened servant could not see,  
till his eyes were opened). the  
stage of actual life gets so  
filled with these, that we are

**f127v**

almost pushed off the boards, &  
are conscious of only just holding  
on to the foot-lights by our chins.  
yet even in that very inconvenient  
position love still precedes joy.  
as in St. Paul's list,- for love,  
laying to sleep these phantoms  
(by assuring us of a love so great  
that we may lay aside all care  
for our own happiness, not because  
it is of no consequence to us, whether  
we are happy or nor, as Carlyle  
says, but because it is of so much  
consequence to another,) gives that  
leisure frame to our mind, which  
opens it at once to joy. I have  
so much to say about her marriage,  
but I am writing before breakfast,

**f128r**

& I must stop. Tell Ju, with my love, that I will write, & that she may be very glad to hear of Mrs. Plunkett's confinement, as they were very anxious about her. & that it is a little girl, which is very inconvenient, as the family were very anxious for her "to do" the heir but when Ju has lived as long in the world as I have, she will be more surprised at getting anything that she wants than at not getting all that she wants. We had a charming visit at the dear old Tollets; & one at the Archer Clives, of which I shall have much to tell you, when we meet.

**f128v**

Mama & Parthe came back yesterday from Rempston, where they went for a farewell visit. poor Ly. Sitwell very low about him. they have not made up their minds where they spend the winter yet. Aunt Evans is well, & always asking after all of you. I ought to have sent you the enclosed charming letter ten days ago, but as you had heard from the Macintoshes, I have always delayed till I could write myself. Please return it. best love to my dear Fan. & to Miss Becker & to your mum & all & all. Scotland is entirely blown over for us, I am happy to say. Farewell, an enforced farewell. thine now as ever

**f129** envelope addressed to Miss Bonham Carter. (No post-mark. Looks like an enclosure, returning a letter Hilary had leant her)

**f129v**, written inside flap of envelope, pencil.

Dearest  
1000 thanks for  
this which I have read  
many times.

Letter, ff130-31, pen archivist's date: 1847 [1:444-45]

**f130r**

Embley. Oct 20

My dearest, you will not be more surprised, than I am to hear that I am going to Rome with Mrs. Bracebridge & Mr. for three months. and going next Tuesday. Poor old me, who certainly never expected nor intended to leave England again. It's very disgusting, isn't it? When I flattered myself that I couldn't be spared. But hopes presumptuous fade & fall. I have great satisfaction in reflecting that some things will go to the bad while I am away. I make no apology for uttering this sentiment, having always observed that selfishness here is in infinitely better odour than

**f130v**

want of judgment. & that, see the Popular Dictionary, ~~to have~~ the last accomplishment of the unfolding angel, self-forgetfulness, is synonymous with folly in our dialect. Why do I go? - ~~But~~ All my friends think it such a fine thing for me to see Rome, - & three month's communion with my Ithuriel truly are not to be despised. & Pius IX's toe is worth kissing. & all that I want to do in life depends upon my health, which I am told a winter in Rome will "establish for ever."

A.P.F I go.

I have put out Faust, Guizot, Vico & Euclid for thee. to go by Mrs. Empson. I should like to have accomplished my visit to you first, but it is impossible.

**f131r**

Write me thy commands for  
Rome & Pius IX.

I had just taken lessons of a  
Pio nono of a Nottingham  
Infant Schools master, which  
will, alas! be thrown away now.  
The commercial spirit of great  
Britain is strong in me.

It was all settled only today,  
so that I must be thine ever  
tho' in haste & bustle. FN

Best love to Miss Becker, Fan,  
Aunt Joanne, all.

I send the letter which thou  
didst want to copy.

I had a nocturnal walk with  
Adam the night before we left  
L.H. & gave him thy greetings.  
They were very glad to see him  
at home.

[end 1:445]

I like your Mrs. Westcott more  
& more, & have practised there  
a little. She is firm, as thou sayest

**f131v**

I hope that dear Fan is getting  
better. & Aunt Joanna. Write  
to me sometimes at Rome, my  
dear, as well as here. [1:445]

I am so glad that Jack is gone  
to Ireland.

Keep the enclosed for me till  
I return in January or Feb.

& thousand thanks for all  
thy kind offers of conveyances.

Won't some of you come & see  
my poor solitary lark while I  
am away?

I am very sorry that her  
officiating vergership & my  
Pontifical Visitation should  
have happened exactly the  
same year. the parent birds  
will be quite alone for a little.

We go by sea from Marseille to  
Civita Vecchia - if I can see Miss  
Birdie? ~~at~~ they do sleep at Genoa  
(the boats) & at Leghorn! then I can  
make the Ferrucis come over there. Is

Add Mss 45793

566

Mrs. Mohl/-Clarke returned to Paris? We stay there  
.. . 2 days

Letter, ff132-33r, pen archivist's date: Oct 22 1847

**f132r**

Dearest, very dearest, you  
have the power of *divination*  
in your sympathy. & I thank  
God for His friend

I think I must spend  
these few days alone with  
my poor lark. but what  
I would propose is this.

We embark on Tuesday  
at Southton 11 P.M.  
*could* you come over  
there, drink tea with

**f132v**

us somewhere, & GO BACK  
with my people, (who  
take me to Southton &  
*sleep* there,) & *spend* a  
*few days* with them,  
when I am gone. &  
they will compass your  
getting home

Do not say yea, if  
it is inconvenient, but  
I should like this *dearly*.

**f133r**

Thou art a true angel  
of consolation.

thine ever ever

Best love & thanks to  
dear Fan.

Friday morn.

My people will write  
*where* to meet us at  
Southton, if thou dost  
consent. I believe the good  
Giffards are to harbour them

*at night*

*after* I am gone, on they drive home.

Letter, ff134-35, pen.

**f134r** archivist's date: c. 1846-1847

I will write to Miss Becker  
thank her much.  
Dearest heart many thanks [1:440-41]  
for all thy information, rich and  
rare. my young people  
are so dazel'd with the  
pomps & vanities of the world,  
the wild beasts of that  
Evil Forest, whose very  
Robbins are birds of prey,  
that they stay over the ball -  
& me & my children must  
spend another long day in a lovely  
bunny pie, for love of the  
contents thereof shot by Uncle Oc  
& Willy. B. & I walked into  
Herder this morning, & then on  
to Romsey, to provide ourselves  
with pocket-books to record  
the "great thoughts" in. I am [end 1:440]

**f134v**

very sorry to hear the enclosed,  
which do not read all aloud,  
because of the part about MN.

The little Reeve has got the  
Scarletina, which makes Helen  
a prisoner. I will send thee  
the £5. & wait with hope &  
patience for thy news.

The Umgang with children is [1:441]  
very sweet. there is not that  
perpetual strain of appearing  
what we are not. it is very  
purifying too. because one is so  
quite sure that all one does  
with them is single hearted.  
for they do not appreciate one's  
"poetry", one's "learning", one's  
"singular good sense", one's  
"vast research", but think



**f135r**

we were born so,- they never  
say how good, or how clever,-  
but take all or nothing as making or  
not making impression upon  
them. But they are singular  
good judges of *character*. &  
nothing which is not single-  
hearted does make impression  
upon them.

With what pleasure too I  
lay aside the reins with Shore,  
there never was any one less  
fitted to manage & drive than  
"me". I drove him sometimes  
too hard, always fearing that  
I did not drive hard enough.

But now he is old enough  
not to be driven any more,

**f136r**

but to drive me. He must  
come to me now & ask me to  
help him (for which I would  
read law ~~for~~, my morning star,  
if thou wert to put on a  
chancery wig) not *me* whip  
*him* to his Dictionary any  
more. And I do exchange  
my office with such joy. There  
is much about him that makes  
me more hopeful. I think his  
religious thoughts are strengthen-  
ing into feelings, & that growing  
older, instead of making him  
more "sauvage" in intimate intercourse as I expected,  
is making him more affectionate  
& more holy. But I must go,  
(not however because I think that thou  
wilt reject this) thine how much thine  
canst thou read this? FN

Incomplete letter, f136, pen. archivist's date: 1848 or 49

**f136r**

May 22

Dearest & helpfullest  
friend. without whom  
I never should have  
got off that day.  
I had such a nice  
talk that even with  
your dear mum &  
another the next  
morn at 6 o'clock  
with Becker - how  
shall I ever see her

**f136v**

again? There is to me  
such a strength &  
depth of response in  
her. This is  
first to thank thee  
for all thy help.  
& (I was so ashamed  
of being fetched &  
carried to & fro  
Woking by thy dear  
Mum). & so glad to  
see her - 2ndly to say

Letter, ff137-47, pen. arch's date: Athens May 18 1850 [7:398-405]

**f137r**

We walked to the Prison of Socrates about which there can be no doubt. There are now only three chambers in the rock. of which the middle one is much the smallest & ~~the~~ is said to have served for laying out the bodies of executed criminals the right hand one has a circular opening to the air above, which evidently was meant to be its only entrance. It is now the place where sheep take their siesta. These must have been the dungeons to a prison, which probably extended in front of the rock. A harmless field of grass now occupies the place. The view is splendid, glorious, touching - the Theseium far below, the Areiopagus rising on one side, the gay & proud Acropolis in front. It seems as if the three elements of Grecian life were all before one - the triumph-

**f137v**

ant free republic, whose  
Acropolis tosses her swelling mane  
like the war horse of her own  
Neptune - & laughs at the idea  
of any power bringing *her* low.  
that little fiery Acropolis, whose  
pretensions are so impertinent  
& so just.        the grave grey  
Areopagus, with its simple  
flight of rocky steps, & its  
chasm in the rock, a pool of  
deep dark water the only altar,  
this was the temple of the  
Eumenides. Those were days,  
I grant you, when the highest  
tribunal in the land sate  
on a bare rock - by night,  
that they might not see the  
faces of the accused in the  
open air, - when there was  
no need of curly wigs & ~~long~~ scarlet  
gowns to symbolize their dignity  
but under the sanction of the  
Eumenides they sat & judged

**f138r**

the land. By the bye, what a beautiful name that was for the Furies, the good meaning people say it was given them out of fear, to conciliate them. I no more believe it than I believe that God was called good, out of fear. The Greeks, with their fine perceptions, knew that punishment, or consequence, was well-meaning - *they* never distinguished, as we do, between heaven & hell, never made that absurd distinction of qualities in God, his justice & his mercy - they knew that his justice *is* his goodness - that consequences are the inevitable & perhaps the most beautiful result of that goodness. & that hell is the straightest, the only road to heaven.

The gay Acropolis & the grey rock of the Areopagus

**f138v**

fill up the front of the [illeg] [Juctus?]  
from the Prison of Socrates  
& below, in great contrast to  
both, lies the deep, deep calm,  
the profound repose of the  
Temple of Theseus, under  
whose portico you may fancy  
the deepest meditation, the  
highest philosophy walking  
undisturbed. Did Plato  
when he stood where we were  
standing ever forgive his country  
for murdering his master -  
did he hurry away to Aegypt  
because he could not bear  
the beautiful land which  
was the executioner of her  
greatest son. *all* punishment  
by death is infanticide, but  
what shall we call the  
mother, who executes such a  
~~coun~~ son as that? did he see  
again his beloved Ilyssus, his  
master's plane tree, with a  
shudder, & feel that nothing  
but the duty of converting his  
own people, could ever have  
brought him back to them, from a  
country, which treated *her* great men so differently.

**f139r**

[2]

One day I took a little saunter  
by myself along the banks of the  
Ilyssus to try & fix the place  
of the plane tree. I got down  
into its bed & walked along  
till I could get no further for  
it is now pretty full. then a  
good natured Pallikar helped  
me up the wall into his garden,  
& put me on my road that way  
for that horrid Dss of Plaisance  
has so walled up the Ilyssus  
that one cannot get down every  
where. The ruins of Diana  
Agrotera on the further bank  
are still there - opposite this  
must have been Plato's temple  
of Boreas, & two or three  
stadia higher up the fountain  
of the Phaedrus & the plane  
tree. nothing but a willow  
grows there now - but the  
ground was covered with Agnus  
Cactus, wild poppies & sweet  
smelling thyme - bulrushes in  
the stream - & what was my

**f139v**

delight when I found growing  
out of the rock an infant  
platane, & under its shade  
a well & the maiden hair  
hanging over it. That is a  
slip of Plato's own plane tree,  
I said - & broke off a branch.

As I walked back to the  
town, with the Acropolis full  
in view, a point where you can  
see through the door of the  
Aristho domus of the Parthenon  
& particularly beautiful on that  
account. Jupiter Olympius on  
his splendid Peribolus below.  
the Theatre & cave of Dionysus -  
& the blue, blue sea beyond.  
(it might have been the place  
from which Demosthenes could  
have pointed to Προπώλαια Ταύτια

Παρθεν ν το α Νεώγοκοιι I  
said to myself what was the  
secret, the inspiring life of  
this, - of this tiny speck of land  
producing such great things.



**f140r**

(Standing up against brute force,  
while nurturing the very spirit  
of philosophy) - of her Aeschylus  
repelling the B α of Persia at  
Marathon - & contemplating that  
B α calmly in his Prometheus -  
of that matchless union of the  
active & contemplative life -  
her Sophocles commanding in the  
field & the portico, for you may  
truly say that his ethical dramas  
were the sermons of the day.  
It was not the belief in God  
but the belief in *man*, which  
produced these things. I confess  
that their temples never  
give me the idea of places  
of worship, altho' I know  
E. feels differently - they never  
remind me of God, nor of  
religion, in the sense in which  
we understand religion. "I  
believe in man" ~~was~~ were the first  
words of their creed - we have

**f140v**

felt the want of this belief  
So necessary to doing any thing  
great - (as Plato felt the want  
of ours) & have supplied it  
by our second clause, ~~I believe~~  
"in Jesus Christ" - for what is  
that but the belief in man -  
though we have since perverted  
it & said the Spirit of God  
in man is not able to per-  
form such great things - it  
must have been a God Himself. But  
that is nothing to the purpose.  
It was the belief in man's power  
in his capability for everything  
that ~~was~~ is Great - it was  
the raising of the standard of  
an Ideal Perfect Goodness,  
which made Greece what she  
was, which built Athens -  
which moulded the Apollo &  
the Jupiter Capitolinus. Jupiter  
Olympius, I should call him,  
for I never look at those  
matchless columns, without

**f141r** [3]

placing him in them. I did  
not think it possible to like the  
Corinthian till I saw them - the  
harmony, the balance, so that  
you cannot remark upon one  
quality rather than another, is  
so like that wonderful head.  
Still I do think it much  
more difficult to think oneself  
into the Greek mind than  
the Egyptian - while I sit in  
the cave of Dionysus, above my  
head the columns which bore  
the successful tripods consecrated  
to him - below my feet, the  
Theatre, which itself was the worship  
of him - in the midst of which  
was his altar, - how incomprehen-  
sible to the northern mind  
is this religion, which constituted  
worship to be the exercise of  
some faculty artistic or purely  
mental. We have decreed wor-

**f141v**

ship to be the exercise of one  
faculty only - I can quite under-  
stand the narrowness of this  
definition - but the other is  
unattainable I believe by the  
unartistic mind. Who was  
this Dionysus, who was thus  
worshipped? He seems to have  
been the idealization of the power  
of nature, both in man & things -  
while Athena was purely  
ethical - the ideal of the Ethic  
powers in man. The worshippers  
of Dionysus or Nature desired to suffer, to  
die, to be born again with him,  
to identify themselves with his  
struggles. so arose, in the winter  
worship, the mournful passion-  
ate Dithyramb, - in the summer  
festivals, the joyous sportive one.  
(out of these two, tragedy & comedy)  
So arose the transforming them-  
selves into Paris, Nymphs, Satyrs,

**f142r**

the fantastic powers by whom the God was surrounded, & by which he was supposed to pass off into nature, to communicate himself to vegetation. they were the intermediate links, as it were. the Greeks seem to have been animated by an artistic desire, inconceivable to us. to understand the feelings of all things, to put themselves into connexion with all nature - to escape from themselves into a mysterious outward world. When the nation grew older, when Aeschylus & Sophocles arose, tragedy put on what I must think a higher form - still I can see what they were about when they *worshipped* in the *Theatre*. Among the Dorians, whose God was Apollo, the Ethic Appolo - as ethics are immoveable and

**f142v**

subject to regulation. as they are in fact law, their lyric poetry never wandered into dramatic, but remained measured & regulated.

On May Day, our 13th of May, the whole city, even the soldiers, went out a Maying - & we too went to the Academy & Colonus. We sat down under the cypresses in a garden - where is the little chapel of S. Nicolas, which was certainly the Altar to Neptune of the Academy - for all the Neptune's have become S. Nicolas, who is the patron of the sea - a few little fragments of bas reliefs lay about - this was the place ~~of~~ where Plato walked. in general, it is singularly favourable to meditation from there being nothing to call one's attention away - but from one spot there is a glorious view of Theseium & Acropolis - every olive tree &

Add Mss 45793

581

every orange tree is burnt to death

**f143r**

Then we went up the little hill  
of Colonus. an ugly monument  
to Müller, who also burnt himself  
to death by a coup de soleil, now  
stands upon the emplacement  
of the Temple & grove of the  
Eumenides, where the blind  
Oedipus sate, when he came with  
Antigone, I must not say in  
sight of Athens, but to seek refuge on  
Theseus' soil - where his mys-  
terious death & burial most  
likely took place. & where Sophocles  
his historian, was born. A storm  
of wind & rain drove us into  
the little chapel of S. Eleousa,  
who by her name is probably  
the successor of the Eumenides,  
the "compassionate" - the "merciful".  
I like that idea so much. &  
I like the Greek doctrine of  
invariable fate, when I read  
the story of Oedipus, so much  
better than ours of special

**f143v**

providences - it is so much  
worthier an idea of God, in  
whom is no variableness neither  
shadow of turning

On Sunday just as I was  
listening to Elizabeth of Crete,  
who lives now with Mr & Mrs  
Hill, giving a lesson to Lambros,  
a shepherd boy from Karà,  
who has been trained by Mrs.  
Hill into an accomplished  
butler in five months - and  
Caterina, who is maid of all  
work here. Mrs. Hill came in  
& told us to go out & look at  
an Athenian wedding. Elizabet  
& I went out, & found the  
bride, such a lovely bride, &  
one of Mrs. Hill's pupils  
(exactly like Leo. da Vinci's  
Giaconda) just arrived at  
her husband's house. They  
were showering rosewater  
& spoiling her beautiful green

Add Mss 45793

583

velvet jacket - before the house

**f144r**

was scattered rice, to shew that she was to live till she became as white as that rice. The bride sate upon the sofa, her beautiful fair hair rolled in waves round her neck & covered with the Fez - her own family sate round her - & the family of the bride groom were handing sweet meats. she never raised her eyes - on the bed lay the dowry & the bridal crowns - the heat & crowd was intense, but they made way for us - & gave us sweetmeats. but the sight of the melancholy bride spoiled it all. She was exquisitely dressed with a white handkerchief, adorned with pearls, & long white sleeves, a little Fornarina jacket. She was only 17, & I never saw a lovelier creature.



**f144v**

Once again we have been to  
Karà & rode home a beautiful  
way with the sun setting "along  
Morea's hills" & the view of Athens  
which I think loveliest of all.  
It is where, mounting a ridge,  
you have the rock of the Acropolis  
without the town - & the three  
hills of Lycabetus, the Acropolis &  
the Musaeum seem calling to one  
another. It certainly is a most  
remarkable situation - it is *not*  
a valley, tho' it has all the  
beauties of one - & it *is* a plain,  
tho' it has none of the ugliness  
of one - but curious isolated rocky hills  
rise from it in every direction -  
& loving mountains circle it round.

Twice we have been up to the  
Acropolis. through the Propylaea  
with its singular mixture of  
Doric columns in the first &  
last row. & Ionic columns  
between - through its five doors  
& up the slope to the Parthenon.  
There is a spot in the Propylaea  
where the Parthenon looks quite  
perfect - as the day it was built

**f145r**

the environs being hid by  
a column. The little temple  
(Ionic) of the wingless Victory is  
now quite uncovered. & the  
wingless victory herself taking off  
her sandal, of Praxiteles' School,  
is & always has been, I suppose,  
the image of perfect grace to every  
one's mind who has ever seen it.  
For a little temple like that  
of Victory the Ionic is very pretty,  
but the Erechtheium falls short  
to my mind (& between ourselves)  
because it is Ionic on too large  
a scale. There never will be  
anything like the old Doric - in  
its severity, its simplicity, its  
perfect proportions, its solidity  
& yet its grace, it is the image  
of the perfect republic, Plato's  
republic - only a republican  
could have conceived it & it is  
sin for any other government  
to imitate it. Look at each  
man, I mean

**f145v**

column rearing its noble head,  
yet none has a separate face -  
each man stands upon the  
common base of his country.  
Look at the simplicity of the  
fluting - of the capital - no  
man thinks of his own adorn-  
ment. but only of the glory  
of the whole. the fluting does  
not look like ~~the~~ its ornament,  
but ~~the~~ its drapery ~~of the man~~.  
I do love the old Doric, as  
if it was a person. Then comes  
the Ionic, light & elegant &  
airy it is true, like the Attic  
wit - but somewhat luscious  
to the taste - it soon palls -  
the fluting is too laboured,  
too semicircular, like the  
people sitting in a semicircle  
to hear Aristophanes' wit, it  
does not look as if it *belonged*  
to the column - & that ridge  
between the flutes - what is it

**f146r**

doing there? it looks like the interval while the next interlocutor is thinking of a repartee - then that rich beading round the base, like one of the Euripides' clever choruses which have nothing to do with the piece.

Give me the Ionic to amuse me,  
but the Doric to interest me.  
Then go still farther down to the Corinthian - which is like the worship of Dionysus - like the illustration of nature by art, a bad conjunction, I think - which in any other hands would become art run mad, but, modified by the exquisite artistic perceptions of the Greeks is infinitely beautiful - but it is not architecture - The Doric, the Ionic & the Corinthian are the ethical, the poetical & the aesthetic views of life. But look at the workmanship of these things - how mathematically exact - it

**f146v**

is the very poetry of number.  
I always count the flutes for  
fun - always a multiple of  
four - the severe Doric twenty,  
the more finikin Ionic and  
Corinthian twenty four - but  
the ignorant eye, like mine, is  
~~so~~ satisfied, without knowing  
why. The Ionic ought to be  
always consecrated to Apollo,  
(or Athena, also the deification  
of the ethical quality, but  
more of *practical* wisdom,-  
while Apollo, I should fancy  
is more the ideal of *poetical*  
wisdom). The Athenians were  
so eminently practical - it  
was their *Athena δα μὲν* which  
slew the Persians, which formed  
~~raised~~ their art. Even  
Aeschylus was practical.  
How unpractical, on the other  
hand, were the Egyptians -  
never tell me that their ideal

**f147r**

was not higher than the Greek,  
but they knew not how to put  
it into form. The Corinthian  
ought always to be dedicated  
to Dionysus (Bacchus is only  
an epithet & a later one. I  
hate to call him Bacchus)  
how good the history of his  
birth is. how mankind, typi-  
fied by Semele, wished to see  
the glory of God - while God must  
teach them that He is  
only to be known by His works,  
by nature. & so the offspring  
of that revelation was Dionysos;  
while the submission to this law  
must always be effected by  
suffering, disappointment & destruction, like Semele's -  
each man, like Semele, in his youth, struggles  
to be inspired - would fain  
be above law - But Hermes  
takes in hand the orphaned  
Dionysos. Hermes, the person-  
ification of the intercourse of God

**f147v**

with man - & teaches him in  
course of time all things useful.  
As for the Ionic, it should be  
dedicated to that somewhat  
finikin but estimable Aphro-  
dite.

My parents have shewn a  
very laudable economy as to  
stationery in my respect. I  
hope, my dear, you remember  
you are to write to Vienna after  
this - as we shall not be  
here after the end of May.

Athens. May 18.

[end 7:405]

Letter, ff148-49, pen. (archivist's date: 1852)

**f148r**

Hawes, the name - Jan 21  
yours ever, my own  
dearest.

My dearest,

I have written to Mr.  
Bracebridge to send you  
the Lannceston letters.

I see with pleasure that  
Jack is to second the address.  
But the hour of the Whigs  
is struck, my dear.  
the conies are a feeble  
people, a "feeble &  
accomplished" race.

Dr. Johnson has had many  
cases like poor Mrs. Hopkins,  
& where it has been  
"congestion of the Brain,

[6:625]

**f148r**

water cure has been of  
great use. He asked her  
age. I said "42 or 44.  
I thought." He said, "a  
bad age - at that  
crisis of life long standing  
disease often ends in  
confirmed Insanity."  
But that opinion is, of  
course, private. The  
eldest son, Dr. Walter  
Johnson, has peculiarly  
turned his attention to  
the nervous diseases  
of women.

[end 6:625]

**f149r**

I got some luscious statistics  
as to the Quakers, the insane  
people by pre-eminence,  
owing to intermarriage (by  
Statutes of Society). there is  
hardly a family without  
insanity.

Be mild to the poor  
Yankee. You know, of  
the whole States population  
(white), *more than one half*  
are Celts, Irish & others.  
The race-ists are seriously  
uneasy lest the American  
people shd entirely deteriorate  
in consequence.

**f149v**

We go, I am sorry to  
say, tomorrow to  
Lea Hurst - sleeping at  
Birmingham to hear G.  
Dawson, who alas, is not  
there. We vow & swear  
to come back here in a  
fortnight, which I have  
a rational trust we shall.

Do you remember the  
epileptic Thomson at  
Katholic Kit's - he's dead  
in a fit, choked in the yard.

There is the most *shameless*  
book out. "The Female Jesuits".  
That rational people can believe  
such things!!

The Eye fountain is *Hawes*, (Fen-  
church St, I think) but I am sure it is  
[concludes at top of f148r]



Fragment of a letter, f150, pen top part missing. arch: 1852?

**f150r**

I have been down to Clewer (the Penitentiary) for some days - a fancy place. where, if you get husbands for the Sisters & send the money & the Penitents to Kaiserswerth, things could go on much better.

You were a very dear child to write. But I hope you don't interrupt your séances with that angelic Socialist.

When you come back, you will tell me all about Comte. I shall not write my incubrations now, for fear you should think of answering them.

It is bitter cold here.

Give my very best love to dear Clarkey & thanks to her for making you so happy. ever thine

30 Old Burlington. March 20.

Fliedner has been dying & is recovering - it takes a great deal to kill those men.

f150v [top of page missing]

much better go to California.

One word in answer to your letter. Mama had never seen

Fragment of a letter, f151r, pen archivist's date: 1852

**f151r**

up. We cou [rest of line cut off] everything then. I should like you so VERY [triple underline] much to go to Paris that, if you could go, just for as long as you can, *that* would be a reason, for me otherwise I am hardly ready to go with the 'Stirlings - for Aunt Mai won't stay here by herself - so I shd be more *natural* to wait for Ly A Bruce - ever thine  
many many thanks

Typed copy of letter by Hilary BC to FN, f152r. archivist's date: August 1852?

**f152r**

Dearest I am so thankful to hear that you are going to Paris that I must express my joy and gratitude in a little ode.

I hope I shall see you before you go. A blessing on Mme Mohl.

She has been good enough to ask me. I have not even ventured to propound it to Mama - but shall, when she comes to town to-morrow - and will you meanwhile, if you are writing, give Mme Mohl my best love and thanks, and tell her this.

Meanwhile, my dear, I am so rejoiced that thou art going. Danger, you know, is really a farce.

I am at Victoria Sq. for the present. Papa at the Admiralty, - (quite a resurrection) -

When you come to town, please let me know.

Ever yours,

my own dearest

3 Victoria Sq.

Wednesday - 18th.

Incomplete letter, ff153-54, pen. archivist's date: March 25 1853

**f153r**

Tapton. Good Friday

My dearest will be glad to hear that our dear sufferer's agonies are over. & she is at rest. She died this morning about 8 o'clock. it seemed as if she waited for this holy day to be at rest. for the sufferings of this last week have been so appalling that we never thought she could live 10 minutes. Night nor day have her cries ever ceased. for 7 days no drop even of water has passed her lips & the restlessness has been something awful. while it required three persons to get her in & out of bed. I shall never be thankful enough that I came. I was able to make her be changed & other little things which perhaps smoothed the awful passage, which perhaps would not have been done as well without me. She was conscious to the last. But these things will be as well told when

**f153v**

you come home, & your head will  
be full of other interests.

Thanks, dearest, for your note-  
lein & for the news of my lost  
pencil. The whole of the town of  
Boulogne was under arrest for  
my lost cuff, but is now released,  
it having been discovered in *London*.  
The snow here lies on the ground,  
& it has been snowing all day.

But first, dearest, say a  
great deal for me to Madame  
Mohl & also to Mr. Mohl. I did  
not say half what I felt when  
I went away - the fact is, I  
thought I should be coming back  
so soon. This, dearest, now  
fades into the distance - but I [1:446]  
am able to give but a very  
confused account of what has  
passed, having been so much  
occupied, as you will believe, &  
indeed hardly having had my  
clothes off for 6 nights. the fact  
is that the Canning thing has  
been on - then off again - & why  
do you think? thro' Marianne's  
tongue. I am loth to write this

**f154r**

in the shadow of the awful calm  
up-stairs & in the light of her  
own sacred baby. But it came  
into the wise head of one of the  
geniuses of the Committee to consult  
her, as my cousin, & *she* could not  
resist the making a good story,  
(I hardly know what). But the  
Committee wrote to me that they  
were off, because *she* said it  
was cruel to take me from my  
family. Then Mrs. Herbert &  
some others were furious, & made  
me write a letter to the Committee,  
saying that I should submit it  
to my family, & in short the  
sapient Committee is on again.  
& I have hardly any heart left  
for it, & if my family like to  
refuse it for me, why, they are wel-  
come. Part of the Committee's  
terms are that I shall come in  
*directly* (& not go back to Paris  
at all), even into the old  
house, as they are at their  
wits ' end. I don't know how it  
will turn out. except that  
I am to go up to town as soon  
after the funeral as possible, &  
talk to the Committee, & meet my people

**f154v**

in town. I am weary, very weary  
& don't much care for it & am loth  
to give up my S. Vincent de Pauls.  
The reason why I tell you this long  
story, my dearest (there is no  
secret about it any more, M.G.  
having made a joke of it every  
where, NOT *Laura*, bless her!)  
is to explain to Mme Mohl that,  
if I do not come back, it is not  
my fault, nor do I the less bless  
her for her kindness, & hope to  
profit by it some future year  
& wish to keep up that Koh-  
i-noor Guillot, whom to see I  
think I must just come back.  
I shall, *at all events*, only make  
a short engagement with the  
Sanatorium patients or im-pa-  
tients, & say I mean to go back  
to Paris some time to fulfil an  
engagement.

**[end 1:446]**

Thanks for my letters, dearest,  
don't burn Aunt Mai's, but put  
them in my box for me, & send  
me back any others by post. but  
I don't suppose there are any.  
Please stamp & cover & put the two  
enclosed in the post (directing them. you will  
find the direction *in* them.) Please keep

Letter, **f155**, pen. written on reverse of a note in another hand

M. Panizzi was at ye Belpers (in great hopefulness & gladness) **[7:324]**  
He said all the news in Times of yesterday is authentic, that the money  
that has been sent out has reached Garibaldi, that they are now preparing  
to send *arms*,  
for the letters acknowledge money & beg for arms  
that he wishes to thank Miss F.N. you very much  
she has been so kind to subscribe. I did wish to thank her  
that the wounded find it good, everything of this is good  
that he thinks the Garibaldi affair must go all right now  
June 10/60

I *quite* agree with the Patriots who  
say, Better give money for arms  
than to heal the holes the arms  
have made. But in this case  
I have already given money  
for the arms, & would, a great  
deal more, if they would but  
encourage me. Perhaps *Panizzi* }  
would apply this. They should  
have all I had, if they would

**f156v**

but ask it.

I believe the words "(for arms)"  
on the cheque are not legal.  
If so, they can be stuck out.

Note, **f157**, pen. [archivist: F.N's list of people to be  
invited to breakfast parties at the  
Burlington during time of Statistical  
Congress - "Norfolk Island" means  
Foreign delegates to congress who  
were staying at 21 & 23 Norfolk Street  
Strand. Miss Hilary Bonham Carter  
presided at these breakfasts.  
F.N saw some of foreign guests  
afterwards.

**f157v** [From here is FN's hand]

Wednesday 1/4 before 9

~~to be asked~~

Quetelet

~~Ch~~ Wilkinson St. Mary's

Spottiswoode

Norfolk Island

Chadwick

Stone

Gibson Cloughs

Thursday 1/4 before 9

to be asked

~~Stone~~ ~~Vigo St~~

Norfolk Island

Farr

Friday 1/4 before 9

to be asked

~~Clapton~~

Norfolk Island

Saturday 1/4 before 9

**f158r** [ / signifies a tick]

Monday 1/4 before 10

asked

~~Sir Ranald Martin~~

/ Dr. Aitken

~~to be asked~~~~Capt. Galton~~

Norfolk Island

Thursday 1/4 before 9

asked Clough ~~Aitken~~

Sir James Clark

/ Mr. Whitfield

Clapton ~~asked~~ Galton ~~asked~~

/ Sir Ranald Martin

~~Dr Aitken~~~~to be asked~~ ~~Gibson~~ ~~done~~~~done~~ ~~Dr. Parkes~~ ~~O.P.J.~~

Norfolk Island



Note, f159r, pen.

**f159r**

Take care of your  
cream - for your  
breakfast. It is  
quite turned  
Put Dr. Balfour's  
big book back where  
he can see it when  
drinking his tea  
Send me up on of  
my new copies

Note, f160r, pen

**f160r**

Please ask Quetelet  
to fix an hour & day  
(any hour) when he  
would come & see  
me, if he will be  
so good.

I will do this [red]  
Also Varrentrapp [red] ditto  
as he goes on *Saturday* [underlined in red]

Note, f161r, pen.

**f161r**

Ask them ~~all~~ to  
breakfast tomorrow

Let me see Sutherland  
before Chadwick goes.

If Berg can stay now  
till twelve o'clock,  
I will come down  
before that & see him.

If Engel will come  
tomorrow, then ditto  
with him.

If not, let *them* fix the hour.

f162 gives list on 10 persons accepting:

Mr Voght, Mr Kolb, Switz, Chevavlier de Granz, Consulla Austria, Mr  
Chatelain, chef de bureau de Statistique Paris, W. Donnelly, C.B, Registrar  
General of Ireland, W. Alex Redgrave, secy of a section, W. Leone Levi  
ditto, W. Hornidge, head of the Statistical Dept India House, W. Clode, W.  
Hammack

Note relating to dinner plan, f163, pencil.

**f163r**

		.. .	Hornidge
	Saldapesha [?]		
		.. .	Clode
	Anatole Chatelain.. .		Hammack
		.. .	Leone Levi
Swiss			
delegates			
to			
statist. Cong	Vogt	.. .	Redgrave
	Kolb		
Prussia	Engel		
Belgium	Visschers		
11		.. .	Coquerel
{	Balfour		
{	Tulloch		
{	Chadwick		
8 {	Sutherland		
{	AHC		
{	WBC & Douglas		
{	Alf BC		
	-----		
	{Mama		
	{	Blanche	
	6{	Miss C	
	{	B & SS	
	{	ABC	
	{	H	

**f163v**

Harry's dinner

Letter, ff164-67, pen.

**f164r**

These things are come  
& gone to St. Thomas's.

Please say whether  
the bill is right &  
return it to me.

King Lear &  
Highland Home  
were not "prepared  
in oil colour"- as  
there said - but  
were mounted, as  
you said.

I think the "oil  
colour," as done by

**f164v**

their artist,  
detestable - yet  
doubt their  
standing without.

Balaclava  
came unmounted.  
So I have not  
sent it. It is a  
mere imaginary  
sketch & very  
ugly. But as it  
only cost s6, I have  
kept it.

I have told  
Mrs. Wardroper to

**f165r**

send back the Soul  
& the Madonna,  
if they offend my  
weaker brother.

I have just  
re-enacted the  
Crimea on a small  
scale.

Every body did  
their duty. And  
I was drowned.

But so distrustful  
was I of the results

Add Mss 45793

605

of their duty that  
I extorted from Mrs Breach a

**f165v**

weekly Inspection of the Cistern.

I acted myself &  
no one has yet  
been drowned again.

Mr. Breach  
convinced four men  
Sir Harry Verney  
Papa  
Uncle Sam  
Uncle Octavius  
whom I brought under  
weigh that it was  
the frost & he has  
done all that was  
possible.

Then I had up  
Mr. Breach. And  
he admitted at once

**f166r**

that it was nothing  
to do with the frost  
& that what the  
workmen had done  
viz. not altering  
the waste pipe, was  
"rascally".

I said, he came  
off with an excuse.  
And I came off  
with a "severe  
internal congestion".  
vide Williams &  
Medical Certificate.

----

----

I have had a

**f166v**

larger responsibility  
of human lives  
than ever man or  
woman had before.

And I attribute  
my success to this:-  
*I never gave or took  
an excuse.*

Yes, I do see the  
difference now  
between me & other  
men.

When a disaster  
happens, I act &  
they make excuses.

-----  
-----

**f167r**

All these men  
have got nothing  
out of Breach & Hall  
but bad promises.

Now I have got  
something like an  
act out of him.

You never saw a  
poor man so  
"defated". Even I  
was really quite  
sorry for him.

-----

P.S. Mind, I don't  
think your bill dear.  
It is a deal to get  
for £4- only I had

**f167v**

much rather not  
~~get~~ have it, except the  
St. Catherine.

-----  
-----

Letter, ff168-69, pen. Incomplete - bottom 2 thirds of f169 cut off

**f168r**

Jan 22/61

We have had the  
most awful debacle  
here we have had yet.  
Last night or rather  
about 4 o'clock this  
morning - after a  
night of dripping,-  
an immense bang  
of water came upon  
the ceiling of my  
dressing room. The  
whole ceiling is  
saturated & dripping  
from every pore into a wilderness of pans at  
this moment. While  
bags & streams of  
water are coursing down behind  
all that nice new paper

**f168v**

The carpet, quite wet thro' has  
had to be taken up. But that is  
no loss.

Of course the story  
is now: the workmen  
carelessly stuffed up  
the waste pipe with  
rubbish. And of  
course the cistern  
emptied itself on  
my ceiling. *Of course*  
how could it do  
otherwise?

But what I have  
to say is this:  
did you not  
understand that Mr.  
Breach gave his word  
of honor that all  
that water apparatus  
had been removed?  
I never should have



**f169r**

come back without.

They say today  
(as they did all last  
year) that it won't  
happen again. Why  
should it not?

It is much worse  
[rest of page cut off]

f169v

Mr. Breach today.

But I am going to  
move down stairs today.

I am quite tired  
of Mr. Breach, as  
well as of Hall.

I have never seen  
[rest of page cut off]

**f170** stamped envelope to Miss Bonham Carter postmark London W. Ja 30 year,  
Malvern Ja 31 [year illeg]

Letter, ff171-72r, pen.

**f171r** archivist's date: 1861

Decr      Friday  
Dearest I send  
you the reply to  
Mrs. Wardroper.  
But I send it  
open, because I  
may not have  
given a faithful  
account of ---Agnes  
Taylor's communication  
with Miss Jones,  
as you hear it  
from her. I don't  
like the look of the  
thing.

**f171v**

You cannot think  
that I could consent  
to your coming &  
wasting all your  
afternoons here,  
when, *never* except  
by previous *concert*,  
can I see you in  
the afternoon. Indeed  
it is a great  
aggravation to me  
to hear of your  
writing letters  
downstairs, as  
I do continually.

**f172r**

If you must spend  
your life in letter  
writing, let it not  
be here. The utmost  
that I could think  
right to require  
is that you come  
once a week, if  
you will be so  
good. & *that*  
always by previous  
concert. But  
never that you  
come in to "enquire",  
when it just only  
upsets me.

ever yours F.

Letter, f173, pen black-edged stationery

**f173r**

Dearest I think  
Miss Jones ought to  
be apprised of what  
we now know of  
Mrs. Agnes Taylor.  
I therefore send  
you all the documents  
to tell her.

Would you write  
a code of Instructions  
for black Pussy  
to Dr. Williams, as  
you did for the  
Colonel. & send it  
to me by Bearer

**f173v**

I must send it (the cat)  
today as ~~when~~ it is  
to be called for here.

Yours ever

F

Dec 23/61

Letter, f174r, pen. black-edged stationery [1:447]

**f174r**

London January  
1862

Dearest Hilary

I have left you  
£1000 in the  
earnest hope that,  
though not in  
possession, it may  
enable you, at  
some present sacrifice,  
to provide yourself  
with an Atelier or  
other means of  
pursuing your art.  
ever yours F. Nightingale

Letter, ff176-77r, pen black-edged stationery, with black-edged envelope

**f176r**

9 C St W

June 28/62

Dearest Be sure you  
tell Blanch how *very*  
much obliged I am  
to her for thinking  
of me in connection  
with ~~seeing~~ my  
pleasure in seeing  
the children. I am  
so driven just now.  
I am afraid to  
think of it. I have  
had such dreadful  
spasmodic nights  
that I have been

**f176v**

almost unable to  
get thro' the business  
which *must* be  
done & have put  
off everything I  
could put off.

I was not able  
even to think of  
seeing the Herbert  
children when they  
passed thro' town,  
tho' of course they are  
not so dear to me  
as these. And therefore  
the more pain in  
refusing these. But

**f177r**

I hope it will not  
be for long. I expect  
& hope that I may have  
other opportunities  
ever yours

F.N.

I am very glad to  
be asked. Don't  
think the contrary.  
I had rather be  
offered (& even refuse  
the opportunity)  
than feel I had  
no share in them,  
in *him*. "I have  
*more need of blessing*"

f178 envelope to Miss Bonham Carter FN not stamped or postmarked, black-edged

f179 notes not in FN hand. Undated Dr Dulz's letter sets forth his concern that the "all honoured" lady shd be so suffering and his consequent desire to spare her disturbance.

HRH gdd Luise commissioned him in her highest name and on the name of the Badische Frauenverein to thank the high honoured lady for the "guten Rath" out of her writings and her letters wh give info of the progress of the undertaking. Of the hitherto trained sick nurses one is in a hosp in Mannheim, 4 -- Karlsruhe, the others in their native places, practising nursing sick and all spreading better knowledge of treating children.

The intro (re book on the subject) is spread all over the land in 7000 copies.

An intro for the care of wounded is ready in case of war.

At present one is esp occupied to obtain young women of more cultivated class to be educ as "Oberwärterinnen" and to found an inst for infant orphans, up to the age of 6 (when first they can find entrance to other illeg] in connection with wh will be an arr for educ of nursemaids. In contemplation is the foundation of an "insitut" for "weak minded" children . Dr D will make use of his 3 months in London to visit all the most remarkable benevolent insts as much as he can.

He asks an intro to the matron of St Thomas, and commends to me the expression of his sincerest reverence to yr reverence.

I am ever as polite as I can that you are interested and with a note to Mrs Wardroper but

Letter, ff183-85r, pen black-edged stationery

**f183r**

Hampstead NW  
Sept 4/62

My dear,

I presume that  
you are still at the  
old shop, still at  
the old thing, still  
in the old way.

I have been  
waiting for 5 weeks  
to ask you to do  
the following for my  
Indian "Evidence".  
And I think now  
I am doing you a  
benefit by calling for

**[9:117-18]**

**f183v**

it loudly.

I want ~~them~~ it for  
wood-cutting - the less  
picturesque, the  
fewer lines, the less  
~~time~~ laborious therefore ~~they~~  
~~take~~, the better

1. An Indian  
bheestie (or water  
carrier) with his  
skin of water over  
his shoulder

2. An Indian  
scavenger (or sweeper)  
carrying off the  
refuse on his head

**f184r**

or in whatever way  
he does carry it

[These two I presume  
could be found in  
any Indian illustrated  
book]

3. One of the vast  
Indian barrack rooms  
of more than 100  
men, an Interior  
view, with all the  
men lolling on their  
cots, being shut  
up during the hot  
hours - a *day* view

Ludlow Smith, or  
Gen.l Ludlow, or any



**f184v**

Indian would supply  
you with the facts.  
And (I repeat) the  
more *barely* executed,  
the better. Only it must  
be *like*, being *for* Indians.

As all my other  
wood-cuts are done,  
if I cannot have  
these in a few days  
to send to the wood  
cutters, it is of no  
use. And if you  
have no means  
of procuring the  
requisite Indian

**f185r**

information, please  
tell me; & I will  
try elsewhere.

I do think this  
is a more useful  
thing to do, for you.  
So I make no apology

[end 9:118]

2. Is the walnut-  
wood large portfolio-  
stand (I have)  
belonging to the  
Burlington? I never  
knew it, have never  
returned it, nor paid  
for it, nor nothing. F.N.

Letter, f186-87, pen. archivist's date: Sept 5 - 6 1862 black-edged stationery

**f186r**

I have been here 5 weeks  
& have not been up to sit  
up once - (which) I have  
always been able to do before  
nor to go downstairs to sit.

Dearest

I am very sorry  
about poor Mme Mohl.  
Please tell her so &  
please tell her to  
write to me as soon  
as she is better. &  
also that I had a  
great deal more  
to write about "the  
women", but as she  
did not answer &  
as I have scarcely  
been able to write,  
I didn't. And oh

**f186v**

please, dear, go with  
her to Paris.

-----

If you don't:

As for the Indian  
things, I should think  
there was no difficulty  
in finding an old  
Indian, Lothian, (!) or  
Mrs Sutherland's brother,  
as you are "in  
communication" with  
her, to describe to you  
the thing & then  
correct it as to  
likeness. Or do you  
know M. Mohl's Gen.l  
Briggs - & there is  
another too, Crawford,

**f187r**

(?) what is the name?

I wish I had  
written to you 5 weeks  
ago, when Gen.l Ludlow  
was in town. But you  
told me that horrid  
thing was to be done  
every Monday in next  
week. So I waited.

Under the Bheestie  
is to be

"Indian water pipe"-  
under the sweepers

"Indian drain pipe"-  
& under both

"Elevation shewing the  
system of water supply  
& drainage in India"

There were heaps

**f187v**

of these in Lady  
D'Oyly's books at  
Embley. Or surely your  
friend Marian Ellis  
(so intimate with  
the Trevelyans) could  
help you.

Under the barrack  
room full of men on  
their bed in the day-time  
was to be

"means of Instruction  
& Recreation. India  
passim." And they  
light all to be as day  
& like a plan, as possible

I tell you these, in  
order to shew what manner  
of things they ought to be

Letter, ff188-89, pen archivist's date: Sept 6-8 1862

**f188r**

My dear

I am so glad  
you are going  
with Mme Mohl.

I release you  
from the Indian  
wood cuts altogether.  
Because I know  
you will be in  
such a fid, with  
that horrid thing,  
making your  
working hours from

**f188v**

11 till 2 AM.  
tho' for the matter  
of that, it does  
not signify the  
least whether  
Mme Mohl waits  
for it a year,  
a week or a day.  
It will be rather  
the most advanced  
if the latter.

I should be  
sorry if you were  
to leave England

**f189v**

without seeing me.  
But I doubt  
your having time  
to come here--?--

ever yours, F.  
Could you tell me  
whether Johnston  
& James, the  
Sharpers, let us  
Bagley's house  
in Montagu Grove  
- & what house  
it was sent us  
in that nefarious

**f189v**

bill for "dilapidations".  
I am afraid it  
was not they but  
Clowser, for  
Jackson's house  
-?-

Letter, ff190-91 archivist's date: 9 Sep 1862

**f190r**

Dearest

I am very sorry  
about poor Mme Mohl,  
very very sorry not  
to see her, *more sorry*  
*than I can say* that  
you are not going  
with her. Oh why  
why?

The enclosed is my  
continuation of a letter  
of mine to her - which please  
forward to her, if  
~~not~~ gone, as it is  
quite impossible for

**f190r**

me to write it out again  
(and I don't care  
about paying a  
great big postage).  
and, if she would  
return it some day to  
me, I think I could  
make something out  
of it. But, for this,  
it would be necessary  
for me to have these  
16 items back, which,  
tell her, are the  
fruits of *my own*  
experience of women,  
which has been  
larger & more

**f191r**

*practical* than that  
of any woman I know.

I shall never  
forgive you for not  
going to Paris. never

Yes: those conf-d  
Indian things will  
do when you like.

Thursday

Letter, ff192-97r, pen. archivist's date: 16/9/62 [7:333-35]

**f192r**

What do I think about  
Garibaldi? My dear, I  
think it's the fault of  
all your confounded  
strong-minded women.  
& of your Garibaldian  
loan-ers. I think I  
would like to put a  
ball in all their  
thighs & in all their  
ances. And I'd put  
two balls into Mrs.  
[illeg] ancles & two  
into [illeg]  
thighs. I think these

**f192v**

and not Garibaldi  
are the people who  
ought to be tried &  
hung. They are quite  
right to send out  
Partridge. for if G.  
dies, it will be man-  
slaughter they have  
committed. And I  
wish it cost them  
thousands instead  
of hundreds. But  
I shan't give a  
farthing. For I wish  
G. had been in a  
strait waistcoat before  
he did this thing.

**f193r**

It is a case of "temporary  
delirium" as somebody  
has said.

Now don't talk to  
me about "excuses"  
& "allowances". The  
women are fools -  
worse than Joanna  
Southcotes. I don't  
mean that White Mario.  
*She* threw herself into  
it, body & soul, & has  
a perfect right to  
have an opinion of  
her own. I have just  
as little right ~~for~~  
to blame her as she

**f193v**

would have to blame  
me for going to the  
Krim.

But it's these London  
women who, without  
knowing anything at  
all about it, & saving  
their own precious  
carcases, go & peril  
the noblest man in  
Europe, body & soul,  
or rather don't go.

As for Garibaldi -  
there's not a being  
in heaven or earth  
that does not think  
he ~~d~~ stands higher

**f194r**

than ever. But why  
why? how could he?  
how could he? que  
diable allait il faire  
dans cette galère?

No doubt Ratazzi  
is as great a traitor as  
he thinks him. The  
French Emperor will  
be more than ever  
hated in Europe

But why must  
G. play into their  
hands? "Coeur d'or  
vraie tête d'écolier."

For what earthly  
resemblance has this

**f194v**

expedition with the last?

Supposing G. had won,  
& you might just as  
well say, supposing he  
had won the planet  
Jupiter - what would  
have been the result?  
~~the~~ infanticide - the  
murder of his baby  
Italy.

The Garibaldians  
scoffingly say, now  
don't you suppose, *if*  
G. had succeeded, that  
V. Emmanuel would  
have accepted Rome  
from him just as he



**f195v**

did Naples?

Certainly I do.

But "IF" is just the question. How *could* he succeed? If there were some such tacit ~~co~~ understanding between V. Emmanuel & G., why, V.E. has just as much right to complain of G. as G. of him. Nay more; for you may be sure V.E. did not invite him to do this.

If I had failed in the Krim or in the War

**f195v**

Office, should I have had any right to complain of my Govt. who threw me up in the air like a balloon & left it to me to come down on my feet, if I could. Yet *they did* invite me.

No, no, my dear, fair play's a jewel. I hate to hear V. Emmanuel blamed, because G. has been insane.

Oh how could he?  
How could he?

**f196r**

Except Cavour's death,  
no greater misfortune  
has happened to Italy  
than Garibaldi's madness.

How right he has  
proved Cavour to be!

There is an article  
by Maxime du Camp  
(I don't know any thing  
about him) in the  
Revue des Deux Mondes,  
Sept. 1, on Naples, on  
the progress it is making,  
& making for itself,  
in education which, if  
true, only shews one the  
more how mad Garibaldi  
was.

**f196v**

It is said by some  
that he himself is glad  
he has failed. If so,  
he is the greater hero.

I don't believe a  
word of the bitter things  
he is said to have  
written. I think one  
can say of him (as one  
can of Christ,)  
I am *sure* he didn't  
say *that*.

It won't do for  
me to be sentimental,  
with all my great  
men crumbling  
into dust. Or I should

**f197r**

be a perfect Niobe  
But if I were to devise  
a monument for the dead  
Sidney Herbert, I  
would put on it  
*"He is not here"*  
And so I say of the  
living Garibaldi.  
All we have to do is to be  
thankful it F.N.  
is over so soon,  
if it has not already  
strengthened Ratazzi's hands  
too much. [end 7:335]  
Sept 16/62

Send me in your bill  
for Mme Mohl's postage.

Letter, f198, pen. archivist's date: Sept 1862

**f198r**

1. Indian Museum  
Whitehall Yard  
(close to the Chapel)

2. Indian collection  
British Museum

-----  
Dearest

I hail the "beastie,"  
whom I think lovely.  
Take your own time  
about the others.  
Spanish Troops says  
the above places are  
better than the Intern.c  
for seeing specimens

**f198v**

of scavengers, &c. Do you  
think you shall be  
able to do the Barrack  
room?

No, I don't believe the  
least that you are going  
ever to Paris. Mme Mohl  
ought to have told you  
that she couldn't untie  
her bonnet strings without  
you. And then you  
would have gone with her.

Take your own time  
about the Indian  
woodcuts. I don't care.  
ever yours  
F.N.

Letter, ff199-200r, pen. archivist's date: Sept 1862

**f199r**

Dearest Mehter  
is come - as lovely as  
or lovelier than Beastie.  
But representations  
of Noah & his wife,  
as seen in Noah's ark,  
would have suited  
my readers better.  
I fear they will  
take these as a  
panegyric or proof  
of the *excellence* of  
the Indian system of  
water supply & drainage

**f199v**

However I have sent  
them to the wood cutters.

Anything of my  
Barrack room?

Arrivabene says [7:333]  
that he had the greatest  
difficulty in convincing  
Garibaldi in 1860 at  
Naples that Edwin  
James ! was not sent  
expressly by Lord  
Palmerston. And  
Forcade says in 1862  
that altho' the names  
on the London Garibaldi  
committee were names  
no one had ever heard

**f200r**

of before, Garibaldi  
thought they represented  
the English nation  
& even the  
English Government

!! [7:333]

Get me a letter  
from Mrs Clive  
to comfort me.

[Following line written vertically down right hand side of f - bears no  
relation to the letter. VR]

In March 1862, 106 ~~ch~~ su

Letter, f201, pen black-edged stationery

**f201r**

Hi!

It is now in the seventh  
month since you told  
me that that horrid  
thing would be done  
"next Monday". And  
I said, then don't  
trouble yourself with  
me till after "next  
Monday." Since then,  
30 "next Monday"s have  
elapsed. And I have  
not seen you. Suppose  
you come to me from  
Saturday till Monday,  
which is the first

**f201v**

Sunday but one I  
have had alone  
(Miss Jones cannot  
come) Never  
mind the thing  
"drying". Let it dry.

Perhaps I may  
ask the Mitchells  
(~~art~~ printers) to  
dinner. I know  
you must have  
some one's bonnet  
strings to untie  
ever yours

F

Hampstead N.W  
Oct 1/62

Letter, f202r, pen.

**f202r**

Has the wood cutter seized  
the sentiment of the  
artist? Dr. Sutherland  
doubts the head & ear X  
of Bheestie's mussock.  
And I think Mehther  
too spruce & genteel,  
what you call iligant.  
Please return the  
whole here.

F.N.

Oct 2/62

X If you are sure  
of *the ear*, we are  
ready to swear to it.

Letter, ff203-04r, pen black-edged stationery

**f203r**

Oct 30/62

Dearest

When I go to South  
St. I must have a  
rubber. Mama told  
me that Beatrice knew  
of one (but perhaps  
this was a mistake  
for her own maid)  
Perhaps Frances knows  
of one. If not, I  
could get at Dr. Roth  
& ask him for one.

She must be a

**f203v**

professional woman  
(none of your nice  
good unprofessional  
poor people who  
rub holes in one  
which don't heal  
for 3 weeks, as  
has been done to me)  
must rub under my  
directions - say,  
half an hour every  
night at 8 o'clock,  
unless I change the  
hour - must go out  
of the room without

**f204r**

speaking to me. I  
must know her terms.  
I suppose she won't  
come on Sundays. I  
could name 6 1/2 if 8  
is too late.  
ever yours  
F.



Letter, ff205-08, pen black-edged stationery [3:448-49]

**f205r**

Jan 18/63

My dear Hilary

1. Persons have written  
upon this subject (viz.  
Female Charitable Societies)  
who think they can  
qualify themselves in  
one hour to pronounce  
upon that which  
those who have spent  
their lives working in them  
do *not* think themselves  
qualified to write  
about

2. The difficulty

**f205v**

in both Margaret  
Goodman's books is  
not to find what  
is false but to find  
what is true

The praise bestowed  
by ignorant Reviewers  
on the first has  
determined the far  
greater falseness of  
the second. Much  
of which is absolute  
invention (I don't speak about its  
spirit.)

3. The real obstacle  
in the way of Female  
Charitable Organisations

**f206r**

is that women have  
no honour & are not  
expected to have  
any, which is worse.

Here is Margaret  
Goodman, who *invites*  
herself to Miss Sellon's,  
lives on her for years,  
& then writes a book  
about her flannel  
shifts.

~~The logic is,~~ can  
a woman who begins  
by being dishonourable  
in writing at all,  
write what is true?

would Margt. G.'s

**f206v**

Reviewers have thought  
it all right, if I had  
written a book about  
those who served under  
me in the Crimea,  
mentioning them by  
name & in all their  
peccadilloes?

The fact is that  
M.G.'s inaccuracy  
was such, even then  
& when I had not  
the least idea of  
her treachery, that I  
gave some of her  
inaccuracies in my  
"Notes on Nursing" as

**f207r**

types. (anonymous)

4. The whole of the writing on Female Orders has misled the main point, the only point on which their usefulness turns. on which all progress depends.

This is, have they or have they not accepted frankly the cooperation, the collision with secular authority? with a secularly governed Institution?

Miss Sellon has not.  
Miss Jones has.

Pastor Fliedner has not. The Augustinian  
[following line written vertically up left side of f. Continued from bottom of f108v]  
ever yours F. Nightingale

**f207r**

nuns have. So have the Soeurs de Ste Marthe. So has not Bethanien.

Where the Filles de la Charite (S. Vincent) have, they are useful. Where they have not they are useless.

My usefulness in the Crimea depended, not on all the points which people have ignorantly assigned to it. It rested simply on this, that I cooperated with the powers

**f208r**

administrative. I did not  
set up for myself.

Where the reverse  
is the case, where, as at  
Edinburgh & Vienna,  
the Doctors & administra-  
tion have it all their  
own way, matters  
are just as bad as  
where the Orders or  
Societies have it all  
their own way. They never  
improve.

Writers have gone  
astray about the  
R. Catholic element  
& its immobility  
& the Protestant element  
& its progressiveness  
& all that.

There are R. Catholic

**f208v**

Orders far less papistical  
than the strong minded  
women - viz. in this,  
that they can work  
with the secular powers,  
the others can't. There  
are Protestant Doctors who are  
far more Romish in  
their administration  
than nuns.

All usefulness in  
work comes out of  
co-operation of *different*  
elements, & collision too.  
You must have the  
steel & the flint.  
Or you will have no fire.

There is no PROGRESS without.  
[Concludes up left side of f207r]

Letter, ff209-10, pen, black-edged stationery

**f209r**

4. Cleveland Row.

S.W.

May 20/63

Dearie

You could not have  
given *me* a greater  
pleasure than by *your*  
going to Paris (!) I only  
hope you will stay  
longer than a fortnight.

-----

Do you know Dr.  
Shrimpton? If not,  
would you merely take  
this parcel & letter,  
& send it to him -  
if yes, give it him -  
you can roll up the  
parcel, if more

**f209v**

convenient - tho' it is  
better to carry it flat.

It has taken my  
odds & ends of time  
for two years to  
prepare these Forms,  
simple as they look.  
For (at least in England)  
this is the first  
complete list of  
Operations & of  
Complications,  
(curious as this sounds,)  
that has been made.  
I had to appeal to  
every large Hospital in

**f210r**

London to send me  
its own list of  
*complications*: all imperfect.

And the Forms  
had to be sent back to people & revised  
three times, (after  
they had been  
looked over each  
time by our most  
eminent surgeon,)  
to add in the names  
of important  
operations which  
had been left out -  
so laborious is it,  
when you come to  
do a thing of this  
sort, to include every  
thing.

**f210v**

Perhaps you will tell  
Dr. Shrimpton this, as  
a proof that the  
Forms have received  
the fullest consideration,  
not only by me  
but by our great  
surgeons.

I should ask you  
to take the copies to  
your friend M. Legoyt,  
to M. Husson, & to M.  
Larry. But I am sure  
you will have no time.

-----  
My best love to dear  
Monsieur et Madame  
Mohl. & thank *him* for his  
letter. ever your  
F.

Letter, f211r, pen, black-edged stationery [1:447]

**f211r**

4. Cleveland Row. [printed address]  
S.W.

June 25/63

Dearest

I asked Mr Jowett  
to give me the Sacrament  
next Sunday at 3,  
because he is going  
to be absent for two  
or three months -  
Would you like to  
join me, & *would*  
*you ask* Miss Clough  
if she would like  
it too?

ever yours

F.N

Letter, f212, pen. arch note: To Miss H.B.C, black-edged stationery

**f212r**

4. Cleveland Row  
S.W.

June 29/63

Oh my dear soul, are  
these more Geschwister?  
What will become of  
me?

ever yours

F.N.

[archivist's comment:]

on

a letter from a poor  
German (anxious to  
be helped. speaking  
of his brothers & sisters}

Letter, f213r, pen, black-edged stationery

**f213r**

4. Cleveland Row.

S.W.

July 6/63

Dearie

I greatly applaud  
you for what you  
have done, tho' as you  
say I am too stoopid  
to know its value.

Could you tell me  
who sent me some  
weeks ago from  
Smith & Elder's  
"Sylvia's Lovers"?  
& thank them?

every your

F.

Many thanks  
for loan of arts.

Letter, f214, pen. archivist's date: July 13. 1863 [1:447-48]

**f214r**

Dearie

I accept with favour  
your situation for two of the  
little cats, in preference  
to situations offered, four  
deep, in families of the  
highest rank & political  
influence, for the following  
reason:- it is good  
for the health & spirits  
of little cats when they  
first leave their mothers  
to go two together for a  
time - they wash each other.

Therefore if *on the 21st*  
you will call for the two  
little cats, you shall  
have them, if they can  
lap by that time. Also



**f214v**

for your beautiful  
Florentine pictures. I  
like to see them. but not  
to keep them. I am not  
worthy of them. For I like  
them better *without* the  
colour. [end 1:448]

Please thank Mrs Gaskell  
very much for the Sylvia.  
I did not neglect trying  
to find out who the  
kind sender was. I  
asked Parthe to write to  
Smith & Elder - & Papa  
to write to Mr. Gaskell  
I dare say neither did  
neither.

ever yours  
F.

13/7/63

Letter, f215r, pen

**f215r**

Dearie

If this lady is a  
Sardinian, it might  
be entertaining for you  
to go & see her. If not,  
just put my letters  
in the post. I should  
really have liked to see  
her. But it is *quite*  
impossible.

Don't be too enthusiastic,  
S. Cordero is one of my  
dearest friends. And  
I have always helped  
her beyond what I  
could afford. But the

**f215v**

schools now founding  
by Govt. are far before  
those of the Soeurs de  
Charite - who indeed  
retard the progress  
of real education.

I can't afford to  
give S. Cordero any  
thing more  
ever your  
F.

Letter, ff216-20r, pen. Black-edged stationery

**f216r**

Hampstead N.W.

Aug 11/63

Dearie et Madame ma  
parente

You see the enclosed  
expresses a wish to  
see you again. If  
you can satisfy it &  
would sleep here, so  
much the better.

~~But~~ I am so afraid  
of exciting false hopes  
that I almost wish  
you might see her again.  
*Personally it will be  
the greatest pleasure  
to me to see S. Cordero  
again.* But I feel  
pretty sure that her  
object in coming is, *thro'*

**f216v**

me, to set up some kind  
of a mission here -  
probably ~~only for~~ to raise money  
not persons - Now I  
CAN'T. It would be  
simply shirking my  
heavy obligations to  
take from my heavily  
tasked time & strength  
& from my heavily  
tasked purse means  
to get up an interest  
for another object (& one which  
I don't altogether  
approve. Because I  
know the Govs. schools  
are better than the  
Sister-of-Charity Schools.)  
Madame Schwabe ought  
to help. And I hope you

**f217r**

2

told her of S. Cordero, who  
is quite the best woman  
I ever knew.

But when I hear of  
Mme Brémont writing  
"immédiatement" to know  
of her (S. Cordero's) "embarquement"  
"pour l'Angleterre" -  
my soul is filled with  
dismay.

I think S. Cordero  
believes me rolling in  
riches, because I sent  
her £30 one year.  
But, as for her thinking  
that England can, or  
will, help her (thro' me,) or that  
I can, or will, help her  
(thro' England,) it is . . .

**f217v**

quite a mistake.

If Mme Schwabe  
can & will help her,  
she takes up everything  
so enthusiastically -  
that is another thing.

But - *I* can not (neither  
by letters nor by introductions)  
beg for her.

I entirely declined  
to do so for Poland -  
who sent me holy candles  
"to burn" - in my own  
honor, I suppose - & for  
whom I was quite as much interested.

----

----

Pray dearie, &  
madame ma parente,  
what did you do

**f218r**

with my letter  
about Mr. Vardon?

ever yours

F.N.

Do not dwell upon my  
distrust of the Sisters'  
Schools to Mme Brémond.  
But you cannot dwell  
too strongly upon the  
utter wickedness it  
would be in me,  
overladen as I am,  
to take strength from  
what I *have undertaken*,  
what I now pursue  
*quite alone, what* tho' 4

**f218v**

were not enough to do it  
- & to give ~~it~~ this strength to what  
has no manner of  
claim upon me.  
*however much* I might  
like it & FN.  
care for it.

It is evident that  
S. Cordero charged  
Mme B. as a pioneer.  
Therefore the pioneer  
ought to be fully  
enlightened as to the  
real state of things.

They are so ignorant [1:448]

about us. I dare say  
they think I have only  
to hold up my finger  
& hundreds of pounds  
will flow in.

**f219r**

[3]

And I should not be surprised  
(but of this I know nothing) if  
S. Cordero does not think - for  
she knows that I am mixed  
up somehow with Govt. - that  
I can get Ministers to interfere  
for them.

Miss Burt actually wrote to  
me that it was my *duty*  
to interfere with *Lord Palmerston*  
for *Poland*, seeing that my  
opinion was much taken by  
Govt. (sic)

If this is the opinion of  
woman's duty by a very highly  
educated, VERY sensible English  
woman, what may not be the  
vain phantasy of an Italian nun?

F.N. Turn over

**f219v**

I feel so entirely broken down  
now - having had the *whole*  
weight of the correspondence of  
~~upon~~ the Indian Commission  
upon me 5 weeks tomorrow  
- & not one single soul has  
given me the least help -  
that I feel, with the slightest  
additional *anxiety* [**\*insert f220r**] I should  
be utterly unfitted for any  
work - & this with no good to *any*  
cause accruing from ~~such~~  
it.

And people write to me,  
"Oh I thought the India Commission  
was done! & you were taking  
a complete rest!!" F.N.

**f220r**

[\*an insert for middle of f219v]

of anxiety, mind - it is the  
*greatest pleasure* to me to see or  
to hear from such people as  
Mr Hawtrey or S. Cordero,  
provided it is not to take  
something more out of me  
of an anxious nature.  
[Bottom of the page is cut off]

ff221- notes Aug 1863 etc. dorms and day room for probations, Mrs W and Mr Whitfield, no. of patients, cubic ft. etc. [Hilary's notes?]

Letter, f233, pen black-edged stationery

**f233r**

Hampstead N.W.

Oct 2/63

Dearest, Mr Jowett  
gives me the Sacrament  
here on *Monday* (5th)  
at 3. Will you come?

Mme Mohl will  
be here; & *may* sleep  
here Monday night.

I shall ask Mr.  
Jowett to sleep, because  
he is not well. I don't  
know of course whether  
he will.

I can give you a  
bed easily, if you will.

I don't of course

**f233v**

expect Mme Mohl to  
take the Sacrament  
with us.

ever your

F.

Pray, ~~if you come,~~ come  
so as to have some  
luncheon. as well  
as dinner.

Letter, f234, pen. archivist's date: 3? Oct 1863

**f234r**

[2]

Dearest

I wrote to Ravensbourne  
(which I dare say will  
not forward) to ask  
you to come & take  
the Sacrament with  
me from Mr. Jowett  
at 3 on Monday (5th)  
and to sleep.  
As you will be back  
on Monday, I hope  
you will come. Perhaps  
you will sleep here  
with Mme Mohl. Perhaps  
you may take her  
back to Ravensbourne

**f234v**

She is [~~illeg~~] uncertain -  
-----

N.B. I do not expect her  
to take the Sacrament.  
Indeed she will  
most likely not be  
here in the day  
time  
ever thy F

Oct 3/63

Hampstead N.W.

f234\*, red pencil on small piece of blue paper [response to a note,  
Mrs Herbert has  
called but has no  
message.

**f234\*v**

I am so tired  
& I have nothing very  
particular to ask. tho'  
I should have liked  
to have seen her.



Note, f235, pen

**f235r**

I'm gone to bed.  
So please make  
use of those rooms.

FN.

Miss B. Carter

Letter, f236, pen

**f236r**

MRS. COLTMAN

Bertha ^ has written to  
(& agreed to meet) Mrs.  
C.W. here on Saturday.  
She must of course stay  
till the Monday.

Does she strike you  
as a person who would  
fail you at a small  
emergency? Would she  
lie in bed like Plattea?  
Or would she walk up  
& down the room wringing  
her hands like Hely?

Or do you think  
she *could* find you a  
book or give a message?

I am sure I am

**f236**

sorry enough for *you*,  
my dear, rushing  
about after maids.  
(It is what no one else  
*will* do) and getting  
no thanks into the  
bargain. poor soul!

Many thanks for the plans.

F.N.

Miss Nightingale

Personal note, f237, pen. not FN hand

**f237r**

Uncle N. says he fears his opinion founded on country cottages will be ~~useless~~ useless for street buildings. but he remarks.

The open passages are very draughty & cause much loss of space.

That he dislikes bedrooms on the ground floor unless raised 2 or 3 steps above the level of the ground.

that he would consider 1 bedroom for a family impossibility unless on the supposition that the soldier does not remain in barracks long enough for his children to come to any degree of maturity.

**f237v** [not FN hand]

That for outside appearance he prefers the one stack of chimneys in the midst, bringing out the freshness into the corners of the rooms, but for inside comforts the 2 stacks, one in the middle of the room one in the corner of back room.

But he again protests that he cannot advise about street cottages

ff242-43 stationery The Infirmary, Salisbury letter Nov 29/94 to Cousin Florence, asks to see from Edith BC

ff244- Oct 19 [1895] Sat., to FN from EBC, thanks for encouragement, asks if matron Johnson can see her

**f246r**

Notes of conversation, f247r, pencil

**f247r**

We take them in at 21  
2 years' training  
Without wages at 23  
no one will take them at 40  
Pension Fund a great thing [exp]

Notes of conversation, f248v, pencil

**f248v**

Edith

Miss Johnston Nov 2/96  
 night Supt. at Marylebone  
 Private nurse}  
 District " } Liverpool  
 under Miss Staines  
 District nurse Miss Perssé  
                     very 'new'  
             but Miss Johnstone  
             could manage her

Miss J. to the nurses  
 about Bible-classes outside

Two things make a difference  
 nurse returning between  
 case box

Chapel every evening in the Hospl.  
 all the Patients go who ~~can~~ are  
 well enough.              good Chaplain

**[end]**

ff249-50 EBC to FN Nov 11 1896, tells her has applied and been elected to  
 Lady Supt at Salisbury Home for Nurses, Aunt Alice told her "it was an  
 intense sorrow to you to give up the actual nursing" so she dreads it too

Letter, ff253-59r, pencil

**[13:236-38]**

**f253r**

Nov 15/96  
 10, South Street  
 Park Lane. W.

My dear & gallant Edith

I must say I think  
 you are right. Five years'  
 night work takes so much  
 out of a woman. [most  
 Doctors say: one is enough]

But I am very sorry.  
~~But~~ for you. But only think how much  
 you have done in those  
 5 years - being Training  
 Mistress & Night Supt. in  
 one

However I do assure  
 you you are now going to  
 do more. For really Private

**f253v**

Nurses now are in such  
a state that it takes  
the gallantry of an Edith  
to tackle them. On the  
one hand there is as you  
say "canting & sentiment-  
-ality". And you only have  
them in the Hospital  
by day. which is as if  
you were to turn the Prober.  
on like water from a cock  
& turn them off again.  
The other extreme is still  
worse. Private Nurses  
make it a business &  
not a calling. They

**f254r**

think only: how much  
money they will make  
- how much holiday  
they can get.

And no one or hardly any one has taken  
them seriously in hand -  
to make a home for them  
to supervise their work -  
to keep up the *tone* -  
The lodging system is, as  
you may suppose, terrible.  
The attendance on Officers  
in Barracks, when they  
are on their own footing,  
has all the consequences  
you would expect in London

**f254v**

Nevertheless there are  
"10 just" women left

-----  
I think your move  
settles the question of a  
*Common Home* to be  
built.

There are several  
considerations:

1. have you calculated  
the number of Private Nurses  
on an average that you  
will have at home, i.e *not*  
with a Private Patient or on  
holiday.

You might have an  
average of 8 in the Home.

**f255r**

[2]

You can obtain from the  
Books what the  
*maximum* will be. Will  
it exceed 12?

It of course detracts very  
much from the idea of  
a Home in the nurse's  
mind if she has to  
scrabble out of her room  
every time a nurse  
comes in unexpectedly  
from duty.

Every nurse ought to have  
a room or at least a  
cubicle to herself. or a cupboard. for  
the sake of privacy.

**f255v**

But that makes 64  
rooms (or partly cubicles)  
for the nurses, instead of  
say 48.

Might I ask *your*  
ideas on this head?  
2. Then you have I believe  
6 Probationers training  
in the Infirmary  
or had last year.  
tho' only 3 nurses left  
during 1895.  
In general Private Nurses  
leave oftener than  
Hospital Nurses.

**f256r**

You mean of course to  
train *all* Probationers,  
night & day, in the Infirmary  
for ~~both~~ either Hospital & or Private  
Nurses.

I wish I knew what you  
& Miss Johnstone propose  
for accomodation &  
expect for no. of Probationers.

3. The work of a Supt.  
of Private Nurses is  
somewhat severe. E.g. one  
I know well wrote every  
*fortnight* to each Private  
nurse on duty. & each  
was expected to write

**f256v**

every fortnight to her.  
But when the number  
of her Private Nurses (she  
has a Hospital too) increased  
to 60, she found this  
impossible. *They* were  
still expected to write  
to her, but don't.  
Your Probationers are  
like your "children". So  
it will not be *such* a task  
4. There must be of course  
some division in the Home  
between Hospital & Private  
nurses, as there is between  
Day & night nurses, so

**f257r**

[3]

that the Night Nurses  
may sleep quietly by day  
5. I confess I have a  
strong feeling that Probrs.  
during the first year should  
be under their own Officer  
so as to learn the discipline,  
loyalty, good habits &c. -  
They never learn them afterwards.

But then *you* are a host  
in yourself - & we have  
45 Probationers.  
[We have just lost ~~an~~ the  
irreplaceable "Home Sister"  
of 21 years, Miss Crossland]



**f257v**

6. They tell me that  
practically you will find  
the *common Home* to be  
more economical.  
And with Hospital matron [is  
Miss Johnstone called Matron?]  
and Home Supt. *working*  
*together* there can be no  
doubt it will answer  
infinitely better for the  
*moral benefit* of the  
nurses.

\* Could your duties over the Home be  
couple perhaps with some  
definite duties in the  
Hospital?

**f258r**

7. How many is the average  
number of occupied beds  
in the Infirmary

Men

Women

children

& in what sized Wards?

Small wards are not  
at all to be despised  
for training Private nurses.  
They are more like what  
they will have to nurse in.

**f258v**

(I had written some  
notes for you before I  
knew of your new office.  
But I was dissatisfied  
with them at the time,  
& now I think they would  
be of no use to you - not  
at least till I know your  
views on these questions.  
If you are so very good  
as to give them on any,  
please send this letter back  
with them. It will save  
you trouble)

I see a new vista opening under you  
before Private Nurses, (who  
are increasing in number  
every day.) & not in efficiency or  
character

**f259r**

[4]

Please remember one thing

Private nurses *don't*  
increase the revenue  
of the Hospital.

8. I presume you mean  
to pay your Private  
nurses wages. Then  
all they earn will  
have to be expended  
on ~~the~~ them. ~~Hospital~~

Good speed be yours  
ever yours

F. Nightingale

I was so very sorry not to  
be able to write on Friday  
But it was Indian mail day  
and we had such a rush of  
business.

Notes of conversation, ff268-69, pencil [13:238]

Edith 2 Dec/96  
They come in *between* their cases  
Discuss these with them then.  
Yes  
H Bonham Carter seen?  
No.  
re-temper them in Hospl.  
but not when they come back but  
instead of a  
case  
annual?  
"averages" in " in Hospital  
^ 121 bed?  
7 average of the whole 4  
classes for 3 years  
baggage store cases box  
case box  
drawer  
some of these have been  
your Probationers? 19  
she will come to me  
~~breakfast together~~  
Dean? Doyle of Salisbury  
good man.

our Sisters & Nurses  
did not know the  
reason of anything they  
were doing or of any  
change of treatment

Doctors now all friends  
but we have had much  
difficulty with them -  
~~they~~ they want to have the  
nurses all to themselves  
to be able to send the best  
nurse out of the Wards to  
a private case -  
to have the Theatre nurse  
in the Wards. Coates

**f269r**

epileptic fit  
Physician F.N.  
porter St. Thomas'

-----

bell outside each Ward  
door. all the nurses  
except those engaged with  
a serious case to run  
directly to the Ward -  
when I arrive I find  
2 or 3 there  
all night nurses are  
Probationers

**f269v**

paying Probrs. pay  
£10 for the 2 years'  
training & buy their own  
uniforms. no wages  
always get good posts  
when they leave - we help  
them - we have plenty  
of applicants & good  
applicants - many  
gentlewomen - many go  
into District Nursing  
(Private Homes) some  
into Private nursing

-----

Private nurses  
listing in Salisbury [end]

Notes of conversation, f270r & f271v, pencil

**f270r**

Edith

1. no. of Private nurses in the  
Home average  
maximum

Is every nurse to have room or  
cubicle 4 herself - to wit 64  
instead of 48

2. 6 Probrs. training in the Infirmary  
3 nurses left in '95.

Private nurses leave oftener than  
Hospl.

train all Probrs in Infy?  
for Hospl or Private?

- 3 ~~lett~~ correspone. with Private  
nurses - Miss Vyne

- 4 Division in Home between  
Hospl. & Private  
Day & Night

5. need of Home Sister for first  
year

**f271v**

[2]

6 economy of Common Home  
moral benefit to nurses of  
matron & Supt. working together  
duties over Home coupled with  
some duties in Hospl.  
7 occupied beds average?  
what sized wards?  
Small Wards good for Private  
nurses  
8 Do you pay your Private Nurses  
wages? Then all they earn  
must be expended on them  
They *don't* increase the  
Hospl. revenue.

ff272-75 EBC letter to FN Dec 8 1896, had had visit "every moment of my time with you was so precious", and re home sister's ....  
The other thing is hardly an explanation, it is a *confession* with reference to your question as to whether I comforted the dying folk *spiritually* as well as physically? I must confess that I feel to have failed in this respect & am ashamed not to have made it clear to you. I am not good in knowing *what* to say or how to help them. I sometimes read the prayers from our service, but those hardly appeal to that class, do they? [FN adds: No red] And I have moreover, whether right or wrong, such a strong feeling that God and that soul are so close to each other just there, that words of mine must be inadequate & might so easily be other than helpful?

ff277-78 EBC to FN July 6 Monday 1897, visited day before, she was tired and suffering, and she took "all the loving help and advice and encouragement you gave me"

ff279-82 EBC to FN [Oct 28 1897] had been at Conference of Women Workers on the "Better Organisation of the Nursing Profession" and Mrs Bedford Fenwick and her scheme badly received

ff283-86 EBC to FN May 15 [1898] longing to see her, from Teachers Hostel, Salisbury, re poss plans, Eastbourne and Cairo Kaisr el Ain

ff287-90 EBC to FN Sept 26 [1898?], Hotel Bellevue Triberg, received £10.10 from bankers, so will stay longer, go to Black Forest

f292 last folio, dated April 26/99 from Edith BC to FN

Add Mss 45795, microfilm, 245 folios, 141 pages, mainly more distant family correspondence, with Rosalind Shore Smith, Arthur Hugh Clough and William Shore Smith and Louisa Smith, Adam Matthew reel 29

ff1-148 William Shore and Louisa Smith

ff149-234 Rosalind Nash, Vaughan Nash

ff236-40] letters to FN's executors, not included

ff241-45 typed copies to Sir George Grey, Auckland Public Library

**f1** bill to Arthur Clough 17 Feby 1858 for invalid carriage 10.7.4

Incomplete letter, ff2-3, pen

**f2r**

Great Malvern

July 30/58

1. I should like to have "Colburn's new monthly magazine " for August, please. There is an article upon us in it - stupid, I have no doubt - that is the reason, on the principle of the 'grey donkeys', I wish to have it.

2. In re Netley, I have written another Article entitled "Peel's Life: Pills, or the Elixir {following written vertically up left hand side}

I heard from "La Cordero" this morning from Sienna. The stuffs have reached her & the children are no longer naked.

**f2v**

Vitae discovered at  
Netley - by the Eight  
Wise Men". I have sent  
it to Sutherland to  
correct. & think it  
will do for the "Saturday",  
on the principle of  
the Bp of Exeter, who  
says that God pays  
for Heaven, in order  
to have His praises  
sung there - now Mr.  
Herbert used to pay  
for the "Saturday" - could  
Mr. Clough tell me  
who is the Editor or

**f3r**

how to get access to the  
same? I would write  
to the perfidious Gladstone,  
but do not like.

3. Pray do not  
trouble yourself about  
my correspondence  
not reaching me -  
That is the last thing  
to be feared - The scourge  
of civilization, the P.O.,  
the worst of Detectives,  
always finds one out.  
Mrs. Bracebridge used  
to put her letters into  
the porter's hands,  
with the money to pay



**f3v**

for them, hoping he  
would pocket the money  
& lose the letters. I  
have no such resource,  
tho', if I had, I would  
refuse to pay a single  
Postage.

"Great Malvern" is  
quite enough - *a great  
deal too much*, in  
fact. i.e. 6 letters a  
day too much.

Never tell any body  
*where* I am here.  
When I was asked in  
London where I was  
going to, I used to say  
"The last house on the  
[breaks off abruptly]

Draft, ff6-7, pen

**f6r**

~~But~~ This Report & its appendixes are a mine in  
which to dig for treasure. They ~~it~~ constitute  
an entirely new Repertory of the English  
language. We who have dug regret  
that we have not a larger space  
on which to display ~~our~~ the diamonds  
we have found for the benefit of the  
world which will not dig.

e.g. ~~the~~ Mr. Sidney Herbert's  
Commission recommends a certain size for  
wards, & specifying the number of beds,  
at from 20 - 30, ~~patients~~, with ~~its~~ the  
reasons for so doing ~~for such recommendation.~~

The Netley Committee & its referees  
fall furiously upon them for such recommen-  
dation at the corner of every page,  
~~and~~ adducing the opinion of the  
whole Medical Profession, Civil  
& Military, ~~against them~~ in favor  
of "small" & in deprecation of  
"large" wards. But when we come  
to ask what are ~~the~~ "small" wards,  
~~in favor of which this furious onslaught~~  
~~is made~~, we are told by one gentleman,

[a]

**f6v**

at least, that they are wards of 20 patients. And the condemned "large" wards may be wards of 100, for aught we know, ~~that are condemned~~. For certainly one gentleman, adduced as authority adduced by this Committee, which does not approve of "large" wards, recommends wards of 50 or 60.

Again, we are told that there are no Statistics to prove that Hospitals, built on Sanitary principles, yield a lower mortality than those do which are not - as if the known rate of mortality ~~of all~~ in these latter had not raised the indignation of all ~~the~~ intelligent Sanitarians & as if benevolent medical men had not really come to say that they would rather treat the poor at home. One gentleman actually gives us as a reason for rejecting the Pavilion principle - that the French have condemned it by not continuing to build

[b]

**f7r**

on the "Lariboisière" plan, substituting that plan of Vincennes. He appears not to be aware that the principle of the two is exactly the same, but only that at Vincennes, the Pavilions are arranged end to end, at the Lariboisière, side by side.

But enough of this, It is a sorry contemplation for sober seriousness, after all. Not only the want of practical experience & of scientific enquiry & of observation which is evident, but the total ignorance even of ~~all~~ any of the literature on the subject.

And all that the poor Netley Committee is really guilty of is of ~~to~~ summing up the opinions of its Referees, while it scarcely volunteers one ~~opinion~~ of its own ~~in su~~ on the subject.

The worst of it is that two of  
[c]

**f7v**

the Referees ~~are~~ were Officers of the Board of Health. *lucus a non lucendo*.

**f8**

envelope from Malvern  
Jy 30 '58

[d]

Statement relating to Will, f9r, pen [1:477] {arch date: ca. 20 Apr. 1859}

**f9r**

I wish that all that comes to me upon my father & mother's death should go to A. H. Clough - with only this proviso that whatever he has had out of the N. Fund should be repaid to it with compound interest

F. Nightingale

Statement relating to Will, f10-11, part by other hand, signed by F.N.

**f10r**

.. .

**[1:477-78]**

I desire that the  
money which my  
Uncle, Samuel  
Smith, has paid  
for the building of  
the school at Lea  
may be repaid to  
him or his heirs out of the  
money which

**f10v**

would become mine  
at my father's  
death.

Florence Nightingale [signed, FN hand]  
April 20 1859  
Highgate  
A.H. Clough {signed}

**f11r**

I request my  
father to make  
a liberal present  
to Mary Bratby  
to whom I have  
left something  
in my will, but  
desire this to  
be given in addition  
{signed} F.N.  
April 20. 1859

**f11v**

Written at her request  
& signed by her in  
my presence - in  
the sitting room upstairs  
at Highgate, West Hill Lodge  
on the night of the  
20th April 1859, when  
she was suffering from  
severe illness, her father  
~~illeg~~ & Aunt, &  
Blanche being in the  
house.-

A.H. Clough  
20th April 1859

**f12**

A.H. Clough for payment to Smith Elder for 50 copies of Harriet Martineau's  
*England and her Soldiers*. £20

ff13-18 Letter from Wm Rathbone to AH Clough 6 June 1860 re district  
nursing and training; note of FN on back on diagonal: black-edged paper. My  
dear Sir, I feel very grateful to Miss Nightingale and to you for your  
willingness to assist in our plans, but I am rather puzzled how to give you  
the details you refer to. My idea was that your plans and estimates would  
give us some idea of what you consider necessary for each nurse and its  
cost. I have not yet heard from Sir Jos. Jebb.

We are yet so entirely undecided as to plans that all I can see do is to  
avail of Miss Nightingale's kind assistance is to try tell you what is the  
state of things now and what we have thought of. It will seem to Miss  
Nightingale very imperfect but when I tell you that we are entirely  
dependent on voluntary subns and donations that there has been around  
£18,000 just spent on improvements in the hospital and £600 a year added to  
the cost of diet while a debt is pressing on if you will understand that we  
must be content to do what we can.

The hospital is an old one and not well planned. I enclose a rough  
sketch. There are 19 wards about 230 beds, there are now 19 nurses, 3  
assistant nurses and 8 night nurses. Most of the nurses scrub. They have  
rooms adjoining the wards. The cost in salaries and rations is about £800 a  
year, but I believe the hospital will give the nursing institution £1000 a  
year.

We propose to build a nurses' home on the ground behind the infirmary.  
Miss Jones recommends 30 beds in addition to those required for any nurses  
employed in the infirmary. We think of having a superior nurse (gradually  
the best of those trained) in the central ward of each set of wards. And in  
that ward a probationer after being say 4 months under the training of  
nurse she will move into one of the other two wards. For say four months  
and fur months night nursing will make up her year in the infirmary, during  
the whole of which time she will be under the same training nurse. The  
whole establishment will be under the care of a lady supt who will however  
be under the control of the infirmary committee. There will be I expect 31

nurses, say 6 training nurses, 19 nurses engaged in day work and 6 in night work. I know we ought to have more for night work but we cannot as there are 4 day nurses to carry 3 wards, one can generally sit up with any special cases. This will cost £600 a year more than at present and this we hope to raise by private subscription, but as I attach as much importance to the infirmery nursing as the hospital we hope in time to make those subscriptions available for that.

We expect that those who may be most suitable for private nursing will in two years repay the cost of their education (they will be bound for 3 years) as we find nurses suitable for infirmery work we shall offer them to ministers of religion and other efficient kind people in different wards of the town, who will from local committees raise among themselves funds for medical comforts and find proper superintendence. 16 nurses at £40 p.an paid by the institution (who would retain a certain control over the nurses) and £100 raised by each local committee for medical comforts would I hope go far to remove a great deal of the most pressing misery from sickness in Liverpool.

I have proposed to the ministers of religion of our district to form one such local committee and they are quite willing to do it. The illeg district nurses at work under private management continue most satisfactory, all those who are assisting the plan invaluable not only are many apparently hopeless cases recovered and much misery relieved but already in the short time it has been working illeg who had taken to drinking from the utter misery and hopelessness of their homes have quite reformed and I trust a spirit of order and habit of cleanliness introduced which will have permanent effect in many families.

I hope you will not find my note too long.

I enclose an outside rough plan of the infirmery -- we thought of running the nurses institute along where the outbuildings now are. There is attached to most of the wards a very good sized nurses bedroom.

We shall of course want lady supt's rooms and day rooms for the nurses illeg, also kitchen and a small office or committee room.

yours faithfully

Wm Rathbone

Liverpool 6 June 1860.

AH Clough Esq

**f18v** FN note on back

As he says,

it is as yet too

vague to comment

upon. But 1. the Nurses'

buildings must not adjoin

the Hospital at the place he says.

They must be as far from the Hospital

as the *enceinte* permits, in order not to

interfere with the ventilation- 2. A Nurse

cannot be trained under one training=Sister,

She must serve in Medical & Surgical wards & attend

all kinds of cases before she knows her business.

3. Has he considered (he probably has) in forming

the Liverpool town= "wards" into Local Committees that in those which are almost entirely R. Catholic, the priest will be, in fact, the Local Committee. Can he place a Protestant nurse under him, or would the priest let a Pr. under a clergyman work among ~~the~~ his R.C. poor? In *practice*, I have found this impossible -tho' no difficulty where the R.C.s were frankly under me.

Note, on reverse of letter from {Rathbone?} to Clough, f18v, pen  
{Letter dated 6 June 1860.}

**f18v** {written at an angle, diagonally across page.} same as f12

As he says  
it is as yet too  
vague to comment  
upon. But 1. the nurses'  
buildings must not adjoin...  
the Hospital at the place he says.  
They must be as far from the Hospital  
as the *enceinte* permit, in order not to  
interfere with the ventilation. 2: A nurse  
cannot be trained under *one* training-Sister.  
She must serve in Medical & Surgical Wards & attend  
all kinds of cases before she knows her business.  
3. Has he considered [he probably has] in forming  
the Liverpool *town*-wards into Local Committees that  
in those which are almost entirely R. Catholic, the  
priest will be, in fact, the Local Committee.  
Can he place a Protestant nurse under  
him, or would the priest let a Pr.  
nurse under a clergyman work  
among ~~the~~ his R.C. poor?  
In *practice*, I have  
found this impossible  
- tho' no difficulty  
where the R.C.s  
were frankly  
under me.

ff19-23 Jowett to Clough re Suggestions! pen, black-edged paper

Address Oxford  
Lincoln July 22 [1860]

[11:37-39]

My dear Clough,

I thought I understood  
that your friends wished me  
to write to you about the  
papers which they entrusted to  
me. I know that they do not  
want compliments & therefore I  
shall not offer them. I must  
however, say that their work  
appears to me to be one of remar-  
kable metaphysical & dialectical  
power. Nothing that I have read  
for a long time has suggested to



f20

me so many thoughts.

I hardly know how to set about the ungracious task of criticism- Shall I offer a few remarks (they will excuse the want of connexion) first on the style & form & secondly on the subject.

1. To give full effect to these papers they require to be rewritten. each sentence & each paragraph is very clear & forcible. But I often found a difficulty in following the connexion through a whole section. Writings on metaphysical subjects require to be very severely put together, or else what is quite clear to the mind of the writer is hazy to the reader. I say this (excuse the egotism of referring to it)

**f19v**

from experience of the charges which my friends often justly make against what I write myself. It appears to me (in a certain sense) to be a work of art to express philosophical or theological ideas when they are not merely the received saws of the day so that they may be understood.

2. In a few places there appeared to me a tract of passion (shall I say?) which weakened the form of what was said. Feeling there should be, for feeling is the only language which every one can understand. But I thought that here & there I traced some degree of irritation in the tone- I hardly like to notice it, for it is probably

**f20v**

only the unavoidable weakness of illness which always impairs the power of expression, much more than the power of mind or thought.

3. With a view to the working classes it struck me that it would be better to break the papers up into a series of tracts; also perhaps to omit the headings [?] at the beginning. And generally, throughout, to keep quite distinctly in view what the intelligent artizans are capable of understanding.

Shall I venture also on a few remarks about the subject? I agree entirely with the writers of the book in thinking a) that religion must be a thing of the present & not of

**f21**

the past if it is to exist at all;  
and b) that the idea of law is  
the foundation of all worthy notions  
of God; also c) that the idea of  
law, although often confounded with  
external necessity is really in  
no way inconsistent with the free  
agency of finite beings.

I am doubtful whether the first  
of these points is sufficiently worked  
out. The great question of all is  
a future life which I gather to  
be deduced from the progress of  
the world towards perfection by an  
argument which is similar in  
character to that of Butler respec  
ting the incipient tendencies of things  
in this life -- But the question

**f22**

has so near an interest to me and the void  
left by giving up or not insisting on  
the external fact of the Resurrection  
of Christ so great that I think it needs to  
be treated more fully.

4) I thought that the argument  
from a law to a legislator was too  
much dwelt upon; also that this  
conception of 'the will & purpose of  
the Divine Being' was used too liter  
-ally & absolutely. Imagine Spinoza  
reasoning against the first of those  
would he not have said & could we  
deny that here is a figure of speech?  
The Legislator is an individual who  
can be defined by many characteris  
-tics, time, place, consciousness, charac  
ter of mind. But God is universal  
neither the law nor the individual  
who made the law & continues to exist

**f21v**

apart from it, but infinitely extended through all law.

I should be inclined to look for some meeting point  
of Theism & Pantheism rather than to oppose them. It must  
be remembered that Pantheism has a great many senses  
-from the highest idealism or Spiritualism, down to the lowest  
Fetichism or Materialism. When we clear away figures of  
speech which imply succession of time or separation of  
place Monotheism & Pantheism are not so distant as

they appear in the common opposition of language or logic. They seem to me also so opposed more nearly than Divines allow in the language of Scripture ("Then shall the Son also give up the kingdom & he shall put all things under him that God may be all & in all")

f22v

I agree heartily in what is said about law. Only here I think I should like to have the difference between the Spiritual law & Comte's grand Etre more fully stated; and also the manner shown in which the consciousness of God in his laws may satisfy the religious wants of individuals.

It may be worth considering whether more use cannot be made of existing religious ideas. It is a loss of power to present as new truths what are often old ones. Without sacrificing sincerity I think the book might connect more with pre-existing religious feelings. It is too isolated.

I hope the book will some day be published (if possible after being rewritten). But at any rate that it may be published. It is sure to do good; even in the parts which I

**f23**

don't agree with I feel this. The writers must expect that it will be bitterly attacked. And this is a reason not for withholding it but for making it as complete & forcible as possible. . . .

[end 11:39]

I have not got the papers with me here but they are quite safe. I will return them to you when I go back to Oxford; if you want them my servant can find them & shall send it to you.

Ever yours truly

B. Jowett

I am afraid that your friends think that I write only from my own point of view. That is true, but then I don't expect my criticisms to be followed.

**f24** Signed letter B Jowett to Clough

[9 August 1860]

[11:39]

2

My dear Clough,

I send the first 32 pages of the 'Suggestions' with a number of notes. (I will go on with them from time to time if they are thought to be of any use). I do not expect the criticisms to be followed, but it appeared to me that they would be no good unless I said freely what I thought, whether right or wrong.

I think it is absolutely necessary that the book should have some regular plan otherwise the great force which there is in particular passages will be lost.

v

I am afraid that I am not likely to be in London at present-  
With very kind regards to Mrs Clough

Believe me  
ever yours faithfully  
F. Jowett

I do not know in what state of health the writer of the paper is likely to be. You can show the remarks OR NOT just as you think best.

Cutlan's Lodgings

Lyester

Aug 9 1860

The book appears to me to be too full of antagonisms - to those who believe more & to those who believe less Perhaps these could be softened

.. .

[end]

**f25** letter from B Jowett to Clough dated Aug 1860

Cutlan's Lodgings  
? (for a fortnight)  
n. Devon

My dear Clough

I will get the papers  
& add any marginal notes  
that I fancy may be of use.

I hope Miss Nightingale  
will not overexert herself in the  
attempt to correct them. With  
her experience she must be well  
aware that it is not always  
safe to exert the mind because

**f26**

it is clear & bright. If her  
life is spared she will be  
hereafter able to rewrite the  
book so as to do justice to  
the ideas contained in it.  
And there are many other things  
which no one else could do so  
well--If she is taken the  
book might still be published  
under the superintendence of  
yourself or of any one else  
who was acquainted with her  
views--I make the suggestion  
chiefly to add that I will  
gladly help any one hereafter

**f25v**

to whom she may entrust it if she will  
let the work rest for the present.

You will best judge whether there is any  
use in repeating to her this suggestion.

Ever yours faithfully

B. Jowett

Letter, ff30-31, pen {archivist's date: 11 June 1861}

**f30r**

*Please take Bratby & keep him  
as long as ever you want him.*

*In re Mrs. Shaw Stewart.*

Today was held the first meeting  
of the Committee for organising the  
General Hospital. I was asked  
to send in the name of a Supt.  
and I sent in hers. The meeting  
has adjourned till Monday -  
But there are five points  
to come before that of the nurses.  
The proposition which will be  
made to her is to take the  
Sup.cy *for a year*, to train  
the ideal "Officer's Widow" of  
her imagination. If she accepts,

**f30v**

the Female Nursing will be done,  
if not, not. i.e. the ideal  
"Officer's Widow" not being  
forth coming, & Lord Herbert  
& I being both *hors de combat*  
after this, *nothing will be*  
*done.*

I certainly "wish her to  
hold herself at liberty."

What you think right  
to tell her of this, I believe  
Aunt Mai must judge.

The opposition made by  
the H. Guards & the Army Med.  
Dep. to the General Hospl. scheme  
is so violent that it may  
drag on for a long time. And  
it is only my expedient of a

**f31r**

Comm.tee which has brought  
it to a head at ~~last~~ all.

I think it decidedly  
better *not* to tell her  
that she will be asked  
to be Supt.

And I have asked the  
Chairman of the Comm.tee, Col.  
Kennedy, not to let it  
leak out that her name  
has been brought before them.

As to telling her any  
thing before the 15th, it is  
simply impossible. And  
she knows it to be so.  
Miss Jones (under whom  
she is now) & who is on  
our side, told me that

**f31v**

she had in vain repeated  
this over & over again to her  
- that she has in vain  
told her that St. John's  
would enter into no  
permanent engagement  
with her - & that they  
*preferred* her going on  
in the present way - i.e  
ad libitum there.

So she is constrained  
by nothing to make all  
this bother.

Miss J. told me that,  
from her own experience of her,  
(she is always writing to her,  
Miss J., letters that are "FINAL" {underlined 6 times) (sic)  
she should conclude  
*nothing at all* from her  
declining the Sup.cy which has not been offered her.

ff32-33 Clough letter of condolence to FN on SH's death

Luchen [?] 8 August/61  
I cannot help writing  
to you a few lines on  
Lord Herberts death  
which I saw suddenly  
in the French papers  
the day before yesterday.  
Though indeed there  
is nothing to be said.  
I hope the newspapers  
though except for  
Lady Herbert it doesn't  
much matter, have  
spoken generously about him



**v**

Certainly he has pretty  
 nearly died still at  
 work- and (has deserved  
 good words.--  
 You'll be glad to hear  
 that I have just heard  
 of the Tennyson "Meet  
 that were lost" & hope  
 to rejoin them soon--  
 This is a great place  
 for losses & I have  
 riding pretty hard  
 the last two days &  
 go again probably tomorrow  
 This climate suits me very well

**f33**

Are you at Hampstead  
 yet? I dont know and  
 must in any case  
 send this to Burlington  
 St. I go from hence to  
 Luz.  
 farewell

Ever yours

A.H. Clough

Note at bottom pen, written at an angle, diagonally across page  
 To tell him  
 that I had stopped  
 all newspapers, in order  
 not to see any thing about  
 Lord Herbert in them -  
 that Gladstone wrote to me  
 (at Lady H's request)  
 to tell me that there  
 had been very painful  
 things in them, & to ask me to  
 supply him with  
 material for an article  
 which I did. that  
 this looks likely to  
 end as if they  
 wished me  
 to supply

**f33v** {written diagonally, upside down.}  
 materials,  
 for a longer  
 publication -  
 which I earnestly

wish *not* to do -  
Gladstone saying that he  
does not understand the military  
subject enough to do justice  
to my "most important paper."  
All this is private.

**f34** Shore Smith note      .. .      **[1:507]**

I engage to produce  
a Surveyors Certificate  
that the house in  
which I live shall  
be thoroughly drained  
with pipe drains &  
that there shall be  
no hazard of the Sewer  
gases being forced  
into the house up the  
suites or by the rise  
of the tide  
I will moreover declare

v  
that the situation  
shall be open & airey  
and not nearer the river=bank than  
half a mile  
& that there shall  
be no mews or other  
nuisance & no Canal  
or drain near it.  
[signed] W. Shore Smith  
[FN hand:]  
September 2 1859  
Combe Hurst

Note in FN hand continues:

**f35r**

I have already  
Shore's promise that  
Dr. Sutherland is to  
see the house and  
that without his  
consent it is not  
to be taken.

Florence Nightingale  
Sept 2/59

Letter, ff36-37 (r only), pencil

**f36r**

35 S. St  
Jan 12/76

My dear Louisa

I expect my "4 friends" on Monday 17th.  
The "spread" will "commence" at 5, unless I  
hear to the contrary. [Any hour suitable to  
me].

*Miss Irby.* [underlined in red]

**[8:848]**

have heard from her this morning. Jan 5. at Agram.  
- gives her address

*Hotel Kaiser von Oesterreich* [red underline]

*Agram* [red underline] [letters

**f37r**

will be forwarded from there.]

hopes to leave for Stadishte or *Kostainica* [underlined in red]  
in 3 or 4 days (Jan 8 or 9)  
both well

letter, tho' long, curiously devoid of facts:

Or I would send it to Shore & you.

**[end 8:848]**

God bless you: I feel so happy about my  
mother.

ever yours

F.N.

Note/draft, ff38-39, pen [5:263-64]

**f28**

35 S. St.

Miss Irby I think you have been so 31/1/76  
 good to her about her Adv.ts [underlined in red]  
 Please let me pay for any more  
 F.N.

My dear Shore & Louisa . . . [5:264-65]

I return D. News & "Times" adv.t as you desire  
 with many thanks.

I scarcely know what to say in answer to your  
 question:

The D. News letter is but a 'pot pourri' & abridgement  
 of 4 letters I have had from her: only one of  
 which I sent you, just because they were not only  
 not calculated to bring in money: but were  
 calculated *not* to bring in money.

The only sentence in the D. News letter therefore  
 that could possibly be used is, I think, the following:

*"it is always the same story: they have been obliged to* [underlined in red]

**f38v**

*"fly for their lives: their houses have been burnt: they  
 "will never dare to go back again while the Turks are  
 "there."* [red underline]

[With her, all *facts*, all work - do they not  
 run into *discussion*?

And this is just what in England is "intolerable."  
 (to use one of her words).

If I were you, I should write to her exactly what  
 you have written to me: & *beg* her to send  
 you some facts.

In the mean time, I will carefully search the  
 Herzegovinian & Bosnian letters in the Times  
 which are often admirable, & give just what  
 her letters do not: for *headings* [u/lined in red] for your  
 adv.t:

from to-day's "Times" I ~~extract~~ adapt the following:

**f39r**

"the slow process of raising the "young" from their  
"present level XX & teaching them to work for themselves is quite as  
necessary as & is in fact the

"surest way of reaping the full benefits of XX reforms  
"in the disturbed Provinces." [underlined in red]

Or "To teach the "young" Bosniaks that there is such  
a thing as hard work & implicit obedience not  
prompted by fear or immediate advantage" XX  
may be done "by dint of perseverance, abnegation  
& self-sacrifice."

Or: "An "Orphanages for the reception of the wretched children, the  
unclaimed

waifs & strays of infant humanity, so numerous always  
in North West Bosnia, & now decupled by the  
Insurrection, are the first necessity. [underlined in red]

Or: "The present social state of Bosnia needs  
civilizing influences undreamt of in other parts of [red underline]

**f39v**

"Europe & parallels of which can only be found  
by going back to the beginning of the Middle Ages."

~~Christian-as-well~~ children are steeped in  
ignorance & wretchedness: intensified now  
by war & exile. [red underline] XX

"They do not know how to bake proper bread, nor  
how to make cheese or beer."

Or:  
"Gutter children," mostly belonging to the subject  
(Christian) race, [red underline]- even in the best times as  
plentiful in the Wilds of Bosnia as in London,-  
Now driven out, wretched waifs & strays, belonging to no one, [red und] are  
swarming on the N.W. frontier of Bosnia, &  
cry out to be saved, civilised, educated & turned  
into useful men & women & future ~~citizens~~ & industrious inhabitants for  
their own country.

If you use any, for the "Times", ever yours  
I should put in: "Extract from the Times": whether it is or not:  
[underlined in red]

Letter, ff40-41r, pencil ff40-41 [5:265-66]

**f40r** {landscape}

.. . 35 S. St  
.. . Feb 1/76

My dear Shore & Louisa

See *Miss Irby's* letter in *Times* of to-day: {u/lined in red}  
far away the best I have seen of hers:  
in spite of her little eccentricities scaring away money:  
& her second-hand information wh: has nothing to do  
with the subject.

I think the account of the 40 sleeping round the fire  
& the fugitives more than doubling the inhabitants {u/lined red}  
is effective.

I wish she wd. tell us more about the small-pox  
& typhus: the type of starving overcrowding. {u/lined in red}  
But I hope now that we have done with the sugar-plums  
{Continues to f41r}

**f40v** {portrait} {continued from f41r}

would shut: & those two  
would not open: & one  
had a ghost living behind it.]  
I think we must get the word  
"gutter children" or waif's &  
strays into one of your  
advertisement headings [red underline]  
There are no orphans. [red] or at least  
we don't hear of any.

Excuse scrawl (much  
worse than hers.)  
ever yrs

F.N.

I think her letters are so the  
reverse of any thing dressed up  
for a 'canvass' that they  
must attract people, if only  
by that, if read at all: if  
only we could get a few ~~more~~  
telling facts about children & Small Pox

.. . &c.

**f41r** {landscape} {continued from f40r}

& blankets (I am so thankful they are all given away)

[sugar-plums abbreviated by D. News into *sugar*]

We shall do very well.

[The famous Zадрия seems to be nothing but a horrible pigging of several families in one room as in the London slums.]

I wish we could have induced her to give up the word "*Orphans*" [red underline] (in her Title) [I did try] & substitute the word "gutter-children" or "waifs" or something to that effect: You observe that we have never heard but of one family of *orphans* (& that with a *mother*) which has done duty 4 times. And that family has disappeared & never been seen but by *somebody*. [It is like the house of which only 2 doors ~~were~~ open

Letter, f42r, pencil for women [8:848]

**f42r**

*Miss Irby*

My dear Shore & Louisa 1.

I don't know that I ever was ^ more relieved (or 2. more aggravated) by receiving a foolish letter.

1. - I thought she might have got small pox.

2. - At the same time, there is NOT one fact.

I enclose her letter... .

Dear Louisa

Thus far had I written when yours came: many thanks.

I shall have almost as much as I can manage in ~~by~~ seeing my mother to-day: but, as you think it desirable, will gladly see Shore this evening (after she is gone) & keep *both* letters from Miss Irby for the purpose.

It is impossible to go on advertising, as you say, with common honesty, in the absence of all facts from her; & yet more impossible to issue the "Circulars" when the *only* fact she gives me is that she is *not* going to do anything she proposes in the Circular.

More when I see Shore. . . . yrs ever F.N. [end 8:848]

Feb 16

**f43** envelope to Mrs Shore Smith, 16/2/76



Letter, f44r, pen

**f44r**

Miss Irby

... 35 S. St.

Feb 22/76

My dear Shore & Louisa

I return *the* Red Book:

& I enclose £15, please, for my share to the advertising fund: (of Bosnian Fund): as I cannot bear that the advertisements which you have done so well & with so much trouble should be left off because Miss Irby fancies she cannot afford them.

yrs ever

F.N.

f45-46 Pakratz, Feby 29 [1876]

Dear Shore, I return from a long days work just in time before the post goes to tell you that we are *starting two schools for Bosnian children in two villages in this neighbourhood*. [red und] One will be taught by a young man who has just finished his course of training in this Training School, and will be superintended by the Professors. He will have 20 fl a month, and 3 florins we pay for an empty house with three rooms. There are also Bosnians in the neighbourhood whose children can come. [more]

Draft, f47r, pencil {assume the enclosure for letter ff49-50, below}

f47r

Would something like this do?.

2/3/76

[8:849]

As the Austrian Government allowance of 10 kreutzers a day, which just kept these poor fugitives from positively starving, is about to cease, money from England is yet more needed now than ever it was before.

These generous contributions are devoted to rescuing & maintaining ~~these~~ the wretched little waifs & strays: & to supplying clothes.

Some Bosnian orphan girls are being boarded out

Every farthing goes direct to the object & nothing in expenses. ...

[end 8:849]

Personal note, **f48v**, pencil

Maines's Early History of Institutions

Murray

1875

Letter, ff49-50 {r only}, pencil

**f49r**

Miss Irby . . . 2/3/76

My dear Louisa

I am afraid we *have* all we shall get.

She does not understand what we want:  
or rather she forgets.

She says: "it never occurred to me to put in little &c &c &c":  
- it was the one thing she *promised me* over & over  
again to do & to send us to do for her.

-----

I am sure - with you - that it would not do to  
put in the Para. out of her letter she proposes.  
People would laugh: they would say: "oh, then it is only  
"an extension of the old Sarajevo school: 5 more little

**f50r**

girls": It 'swears' too with former  
advertisements: "The misery here passes belief". &c  
taken out of her own letters:

Till we get the 'Bradford' letter, (from which  
however we must not expect much),  
what would you think of something like  
the enclosed, modified from yours  
according to what you said?

-----

I argue WELL {u/lined 4 times} from your letter. & think with  
her "you have been so wonderfully kind".

F.N.

Letter, ff51, pencil for women

**f51r**

Miss Irby . . . 3/3/76

[8:849-50]

My dear Louisa

I suppose you have had the 'Bradford  
Observer': if not, I will send you mine.  
It is hopeless: in this sense that as you  
once said, she wavers/varies so much that she always  
takes the last tone of the last people she is  
with. The letter is crammed full of  
politics: which she has been *implored*  
not to do. And the Foreign Office, *while*  
*Andrassy's note is pending*, would be quite  
justified in putting every spoke in her wheel

**f51v**

I will take your orders, when you have read the letter, about an Adv.t.

But one thing is useless: to ask her to write otherwise.

We must write *her* advertisements without her. . . .

[end 08:850]

Letter, ff52-54 (r only), pencil

**f52r**

My dear Shore

I think by all means get a letter in the Times as you say.

I am afraid Mr. Hall is of no use in *this*: (only for the D. News)

I got her first letter into the Times: ~~her~~ a second I tried to get in but was not surprised at its non-appearance

I don't know who got her third in: it is *possible* Mr. Hall may know. at all events get a letter for the "Times" ready for him, as you

**f53r**

say.

Shall I let you have her letters back again now?

**f54r**

Perhaps Mr. Hall can tell you how Miss Irby got in her last letter to the Times.

If not, I suppose I must try - again.

I am glad you are to see him, tho' but for a minute.

Letter, f55r, pencil [8:850]

**f55r**

Miss Irby . . . March 6/76

My dear Shore

This is how it strikes me: as 'fit for publication':  
I wish I had written it in ink instead of pencil,  
if it would save you trouble.

Pray don't let yourself be kept from Thames Bank  
or Sam:

Perhaps if you would add or alter anything you think  
right. Rosey cd. copy the whole in ink:

I shall write to Miss Irby to-day, as she *has* sent  
*facts* at last, just to tell her what we have done:  
ever yrs F.N.

Letter, ff56-57 (r only), pencil [8:850]

**f56r**

Miss Irby [1]. 9/3/76

My dear Shore & Louisa

I think you have put her on the right track now.

— These two letters do contain pretty much  
what is wanted.

1. I think (you ask me) that I would insert - *in*  
*letter in "Times"* - something of what I have  
marked *in red*: in the enclosed.

2. I conclude the "*2nd*" *School master* is the one  
she describes as a "*pope*" (crippled) in her  
letter to me: In that case, I would tack on *this*  
to *that*: omitting anything in the first  
which seems contradictory.

3. *I would CAREFULLY OMIT anything about*  
*"ORPHANS"*. [You see there are still only "*two*":  
of whom one has a mother]

*Let people think that the SCHOOLS are*  
*ORPHANAGES, if they will.*

[For my part, I don't believe in the  
orphans: except in her Title: never did.]  
But I think her work is assuming shape.

**f57r**

[2]

[If she would:

(il faut qu'une porte soit ouverte ou fermée):  
make up her mind, whether she is a political  
agitator or a reliever of distress:

but this too is much better than it was,  
thanks to you.]

I think (you ask) that the letter to the "Times"  
should be taken *by hand* to the Times  
office *by 12 noon on Saturday*:  
to give it a chance for Monday.

If she has left you any of her cards.  
I would write upon one, if you wished it,  
& as she asked me: "forwarded by F.N." -

This is all that occurs to me just now.

[end 8:850]

yrs ever  
F.N.

Letter, ff58-59 (r only), pencil

**f58r**

Miss Irby } 35 S. St. [8:850-51]  
Letter for "Times"} March 11/76

My dear Shore & Louisa

I have done the best I can.  
but I am sure you can improve it.

I think a happy mixture of  
the *vague* & the *precise* is what  
is wanted:

the *vague* between Orphanages, &  
Day Schools: between 'waifs & strays,'  
& orphans: between industry, & destitution:  
& the *precise* about accounts & money.

Please fill up on p.6 where Subscriptions  
are to be paid in. [u/lined in red]

I have written a sort of 'card' to the  
Editor of the 'Times': as Miss Irby asked.  
Which I hope may be an *introduction*  
& not an insertion.

There is no occasion for any one's name but  
Miss Irby's which should be made as  
*prominent* as possible .. . to go in. [u/lined in red]

**f59r** {italics + shadow denotes red underlining}

Miss Irby . . . "message by Shore":

greatly relieved by her letter: (& aggravated):

send my warmest love:

it is not that it is "a trouble" to me to write:  
but that it is simply impossible: (one need not  
add expletives to 'impossible':) for me coming to a  
great accumulation of work with greatly diminished  
strength.

But if she will send me *10 facts*, or even 5,  
or even 2, (that is not much to ask): *such as can*  
*be made use of* for HER work:. I will lay  
aside every thing else, do the 'impossible': & write  
to her.

[& for any sake no *political* theories].

-----  
-----

This is just the time when *Adv.ts* may be of use:  
but it is not according to ~~the notions of~~ "any one  
"brought up with British notions of honour" to go  
on putting in *Adv.ts* ~~without~~ for collecting money  
in the entire absence of fact as to how if at all  
*it is being spent*: or indeed  
~~or~~ of any facts at all

*E.g.*

It is NOT a *fact* to say: "while the children are in want  
"of clothes & food": it would be a *fact* to say, IF &  
HOW *she is supplying them*.

2. *E.g.*

You can't go on distributing "Circulars" when the *only* fact she  
tells us is: that she is *not* going to do what *they say* she *is*  
going to do: . . .

[end

**8:851]**

Letter, ff60-61, pencil [8:851-52]

**f60r** {italics + shadow denotes red underlining}

*Miss Irby*

35 S. St  
. 17/3/76

My dear Shore & Louisa

I am so thankful for this letter that I am thankful even for its tone of offence.

[Tho' what she *has* done, viz "*asking*" to give blankets "*needed by*" ~~to~~ Insurgents "*in the woods:* & "*promising*" the same "*to Vaso*", - is worse than anything I ~~was~~ expected: yet I would take no notice of this:] I think she is buckling nobly to her work: & the last sentences about *the Schools, Boarding out*

**f60v**

& *securing these for 3 years* are incomparably good:

& I should think good for *publicity*.

[I wish "*unbleached strong calico*" had not always been called "*linen*": it is so misleading.]

-----

Her 'mission' is nothing, if not a *non-political* one. Sometimes she sees this: & sometimes she does not.

-----

**f61r**

This letter is, I think, written after mine of the 4th: she has not, I think, yet received mine of the 6th: in which I praised & thanked her for her letter of facts & accounts: received by me the 5th: the same which with yours is in the Times - of the 13th.

Please, if you write, *give her a most tender message from me:* bidding her, in fact, stick to *her schools* as you said: & saying that we think *she is doing wonders*.

**f61v**

[She is full of genius & nobleness:  
 but "unstable as water. She ~~will~~ can not excel."]  
 Tell her too about Dr. Parkes' illness & death:  
 a cruel blow to our work & to us. almost a  
 fatal one: he has left us much to do  
 to save *the School*. he dictated a letter  
 to me when he was dying: I have seldom  
 or never known such disinterestedness & self  
 abnegation: he is a national loss - he  
 was only 56. he never thought of himself.  
 ever yrs F.N.

Letter, ff62-65, pen [8:852-53]

**f62r**

Miss Irby . . . 18/3/76  
 My dear Shore & Louisa  
 It seems hard that when she is working so nobly  
 & almost alone at such difficult & responsible  
 work her work should be embittered by  
 ideas so entirely false about English feeling.  
 And. tho' nothing practical can follow her being  
 disabused, it seems cruel not to try: because  
~~it~~ bitterness makes work, already hard enough, harder.  
 -----

She says: "It is terribly sad to find England  
 believing in Turkish promises."  
 There is *not* one person in "England" - certainly  
 not one person whose opinion is worth a straw  
 - who believes in "Turkish promises."  
 What ~~was~~ is "believed" in: is that Turkey, finding



**f62v**

all Europe, (& especially England,) now against her & NOT "*believing in ANY of her promises*" - would be obliged to submit to the united influence of European powers: perhaps including the armed ~~occupation~~ influence of Austria: & thus allow the fugitives to return to a *reformed* county.

-----

She has said (in many letters): "Andrassy's note is a humbug." All the Powers believed Andrassy's note:- Andrassy, more than any, believes Andrassy's note:- "a humbug": IF not guaranteed, as it was, by the European powers. But Andrassy's note, *backed by the Powers*, is a very different thing

-----

She says: "as I hear from a person much in the world, many people only wish success to the Turks X X as holders of Turkish bonds."

**f63r**

The "Turkish Bondholders"... . wish - *more than* any other people - the prosperity of the poor Insurgent provinces: if only & as the *only* means ~~of getting~~ to get their interest paid: & *more than* any others - if that be possible - know that the Insurgent provinces can only be prosperous *if* the Reforms, equality & freedom, AS UNDERSTOOD *by* THE POWERS, become *fact*.

-----

There may be people - I have never heard of any - who do not know "that it is utterly impossible to the fugitives to return *unless protected by* an armed force."

-----

The "Times" is worth this: it is never a day before,

**f63v**

it is never a day behind, public opinion. It is just what its name imports: the "Times": a faithful mirror of the opinion of the day. [Or, as one of its best men said to me: "The Times is a mercantile speculation: that is all."] If she would read the "Times", she would see that public opinion "in England" is *not at all* what she thinks.

-----

But, as above said, no practical effect will follow her being undeceived: because ~~she~~ it does not seem as if she could, or ought to, advise the Fugitives either way: one cannot advise them to go back & "be massacred" *on the faith of the Turkish promises*, UN-guaranteed by the Powers. It would seem as if the Insurgents' recent success (at Muratovizza) had made them yet more

**f64r**

[2]

disinclined to accept *any* terms (of pacification):

it would seem as if the Dalmatian governor had himself said that "for the present there was no hope that an Austrian occupation would pacify the country": (whatever that may mean.)

Of course the Bosnians, like people nearer home, have not the least idea of what Governments, ever so friendly, can or cannot do.

To buoy them up with what we can do is cruel. Or: the converse is: equally cruel.

But if they can by fresh successes: & every thing seems to point at Turkish finances falling

**f64v**

lower & lower: which is the real hope: achieve a greater measure of independence than by accepting *any* guarantee now: (even including an Austrian armed intervention) one can only, - remembering what Italy has achieved in 30 years:... . but then Italy had such leaders: - ~~bid~~ wish, *not* bid them Godspeed.

But in the meantime it is certain that Austria, (whose liberality in money seems to have been beyond ~~all~~ praise), means e.g. by the arrest of Ljnbibralich, his followers, and "a

**f65r**

lady," on *Austrian* territory, to show herself serious in carrying out her part of the ~~Guarantee or~~ agreement with Turkey:

-----

Miss Irby's 'mission' is nothing if not a non-political one. Nor could any one's be: for either you must assume the frightful responsibility (*in ignorance*) of persuading the Fugitives to go back: or you must be able to raise some hundreds of thousands £ to enable the responsibility of *carrying on* the Insurrection to be assumed.

**f65v**

One thing is certain, in the mean time: & I echo Miss Irby's words " with all my soul & all my strength &c &c" .. viz.

"No greater field of work, nor opportunity for widely reaching help, can hardly be than we find here." &c &c.

{pencil from here:}

[And this might do ~~for~~ to put for a "Heading": after that bit about Schools.]

-----  
N.B. One might add that the 'Times' never has been, never would be, induced to put in such a letter as that of its Rayusa 'Correspondent' to-day: or its Leader of yesterday, - were it not sure of public opinion: & that "the "public" ~~was~~ is" not "utterly indifferent," as Miss Irby says.

The 'Times' never leads.

[end 8:853]

18/3/76

Draft, f66r, pen

**f66r** {italics + shadow denotes red underlining: strikeout denotes feint pencil strikeout.}

*Heading for advertisement.*

Two schools have been established, attended by 130 children. Five girls are placed in families to attend the local school. *Some orphan lads are being apprenticed to*

*trades, locksmith, baker, carpenter etc. These arrangements will be carried on by*

*a local committee, which has been constituted for this purpose.* [red underline]

Over above 2000 women and children have been ~~given~~ supplied with clothing

March 10th

I think what was in the letters to you &

Add Mss 45793

700

to me was better than this:.. I should put *number*  
*of children* in each *school*: (as we agreed). [nothing about  
("five") "girls".] then add, about "*orphan lads*:" which is good:  
[say nothing about "Local Committee" till  
Miss Irby leaves the country:] then add  
about "*above 2000 women &c*"  
F.N. March 18

Letter, ff67-70, pencil

**f67r**

MISS IRBY (*Letter to you*)      Saturday: 25/3/76

My dear Shore & Louisa

[She says: It is sad to hear the ignorance about the [8:854-55]  
fugitives returning to their homes &c &c &c. their  
homes no longer existing &c &c &c]

----

There is no "ignorance" about this in England, Austria  
or Turkey: (among people who consider the subject at all)  
It is perfectly well known that *everything* must  
be 'found' for them *till next harvest*, if there  
is to be any possibility of their return.

----

Turkey has assigned a sum of £1,800,000  
for it: & has, it is understood, applied to Austria &

**f67v**

Russia to lend her the money.

Austria has likewise assigned considerable  
sums.

The Prince of Montenegro co-operates, it is said,  
with the Powers: in using his influence on same side.

-----

All this is not to say that the fugitives  
ought to ~~get~~ be induced to return:

if they can get independence, who would  
not wish it?

Or at least an armed intervention to  
protect them in returning to their own country.

**f68r**

Nor is it to say even that they ought to return  
till they have seen substantial pledges of  
the *preparation to furnish them with*  
*every thing till next harvest*. And this for  
*Bosnia* even more than for Herzegovina.

But it *is* to say that no "ignorance"  
prevails on the subject

that Turkey knows now that she must  
do & not promise

& that she must look to the European Powers acting seriously  
& not to their believing in any Firman or promise  
till it is being carried out.

**f68v**

All this may be found in the "Times",  
& in the Rayusa Correspondent', (who certainly  
does not fail in a *leaning towards* the poor  
Insurgents.)

In the "Times" of to-day, two effective letters  
on Herzegovina

**f69r**

Miss Irby . . . [2]

Certainly she is quite right in saying that  
*Miss Johnston's letter to her little niece*  
tells us more than ever she has done.

*the children with no clothes & little food*  
*crying to go to School*

*So weak from starvation that they cannot*  
*walk to School*

*the necessary dinner for them at School (that*  
*dinner brown bread)*

*the nakedness: the national costume* [like that  
[underlined in red pencil]

**f69v**

of Greece. F.N.] One loose shirt of very coarse  
calico with a girdle of warm stuff, a  
red cotton Cross on the sleeve: & a red  
fez.

*unbleached calico given to make each this one*  
*shirt: & then (that this may be washed)*  
*another*

*the children under 3 dying so fast* [underlined in red pencil]

**f70r**

Young men taking compassion on & bringing to these ladies  
*starved sick miserable orphans without father*  
*or mother* [underlined in red pencil]

these ladies often visiting & getting to know  
the ~~homes~~ families in which these *destitute*  
*little waifs are placed to attend School:* [red underline]  
-----

the post going two days *in a cart*, with  
an *armed man* by the driver for *protection*, [red underline]  
before it reaches the nearest Station.

**f70v**

All this makes a very telling  
picture

& might do for an effective *heading*: [end 8:855]

Letter, ff71-72r, pencil

**f71**

[3]

Miss Irby [her letter to me] Sunday: 26/3/76

My dear Shore & Louisa

I send you her letter just received:

-----

There appears a misunderstanding:

~~the~~ Austria, if she is to perform her part of the compact,  
~~must arrest combatants~~ make prisoners, & stop ammunition.

This is not the point: because all the Powers  
will say she is right *taking part in the 'note'*

The point is: *is the other part* of the compact,-  
the *making possible* the return of the Fugitives,-  
being carried out? i.e. are preparations being  
made, & secured by the Powers, for two things:

1. for *rebuilding, resettling & maintaining the Fugitives*  
*till next harvest*:
2. for ~~carrying out~~ putting in execution *bona fide* the provisions  
of the Firman as *understood by the*  
*Powers*.

It is impossible to wish any Fugitive to return

till these things are really patent to their eyes  
& as *being done: absolutely in progress & guaranteed*: (if  
necessary by Austria's armed intervention).  
-----

It is an important fact that "Turkish Croatia" is

**f71v**

[2]

is "worse" off than before the Firman:

if she can give details to support it.

**f72r**

[3]

N.B.

The Rayusa Correspondent has already  
 given more than a broad hint to the same purpose:  
 And I am very much mistaken if the  
 Vienna "Times" Correspondent has not  
 said the same thing: ~~in~~ a day or two ago.

-----

I am glad she has written it all to "George  
 Lefevre": but Lord Morley is nobody:  
 "Mr. Gladstone" will not take it up:  
 Lord Derby is the only person:

Draft,  
 arrest of Ljnbibralich, his followers, ff73r & 74r, pen, looks like an  
 earlier draft of f 75r.}  
 [blue pencil, FN hand]

"the enclosed" mentioned in Miss Irby's letter, 5 April, not enclosed to  
 FN. [arch note, not fully legible, revised and sent to the Times?]

Bosnian and Herzegovinian Fugitive Orphan Relief [pen]  
 Fund. (Association for promoting Education among  
 the Slavonic Christians of Bosnia and the Herzegovina,  
 formed 1865.)

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**f74r**

Amount received, £1260. [underlined in red pencil]  
The directresses are now distributing relief among the fugitives on the north west frontier. Upwards of 11 000 yards of coarse calico, 520 PAIRS of blankets, warm woollen clothing, opankés or hide shoes, etc., etc. have been given away.

Four schools have been established; four teachers having been found among the Bosnian fugitives. Eleven destitute girls have been boarded out, to attend school. Some orphan lads are being apprenticed to trades, blacksmith, baker, carpenter, etc. A dinner of bread is given daily to some of the children. More orphans are now offered than can be prudently undertaken, but money has been placed on deposit for the maintenance of schools and children. Subscriptions are received at Messrs Twining' Bank 215 Strand.

Draft, **75r**, pen

The Directresses are now distributing relief to the Fugitives on the north west Frontier where there is still the greatest need.

"We give away, in all the huts we visit, Linen, as it is called, i.e. strong unbleached Calico. Above 2000 Women & Children have been supplied with Clothing. Numbers of them have just come over on the 'dry Frontier': ~~but~~ many perished on the way. Our 2 Schools in this neighbourhood for Bosnian children are opened, one with 70, the other with 48 Pupils. We are trying to establish a third. We are apprenticing orphan lads to Trades: Smiths, Bakers, Carpenters. More children are now offered than we can prudently undertake: & we shall use the money for boarding out children & for schools here where we have gained a footing & made friends. I propose placing money on Deposit, to secure a sum for the maintenance of children & two schools for 3 years. A greater field for work or opening for widely reaching help can hardly be than we find here: and more & more do I see how much money is needed.

... We give to the men who can read Testaments & Psalms: the Psalms of 'David the Warrior'.

Extracts from Miss Irby's Letters, dated Pakratz in Slavonia, 14 March 1876

Sums already acknowledged £1260  
Subscriptions are received at Messrs. Twining's Bank, 215 Strand:

Every farthing goes direct to the object & nothing in expenses.

Letter, ff76-77r, pencil

35 S. St.

April 24-76

**f76**

Miss Irby [red underline]

My dear Louisa

I send you Miss Irby's *proposed Circular*: [red u/line] (& all that has come in her envelope just received:)

as also I return her last letter to you. *How hard they work!* [blue u/line]

I think you will think that the *Circular* [blue u/line] will have to be *re-written*: [red u/line] & I have ventured to indicate the direction in which I think the alterations will have to be made (in pencil)

*If you think the Circular will do as written by her*, [blue u/line] of course it would be better to leave it as

**f76v**

[3]

They have not ~~the least~~ idea of putting together things even so as to convey a correct expression

I have no doubt *they* supplement the items, which seem to us so small, *with their own money*.

I am terrified *at the Sub.ns coming to an end*. [blue underline]

[15/ a month for each child

boarded out seems large:

- even near London we do it for 3/ a week.]

But you see she does not say what 15/- includes. From the enormous proportion spent on "clothing", it can scarcely include clothing ever yours F.N.

-----  
Do you know if Shore wrote to Embley for greeneries for our Field Day at St Thomas'? [red underline]

**f77r**

they have ~~done~~ written it. & one need only rub out  
the pencil: & put 'Stet'

You will know best. *I think the Extract from  
Freeman good - the only effective part.*

2. I wish we could some how remodel & obfuscate the Account: [red u/line]  
by massing some items together.

It does look so ridiculous to the Public: e.g.

*Boarding out & School Expenses:* (for which she still says  
they went out)

considerably under £30 X

(tho' I have dele'd the "Clothing"):

& Calico considerably over £300 [red underline]

x Do you think we could mass together this item with

"given in money"-? {red underline} This is "given in money".

Letter, ff78-79r, pencil

[8:855-56]

**f78r**

Miss Irby {blue underline}

35 S. St.

29/4/76

6.a.m.

My dear Shore & Louisa

I set to work at 6, the morning after you left  
*her papers here:* blue u/line] but (while glad that you dispense  
with the Accounts: which are contradictory in themselves: v. blankets & fully  
appreciating your corrections):

I was even more struck than before with the (new &  
hitherto undiscovered) fact that a "*Report*" must be  
a Report: that Miss Irby's is none: [blue u/line] it needs to be  
*localised*, vivified & particularized: *no places* are  
given: *no descriptions:* [red u/line] it might all have passed  
in a hosier's shop in Fleet St. for anything she tells us:

**f78v**

**4** [I am so over-pressed at this time writing  
all the mornng. & seeing inexorable people on  
business till 8 at night that I was  
quite unable even to look at Miss Irby's papers  
yesterday.]

This morning I began at 6 a.m. & wrote  
*the enclosed.* which, however imperfectly, will  
show you what I mean about her lapsus pennae.  
She is certainly the Coriolanus of Advertisers.

*If you will correct or amend or destroy this,  
I will gladly correct the press.* [red underline]  
[One never can tell how any thing will look till  
one sees it in print.]

**f79r**

2. Could we not change *the farce* of "*Orphans'* Fund [red u/line]  
to ? *Children's*? [blue underline] [end 8:856]  
ever yrs  
F.N.

Letter, ff80-82r, pen ff80-82

[5:268-69]

**f80**

*Miss Irby* [red underline]

May 15/

Dear Shore & Louisa

I have ventured to put the *Heading for*  
*Adv.t* {red u/line} as I should suggest it.

It is impossible to let her go on putting  
"*linen*", {blue u/line} when it is *not linen*, & when  
English people have no idea of what she  
means.

2. I should sign with *both their names & Christian names*  
& *date & address*, at full length, {blue u/line} *both Advertisement*  
& *Circular*: but *most certainly Circular*. {red underline}  
[The *London* address confuses ~~friend~~ Subscribers]

**f80v**

3. I have corrected *one Circular* {red underline}  
up to *present information*: {blue underline}  
"*seven Schools &c*" {red underline}

4. *top of p.4.*

Do you think we might venture  
to put in the *Salonica murder*? {red underline}

It is now matter of history:  
[If the Consuls had devoted themselves to  
being murdered on purpose for the cause,  
they could not have done a wiser or more timely  
thing:]

**f81r**

5. *bottom of p.3*

Do you object to the *Italics*?

6. I do not think I can do more  
without seeing the *M.S.* from which {red underline}  
this was printed. It makes revision so much  
more easy & thorough. Is the "*Great Zupan*" right?- {pencil}

7. *I should like to see a Revise of*  
*this*: {red u/line} *With my corrected Proof*: {blue u/line}  
if you adopt any of my suggestions:

How nobly they are working!

[end 5:269]

Letter, ff82r, pencil

[5:270]

**f82r**

Miss Irby

May 19/76

5. a.m

My dear Shore &amp; Louisa

This is the way I should correct the last Proof. [8:856]  
but I don't think any of the corrections very important  
(if you do not:) except {blue u/line} the insertion of the *only*  
precise & *complete fact* {blue u/line} she has ever  
given us: *the number 45946 on the military frontier*  
and a *tr.* at the *bottom of p.4* {red underline}

**f83**

Draft with revisions, f83r, pen (revisions in pencil)  
{Revisions are FN's; draft is in another hand. Revisions indicated by  
strikeout (original) and shadow (revision).}

[I think speed now more important than  
anything else.]

I will gladly *look at the Revise again* before  
printing off: *for fear of misprint* {blue u/line} in *number:* {red  
u/line}

yrs ever

F.N.

[end 5:270]

[end

8:856]

**f83r**

*Heading for Advertisement.*

Seven schools have been established for  
Bosnian children, seven schoolmasters  
having been ~~discovered~~ found among the fugitives.  
~~Thirteen~~ The destitute girls are boarded out.

Many urgent entreaties ~~calico~~ for ~~rough unbleached calico~~ for  
clothing reach  
us from Districts which have not yet  
received any help. We have no more  
money in hand with which to purchase  
further supplies.

Pakratz May 8. 1876

Draft, **f84v**, pen, FN hand

*Heading for Advertisement*

Seven schools have been established for Bosnian children, seven schoolmasters having been found among the fugitives. The destitute girls are boarded out. The distress is increasing. ~~Many~~ Urgent entreaties for (rough unbleached) calico for clothing reach us from districts which have not yet received any help. We have no more money in hand with which to purchase ~~a~~ further supplies.

A. Paulina Irby. {not signed. FN hand.}

Priscilla Johnston.

Pakratz in Slavonia

May 8 1876

**f84v** has list of donations received, headed by Miss N 50.0.0, includes Miss L. Twining 5.0.0, Lady Verney the same, Mrs Shore Smith 1.1.0, Mrs Bonham Carter 5.0.0, Sir Fowell Buxton 5.0.0, Earl of Shaftesbury 10.0.0, F.W. Verney 1.0.0, T. Fowell Buxton 25.0.0, master of Balliol 10.0.0., and 2 Hon. Irby's; Loyd Lindsay and Overstone, Sir C Trevelyan Mrs Bonham Carter £5,

Draft, ff86-87r, pen, in another hand, with FN's pencil corrections.  
{FN's corrections indicated by strikeout & shadow.}

**f86r**

## Report of the Directresses

The circulars of the Association printed in November (& December) 1875, stated that - besides continuing the Girl's school at Serajevo and the Branch Home in Prague, - we were going to the ~~spot~~ N.W. Austrian Frontier to relieve assist on the spot the most pressing needs of ~~the~~ starving children of Bosnian & Herzegovinian Fugitives on the N.W. Austrian Frontier, where least was being done for them. We have now the following account to give of the manner in which the Funds so generously entrusted to us are *being expended*.

Four schools (have been) are started for Bosnian children, taught by native Schoolmasters, (whom we have) found amongst the Fugitives. and (we are about to) 2 more are being established (two more). A dinner, ~~but only the~~ of brown bread, is daily given to the children otherwise too weak from starvation to walk to school.

**f87r**

[2]

Professors of the newly established Serb Training School of Pakratz in Slavonia, humane men, devoted to their calling, ~~have bestowed~~ much time on these our new schools & are teaching the ill trained Bosnian schoolmasters how to teach. ~~Bosnian~~ Whole communities haveing come over en masse from Bosnian villages ~~and it is not improbable~~ we may expect that these schoolmasters, in the event of the ~~return of the~~ Fugitives' return, will accompany the communities in which they are now established & continue at home ~~in their own land~~ and at home the schools started in exile. To ~~continue~~ secure the continuance of these schools it is absolutely essential to have a considerable sum in hand. We are incurring a continuous expence of about £20 a month & have placed ~~£400~~ a sum [blue] on deposit

**f88r**

[3]

account in order to meet this ~~continuous expense~~  
for some time to come.

Girls, (orphans, or ~~very poor~~ destitute) ~~have been~~ are boarded  
out in native families in Pakratz to attend School,  
& more are being ~~taken~~ thus provided for. These little girls  
are to wear their national dress of ~~their part of~~ Turkish  
Croatia: a loose skirt of strong coarse calico  
with a girdle of warm stuff & a large red  
cotton cross on the sleeve: a long black cloth  
jacket without sleeves has been added. The red fez is unattainable  
here. [blue] Starving  
& sickly orphans clothed only in a scanty  
rag, have been brought to us thro' the snow  
by a young Bosnian. no relation who had  
taken compassion These poor little exiles  
are kindly cared for ~~to the best of their~~  
~~knowledge~~ by the families of kindred race & faith in which they are  
boarded. We pay about 15/ a month for each child.  
We had all these children vaccinated as soon as we could get  
the vaccine straight from the cow-pock establishment in  
Styria. The Doctor has already vaccinated ~~above~~ more than 50 other  
children

**f88v**

from two of these, & is going to vaccinate  
some hundreds from these others.



**f89r**

We

[4] 335,9

£335:9:0 ~~We have been~~ expended in the purchase of rough unbleached calico to supply the place of the worn coarse home-made linen, the chief material worn by ~~the~~ Bosnian women & children. It was found impossible to restrict the relief to children. ~~Many of the suffering mothers have likewise been~~ without leaving the fugitive mothers & young women to starve to ~~die~~ death more or less rapidly. ~~(of cold and destitution to death)~~ ~~given food & clothing~~ The naked had literally to be clothed: sometimes the hungry to be fed., &, in some instances, shirts ~~(given food and clothing)~~ & clothing ~~have been supplied~~ to be supplied to fathers & brothers. 520 pairs of blankets & 1000 yards of woollen stuff were brought from England. Between 2000 & 3000 women & children have thus been clothed by us ~~and~~ ~~very many~~ & the bare foot shod with hide shoes. Psalms & Testaments have been given to the men who can read. By special request of two contributors ~~of the subscribers~~ some of the wounded men have been helped & cared for. A small sum has been entrusted to a Slavonian Landowner, himself of Bosnian origin, to furnish ~~little~~ supplies of seed - (beans, onions,

**f89v** {all FN's hand, pencil}

~~We have, driving~~ The means of communication are:  
tearing thro' mud up to the axles & over  
stones for 7 hours at a time in ~~a~~ springless carts,  
or ~~sometimes~~ in deep winter over snow in sledges: or at other  
times sticking in the mud, obliged to get out  
on a bank, & kindly rescued by ~~a~~ country carts  
drawn by two white Juno-eyed oxen -  
We visited, ~~resided in - stopped~~ staying some days or weeks,  
& distributed the relief, so kindly placed in our  
hands, in the towns & neighbouring villages or  
districts of amongst others Petrinia, Glina, Kostainitza,  
Gradishka, Okucani, Kunovai, Kukonevao, Pakratz, Posega,  
~~This~~ We did, with the help of the "Great Zupan" & other  
trustworthy Serb & Bosnian authorities on the spot.

Needless to say that the Directresses' expenses are not charged to  
the Fund. Every farthing goes direct to the object:

Specimens of the huts in which the ~~people~~ fugitives are: small miserable looking wooden stifling places with two partitions: one open to the weather serving as kitchen & pig sty the other ~~serves~~ as dwelling & sleeping place for 2 or 3 families of 3 generations from 13 to 20 persons: not one single article of furniture: a naked newborn babes lying on the earthen floor: the hut-owners, Bosnian fugitives of 1858 having taken in ~~the~~ ~~other~~ Bosnian fugitives of Sept. 1875. Sometimes huts used only for the vintage are occupied with permission by the Fugitives. Sometimes 20 or 30 lie in a shed: sleeping round a fire with their feet towards it: no chimney. Often the population of these poor villages is much more than doubled by the Fugitives.

**f90**

[5]

and Indian corn), to ~~the~~ Bosnian Fugitives ~~who are~~ likely to remain for the present on the waste ground he assigns to them. ~~Some~~ We are getting flax seed for the women to sow, in order to be able to make their own beautiful strong linen Boys have been placed out as apprentices and are going on well. & Arrangements are being made for others.

The number of Fugitives is constantly increased by fresh arrivals [this is hopeless loss [?] and it is indeed hopeless to expect it to diminish - or that to expect unarmed Christians ~~and~~ to return to seek the sites of their now destroyed homes amidst the armed ~~infuriated~~ exasperated Mussulman population. There are now more than 40,000 Fugitives in these parts of Croatia & Slavonia. Up to this time the people have been kept from actually starving by the Austrian Allowance but when that is withdrawn though ~~some~~ strong men will still be able to support themselves & families by labour the rest will be dependent on charity ~~for food~~ for food. The mortality amongst the {continues on to f91r}

**f90v**, {All another hand} {follows on from f91r}

X may this follow? {blue}

"It is not every day that we can give to martyrs.

The ablest struggle that man can wage, the strife between right & wrong between freedom & bondage, between Christendom & Islam is now going on among the mountains of Herzegovinia & in Bosnia. Men fighting for their faith & freedom without help from any Christian government have like the heroes of old waxed valiant in fight & turned to flight the armies of the aliens." {Next 2 sentences erased:} No man has ever yet appealed to in a nobler cause. The smallest gift may purchase save a life.

These are the words of Ed. Freeman the Historian.

~~Fugitives, orphans & childrens Relief~~

~~Subscriptions to the Relief fund for Fugitive  
Bosnian & Fugitive orphans & children~~

**f91r** {FN's corrections on another hand} {pencil}

[6]

the very young children has been terrible. It could not be otherwise.

Small

pox & typhus are still raging round about

Kostainitza & Glina on the Croatian

Frontier: the churchyards are full of new graves. More help is sorely needed.

We ask if ~~to enable~~ in order to help these poor suffering people to help themselves.

{pen} In the words of Edward Freeman the Historian:

"We crave help for helpless beings who are, in truth,

confessors of their faith. For apostasy would

at any moment have removed them from the

ranks of the oppressed to the ranks of the

oppressors. We ask it of Christians, as they

would have given help to men flying from

Pagan persecution: we ask it of Englishmen,

as they wd. have given help to the sick &

wounded of Senlac & Evesham" X {continues on to f90v}

{pencil} Suppress the whole account.

**f91v**, pencil {FN hand}

Some account must be given of the

different towns, villages & districts in which

they have on the spot distributed relief:

Glina, Posega, Pakratz, Kostainitza, &c &c &c

the Directresses always paying their own expenses & more

Printed proof, with FN's handwritten revisions, ff92-94, print, pen  
 {hand revisions indicated by shadow.}

**f92r**

*Proof*  
 13/5/76

~~APRIL~~ May 1876

REVISE

BOSNIAN AND HERZEGOVINIAN FUGITIVES' ORPHAN

RELIEF FUND.

Association for promoting education among the Slavonic  
 Christians of Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

(Formed 1865)

Patrons.

Archbishop of Canterbury	Earl of Shaftesbury
	Metropolitan of Serbia.
President.	Vice President.
Archbishop of York	Andrew Johnston, Esq.

Committee

Rev. W.T. Bullock	Humphrey Sandwith, C.B.
Rev. J. Llewellyn Davies	Lord Henry Scott, M.P.
Rev. W. Denton.	Mrs. Shore Smith.
Rev. Oswald Dykes, D.D.	Miss L. Twining.
W. H. Hall, Esq.	Mrs. A. De Noe Walker.
Miles MacInnes, Esq.	Dean of Westminster.
Directresses for the Association	
Miss A.P. Irby, <del>20 Hyde Park Gardens</del>	Miss Johnston, <del>Woodford, Essex</del>
General Secretaries	
Arthur J. Evans, B.A., F.S.A., 53, Broad Street, Oxford.	Lewis Evans, Esq., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead.

**f92v**

ACCOUNT OF THE DIRECTRESSES' WORK  
For the information of Subscribers and Friends.

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The circulars of our Association, printed in November, 1875, stated that, besides continuing the girls' school at Serajevo and the branch Home in Prague, we were going to the north-west Austrian frontier of the Turkish provinces in revolt to assist, on the spot, the starving children and orphans of Bosnian and Herzegovinian fugitives, where least was being done for these poor, homeless, schoolless little souls. We have now the following account to give of the manner in which the funds so generously entrusted to us are being expended:

We have ~~started four~~ established seven schools in Slavonia for Bosnian children, taught by seven native schoolmasters found amongst the fugitives, ~~and two more are being established.~~ A dinner, only of brown bread, is daily given to the children, otherwise too weak from starvation to walk to school. Professors of the newly-established Serb Training School, at Pakratz (qy. c) in Slavonia, humane men, devoted to their calling, bestow much time on these our new schools, and are teaching the ill-trained Bosnian schoolmasters how to teach. Whole communities having come over *en masse* from Bosnian villages, we may expect that these schoolmasters, in the event of the fugitives' return, will accompany the communities in which they are now established, and continue at home the schools started in exile. To secure their continuance of these schools, it is absolutely essential to have a considerable sum in hand. We are incurring a continuous expense of about 20£. a month, and have placed a sum on deposit account, in order to meet this for some time to come.

Girls (orphans or destitute) are boarded out in native families at and about Pakratz to attend school, and more are being thus provided for. These little girls are to wear their national dress of Turkish Croatia: a loose skirt (shirt h) of strong coarse calico, with a girdle of warm stuff, and a large red cotton cross on the sleeve; a long black-cloth jacket without sleeves has been added. (The red fez is unattainable here.) Starving & sickly orphans, clothed only in a scanty rag, have been brought to us through the snow by a young Bosnian. These poor little exiles are kindly cared for by the families, of kindred race and faith, in which they are boarded. We pay about 15s. a month for each child.

We had all these children vaccinated as soon as we could get the vaccine straight from the cow-pock establishment in Styria.

**f93r**

[3]

More than fifty other children have already been vaccinated from two of these, and some hundreds are to be vaccinated from these fifty.

We have expended 335£. 9s. in buying rough unbleached calico to supply the place of the coarse home-made linen, the chief material worn by Bosnian women and children. Impossible to restrict relief to children without leaving fugitive mothers and young women to go starving to a more or less slow death. The naked had literally to be clothed, sometimes the weak and hungry to be fed, and sometimes shirts and clothing to be supplied to fathers and brothers. One thousand and forty blankets and one thousand yards of woollen stuff were brought from England. Nearly three thousand women and children have thus been clothed, and the barefoot shod with hide shoes. Some orphan lads have been placed out as apprentices to trades, and are going on well. Arrangements are being made for others. Psalms and Testaments have been given to the men who can read. By special request of two contributors, some of the wounded have been cared for. [A small sum has been entrusted to a Slavonian (N.P) landowner, himself of Bosnian origin, to furnish seed, beans, onions, and Indian corn, to Bosnian fugitives likely to remain for the present on waste ground assigned to them by him. We are getting flax seed for the women to sow, in order to be able to make their own strong linen.

~~Some orphan lads have been placed out as apprentices to trades, and are going on well. Arrangements are being made for others.~~

We have visited many towns, and their neighbouring villages and districts; amongst others, Petrinia, Glina, Kostainitza (qu.), Gradishka, Okucani, Kunovai, Kukonevao, Posega, Pakratz (s.). We stayed some days or weeks in each, applying the relief so kindly placed in our hands; in each case with the advice and help of the "Great Zupan" or other trustworthy Serb and Bosnian authorities on the spot.

To give some description of the fugitives' dwellings - they are small, miserable, stifling wooden huts, with two partitions; one open, serving as kitchen and pigsty, the other as dwelling and sleeping place for two or three families of three generations - twelve to twenty persons; no one article of furniture; naked new-born babes lying on earthen floors. In some instances the hut-owners are Bosnian fugitives of 1858, taking in the victims of the flight of September, 1875. For, in this industrious race, some old refugees have by hard labour & thrift become owners of small well-won property. Sometimes huts used only for the vintage are

occupied by exiles. Sometimes we have found twenty or thirty living in a shed, sleeping with their feet to the fire in the midst: no

chimney. [*Often the populations of these poor villages are much more than doubled by the advent of the fugitives.* (N.P. Ital.)

Our journies were made tearing through mud up to the axles and over stones for seven hours at a time, on springless carts; or in



~~deep~~ mid winter, over snow in sledges; or sticking fast in deep mud  
till

rescued by country carts, drawn by two white Juno-eyed oxen.

The number of fugitives is constantly *increasing by fresh arrivals*.

(Ital.)

It is, indeed, hopeless to expect it to diminish - to expect unarmed

f93v

[4]

Christians to return seeking waste places where once stood their now destroyed homes, amidst the armed and exasperated Mussulman population: when even foreign Consuls in a civilized Turkish city, where the Mahometans number only one fourth of the population, ~~have been~~ are brutally murdered by an infuriated Mussulman mob.

There are now more than ~~40,000~~ 45,000 fugitives in these parts of Croatia and Slavonia. Up to this time they have been saved from actual starvation by the Austrian allowance; but when that is with- drawn, strong men may still be able to support themselves and families by labour, but the rest will depend on charity for food. The death-toll paid by the young children has been like Herod's Massacre of the Innocents. Smallpox and typhus are still raging round Kostainitza (S.) and Glina on the Croatian frontier. Everywhere the church- yards are full of new graves, the small graves far the thickest. These are the graves of the poor little "confessors" of their faith.

More help is urgently, sorely, daily needed. We ask it in order to help these poor suffering people to help themselves. "For the largest gift and use can be found, and the smallest may perchance save a life. It is not every day that we can give to martyrs. The noblest struggle that man can wage, the strife between right and wrong, between freedom and bondage, between Christendom and Islam, is now going on in the Herzegovina and Bosnia. We crave help for helpless beings, the fugitives who are in truth confessors of their faith. For apostasy would at any moment have removed them from the ranks of the oppressed to the ranks of the oppressors.

We ask it of Christians, as they would have given help to men flying from Pagan persecution; we ask it of Englishmen, as they would have given help to the sick and wounded of Senlac and Evesham." From a letter of the historian, Edward Freeman.

The distress is continually increasing.

Many Urgent entreaties reach us from districts which have not yet received any help.

We have no more money to hand.

It is needless to say that the Directresses' expenses are not charged to the fund.

Every farthing goes direct to the object. Amount received up to April 19, 1876, 1344l. 8s. 0d.

A. Paulina Irby.

Priscilla Johnston.

Pakratz in Slavonia

May 8 1876

Letter, f95, pencil/pen [5:270]

**f95r** {pen}

23/5/76

My dear Shore & Louisa

This is hard upon you & me:  
To correct other people's papers  
~~Circulars~~ is always the most  
exhausting & lengthy of all business -  
[I could have written half  
my Indian book in the  
time I have given to Miss  
Irby's Circulars & Adv.ts:  
& written the same 100 times  
over.]

I do not think the present  
Circular bad: *but neither*  
*is it good* {blue u/line} & it is quite out of date: *He should wait*  
*for Miss Irby's own circular.* [blue]

1. a I wanted ~~p.~~

2 p.3 Amount (*I have not got it*)

? 13 hundred odd £

*up to April 19* {red u/line} It is in Miss Irby's circular:

{pen} I should

**f95v** {pen}

simply tell him *that you*  
*will send him Miss*  
*Irby's new Circular in*  
*a day or two: where*  
*he will find all he*  
*wants:* {blue u/line} & return him  
*his own:* on which I have  
made some notes. {red u/line}

You cannot be worried  
in this way.

It gives me a spasm  
at the heart.

F.N.

23/5/76

Letter, f96r, pencil/pen [8:856]

**f96r**

Miss Irby's Circular. 26/5/76

This is all right now:  
except that I suppose. the first "General  
Secretary's address {red u/line} has to be *taken out*:  
("Secretary's" à non Secretari-ando). I have done so. {pen}  
& I understand from Stanford's letter {pen} the "Directresses'" London  
addresses are to be *put in* again. {red u/line}  
I have done so: very unwillingly: {pen}

I think the sooner this is circulated now:  
& also sent to ~~the~~ these wretched {pen} "Secretaries", *the better* {red  
u/line}

{pen}

Is it not absurd to put in a *Secretary's* name  
without an address? Could not the two Evans' names be lumped together?  
{red underline}

Letter from Miss Irby to Louisa, with FN's comments added, f97, pen  
{FN's comments in coloured pencil} {archivist's date: 1876} [5:271-72]

**f97r**

Pakratz, Aug 29

Dear Louisa

Would you be so very kind as to forward this letter/enclosed/  
to Mr. *Steinthal*, with a *new circular*. Mr. Steinthal is a  
leading Unitarian minister & philanthropist but I forget his  
initials, & whether he lives at Birmingham or Liverpool.  
I think you,- or some of your people, without doubt,- know him  
personally. (Don't take any trouble about it.)

We leave Pakratz on 9th or 10th June. We shall go to  
visit a place or two on the Croatia Frontier. Please  
direct Poste Restante Agram. With you soon

**f97v** {Red and red underline is FN's comments}

kindly repeat *the advertisement, with 8 instead of 7 schools.* {red u/line}

We had to take in another child, too, this mornng  
an orphan, whose father was murdered by Turks, & whose  
uncle, a brave crusader has been in Pakratz hospital wounded.

We are beset with applications for help: most of  
them from ragged & starving petitioners.

We had some groups photographed yesterday.

To-morrow we go on expedition to establish an *eighth* school  
in A VILLAGE {red u/line} in the hills, FN: oh where? What 'Village'?  
Name, name {red} and visit two others.

The Serbs are well pleased with England's conduct as regards the 2nd

adv. of *Andrassy Shams*, {red u/line} & they hope to find England their  
friend, at

FN:

this is surely not a '*sham*': it is throwing Turkey into the arms of  
her fate:

& the name of that fate is: Russia. The Sultan's depositions has  
stopped this. {blue}

least not hindering & hampering their own efforts. Would you show  
Florence the

enclosed for [from?] Mr. Freeman (I wrote to thank him for the Pall  
Mall using [?] his letter  
embodying my information.)

Ever yours affy  
A.P. Irby

Letter, ff98-99, pen

**f98r**

35 S. St.  
16/6/76

My dear Shore & Louisa

*Could you be so very kind as to put up*  
*Macaulay's Life, 2 Vols:* (Which Miss Petherick  
tells me my mother has done with)

& send it by *BOOK-POST TO-DAY* to

*Sir Harry Verney* {red u/line}

Claydon House

Bucks:

The accounts of him are quite good: indeed  
he wrote to me himself in pencil:  
but while the painful catching of the breath

**f98v**

continues, it is as important as it is difficult  
to keep him from talking: & it is supposed  
this book will have a soporific effect:

-----

If *Shore* should be passing this way {red u/line}  
about 6 o'clock to-day: & would look  
in: I should be glad:

But, if not, not:

-----

I will return *Miss Irby's* letter: how I wish {red u/line}  
she would put into a Circular what  
is there told as arranged.  
[It is not the "Kolo" dance which "interests"  
me:

One cannot regenerate a 'nation' by a  
'national' dance.

It is the sad, keen, intelligent faces  
of the other photographs, which give one  
hope of regeneration.

-----

*Dr. Angus Smith's Air-test:* {red u/line}  
enclosed my answer:  
ever yrs  
F.N.

Letter, ff100-01r, pencil {archivist's date: 1876}

**f100r**

*Miss Pethik.}*

35 S. St  
June 24

My dear Louisa

Thank you very much for your letter: & for  
all your kind thought about my Mother.

You say you "want me to ask me questions" &c.

- I have just learnt that the St Mary's Matronship  
is not to be decided to-day: & have telegraphed  
it to Miss Williams (our Candidate) So that I  
do not know whether she returns here to-day:  
but at all events she will not take up my  
whole afternoon on business.

I do not like to ask you to come, ~~as~~ on your children's

**f100v**

day:

but if *you or Shore* are passing this way  
*this afternoon*, I could gladly see either  
 at any time you will name, provided  
 I know beforehand.

**f101r**

*Miss Irby*

I send you her letter just received.

-----

I thought it just possible you might like to  
 know of her offer about my mother

-----

I suppose they will be at home next week

-----

I wrote to her at Agram: She has evidently  
 not had my letter.

-----

How *can* she believe such romancing about England  
 sending "money & provisions to the Turks"? How  
 angry "Col. Lindsay" will be with her, I fear:  
 ("If he can find out *whether it is true*") "If it were true," the  
                   ever yrs   F.N. {House of Commons would have  
   {had a voice in it.

Letter, ff102-03r, pen

**f102r**

L.H.

Oct 21/76

6.a.m.

My dear Shore & Louisa

Only one word to report:

Barba. is well & jolly: & reads hymns & songs for her own pleasure!!!  
 Miss Mochler spiritual in soul, & I think better  
 in health.

Our nursing at the Herbert Hospl. does open on  
 Wednesday week: & as I could not go to the  
 mountain, I asked the mountain to come here  
 to me in 4 detachments: but I think it  
 is finally settled that I shall have them up  
 when I go to London, after they have been  
 some little time at the Herbert, by turns:

**f102v**

I am not sure but that this is best: I think it  
hardly does to run the risk of introducing  
any but 'carefully-selected' strangers to my  
Mother, when you or Louisa to whom she is  
so gratefully indebted, are not here to make  
matters acceptable to her.  
I only mention this 'Herbert' arrangement, in order  
to put it off your minds, as you were so kindly  
anxious about it:  
I heard of Miss Irby ~~at~~ from Leipzig & from Prague: & from Vienna this  
morning:  
all well. But what a tremendous business  
is this European business.

**f103r**

Poor Servia: She (Miss Irby) calls it, (as I have done in  
past days, ~~the~~ more in hope than in  
expectation) the Slavonic Piedmont:  
it seems to me now more like a Murex shell  
lying on the shore with a big beast  
of a crab occupying it, or rather with  
two of the claws on one side occupying  
it & the big burly unwieldy body  
which can't get in sticking outside  
with all its other gigantic claws outside too.  
in gtest haste  
ever yrs  
F.N.

Letter, f105r, pen [5:272]

**f105r**

35 S. St.  
Ap 4/78

Dearest Louisa

I have had at last a full account from  
Miss Irby of all her works. [They are wonderful.]  
almost too late. I will send it to you as soon as I  
have thought what best to do with it for the cause.

May God avert this dreadful cloud of war!  
I am almost afraid it is too late for people to give  
money to her sick & starving. They will say  
"we shall want it all ourselves.:  
I hope Thames Bank & also Ben. Smith are  
doing well: yrs ever,  
F.N.



Letter, ff106-07, r only, pencil black-edged paper [8:857]

**f106r**

15/1/79

Dearest Louisa

Miss Irby sends me the enclosed letter to read  
& *post*. She expresses a wish that they, the Edinburgh  
people, should *print* it. It will not do her  
much good if they do. And I almost hope they  
won't. How like Coriolanus she is!  
I think I cannot but send it round by you:  
please *post it to-night*. {red u/line} {How good the Edinburgh  
----- {people are!

2. I have been so 'be-devilled' by people staying in the  
house. May I have the honour of "Cousin *Louis*"  
& *barbarina's* company to tea on *Friday or Saturday* {red u/line}

f107r

*or Monday* to tea at 5. {red u/line} [end of holidays dangerously  
near]- and dear *Rosy* {red u/line} (& Sam - but he is not  
going away) on any *intermediate evening* or on *Sunday* {red u/line}  
at 5. [My visitors do not leave me till  
tomorrow (Thursday) ~~and on~~ Thursday & Friday  
are my African & Indian mail days.]

R.S.V.P.

With very very many loves to all the dear children  
& to yourselves twain always, always & ever: [end 8:857]

Aunt Florence

Envelope, **f108r**, pencil

*Immediate*} with *lilies of the valley*  
for my dearest mother  
& 2 hyacinths for Mrs Grace.

F.N.

Mrs. Shore Smith  
30 York Place

15/1/79

Letter, ff109-10, r only, pencil [8:857-58]

**f109r**

Dearest I do so agree with the words of  
Canon Liddon which I have copied out.

Of course he cannot write to Bp Strossmayer till you  
hear what Miss Irby wishes?

Thanks for Miss Peddie's letter. What I do feel  
so grievously is that we can do *nothing* (as Miss Peddie *We can*  
says. I am so glad that they did not print that letter)  
*till* we have *facts: till* we know something definite  
about the poor homeless re-patriated, *till* we  
know something about ~~the~~ her plans & means for  
helping them. This was the terrible want in  
Geo. Lefevre's letter. It was more a party letter  
than an appeal. I am working

**f110r**

double tides to get Indian papers ready  
before meeting of Parlt.

Yesterday Miss Helmsdörfer (whom we trained  
at St. T.'s) & who nursed Pss Alice to the last  
was with me I think I never heard a more  
pathetic account.

Miss Irby sent me the printed paper  
24/1/79

[end 8:858]

Letter, ff111-12r, pencil [8:858]

**f111r**

27/1/79  
10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Dearest Louisa

I am rather *relieved* at the  
pacific tone of Miss Irby's letter!  
I have heard her say much  
more violent things against  
Bp Strossmayer.

I think, as you ask me, (with  
you) 'good may still be done  
'by recognition & mention of her'.  
[I do not quite believe all  
she says against Bp S. But  
then, on the other hand, *with*  
*that opinion of him*, (you &  
I know her well enough to know  
that), she *could* not behave to  
him in any way that would promote  
his help. There is always that to be

**f111v**

considered.]

I return your letter & hers  
in time, I hope, for post  
-----  
-----

I am always sorry not to answer  
your letters by return of messenger.  
But at present it is almost  
impossible to me to read  
a letter not sent by post before 4 or to  
answer it before next morning.  
-----

Thanks, thanks for what you  
say about my mother: I read  
that- I am sorry for Saturday's  
dilemma.

How good you are!  
-----

**f112r**

I hope Sam is *quite* well  
again. And I return the  
dear little letters two from  
Hampstead. 10001 loves.

-----

I shd. not like to trouble  
Barbara B. to write a  
letter to be sent to Mr. Long. now.

I *have* written to him, telling  
him that *he must not*  
expect it & *must*  
call at Nannin's at Algiers

All good loves & good  
wishes

[end 8:858]

ever yrs

F.N.

Letter, f117r, pencil

**f117r**

Dearest Louisa

If Shore will kindly do my Map this next week, that must do

But I could not do without the Madras news *paper* so long.  
I am wanting it every hour. If you or he will kindly  
*send it back* to-night, I will send it to him again  
next week for him so kindly to do my Map.

[I have to write to the Duke of Buckingham who  
wrote to me about the Canal in the Madras newspaper]

Please be so very good as *return* me Miss Irby's  
List of Corn Distributions.

Did you approve of the heading of Saturday's Adv.t  
in "Times"?

I hope Miss Peddie will put something of it into  
her Circular. The List was sent to her.

Please let me have some of the Circulars  
mentioned in Miss P.'s Post Card.

Bp Stossmayer's letter simply dreadful.  
1000 blessings  
& thanks

Comments on draft, ff118r & 119v, pencil

**f118r** {shadow + italics indicates red underlining}

p.2

root: does this mean roots?

p.3 top

I think she does not mean "*calico for shirts*" in the sense in which our working men wear shirts.

- does she not mean that very coarse material which forms the only ~~arge~~ garment for women & sometimes, I believe, for men?

"Calico" & "shirts" sounds too comfortable: does it not?

p.3 4 lines from top

"the extent to which further help can be given"

? insert 'to these unhappy, homeless, ~~hopeless~~ famine-stricken ~~dying~~ creatures,- dying on the threshold of

what once was home,- without work or

hope of work, thro' no fault or thriftlessness

of their own',- "will depend &c to

"Great Britain"

p.3. not two "promising"s. Could we put

"fruitful"?

p.3 I would just omit "10 or 12". She told me

in a letter they were paying them "£1 a week": &

it makes it seem ridiculous. She who relieves not "12" but

"12 thousand."

p.3 Would you not omit: "but we do not see our

'way to do this at present".

**f119v**

[2]

*p. 3. 4th line from bottom**? insert {red u/line}*

"Death from starvation is busy in the caves,  
especially among the young girls; "and it is certain  
"that" many" more "are perishing" &c (down to) "Alps"  
"& in" dens {blue u/line} "& holes along the frontier"

Dearest Louisa

I think you have improved this so much that,  
especially in this short time, I have only been  
~~ventured~~ able to make a few suggestions, of  
which you will judge better than I.

At the end, I think we cannot leave about  
the "10 or 12 Bosnians" or the "two girls".

We are safe enough ~~at last~~ alas! Mr  
Evans talks of "600" dying in one village.  
And she who relieves instead of "10 or 12"  
"10 or 12" *thousand* - - we cannot let her  
make herself work ridiculous:

dearest Louisa, ever yrs with love to Sam &amp; all

F.N.

What a wonderful work these 2 are doing, equipping "relief  
expeditions"- those 2 by themselves

Notes on a draft Circular, f120r, pencil

**f120r**

p.2. This does not give an idea of the extremity of distress: Mr Evans' does.

Could there not be put in something like this: p.2 X

"Almost Without food, without bedding, furniture, & ~~almost~~ nearly without clothes, - indeed with hardly anything but fuel, - without seed, cattle or implements to ~~cultivate~~ till the ground, in shelters which scarcely deserve

down to

"burned down" - Insert "Among the living lie the dead".

p.2

This mixing up of "kreutzers", "florins" & "gulden" is very bad: is it not?

Why cannot the *English* money be given?

And what is the *English* money for "1000 sacks of corn"? What does "2f. 5300 gulden" mean?

Dearest Louisa I am so sorry to have only had time to do this - But surely this Circular could be improved.

Evans' letter very good

Letter, f121r, pencil **[8:858]**

**f121r**

*Miss Irby's Circular:* 12/2/79

Dearest Louisa I don't know whether  
you were able to make anything of my rough  
pencil Observations on the Circular,  
if I could have had it till to-days post time,  
it seemed to me I could have made so much  
more of it.

I mean, the Circular wanted making so much  
more of -

As it was not out 6 weeks ago, as it should  
have been [now, when Parlt. is met, & this  
Zulu War, the best time is over for it, I fear]  
it did not seem to me that the delay of a post  
mattered ~~at all~~ does it?  
Miss Peddie shd. have sent it you without waiting  
for Mr. Evan's letter: should not she?

They came for it at 4 o'clock, & I am afraid I  
did nothing worth having.

God bless you ever yrs  
F.N.

**[end 8:858]**



Letter, f122r, pencil [5:272]

**f122r**

Dearest I really hardly know what to say.

I understood that Miss Irby's Circular was *not* a "Commission" but that it expressly *was* to be altered by you.

[I don't think anything short of our alterations would do] It ~~she~~ has so few facts that, as Miss P. says, a "much shorter" appeal wd. do better

As to the request about D. News, I believe that Parliament's meeting, Zulu Wars &c do *not* make much difference in Scotland or perhaps Manchester, ~~Guardians~~ &c &c &c But I don't believe that, at this moment, either "*Times*" or "*D. News*" would put in any letter. [Had she sent ~~me~~ us the facts, as we implored her, 6 wks ago, I wd. have done it] [I was shown a letter yesterday from a special Correspondt. of the "*Times*," an Officer of high military rank, sent out at an enormous expense to India, saying that "*his* letters wd. not be *put in*," because of Parlt.'s meeting.]

What do you propose to do?

I hardly know what to advise

- I have no doubt Miss Peddie is right about Miss Irby's Circular being *too long* & not to the purpose  
How is *Thames Bank* going on?

F.N.

18/2/79

Letter, ff123-24, r only, pencil

**f123r**

15/2/79

Dearest Louisa

Has Mr. Fremantle any influence with Miss Irby? -

For *her*, on such ticklish terms with Austria, to think of "*rousing public opinion*" & the '*opposition*' for *Josie*, however deserving, seems like putting an end to her own work.

[I should only do harm by telling her so.]

But if Mr. Fremantle were to tell her what Canon Liddon put so well against interfering between "a foreign Govt. & its subjects".....! I tremble every time lest she should any day shut the door upon herself & her great work. [I think Austria

**f124r**

is rather patient with her!]

- I don't mean that she shd. not talk to Monti in private  
- Indeed we couldn't prevent that, if we would - telling him not to quote her.

But anything beyond this is suicide to her work.

- You know she has been told (& rather gloried in it) that she is stirring up the Bosnians against Austria. And there is ~~too much~~ enough truth in the accusation for it ~~not~~ to make us tremble.

----

2.

- I wish she were "absorbed" enough "in the sufferings" to give us FACTS instead of writing like a German newspaper.

yrs ever with everlasting love

& greeting to Sam

F.N.

f125 letter of Liddon, faint embossed

Feb 14 1879

My dear illeg, On beginning a letter to Bishop of Strossmayer I find that I ought to know something *more definite* about Miss Irby's plans or anxieties than I gather from your note of this morning.

If I were to write the bishop asking him, in a general way, to interest himself in Miss Irby, he will write me back a kind answer, but nothing will be done. But if I tell him that Miss Irby wishes to do, or plan, something specific, which he can, if he likes, more or less control, I should hope that something serviceable might be effected.

Would it not be wise to ask Miss Irby to write to me, if she thinks that I can be of use, and to state in what particulars? e.g. if she wishes to return to Serajevo, but hesitates to do so without some assurances or illeg from the bishop.

It is I think a duty on the part of her English friends to disabuse her (if they can) of suspicions against Bishop Strossmayer. In confounding him with the many members of the R.C. hierarchy she does him an injustice. No doubt the archbishop of Agram *would* look on her work with dislike and suspicion, but Bp Strossmayer went out of his way to speak kindly of her. Of course, if she were to attempt to teach some vague sort of Protestantism, she would put the bishop in a difficult position; but she would also get into difficulties with the authorities of the Orthodox Eastern Church. It is because she has confined herself to 'useful knowledge' and to the inculcation of these general truths and duties upon which all Christians are agreed, to the exclusion of antinomial matter that she has succeeded so well as she has. And I feel sure that the bishop was sincerely glad to have her *illeg* in humanising and civilising people for whom anything in this way has to be done.

Perhaps you would kindly reconsider this, and then, when I get her letter, or a more definite one from you, I will either write at once to Bp Strossmayer myself, or I will ask Mr Gladstone to do so, which would of course be much more to the purpose. H.P. Liddon, P.S. I am here writing for the next four or five weeks.

Letter, f129r, pencil

**f129r** {shadow + italics indicates red underlining.}

[3]

19/2/79

10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Dearest Louisa

Shore told me that £5 were  
wanted for *Mr Martineau's*  
*Schools*. I cannot  
refrain from asking him to  
accept the enclosed: tho' I  
dare say many £5 s are wanted  
----

I thought afterwards that I  
might have spoken too strongly  
to be understood by him  
about *Miss Irby*.

It is a matter which I am  
really afraid to touch:

The Schools are essentially  
'useful knowledge' schools:  
reading, writing & arithmetic:  
but these are *dressed* in a  
Serb nationality & a Serb  
Eastern-orthodoxy garb:  
*that is all*.

Thanks for these dear little letters. F.N.

Letter, f130r, pen {archivist's date: 1876-79}

**f130r**

Dear Louisa

Does this not give you the Cholera?  
*"frightful barbarities"* & *no facts*. {red underline.}

f131 letter from Lea Hurst Oct 14 [1880] Dear Louisa, You will be  
illeg to see I am again at Lea Hurst. Dear Florence most kindly asked  
me to illeg and *seemed to wish it*. I hope I have some right as I do  
not like to ....she sees me so little.

I thought her looking very poorly. I do not know whether she is so  
overtired as she seems to be, from so much illeg or from reaction to  
her fatigue of the great exertions.

She is *so good and kind*. It is an

Letter, f133, pen black-edged paper

**f133r**

L.H.

Oct 24/80

Dear Louisa & Shore

As to "a book", this is  
the fruit of the united  
heads of Rosy & A.P.I.

As to "Kinglake's last  
Vol:", I cannot back the  
recommendation: I have  
not read it, specially  
not the part about  
myself: (Kinglake sent  
me the Vol. with a very  
kind note) But I could  
not help dipping into  
that part about Lord  
Raglan, the Quarter Master  
General, & the Winter  
Miseries & deaths from  
disease & It is not conducive  
starvation.

**f133v**

to cheering the spirits:  
& if anything can  
prove his hero, Lord  
Raglan, incapable of  
feeding & taking care of  
an Army, it is Kinglake  
himself.

Still Shore may like it.  
I will try & think of  
some other books.

God bless you both,  
my two dearest.

Rosy all right

Miss Irby too.

Yours ever & ever

F.N.

Letter, f134r, pencil

**f134r**

I am almost distracted  
between India, & Egypt  
& sending out the nurses.

Thanks for the lovely  
daffodils from dear Embley  
which I sent out this  
morning with a party of  
8 nurses for Suez &  
Souakim - under Miss  
Williams.

Good speed

ever yours

F. Nightingale

Letter, ff135-36r, pencil

**f135r**

*Report of Institute for 1886*

now gives

- no. of members

(hopes this may be increased

- no. of books

- " " issued

- " readers in year

- age of admissions

Might now we know more?

Might not such phrases as

"not lacking in attendance"

"invariably well attended"

"not a few"

be severely expunged.

& substituted

- average daily no. of readers  
in Reading room

- ditto in Recreation-room

- no. of Cricket members

**f135v**

[- Currently said, & with truth,  
that Reports tell us all  
we don't need to know.]

Might we not, besides, be told  
what is the  
"scientific periodical knowledge  
"provided"?  
- how many "periodicals"?  
- what maps?  
Last Para: but one good  
It is hopeful.

**f136r**

flowery letter from Institute  
~~for~~ without a single fact  
I *ought to answer*.  
Dearest Shore  
What do you say to this?  
how is your cough?  
ever yours  
F.N.

7/4/87

Note, ff137-38, pencil [3:210]

**f137r**

To Shore Jan 16/89  
I pray for her & with her  
unceasingly - not as tho' asking  
for anything for her. We have  
never to ask for God's love -  
least of all for such as she is.  
And we ought rather to ask her  
to pray for us. But she is now  
passing into the Immediate  
Presence: she may be there  
before the morning. She may  
have "another morn than ours".  
And we would fain pass in  
spirit into the Immediate  
Presence with her, if but for a  
day. that Immediate Presence  
we might have *always* if we  
chose. 'heaven is not a place  
but a state'.

**f137v**

And as for her now. We have no reason to believe that what is called 'lying unconscious' may not be a state of intensest consciousness. The senses, the power of action & of speech are suspended. But 'face to 'face alone with God' she may be living more intensely than ever before. [We have instances enough of this. And *she* was so peculiarly *inward*, not outward. But if we have never lived in the Immediate Presence here, of course we shall not hereafter]

**f138r**

I never knew any one, except perhaps M. Mohl, long more after the Highest, the Ideal, which we call Almighty Love, or God - seek more after God,- after knowing Him & His moral government - What it is - What His education of the world is.

We cannot believe that she will be disappointed. Farewell, farewell, O great Soul, fare you very well. Would we were with you! And you *will* fare well.

**f138v**

"As thy day so shall thy strength be." It *is* a trying "day" - a trying life. And so it will be to them all. the heart's love & hopes of your old Flo

[end 3:210]



Letter, ff139-40r, pencil

**f139r**

17/1/89

She went home to that home where she  
will be no stranger at one this morning  
- went to her God, after whom  
she had longed, whom she had  
sought more than any one I know.

To know Him, to understand  
in some measure His moral  
govt. in every thing & every body  
she saw was the object of  
her life

Now she knows  
now she understands.  
now she will make eternal  
progress. She who grieved, in \* {continues to \*}

Him, the Almighty Love  
she has found.

\* the last note she ever wrote me  
that she could not now make  
that *daily* progress, in consequence  
of her physical state, that she

**f139v**

always longed for - nay more  
she strove for

**f140r**

But oh! I do so feel that she is  
gone to the home where she  
will be no stranger  
- but that the break-up  
of the earthly home here is  
a sorrow for which there  
are no words

Note, ff141-42r, pencil

[3:211]

**f141r**

To Shore

March 1889

Aunt Mai has been gone two months. Nothing will ever  
make me believe that one whose whole life was an  
aspiration such as was hers ends in a lame & impotent  
conclusion such as absorption whatever that may  
mean. It seems to me that the principle of progress  
involves continuity. Maine I think says: the principle  
of progress is ~~that~~ a principle of "destruction" tending to  
construction resulting in reconstruc  
tion, or something to that effect. He means it in  
quite a different sense from ours. But I think he  
in some measure defines ours, without meaning it  
God's plan is multiplying Himself, not absorbing into  
Himself. Your illustration that when we do

**141v**

right God is strengthened - when we do wrong,  
God is weakened - is admirable & captivating. But  
would you not add something more that God's  
Moral Government by its laws, leads each to seek  
& to find that progress which is to 'strengthen' His  
kingdom or His govt.?

I think of her as so living. She used to look  
painfully for the "path". Now she has found it  
not the consummation but the path to her  
aspiration

**f142r**

Tho' "time" may belong to this existence only,  
yet there must be *succession* in any state of  
which we can form the slightest conception.

And can we imagine that succession in one  
continuous existence is not more fruitful than the  
succession of little bits? [3:211 ends here]

Enclosure for letter?, ff143-46r, pencil

**f143**

[1]

Burton School master Lea School

he wants you most: he has been  
overworked & cross. Tell him how much  
we care for his letters - & for his last success.  
But we do trust he won't overwork himself  
this year. And ask particularly after his  
wife, the Infant Schoolmistress, & his own children

And ask particularly after the *Institute*.  
(Selfish, comfortable, abominable place!)  
And who the new "*manager*" is & whether he is  
more *human* - & whether they have a boys' room  
& whether they are as "*moral*" as "*intellectual*"  
or only comfortable

**f143v**

2. *Mrs. Holmes* 12 Holloway

one of the best women I ever knew. Lizzie,  
her daughter, is dead. But she has another  
daughter, married at Blackpool, as suffering,  
as good, & as interesting - ask after her.

Mrs. Holmes' husband is in the Eye  
Hospital at Manchester. And she is alone.

And ask her how she is herself - & how she  
likes *Dr. MacDonald*, Mr. Dunn's successor

And please give her a *sovereign*  
[My dear, I never give money permiscuous:]  
don't scold me ]

**f144r**

3. *Sister Hannah Allen* - insane: believes  
the whole village is leagued to poison her -  
- lives alone - no one will live with her -  
very much to be pitied - like an old Prophetess.

'femme lettrée'-

Pray give her £1-

Please ask *her* how she likes  
*Dr. MacDonald*, who attends her  
regularly for me - to little purpose, I  
fear

**f144v**

4. *Old Widow Lydia Prince*. Holloway.  
has supported herself, her husband & her  
sons nearly all her life. Adam, the son, with  
inconceivably good stone mason's pay,  
drank himself to death. He told me  
himself that he had drunk away £200.  
Yet he did not begin by being "low".  
Please give *her* £1.

**f145r**

[2]

5. *Bratby*. of course. He will be so  
delighted to see you. And I hope he  
will send me many messages. And tell him  
to pay for his newspapers out of my money.  
And ask *him* how he likes *Dr. MacDonald*.  
And tell him how little I can write. And  
say that ~~Lydia Prince~~ Hannah Allen does not get so much  
from the Mill since Mrs. Smedley's death - &  
ask him if he will ~~say~~ give her *say* 2/ a  
week (she has had winter months' pay & has &c &c  
from Mr. Yeomans for me) for 10 weeks - when you think  
Hannah Allen's £1 will be done.

**f145v**

And please ask Mr. Yeomans whether he  
considers *Dr. MacDonald* a proper  
successor to Mr. Dunn, who is dead

**f146r**

6. *Mr. Yeomans*, of course. It is always well  
to keep him up. And tell him how  
much obliged I am to him for all he does  
- & how little I am able to write to him  
now. And ask him to give £2.2.0  
for me to the Sunday School which has  
written to me, & whose fete was I think  
last Sunday week.

[He will have to send me in, his  
1 month's acct. directly now].

Ah Lea Hurst, how I see you!

Note on envelope, f147r, pencil

**f147r**

And now once more allow me to  
thank you! but as you know  
what a really deeply felt  
'thank you' means, let me use  
no farther words.

Louise

God must have blessed you for  
all the feelings of deep thankful  
emotion granted to our parents'  
hearts by your words!

Your kindness shown to him will produce  
some good fruit such as makes  
people good & faithful workmen  
in God's kingdom on earth,  
such as helps them to serve Him  
& to forward those eternal  
principles of truth & of good  
as He *wishes* to rule the  
world.

ff149 letters to Rosalind Frances Mary Shore-Smith, & her husband,  
Vaughan Nash.

Letter, ff149-50, pen {envelope states "with a book"} black-edged  
paper

**f149r**

6/2/80

[1:543-44]

Dearest Rosie

I send you my favourite  
book which was my  
Father's & then mine  
& which I never part with  
except to you: & I hope  
you will like it as  
much as I do: if that is possible.

Please return it when  
you have done with it.  
I am trying to get ~~it~~ one  
*for your own*

Dearest Rosie I can  
never tell you how good  
your Father & Mother have

**f149v**

been to my mother. I thought your  
Father's love to her was like  
God's - O no, it is *not*  
'we can only love the  
loveable'. It *is*: the  
loving only can love.  
And your mother's  
devotion & care,  
beautiful, beautiful care.

It was so very, very  
good of her to send  
me last night the  
prayer & hymn book  
& I have so, so valued  
it. & the flowers.

I hope they will not

**f150r**

be very tired tonight  
after this most trying  
day. You must nurse  
them well.

I am so glad dear Sam  
went.

And thank you, thank  
*you*, dear Rosie, for  
all your protecting care  
of my dear mother at  
the Hurst: & Sam too.

"Old man & Marquis  
no more" - do you  
remember in the history  
of Charles I's Revolution,  
an old Royalist Marquis  
keeps his fortress till the

**f150v**

last & then dies in  
prison worn out  
"old man & Marquis no  
more."  
Now my mother is in the  
immediate Presence  
of God.  
Fare you very well  
& Miss Mochler  
dearest  
    ever your  
    Aunt Florence

Letter, ff152-53, pen [1:545]

**f152r**

    August 22 1881  
    10, South Street, [printed address]  
    Park Lane. W.  
My very dearest Rosy  
    Aunt Florence's heart is  
filled with you & your  
going to Girton. I can say  
nothing. ~~I would~~, & saying  
nothing, I would ask those  
greatest of the "heathens,"  
Plato, Aeschylus, Thucydides,  
to say much to you.  
Aeschylus whose Prometheus  
is evidently a foreshadowing of  
or, if you like it better, ~~of~~ the  
same type, (with Osiris of Egypt)  
~~is~~, as Christ:  
tho one who brought "gifts to men",  
who defied the "powers that be",  
the "principalities" & "powers" of evil".  
who "suffered for men" in

**f152v**

bringing them the "best gifts",  
the "fire from heaven",  
who *could* only give by  
suffering himself,  
& who finally "led captivity captive".

Have you Mr. Jowett's Plato?  
Please read some time the  
Introductions to, I think, the  
Crito & the Phaedo - [I will  
look & see which they are.]  
I gave him the spiritual hints for those.  
not of course the critical.

**f153r**

It seems to me that I see  
in nothing so much the  
*history of God=in=the=religions*  
*of=the=world*, which M. Mohl  
learnt Oriental languages in  
order to write

As in these great "heathens" -  
Persian, Chinese, Indian:  
~~but~~ Greek also: & Latin too.  
but specially Aeschylus & Plato.  
and perhaps too in Physiology  
- the *greatness* of His work.  
the silence of His work:

what spirit He is of -  
His ~~fer~~ "glory" & *poorness* of  
spirit. & that to be "poor of spirit"  
constitutes His glory - if  
to be poor of spirit means  
utter unselfishness - perfect  
freedom from self & from



**f153v**

the very thought of self & from  
affectations, & from "vain"  
"glory".

And may we all pursue the  
work that He has given us  
to do in the way that He  
pursues it with *greatness*  
& *poorness* of spirit.

He never thinks of self.

And may we remember how  
deep is the meaning of the  
old, old words, "to be like Christ,  
"Christ shall save his people,"  
if ~~they~~ these mean ~~in~~ the spirit of  
love & self-sacrifice.  
which indeed, my dear child,  
I think you do.

My very dearest child,  
fare you VERY well - very, very  
well is the deepest prayer  
of Aunt Florence.

Letter, ff155-56, pencil

**f155r**

10 South St.

Park Lane. W.

Dec 5/81

Dearest Rosy

To-day I am thinking  
of your 'little=go'.

Success await you.

Go in & win: but  
think it winning either way.

I saw dear Papa last  
night. He had unluckily  
missed his train for  
Cambridge on Saturday.

Mama is at Castle  
Harrison: but no doubt  
you hear from her - She

**f155v**

writes delightful ? accounts  
of the sea coming in to  
Ardnagashel.

I wish you could make  
Sam write to Papa.  
Is he reading steadily?

Miss Irby was with me [1:546]  
twice at Lea Hurst -  
looking much better than  
last year. We had a  
heavenly November at  
Lea Hurst. And I  
received the village people  
for 34 afternoons.

I could not persuade

**f156r**

Miss Irby to go to Girton  
alas! this time.  
She is now at 17 Albemarle St.

Now I will say no  
more, dearest, but  
good speed, & remember  
that when your brain is  
tired, it is not saving  
time to force it on, but  
rest it for 3/4 of an hour,  
- take a little brisk walk  
is best - or read an  
entertaining book - or  
play a bit of Mozart

**f156v**

Tennis greatly to be  
approved of - but not  
for 1/2 hour's relaxation

And all Aunt  
Florence's best wishes  
are with you, dearest

Auf Wiedersehen.  
Never work directly  
after meals - or late  
at night.

Better the early morning  
But you know all this,  
O wise woman. [end 1:546]

Letter, f158, pencil

**f158r**

March 14/87  
10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Dearest Rosy

Thank you very much for  
your note & the lovely, most  
lovely pink & white tulips.  
I did not hear till Thursday  
afternoon that you were in  
London & going to Barbara's  
on Friday till to-day: & that you  
were going to Florence & Rome  
this week - But now I must  
try & bring you here to see  
your dear face before you go.  
Would *tomorrow* (Tuesday) at  
5 or at 6 suit you?

Do you leave England on      **[1:547]**  
Thursday?

**f158v**

"I very much applaud you  
for what you have done"  
in the matter of Italy.

And would I could be  
with you!

How delightful, how unique  
in its delight, is Rome -  
but I am afraid you will  
say 'it has too many facts'.

Au revoir, dearest Rosy.

ever your loving

Aunt Florence

**[end 1:547]**

Letter, ff159-60, pencil {envelope states: "with 2 eggs, Egyptian Lentils, Rice Shapes, Cranberry & apple compote [& a Lamp-shade for Sir. H. Verney]}"

**f159r**

**[1:738-39] [8:945]**

10 South St      Nov 8/87

Dearest: I send you 2

"vegetables" in their shells.

We shall have some more

fresh ones tomorrow.

A new potato is, I assure you,

not a vegetable. It is a

mare's egg, laid by her, you

know, in a 'mare's nest'.

No vegetarian would eat it.

I send you some Egyptian

lentils. I have them every

night for supper, done in milk,

which I am not very fond of -

the delicious thing is Lentils

**f159v**

Soup, as made every day by our Arab

cook in Egypt, over a

handful of fire not big enough

to roast a mosquito.

Also: some Cranberry (we can't

get fresh blackberries now.

& blackberry jam made in

shops is a compound of

many things) & apple, as

we make it - Is it too sweet?

Also: some rice shape; don't

you admit rice to be a

"vegetable"? Rice is not

starchy. Arrowroot, sago,

tapioca are.

**f160r**

Might I ask you when  
you go to Claydon to take  
this Lamp-shade which  
he admired to Sir Harry?

My best love to Sam  
God bless you both  
ever your loving  
Aunt Florence

Letter, f162, pencil [8:945-46]

**f162r**

10 South St.                      Dec 17/87  
Dearest Rosalind

Are you left alone in the  
flat? I hear that Mama is  
gone into Devonshire - Papa wrote  
to me.

I am going on Tuesday. How  
I wish that I could see you, my  
darling, before I go. But alas!  
every day is occupied more than  
it will bear.

Will you write to me & tell me  
what you are doing?

Do you think that you would  
come down & see me at  
Pine-Acres, Sunningdale? It is  
only an hour from Waterloo - I

**f162v**

can give you a bed, if you  
would be so good as to come.  
It is very easy to get to & fro.

Do come, if only for one night  
ever thy loving

Aunt Florence

Or I would say, IF it were not  
for Xmas time, you might, please,  
come for the day only, if you  
can't come for more. But I think the rail would be too full.

My love to Sam & Louis

Letter, ff165-66r, pencil [5:195] [8:946]

**f165r**

10 South St      July 14/88

Dearest Rosalind Your  
co-operative usefulness is  
delightful.

I have not forgotten the List of  
books. I am going to  
send you a small List at once  
- & hope to send a more  
considerable one by & bye.

I suppose one may always  
add to it. It is never final.

If it is not in the lowest  
degree vulgar, I would ~~pro~~ ask  
if I might give them some books  
But I suppose this is contrary to  
all Co-operative principle.

**f165v**

Lady Ashburton is gone to  
Marienbad, to distribute Bibles  
& Tracts in Czech ish. There  
is a very large Co-operative  
Estate about 20 miles  
distant on the borders of  
the Forest, which she has seen  
& believes to ~~have been~~ be  
entirely successful.

And I have charged her to  
send me home (for you) details  
- & of course to prove its success.

My dear, we must set up  
Co-operative farming.

**f166r**

You see how my manners &  
principles have been corrupted  
by you, the youthful prophet.

If you observe aberration, do  
not lay it at my door.

It is sad how youth corrupts  
old age.

your faithful & loving old  
(co-operative) aunt

Florence Nightingale

I am going to send you a  
delightful little book

"Elementary Politics" -

Also your own "Two Lay

Sermons". [end 5:195 and 8:947]

Letter, ff167-68r, pencil [5:196-97]

**f167r**

August 5/88

10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

I send

for the dear Co-ops

F.A. Walker's money

wages

Pol: Eco:

& I add the "Brief Hand book of  
Pol: Eco."

because it is neither 'brief' nor  
clear & will require at least  
10 strong lecturers to handle it.

[I expected a delightful little book  
like Elementary Politics.]

may your Co-ops flourish.

What a beautiful Ode is Morris' -

[I like your idea that Co-operation

**f167v**

is Christianity adapted to these times.]

I hope you have really got a good singer for the Ode. I was so sorry about Margt. Verney.

Do you want a Lecture given now on 'Co-operation' as applicable to 'Provident Dispensaries'?

Write to Harry Bonham Carter at Wood side & say I prompted you & ask him about Provident Dispensaries now, & say what you said that it is such a good field for Co-operation - I think so indeed. And it is such an important subject

**f168r**

[The Out-Patient Depts. of Hospitals are a crying evil.]

I send a paper on Registration of nurses by H.B.C. which touches on some points we were talking about in relation to Philadelphia Hospital.

I send your dilapidated little table. ('twasn't our fault).

My very best love to Mama & Barbarina. If any one should be passing this way to-day ..... this afternoon!!!?

ever your loving

Aunt Florence

[end 5:197]



Letter, ff169-70, pen

**[5:197]****f169r**

Claydon Ho. Winslow. Bucks {address and date in pencil}  
2/9/88

Dearest Rosalind

I have thought of you every  
day & every night. And I hope  
the day at the Crystal Palace  
which you had done so much  
to bring about went off to  
your satisfaction as it  
did, I was glad to see, to the  
satisfaction of the newspapers.

Is there any printed  
account or résumé of the  
actual position of Co-operation  
now, *without too many*  
*figures*. but giving the  
Distributive & Productive  
prospects

**f169v**

apart, & the share-holding  
& selling interest as regards  
its aims? &c &c ♡  
I want to get something of the  
kind to show Aunt Parthe  
who is very re-calcitrant  
& "buses me about &  
"knocks my cap off", as the  
Navy said.  
And now I have not the  
slightest idea where you  
are, dearest: whether  
you are at the Flat,  
working hard at your  
co-operatives - all success  
be with you! } or gone to  
& entertaining Sam}

**f170r**

Devonshire or to France.

Please send me one line, if only a post-card.

I have not had so much as an A from any of the family.

I hope the Prima Donna did well after all in Morris' ode.

Please send me two or three of your fly-leaf (~~corre~~ revised) on Co-operation. You see how much use I made of the old one. But this is for Aunt Parthe & others.

{pencil:} no time for more poor Aunt Parthe very bad

**f170v** {pencil}

I think of your future career, dearest, with more interest than almost any thing else. except India & the nurses

ever your loving

Aunt Florence

[end 5:197]

Letter, f172, pen

[8:946-47]

**f172r**

Dec 6/88

10, South Street,

Park Lane. W.

Dearest Rosalind

My note to thy mother was to ask thee to come here during her absence, on Saturday (- or tomorrow, Friday, as she is gone)

Sam shall come & dine - only you know you are always wasting your substance on

**f172v**

riotous living with your co-ops,  
instead of partaking of Wines  
& Spirits at home, which are  
Vegetables - or if not what are  
they?

Come my dearest  
to your loving  
Aunt Florence  
I am so sorry about "Aunt Ellen"

Letter, ff174-75, pencil {envelope states: with a small bottle, a few  
prunes, 6 eggs}. [1:741] [8:947]

**f174r**

5/2/90

Dearest Rosalind

I send you some common prunes: you put  
about a doz. senna leaves tied into a little bit  
of muslin & stew them with the prunes.

[The senna leaves were sent on Monday]  
2 I send magnesia: you put as much as  
will go on a shilling & take it just before  
meals, some say 1/4 hour before meals.

[The fashion now - a very good fashion -  
is: to take very small doses, instead of very  
large ones of aperients.]

**f174v**

N.B. *Don't* mix all my medicines  
together. & take them in the lump.  
your loving

Aunt Florence  
I am going to send one more thing.  
Dandelion for the Liver.

**f175r**

You are to report to me  
What you've done  
& what *it* has done.

[end 1:741]

To-day is our Day of Crucifixion  
at St. Thomas'.

Telegraph, to Miss Shore Smith, f177, pencil

**f177r**

Thousand & ten thousand thanks  
for your letter. F. Nightingale

Letter, ff179-80r, pen [1:549] [8:947-48]

**f179r** stamped, cancelled env

Feb. 8/92

printed address] 10, South Street,  
~~Grosvenor Square.~~ W.

Dearest, very dearest, my heart  
is full of you; - but, immersed  
in very sour business, I find  
nothing to say worthy of your  
sweetness. I do give you joy  
for having found a man whom  
you can so thoroughly love &  
esteem & work with. And  
I, of course, give him joy at  
having found you. And I  
give us all joy.

But please look to the Shillings.  
We cannot live on sweets. And  
we must live in order to work  
together. I know you think  
me very worldly. But, you  
see, unfortunately, we live  
in the world. It is a great

**f179v**

bore.

But then you heroically set  
to mending the world.  
So I pray you to live.  
This does not at all say  
what my heart is full of  
dearest child. But I hope  
soon to hear from yourself  
what your heart is full of -  
that is, when your nursing  
of dear mother & father  
is finished. I am afraid  
both still want it. My love.  
And may I send a message  
to Mr. Nash?

**f180r**

God bless you both  
ever your loving  
Aunt Florence

Letter, ff182-83, pencil [8:948]

**f182r**

10 South St July 1/92  
Dearest Rosalind

I will say nothing about  
Papa, about whom all our  
hearts are full, as you have  
seen them all. I have  
seen good Sam, & am to  
see Dr. Ord later. All seem  
sure that there is improvement.

It seems like months  
since Wednesday.

I send you a List of  
Holloway people, & a cheque  
as you are so good as to  
permit.

And do enjoy Castle top &

**f182v**

the smell of the Bracken  
& the ferns & the birds.  
And give my love to Mr.  
Nash.

[end 8:948]

& believe me  
ever your loving  
Aunt Florence

**f183v**, pen {written on reverse of envelope}

Please go to Whatstandwell C.R. too. & to the new Lea C.R. too

Letter, ff184-85, pencil

**[8:948-49]****f184r**

Claydon House Winslow Bucks Sept 30/92

Dearest Rosalind Thank you so much  
for your letter & for your two article on Dr.  
Arlidge. I have ordered Dr. Arlidge. It is the  
most important enquiry. I trust that a great  
deal will come of it. Hitherto the Home Office  
has been by no means remarkable for helping  
on any enquiries of this sort.

I will tell you what I should like  
to do: for your to reprint in a good type  
as a pamphlet your two articles

**f184v**

& charge it to me. Wise men tell  
you that the best letters in the Times  
or any other paper make an impression  
only for a day or two: & then are forgotten,  
unless somebody has time to go & look them  
out at the Index at the Office.

The paper & types of the Daily Chron.  
are so abominable that it is doubly  
true. I want you to reprint it in  
good type

[I have constantly done this sort of thing

**f185r**

for Medical Officers of Health.

Please look with a favourable eye on  
my proposition.]

II Very great care will be required in nomination  
of your Standing Commission of experts if you carry it.

~~Medi~~ "Doctors" are often the worst  
Sanitarians - & are now gone mad on Bacteriology.

I have known but one signal instance  
of success: the W.O. Sanitary Commission:  
attributable to Sidney Herbert's initiative  
by his two R. Commissions - by his personal interest  
- to having one paid responsible permanent

**f1**

member, Dr. Sutherland [he is dead] not  
because he was a Doctor but because he  
was a real experienced Sanitarian expert.  
Douglas Galton, *Engineer*, is the best  
Sanitarian I know now.  
When I have looked at Dr. Arlidge, I should  
like to say more.  
You cannot have a more important  
subject on hand -  
My love to Mr. Nash, please  
ever your loving Aunt Florence  
I hope you & Mr. Nash are well.

**[end 8:949]**Letter, ff-88, pen **[8:949]****f187r**

12/1/93  
10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Dearest Rosalind

I am requested to take  
the 'learned Counsel's opinion'  
on the following:

The Women's Trades Unions  
have held a meeting & are  
going to send a Deputation  
to Mr. Asquith *on Jan 24*  
to request *Women* Inspectors  
for the Sanitary arrangements  
for Women in Workshops &  
Factories. Frederick Verney  
accompanies the Deputation.

Mr Asquith is supposed to be  
favourable "if they will be  
"reasonable".

The question I am to ask  
the two learned Counsels

Mrs Nash  
& Mrs. Rosalind

**f187v**

is:

how do you recommend  
the women Inspectors to be  
selected?

What do you propose instead  
of examination? i.e. how get  
over the difficulties of  
examination? What should  
be the substitute? **Reply:**  
Not at present. Might be  
announced that exam in  
years time.

Influence.

Go to Till's in Lancashire  
for nominations.

**FN:** how you would select -  
& how dismiss?

Ought these Women Inspectors  
to work under men officials?

**Reply:** in trades rather than  
in [illeg]  
where women chiefly employed  
[3 words illeg]

**FN:** If so in what position  
they should be?

And whether they could  
work in factories or workshops  
where both men & women are  
employed?

**Reply:** Could, but not  
contemplated at present



**f188r**

[N.B. I come in as the  
'Devil's Advocate.' I fear  
the Women Trades' Unions  
are much too much inclined  
to ask for all the Women  
Inspectors to be factory  
workers.

& entirely to overlook  
various dangers, one of  
which is that such women  
would be open to pressure  
- not to say corruption.  
And - where are you to find  
the educated Sanitarian  
among them, when you  
cannot find her even among  
Lady Doctors?] ever yours  
F. Nightingale

**[end 8:949]**

Letter, ff189-90r, pen

**[8:949-50]****f189r**

{2}

12/1/93  
10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Dearest Rosalind

I wish to know whether  
you know a Lady, Mrs.  
R. Nash, engaged in an  
"unhealthy" &  
"unwholesome trade" -  
& what you would do for  
her.

Mr. Llewellyn Smith has  
been so good as to write to  
me & to allow me to keep  
the Vol. you kindly sent  
of his "Record" - a great boon.

I also received last  
night the current no. of

**f189v**

"the Record" - & Mr. Louis  
who was with me  
immediately pounced on  
your Article, for which  
we Bucks creatures  
return you many &  
heartfelt thanks.

I am going to write to  
Mr. Llewellyn Smith properly  
ever your loving  
Aunt Florence

**f190r**

Louis goes to day thro'  
his Examination - Good  
speed to him. He seemed  
neither excited nor  
despondent.

F.N.

[end 8:950]

Letter, ff191-92, pen {envelope: "with some Purée"} black-edged paper

**f191r**

10 S. St            Aug 2/93            [8:950]  
Dearest Rosalind

I send you some Purée  
of Beef - NOT, I am afraid  
that it is particularly nicely  
made. But I do think  
it is very necessary for you  
to have some meat in a  
form that you can take.  
i.e. in a Purée with nothing  
else in it but pure Beef  
Gravy - or Gravy of the meat  
it is of. {pencil:} Please have some at Embley {end.}

I am glad you like your  
Gruel. but you know Gruel  
is not of the same value as  
meat, tho' books say ~~so~~ it is.  
Please remember that I could  
not go to Embley for 2 or 3  
weeks any how - and perhaps  
it may be let.

And please tell Sam that

**f192r**, pencil

± he must not cut me  
as he goes thro' London -  
for Ardtornish - but give  
me a long notice beforehand  
    ever your loving  
    Aunt Florence  
Don't tire yourself

Letter, ff194-95, pencil black-edged paper [8:950-51]

**f194r**

March 23/94  
10, South Street,  
    Park Lane. W.

My dear Mr Vaughan

Thank you a thousand  
times for your news of young  
Jackanapes & his mother.  
I have taken the liberty to  
order Sandeman to send  
up from me a bottle of  
the purest Brandy that is  
made. Sir Andrew Clark  
recommended it. & I have  
given it in critical cases  
where the Patient said:  
'I won't', & the Doctor said  
'you must' - with good  
effect. Perhaps however  
you will ask your Doctor.

**f194v**

I don't suppose that your  
small son, who probably  
belongs to the Church  
Temperance Socy., will  
drink it at a draught.  
It is a great relief that  
dear Rosalind is so well.  
Aunt Florence's best love  
to *her* & *hers* - The little  
3-pounder is certainly a  
person - a person of  
spirit who will know  
how to get his own living.

**f195r**

I hope he will walk  
down to see me soon.  
But perhaps I may  
give him a cab.

ever yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

A pleasant Easter  
be yours

Draft letter, ff197-201, pen black-edged paper, early draft of letter  
in Woodward A.73 of Sept 11/94, and further f202

**f197r**

[1]

*Strictly Private* 10/9/94

*Village Unions*

10, South Street,

Park Lane. W.

My dear Vaughan (if I may  
call you so) In answer to  
your letter, & its enclosure, I am  
sorry to say that there is  
no one now in London  
to whom I could "refer" you  
"who might help" you "to  
"give a clear & accurate  
"account of what is being  
"attempted" (in Bengal) "in the  
"Chronicle".

You will, I fear, think  
what I am going to say  
is more historical than  
such an account as you  
desire.

It is a long story

**f197v**

[2]

I. For some years there have been "Village Unions" in *Madras* Presy. which, they say, have succeeded very well in doing a good deal of Sanitary work - but not quite according to our ideas which obtained, some time before, the *Bombay* Village Sanitation Act. This however became almost a dead letter for want of funds. Funds which were supposed to be for the Sanitation of villages ~~being~~ were applied by the Local or District Councils or Boards for making roads or bridges for the great officials - e.g. the road to Mahableshwar for the Governor of Bombay.

**f198r**

[These are the things which make cess-payers of India suspicious of the British Raj.]  
{pencil:}

II. One of our next moves was what you may read at Appendix B. Memo. p.p. 6 & 7 of the pamphlet enclosed.

I have received a great many semi-official answers from India. The matter is still making progress.

[All this is of course for *yourself* alone & for yourself, V.N., not the Journalist.]

At p.3. (3) see what the objects of the Village Sanitary work were to be - & what, so far as I yet ~~to~~ know. (but I am to receive fresh reports)

**f198v**

those of the Madras Village *Unions*  
whose funds are clubbed  
together - See p.5. (2) {pen:}Insert A, A1, A2 {end}  
The Lt. Governor of *Bengal*  
long resisted "Village Unions"  
on the ground that the  
supervision would entail  
fresh taxation. But he  
appears to have consented  
to an "experiment" now -  
Only in the notice which  
{pen:} appeared, they ~~se~~ (the Unions)  
seem to be for "*roads*" as  
well as "*Sanitation*" - besides  
what appears in the cutting  
you are so good as to send  
me.  
III. We have already got our  
"Resolution" from the  
Budapest Congress approving  
the enclosed objects. This

**f199r**

[2]  
always helps with  
Govt. But we  
*must* NOT *oppose* them,  
if we want to win.  
IV. This is a thing which  
the Englishman so little  
understands.

In the Ho. of C. here  
we pit H.M.'s "opposition"  
against H.M.'s Govt.  
& vice versa.

We try to turn out  
H.M.'s Govt. if we think  
*that* will do us any good.

In India there is *only*  
H.M.'s Govt. [H.M.'s opposition  
does not exist in the  
sense it does here]- The  
native Press is vicious above

**f200v**

enough (AND useless enough)  
because it can only abuse.  
It has nothing to propose.

And a zealous M.P. takes  
up some of the abuse, &  
never thinks that only  
200 or at most 2000  
is the circulation of that  
paper.

And in London the "India"  
published here continually  
forgets all this. It deals  
in Headings in large  
capitals, "Blunders of the  
British Govt.", which is  
simply mischievous in India  
& nothing else, (as you  
will readily apprehend)

**f201r, pencil**

We praise the great  
officials for every thing we  
can praise them for. & we  
don't quarrel with them.

And we get something  
while the abusers get  
nothing - & are simply  
a 'reductio ad absurdum'

What I am afraid of,  
if we press the natives  
too hard, is - *Re-action*  
against our Sanitary  
ideas. And we always  
forget how entirely remote  
from any native ideas,  
except the smallest minority,  
- almost as invisible to the  
naked eye as a microbe  
- is Parliament & Parly. action

**f201v**, pencil

I am afraid I have  
helped you very little, if  
at all. You have no  
time now to read printed  
papers. May I hope that  
we may resume the subject  
some day perhaps when  
you & I have more leisure  
*It will last.* I conclude  
that now we are to lose  
you in the D.C. for a  
few weeks - happily - & that  
therefore you are in a  
hurry to write this.

But whatever you write,  
you will kindly betray  
nothing of me - nor write  
any thing where I may be  
{these pages have been foliated & mounted in the wrong order - this  
draft continues on to f204r}

Draft, ff202-03, pen, final letter Woodward A.73

**f202r**

Sept 11/94  
10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

V. There is one curious  
difficulty, as you know, to be  
noted, which separates  
Indian affairs from English.

In Bombay Presy. especially,  
all the dirty work, the removal  
of refuse, cattle dung & human  
must be done by the lower  
castes (the higher, especially  
the Brahmin, may not touch  
it) - the Mehars & the Mangs  
& an even lower caste, the  
only one which will remove  
human excreta. They were  
paid by lands appropriated  
to them - by a handful  
levied *in kind* from each  
householder who gave it  
gladly - all managed by the



**f202v**

Village itself.

The British raj, in its passion for centralization, thought it was doing a fine thing in abolishing all this which has never been restored. The lower castes have gone away - into the jungle or elsewhere - & can hardly be recalled. Their lands have been occupied.

The villagers would have to pay persons of low caste to do these jobs, so that it can hardly be said now with

**f203r**

exact truth that the villagers could do all these Sanitary things for themselves.

**f204r** {draft continued from f201v}

[3]

{pencil:} detected - otherwise any influence I may have will be ruined & gone.  
P.S. May I say that, so far from this being an "experiment in Local Self Govt.", {pen:} L.S.G. has been bursting out, like roses in June, all over India more or less, ever since the Govt. of Lord Ripon, *the hated* one. He was the author of it all - his attempt to substitute for low-paid corrupt petty native officials (who are *our* representatives

**f204v**, pen

to India) decent villagers.

But 99 p.c. of all the  
work still remains to be  
done. India is a big place  
- almost as big as the India Office  
P.P.S

Can we anticipate that our  
"Village Councils" will have  
much to learn from India?  
The circumstances are not  
only different - they are  
often poles asunder.

Draft, ff205-07r, pencil

**f205r**

A

With regard to the all  
important question of funds,  
this is the way it is managed  
in the Village "Unions"

Madras Presidency  
see A1, A2

I have no information at  
present about the funds  
for the Bengal experiment

But I thought you  
would like to know  
about those for Madras,  
in existence since 1886. The  
zemindari system in Bengal  
of course makes other arrange-  
-ments necessary.

**f206r**

*From the Madras Govt. A1*

"The village cesses of the Bombay Presidency  
"include local rate (which corresponds to the  
"Land cess of this Presidency) ~~include local rate~~  
"certain tolls & a few other items]

3

"In the Madras Presidency land cess & tolls were  
"not originally levied to meet the Sanitary  
"requirements of villages, but to provide for the  
"construction & maintenance of communications.  
"A portion of the land cess was, however, utilized  
"for sanitary & other purposes - - - - - additional  
"revenue had to be raised - - - - -  
"Under Act V, of 1884 (Madras) a *house-tax* was  
"imposed, which is collected by the Village  
"Panchayats in villages which have been  
"constituted Unions under that Act & spent by  
"them under the general control of the Local  
"Boards on purely local purposes, such as the  
"construction of village *roads*, drainage & other  
"sanitary needs." [Still harping on the *roads*]  
"The Local Boards provide for the conservancy  
"of other villages.

"The expenditure on Village Sanitation has generally  
go on to 2

**f207r**

[2] A2

"exceeded the receipts from the house-tax" + +  
 + + + + +

[We have heard nothing of the villagers  
 taxing themselves].

5. "Thus in this Presidency the whole of the  
 "village cesses proper are expended on village  
 "sanitation under the Union organizations, which  
 "are steadily extending; & they are largely  
 "supplemented by appropriation from the  
 "general local taxation x x x x x x x

"The opposition to the taxes levied in Unions  
 "is considerably less than it was"; [So it is said]  
 "and there are signs that the people are beginning,  
 "if not to appreciate Sanitary improvements in  
 "villages, at least to tolerate the existing  
 "taxation for the purpose. x x *That* taxation  
 "may be and is being extended by the formation  
 "of new Unions every year x x x x x x x  
~~I have no information at present about the~~  
~~funds for~~

Letter, ff208-11, pencil black-edged paper [7:347-48]

**f208r**

Claydon Ho: Winslow: Bucks

Jan 3/95

Dearest Rosalind

I have never thanked  
 you, except in my heart,  
 which is always, for my  
 beautiful book. Villari's  
 History of Florence: its  
 first two centuries - It does  
 look so interesting - and  
 I have always been  
 interested in Florentine  
 history above all others.  
 I think it was from  
 studying Sismondi's  
 "Républiques Italiennes" when  
 I was a young girl (book now  
 (despised - you rascal!)  
 & knowing Sismondi himself afterwards  
 at Geneva.

**f208v**

The end of this Villari does  
look so very enthralling  
where he traces the causes of  
the decline & fall of the  
Florentine Republic - its  
very wealth & commerce  
assisting its ruin - & shows  
how its "Commune" could  
not develop into a "State".  
[That may help some  
reflections on Indian  
Village Communities]  
But I do not see that he  
shows - tho' as I am reading  
backwards, like the Devil,  
I may come to it - how  
different were the Florentine  
ideas of Liberty from ours -

**f209r**

with them it was that  
every body should have  
a share ~~in the government~~ in governing everybody else  
- with us that every body  
should have the power of  
self-development, without  
hurting any body else.

I remember Villari's  
"Savonarole" well: it must  
have been published 30 or  
40 years ago. [I always  
had an enthusiasm for  
Savonarola]. It was heavy,  
learned, impartial, exhaustive.  
It was my father's book.  
He read it much. It  
must be now either here  
or at Embley - both beyond my  
reach. And neither Parthe

**f209v**

nor Shore nor my father  
can tell us where it is.  
Perhaps they don't want  
books where they are now.  
[I don't forget what Dr. Jas.  
Martineau said that you  
can't talk of the *where* of a  
spirit - only of the "system  
"of relations" he takes up or  
lays down]

I am very glad to know  
that Villari is now Minister  
of Public Instruction.

[I think I told you  
that I possess copies of  
the last things that  
Savonarola ever wrote -  
Commentaries on 2 Psalms  
- not a word against his  
~~six~~ enemies. & persecutions.

**f210r**

[2]

or any mention of them - indeed.  
or indeed any lamentation  
at all - but ~~only~~ all  
one long & fervent  
aspiration after a perfect  
re union with the Father  
of light & love.

Good Fenzi, Eveline  
Galton's husband, had  
these copies made for me from  
the originals in the  
Palazzo Vecchio.]

---

The List of historical  
Books which you were  
so good as to send me  
has been of the greatest  
use. Margt. Verney  
has been gloating over  
the "Berkeley family".  
& is now doing the same

**f210v**

over the Poor-law papers.  
It is so very good to have  
something which interests her  
deeply without entailing  
work which fatigues her.  
Mrs. Green's new book does this  
too.

ever, dearest,  
your loving Aunt Florence

**[end 7:348]****f211r**

[from Claydon Ho: Winslow: Bucks  
Jan 3/95]

Dearest Rosalind

I have a bone to  
pick with you - you  
know what it is - And  
you shan't lose by my  
delay. When I can get  
persons of weight & repute  
like Vaughan & the Prince-let  
to engage on my side, I  
shall come down upon you.  
Meanwhile, I charge you,  
lay aside your *head*.

---

It is good that Sam is gone to  
Ardtornish, isn't it? & that  
Louis is going to the W. Indies.

Could you kindly give me  
*Louis' Barker's address*. It  
won't be a breach of confidence,

**f211v**

for I have it in South St.

I am sorry the Prince-let wants  
"iron". How is it to be administered?  
His grandfather took *Gravy*  
instead at Embley.

And now I will spare you the rest,  
dearest, for the present; save  
to ask your kindness to forgive  
me for not writing sooner: 1.  
because at Xmas in these  
remote wilds of the earth there is  
no commn. by post, rail or road  
2. because you have been bad  
(but I hear have been golfing) -  
& I have been bad.  
I am sorry the "little comrade"  
did not come this time.  
3. because there is a good deal  
to do here.

your  
F.N.



Letter, ff213-14, pencil black-edged paper [8:951]

**f213r**

Claydon: March 3/95

Dearest Rosalind The Prince-let!  
how grieved I am that he has been  
ill. I hope it is 'has been', & that  
you have not been too much tired  
out. Mother has been good in  
writing to me. She seems happy &  
occupied at Woodington, & much  
wanted there.

Vaughan, I suppose it is Vaughan,

**f213v**

has been very kind in sending me  
the Daily Chronicle, with his (I  
suppose they are his) Articles on the  
Co: Co: the London Parlt. - [Ld. Rosebery  
said to me: "It is impossible to say  
"how it will turn out: this Parlt. within  
"a Parlt.! But it is very certain that  
"it will exercise a considerable  
"power in the Ho. of C."]

I hear that Vaughan's Articles  
have done a great deal of good.

**f214r**

And I have ordered a truck full  
of them "in book form". I am all  
agog collecting books of instruction,  
for School-boys leaving School, for men,  
for free Libraries, on the duties &  
responsibilities of Parish Councils &  
District Councils - on the measures  
of past years & *their* RESULTS.  
But I have completely failed in  
getting any book of the last 65

**f214v**

years, beginning with the first Reform Bill & Poor Law Reform, & *their results*, what has *failed*, what has *succeeded*. And the Oxford people tell me such a book does not exist - does it?

[You remember what Sir John Herschel says about this - that we never learn from the past]

[end 8:951]

Letter, ff215-16, pencil black-edged paper [8:952-53]

**f215r**

June 14/95  
10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Dearest Rosalind

How are you? I am afraid you were very tired yesterday. And I tired you - especially by my crusade about milk for the poor people - about the extraordinary superstitions as to food of poor mothers.

But I don't think you need apply these to the Prince-let. Just do what the doctor at Hampstead whom you like says - & take Sam who will be seeing the Prince-let into your counsels. I have great faith in Sam. As to the facts we were talking

**f215v**

of about the harm to the  
infants of their mothers'  
dieting, just see the difference  
between their cooking & yours -  
between the meat they get &  
yours - & see how little it  
applies to the Prince-let.  
The frying-pan is the only  
cooking they know. Or they  
do every thing in one saucepan.  
Or the children drink out of  
the kettle. But I will not  
go on for fear Mr. Vaughan  
should call our poor - "pigs".

A Derbyshire working man  
once said to me: "We live on  
beefsteaks & mutton-chops"  
(they eat or used to eat much  
more meat than we do)" not

**f216r**

"not because we like it, nor  
"because we don't know that  
"it's extravagant, but because  
"our wives don't know how to  
"do anything else".

Now the Prince-let is an  
exceedingly sensible young  
man. And in his name I  
say: 'the moral of all this  
'& a great deal more is:  
'don't be so uneasy about  
'me:'.

[They used to say of Sam  
at St. Bartholomew's: that  
he was the only man or woman  
who knew how to wash a  
baby.

I have great faith in the

**f216v**

scoundrel of my heart, Sam,  
tho' he *will* say (all at once)  
something to the effect that  
the world is made to be ill  
& had much better die off  
at once. But you - get him  
to Hampstead, don't be at him,  
but use him.

God bless you both &  
the Prince-let.

ever your loving

Aunt Florence

[end 8:953]

I will send Hodgkin  
tomorrow with many  
thanks

Letter, ff217-18r, pencil black-edged paper [8:951-52]

**f217r**

May 3/95

10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Dearest Rosalind

I am sorry not to hear  
a better account of you.  
I am afraid sitting up  
with the Prince-let was not  
a Sanitary measure. Is that  
gentleman still at Seaford?

Louis has just been here.  
When he was last here, he  
said he should like a  
Shakespeare. Can you  
& Mr. Vaughan advise me  
as to a *good Edition*? I  
know nothing between a  
diabolical bad print,  
cramming the "immortal"

**f217v**

Shakespeare into one bulky  
Volume - & Cassell's little  
single Plays - one play in  
each shabby little Vol -  
with good notes - in a box.  
But it is not a Library  
book - it is a box.

We had a Shakespeare  
with good print & many  
Vols. & Johnson's notes  
which were not good -  
at Embley which I was  
fond of - & my father  
used to read out of.  
But that is antiquated.

**f218r**

I hear you are going  
to have rooms in London.

ever, dearest,  
your loving

Aunt Florence  
With compliments to the  
Prince-let, & kind regards  
to Vaughan.

The mother enjoyed your  
visit on the week before  
Easter so much.

She wrote to me: it was not  
only Good Friday but Good  
Thursday. & so on - & Good  
Saturday.

When shall I see you?

Letter, f220, pencil

**f220r**

Sept. 3/96  
10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

My dear Mr. Vaughan

Very many thanks  
for your note & the  
Digest for Sir D. Galton.

Yes, please, kindly  
"forward a digest of any  
"thing material which  
"appears on either side  
"in the controversy"

I hope you don't neglect  
such trifles as dinner and  
dry feet, while you are  
contending for water for

**f220v**

many, many thousands  
not to keep your  
messenger waiting  
in haste  
yours with great desire  
to be of use in this  
important matter, ever  
F.N.

Draft of incomplete letter?, ff222-23r, pencil {arch: ca Dec. 1896}  
**[8:953-54]**

**f222r**

Dearest Rosalind

I shall be delighted, I  
mean I shall be miserable  
to talk with you about  
Indian things.

But you know a man who  
can call Ld. Ripon an old  
woman

"is fit for treason, stratagem  
& spoils"

India is very badly off  
just now - I should like  
to tell you.

We are more than usually

**f222v**

busy & anxious now  
with our out-lying  
Hospitals.

And Harry B.C. is of  
course sadly taken up  
with Hugh's almost  
sudden death. He is to  
be buried tomorrow

**f223r**

Won't you have some  
tea?

Yes, please, get those  
two Caldecotts for the  
Princelet.

I am dealing extensively  
in Caldecotts &c for  
Christmas in St. Thomas'  
Wards

Letter, ff224-27, pencil {archivist's date: ? 1896}

**f224r**

[3]

Dearest I left off  
yesterday compelled to do  
so almost abruptly.  
But you are never far from my thoughts.

I should have added  
that the lady I spoke of  
had to do with an agent personally  
disagreeable & personally  
disagreeable to *her*. Yet  
she "gets on" with him.

But the thing is: ~~it is~~  
~~quite~~ a wise man has said  
that we must choose between  
influence & the credit (the  
name) of this thing - ~~You~~ we can't  
have both. And he acts  
up to it. He never claims  
the "formal authority", the  
name of any thing. He says

**f224v**

we ought to be all  
things to all men - And  
he has more influence  
than any one.

He always gives the  
name the credit of the  
thing to others. And,  
nobody knows that ~~he~~  
it is he who has done  
it.

Yet there his influence  
is ~~unmistakeable~~ strong & constant.  
Whether political,  
social, in administration  
or in management in business.

It is astonishing  
how enormous is the

**f225r**

influence of those - What  
great works have been  
accomplished by those  
who have been content  
to work in this way  
- turning no-one out -  
working with any one,  
disagreeable or agreeable.

It is indeed the  
secret of influence.

And - one must win  
one's spurs & prove  
oneself capable of a  
post before bargaining  
for it.

I may give the  
name of a man, tho' I  
was not thinking of *him*



**f225v**

in writing this. I may  
give his name, because  
he has been dead long  
years - he died in 1838,  
- Hilary Bonham Carter's  
father. who worked thus.  
He had more influence  
than any one with  
ministers. Yet his name  
was never heard. When  
the Reform Bill was  
passed, he spent his life  
in the drudgery of  
going round himself &  
getting votes registered  
- because this was the  
only way of getting the  
uneducated to care about  
their votes or even to know

**f226r**

[4]

to know that they had votes.  
He met his death in  
this way - by this drudgery .  
But if others had drudged  
too he need not have died.  
And perhaps no one can  
tell what a difference  
in history in the working of the  
Reform Bill his drudgery  
made. History does  
not tell these names.

II. Must not every life  
to be complete have the  
bread of life & the wine  
of life? Some people take

**f226v**

all the wine & never  
think of the solid bread,  
the drudgery, literary  
or otherwise, of life?

Other drudge away  
manfully or womanfully  
~~at the British Museum~~  
at some literary or  
administrative work,  
& never think that they  
must have wine, the  
wine of associating sympa-  
thetically with their  
fellow creatures,  
especially the poor  
& the sick.

**f227r**

I was almost sorry that  
G was to give up  
This by parenthesis her one  
day a week at Hoxton  
- it is so very good for  
young women to work  
under the C.O.S. not  
setting up for themselves.  
This is the wine. The  
Brit Mus is the bread  
of life.

But I am not venturing to advising.  
It may be that it was  
too much for her health

**f227v**

Now pardon my  
tediousness - &  
remember only my  
love.

F.N.

[end 8:954]

Letter, ff228-29, pencil

**f228r**

6 a.m. July/98  
10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Dearest

What a delightful  
companion for some leisure  
compelled by weariness  
you have given me in  
Brandes' Shakespeare. I  
have not been able to read  
much yet: but the Italian  
part reminds me of  
old, old days when we read  
Tasso & Ariosto with my  
father & ~~some~~ attempted  
some translations, & Alfieri

**f228v**

who, Macaulay said,  
redeemed Italian from  
shepherdesses & affectation  
- for patriotism, as  
Cowper did English - for  
"Mrs. Unwin's knitting needles".  
My father was a good &  
always interested Italian  
Scholar. never pedantic,  
never tiresome grammarian,  
but he spoke Italian like  
an Italian, & I took  
care of the verbs.

**f229r**

Shakespeare is for ever to  
be studied, has ever  
fresh mines to be explored  
& worked.

And oh the depth of his  
tragedy in a few words.  
~~do~~ you remember Falstaff's  
death, Falstaff the prince  
of good fellows, as told by  
the "hostess" who alone  
stayed ~~with~~ by him:  
"A' said 'O God! O God" three  
times. A' told him he should  
not think of God": but you

**f229v**

quoted that better than I do.

That always seemed to  
me when I was a child  
too terrible to be written.

I had written so far this  
morning, thinking you  
were going to-day, when  
your letter came.

Letter, f230-31r, pencil

[8:954-55]

**f230r**

Feb 16 1900  
10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

Dearest

Thanks for your lovely  
flowers & for your kind  
note.

I should be so glad  
to see ~~you~~ Vaughan tomorrow  
(Saturday) at 5, if that  
would suit him. Or I  
could make it Sunday  
at 5, if it would suit  
him better.

**f230v**

The "book about Irrigation"  
by me was my Evidence  
before the R. Commission  
It was afterwards  
reprinted by itself separately  
And if I could find a  
copy it would be very  
much at Vaughan's  
service  
I am glad he is going  
to get introductions from

**f231r**

Sir W. Wedderburn who  
knows everybody & still  
more glad that he is  
going to India. Independent  
observers are so much  
wanted when they know  
so much as he does.  
Sir W. Wedderburn is one  
of the two who have really  
kept up their connection  
with India.  
All success to Vaughan. [end 8:955]  
your loving F. Nightingale

Letter, ff233-34r, pencil {envelope states: "With a book"}

**f233r**

Feb 20/1900  
10, South Street,  
Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir

I found at an [9:843]  
early hour this morning  
the book we were  
talking about: Buckley's  
"Irrigation Works of  
India". I believe a  
rare book - at least  
I never saw but this  
one copy, which was  
a present to me.

**f234**

Pray make what use  
of it you can. [It may  
be you have it already]  
All success to you on  
your noble mission.

Irrigation is in  
India, as a hindoo  
said to me, not  
food merely but life.  
ever yours  
F. Nightingale

**f234r**

Vaughan Nash Eq  
But we like very much  
to talk about India -  
only not to understand  
There is only you.  
Please return the book when  
you don't want it.

**Ff235-40** correspondence on FN's will. Not transcribed

**ff241-45:** typed copies of letters from the Sir George Grey collection, held in Auckland Public Library. Requested by the Nash's on behalf of the executors of the late FN for the purpose of a biography. Spelling errors left as is.

**f241r**, typed copy, original Auckland Public Library **[6:186]**

30 Old Burlington St.,  
April 12/60

Dear Sir George Grey,

I send you a copy of the new "Army Medical Regulations" which please keep.

Also I enclose for *your criticism* a Form of Return, which Dr. Sutherland & I have made for the Native Schools, which, if it could be filled up, would give us all the information we want, in order to enable us to judge of the influences which deteriorate the children's health. Would you strike your pen through any heads which, from your knowledge of the existing data, could not, you believe, be filled up, as it is no use per-plexing the people with these?

A general account of the School decipline [discipline] as to hours &c

must be appended to each Return (in order to enable us to judge, which,

I take for granted, there would be no difficulty in obtaining.

Would you be so good as to return this Form to us (with your remarks,) & we will forward it with a *Hospital* Form to the D. of Newcastle.

Yours sincerely,  
{signed} F. Nightingale.

**[end]**

**f241v**, typed copy, original Auckland Public Library **[6:187]**

30 Old Burlington St.,  
April 16/60.

My Dear Sir George Grey,

We have only succeeded in drawing up for you what you do not want to have, viz., a few notes without much *practical* suggestion. For indeed the facts before us are not practical enough to warrant us in laying down anything more definite.

The aboriginal question is still unsolved, and I believe it rests with you to solve it.

Thomson and Denton give not much *practical* result.

On the other hand, we are actively going on with out Forms for the D. of Newcastle. And, as you said yourself that, in a question of this importance, a few months more or less did not matter, we trust that your result will be the surer for being delayed.

We thought of sending (with the School Form) some questions like the enclosed. Do not trouble yourself to make any answer, if they will do. But, if all schools are pretty nearly on the same basis as to these questions, perhaps you could find time to tell us so.

God bless you for all you are doing for these fine races.

ever Yours sincerely,

{signed} Florence Nightingale.

I am in *communication with Mr. Herbert about your Sanitorium.* **[end]**

A short sketch of the constitution of the Schools.

1. The usual duration of the school Education.

2. What it consists of.

3. The amount of -

1. Play

2. Out Door Work

3. Holiday

4. What proportion, if any, leave before the completion of their education.

5. What proportion, if any, leave from ill-health.

6. What proportion, if any, leave to die out of school.

7. Whether the children are paid for and by whom.



**f242r**, typed copy original Auckland Public Library, black-edged

30 Old Burlington St., [6:187-88]

April, 26/60.

Dear Sir George Grey,

I have been printing certain forms for your School and Hospital Colonial purposes.

I now send for your criticism the "*Schools*" one - Would you say if there is anything important omitted?

Would you say if the Title ought to be as it is, "Colonial Boarding Schools", or simply Colonial Schools. Are there such things as *Day Schools* for the Natives? And if so, ought they to be included?

The D. of Newcastle will immediately send out these forms.

2. I think the description of the "Consistent Christian" in Thomson's New

Zealand, Vol. II., Pages 249 to 252, goes far to explain why New Zealand

Christians die. What idiots the Missionaries, not the converts, must be.

3. Would you like the enquiry to be carried any further? E.g. Do the Native women cease to have children? (The Jesuits in S. America have often found this obstacle to their trials of civilizing the natives). Does Scrofula or any other specific disease exist among mixed races of (a). White and Black Blood.

(b). White and Brown Blood to a greater extent than it exists in the races separately in the same colony or district? This is an important question.

4. I have from Mr. Herbert that the East Indians will not send their sick soldiers to your Sanatorium at the Cape, as we hoped. They say it is less expensive sending them to the hills.

Mr. Herbert fears the Cape Sanatorium will be only a temporary affair, lasting while the Chinese affairs last. He has however given the order for the Hospital Huts-which I find were to be provided by the Commissariat, in such manners as our commissariat only can.

However, Mr. H. has now given the order to Capt. Galton, and the design is to be sent to us.

Dr. Gibson, the Director Genl., has sent in his application for a Governor & Nurses for the Sanatorium, to be conducted according to the new Regulations.

I hope the best from Mr. Herbert & fear the worst from the Secretary of State

FOR War

Ever yours sincerely,

{signed} F. Nightingale.

I rejoice to hear the Lady Grey is going out with you & that you are better.

{signed} F.N.

[end [6:188]

**f243r**, typed copy Auckland Public Library, black-edged paper

32 South Street,      **[6:200]**  
Park Lane,  
London, W.  
March 3/64.

My Dear Sir George Grey,

I send by the kindness of the Duke of Newcastle, thro' the Colonial Office, some articles by a M. de Quatrefayer[ges], of the Academie des Sciences, at Paris, upon the Polynesian Races.

As you are nearly the only Governor except the Great Sir John Lawrence, who have condescended to qualify yourself by learning the languages, the physical habits, the ethnographical peculiarities, of the races, you had to govern. I thought it might please you to see a French appre-ciation of your labour.

May those labour be rewarded at last by the civilization of New Zealand.

Ever Yours sincerely,  
Florence Nightingale.      **[end]**

ff244-45, typed copy

[6:183-85]

**f244r**

In an aboriginal school there should be, ample space, free ventilation, cheerfulness, half-time at least given to out-door work or play. The Education must have day-to-day reference to the past habits & history of the people. Its objects should be to draw them gradually into better habits & gradually to civilize them. This is *still more* the case in religious than in school training; For Religion produces a yet more rapid change in all the habits and objects. We see every day (among the civilized) diseases and death produced by too rapid a change in religious habits. How much more among the uncivilized. Bodily activity on all useful objects is especially required therefore among converts from the heathenism & the active life of heathenism. Without it, the best man among the converts will fall under disease & thus become lost to the cause of Christianity.

This cause necessarily withdraws them from a sphere of *vicious* activity, And a sphere of *useful* activity, must be substituted for it, (if they are to live).

NOTE:- On the New Zealand Depopulation Question.:-

I. There are no sure grounds either in the Census Return or in Dr. Thomson's Book for any *practical* opinion as to the causes of increased mortality among the Aborigines. The chief practical fact (as to depopulation having taken place) is that the 1858 Census shews a population of only 56,000, among a people whose settlement in the country took place centuries ago.

No causes with which we are acquainted in the few years of effective European intercourse which have elapsed, could have reduced the population from its antecedent strength (supposing such antecedent-strength to have existed). to one of only 56,000, after 1,000 years of occupation.

All the American tribes are not decreasing some are increasing, Decrease therefore is not a universal law, when savages come into contact with Civili-zation.

II. With regard to Diseases the information is defective. Dr. Thomson shews in his 7th. Table, that chest diseases prevail more among the New Zealanders than among any entire English Population. But it is impossible, in the absence of all information as to ages, &c., to state what the excess really is.

[letter continues]

III. The introduction of pigs, as an article of food, has been certainly one cause of evil.

Bad habits, filth, laziness, skin diseases & a tendency to worms & scrofula are results of the excessive use of swine's flesh, containing entozoa, which all improperly fed pork is liable to contain.

The pig is, of all animals, the *de-civilizer*; Ireland & New Zealand both suffer under the incubus of Pigs & Potatoes.

But in Ireland, although there is high mortality, there is also a large increasing power.

Dr. Thomson is therefore wrong about the effect of Potatoes.

IV. The New Zealander suffers from:-

1. Fever.
2. Chest Diseases.
3. Bowel Diseases.
4. Skin Diseases.
5. Scrofula.
6. Rheumatism.

1 & 2 should be met by improvements in his dwelling & in his amount of active exercise.

3. & 4. by improvements in diet and personal habits.

5. & 6. by clothing and house accommodation.

**f245r**

V. Native huts afford but about 200 cubic feet to each occupant, and are with-out regular ventilation. This would produce in our army, Fever & Consumption. The remedy is, some public step for improving the models, dimensions and ventilation of native huts. *We* do this by Societies. Could the same be done in the Colonies?

VI. Other points in regard to food, habits, clothing &c., can only be met by the advance of civilization.

VII. *EDUCATION*. Uncivilized man cannot be deal with in the same way as civilized man. Even here, education means keeping a certain number of children a great part of each day in a close room - cramming and exerting them with formulae. Clever bread-winning, stunted growth, high mortality, are what we produce. But this system would be fatal to a face subjected to it for the first time. In *their* children it produces, bad health; scrofula; consumption; & is in reality death with slow torture.

At home, we find that as much (*or more*) is taught in three days as in six, (or in six *half*-days as in six whole days)-*the physical system being developed by exercise or work* IN THE OTHER THREE DAYS, (on six half-days.) This is the clue to all proper school-management, especially among the uncivilized. If a child's brain is forced, whose father's brain has been free, the child dies. Children are killed by School-dicipline [discipline].

Add Mss 45796, microfilm 238 folios, 112 pages, general correspondence 1853-57, Adam Matthew reel 29

**ff1-8:** pen: letter to Manning: no name in address: archivist has penciled in name of recipient and date - [cc.1852]. **[3:261-65]**

My dear friend (if you will  
allow me to call you so) I  
have never thought that  
I could be of any use to  
you with regard to your  
request about the hours  
& therefore I have delayed  
writing down what they  
were. I once had 15  
under my care - but we  
treated them as a family  
& our hours were as follows:

rise	5- 5 1/2
readying the rooms,	
feeding the cows	
preparing breakfast	
carrying the milk	5 1/2- 6 1/2
Morning Service	
& breakfast	6 1/2 - 8

each to her office	8 - 12	{flv}
5 to wash		
1 to the dairy		
1 to the poultry		
1 to the kitchen		
1 to the housework		
1 to weave		
3 to garden work		
2 to preparing		
vegetables		
dinner	12 - 12 1/2	
each to her office	12 1/2 - 4	
tea	4 - 4 1/4	
each to her office	4 1/4 - 6	
lesson in reading	6 - 7	
writing		
or singing		
supper	7 - 7 1/4	
each to her office	7 1/4 - 8	
lesson in writing or singing	8 - 9	
Evening Service	9 - 10	
Bed	10 - 10 1/4	

in potatoe time or other {f2}  
events of the same kind  
all went into the garden  
from 12 1/2 - 4

on rainy days & when  
there was Needlework to  
be done, this was changed  
to work in the class room,  
when one of the sisters  
read aloud all the time,  
or they sang, or one of  
them was called upon  
to tell a story, the Sisters  
assisting.

I dare say that you are  
well acquainted with the  
fact that ~~by~~ far the  
greater number of girls  
who are brought up in the

**f2v**

Union Houses in England  
become prostitutes & this,  
in the greater number of  
instances from necessity.

Prostitution is the most  
lucrative profession in  
England, except the stage,  
for a woman. Those who do  
not follow it as a trade  
help themselves out with  
it, as the miserable earnings  
of needlework are nothing  
like enough to satisfy a  
woman's wants. St.  
Vincent of Paul says that  
want of occupation is the  
most frequent mother of  
impurity.

Now, I would teach a  
number of trades which are  
not commonly taught to  
women & depend upon



**f3**

a variety & interest of occupation as much as upon anything choosing those trades by preference, where somebody or something would suffer by the negligence of the Penitent.

Our teaching is below the age & we continue the teaching & training of the dead ages In our Schools, especially in our Union Schools ~~we each no~~ they are not taught to do anything for which there is a public demand.

You will say that there will require such a staff of Sisters to do this. But in your religion I should not despair. I have known many a Catholic nun, who knew how to do everything

**f3v**

from the cleaning of the snuffers (in a way in which no servant could do it to the theological teaching of all the doctrines of her Faith.

All the prostitutes, or most of them, in London, might make a respectable living, if they were taught to supply the wants of the age.

At the Charité at Berlin, which is a Hospital for prostitutes only I had occasion to observe their extreme kindness to one another for feeling & generally being characteristic. I would have in my establishment a Lock Hospital & nurse it with consecrated penitents, if it

**f4**

were not considered safe to do it with unconsecrated ones. I would have an idiot asylum & the penitents should have the care of the idiots - I would have all kinds of animals, dairy ~~work~~, poultry & ~~work~~, pigs. The cows should be stall fed, which makes a good deal of work for the penitents, who should besides promenade each cow for an hour a day on a gravel walk. the Idiots might in time be able to do this. I would have an Escalobin & an artificial Mother, & hatch all my eggs in it, all which requires

**f4v**

a great deal of care ~~of~~ & attention & makes plenty of work & interesting work. We sold milk & eggs - The greater part of the eggs now eaten in England comes from Normandy. I am a Protectionist so far that I would have a home manufacture of eggs. There is always a sale for butter & eggs.

I would have silk worms which require a great deal of attention At ~~pros~~ a particular time of the year & which have been tried in England with success by a lady, a friend of mine, who exhibited specimens of her silk at the Great Exhibition.

I believe that there is no reason why women should

**f5**

not print as well as  
men & the better educated  
of the Penitents might be  
employed at the printing  
press. It takes up the whole  
mind, which is a good  
thing.

Weaving, I know, may  
be introduced.

Anything is better than  
needlework which will  
take them back, when they  
leave, and their old habits  
of life.

All occupations which  
fit them for emigration  
are desirable.

For many years I have  
had a vision in my head,  
which it is entirely improbable  
I shall ever see realized,

**f5v**

first, because it is wholly  
unlikely that I shall ever  
be found worthy. Secondly,  
because I am quite unfit  
for the work of a Superior  
& never could command  
in my life. But you may.  
I wish you were my Supervisor.  
I am sure I could work  
under you. At all events  
I shall tell you what the  
work would be.

It would be to take  
one of the Encumbered  
Estates /farms in Ireland in one  
of the most remote  
situations. I see now in the Tablet  
there are ~~one~~ some for sale  
in County Down. It should  
not be above thirty acres  
& it should be cultivated

**f6**

entirely by the womankind. I would feed six cows off it - (stall-fed) & I would introduce as much other work upon it as I could. Outdoor work is quite necessary for the recovery of the penitents & especially for the recovery of their tempers.

It seems presumptuous to wish to differ in any thing from the Good Shepherd, upon whom a blessing, I believe, more particularly rests. but I think more variety of employment wd. be better & no recreation. for the difficulty of fixing the penitents is proverbial & that is the reason why

**f6**

I would rather choose employments where some thing will suffer from their neglect. I have never seen them neglect their cows -

If I could perfectly organize my classes, I would never let them do one thing for more than two hours at a time & then change to something else directly. But that is impossible at present.

I do think it is of the utmost importance that each should have a separate cell at night. I had rather sacrifice any other expence to this.

I am certain that we feed them too highly in England. Unless under medical advice, I believe

they should never have beer  
& not every day meat. Their  
violent tempers & passions  
are often ~~the~~ diminished by  
lowering their food. Where  
I was they had meat only  
twice a week.

{f7}

At Clewer the ~~po~~ multi-  
plication of preachings &  
teachings & talking seems  
the object. In what condition  
must the minds of those  
poor creatures be during  
those frequent services?  
I believe the multiplication  
of interesting occupations  
to be the great thing.  
Ora et labora said St  
Pachomius tho' the lazy  
Latins reversed it.

Once a day I should  
insist upon their washing

**f7v**

the whole of their persons  
with soap. Personal  
purity is so necessary  
to mental purity. And  
the separate room too is  
so desirable for this.

There is no scope at the  
Good Shepherd for attraction  
for particular work. I  
should like to have a  
series of work-shops  
of all kinds of work, but  
the sedentary, which is the  
worst of all for them, &  
lead them through them  
till I found out what was  
their particular attraction  
for what particular work.

While the education of  
men is what it is, no  
effectual ~~pr~~ bar can be  
put upon Prostitution -

**f8**

but that is not my business  
& therefore I will do what I  
can about the education of  
women. It is the opinion of  
our most able medical  
men that ~~while the edu~~  
all female schools should  
be in the country & that  
labour in the open air  
should be practised with  
a moral view. The want  
of this & of teaching anything  
useful I believe fills the  
ranks of prostitutes in London.  
They are taught nothing but  
the needle to get a living.  
But all other knowledge is  
"improper for women." Our  
female schools are a  
disgrace to us. Many wd.  
be glad to emigrate, if they  
had been properly prepared.  
The stupidity of our educators

**f8v**

is marvelous - England has  
all the world before her &  
more land than ever she can  
cultivate & our women  
are prostitutes ~~be~~ for a  
maintenance. And we  
think to preach them into  
propriety. It is the ignorance  
of our women which gets  
them into mischief- And  
what do our educated women  
know who profess to teach  
them? Nothing but music  
& French & a kind of literature  
which they had better not  
know.

**[end 3:265]**

**ff9-10** letter of Richard M Milnes  
Alresford  
Hants

21 January [1853]

My dear friend

I shall be very grateful for anything in which you may think that I can be of any use to you. We are staying here over next week and go to Baring illeg illeg the week after. Should you at Embley the illeg or illeg week in February? If so, I would offer them a visit there and look over with you the papers you mention. If this does not suit, and you would send them to me at either of these addresses, I would read them and let you know what I thought of them with scrupulous sincerity. Alas! I have such a mortal terror of touching on these subjects with what people call the lower classes that I can find no other cure [cause?] for it but a fear of "In-grogue" [?] in these [their?] facts, "now just tell us what you believe." I live in absolute astonishment at the absence of this [line?] illeg shame in the clergy and think "if you mainly illeg up in illeg I should like to ask you a thing of two." And you surely illeg find in the great and solemn facts of nature of which the working man might be made observant a true and higher basis on which he might both stand and speak together. My two little women are well and happy. I am as much of both as I believe is good for one. The illeg and yours affectionately  
Richard M. Milnes

f11-12 RMM "My dear Friend" March 11 [1853]

**f12** FN's French passport for 1852

f14 passeport Empire Francais Mlle Nightingale 9 fev 1853

**f15** letter of Mrs Clarke accepting position re Harley St. April 25 1853 [odd signature Yvone M.?]

**f17** copy of FN letter of 29 April 1853 to Lady Canning, original said to have been given to FN Hospital, Lisson Grove in October 1937, handwr

**f17-18** pen: copy of letter given to FN Hospital, Lisson Grove, Oct. 1937

30 Old Burlington St.

April 29 [1853]

[12:72]

Dear Lady Canning,

I beg to thank you for the kind and considerate manner in which you have made known to me the offer of the Ladies of the Committee. I shall be happy to accept it in July next, as proposed. May I beg to repeat that, should I be unable to effect the good which I have in view, I shall wish to feel at liberty to retire at the end of a twelve-month with Mrs. Clarke, my housekeeper.

I have communicated with Mrs. Clarke, according to the wishes of the Ladies of the Committee. She will be glad to accept the office of Matron. She declines any Salary, & having expressed her desire to attach herself to me personally in any such undertaking, I must beg to take upon myself her expences (during that twelvemonth) which the Ladies of the Committee will fix at any sum they think ~~proper~~(sic) right.

I must also request that the Committee will take into their consideration on what terms *volunteer* {**f18**} Nursing Sisters shall be received into the Institution should any such offer themselves.

In the hope that you will kindly lay my answer before the Committee, believe me, dear Lady Canning,

Yours truly

Florence Nightingale

[end 12:72]



Letter of Eliz Frere to FN re Rules 45796 ff19-20; Eliz Frere called on FN ref 45796 f21}

signed letter, ff19-20, pen & pencil {Miss Frere to Miss Nightingale} f19

45 Bedford Sqre

May 5. 1853.

{archivist 2 lines:} Miss Frere

with Draft of revised rules- offers help

My dear Miss Nightingale

According to your request I have looked over the printed Rules, and have altered my former paper so as to adapt it with as little change as possible to what I understand to be the intentions of the Committee, & so as to secure for you a clear understanding of the duties which you propose to undertake, and of the manner in which you may hope to fulfill them satisfactorily. You will observe that I have put myself as it were in your place, writing in the first person, & prefacing my observations on the Rules with an explanatory note

**f19v**

addressed to the Secretary or  
whoever it may be from  
whom you received the Rules

It will give me great pleasure  
to think that the experience I  
have accidentally had in similar  
undertakings may have been useful  
to you in settling your prelimi=  
naries; but I think you will  
agree with me that having  
ventured so far it will be better  
that I should wholly disappear  
from the scene, until I hear that  
you have entered upon your  
office. After that I shall hope  
to be allowed the pleasure of  
resuming the acquaintance thus  
agreeably begun, and I shall be  
very happy to join with those

**f20**

ladies on your Committee to  
whom I have the pleasure of  
being known in giving you  
any assistance that may be  
in my power.

I remain my dear Miss Nightingale

Yours very truly

Elizth Frere

signed letter, ff21-22v, pen & pencil {Miss Frere to Lady Inglis}

**f21**

45 Bedford Square

May 4. 1853.

My dear Lady Inglis

I had the pleasure of finding Miss F. Nightingale at home yesterday, and must thank you again for the frank and cordial reception I owe to your kind introduction of me to the family. I left the paper I shewed you, with Miss F. Nightingale and as she seemed to think it might be useful I hope she will consult you upon it. I understand the Committees have sent her their book of Rules to look over, some of which

**f21v**

they intend to modify so as to suit the proposed new arrangement. The rules will probably be found applicable to three distinct heads, one only of which shd be first entered upon, namely that which affects Miss Nightingales own position as regards the Committee. A second class will relate to matters of detail upon which Miss N. will understand that she is expected to act when engaged; subject to any alterations which the Committee may approve from time to time upon her suggestion; but the consideration of these had better be deferred till the terms of Miss Nightingales engagement are finally concluded.

A third class may probably be found relating to minor details, which may be proper to be left

**f22**

for the present to Miss Nightingales own discretion.

Miss Nightingale mentioned that in accepting the proposal of the Committee she had reserved to herself liberty to retire from the charge at the end of a year if it did not seem likely to answer her expectations. Will not such a proviso seem to imply that she *is bound* to stay for a year? and do you not think it ought to be clearly understood that such an engagement cannot be considered as binding for any definite period, but must be determinable by either party according to their own feelings of propriety.

In returning the Rules to the Committee Miss Nightingale would do well to incorporate these into her own paper such

**f22v**

as are applicable to her own particular duties and power as Lady Superintendent, and to notice such as may appear to her to require alteration as here suggested under either of the two last mentioned heads.

I remain my dear Lady Inglis

Yours affecly

Elizth Frere

**ff23-32** draft rules for Harley St.

draft, ff23-32, pen {in Elizabeth Frere's hand}  
{archivist:} Draft notes of Gentlewomen's  
Institution by Miss Frere in  
FN's name perhaps the draft  
sent on May 5th

**f23**

Having read the printed Rules  
which you have been kind  
enough to send for my consideration  
I request the favour of you to  
submit to the Committee the  
following observations upon them  
which are all I wish to mention  
except perhaps some matters of  
detail which may be brought to  
the notice of the Committee here =  
after when they arise.

**f24**

Rule

II.3. It being very possible that the  
Gentlemen of the Committee may  
sometimes not be able to attend  
their monthly meeting, I should  
wish in that case to have the  
power of drawing upon the  
bankers for a certain amount  
to answer the housekeeping  
expenses as well as the petty  
disbursements.

The Wages of the Nurses and  
Female Servants I should wish  
to pay myself and to have  
the House bills paid weekly by  
myself or my Housekeeper.

**f25**

Rule |

III.2. I suppose it may be proper that the Honorary Secretary shd continue to keep the Minute Book and the Agenda; but that I shall be expected to prepare Reports and to manage the correspondence, having liberty to apply to the Committee for assistance in the correspondence if it should become voluminous and particularly to have the assistance of a clerk to enter all my letters in a book for the inspection of the Committee.

**f26**

Rule

IV.2 I conclude that the female servants will all be engaged by me and liable to be dismissed by me subject to the approbation of the Committee which in most cases I shall be desirous of obtaining beforehand But unless the servants feel that I have this power I cannot expect to maintain the proper authority over them.

4 & 5 It being understood that I am to have the assistance of my housekeeper I shall wish all the accounts of housekeeping and petty cash to be kept by her and after being examined by me to be presented with my signature & upon my responsibility to the Committee. every week {added in faint pencil}

**f27**

## Rule

V.2 It is proposed I observe to alter the present Rule by requiring the Lady Superintendent to choose the Nurses instead of the Commee which seems to me a desirable alteration- Only I should wish the choice to be with the approbation of the Medical Officers

The Nurses should also be liable to dismissal or suspension by the L.S. --

**f28**

## Rule

VI. 8. This Rule is applicable to complaints by Patients only; but I think it ought to be extended to complaints by or on behalf of either patients, or Nurses, or Servants, concerning the conduct of any part of the establishment; And that the same ought to be made in the first place to the L.S. -- and any complaints of her to the Ladies Committee ought to be made in writing & transmitted through her to the Committee; in order that she may have an opportunity of either removing the cause of complaint or of giving her answer to the Commee at the same time - which seems necessary for maintaining unimpaired a proper confidence between the L.S. & the Committee.

If

**f29**

If this alteration is adopted  
it will require to be noticed in  
the House Rules No. 9 where I  
observe that a private communi=  
cation of complaint to ~~her~~ a  
lady Visitor is allowed- & this  
need not perhaps be prohibited  
as it may sometimes give the  
Visitor an opportunity of privately  
satisfying the complainant, or  
procuring proper redress.

=====

I beg to propose the following  
additional Rules as desirable  
to be adopted by the Committee.

**f30**

The L.S. to observe strictly  
all orders given by the Physicians  
of the Establishment concerning  
the treatment of the Patients; and  
to see that the same are observed  
by the Nurses and Attendants in  
their respective departments, and  
to report upon this point to the  
Committee every week.

---

The L.S. not to admit any  
Patient into the Establishment  
otherwise than by order of the  
Committee; and not to accept  
any assistance that may be  
offered to her gratuitously, without  
the like order.



**f31**

It seems desirable that the L.S. should on all occasions attend the Ladies Committee for the purpose of reading her report and of giving any explanation or further information that may be desired; and that she should afterwards retire while the Committee are in deliberation.

---

The Committee having determined to take either one larger House, or two smaller houses adjacent, it is submitted that the latter plan might be more advantageous, in order that one House may be set apart for Patients paying a lower sum for their admission, who may be waited

**f32**

upon by Pupil Nurses under the guidance of a well qualified instructress. The more advanced of these Pupils may afterwards be employed as Sub Nurses in the other House for first class patients.

---

**f33-35:** pen, letter to Lady Canning, black-edged paper, date added by archivist ca. May 18, 1853: note added in pencil "rough draft of letter about the House in Mansfield St."

Dear Lady Canning

I submit the Enclosed  
to your kindness to shew  
to the Committee, or not,  
as you ~~will~~ think best. On further  
consideration of the  
Mansfield St. house,  
I think it impossible  
as you say, that anything  
like an Institution can  
grow out of a house of  
that kind. It can ~~never~~  
be ~~anything but~~ only a  
temporary pis aller.

You will probably think  
it useless for me to make suggestions

which will not be taken. {f33v}

~~But~~ the medical men  
a good house  
~~must~~ however know that it is  
one

impossible to get a  
suitable house, which  
is of the first consequence  
to the Institution, within  
so narrow a boundary -  
have heard

~~And~~ I know that some  
of them ~~have~~ expressed  
their willingness to go  
further. ~~Behind~~ The neighbourhood of  
Hyde Pk. Gardens is a  
good healthy situation.  
The thing would have  
could a wing have  
been to have taken a

wing of St. Mary's or  
any other new Hospital,  
not yet entirely occupied,  
and filled it up. But  
the prejudices of the  
patients would have  
been against us, you  
will say. Could we  
take a wing of the  
magnificent new hotel  
building opposite the  
Paddington Station? In  
a private house ~~I feel~~  
the Institution can never  
be anything but a poor  
place. ~~And~~ I fear  
too that, if the 8/patients

{f34}

are to be treated exactly  
the same as the £1,,1 -  
excepting in the one  
difference of having only  
part of a room? Nobody  
will pay the guinea &  
the funds will fall off.  
~~A great~~ many patients  
of that *class like* the  
gabble of the ward.

{f34v}

If, however, the Mans  
field St. house be  
inevitable, (as may be  
very likely for a time)  
I would suggest one or  
two things. I do not  
think those little rooms  
can be turned into little  
kitchens. The only

**f35**

communication being ~~they~~  
the back-stairs & thro' a  
one patients' room, the  
nurse wd. have to descend  
one stair & up the other  
(for ~~that~~ the *kitchen* inclose & also for the  
far more important  
appendage in the back-  
ground, which is in the  
most inconvenient  
position for patients  
& housemaids) One of  
Benham's Cottage Stoves  
on each landing would  
remedy the former  
inconvenience which  
are moveable, cost only  
\$3,,3 [query see:] - may have a pipe

run up for a chimney to  
go out of the windows &  
will warm everything  
the Nurse may want -  
or even cook a mutton chop.

{f35v}

**f36:** pen: list of expences: archivist has penciled in "Mr. Marjoribanks":  
{not sure if this is in FN's hand}

Abstract of Monthly Bill  
for Four week ending 16 May 1853

Baker.....	£	3.6. 8	
Beer (House & Servants).	2.14.2		
Butcher			14.11.8
Butterman.....		4.15.7	
Fish.....		17.1	
Green Grocer.....		2. 6.5	
Grocer.....		7. 8.2	
Medicine.....		9.18.4	
Milk.....		3.5.6	
Oilman.....		1.11.11	
Poulterer.....		16.2	
Sundries.....		15.8	
Washing. House & Servants		6.14.5	
	£		<u><u>59. 1.5</u></u>

*Brandy &*

*Wine* have not hither been included in  
*monthly accounts.* - This may be a question.

**ff37-38:** pen letter to Lady Canning, dated [1853] black-edged paper

30 Burlington St.

May 18 [1853]

Dear Lady Canning

As the Ladies of the [12:73]  
Committee expressed a  
desire (in the first  
letter which they were  
kind enough to write  
to me) that I should  
give an opinion upon  
the house which they  
were about to take, I  
think I ought to state  
that, having seen the  
Mansfield St. house,  
I believe that it can

be nothing but a temporary {f37v}  
make-shift

1st because no extension  
of the Institution is  
therein possible as  
in no way could more  
than 25 patients be ever  
accommodated & hardly  
2 or 3 sisters.

NB two small adjacent  
houses would furnish  
twice as many available  
rooms as one large one  
& not waste so much  
room in hall and  
staircase &c.

2nd because it has a  
western exposure, which  
is equally to be regretted  
(for patients) in summer  
& winter.

{f38}

3rd the distribution of the  
house is an inconvenient  
one, necessitating a  
thorough-fare through  
patients rooms - & totally  
unfit for a permanent Hospital.

Would it not be better  
to look farther afield  
before deciding on the  
Mansfield St. house?  
The ladies of the committee  
would have but little  
farther to go, were a

house to be ~~looked~~ found {f38v}  
to the East instead of  
to the West of Regent St.  
e.g. in the neighbourhood of  
Gt. Portland Road - But  
only let it be in a street at right  
angles, where the  
exposure would be S.  
& N. A guardian  
hotel, were one to be  
found, would be the  
very thing. There is  
one to be let at the  
corner of Gt. Russell St.  
but I believe the  
Committee has condemned  
that neighbourhood.

yours very truly  
F. Nightingale

**ff39-42:** pen: letter to Lady Canning: dated [1853] by archivist

120 Rue du Bac  
Paris 5 June

Dear Lady Canning

Many thanks for the [12:73-75]  
plan of the house in  
Harley St. & for your kind  
information on the subject  
which interests us both  
so much-

The indispensable condition  
of a house for the purpose  
we require is

1st that the nurse should  
never be obliged to quit her  
"floor", except for her own  
dinner & supper, & her  
patients' dinner & supper -  
(& even the latter might be  
avoided by the windlass  
we have talked about)

**f39v**

Without a system of this  
kind, the nurse is converted  
into a pair of legs for  
running up & down stairs.  
She ought to have hot &  
cold water upon her own  
floor,- she ought to sleep  
upon her own floor in her  
own bed-room, she ought  
to have the requisites for  
making poultices, barley  
water, warming all her  
medicines, dressings &c &c,  
(& I should say, for making  
her patients' breakfasts \*  
teas, & her own,) so that  
she should never have  
occasion to leave the floor  
confided to her. Her bed-room,  
& little kitchen (which may be  
one & the same) & the other



Accompaniment are therefore {f40}  
indispensably on the *same*  
floor and as her patients At Chandos St. &  
other places, where the nurses  
sleep all together on the ground  
floor, they might just as  
well sleep out of the house)

2nd The bells of the patients  
should all ring in the  
passage outside the *nurse's*  
own door *on that story* & should have a  
valve, which flies open when  
its bell *rings* & *remains* open  
in order that the nurse may  
see who has rung. - If a  
nurse must go down into  
the kitchen for every thing, -  
she has, (if she has 3 patients,)  
6 journies for their breakfasts,  
as many for everything they  
want &c, besides the waiting  
in the kitchen, because the

cooks cannot let her boil their {f40}  
eggs, or make their chocolate,  
or cut their bread & butter  
at that moment.

Should it be impossible to  
spare one small room on *each*  
floor for the purpose mentioned,  
there ought to be one large  
room set apart on the 2nd  
floor where everything for  
the nurses' use is *ready*, ~~apart~~  
& where all the nurses go  
to fetch what they want &  
to warm & to press [?] for their patients.

The carrying hot water all  
over the house is desirable.  
The cheapest way of doing it  
is, I believe, to have a  
boiler at the top of the house  
with a small fire to heat  
it (the boiler replenishing  
itself,) & pipes bringing  
the hot water to each story  
(one cock on each story is  
sufficient) But there might

be a small boiler on each story with its ~~own~~ little fire of its own (it does not take much fuel) all the boilers replenishing themselves, so that there is no danger of burning.

{f41}

Each Nurse ought to have one or two Sub-nurses or Probationers under her, according to the number of patients she has ~~under her~~. Where the rooms are properly distributed & all the above precautions observed, I have seen one nurse & two probationers take the care of twelve patients (all in separate rooms) excepting in cases where a patient required a nurse to herself. But, if a nurse has one patient at the top of the house & another at the bottom,

besides journeys to the kitchen  
& to her own bed-room, of  
course this is impossible.

{f41v}

Dear Lady Canning, to make  
no apology for writing all  
these details, as, if you take  
the Harley St. House, some-  
thing of bell-hanging, hot  
water piping & &c (to accom-  
plish some of these objects) may  
be necessary to be done at once.  
I am sorry I have not time  
to make it shorter. It is  
difficult to me to judge of the  
Harley St. house without asking  
a variety of questions which  
can hardly be answered at a  
distance. Early in July I  
shall be back in England  
for the sake of serving a  
short apprenticeship in the  
Chandos St. house before it  
is given up, if they have  
room for me.

I am afraid my Committee

will greatly disapprove of my being at Paris in the enemy's camp, instead of being very much obliged to me for acting as a spy to despoil the enemy of their good things with the fear that they would not be as grateful to me as they ought I did not proclaim my intention of going to Paris.

{f42}

I would further say  
1st that the Superintendent ought to sleep in the middle of her patients  
2nd the Committee should ask themselves the question whether they wish to train patients or nurses. If it is the patients they wish to train the Superintd. should take her meals with them, if ~~with~~ it is the nurses, with the nurses.  
3rd if it should be the intention of the Committee to have a house where dyspeptic patients

may find a home, where they may amuse themselves & make acquaintances, a drawing room & a dining room are very desirable - but if on the contrary, it is for grave disease these rooms may be devoted to the reception of patients, as few or none, will be able to leave their rooms.

{f42v}

I would make an apology for these remarks which are perhaps not very à propos, & with many thanks, dear

Lady Canning, for all the trouble you have taken,  
believe me yours very truly  
Florence Nightingale  
In great haste

[end 12:75]

**ff43-44:** pen: no date or address: archivists marks this as a [July 26 1853]  
document: draft of letter prob to Mr Marjoribanks summer of 1853

Sir

Before entering on my [12:77]  
new office, I am sure  
that you will excuse  
my writing to you to know  
the footing upon which  
the Household Bills are  
to be settled.

Three months ago, I  
requested, at the Ladies  
Committee, that they  
might be paid weekly  
by me.

The Ladies Committee  
referred me to you, but

intimated that such {f43v}  
had not been their  
custom.

At \_\_\_ &c \_\_\_\_\_ &c \_\_\_  
it is the custom to pay  
the greengrocer's, butcher's,  
baker's, milkman's  
& fishmonger's bills  
weekly.

I should be much  
obliged to you to let me  
know if you see any  
objection to this, or to  
my paying them by a  
cheque, which you  
will honour?

The accounts will be ready weekly for the Ladies' Committee to inspect.

{f44}

~~The quarterly bills for soup, candles & grocers' bills I should prefer that the Ladies' Committee should keep in their own hands.~~

The wages I should be glad to pay myself quarterly & in the same way by a cheque upon you.

[end 12:77]

**f45:** pencil: no guess at addressee by archivist, but he/she does include an estimated date [ca July-Aug. 1853]: draft circular to other hospitals about bills and expences: much of the letter is extremely difficult to read off film.

Sir

In beginning a new hospital, it being of the greatest consequence to ascertain the best information, I take the liberty of applying to you, in common with many others & and beg for an answer to the following queries.

No. of patients  
1 - nurses  
time you have been there  
2 wages of nurses  
how fed  
wages of matron  
qy sub-matrons

Surgeon in the house what powers - command  
what control over nurses or patients - (how prevent)  
the nurses being in the power of the surgeon from fear?  
what  
nurses age? length of service each nurse? Wages?

**f46-49:** pen: draft of circular requesting details from English Hospitals of the organization of their nursing service & spiritual instruction, & of their income & expenditure: no date: later draft of circular in

**£45 [5:77-79]**

Sir

In beginning a new Hospital, I take the liberty of applying to you in common with many others - it being of the greatest consequence to ascertain the best information and beg for an answer to the following queries.

*Answer*

In ?  
Number of patients? at the present time?  
Out patients?  
(Nurses)

\_\_\_\_\_ answer?  
 wages of nurses?  
     boarded  
 how fed?  
 any provision for their  
     old age?  
 wages of matron?  
~~query~~ sub matron?

what time of observation  
the Chaplain has had?

how many wards?  
how many beds to each ward?  
how many nurses to each ward?

*Answer*

**f46v**

Is the Surgeon in the House?  
What ~~powers~~ command has he?  
what control over nurses?  
or patients?  
what means are there to prevent  
the nurses being in the power  
of the surgeon from fear?

what is the age of nurses?  
what the length of service of  
each nurse?

how many chief nurses?  
how many under nurses?

matron  
sub-matron?  
master?  
scrubbers?  
flockwoman?  
cook?  
kitchenmaid?  
scullery maid?  
housemaids?  
laundry maids?  
hired women?  
porters?  
men - nurses?



Is the night nursing done by {f47}  
the nurses in the house?  
or is it done by women who  
come in for the night?  
if so, what check is there upon  
these women to prevent them  
drinking or falling asleep?  
in the male wards is *all* the  
attendance afforded by women  
do  
or ~~are the~~ Porters or men nurses give their  
assistance in certain cases?  
are there separate Syphilitic wards?  
Are there men nurses for the Syphilitic wards?  
or are women of a proper age & character sought for for these?  
Is there a Dispenser in the House?  
How many pupils?  
what do the Pupils do?  
what the annual expense of  
food, fire, water, drugs?  
what the annual expense of  
printing, salaries, wages, furniture,  
repairs, library, museum?  
what the amount of income of the Hospital?  
and whence derived?



Is their character such that they {f48}  
would be listened to by the patients?  
are Lady visitors ~~allowed~~ admitted?  
at all hours?  
with or without the consent of the treasurer and Chaplain?  
does the Chaplain communicate with  
the Nurses, in order to learn the  
personal characters and cases of each of the patients?  
does the Chaplain require assistance  
in his work?

Is the dressing, bandaging &c done {f49}  
by the Nurses or the Pupils or dressers?  
is there any examination into  
the Nurses education?  
into their mechanical skill?  
into their moral principle?  
can they read and write?  
if not, have any mistakes arisen in  
administering medicine from this  
cause?  
have they any training?  
Has the Chaplain any ~~means~~ control  
~~of the~~ over the character of the nurses?  
or of the Pupils?  
what rules does the treasurer  
establish for these? & what ~~is~~  
~~there~~ discipline is there over them?  
~~Are~~ ~~is~~ ~~duties~~ the power of the ~~Sisters~~ of the Chaplain  
confined to the Chapel & the sick?

**f50-53:** pen, green paper, letter: addressee unknown: first two pages missing: archivist estimates date at [beg. Aug 1852].

**f50**

3

Lady Canning. And carpets for  
three of the Attics  
have been ~~so also carpeted~~  
made from the same piece  
~~Aure these were~~  
also ~~made up~~ at  
home.

The stair carpets  
excepting a few steps  
at the top are all  
made of the old  
carpets. No more  
drugget, nor carpeting,  
nor oil-cloth nor  
window blinds, nor  
ticking for dividing  
the rooms, for which  
there is sufficient  
old curtain left, will

**f50v**

be wanted.

{ **f50v** }

No charwoman,  
needle woman, casual  
nurse or night nurse  
has been in the house  
since the woman in  
charge of the house  
left, 1/6 only has  
been spent in  
charring, & 6/10 in  
needle work.

Neither has any  
carpenter's work been  
done, since the  
carpenters were out  
of the house.

John has ~~nailed~~ laid down

all the carpets, &  
altered the blinds.

{f51}

Nurse Smith has  
helped to piece & join  
the carpets.

Nurse Harding has  
washed many things  
for the patients, &  
has helped to make  
Miss Robson's outfit  
for N. Zealand -  
which has been, in  
great measure, ~~made~~ done  
at home.

3 doz towels  
prs sheets  
prs pillow cases  
have been made for her here -

**f51v**

The furniture & curtains  
of the Front Ward  
have been also made  
entirely at home.

I have thought it  
desirable to change  
all the household &  
nurses, with the  
exception of John,  
the cook & Nurse  
Smith. The house  
has not now the  
advantage of efficient  
~~housemaids, out~~ cleaning the  
housemaids ~~are~~ being  
two inexperienced  
girls, who though  
willing & anxious to

**f52**

do all in their power  
are unequal to their  
work without constant  
superintendence - &  
therefore more has  
fallen upon Mrs. Clarke.

I have but three  
Nurses, with whom  
I am perfectly satisfied  
one to each floor. They  
have had 15 patients  
among them, & some  
operation & other  
1 yr to the present time  
heavy cases - I have  
been unable to carry  
out the rules I could  
wish, for want of the  
proper stoves & store-  
rooms on each floor.

I have carried into  
effect the rule of the  
patients taking their  
meals together. From  
10-12 dine downstairs  
every day.

{f52v}

I have made a small  
alteration about the  
Servants' washing. All  
the new nurses &  
Servants are now  
washed for by ~~our~~ the House  
washerwoman at a  
cost of 1/ per week,  
as formerly  
instead of receiving  
1/6 per week ~~washing~~  
in money ~~for themselves~~  
for this purpose.

I have also ~~thought it~~  
~~desirable to~~ changed  
some of the Tradespeople  
it having been the  
custom as may be  
seen by the books,  
to have in articles  
by the oz. & the half  
oz. - the Grocer's man  
frequently coming  
to the house as often  
as three times a day.

{f53}

I now lay in ~~my~~  
groceries ~~every~~ monthly  
from Fortnum & Masons,  
flour by the sack  
from Rymer's, potatoes  
ditto from Covent Garden

**f53v**

Market; apples & onions  
also candles by the  
4 doz lbs & soap the  
same from Davies's -  
thereby making the  
saving between  
wholesale & retail  
prices.

On my first entrance  
I found scarcely 1/4 oz  
of stores of any kind  
in the house.

I have made contracts  
for butter at 1/2 per lb  
eggs 1/ per lb  
cheese 8d per lb  
bacon 8d 1/2 per lb  
poultry 4/6 per couple  
meat 7d per lb

**f54:** pen: draft of FN letter to Mr Marjoribanks ca Aug 4, 1853, black-edged paper

Sir

I shall not of course [12:77]  
wish to interfere with  
a plan so fully matured  
& so practically worked,  
out ~~(without)~~ that which your  
letter of the 1st inst lays  
before me concerning the  
financial arrangements of  
Harley St. I shall endeavour  
to carry it out in the  
way you lay down.

But, finding that your  
tradesmen's bills are to  
be paid every month only,

may I ask of you  
information as to the way  
in which the orders  
upon the tradesmen are  
to be given?

{f54v}

I presume that all these  
orders are made ~~out~~ in  
the name of the Committee,  
& the Articles ~~are~~ delivered

to the Establishment & not to the Superintendent  
in their name - And  
the bills being made only for the Establishment  
that the Superintendent  
either weekly draws up  
an account of the Articles  
which will be required for  
the Household during the  
following week & submitting



this to the Committee,  
receives their signature  
to it, if approved - ~~or~~ & that,  
for the ~~more~~ non-current  
expenses, she has a General  
lithographed form of Order  
from them.

{ f55 }

You will perhaps kindly  
inform me what is the  
custom with you

I presume also that the  
~~Committee has~~ Superintendent,  
has nothing to do with  
receiving the payments from  
the patients, which are either  
enforced or remitted by some  
other official appointed by  
the Committee.

I presume that all agreement  
for wages are entered into the  
Committee book & that the  
servants are made aware  
on entering, as also the  
Landlord, that they are  
the Servants of the Committee.

{ f55v }

[end 12:77]

**ff56-57:** pen: incomplete letter to Lady Canning, dated c 4 Dec. 1853]

1 Upper Harley St.

Sunday

Dear Lady Canning

[12:86]

The only suggestions  
I have to make are  
(1) should it not be  
added that Mr. Garnier  
has insisted upon  
continuing his ministra-  
tions here till Christmas  
*without remuneration?*  
This kindness of his  
should not be passed  
over, as if he were  
waiting for a salary.  
(2) It is not quite

true that *he* "has visited"  
the Patients - ever since  
the removal of the  
Institution. He has  
caused them to be  
visited by a Curate,  
(who, by parenthesis,  
was a great deal too  
young & foolish), & *he*  
has visited them ever  
since his return to  
London, (which is  
about three weeks) -

{f56v}

Dr. Hawksley's resignation {f57}  
has been formally sent  
in to Mr. Spring Rice,  
& the appointment of  
his Successor is, I  
understand, in the  
hands of the Medical  
Men, who are of  
course, the only fit  
persons to judge. They  
mean to appoint a  
person who can  
dispense, the dispensing  
to be done in the house,  
so as to save part  
of our vast bill at  
Savory's

I quite agree with {f57v}  
all you say about the  
Chaplain. No other  
subject to be discussed  
by the Gentleman occur,  
to me, since they are  
incapable of settling  
our next most  
important question,  
our Gas troubles, as  
I believe you think

**ff58-61** letter of John Richardson to Mrs Dacy 3 Feb 1855 Mary has asked him to reply to her letter to her re Miss Frere's suggestion on lady nurses for Haslar Hosp. PRIVATE. My dear Mrs Dacy, Mary has asked me to reply to your letter to her, respecting Miss Frere's suggestion about lady nurses for this hospital.

I shd premise that we in no want of nurses of the kind we now employ. We have one to every 5 patients and sometimes a larger proportion. They are kind in their way, and keep the wards and patients perfectly clean-but s they are the wives or widows of seamen and marines, they take their tone from the men they attend, exercise no moral influence over them, and can work no improvement in morals or habits.

It seemed therefore that it would be a great step to introduce a superior class of nurses, trained after the plan of Parson Fliedner of Kaiserswerth, and qualified to humanize the materials they have to work with. Sir Edward Parry took up my sugg zealously but no are offered to act on his proposals. At the present time, however, thanks to Miss Nightingale and her noble coadjutors, the act [art?] of nursing has been dignified in the eyes of English ladies and many excellent women are desirous of employing themselves in that vocation. Parson Fliedner required two years prob before he wd pronounce a cand qualified to go forth as a nurse, and my own obs leads me to believe that not above one woman in five is able to fulfil the duties of such a nurse as we shd require to amend our present system.

What I shd propose to the Admiralty wd be to place one superior nurse over the wards, containing when full 14 patients to each, under her I wd put three or four women or men to do all the laborious work, make the beds, shift the patients &c. There is you will observe little or no dressing of wounds or sores in my wards and no cooking, except beef tea or arrowroot and sago or tapioca. The rest is all done in the kitchen including fish, fowl and pudding, which are brought to the wards under the covers as in a private family. We are just about to have a gas apps put up which will cook for 1,200 readily- the stores in each ward are at present under the charge of the head nurse of that ward, who is resp for them and all the wards are visited once a day or oftener by the ward matron. The charge of these stores and utensils requires vigilance as the linen is changed twice a week or daily or oftener as needed and all the patients are clothed in hosp dresses, their own being washed when they come in and laid by in store till they go out again.

It wd be a matter for consideration whether the ward stores shd be under the control of the superior nurse or not, there being disadvantages either way. I do not think that a lady nurse cd look so well after the towels, sheets and other things which are liable to disappear and must be paid for by the nurse if lost. On the other hand the charge of the stores mt render the nurse less subordinate to her superior than she ought to be. This however may be obviated by a little mgt.

Having found ladies willing to devote themselves to nursing with the helps that I have mentioned, able to govern rude women and to soften no less rude men, it remains that I shd propose the scheme to the Admiralty. If the cost be trifling I apprehend no opposition, but I do not expect that much additional expence will be willingly incurred. At resent the nurses receive £12 per annum and full rations of provisions. So far I think the Admiralty wd go, and so far indeed I cd go provide I do not augment the nurses beyond the allowed numbers. A material advance on that sum wd not I think be conceded.

I have perhaps said enough to enable Miss Frere to judge how such a scheme wd meet the views of the Bath ladies. After all they cd only come on trial and if the plan fails we must revert to the present one. For a time the inferior nurses wd struggle hard to upset the new system, but as I can dismiss any of them at once, I have them under control.

In a day or two the Ministry will be formed ad when the Admiralty board is once more settled I cd make the proposal to them, but as failure would indefinitely postpone improvement I shd like to begin work with ladies of some nerve and experience in the business. Mary is going to write herself and I will ask her to enclose this hasty note. Shd the business take a practical shape, I will gladly go more into detail and be ready to answer any inquiries. Regards to Dr Dacy

note by BL that Bence Jones letter 45808 f190 10 Aug 1855 shd be inserted here

**ff62-63** ca. 1855, probably part of a letter to Selina Bracebridge, not in FN hand [late 1855 after Bracebridge departure], part in FN hand in bundle 133  
[14:382]

Your Iphiginia story has endeared [this para in 334]  
the Tauric Chersonese to me by  
her beautiful fable. Blind truth  
that I was not to see her ~~before~~  
before. But I deny the similitude,  
my homely sufferings have nothing,  
to do with her most poetic ones.  
& Dr Hall's slow broiling of me  
over the price of my own Extra Diet  
kitchen is (I assure you, I who feel  
it) much more painful than her  
méchant death & most beautiful fate  
Had I but time to tell of Dr Hall's  
torments & this said kitchen!

**f62v**

I think it was an error of judgment  
(with submission I say it) to give  
the well paid nurses any part of  
the "Free Gift" stores, *especially*  
the disgraced nurses. More especially  
nurses from Koulalee. I say this  
merely as a principle, for I don't  
suppose the whole value of what  
the nurses had altogether out of the  
Free Gift stores was 5 £. But  
I think it was bad for THEM.  
They have frequently quoted that about  
the disgraced ones; & they ought to  
buy their own underclothing they

**f63**

are enormously paid, & well outfitted.  
I would therefore submit that  
you send out the value of what  
was given them in old times, either  
here or to the London Hospital  
of the RCs, who complained  
in the Times that his hospital has  
been plundered, if you could find  
out which it is, & announce that  
you gave this linen *in cases of*  
*emergency* to nurses that you intended  
to replace it, that here it is--that  
no more was or was intended to be given

**f63v**

For I have insisted upon every nurse paying for everything but her habit outfit ever since you went. Don't say anything about having reconsidered & thought it wrong the giving away to nurses- if you should do anything of this kind. (I will gladly be at the expence).

The Russians will not move out so easily as you think.  
They are making themselves very strong on the North side Sebastopol

**[end 12:86]**

f64 not FN

**f65** typed copy of letter of Parthe to Mrs Gaskell

**ff68-69:** pen: marked "private"; letter to Dr Pincoffs, 9 Upper George St. Bryanston Sq London by envelope

Lea Hurst

**[14:445-46]**

Matlock

PRIVATE. August 26/56

My dear Sir [Dr Pincoffs]

Since I received your letter of Aug. 20. I have heard from Mr. Brace-bridge & seen your letter to him.

I rejoice in the favorable reception by the Duke of Cambridge of our plan & trust that Dr. Andrew Smith's soporific influence may not reach H.R.H.

I am quite satisfied that, in the present state of the matter, i.e. while it may be held to be under the consideration of the Medical Authorities, the use of my name would only create or increase prejudice against the proposal, - and I must, being besides naturally unwilling to make myself prominent, entreat that my name may not be introduced in connection with it, in any communication to a public paper.

In case of it turning out that

**f69v**

you will have to rely either entirely  
or partially on a private subscrip-  
tion, whatever aid I can afford  
(as I have already said) whether  
personal or pecuniary, I shall  
give with the pleasure & interest  
which all these plans excite  
in me.

**[end 14:446]**

Believe me

dear Sir

yours very faithfully

F. Nightingale

**f70-71:** draft, dictated? pale blue paper, pen: no date or recipient's name,  
dated August 1856 not FN hand

Dear Sir

**[14:445]**

Your kind letter of the  
25th of July has just reached me  
forwarded back from Scutari.  
I quite acquit & indeed thank you for  
showing my letter to the Magnates  
of the War Office - feeling as strongly  
as I do upon the subject but I  
fear I should not forward our  
common object by furnishing a  
memorandum under my own  
name for criticism by the Medical Department as Sir Benj. Hawes insinuates to  
come from a woman would be  
probably fatal; to come from me would un-  
questionably be so, viewed as I now  
am by that body, would unquestion-  
ably be so. But if I could find a  
mouthpiece, not obnoxious to the  
same hostility, I would gladly give  
every suggestion that has occurred to



**f70v**

me to be worked up & promulgated  
for the benefit of the service. I  
should have much pleasure in  
conferring (memoranda in hand) with  
yourself & Sir Benj. Hawes on the  
subject

**f71** [FN hand here]

## NB Peace Hospitals

I believe you will answer "you would be  
much better employed in the London Civil  
Hospitals to which you have now access."  
To this I should beg to reply I am quite  
convinced that I could do nothing with  
the N. Fund at present. No reformer ever  
began with the conditions with which  
I am called upon to begin. With the  
buz fuz which is about my name  
now. I should simply succeed in  
collecting about me a good many of  
the vain or needy or frivolous  
elements of society. Indeed the  
conditions of success have been  
removed so entirely out of my reach  
that I am tempted to say to my  
Jason, the Hospital Cause, if it says  
che mi resta? But Io is a  
poor support.

**[end]**

**f72** letter of bishop of Auckland Bath & Wells to FN Sept 12 [1856], embossed  
2 bishops hats, The Palace. I have written to [illeg Clarendon?--in fact  
enclosed yr letter to me (missing) to him. You will find him open and most  
ready to counsel you. It is illeg how yr visit should have clashed with Miss  
Stanleys. Ever yrs most truly  
Auckland Bath & Wells [Robt John Eden, Baron Auckland]

f73 letter of chaplain Allen J.D. D'orsey, the Wick, to FN re getting lady  
from Crimea to go out to Madeira to direct fund for convalescents from  
cholera, widows and orphans 45796 f73; note says answered, one of the  
chaplains at illeg, as;

f74 18 Sept 1856 letter of D'orsey to FN, ack her note (missing), will insert  
name on general sub list

f76 19 Sept 1856 letter of D'orsey to FN, further, re ladies and works for poor and their post, wd offer lady a home, Madeira mt suit a Crimea lady, go to Admiralty today, go out on *Gambia*

f80 20 Sept 1856 another letter of d'Orsey to FN applied for unused Crimean stores of clothing to Ld Clarendon and Admiralty and is doing and Palmerston has sanction donation of 1000 blankets and other articles of clothing;

f83 Brighton 25 Sept 1856 letter of D'orsey to FN, he sails on 4th 45796

f84 copy D'orsey letter, from Admiralty, 8 Sept 1856 reply to hrs of 14th requesting services of a small steam to convey stores, clothing, preserves etc to Island of Madeira for use of sufferers from late visitation of cholera on that island, commanded by Lords commissioners of Admiralty well disposed to render assistance, state no. of persons she wd send and stores, will transmit

f86 letter from Baron de Goldsmid's Brighton, 25th Sept 185 to FN, re Lord Campden re a nurse, Admiralty d'Orsey, ack her kind note (missing) anxious to catch post, asks permission to insert her name in gen sub list and can she get friends to prevail on newspapers to insert letters?

f87 24 Sept 1856 copy of letter from Admiralty, 24 Sept 1856 from Thomas Phinn, Rev Alex d'Orsey

f90 clipping from Aberdeen paper, FN left on train, with letter to Dear Lady, from B.H. Oct 13 1856. This is what we Aberdeen folk think of you & you may like to know it. You may also like to know that you fairly over-came Pan: we found him with his mane absolutely silk & a loving lamp pervading his whole being. We are having beautiful weather here and illeg to think that you are lighting the yes of the falle southernns instead sunning yourself in ours! Respectful ...illeg Clark? No answer

**ff92-93:** pen: letter: for Dr Pincoffs

PRIVATE &  
CONFIDENTIAL

Lea Hurst [14:458-59]  
Matlock  
Derbyshire  
Oct 21/56

My dear Sir

I have never thanked you for more than one kind letter of yours and their enclosures. Yours of Oct 6 has been following me about the country. But I requested Mr. Bracebridge to inform you of what I had obtained and *not* obtained. I fear nothing will be done about the Pensioners this year, for the official order to Col Tulloch will not be sent immediately. And I much fear the failure of the Bath plan for the Soldiers *under the present conditions*. Lord Panmure has also finally decided against any plan being tried *out of* England.

I shall be in London very shortly & (I hope) in time to see you before you leave England.

When I had the pleasure of seeing you here, you mentioned that the time might come when you might be induced to publish your Observations on the English & French Milry. Hospl. of the East & on the defects of each, with your suggestions as to improvements practicable in each.

**f92v**

I will mention to you, *in confidence* that I am under orders from the Queen, Lord Palmerston & Lord Panmure to do the same thing in the form of a Précis to be presented to the Government - & my whole time will be occupied for the next six months in doing this.

I expect that the consequences to me & to the Service will be exactly the same as have followed Sir John McNeill's & Col. Tulloch's report, viz. great harm to my means of usefulness & little good to the Service. But truth is truth

& I shall tell it - my only object in thus writing to you, is to say that it is evidently of great importance that the Reformers should not appear to contradict each other - & that therefore, if you would allow me a sight of your M.S. before you leave England, with a hearing of your viva voce explanations of it, I should esteem it a great favor, & a matter of great value to the Service.

**f93**

{some text missing, end of recto side does not match with 1st words of verso}

**f93v**

yet time, by every means in my power, of having the new Victoria Milry. Hospl., near Southampton, supplied with the most varied means, - bathing, douching, & others - which foreign countries introduce in their Watering-Place Establishments

F.N.

I consider that you have done us an incalculable benefit by giving us a "shove" forwards in the right direction.

**[end]**

**ff94-95:** draft letter to Lord Palmerston: pen

Lea Hurst  
Matlock  
Oct 27/56 **[14:460]**

Dear Lord Palmerston

In acknowledging the kindness of your message conveyed to me through Sir George Grey at Balmoral & obeying the instructions contained in it, I have ~~made~~ delayed till I had seen Lord Panmure. He appears to be rather convinced of the necessity of introducing some system into Military

**f94v**

Hospitals than eager to carry it out. Perhaps eagerness is not Lord Panmure's characteristic.

I should be glad to be allowed to wait upon your Lordship, if you will grant me one half-hour either at Broadlands or in London, whenever it will be of the least inconvenience to you to hear me.

I am preparing the Précis which you have desired me to make & which will take me

some months to do.

[end]

**f95**

I remain  
dear Lord Palmerston  
your obliged & faithful servant  
Florence Nightingale

**f95v**

Dr. Pincoffs 9 Upper George St.  
Bryanston Sq.  
Highgate  
Dr . Sutherland  
Col. Tulloch  
Col. Lefroy  
Sir James Clark  
Dr. Andrew Smith  
Sir Benjamin Hawes  
Genl. Storks  
Mrs. Shaw Stewart  
Guy's  
London  
Fort Pitt

**f96-97:** pen: letter to Lord Palmerston. [5:514]

Lea Hurst  
Matlock  
Oct 29/ 56

Dear Lord Palmerston

In acknowledging the  
kindness of your message  
which Sir George Grey  
gave me at Balmoral,  
& obeying the instructions  
contained in it, I have  
delayed till I had seen  
Lord Panmure.

He appears to be  
rather convinced of the  
necessity of introducing  
some system into

Military Hospitals -  
inasmuch as it is  
obvious, from theory &  
practise, that the  
result of governing  
a Hospital by several  
Departments (the  
Officers of which are  
appointed by different  
authorities) is great  
delay, inefficiency  
& want of responsibility.

Lord Panmure appears

**f96v**

to be more convinced  
of the necessity of the  
reform than eager to  
carry it out. Perhaps  
eagerness is not Lord  
Panmure's characteristic.

**f97**

I am preparing the  
Precis which you have  
desired me to make &  
which will take me  
several months to do.

May I request that  
you will at no very  
distant time, allow me

to wait upon you for  
one half hour, either at  
Broadlands or in London,  
whenever you can grant  
me a time which will  
be least inconvenient  
to you to hear me

**f97v**

I remain  
dear Lord Palmerston  
your obliged & faithful srvt.  
Florence Nightingale

**f98** letter to FN from Ilam Hall, Ashbourne, (Derbyshire) Denman re surgeon of  
Royal Yacht wd give her info she requires, organized a naval hosp at Rangoon  
and stands foremost among naval surgeons as an authority; Mr Winter? Built  
1820 Watts

**ff99-101:** pen: letter to Duke of Newcastle: archivist has added date of 2 Nov  
1856. [?]

30 Old Burlington St., Sunday

My Lord

**[14:462]**

I was sorry to be out  
when your Grace did  
me the favor of calling  
today. As I conclude  
that you wished to  
see me on business  
connected with my  
late occupation in the  
War Hospitals - and as  
I received a message  
to the effect that you

**f99v**

would call again, I  
should be glad to  
make any appointment  
convenient to your  
Grace for this purpose.

Having a very  
lively &, I am sure,  
a very just recollection  
of the obligations  
under which we lie  
to your Administration,  
whilst you were in  
office, during which

**f100**

time what man  
could do *at home*  
to save us from our  
colossal calamity  
was done by you.  
I should be exceedingly  
happy to have any  
conversation on  
business on this subject  
which you might  
desire - & which  
subject I can never  
forget whatever  
others may.

**f100v**

I mean that I can  
never forget the needless  
sacrifice of human life  
which took place,  
needless because princi-  
pally arising from  
causes unconnected  
with War - nor can  
I forget how the  
results of governing  
a General Hospital  
& other institutions  
by several Departments  
(of which the Officers



**f101**

are appointed by  
different authorities)  
are delay, inefficiency  
& irresponsibility.  
Theory as well as prac-  
tice, might shew this.

**[end]**

I have the honor to be  
My Lord  
your Grace's obliged & obedient servt.  
Florence Nightingale

**ff102** typed copy of letter to Lt. Col. Sillery of Boughton, ChesterLondon Nov. 9/56 **[14:463]**

My dear Sir

I rejoice to hear that you have accepted the New Zealand  
appointment, which I thought you would like,

You well deserved it and something better - But, in the  
present dearth of appointments, deserts do not always meet with  
their reward.

I can never forget how zealously you performed a difficult,  
unusual & invidious duty.

I think that New Zealand is a very good sphere for an Officer  
with a family who, I am glad to see, accompany you.

I should have very great pleasure in seeing you, if you  
should happen to come to London,

30 Old Burlington St. is my address

But my time is so entirely taken up with occupations  
connected with my late employment that I can never be sure of being  
in London-

I thank you very much for your kindness to my people at  
Scutari & for all your kindness to me during our trying time there **[end]**

& I remain always, dear Sir

Yours most faithfully & truly

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

**f103** bill, domestic**f104-05** letter to FN to meet her at London Hosp Monday W.J. Little 34 Brook  
St.

**f106** letter to FN [or?] from H. Bence Jones re council exacting from her any pledge, shdn't be one, nor can council set her free. Miss Nightingale asks "whether it is the intention of the council to exact from her any pledge etc." I do not consider that the council have any power to exact any pledge of any kind from Miss Nightingale. Nor can the council set her free from her undertaking.

I consider that it is our duty to consult with Miss Nightingale as to what had best be done for the proposed inst, if she wishes to join the army again, but until we know the circs in which the inst is placed at the time she proposed leaving it I do not see how we can say what is best to be done.

In giving advice on the foundation of the inst the possibility of the mainspring being broken must be considered, but in my judgement we cannot say *beforehand* whether the illeg wd be fatal to the inst and therefore shd if poss be avoided, nor how the injury of it lileg had best be repaired. Henry Bence Jones

**f107** note by J. Jebb, on understanding with council re Mr Bracebridge's views

**ff108-09** letter to FN from W.J. Little 34 Brook St., Grosvenor Sq re Parian cement, hosp experience London. Since receiving yr letter on the subject of the Parian cement I have seen Mr Mill of our hospital and thoroughly examined the plaster of that description in existence there. I cannot report that Mr Mill objects to it for any other reasons than its being dearer than plaster and that the color of that upon our walls was uncertain, not uniform - in places faun salmon [?] and other colors not pleasing or cleanly to the eye. You remember having noticed in our female wards that it had been whitewashed over.

I examined one surgical ward ("Devonshire" of which one side is Parian not whitewashed over, it has been done about ten years, looks a warm light faun or salmon color, ha a good polish has some fine cracks but not loose decayed or likely to fall off, is periodically washed as not with water when remainder of ward is whitewashed and in my opinion is a better covering for walls than whitewash.

Mr Mill expressed the objection he had made to you that the builder who had applied the Parian at our hospital would not guarantee its keeping a uniform color f laid directly upon a brick wall but that if placed upon lath? And plaster it wd do so. Mr Will very probably remarked that Parian may probably be nowadays better illeg and understood and deserve a more certain character for good looks. An intelligent pupil of the London Hosp who had been dresser at Genl Hosp Scutari named Anent? Called her to solicit support in his cand for St George's and St James's dispensary in this vicinity. I took opp of learning how hosp working a Scutari had appeared to him as seen from the bottom of the medical staff. I need scarcely add that he confirmed the need of great radical changes.

**f110:** pen: fragment of a draft letter or draft of a speech, perhaps to her nurses, after the demobilization of the Crimean campaign: recipient unknown: I have used a smaller font to accommodate the writing across both recto and verso sides of the paper.

I shall keep your letter with all your names attached to it that which nothing I possess will me more dear to me. And I will it for my wish for you not money ~~ay~~ friends I will take this occasion of saying to you what I have always felt. I know ~~you all from what I have seen to be~~ that you are not only brave in danger & patient in suffering, but when not called on to fight or to endure ready to use any means to ---- which we must all seek as long as we life lasts. We may serve our country not only in the day of battle but in the strength which we all must carry on against wrong in ourselves & others.

in the country

There is an increasing desire ~~in the country~~ to do all that can add to the health & morality of the soldier & to give him means of improvement & amusement. In return for such measures it is the most earnest wish of my heart that you may shew as ~~the readiness~~ you have always done ~~to profit by them~~ how much you value them -

In agreeing to your kind request it is with the hope that this remembrance of the interest which my companions & I have felt in those

who suffered in defending the national life of half the world

**f110v**

& may remind you of this our earnest desire.

We can do no more for those who have died in this country's cause, they need our help no longer - their spirits are with God who gave them, but for you to whom life & work remain it will be the most constant wish of my life, it will be my last prayer in death that you may help your Queen & Country by hearts devoted to duty whether that duty calls you to a good life or to be ready to suffer & to die.

Farewell & thank you all  
your faithful servant

**f111-12:** pen: letter to "Householders in the Parish of East Wellow: fair copy of draft letter above, blue paper

30 Old Burlington St.

London

Dec 14/58

My dear friends

Your words of affectionate sympathy come home to my heart & will be ever treasured among recollections dear to me - I have read each well-remembered name in your memorial with grateful pleasure in having been thus remembered by you.

My friends, if I have been permitted a little to labour in God's work, I may not call your kind words my reward, because our Father's work needs no reward. And to soothe such sufferings as we saw bravely borne, was a solace which could only make us grateful to be so employed.

But this I will say - your words shall

cheer me on while life lasts, in doing such work  
as may, be yet permitted to me.

**f111v**

The country you live in is indeed my well-beloved home. Its woods & fields & cottages are cherished in my remembrance. It will gladden me to see them again whenever my work will permit. But I shall best shew the value of your sympathy, if in it I find encouragement still to do what I can even though it keep me at a distance from my home.

We can do no more for those who have suffered & died in their country's service - they need our help no longer - their spirits are with God who gave them. It remains to us to strive that their sufferings may not have been

endured in vain - to endeavour so to learn from experience as to lessen such sufferings in future by forethought & wise management.

**f112**

God bless you all. I say with all my heart, and I will beg you to think of. Always as your faithful friend & well wisher

(signed) Florence Nightingale  
To the Householders  
- in the Parish of East Wellow

**f113** letter to FN from Robt. J. Newman, secy St Mary's Hosp, Paddington 17 Dec 1856, re res, elected as Life Governor

**f114** letter of George Combe to FN from Edinburgh 23 Dec 1856 re curriculum for medical degree, encloses, re Life of Dr A. Combe p 311 with defects of medical educ. I applied to Dr James Coxe for a correct statement of the *present curriculum* of study for medical degrees, and have the pleasure of inclosing it. On referring to the Life of Dr A. Combe p 311, you will find a commentary, wh you will und on the *defects* of medical ed, and Sir James Clark can tell you how far they still exist. He can send you the book also. X x will be glad to receive back Dr Coxe's note of studies when done with it.

F115 Classes generally attended by medical students 1st year, 2nd year, 3rd year, 4th year. 23 Dec 1856

**ff117-24** 29 Dec 1856 letter of Margaret Cropper, no letterhead. S. Liverpool re nursing in Liverpool, interesting, 1856  
FN note on: *answered*.

I hope you will forgive me for troubling you, but I think you will, and I will not make any apology. I am very much interested about the working of an inst for nurses, wh has been est nearly two years, and which to some extent is already succeeding sufficiently well to give us great enc to persevere. I am one of a com wh meets for its mgt every week, and I am very much impressed

with the conviction that full success will not be obtained until we have a more efficient matron; ours is wanting energy and being too old. This is not yet generally the opinion of our com but as the numbers of nurses increase I am convinced that it will be the undivided op of all. Meantime I venture to ask you kindly to consider whether you know any one likely to fill the post well? She ought to be a person of activity and energy and intelligence--able to write and keep accounts well, of high pr, and not fine. The salary mt be £100 a year. The number of nurses ought to be 100 and the matron ought so to arr things that there are never more than 8 or 9 nurses unemployed in the house. She has the resp of fixing for the rate of payment in case of poor people applying--also can pay something and of judging when to send gratuitously when ought, also to be a woman of taste and quick judgment, who on hearing what the case is, will send the *right* sort of nurse. Mgt and kindness are also reqd in the home, to make the nurses there happy and comfortable as well as to keep a certain degree of discipline there. You will see how much in its infancy the inst is when I tell you that at present we have only 16 nurses incl probs. I enclose a paper of rules wh will show you something of the prs on which it is conducted and I have great pleasure in saying that hitherto the nurses have been found very valuable and efficient and are in great request.

You may perhaps know some women who wd be glad to enter the inst as nurses. We do not like to begin with them above the age of 40. We do not admit Roman Catholics nor have we any Unitarians but all other denoms of Xtians and they are while in the homes allowed to attend their own places of worship if they prefer.

You will hardly remember anything about me, but in writing as I do I will just remind you that years ago I was staying at Lea Hurst with my eldest brother and his wife, whom Mrs N is still acquainted with. I think Ld and Lady Denman were at your home again last year, but I wd not have hesitated even if I had been quite a stranger as I feel sure you will not be annoyed.

ff123-24 Dec 29 adds a few lines to above, re salary, [Dec 1856] letter to FN from Margaret Cropper. (Hon Mrs E Cropper)

I add a few lines o my note of this morning to say that the amount of salary wh I mentioned this mornng had better not be mentioned as it wd have to be fixed by the com and of course is an open question. The present matron has only £35 a year. I feel sure the com wd wish to pay what was thought adequate & sufficient much depending on the quals station and *demands* of the person herself, but you will und that I was wrong in naming anything, and I trust this note will reach your hand at the same time with the first. Margt Cropper

**f125** draft letter re St Mary's Hosp, pen, not FN hand

Sir

It has been with  
the most sincere grati  
fication that I have  
recd the announcement  
of the honour conferred  
upon me by the Govrs  
of St Mary's Hospital in  
electing me an Honorary  
member of their body  
No expression of their  
sympathy could have been  
so congenial to my feelings  
as the permission thus  
conveyed to follow up

v

in their establishment  
the study of Hospital  
~~illeg~~ management  
which has enjoyed  
my deepest interest  
I am at this time ne  
cessarily absent from  
London & occupied with  
objects connected with  
my late employment  
abroad. But I shall  
with the greatest  
pleasure avail

f126

myself of the privi  
lege allowed me of  
visiting St Mary's Hos  
pital as soon as it shall be in my power  
In the mean time  
may I beg you to  
convey the expression  
of my heartfelt  
thanks to the body of  
gentlemen to whom I  
am indebted for the  
much valued ~~illeg~~  
their confidence

**ff127-28 Jan 6 1857** letter to FN from H. Seymour Tremenheere re Sir John  
Liddell, Dir Gen of Medl Dept at Navy wanting to be in communication with her

**f129** letter to FN from Major Graham, Gen Reg Off, with a publication

**ff130** letter from Dresden to FN, 22 Jan 1857, from Dr Pincoffs, noted as answered

The greater part of my manuscript being now ready I wd like as agreed upon to send it you for perusal and shall willingly make any addition or change you may think desirable. It is however as you will see by the whole illeg essential that *no one* shall know that *you* have seen it and therefore I shall be obliged if you will give me the proper direction where to send it direct from here by post. .. On my arrival here I found a letter from Dr Little dated 22 Nov in which he tells me that you had most kindly made some remarks for me about Constantinople. I have heard nothing from him since, tho I answered his letter and so I suppose that there is no chance for me. From a letter from Constant in the Times of 9 Jany I saw that Dr Hogland? Has been extremely active and successful about the new hosp and prison and it seems but fair that such services shd be considered s a superior claim for him. Questions on which not certain.

1. Have at any other occasion before *civil physicians* been employed in the Eng mil service and ins there any provision made on that sub in any leg?
- 2 Were there ever before this dressers or dispensers employed in the service?
- 3 Was not the period of enl for the soldiers formerly 19 ears and ha sit not lately been reduced to 10 years?
- 4 Was the sending out of the illeg commission *first* proposed by or through you for the sec at war?
- 5 What is the exact object of the Harley St. Inst, does it still exist and are you still at the head of it.

Wd be thankful for any info. As soon as I shall have recd your answer I shall forward you the ms the latter part is still in hand...

In Berlin visited Bethanean . The hosp is in the ways remarkable and not to be compared to the modern ones in Fr and Belg, vent etc being defective. The sisters are not bound for any period (unlike Kai) but may at any time leave; the Verherinn Countess Stolberg whom I did not see is said to be an excellent young lady of 20 . ...

When everything is very quiet my practice is by no means improved I find by the fact of my having been in the *English* service ... re bad state of English hospitals up to the last it is a point on which I have been pretty explicit in my pubs. Cr princess desires her best complements, if you have the leisure I shall be very much obliged by an early answer.

**f132** note from Harrison and Sons Printing re appt with FN this evening, re lithograph of Barrack Hosp 45796 f132

**f133** letter from Major Graham from Gen Reg Off with reprint from office, noted as answered 45796 f133

**ff134-38:** pen: letter to Dr. Pincoffs

30 Old Burlington St.

W. London

Feb 2/57

[14:478-81]



[The above address  
will always  
find me & I  
shall be here,  
now, at least  
till Easter]

My dear Dr. Pincoffs

First, to answer your questions  
categorically in Dr. Smith's words -

1. Dr. Andrew Smith says that he  
"cannot tell whether civil Physicians  
"were ever employed in the Army during  
"previous wars - he thinks not."

(There is evidently no provision in  
our Regulations for employing them)

2. Dr. Smith says "the same observa-  
"tion I must make as regards Dressers  
"Dispensers were always employed."

3. The period of enlistment for  
Soldiers was formerly 21 years, which  
was called "for life." It is now "2 years  
"for some - 10 for others - & "for life"  
"for a third class, or at all events,

**f134v**

"for as long a time as they are fit to  
"serve." *This, according to Dr. Smith.*

4. The sending out of the Pathological Commission was first proposed by me to the (then) Secretary at War (Mr Herbert) & I wrote at the same time to Sir James Clark to ask him to recommend members for it which he did. But I strongly advise you not to put this into your book, as it would be a means of discouraging the success of that (very) scientific element which we so much wish to see introduced into ~~the~~ our Army Medical Department.

5. The Harley St. Institution is for the reception of all educated women, too poor to obtain Medical assistance or come to London for that purpose, too refined to go into the Hospitals. They paid £1.1 per week for a separate

room & when I undertook the management, the introduction of Patients - at 10/6 per week was sanctioned, & also of Patients free, if recommended by subscribers of £5.5 per year.

**f135**

There is a similar Institution at Paris which is very large & both for men & women; to visit which I went to Paris, before I undertook the Harley St. Institution. It is called the "Maison de santé" & is in one of the Streets North of the Boulevard Montmartre, Rue Montmartre. I think I dare say you know it. It receives a Subvention from Govt

I resigned the management of Harley St., when called upon by the War Department (to go to the War Hospitals) & have ~~now~~ not resumed it. It is still existing, under the management of a lady who was my Patient & Pupil, while I was there the Patients - are chiefly Governesses,

f135v

the cases, while I was there, almost invariably Hysteria or Cancer. I gained ~~had~~ a very curious experience, while there, in managing the former class of cases. I had more than one Lunatic. I think the deep feeling I have of the miserable position of educated women in England was gained while there, (or rather of ~~the~~ half-educated women) but I would not undertake it again. I would begin much nearer the source. For the *fancy*-cases I had were to organic cases as 4 to 1; physicians were of little help to me, they rather made the matter worse - (tho' all first-rate). For the Patients looked upon medical attendance as a luxury.

I am very sorry to say that Lord Stratford, has, in spite of Lord Clarendon & Mr. Herbert, given away the post of "Physician to the Embassy" at Constantl. to a Dr. *Dickson*

With kindest regards to Mrs. Pincoffs, believe me to be,  
dear sir, ever most faithfully yours, Florence Nightingale

**f136**

P.S. I have visited most of the Military & Naval Hospitals, by order of Lord Panmure since my return - I wish I had time to tell you more about them - the Naval Hospitals are very good in point of organization, (much like the French) tolerably good in point of Sanitary precaution, ventilation &c *not* good in points of nursing.

But what will you say ~~that~~ when I tell you that I have not seen one Military Hospital to compare with those of Scutari in May/55, in point of excellence?

Bad in organization, in Sanitary knowledge equal to those of 500 years ago, nursing nil, construction execrable - I defy them to cure a case of Fever or Ophthalmia so well as if it were left in Barracks. I have known an Orderly administer a poultice to a Patient as a medicine in one of these, viz. at Portsmouth.

I will now answer your questions more at length &, as I think, more correctly than

Dr. Andrew Smith has done.

1. Civil Physicians have been employed before. After the battle of Waterloo, a large number went over to Brussels - (the No. of Army Practitioners being wholly inadequate to treat the immense No. of wounded) - One, a Dr. Thomson, wrote a work on "Wounds" which has been much praised.

At Walcheren, Civil Physicians were employed either during the Campaign ~~of~~ or after the sick returned, I have not been able to ascertain which.

At home, if 70 or 80 men are ordered on detachment, & no Army Surgeon can be spared to attend them, the Civil Practitioner of the place undertakes their attendance at a charge of 2 ½ per head per week, sick ~~or~~ and well.

Other than this, I know of no *Regulation* in our Service for the employment of Civil Practitioners.

2. With regard to "Hospital Dressers & Dispensers." They have existed as *Surgeon's Mates* & Hospital

**f137**

*Mates & Assistants* who have been employed, the first since 1655 (in Cromwell's Army) - The *Surgeon's Mate* was not a Commissioned but a Warrant Officer. He was abolished in 1796, & replaced by the *Assistant Surgeon* who was a Commissioned Officer, & whose pay was finally settled in 1804, at 7/6 per day.

On the *Staff* of the Army, *Hospital Mates*, who essentially performed the duties both of "Dresser" & "Dispenser" during the Peninsular War, were Warrant-Officers till 1813, when they were raised to the rank of Commissioned Officers & called *Hospital Assistant*. In 1804, their pay was also fixed at 7/6 per day abroad, & 6/6 at home.

In 1830, *Hospital Assistants* ceased, & all then on full pay were made *Assistant Surgeons*.

The rank of Apothecary, previously existing, was abolished in 1830 & restored in 1854 - in which year were also employed the "Dispensers" at 7/6 per diem. who are still employed,\* not in Regimental

\*I understand all Dressers & Dispensers, who are to be retained in the Service, ~~as will be Assistant Surgeons,~~

~~viz. who are retained at all~~ {this should append line above}

**f127v**

Service, (where they are totally unnecessary at home, as 1/2 an hour's work per diem will do their work) but in General Hospitals. During the war, a Dispenser was attached to every two or three Regiments in the field - besides those in the General Hospitals.

We find, in the last third of the 18th century, that Surgeoncies were a matter of purchase, ~~like~~ as Military-Commissions are now. A Surgeoncy, in time of peace, sold for £500 (in 1770)

The V.R. which you must have seen on the Surgeons' caps ~~& which~~ was called (by the French) "Vaurien" in this War.

Dressers, I think, only existed at Scutari & have been abolished except as Assistant Surgeons. I do not recollect even seeing these in the *front* tho' I believe there were a few at the General Hospitals at Balaclava - (whom I remember seeing there.)

3. The period of enlistment was till 1847 for life, tho' (virtually) cavalry soldiers were discharged at 24 years' service & infantry at 21 years d[itt]o.

**F138**

During the war there was an enlistment for 2 years, which no longer exists. Since 1847, with this exception, as now, there has been no other enlistment than for 10 years, at the end of which time the soldiers may again enlist for 11, at the end of which time he receives his pension.

The advantage of this system, which was greatly opposed by the Duke of Wellington, is that it will now be seen what the soldier's services are worth, as a marketable article. If he will not re-enlist again after the 10 years, which remains to be seen his pay is too low, or his accommodation is too bad, & his condition must be improved - Which is a good thing.

I conceive, however, that every thing connected with the Army is now in a state of *retro-gression*, & they are already cutting down our Estimates for this year.

F. Nightingale  
turn over

Note.

In the Peninsular War, men were allowed to enter the Army Medical Department *without* diplomas - our friend Cumming was I believe one of these.

[end]

**f138v**



**f139-42:** pen: letter to Dr Sutherland

22 Albemarle St. W.

Feb 9/57

**[14:481-82]**

My dear Sir

1. I have left my Notes on the Southton Hospital at Combe Hurst, & I shall be obliged to go & fetch them, unless you could send me your Copy - Perhaps you would kindly tell me if you *cannot* lay your hand upon it. I could not do what the Admiralty people want without it.

2. I have thought well on what you told me, & have come to the same conclusion as you, viz. that the War Office

people mean to do nothing about anything. No one could have set their Hospitals to rights for them but you & me - from various circumstances - Lord Pan to ~~being~~, of course the Executive & sole Person appearing in it. And they know this.

As for Sanitary Matters, Lord help you! I'm only a humbug. I know nothing about them, except what I have learnt from you. But you would never have found

**f139v**

a more practical pupil.

**f140**

As for organizing a Hospital, I do think I can do that.

And the War Office have lost their best servants in you & me, because we are the only people I know, who would have done it without credit, without pay, & with all our hearts & minds.

As for their Estimates & their want of money, that is all nonsense & stuff.

3. What am I to do? No one can feel for the Army as I do- These people, who talk to us,

~~people~~ have all fed their children on the fat of the land, & dressed them in velvet & silk, while we have been away. I have had to see my children dressed in a dirty blanket & an old pair of Regimental trousers, & to see them fed on raw salt meat & rum & biscuit - and nine thousand of my children are lying from causes, which might have been prevented, in their forgotten graves. But

**f140v**

I can never forget. And  
mothers have begged  
round the country before,  
me for their children.  
People must have seen  
that long, long, dreadful  
winter top know what  
it was.

**f141**

I have been home six  
months today. And Lord  
Panmure has amused  
himself with our  
sufferings.

And it is twenty years  
today since I devoted  
myself to the Spirit of  
Good & He knows whether

I have amused myself  
with His work or not.

**f141v**

I am ready now to do  
anything for my poor  
men which is practical.  
But, if there is nothing,  
which I can do, I shall  
not give my experience  
to the Queen and Govern-  
ment, merely to shut  
myself out from making  
use of it for good if they  
mean to make use of it for nothing.

4. General Storks is  
Secretary for Military  
Correspondence now, you  
know, at the War Dept.

**f142**

Lord Panmure told me  
he meant to put him  
in communication with  
me. He is coming tomorrow.  
I do not know whether  
he can do anything  
for us in the way I  
want. Perhaps you can  
tell me.

faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale

Do you think it is any  
use my going to Lord  
Palmerston? He told me  
to come to him whenever  
I "thought anything going  
wrong" - Now all is going  
wrong.

[end]

**ff143-44** letter of Dr Pincoffs, Dresden to FN

**f145** letter of Parthe to Mrs Gaskell Feb 19/57 on env

**f146-47:** typed: from the McNeill papers: letter to Mrs. Tulloch.

February 20th/57

My dear Mrs. Tullock~~h~~,

I feel quite differently from what you do about the £1,000  
I feel so angry that I am *glad* they have been such fools as to  
offer it.

Colonel Tullock~~h~~ has called me "a peace maker". But if  
he and Sir John McNeill do not put a letter in the "Times"  
(provided the offer has been made so that they *can* speak out),  
I think I shall do it myself.

Do you know I am sure the British Lion will sympathize  
in this insult! And if it does not, then it is a degraded  
beast.

Please let me tell Mr. Herbert. I shall unless you order  
me not.

Believe me,

Yours overflowinglly,

F. NIGHTINGALE.

I saw Mr. Herbert again to-day and I am sure he is disposed  
to behave well.

As to these Ministers, I am not surprised at any selfish  
cowardice or unfeeling neglect, but I am surprised at their

**f147**

folly, and their ignorance of the men they were dealing with.

F.N.

I wish they would let me write the letter in the "Times" for them.

This is Airey's doing, depend on it. For Lord Palmerston is a gentleman, though Panmure is not.

**f148** letter from Harrison & Sons have not recd lithographs for report

**f149** letter of Pincoffs to FN from Dresden March 4 1857

**f150** letter of Dr Pincoffs to FN from Dresden 19 March 1857

f151 19 March 1857

**f152-53:** pen: letter to Mr. Pincoffs: archivist dates this as 23 March 1857.

My dear Sir

I like your sketch much. It is lively, readable & will, I have no doubt, on that account, find a much larger public than if it had been more profound. I confess that I should have liked to have seen your real opinions a little more. The French part was, of course, what interested me the most, because it was that of which I knew the least.

I sent your letter & the part papered [?] up to my sister, who is not in town.

The Peace Establishment of our Army Medical Department appears at be about as follows:

<i>Regimental</i>		<i>Staff</i>	
Army	335	England	55
Ordinance	50	Ireland	22
		Colonies	128

**f152v**385

205

590

The great waste of Medical Service in our Establishment is in the Regimental Part. In time of peace, there is on an average one Regimental Surgeon & two Assistant Surgeons to each Regiment in time of war, one Regimental, three Assistants. Had we Divisional Hospitals, like the French, in time of peace at least one half the number of surgeons might do the work.

Staff Surgeons you may say are really non-professional, with the exception of the 2nd Class S.S.

I know that it is thought very desirable that the Navy Surgeons should be educated at the same school as the Army ditto, & then given their choice of the Services.

**f153**

I hear that the Vicura School is the one, of all others, now the best.

I think Sir James Clark would like your Preface to him.

I shall keep the M.S. till I hear from you.

**f153**

**f154-55:** pen: letter to Dr. Pincoffs

I hope that your Book will very soon be published.  
I think that it is so valuable that it must  
produce a great effect even upon our  
stolidity. Believe me faithfully yrs F. Nightingale  
30 Old Burlington St. London W.  
March 23/57

My dear Sir

I have despatched your Manuscripts  
with many thanks.

I quite agree with you that  
mere increase of pay, relative rank &c  
will not raise our Army Medl. Dep.  
But I fear that it never will be raised  
to be on par with that of France &  
Austria from essential national differences.

In England money is everything.  
In France, the Scientific man, whether  
he makes money or not, enjoys the  
position which science gives in France  
& money only gives in England. Now,  
you never can pay your Government  
servants as private practice pays  
its servants in England. Sir James  
Clark has a position, not because he  
is a man of science but because he  
has made £10000 per ann. by his Science.

Now Army Med. Officers cannot be paid  
£10000 a year - and therefore the highest  
science will always leave the Army.  
It matters little how low the French  
Army med. Dept. is paid. It matters  
little how high the English is paid.  
The high standard of Science of the former, & the  
low standard of the latter, depend  
upon other causes - viz. public opinion  
which is given upon different  
grounds in the two countries.

**f154v**

Forty years ago, in England, the  
Army M.O.s were as much before  
the Civil M.D.s as they are now  
behind them - for very obvious reasons,  
viz. that our Civil Medical Schools  
have risen into distinction since that  
period.

An Army Medical School will  
never command the same public  
confidence in England now that our  
Civil Schools do. And therefore I rather

differ with you upon the subject of  
schools. I would never remove the  
Army Medical Student from undergoing  
the usual course in the usual Civil  
Medical School. But, after he has  
obtained his Diploma &c, I would  
then give him a two years' Hospital  
Course upon Clinical Medicine,  
Clinical Surgery, Pathology & Sanitary  
Science in a Military Hospital -  
where he should receive pay & do  
the duties of Dresser & Clinical Clerk,  
under competent Professors who  
should be Civilians, until Military  
Medical Officers should be competent.  
But they should be rather tutors than  
Professors. One lecture weekly would  
be quite enough. Here the Pupils should  
have every means of learning Operative  
Surgery & Pathology upon the dead body.  
The latter especially is ignored by many  
of our Regimental Surgeons thro'' life.  
Our Regimental System is essentially hostile  
to science.

**f155**



Your account of the several schools abroad is most useful & interesting. I was a little disappointed that you did not enter into a more professional criticism of the practise & scientific standing of our Army Medl. Dept. Because this could only be done by a professional man by one who was not an English Man & yet who was intimately acquainted with English practice. In fact, I know no one but yourself who could have done it, & done it in a simple way too for the public to understand.

**f155v**

e.g. the Sanitary ignorance of our Army Medl. Dept. What do you think of that?

Our Army Med. Board of Examiners has so little knowledge itself that our Examinations will be little worth. And a competent Medical witness told me that the discussions at our Army Med. Soc's were such pure nonsense that, if he has not seen And. Smith's eye upon him, he could not have kept awake.

Should I even see a change in our A.M.D. possible, I shall certainly have recourse to you for your official papers on the various Schools.

f156 envelope to Dr Pincoffs

f157 bill dressmakers

**ff158-60** letter to FN from St Mary's Hosp March 30 1857, Alicia Wright, matron with matron's copy of rules and docs ff161-76;

f161 Matron's copy, from Alicia Wright

ff162-76 St Mary's docs1

**ff177-78:** pen: recipient not noted

Granton Ho. Edinburgh  
April 10/57

**[16:249-50]**

My dear Sir

Sir John McNeill has persuaded me to stay in order not to hurry my business here. And he thinks you can do very well without me there. So do I. If you will but make a good stand-up fight ~~for it~~? But in that, I conceive

I am the better soldier of the two, am not I?

I think we were perfectly agreed as to the  
                   Ventilation  
                   Corridors  
                   Window-space  
                   Water closets

NB There is an ingenious little steward at St. Mary's, Paddington, who has fitted up the ventilation of his sinks & water-closets there with great success. When we get so far as fittings, I should take his advice.

With regard to the Female Nursing, Lord Panmure distinctly said at Balmoral

that there were to be Female Nurses, & directed me to see that there was ~~to be~~ accommodation for them. If Andrew Smith has persuaded him otherwise, I have received no intimation of it.

I therefore propose that there shall be accommodation for

24 Nurses &  
 1 Female Superintendent  
 25

i.e. 1 woman to 40 patients  
 supposing the Patients to be 1000.  
 All the Nurses to be of the class of Head-Nurses in the Civil Hospitals since the Assistant Nurses will be *men* (of the Medical Staff Corps) in a Military Hospital.

For the performance of their duties, I propose that each Nurse should have a little day room (with a fire-place) *adjoining* every cluster of 40 patients.

A clean Linen Store &} ~~one~~ to each flat  
 small Extra Diet Kitchen} in each wing  
 The sleeping accommodation for these 25 women may be on the upper story - or on the other side the Court. All should be together & away from the Patients. About the

**f177v**

fitting up of the Sleeping Rooms (if in stalls, *there must be*  
**f178**

*a window to each,-*) there is perhaps  
no immediate necessity to decide .

There should be a Common Room  
~~& a Sitting Room.~~ for the Matron for the Nurses and an office for the matron  
the first *adjoining*  
*the Sleeping Rooms*, the second conveniently near the Patients.

(NB Lock-up cupboards in each of the  
Nurses' day-rooms. But you are not  
come to that yet.)

As I do not know how you have  
modified the Corridor & what you call  
the "odd corners," I cannot say how  
these things are to be done, without  
seeing the plans.

But I hope you will stand up to  
these principles- & you will work out  
the details better than I.  
I should very much urge working  
the "Lift" by Hydraulic Press rather than  
by Engine if the water lends itself to the  
plan without too much expence. The  
advantages of the former over the latter  
are so numerous.

I take for granted that the Lavatory  
to *each* ward will not be neglected in  
the alterations.

& that all the new improvements of  
steam power for Laundry & Wash-house  
(carried out at Haslar,) will be seen here

(There was no Laundry on the plan)

**f178v**

NB Pray remember that the *Shaft*-Ventilation at Guy's is a failure.

Are you aware that the Medical Officers of Middlesex Hospital sent in a Remonstrance to Lord Panmure - after ours - almost, I believe, of the same tenor?

Lord P., with his usual candour, did not tell me of this which, I have no doubt considerably strengthened our hands.

I suppose you know that Dr. Alexander is arrived. I saw him last week in London.

I have reason to think that Lord Palmerston & Lord Panmure are preparing the Ho. of C. for your appointment as Sanitary adjunct to Andrew Smith. But probably you know more than I do.

Believe me

faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale

I suppose Capt. Laffan is on your Committee.  
Who else?

**[end 16:250]**

**ff179-80** 16 April [1857] letter of Margaret Cropper to FN, looking for lady to be supt of new girls' reformatory opening, good health, firm religious principles, sphere of Xtian usefulness 45796 f179

**f181-82:** pen: letter to Dr. Blackwood.

My dear Dr. Blackwood

**[14:486]**

I rather wish Miss Salisbury would bring the matter to an "earthly tribunal" (as she says, I suppose, because she cannot find the heavenly) But she is too sharp for that. she is, however, backed by Miss Stanley, who had the folly to "let this out" to General Storks.

**f181v**

I think I would write  
to Lord Panmure if I were  
you. but I have  
recently received evidence  
of Miss Salisbury's  
character before she  
came to Scutari which  
she would be highly  
unwilling for me to  
produce. And therefore  
she will probably take  
care before she executes  
her threat, unless she  
is driven to it.

With my kindest  
regards to Lady Alicia  
Blackwood.

Believe me  
very much hurried  
but ever most sincerely  
yours & hers

F. Nightingale                      **[end]**  
30 Old Burlington St.  
April 20/57

**ff183-86** letter of Dr Pincoffs to FN 21 April 1857, Dresden, re her response to his ms, has made alterations she suggested, but has purposely abstained from being too medical and may hereafter revert to the subject of medical tr in a more strictly professional paper. So it is, expect plenty of abuse . There seems at present to be great tendency with some parties to extol the AMD a kind of coalition....lately been interested in the diseases of cattle. Much useless alarm has been spread in England on the subject. There is an exc school of vet surgery here and much attn is pd by govt to these matters. Abut a month ago I sent a report to the Times and Mr Stafford (who had first broached the subject in the House) giving an account of the different diseases in cattle now in those parts of Germany from whence cattle is imported in England. Re Baltic imports. Communication from dead body or parts. I am curious to know wh your report is to be pubd and when. I hope the papers may be correct in stating that Mr Herbert is likely to succeed Lord P as he is aware of the defects and likely to do something to remedy them. I suppose there is no chance of their sending civilians to China? I have sent you a pamphlet on the Russian sisters and also a report of the Prussian hosp at Vondy. Have you ever recd them? Hopes she will go to German spas

f187 Harrison & sons Pr re delays

f188 letter to FN from War Office, can't read name

ff190-91 FN draft letter or copy, to Mrs Milnes asks her to send on extracts from blue books for Mr Kinglake, original Trinity Houghton

**f190**

30 Old Burlington St.  
W.

May 3/57

My dear Mrs Milnes

I proposed to send the  
enclosed Extracts from  
Blue Books (placed in  
juxta-position) at your  
house on Friday night  
to Mr. Kinglake.

I am sure you will  
excuse me for giving  
you the trouble of  
forwarding them

Nineteen thousand  
of my children or "comrades,"

**f190v**

you may call them either  
are lying in their  
(already) forgotten graves  
in the Crimea & at  
Scutari, whose blood is  
crying to us from the  
ground, not for vengeance  
but for mercy on their  
successors. I can do no  
more for *them*, but I  
must do what I can to  
prevent the recurrence  
of such a catastrophe  
by making the truth  
known.

**f191**

Believe me ever  
sincerely yours  
Florence Nightingale

f192 letter to FN Crumpsall Lodge 5 May [1857] Matilda Pincoffs

ff194-97 letter of Macbeth, 15th Lancers, Bangalore to FN 15 May 1857

f198 Harrison & Sons sends plates 18 May 1857

**f199-200:** pen: letter to unknown recipient

May 23/57 [14:509-10]

My dear Sir

Thank you very much  
for having allowed me  
to see Lord West's noble  
& generous letter. It  
was not the only arrow  
which fell short of its'  
mark, no blame to those  
who shot them.

I hope you will not  
think me very impertinent  
& meddling, if I draw  
your attention to the  
danger of keeping such

a Diary as this. And, tho'  
you will believe that I  
have not looked at any  
other part of it, yet,  
speaking generally & also  
for myself, the having  
private letters & conver-  
sations thus recorded is  
what every one shrinks  
from. True, every one  
who has ever assumed  
responsibility, either  
for opinions or for actions,  
must be prepared to  
stand by their consequences.  
But not by those of

**f200**

**f199v**

"Confidential Reports" made of them.

The way, I humbly submit, to form  
an opinion is to take notes ~~only~~ of  
facts only - to take every body's  
information & estimate the value  
of the information received - till it  
forms an opinion of one's own.

in great haste

ever faithfully (& humbly)

F. Nightingale

**f200v**

P.S. The facts of the terrible  
trench duty were not  
unknown to me. And  
if ever my "Report" is  
read beyond the W.O.,  
I beg you to believe  
that it is now printed,  
& that I have not  
stolen from Lord West.

[end]

F.N.

f201 June 12 1857, note not FN hand "Memories of Old Friends" extracts from *Journals and Letters of Caroline Fox of Panjessick*. Smith, Elder 1882. June 12 1857. Warrington Smyth illeg with great delight of FN long ago, before she went to Kai, he a Sir, Henry de la Bede, dined at her father's and FN sat between them. She began by drawing Sir Henry out on geology and charmed him by the boldness and breadth of her views, which were not common then. She accidentally proceeded into regions of Latin and Greek, and then our geologist had to get out of it. She was fresh from Egypt, and began talking with W. Smyth about the inscriptions, &c, where he though he cd do pretty well, but when she began quoting Lepsius, which she had been studying in the original, he was in the same case as Sir Henry. When the ladies left the room, the later said to him, " A capital young lady that, if she hadn't so floored me with her Latin and Greek!"

**f202** letter of Lord Grey to FN with encl 21 June 1857. The conversation I had the pleasure of having with you the other day makes me think you mt possibly read the enclosed memo with some interest. It contains a brief expl of mine of the measures I believe to be necessary for the efficiency of the Army which is very closely connected with its health. I put also into the cover a copy of a speech on the org of the mil depts wh I have found in putting away my papers previously to my departure from London tomorrow morning.

**ff203-04** letter of Lord Grey to FN more on, St James's Place June 22/57. Your messenger has found me waiting for the carriage to go to the railway so that I cannot read your report this morning, but I venture to take it with me & I will return it in a few days... With any remarks that occur to me. I shall be very glad if they can be of the slightest use to you. I send with this a letter I had written to you yesterday. We are going to Manchester today and hope to reach Howick on Thursday.



**ff205-06:** pen: draft letter to Lord Grey

Dear Lord Grey [14:514]

~~Your great kindness interest~~  
~~to myself~~ You most kindly said  
that you would be willing to use your  
great experience & ~~weight~~  
knowledge in criticising  
what we were doing in  
the Sanitary cause of the  
Army.

I venture, therefore, to  
ask you to glance over  
a Report which, in  
obedience to Lord Panmure's

Instructions, I have made  
upon the causes of our  
Sanitary disaster in the  
Crimea & at Scutari.

**f205v**

It is, of course, confidential.

I do not presume to  
think that you will  
have time to look into  
details as minute as  
those I have been  
obliged to give. But  
it would be the greatest  
advantage to our cause  
which we could have,  
if you would give the  
weight of your influence  
in the Ho of Lords to such  
parts as you approve

in Mr. Herbert's great  
Report & in my little  
one, - and if you  
would give me the  
benefit of your criticism.

**f206**

I shall not be, however,  
at all ~~disappointed~~ mortified if  
you have not ~~time~~ inclination to  
read it all.

I do not expect that  
any one can feel in  
this case as I do.  
There are nineteen thousand  
of my children lying  
in their forgotten graves,  
whose blood is calling  
to me not for vengeance but  
for mercy on their survivors.  
Believe me

dear Lord Grey  
Yours most faithfully &  
obliged

F. Nightingale

**[end]**

f207 short letter by Grey, Howick returns proofs of report, but letter not ready, must keep until tomorrow 29 June 1857

**ff208-17** letter to FN from Lord Grey, 29 June 1857, Howick re proofs, long letter fair copy by Lady Grey, Howick House, Alnwick, as she thought his letter "so untidy that she has written it out fair". Tuesday. I have recd today the concluding sheets of your report which I will return tomorrow, wants to look over more particularly....I need hardly say that I have read this paper with great interest, but it touches upon so many topics of such importance and difficultly (some of which I have never before had occasion to consider) that w/o keeping it much longer, I do not feel that I can do more than submit to you some rather desultory remarks, on a few of the chief points to which it adverts. 1. I entirely agree with you in thinking that the fearful sufferings of the Br Army from sickness in the late war were produced by gross mismgt, and that the causes of this mismgt ought to be investigated with a view to their removal. But I cannot concur in your opinion that the evil is to be attributed less to the personal deficiencies of those by whom the war was conducted than to the system on which our mil service is carried on. I on the contrary am convinced that the primary cause of our misfortunes is to be found in the fact that Lord Raglan was not equal to the task that was imposed upon him. You have yourself pointed out the contrast bet Ld Raglan and the duke of Well, as the chiefs of armies in the field, and you mt have made the contrast still stronger. The duke in the Pen War saw to everything himself; he never contented himself with giving an order, but took care to ascertain that it was obeyed, by officers of every dept, and those who wd not, or cd not do their duties properly he got rid of, w/o ever suffering consideration for the feelings of inds to interfere for a moment

with what he knew to be req for the public service. He did not wait to have measures nec for the health and comfort of his troops suggested to him by others but himself though of everything beforehand, and adopted every precaution wh the then state of san sc suggested, and the means at his disposal rendered possible. Lord Raglan on the other hand, as you have shown, issued some good gen orders, but never took any effectual measures to enforce them, and allowed the most important branches of the service to remain in such hands as Dr Hall and Mr Filder, under whose mgt the army as you have pointed out, wd have absolutely perished had it remained in Bulgaria. In speaking of the exertions of the duke of Well you say (p 156) "Is it safe to have a system which consists of a man? I answer that in war everything must depend upon the general. Whatever the system upon which an army is constituted, there must be an animating spirit to direct its movement and every great commander of ancient or modern times from Hannibal to the duke of Well and Napoleon has found it nec personally to supt the execution of the measures for supplying the wants of his troops, as well as for directing their exertions in the field. I have said that Ld Raglan's being unequal to the task imposed upon him was the pr cause of our misfortunes ult the blame rests with govt, which selected him for a post for wh (with many great merits) he was obv unfit. He was disqualified for it by his age, his absolute inexperience of command (his whole service having been on the staff he had ever even been at the head of a reg) and by his character. This is not an opinion I have formed since the event, I expressed it to more than one member of the govt as soon as it was known that the appt of Lord Raglan was in contemplation and in the House of Lords, w/o naming him I pointed out the extreme importance of selecting an officer in the vigour of his age for the command of the army in the East....

**ff218-19** letter to FN from Ld Grey returns proofs recd yesterday on embossed Howick, Alnwick July 6 1857

ff220-23 Grey to FN Jul 7/57 Coupland Castle, with FN note on f223v  
I wrote to  
Lord Grey much  
in the sense of the  
last Paper I gave you.  
This is his Reply

**ff224-33:** pen: memorandum on Lord Grey's letter: arrangement on page is unusual: memo begins on f224, but the left side of the double page contains the following:

Personal Hygiene  
must be left to  
Regimental Surgeons

**f224v**

Memm. on Lord Grey's  
Letter

**f224**

General argument as to  
Army Medical Officers  
doing their own Hygiene  
conclusive. No double  
set of Officers would do.

Conditions so various  
(in which Armies and  
Detachments placed)  
that only men who  
attend the sick ~~could~~ can  
protect health of troops.

A whole Regiment  
might be down with  
fever in a week if  
the Regimental Surgeon  
did not understand  
the questions of  
personal Hygiene of  
troops including

Clothing  
diet  
cleanliness  
duties

positions &c

Such a thing has  
happened.

**f225v**

If a choice were to  
be made of ~~a~~ but one Class of  
Officers, I should say  
Educate all your Army  
Medical Officers as officers  
of health, & they will treat  
disease all the better &  
have less of it to treat.

The difficulty is with  
Barracks, Garrisons  
existing Hospitals  
&c.

A very intelligent  
& highly educated officer  
of Health alone ~~could~~ can  
deal with these.

Instances might be  
multiplied to illustrate  
this.

1. New Burlington St.  
is not drained. It  
would require £20,000  
to drain it. Would you  
ask your Doctor, Sir  
James Clark, the head  
of Doctors in matters

Barracks, Towns, & Hospitals {notes written beside text of f224v}  
an independent question.

Examples

1. Drainage of Towns

~~2. Scutari Hospitals~~

(written beside text of f225)

of Personal Hygiene  
about this.

**f225**

2. Scutari Hospitals  
the most hideous  
sanitary evils were  
festering in these  
evils which every  
time the No. of Patients  
was doubled, raised  
the mortality PER CENT.  
more than twice i.e. from  
3 1/2 to 10 per cent.  
For 6 months nothing  
at all was done.  
Yet these Hospitals  
were seen by all & reported  
upon by more of the Senior  
Medical Officers out  
in the East.

Hall  
Dumbreck  
Menzies  
Linton  
Cruickshank  
Forrest  
Gordon  
Cumming  
Lawson  
O'Flaherty

~~& reported on to Smith,  
who did nothing.~~

**f225v**

These Hospitals had within their walls, at various times, the best informed men on Sanitary subjects in the Army & every one of them missed the evils, & failed to suggest the remedies.

More than this, they were reported on, as splendid buildings, convenient for the reception of the Sick & Wounded. And this, when the Mortality at Scutari was 200 per cent per annum & at Koulali 300 per cent per ann.

3. Netley Hospital, the plans of which have received the fullest consideration from the Army Medl. Dept. & its Officers. Yet this building never can be anything but a discredit to the country.

3. Netley

{these notes beside main text}

4. Balaclava

## 4. The state of Balaclava.

**f226**

No effort was made to establish a Sanitary Police in this little village, which came into our hands, a s clean & beautiful a little village as can be found in Holland. Yet, when 20,000 or 30,000 men were daily passing in & out of it, the Army Medl. Dept. made no kind of precautionary representations. The consequences, which might easily have been foreseen, were fearful.

It is ~~not necessary~~ easy to imagine ~~to describe~~ the condition of a small village in which

1. large quantities of beasts of burthen were daily passing in & out, & no means taken to remove the manure.

2. large numbers of cattle, (when we had fresh meat,) were slaughtered, & no slaughter houses.

3. no Sanitary police to control 20,000 or 30,000 men - passengers in & out.

4. a burying-ground at the head of the harbour, where men were buried almost in the water, red-coats & all, & portions of head & feet & red-coats were popping out, just under the surface. To one who, with some Sanitary expertise, has seen Scutari Balaclava



& Netley  
the following ~~observatio~~  
conclusions appear  
inevitable.

1. Essential ignorance {notes beside text of f227}  
of Army Medical  
Officers on these  
points.

1. A few of the most **f227**  
competent Sanitary Officers in the Army  
may, eventually, be  
set apart for such  
duties as are now claimed for them. But the  
occupation of towns  
& of large buildings  
presents insur-  
mountable problems  
to ordinary observers.  
Such problems are  
specialties, like  
those in our Barracks  
& Hospitals (Military)  
all over England &  
her colonies  
at this moment.  
Our mortality shews  
that, except in  
Gaols in the last  
century, no Sanitary  
conditions of equal  
fatality exist to  
those of the Army.  
Nothing but a very  
large experience  
could have prevented  
the opinions that were

given from having  
been given by the  
Army Medl. Dept.,  
& *the men neither*  
*had nor could have*  
*had such experience*  
*in the Army.*

**f227v**

If I am asked  
do ~~such~~ men with such experience exist  
in Civil Medical  
Life? I answer,  
No, not as Doctors.  
but, as Civil Officers  
of Health they do.  
Such men there are  
in Dr. Duncan,  
Officer of Health at  
Liverpool, Dr. Thornton  
ditto at Marylebone,  
Mr. Simon, Dr.  
Sutherland &c &c &c  
These men have  
constantly before their  
eyes the effects of  
over-crowding, bad  
ventilation, bad  
drawing, organic

What Civil Medical  
Officers are capable  
of dealing with  
them.

{note beside text of f227v}

matter saturating  
walls, of soils & sub-  
soils, bad water  
&c &c &c.

**f228**

They any one of these men could have  
placed ~~their~~ his finger  
in a moment on the  
causes of disease &  
death at Scutari,  
& what is more, have  
shewn how to remedy  
them. For the question  
in these cases, after  
the evil has arisen,  
is not, "What is  
the remedy in this  
matter?" but "By  
what means at  
hand can the  
conditions producing  
disease & death  
be immediately  
improved?" Otherwise  
without such a practical knowledge,  
we may have to  
wait till there is  
nobody left to kill.

*There must be  
special men for*

*special work.* No medical man that ever lived can make a Sanitary Officer for such purposes, merely because he is a Medical man. *It is a specialty.*

**f228v**

2. With regard to towns, we find in practice that very few medical men make good Officers of Health, merely because they are medical men. Other qualities are necessary. But these qualities being present medical knowledge becomes of use.

3. It would be cheaper, in every respect, to the country to have competent men to advise the Departments "on such subjects"

to page 82

2. Whether Civil Physicians, in general capable of dealing with towns.

{these notes beside text of f228v}

3. What division of duties necessary in Army Hygiene.

4. Practical distinction  
on such subjects as  
the Hygiene of  
Buildings  
Towns &c  
& leave that of  
soldiers & camps  
to the Army Medical  
Men under a special  
Officer of Health of  
their own.

{note beside text of f229}  
**f229**

4. The distinction  
is clear & it is a  
practical one. In  
civil life, the Doctor  
is, or ought to be, the  
family adviser in  
the Hygiene which  
corresponds to that  
of the soldier on duty.  
But nobody would  
trust the Doctor to  
do the work of an  
Officer of Health in  
executing or advising  
Sanitary repairs or  
improvements in the  
house or town one  
lives in.

5. What specialities  
of Civil, what  
of Army practice

{note beside text of f229v}

**f229v**

5. This is simply matter of fact and experience. Neither the Army nor the Civil profession can furnish competent men for such purposes. That is to say, the Medical Officers of neither Civil nor Military Departments here have special qualifications for such work, unless brought out by education and experience.

If we had to draw a comparison, we should say, Civil practitioners have far more opportunity of acquiring experience in the Hygiene of towns & buildings than Military men, who are constantly moving

Military practitioners have far more opportunity of acquiring experience in the specialities of personal Hygiene, viz. the duties, diets, clothing, positions &c of soldiers. For the men they have always with them.

6. Difference of Many  
& Army Service  
in Hygiene matters.

{note beside text of f230}

6. The Navy & Army  
Medical Services are not  
at all to be compared  
in this matter of Hygiene.  
Because, while the  
Navy Medical Officer  
is always in his Barracks,  
\* has constantly the  
causes of disease under  
his very eyes, so that  
all his experience and  
observation go to teach  
him lessons of his own branch of Sanitary science  
~~of the Navy, the causes~~  
~~& the remedies of the~~  
~~soil~~ with the  
Army Medical Officer,  
on the other hand,  
new & unobserved  
conditions are continually  
arising, ~~to his own ex~~  
~~perience~~ He is  
placed in a building  
or town which he has  
to prepare for the  
occupation of troops,  
never having been  
instructed either by



**f230v**

experience or education  
how to deal with  
such conditions, so as  
to make them Sanitary  
or fatal.

7. It is impossible not  
again to allude to Netley.  
The Engineer says in  
evidence that all he  
assumes to do is to  
build a building which  
shall not tumble down.  
So far so good. He  
assumes the necessity  
of a Sanitary adviser  
to the Engineer's Dept.  
It is vain to say that  
there exists one. For  
Government went to  
the Head of its Medical  
Dept. who appointed  
one of his best men  
to advise with himself,  
& we see the result.

It will be worth  
£70,000 however to  
the country in soldiers'

7. Important practical  
lesson from Netley.

{note beside text of f230v}

lives to have ~~granted~~ established  
these two principles

**f231**

1. that the Quarter-  
Master General's Dept.  
~~needs~~ requires a Sanitary  
adviser just as much  
as a town an Officer  
of Health.

2. that this Sanitary  
adviser is not  
~~necessarily~~ essentially to be found  
in the Army Medical  
Department the education  
of which  
does not necessarily  
afford such a man,  
so competent.

Summary- {note beside text of f231v}

of 3 branches  
of Military

Hygiene To sum up.

**f231v**

There are three ~~departments~~ branches  
of Sanitary Science (Military)

1. the personal Hygiene  
of the soldier -

2. the topography of  
camps, positions &c -

3. the local causes of  
disease, arising in  
towns, villages, buildings  
& districts.

Are there men  
competent, both by  
education & practical  
experience, to undertake  
the new Sanitary  
administration in  
all these three branches.

I am not aware of  
a single individual,  
either in the Army  
or in Civil Life, who  
is competent to do  
all three.

I am perfectly satisfied,  
after much enquiry,  
that to give the Army  
a Sanitary head over

How to be distributed  
as to duties

{note beside text of f232}

all these 3 Departments  
would be to ensure a  
failure a semblance  
instead of a reality

**f232**

Both theory & experience  
will shew that the two  
first Departments,  
viz. 1. personal Hygiene,  
2. camping & positions,  
would be better  
administered &  
understood by Army  
Medical men, even  
with their present  
imperfect education,  
than by Civilians.

But to seek for know-  
ledge of the third ~~Department~~  
in the Army is hopeless.  
It includes drainage

water supply  
paving  
cleansing

Sanitary police of towns  
construction & sanitary  
improvement of

Barracks

Hospitals &

other buildings

Whether in towns or Garrisons

the instances cited of  
Netley  
Scutari  
Balaclava  
all of which were  
reported on to satiety,  
the condition of all  
the Barracks & Hospitals  
in the kingdom amply  
prove that our Army  
Medical Officers have  
neither scientific nor  
practical instruction  
in these matters.

**f232v**

Some Army Medical  
Officers may be educated  
up to them. But  
during the transition  
period, it is essentially  
necessary that, while

1. the Army Medical 1st & 2nd to A.M.D. {note beside text of f232v}  
Department is left to  
administer what it  
is competent to do,  
under a Sanitary  
Head of its own.

there should

{note beside text of 233  
3rd to A.M.D.

2. be a special  
arrangements for the  
Sanitary improvements  
or construction.

**f233**

of buildings - & the removal  
by sanitary defects in

Garrisons

towns &c

& for affording Sanitary  
advice to the Department  
specially charged with  
these duties.

**f233v**

Sanitary & Statistical work  
distinguished

Note It is important  
to distinguish between  
Sanitary & Statistical  
Depts. a distinction  
perpetually lost sight  
of in the late evidence.  
It is the distinction  
between bread & meat  
& a Cookery book -  
between a steam-  
engine with fuel  
& a treatise on steam.

A great statistician  
is essentially disqualified  
to be a practical Sanitary  
Officer. For the contem-  
plation of figures  
tends rather to fatalism  
than to practical attention  
to operative causes &  
their mortification.

There is not one  
word in those most  
able Reports by Sir  
A. Tulloch which would  
tend to the discovery  
of these operative causes.

And, altho' the Sanitarian  
must be furnished with  
Statistics, the statistician is  
by no means likely to be a  
practical sanitarian.  
The Departments are  
equally important, but  
must be separate.

f234 note to FN 7 July 1857 Mr Alexander presents compliments and encloses  
his views on the Medl Dept, asks her to forward to SH when finished [not  
here]

f235 blank

**f236** ca 19 July 1857 [1:145]

Sunday

30 Old Burlington

Dear Mr Milnes

Will you come & see  
Sir John McNeill (who  
is with us for a couple  
of days, in order to put  
the greatest quantity of sting

**f236v**

into the tail of that scorpion  
of F's, the Commission-)  
Either on Monday night  
or Tuesday morning we  
shall be very glad indeed  
to see you. we are alone

**f237**

(NB the word alone does  
not mean the same thing  
in Burlington St & Brook  
St).

Believe me

yours sincerely

Francis Nightingale

**f238** Harrison and Sons to FN 30 July 1857 have done corrections

Add Mss 45797, 275 folios, 84 pages, general correspondence 1857-61, Adam Matthew reel 30

**f1** bill 1857 crinolines etc to FN from Misses Johnston

**f2** bill from Malvern Bury House 31 Oct 1857, Dr Johnson, 10 days treatment, 1 day servant, 6/12 pd

f3 partial letter Dec 12 17 rue St Florentin Paris, your exertions in the cause of charity and, [from whom?]

f9 letter 30 March 1858 from KCH from Anne Ward Morton, knows Mrs Smith, re her health reported in *Times* today....

I had hoped you would have been sooner restored. I am however glad. relieved from the present responsibility which lay upon you respecting the illeg. This will give you ease on that head and we will still hope and pray that it may please God to raise you up for fresh labour in the discharge of that which is placed at yr disposal.

I had thought once that ere this I shd have been once more working with you, for I do not forget my engagement to you. However I hope I am gaining experience here which will always be useful.

Accept my affectionate love and best wishes

**f11** letter of Christison to FN from Edinburgh 4 May 1858, in answer to hers of 30th April re hosp diet (missing)

signed letter, ffl3-15v, pen {letter from Sister Mary Clare Moore to FN}

**f13**

Convent of our Lady of Mercy

Bermondsey      May 17, 1858

My dearest Miss Nightingale

I ought to have said what  
I am now going to write, last week  
but I wished first to tell you  
that I was getting strong & well,  
because I know your thoughtful  
affection & tenderness too well-  
And now our Bishop Dr. Grant  
wishes me to thank you for  
so kindly directing the attention  
of Lord Stanley to this Convent  
to get Nurses for the Hospitals

**f13v**

in Mauritius- The letter  
came on Ascension Day  
and the bishop desired me to  
write to Lord Carnarvon saying  
I was then too ill for business  
and begging leave to defer my  
answer for a few days- They  
wish the experiment to be  
made with only two or three at  
first- and I very gladly offered  
myself as one of the number - but  
Dr. Grant says I must not go-  
however it is very clear that if  
the plan be likely to succeed  
three Sisters would not be enough  
to Manage Hospitals of any



**f14**

extent & it would be but right  
to make arrangements from the  
first starting, for the number  
which might be ultimately required.  
Now would it be too unreasonable  
if I were to ask you to express  
in a letter, which I might forward  
to the Colonial Office, the average  
number of Nurses required for a  
given number of patients, that so  
the government authorities may not  
deem us injudicious in petitioning  
for a given number of Sisters to be  
sent out if the plan be found  
successful - & besides those actually  
engaged with the Sick, one or two would  
be required to mind Convent business-

The Bishop said that if you were

**f14v**

to express an opinion that the whole  
Nursing department ought to be  
under the Sisters it would be a  
means of preventing disquietudes  
hereafter --

I am troublesome I know  
in asking all this - but it is  
part of your own good work &  
I almost feel I am coming  
to help you again - I wish  
I may be able indeed to help  
with you in any way so many  
suffering members of Him who  
will take it all as done for Himself  
May He ever bless you ---

I will ask Sister Gonzaga to copy

**f15**

the letters I get- I am able  
to do it myself, only it is so  
awkward to write in bed -  
But I was up yesterday, and  
walked a few steps in the  
Corridor - so you see you  
really must not think of me  
as an invalid any longer-  
your kind care has made me  
well so soon - All the  
Sisters feel it so much - &  
indeed I do not know why you  
are so good to me -

May I beg to be affectionately  
remembered to our dear Mrs Smith

**f15v**

and to your own dearest  
Mother & Sister -

May God bless you again  
and again

Ever dear Miss Nightingale  
Your own devoted & grateful  
Sister M Clare

f16 Ld Carnarvon from Downing St 12 May 1858 to FN directed by Ld Stanley to  
communicate re female nurses for Mauritius

f18 letter 5 June 1858, from illeg Portman Sq, obliged to her for letter to  
Wright, re Ld Carlisle [hard to read]

f21 letter to FN 26 Sept 1858 from G.W. Hastings, Nat Assoc for Prom of Soc  
Sc re her note

f23 15 October 1858, letter to FN from G.W. Hastings, National Assoc for  
Promotion of Social Sc called on her last year, 45797 f25 and undated from  
him

f27 29 October 1858, letter to FN from G.W. Hastings, (temporarily at Ilcombe  
Rectory, Staplehurst). I recd your note of the 28th here this morning. When  
passing through town last Sat I found your former note in Waterloo Place, and  
I requested my secretary to inform you of the haste I was in & that I wd call  
in Burlington St as soon as I reached town. I was anxious to see you because  
I expect there has been some misapprehension as to your paper. I shd never  
have thought of printing them either in our volume or separately without  
consulting you, and in compliance with your note I shd have sent them to you  
at once, had they been in my possession. But in searching the packet of  
papers sent by Mr Holland I found that one of yours was missing. It has since  
arrived & I will take care you have them both. But it was never understood  
that our papers were to be published separately until after our volume has

appeared. To print the good papers separately (if we make an exception in one case we can hardly refuse in another) I wd ruin the volume and do an act of great injustice to our publisher Mr Parker. I was present when Lord Shaftesbury expressed his wish to the Council that your paper might be printed separately and he said distinctly "of course after they have been printed with the rest in the Transactions." If any other account has been given to you, the person making the communication has been in error.

If not inconvenient to you I will bring you the papers next week and give you any further explanation needed.

f31 Nov 4 1858 letter to FN from S.G. Osborne, Durweston. Glad to find that I still live in your memory as connector with those days of Scutari, not recd the "report" you say you have sent me, but...I have seen so many rewarded in one shape or other who did next to nothing. But it has reqd a good share of phil to bear with my own work of illeg "notice." the truth is that I could hardly expect to please anyone, acting in des illeg I could scarcely escape ...paid colleague are natural jealous if amateur aid. From the duke of Cambridge character Storks and Ld w Paulet I did however have the most kind ack of my services. I shall ready your report I have no doubt with interest, when ...I hope you have ?? Remember me kindly to Mr and Mrs Nightingale and to Lady Verney when you see her--he is an old friend of mine. I hope *one day* we may meet *somewhere*.

F33 Osborne letter Durweston Nov 7 [1858]. I have recd the "Reports" and ...I have dipped into the former already read the latter. I need hardly say how glad I am to see the "administration" of the army sick and wounded affairs brought out by you, in what I know to be their true colours. I have never ventured to let my own notes see light, I gave my evidence as others did on matters open to all who at Scutari chose to see, but I did not care to skim the torrent of falsehood and injury, with which I knew the more ...would have met with. I had my lesson in Ireland Mr Hurt and myself were sworn down by officials as to facts our own eyes knew to be such in the workhouses. It is sad but true, a govt office can get anything dispised? I only regret that your present testimony has come so late, and will be so little known, I have no faith in "Reports" to depts doing good except under strong pressure. Your lilac testimony more than confirms all I have said, written or read. I agree with you "honours" have been so lavished to hide dishonour, that they have become mere marks of favour-not merit, of such I would indeed have been sorry to have had any share; but there were ways of notice less marked a illeg but still grateful to be recognized to which I think I had a title.

I hope your lilac illeg will make Herbert think with some regret of "who shall we hand" and his supposed share in that pitiful fulmination of spite. I must say for Maxwell he made the amende finally to myself in the illeg way, but gave a reason for his abuse that made me indeed illeg "they who write for hire." I delight in *Jowett*, shall order some copies for my night school boys.

I am truly grieved to hear of your extreme ill health. I had no idea you were so ill. Well you have fought a good fight, and --no common praise-- fought it bravely as for god. My lot has been much cast amongst the sick and dying, I have even lived to be with them, day by day, satisfied me, that the worn out servant of God wears bodily but to gain in mind. I do not know what your best friends can wish for you, a happier fate than to be found closing

life, that warring for the soldier's good. You made this your choice, God in your sake, sanctified it to you; others might pray for you that you could cease from all work. I say, may you yet work on, be found waiting, till you meet the rest the world cannot give. That said, may I also pray that God may give you all the support He gives illeg...I know well what work is. You are evidently ....want of work. I am *tied here*. 500 people with an active curate, active wife and daughters, cares are little indeed--a few sick--a little preaching. Parish in such order that had I not a spire with ...I should hardly have a worry. I have a cottage at the sea, and do something there, I am illeg friend for miles round to people of all classes. But what I miss is -- just what you have --*one large object*. In this famine or another cholera in Ireland should find my spirit willing, though the flesh is very weak. Did you never hear, I wished to have been an M.D.? I wanted to educate a son for it but others wd not hear of it. Don't bother to answer this--I will just hope we may meet here--whether we shall meet to know each other hereafter who can say. But I can say with Ruth, where you are, May I be. Yours ever S.G. Osborne

f35 18 Nov 1858 W Spottiswoode to FN from HM's Printing Office. I am glad to tell you that the British Burial Ground at Scutari is in good order. It is surrounded by a stone wall, and a Turkish guard is stationed at the gate. I do not however know that the guard will be permanently maintained, but rather think that it has been stationed there only during the erection of Macrochette's monument. That monument is now progressing; the main shaft of the obelisk is begun. It was delayed by the loss of a ship wh was bringing out some of the stones. The stones are all cut and prepared in England.

I never visited a spot so sad and affecting as this.

I took a note of some of the names wh you wd probably known, and brought away a dry flower from among the graves. They shall both be at your service as soon as I can lay my hand on them.

The graves at Sevastopol and Balaclava are also still in good condition. No violence has been done them, but time and weather have here and there already had some effect. The only instance of ill usage wh I noticed was a partial defacement of the inscription on a monument to those who fell before the Redan.

I had no idea of the amount of devastation and the utter ruin of Sevastopol until I visited it, of 20,000 houses on the southern side 27 only remained with untouched roofs at the end of the siege. The number which have since been restored to a habitable condition is hardly numbered by more than units.

I shd not have trouble you with these lines, but that Clough wrote me word that you wished to hear the latest news of these things.

Belie me very sincerely yrs, W. Spottiswoode

f37 Spottiswoode 19 Nov 1858. Clough writes me word that you wd like to hear more about the old war scenes? Than can be put on a sheet of note paper. And suggest that you are most likely to be disengaged on Tuesday between 12.0 and 3.p.m. It will give me much pleasure to call on you in Burl St. at that time.

F38 30 November 1858, letter to FN from Rokeby, Ports, re consequences of intemperance, re regs, backgammon, reading rooms

**f40** typed copy of original to Mrs. Gaskell [14:990]

30 Old Burlington St.  
London, W.

Dec. 1/58

Dear Mrs. Gaskell,

I wonder whether you ever remember me & whether you ever think of all the Army matters which have made up my life for the last four years - I never know whether people can be really interested in our men, can lay aside the British prejudice against "the soldiers", who have not seen them as I have in their heroic simplicity, & unmur-muring patience under sufferings the most tedious & harassing.

May I venture to send you a copy of a "Confidential" Report (by me) to the War Office for your own reading only - For it is *really* "confidential" & must not be seen, please, out of your own family - It is in no sense public property -

It is an old story now but may interest you, I think, still:  
- not by any means as a literary work, to which it has no pretension - But you, whose interest is so intense for the class from which the soldier springs, may like to see what was & is still the real account of his sufferings, both then & now, both in war & in peace - now up to this present moment -

Believe me, dear Mrs. Gaskell

sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

May I ask you not to mention to any one that you have this Report? I have no right to give away a single copy - the thing not having been presented to the Ho: of Commons - [end] F.N.

ff41-42 letter to "Loe" signed "Bird" re books on Egypt, particularly hieroglyphics, ca 5 Dec 1858 [Louisa Ashburton] seems to be to FN, material to go to 10 Lewis Ct Brighton.

ff43-44 letter to "Loe" Lou Ashburton re books on Egypt. Tuesday (7 Dec 1858) both Lord Ashburton and she appreciated

**ff45-47:** pen: letter to unnamed recipient [Louisa Ashburton] [vol4]

30 Old Burlington St.  
London W

Dec 8/58

I sent last night to  
Bath Ho: a box  
directed to you,  
containing  
Wilkinson's Ancient  
Egyptians 5 Vols:  
Lepsius 1 quarto  
Sharpe's History of  
Egypt 1 Vol:  
Kingsley's Alexandria, 1:  
Bunsen's 3 first Vols.  
in German - 2 first Vols  
in English

**f45v**

Rawlinson's Herodotus  
1858 2nd Vol:  
I send today (to Bath Ho:)  
a Herodotus for Lord  
Ashburton, in case he  
should not have one  
with him - [It belongs  
to Mr. Clough, who is  
known to Lord Ashburton.]  
also Sale's Horace for  
you.

I would recommend  
Kingsley's "Hypatia,"  
which I detest, &  
Miss Martineau's

"Eastern Life past **f46**  
& present"- which  
I don't detest, only because  
I don't object to  
misinforming myself.

Champollion I  
would have, (as per  
advertisement -  
enclosed) also the ~~two~~  
4th & 5th Vols: of Bunsen  
as per advertisement  
also - (out last year  
only) Brugsch's Map  
of Ancient Egypt  
as per advertisement

Add Mss 45797

927

also & certainly

the two last of the  
three Gliddons - vide  
M.S. Memd.n. enclosed.

**f46v**

All these books  
I have or had (but  
mother could not  
find them at  
Embley, when I sent  
down/ & found very  
useful.

Also I found it  
useful having both  
~~the~~ German & English  
editions of Bunsen -  
which are different.  
And therefor I have

sent both. But if  
you are too loaded,  
leave behind one of  
these.

**f47**

I should have  
ordered the books  
(recommended above)  
for you - but thought  
your maid might  
be coming as you  
mentioned. I sent  
into the city for  
two - but they have  
not come.

Please to return

all the old books  
to my father, when  
you come home; -  
he values them on  
account of me -

**f47v**

God bless you, my  
dearest

ever yours

F. Nightingale

ff48-49 letter to FN from Arthur Mills, 34 Hyde Park Gardens, embossed Dec 15 1858. My search at the India House today has not produced much results. The returns of which the enclosed memorandum is the title have. Re the native non-military population. I did not see Lord Stanley but I had a little conversation with Ld Mangles whom I endeavoured to stir up to the ...If you shd not have the returns given in the enclosed I cd doubtless get them for you, and if it is ...PS If can help with anything shall be glad



Add Mss 45797

929

ff50-52 bill Christmas 1858 from Johnston Fancy Dressmakers

**f53** draft of Dr Sutherland for FN to some authority in Miss Blackwell's behalf [8:25]

**f53** Miss B has a foreign degree, with which she practised in London before October 1848, of which fact she has proof. She is all ready to give the information or explanation required by clause 46 of the Act. Indeed she is able to fulfil every requirement of the Act, only she is a woman. Can she under the circumstances be rejected. Could you ascertain this authenticating for me, as Miss B will very probably apply for registration soon.

FN ~~proposed to~~ asked Mr Whitfield (apparently) what he thought of Dr Blackwell's plan for a hospital for women's diseases with women doctors & trained nurses. His answer to some such enquiry is among the nurses letters. He thought women doctors wd not be acceptable.

**f54-55** From Harrisons & Sons Printers, costs of printing Causes of Mortality in the East, stamp May 17 1859  
 Notes on Matters. Composing ... correcting 6 proofs and revises working off 500 copies, 54¼ reams, composing and printing wrapper on enamel paper and binding 496 copies, drawing of plan, mortality at Scutari and altering paper for printing 500 copies, 405.7.9  
 Causes of Mortality of Army in East 500 copies.  
 Subsidiary Notes composing, working off and cold pressing 500 copies; 12 ½ reams of paper, printing 500 wrapper on glazed paper, binding 496 copies with diagram; binding 4 copies Notes on Matters in whole, 1 morocco and 4 copies Subsid Notes; binding addressing 111 copies of each volume and delivering 69 copies and banding 11 copies and delivering 5 ditto;  
 Contrib to San History f55  
 composing, binding in green enamelled paper with gold title with flyleaves; printing 150 copies Mortality of Scutari, 150 ..Causes of Mortality, 150 Mortality of Army,, banding and addressing 62 copies 22.4.6  
 Grand total 523.16.6

**ff56-57** ca July-Aug 1859 [Pelissier Pélissier]

Monsieur le Maréchal

Veillez agréer l'expression de ma sincère reconnaissance pour la manière dont vous avez appuyer ma demande relativement au séjour de Mme S Stewart pour apprendre [étudier] le service dans quelques uns [cinq] des hôpitaux militaires et civils de Paris.

Grâce a votre intervention depuis quatre mois que cette dame habite [séjourne] dans vos hôpitaux, elle y a reçu toute l'instruction, et toute les informations je demandais pour elle.

J'ose profiter de cette occasion, Votre Excellence, daignera offrir à Votre Excellence l'hommage d'un travail, qui en a été commandé l'humble offre que j'ose lui faire d'un Rapport Confidentiel que j'ai du faire au Ministre de la Guerre Anglais sur

**f57**

notre Service Sanitaire en Crimée- et daygnera-t-elle faire agréer à la Majesté l'empereur un Exemplaie du même Rapport.

Il s'y trouve des matières qui touchent aupres au service sanitaire des Troupes Françaises qu'à celui.

Agréer, M. le Maréchal, mes sentiments de la plus haute considération.  
Florence Nightingale

**ff56-57:** pen: draft letter in French to M. le Maréchal: archivist dates this at July or August 1859.

Monsieur le Maréchal

Veillez Agréer ~~je vous prie~~  
l'expression de ma sincère reconnaissance  
pour la manière/l'appui être [?]  
bien voulee déigné accorder a la  
vous avez appuyée ma demande  
qui je vous ai faits il y a quelques mois  
demande relativement  
pour faire entrer  
au séjour de Mme S.  
Stewart. ~~dans~~ pour a fin de  
apprendre  
/étudier des femmes  
le service  
dans quelques uns/ cinq des Hôpitaux  
Militaires et Civils  
de Paris  
Grâces à votre intervention  
depuis quatre mois

**f56v**

que cette dame habite/ séjourne  
dans vos Hopitaux, elle  
y a reçu toute l'in-  
struction et toutes les informations ~~queelles~~ je  
demandait pour elle.

J'ose profiter de cette occasion,  
ou exprime à

votre excellence

Oserai je profiter de cetter occasion pour  
[illeg daynera?] & elle agréee  
offrir à votre excellence l'hommage d'un  
[illeg. crossed out words]

un travail, que on a été commandé

humble offrir que  
parle ministère de la Guerre  
j'ose de faire d'un  
Rapport Confidentiel  
que j  
ai du faire  
au Ministre de la  
Guerre Anglais sur

notre Service Sanitaire  
en Crimée.

**f57**

daignera & elle aussi  
faire agréer à la  
Majesté l'Empereur  
un Exemplaire du  
même Rapport.

Il s'y a trouver des matières  
qui touchent aussi bien au  
~~le~~ service Sanitaire  
aussi bien Francais qu'Anglais  
des Troupes Francaises  
qu' à celui.

Agréeez, M. le Maréchal,  
mes sentiment de la  
plus haute considération

Florence Nightingale

**f58** Typed copy of Hilary BC letter to Mrs Gaskell, Add Mss 45797 f58  
6 September [1859]

Dear Mrs Gaskell

It is a little thing that makes me think of writing to you, and yet a little thing that methinks will give you pleasure. I thought so this morning when Florence said of your *Ruth*: "It is a beautiful novel and I think I like it better still than when I first read it six years ago." Further she observed how you had *not* made *Ruth* start at once into a hospital nurse but arrive at it after much other nursing that came first. We had sent for your *Ruth* to "lie on her table and tempt her, and she bids me ask now for *North and South*, which also she read of old, though, my dear Madam, I don't "expect" that she takes to that quite so much as to *Ruth*, do you? Not that she has said so.....[2 more paragraphs]

**ff59-60** letter to FN re her cheque of £20 to pay for 50 copies of Martineau's book, 2nd page re cheque

**ff61-62:** pen: letter to James Paget Esq.

Hampstead NW  
Sept 24/59

My dear Sir

I can never forget your kindness to my poor maid, nor the skill & trouble & time you gave to her poor thumb. I used to think you must feel as if you made a great expenditure of power upon a very little thing. but it was not a little thing to her And she is now recovering (quite) at my father's place in Derbyshire, thanks to you.

Might I hope that you would kindly accept the little Article

I venture to send with this report of your Patient - as a very small sign of my gratitude

Yours very truly & gratefully  
Florence Nightingale

James Paget Esq.

You will think that "la reconnaissance n'est qu'un vif sentiment des bienfaits futurs" when I ask you to do something more for me, which would be a great favour.

I have had a set of new Forms

[5:76-77]

**f62**

prepared (with the Registrar-General's sanction) for Hospital Statistics. I should be very glad if St. Bartholomew's would be so good as to fill up a set on trial. But, before presuming to send them one, I should like to a certain to what extent the information *can* be obtained from the Hospital Books. The following are the data required to fill up the Forms.

		}Of these will be required
		}the <i>Remainings</i> on the last
		}day of any year, say 1857
		}and of the remains at the end of 1858 [a full year]
1. Age		}Also, the <i>Admissions</i>
2. Sex	}	<i>Discharge</i>
3. Disease	}	<i>Deaths</i>
	}	<i>Discharged Incurable</i>
	}	and the <i>Duration of the Cases</i>
	}	NB The Age, Sex & Disease must

**f62v**

be shewn for each of these headings St. Thomas's Hospital has been so good as to consent to fill up

these Forms for me for one (past) year. But they have been an immense time about it.

F. Nightingale

**ff63-64:** typed copy of letter to unnamed recipient.

Hampstead, N.W.  
September 27th, '59.

Not immediate.

You asked us to read Mouat's blue pamphlet, "The British Soldiers in India".

It is very satisfactory. But it would never have been written without the first R. Sanitary Commission. And is another of the many signs how wide its influence has been. It merely gives, in new language, most of the principles enunciated in that Report.

As to details 1. With regard to "Sanitary" things, i.e. health of barracks, cantonments, &c., he merely knows just about as much as other Army Surgeons, i.e. nothing. He acknowledges the principle, and gives no one practical deduction from it.

As to the personal "hygiene" of the men, i.e. dress, duties, &c. he has most sensible and practical deductions on almost every point. It is in fact the best digested treatise on *these* matters there has been.

But the best point of the whole book is what is set forth in the Preface, viz. that the news of the probability that a future Commission upon the "Sanitary state of the Army in India" might be presided over by Mr. Herbert had given an impulse to the whole practical inquiry throughout India. Without his name

**f64**

and authority, indeed, there would be little chance of any practical good coming out of it to the poor men

Ever yours  
(signed) F. NIGHTINGALE

We return the letter, but the book we have kept for future reference - for the Commission,

F.N.

**f65-67** letter of Hilary BC to Mrs Gaskell not input. She wishes me to explain to you that she very definitely and twice over proposed your question of *what books?* And she is sorry to have obtained no more direct answer...Florence requested Col Lefroy to lay out for her as he shd judge best....

ff68-69 copied from Col Lefroy's letter, typed, re Gibraltar Library

**ff70-73:** pen: letter to unnamed recipient: unsigned **[5:80]**

Hampstead N.W.

Oct 31/59

My dear Sir

I am very much  
obliged to you for your  
kind remembrance  
of my wish.

I send you these  
Forms, not because  
they are all that could  
be desired but because  
they indicate the kind  
of information which

**f70v**

Hospital Statistics  
should give.

It would be a good  
initiation for your  
Registrar to fill up  
& return to you (for  
me) these Forms - I  
would promise him  
that they should be  
made use of.

He would very  
likely discover that  
the easiest way of

keeping his statistics  
would be to have 7  
separate Nominal  
books - or at all  
events a Ledger  
with columns for  
each separate subject,  
Remaining, Admitted,  
Discharged &c into  
which he could enter  
day by day the  
particulars from his  
Day-book.

These sheets, of

**f71**



course, make no  
provisions for Surgical  
or Medical treatment  
- in respect to which  
the Medical Officers  
would have to lay down  
the necessary statistical  
details, which however  
should be complete  
enough to shew the  
Statistical results of  
operations, particular  
methods of treatments  
- &c.

**f71v**

The ages should, of

course, be minutely  
entered.

**f72**

In conclusion, I  
would ask you to  
do me a great favor  
- viz. to send me  
a complete Disease  
List, including Surgical  
cases, such as would  
include all those who  
come into Hospital  
at St. Bartholomew's

The Disease List on  
these Forms, which is  
the Registrar'-General's,  
& which does better  
for a Mortality Register  
than for a Hospital  
Register, is not  
convenient for this  
latter purpose. And  
I am trying to have  
a set of Forms  
compiled which would  
suit all Hospitals.

**f72v**

With many thanks  
for your kindness in  
thinking of this.

**ff74-75:** pen: letter to unnamed recipient: unsigned.

Hampstead NW  
4 Nov/59

My dear Sir

I am very much  
obliged to you for your  
most kind promise -

The Disease List,  
(including of course all  
Surgical cases) which  
is ~~in~~ used or which  
you intend to be used  
at St. Bartholomew's,  
is what, if it be not  
too much trouble to

you to make it out,  
would be of most  
use for our purpose.  
We want also the  
Nomenclature employed,  
which may differ  
from the Registrar General's.  
Two things are necessary  
for our purpose, 1. a  
complete List of all  
the Diseases which  
are received into  
Hospital 2. the

**f74v**

scientific names used  
in the Hospital's books.

**f75**

Anything sent to the house  
your kindness has made  
you know so well,  
30 Old Burlington St.  
will always reach me  
within the day.

f76 extract from letter from Mrs Gaskell to Mr Bosanquet re Gibraltar Reading  
rooms

ff77-78 note of meeting held at the War Office 19 Dec [1859] present: SH, Joshua Jebb, CH Bracebridge, Bowman, Bence Jones, read communication of FN quite incapable from state of her health of taking any active part in giving effect personally to the intentions of the subscribers to the Fund (7 points set out)

following committee appointed: SH, John McNeill, James Clark, Bowman, Jebb, A.H. Clough apptd secy at £100 a year and his expenses, his generous offer of acting honorarily not having been accepted

**[16:540-41]**

ff79-80 letter by Hilary BC for FN Oak Hill Hampstead N.W. Jan 9/60  
Dear Sir. In answer to your letter (of the 4th inst) for which Miss Nightingale wishes first to thank you, she bids me say that she much values your offer of services during your approaching expedition and would be particularly obliged to you if in visiting those provincial hosps which you mention, you would kindly bear in mind the following queries, in order to tell her the result of your observation and conviction in regard to them.

1. What is the present system of nursing, and what the construction of building for it?

2. What you think *should be* the system of nursing, and of construction for it in a provincial hospital? E.g. Take as a unit a provincial hospital of 50 patients [it may be doubled - trebled],

(a) Should there be one head nurse to 50 cases?

(b) Where shd she sleep?

(c) Should there be one night nurse?

(d) Where shd the assistant nurses sleep?

(e) Should there be *two* wards only for 50 patients, one for men and one for women? Or should there be *four* wards, two for medical and surgical cases (men) two for medical, surgical cases (women)?

(f) Would it be well to continue the London Hospital system of the nurse sleeping in command of her ward, even in the provincial hospital where there is but one head nurse and to construct any new hospital that might be erected so that there should be a nurse's room attached still to each ward, arranging that the head nurse should sleep in that adjoining the ward in which the worst cases happened to be [probably the men's surgical ward], the assistant nurse [or nurses] of each ward sleeping in contiguity each with her respective ward?

Lastly in a hospital [say] of four wards, of only 12 patients each, what should be the nursing personnel of each ward? Could one head nurse, one night nurse with assistant nurse to each ward do it all? **[end 16:541]**

I am dear Sir

yours very faithfully

J Hilary Bonham Carter

In case you shd shortly write or send to Miss Nightingale it may be well [after the next 2 or 3 days] to direct to Old Burlington Street. She is desirous of returning within *this week* (probably on Friday) should she be able to do so, and as a messenger fetches her letters every day from there anything sent to her address is sure to be safely received even shd her return be delayed.

ff82-101 typed copy of manuscript found at 10 South St. soldier in 68th Reg. R.R. also in FNMus 0774 Robert Robinson

January 1860

Honoured Madam

In complying with your request to narrate some of the events which I remember in connection with Miss Nightingale's sojourn in the Crimea and at Constantinople, I will endeavour to do so as far as it is in my power but I am sure there are very many events of importance which I shall fail to remember and which would, I am sure, be of the greatest service to those who take such a lively interest in all her transactions.

Before mentioning any of the incidents which occurred during my association with her at the seat of war, I will, with your permission, give some account of myself and how I became known to Miss Nightingale.

I had a great desire from my childhood to become a soldier and when 15 years of age, I could not rest a day without persuading my mother (for my father was then long dead) to sanction my becoming the object of my ambition, a *soldier*. At last I persuaded her to allow me to go, and accordingly on the 6<sup>th</sup> of June 1854 I went and sold myself to Her Majesty's 68th Light Infantry for the sum of one shilling. The depot of the regiment was then at Belfast and exactly one month and six days after joining I was on my way for Malta where the regiment was stationed. I had just time to view the island (being there only a fortnight) when the regiment was ordered to the Seat of War.

On board the Steam Transport *Cambria* we sailed for Constantinople and were encamped on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus opposite to Therapia for several weeks, waiting for the scattered regiments and stores which were coming after us. When all were collected we sailed for Varna, where the main body of the army and navy were collected. When all were collected and ready, the signal for sailing was made and, by an agreement, the English and French transports kept in close company under the protection of a strong fleet of men of war of both nations.

Nothing of importance occurred during the voyage until the morning of the 14<sup>th</sup> of September when we saw the Russian coast. In the afternoon of the same day, the armies landed without opposition. Throughout all these movements of the army I still remained with the 68<sup>th</sup> regiment and on the 14<sup>th</sup> of September I landed with my regiment on the Russian soil, but in the evening the doctor ordered me on board my ship again. From thence I was conveyed on board the *Kangaroo*, the first vessel that took sick from the Crimea.

The sight on board that vessel was something awful: 1300 sick and dying were packed on board this vessel, which was not fitted to carry 400. However, by the aid of another transport, the 1300 (minus 30 or 40 who died on the passage) reached Constantinople on the morning of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of September. All the available hands were at once employed to assist in getting the sick ashore but, while doing so, the *Golden Fleece* came steaming down the Bosphorus with 300 or 400 wounded from the battle of the Alma. It was a frightful sight to see some of the cases which came ashore on that day, and still more frightful to see them lying on stretchers in the passages of the Hospital, and the men who were carrying them standing beside the stretcher, sometimes for two hours, waiting for orders where to take the man. This was the weekly occurrence at the Scutari Hospital (for every week brought its sick from the Crimea) from September to November and from that time onward everything underwent a change for the better. The sick were not kept waiting in the passages but went at once to bed, were washed and had clean linen and were attended as well as if in England.

All this, or the most part of it, was brought about by the influence and energy of a lady who had sacrificed every luxury at home to come out and administer comfort to her suffering countrymen. I think there were very few men of the many thousands who were sick at Scutari and the other Hospitals in its neighbourhood who did not feel the comforting and beneficial influence of Miss Florence Nightingale. She went out with the intention to do good and that intention was carried out through every difficulty.

If the blessings of the sick soldiers in the Hospitals at Scutari (and indeed those in all the Hospitals at the seat of war) are of any avail, I am sure Miss Nightingale has them in abundance. She was accompanied to the seat of war by Mr Bracebridge, a gentleman who assisted her very much in carrying out her good work of charity. This gentleman, seeing me in the hospital, stopped me one day and asked me various questions, how I became a soldier, etc. He told me to come to him on the next day and he would take me to Miss Nightingale.

On the following day I was very punctual and, as he had promised, he took me to see the lady who came out to nurse the sick soldiers. From that memorable day, the 10th of January 1855, until the present January 1860, Miss Nightingale has been my very best patron and friend; perhaps I may best express it by saying she has been everything that has been kind. After going to her first I used to be the bearer of her letters to the several medical officers with whom she used to keep herself in communication, and when her business required her presence at the General Hospital, which was about 3/4 of a mile from the Barrack Hospital, I used generally to accompany her in order to light her home, often on a wet stormy night, across a barren common which lay between the two hospitals.

In June 1855, Miss Nightingale heard of the sad state the hospitals at Balaclava were in for want of nurses so she at once determined to proceed there with some of her nurses. Accordingly, on the 5<sup>th</sup> of June, she and her staff, which consisted to Mr Bracebridge, several nurses and myself, repaired on board the Steam Transport *Robert Lowe*.

The passage was a beautiful one of seventy-two hours. When the vessel got safe into Balaclava Harbour, Miss Nightingale thought about getting ashore, but as there was no place fit for her there, she agreed to remain on board the *Robert Lowe* as long as she stayed in harbour, which was not long for, in a very few days, she was ordered to sea again. Miss Nightingale was then conveyed on board the Sailing Transport *London*.

The day following that on which the change was made, she, in company with Mr Bracebridge and M Soyer, visited the camp of the Allies then before Sebastopol. They started in the morning with Miss Nightingale mounted on a handsome mule which Colonel Denny, commander of the 71<sup>st</sup> Regiment, had give up to her entirely for her own use while she stayed in the Crimea. It was late in the evening when they returned, and Miss Nightingale seemed greatly overfatigued, as Mrs Roberts expressed it, "quite done up," and indeed she was done up, for the next morning I was despatched for the doctor, Dr Anderson, who was then the chief medical officer at the General Hospital. He attended immediately and threw us all into a state of alarm by saying he was afraid she had Crimean fever.

Further on in the day, several of the principal medical officers, Dr Anderson, Dr Hadley and Dr Sutherland, gave it as their joint opinion that she had fever of an alarming kind, and that, if possible, she should be

removed from the ship to some healthy place on shore. On the following morning, she was carried by four soldiers on a stretcher from the *London* to the Castle Hospital on the heights near the Genoese Tower, where a hut was prepared for her reception.

It was a solemn procession. She who had administered comfort so many times to the sick should now need that comfort herself. She was accompanied from the ship to her hut on the hill by Dr Anderson, her attendant, Mrs Roberts, and a coloured gentleman, secretary to M Soyer) who held an umbrella in order to keep the sun's rays from the patient, and myself who walked behind, not strong enough to help to carry, nor tall enough to hold the umbrella. During this change Mr Bracebridge and M Soyer were out about some business, and when they returned they were much surprised to find her transferred to the Castle Hospital. She was nursed there by one well qualified for the office, Mrs Roberts. For a fortnight we were all in uncertainty; she was so very ill and even the doctors had little hope of her recovery.

During the time of her illness, I remained with Mr Bracebridge on board the *London*. It was my office every day, sometimes three times a day, to go to the Castle Hospital to enquire how Miss Nightingale was, and I had great need to know, for almost everyone I met, officers and soldiers, were constantly asking how she was. The uncertain state of things was interrupted by the doctors advising her return to (Constantinople) Scutari as the only and best way of recovering her health. Arrangements were accordingly made to convey her on board the first convenient transport sailing for the Bosphorus.

The *Jura* Steam Transport being the first then under orders, Miss Nightingale was again carried on a stretcher by four soldiers alongside the ship, and from thence she was got on board in the most comfortable way, yet in a way that would try the nerves and courage of many who think themselves bold. She was left lying on the stretcher and in *that* position hoisted aloft in the air by means of a pulley and rope which were used for transferring stores, off and to the ship's decks. After she was safe on board, owing to the weak state she was in, she could stand it no longer and became worse, her attendant, Mrs Roberts, sent me off for Dr Hadley at the Castle Hospital. This gentleman, be it said to his shame, did not come as soon as he might have done, and when he did, Miss Nightingale was better and did not require his services.

The ship, *Jura*, previous to receiving Miss Nightingale on board, had been employed for conveying horses to the seat of war and was in consequence very unfit for the reception of any passengers, but all this was put right by the kind offer of a gentleman, Lord Ward, who very generously offered his yacht to Miss Nightingale as long as she might think proper to make use of it. This kind offer she accepted and by the arrangements of Mr Bracebridge and Lord Ward, she was removed from the *Jura* to the *London*, which was the name given to this beautiful little steam yacht.

On the evening before starting, Mrs Bracebridge arrived from Scutari; in her anxiety to see Miss Nightingale she took the first opportunity of a passage to Balaclava and arrived the evening before the yacht sailed. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June the little *London* slipped out of the harbour, and after a run of thirty-six hours, reached the mouth of the Bosphorus, but could not get entrance, it being then dark and no ships were allowed to enter after this time. This was very disheartening, especially as Miss Nightingale had suffered and was then suffering from sea sickness, but there was no

alternative but to wait until morning, so very much against the will of all on board, the ship's head was turned again to the sea.

When morning came, and we thought we were at the mouth of the Bosphorus, we found that, owing to a fog, the captain had miscalculated his reckonings and we were upwards of 40 miles out of our course. This made the passage much longer, but we arrived all in good time without any further accident. As soon as possible, arrangements were made to convey the sick passengers ashore and from thence to her own rooms in one of the towers of the Barrack Hospital where she remained for a few days only, as her medical advisors wished her, if possible, not to remain in the hospital, and very luckily, there was a suitable way of effecting this, owing to Mr Bracebridge having previously taken a house in the town of Scutari. Miss Nightingale was conveyed here as before on a stretcher, where she was left under the care of her nurse, Mrs Roberts. For a long time she remained very unwell and left us all very uncertain whether she would ever recover. The house where she was conveyed to previously belonged to the Rev Mr Sabin, army chaplain at Scutari and to Colonel Denny of the 71<sup>st</sup> Regiment.

Time, which works wonders, wrought a change in Miss Nightingale, and slowly and surely she improved. When she became convalescent, an invitation was sent to her from the British Embassy at Constantinople to spend a few days at Therapia on the shores of the Bosphorus in order to gain her strength again. This she availed herself of, but only for a few days, for she was soon in the hospital again and at her work of doing good. During the time of her illness, I always brought little dainties that she could partake of from the hospital, as there was no kitchen in the house and everything had to be cooked at the hospital. Having failed to carry out her good intentions on her first visit to the Crimea, she now meditated a second one, and accordingly on the 9<sup>th</sup> of October she repaired on board the first ship under orders for sailing (the *Ottawa*) accompanied by Mrs Roberts and myself.

The voyage was a beautiful one of forty-eight hours, but unfortunately the rules regulating the entrance of ships into Balaclava harbour were very strict, not allowing any to enter except by signal from the Genoese tower overhanging the harbour. The *Ottawa* was doomed thus to wait until the signal for entering was made, which was nearly three days.

Miss Nightingale, however, was not so unfortunate as to wait all this time. The officials ashore, hearing she was aboard, sent a small steam tug to fetch her, but this was a failure, as the small steamer got nearly smashed to pieces against the sides of the large one. She came close to our large iron ship, and a swell dashed her against ours, and as "the weakest goes to the wall," so she bore the effects of the shock. The little steamer being a failure, a boat was immediately lowered, and brought round to the stern of the vessel, and there with great risk to herself and a very heavy swell on the water, she allowed herself to be lowered into the boat. The task was accomplished with safety, Miss Nightingale being held suspended by the arms over the side of the vessel, until the next wave elevated the boat to such a height that she could be dropped into it. Mrs Roberts was lowered in like manner, and I stayed on board until the vessel should get into harbour, two days afterwards.

This second visit was more hopeful than the first as Miss Nightingale enjoyed the best of health, and was able to carry out those projects which she anticipated doing on her first visit: one of these was the establishing

of a staff of nurses at the Land Transport Hospital, which lay on the brow of an eminence looking down on that renowned plain where the great cavalry charge took place.

The commandant of the corps, Major, now Colonel, McMurdo was very anxious to have some of Miss Nightingale's influence in his hospital and gave her every assistance in his power. He sent two of his ambulance cars to convey the nurses from Balaclava; these cars very much resembled the present Irish jaunting car, running on two small wheels. We knew it was quite possible to have an accident, and sure enough, it did come, for on turning off the main road and, close to the destined place, one of the wheels of the car on which Miss Nightingale, Miss Shaw Stewart, two nurses and myself were sitting, rolled over on a large stone and upset the car. I was sitting on the shaft and had nothing to do but to drop on the ground. Miss Nightingale and Miss Stewart were turned up in the air and nearly thrown to the opposite side of the road, and the two nurses were entirely under the whole, and for a time no one knew whether they were hurt or not. The whole thing might have been worse but for the able assistance of the Rev Mr Hort who accompanied the party. The two nurses were pulled out from under the car with no bones *broken* but some rather bruised. The side on which Miss Nightingale sat was turned upwards, so she had to jump from a height of four or five feet, and when she was safe herself she was the first to apply herself to extricate the others. For a fortnight the two who were undermost were unable to attend to their duties, so the accident caused some delay in the arrangements, but in lieu of the nurses not being able to do anything, their superintendent did wonders: she laboured most arduously amongst the poor fellows who so much needed her attention. As the two invalids got strong, Miss Nightingale purposed giving them an outing. She ordered her carriage (a Russian one which was given to her by Major, now Colonel McMurdo).

The carriage was drawn by two large Spanish mules which were allotted to Miss Nightingale's use and never did any other work, as she generally employed the equipage when visiting any of the hospitals at the camp. This time she took her convalescents to view the town and camp of Sebastopol which they were very much pleased with and came home with a good many trophies: cannister and grape shot, pieces of shell, etc., in fact the rickety old carriage had not carried such a burden for some time.

When all things seemed settled satisfactorily and the wounded nurses had recovered their usual health, Miss Nightingale was requested by the medical men of the Monastery of St George's Hospital, if possible, to send some nurses to that place, as they were much needed. In order to distribute equally the benefit to all, and to comply with the request, she divided her staff at the General Hospital, Balaclava, and sent some of them under the superintendence of Miss Wear.

Having seen to all her arrangements, and hearing that the cholera was making rapid strides at Scutari, she determined to proceed there at once. When she arrived, she was informed of the death of one of the principal medical officers, Dr McGregor; he died of the disease and was deeply lamented by all, for he was one of the most energetic and clever men in the hospital. Luckily the disease did not carry its ravages very far, and, owing to the attention of the doctors and Miss Nightingale to the patients and their wants, it was completely rooted out.

During the time the disease was in its worst, Miss Nightingale made it her



especial duty to attend on those cases and would not allow the other nurses to go near them. No matter where she was, she always had some especial patients of her own to look after, and those the worst cases in the hospital, for these she has often sat up until all others were asleep and with her little lamp (which I always trimmed) in her hand, I have many times seen her at one o'clock in the morning going her rounds, through the long passages and rooms of suffering in that ever-to-be-remembered Barrack Hospital. Many nights I have know her sit up all night with a patient and send the nurse, who should have sat up, to bed.

Miss Nightingale's third and last visit to the Crimea took place on the 9th of March 1856, accompanied only by Mrs Roberts and myself; among the passengers were two who had travelled with Miss Nightingale on her first voyage, M Soyer and his coloured secretary, Mr Taylor. M Soyer was the great French cook who had engaged with the government to go to the Crimea to reform and improve the culinary division of the army. When he went there first he was received but coolly by some of the authorities. Miss Nightingale stood his friend from the commencement and, by her influence, enabled him to carry out many of his plans, which otherwise he would not have been able to do. She saw what advantages the patients would derive from having their food cooked in a proper way, under the superintendence of such a skilful man of the art as M Soyer.

Previous to this visit to the Crimea, Miss Nightingale had sent two ladies from the General Hospital at Scutari to replace those at the Castle Hospital who had gone to the Land Transports. These were regularly established and proceeding with their work of comforting those most in need of their care.

Miss Nightingale established her headquarters this time at the General Hospital, Balaclava, and undertook the management of the nursing herself, and I am sure many found the effects of her influence and kindness, for she was up late and early, often until after 1 o'clock in the morning, and very often out visiting one of the other camp hospitals until 11 o'clock at night, some of them upwards of 3 or 4 miles of Balaclava, and when she got to her own residence, she never neglected going to see her own patients, no matter what time it was when she arrived. On some nights, coming from the camp, it was so dark that we had to lead the animals which carried us, for sometimes she rode a pony, but generally she made use of the Russian carriage; in either case I always accompanied her.

Having seen so much of the English hospitals, and hearing so much about the French, Miss Nightingale determined to convince herself which had most attention paid to them and were best provided for, and took a day to visit the hospitals and kitchens of our allies, accompanied by M Soyer. I was also there, and, as far as I think, the French were but scantily supplied in comparison to the English; our patients were better accommodated and were much cleaner, happier and far more comfortable than their allies.

The next and great event which occurred in the march of events was that which made us all rejoice: the proclamation of peace. All were doing their best to express what they felt--every hut, tent and hovel had a flag, or an imitation of one, hung from the top; shirts, handkerchiefs and rags of all descriptions were hung up in lieu of flags. All seemed tired of the struggle and glad of the thoughts of returning to the mother country once more. From the time peace was proclaimed, there was silence in the fortifications on both sides--the continual booming of the cannon had ceased, and those who a

few hours previously would have shot or otherwise killed each other were now in friendly chat, walking quite confident and unmolested through each others' camp.

After a few days' preparations were made for conveying the army and its appendage from a soil that was no longer their own, and as invalids and all were to go, there was no more need for nurses, and Miss Nightingale looked out for the first opportunity to get her nurses to England. She got them away by degrees, and saw everything cleared out and given over to the proper authorities before leaving herself. She then took ship to Scutari and saw all cleared out from there, then took a passage on board the Marseilles mail steamer for herself, her aunt, Mrs Smith, and Mrs Roberts. She travelled under the name of Miss Smith in order to avoid being known, for nearly the whole of the English nation, and a large number of the French people, were anxious to show to her their thanks for the noble sacrifice she made and the privations she endured in going to administer comfort to her suffering countrymen. Numbers of men are now in this country and elsewhere who, as long as they have breath, will ever thank Miss Nightingale as being the means of restoring them to health; many men have told me that, but for Miss Nightingale and her nurses, they would certainly have died. When the doctors had given a patient up as beyond his skill, I have known Miss Nightingale, with unvarying attention, restore the same as it were from death to life.

Some of the nurses were very attentive, but how could they be otherwise when such a pattern was shown them, by one who was in every way their superior. Many of them went out with pecuniary motives, but not so with her; her motive was pure and charitable-- she wanted no recompense--of this world's goods she had ample. She went out with the intention of doing good, and that intention was carried out to the full, as many can testify, and as her own health is now testifying, but I trust that God will spare her still to continue that noble work of doing good which she so gloriously begun.

Signed R.R.

ff102-03: pen: signed letter: envelope on f104 addressed to Revd H.E. Manning. Letter returned [3:270-71]

## **f102**

30 Old Burlington St.  
London W

Feb 25/60

Dear Sir or dear friend

(whichever I may call you)

I am in the land of the  
living still, as you see,  
contrary to every body's  
expectation: but so  
much weaker than  
when you were so kind  
as to come here that  
I do not sit up at all  
now. My object in

reminding you of my  
existence is a well  
founded horror lest  
after my death, my  
letters should be  
collected & published.  
Will you be so good  
as to burn all mine  
that you can find  
or know of? I do  
not doubt but that  
you have already

**f102v**

**f103**

done this. But I have  
alas met with so  
much treachery in  
my poor life that  
any carelessness on  
the part of those  
whom I *know* to be  
friendly to me might  
easily be turned to  
bad account.

"Nunc dimittis" is  
the only prayer I can  
make now as far as

regards myself,  
Believe me  
ever truly yours  
F. Nightingale

**f103v**

**f104** envelope  
*to be returned if not there*  
The Revd  
H.E. Manning  
&c &c  
Westmoreland Place  
Bayswater added in another hand: Dr M is gone to Rome [**end 3:271**]

**f105:** draft letter in JS hand: faint pencil: verso side of page obscured by photographer's comments on tight binding. pencil; Sutherland hand but archivist says FN]

My opinion about your advice has been founded on then established opinions, which have appeared to me to lack what I would call insight & personal experience. They always seem as if written from other peoples work, and not from personal examination, which is just as necessary in Sanitary matters as in medical bedside practice.

To this is no doubt due to the impression I have received that certain important principles they have enunciated, logically destroy the Sanitary cause. If you will require your officer to make all inspections & enquiries himself & not to report simply the impressions & opinions of others, I have that the public ....

No Sanitary opinion can be considered worth expressing which is taken only at second hand, and its value at first hand depends solely on the talent & industry of the observer who gives it. Before I wrote you I had received a written voluntary statement from a London Hospital, that one of the men employed to report knew nothing of Hospital administration. And one of the men wrote in the Medical Gazette of last Saturday week replying to Dr Farr & calling for proof of Dr Farr's statement, which quite right no doubt, but perfectly [cut off] unnecessary on the part of [illeg] a man who had been engaged on such an enquiry, for

v

no [illeg] with ordinary care, he could not have arrived at any other opinion than that stated by Dr Farr.

With regard to the statistics in my book I would say first that I have stated explicitly that the fact hospital statistics are only approximations, and I have given methods for obtaining correct statistics in the book. These are now in use & will satisfy every want in time. But there are two other methods of obtaining hospital mortality which give certain elements of information, one of these is by dividing the deaths for say a year, by the total cases treated in the year. The other is ascertain the average number of beds constantly occupied & to divide [?] the annual deaths by this figure. I gave the arithmetical reasoning on which the methods are based in my evidence before the R. Army Commission of 1857, & reprinted them in the 1st & second editions of my Notes on Hospitals. Both have been used for a long time by the Registrar General and the last method is the one he adopted in his very valuable set of tables I extracted from for my book. In my former editions, I stated that that method was only useful "for comparing hospitals with hospitals." & that is the only use the Registrar General put it to in the tables I extracted. It has the advantage of including more elements, of collectives [?] than the former method I have mentioned.

**ff106-07** account of John Parker & Son re Contribution to Sanitary Hist of Br Army 1860, 1859

Letter to Nightingale from George Grey, Add Mss 45797 ff108-09 [6:186]

14 Park Lane  
13 April 1860

Dear Miss Nightingale

I thank you very much for the copy of the new "Army Medical Regulations," which you have been so good as to forward to me; these will be very useful to me.

I send you back the proposed return for native schools. There will be no difficulty in obtaining the information you ask for, and I cannot suggest any improvement in the return which seems complete. I hope now some advance will be made to the solution of a question which is for us as a nation of such great importance. You will be glad to hear that Lady Grey hopes to go out with me

very truly yours  
G. Grey

ff110-13 letter of George Grey [6:188-89]

14 Park Lane  
27 April 1860

My dear Miss Nightingale

I will answer the several questions in your letter of yesterday's date as well as I can.

I think it would be better the title should stand: "For Colonial Schools" because in all large villages there are day schools regularly attended by the children, who house with their parents who are more or less under missionary control. I think also that the title should run "Exclusively or principally attended by native children" because in nearly all these schools some few Europeans or half-caste children are admitted, although the number of these is so small that the school really remains a native school. Perhaps you may think that this will require some corresponding classification in the return to show the different [vices? races?].

I cannot suggest in what manner the enquiry should for the present be carried further. The native women do not cease to bear children but their families are small. I believe smaller than when they were in an entirely barbarous state.

I think it might do good to ask that the governor of each colony might be requested to ascertain, as accurately as he could, the questions which you propose as follows:

Does scrofula or any other specific disease exist among mixed races of (a) white and black blood; (b) white and brown blood, to a greater extent than it exists in the races separately in the same colony or district."

I am afraid if this question was proposed indiscriminately to a large number of persons they would each form the crudest opinion upon quite insufficient data and then unhesitatingly give this opinion--the result of their opinions so given would only mislead. But I think the governors might obtain careful and well considered opinions on this subject.

I have now replied to all your questions. I think those proposed at the end of the return are excellent ones, and I believe and hope that as a result of this enquiry you may be able to devise some means, which may enable us

assure civilization, without entailing upon native races so large a loss of life as we have hitherto done.

Your note on the New Zealand de-population question has been to me a paper of the greatest interest. I will immediately communicate with Colonel Brown the governor on the object. It is curious in regard to what you say regarding the introduction of the pig as an article of food. That the Negroes [?] in South Africa, who have increased in number since they have come into close contact with civilized man, have always sturdily refused to make pork a common article of their diet. I will write to you again on this point when I sail the Cape of Good Hope, but I have now no time to write more as we start early tomorrow morning. I thank you so much for what you say about Lady Grey going out with me. Her being well enough to do so has made me very happy. We both of us earnestly pray that God may be pleased yet long to spare you, to prosecute your so useful and benevolent labours. Believe me

very truly yours

G. Grey

**ff114-15** signed letter from Robert Lowe from Education Dept, Council Office, Downing St 9 May 1860 replying re memo to Sir G Lewis, very cordial

**ff116-17** Letter of Sir George Lewis to Robert Lowe 6 May 1860, Add Mss 45797 f116-17

Both the points mentioned in Miss Nightingale's letter were duly considered before the Census Bill was introduced. It was thought that the question of health or sickness was too indeterminate to be made the subject of a question to each individual. The absence of any kind of standard makes it certain that the answers would not be based on a uniform principle and that the result obtained would be inaccurate.

With regard to an enumeration of houses, it was thought that this is not a proper subject to be included in a census of population. I was aware that an enumeration of houses had been included in the Irish Census, but the information which I received led me to the conclusion that the result is not peculiarly instructive....

G.E. Lewis



ff116-18 Lewis to Lowe; signed letter, pen [5:96-97]

**f116**

Kent House [?] 6 May

My dear Lowe

Both the points mentioned in Miss Nightingale's letter were duly considered before the Census Bill was introduced. It was thought that the question of health or sickness was too indetermini

v

nate to be made the subject of a question to each individual-- The absence of any fixed standard makes it certain that the answers wd not be based on a uniform principle, & that the result obtained wd be inaccurate.

**f117**

with regard to an enumeration of houses, it was though that this is not a proper subject ~~for~~ ~~illeg~~ to be included in a census of population.

I was aware that an enumeration of houses had been included in the Irish census, but

**f117v**

the information which  
I received led me  
to the conclusion  
that the result  
is not peculiarly  
instructive.  
Believe me  
yrs very truly  
G. Lewis

**f118** letter of G. Grey 14 Park Lane, thanks for copy of AM regs

ff118-22 pen: recipient noted in pencil by archivist to Rt Hon Rt. Lowe MP,  
with envelope Rt Honbl Robert Lowe MP, 34 Lowndes Sq **[5:97-98]**

**f118**

30 Old Burlington St.

May 10/60

My dear Sir [Hon Robt Lowe MP]

I cannot forbear  
thanking you for your  
letter - & for your  
exertions in our  
favor.

Sir George Lewis's  
letter, "*being interpreted*",  
means:

"Mr Waddington  
"does not choose to  
"take the trouble."

It is a letter such

**f118v** as I have scores of  
in my possession  
from Airey, Filder  
& alas! from Lord  
Raglan - from Sir  
John Hall, the *doctor*  
& from Andrew Smith

It is a true  
"Horse Guards" letter.

They are the very  
same arguments also,  
used by Lord John,  
against the feasi-  
bility of registering  
the "cause of death"

**f119**

in '37 - which has  
now been the law  
of the land for 23 years.

He was beaten in  
the Lords.

And we are  
now going to fight  
Sir George Lewis in  
the Lords. And we  
hope to beat him too.

It is mere  
child's play to  
tell us that what  
every man of the

millions, who belong  
to Friendly Societies,  
does, every week of  
his life, as to  
registering himself  
sick or well,  
cannot be done in  
the Census.

It is mere  
childishness to tell  
us that it is "not  
important" to know  
what houses the  
people live in &  
that it "cannot be  
done."

**f119v**

**f120**

The French Census  
does it.

The Irish Census  
tells us of the great  
diminution of mud  
cabins between 1841 &- 1851.

The connection  
between the *health*  
& the *dwelling*s of  
the population is  
one of the most  
important that  
exists.

The "diseases" can

**f120v**

be obtained approximately  
also.

In all the most  
important diseases,  
such as small-pox,  
fevers, measles, heart  
disease, &c, all  
those which affect  
the *national* health,-  
there will be very  
little error [About ladies'  
nervous diseases, there will be a great deal]

Where there *is*  
error in these things,  
the error is *uniform*;  
as is proved by  
the Friendly Societies;

**f121**

and corrects itself.

If we do not  
win in the Lords,  
(what is it the  
great man says?  
"Thank God we have  
a House of Lords")  
- I shall have the  
melancholy satisfaction  
of holding up my  
country to contempt  
in the International  
Statistical Congress

which is to be held  
here in July.

Believe me  
with many thanks  
yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

**f121v**

P.S.

By nice arrangement  
& a little management-  
we could get the  
diseases on the voluntary  
principle. The sickness  
& infirmity would  
be returned "sick"  
"infirm" - or something  
to that effect. And  
people would be  
invited for the public  
good to state, whenever  
they could without  
inconvenience to  
themselves &c, the  
nature of the sickness,

**f122****f122v**

as supplied by the  
Medical attendant.  
This would work

f123 envelope to Rt Hon Robert Lowe MP

ff124-27 from Atherstone 16 Aug 1860 re books

**f128** letter to FN from Adshead with clipping re convalescent hospitals, from *Leeds Mercury* her advice from new ed of *Notes on Nursing*, Adshead letter Aug 23 1860. I am greatly obliged by your most extensive communication to hand this morning (missing) and am indeed fearful that I have given much trouble in requiring the plan you have been so good as to send me and furnished an idea of what is required for general hosp administrative acc and which I shall find useful in what is now before me that helped by this I have had what I trust will be further amended plans but have been out of town and found yours of the 18th on my table. It wd have had a most immediate ack. I send you an ex of my corr sheet upon illeg hosp matters and ...an inv to you a commun to the nat assoc ...24 of Jebb I have thought of taking as my theme "hospitals and Convalescents" not with the intention of giving a lengthened paper upon the subject but as *brief introduction* of the question ..[very hard to read]

with my conval hosp undertaking--an object in which you have and are giving the benefit of your very valuable assistance. *Public opinion* has to be brought to bear upon it. What lecture on ..lecture at the Manchester Royal Inst. I have no doubt . With this name the pleasure of sending the numbers of returns published by the Manchester and Salford Sanitary Assoc which shall be forwarded to you periodically. I send also pamphlet by the well known American traveler. I have launched his steam illeg essay by an intro. Mr illeg was wishful that I shd ...Sir James Bardsley miscellanies, human melioration; (so one letter missing of 18th August, possibly another)

FN comments in red pencil on f129v of letter

It will do good to  
ventilate the subject  
of convalescent hospitals  
at the Glasgow meeting.  
This will assure attention  
to the subject, & set  
people to think on  
matters they have only  
illeg line  
The Manchester meeting  
would of course do [illeg]  
good but it is worthy of  
consideration whether the  
public mind is sufficiently  
for change [?] to adopt  
any conclusions that might  
be arrived at preliminary [?]  
discussions through the public  
press would do much good  
and when the meeting is held  
you shall be prepared with some fruitful proposals to be followed

**f130** Bowman letter to FN Aug 25 [1860]

ff132-34 letter to FN from Marion Empson, Grimsby Sept 24

ff135-36 letter to Sir from D. Maclean, 1 Leinster Sq., Bayswater, 3rd Oct 1860 re brother Dr Maclean of Madras to new medical school at Chatham. Mr Sidney Herbert has had my brother's letter accepting the appt before him for about two months, but unless ...no instructions with ref to it have been given by the sec of war, nor had any communications whatever. Is it too much to ask you when you have an opportunity to bring the matter under the notice of Mr Sidney Herbert to kindly inform me with what results of your communication.

**f137:** pen: letter to Sir Ranald Martin: marked "Confidential."

Hampstead NW

Oct 8/60

Dear Sir Ranald Martin

I understand  
that Genl. Maclean  
has been very  
uneasy about his  
brother's appointment

I therefore  
send you (confidentially)  
a letter from Mr.  
Herbert.

Do you think  
Dr. Maclean will

accept? Have  
you anything to  
suggest?

**f137v**

yours sincerely  
F. Nightingale

**ff138-39:** pen: letter to Dr. Morehead: marked "private."

Oct 9/60

Dear Sir

Enclosed is the  
copy of Mr. Herbert's  
letter to Dr. Maclean,  
which please return  
to me.

If you could  
offer any suggestions  
upon it, I should  
be glad

I wrote yesterday



to Sir Ranald Martin,  
(conveying this  
information concerning  
the offer made to  
Dr. Maclean,) in order  
to relieve the anxiety  
~~for sake~~ of his, Dr. M's  
brother, (is it  
Genl Maclean?)  
who, I understand  
is very anxious  
to have the suspense  
put an end to-  
& who probably

**f138v**

wishes to write  
himself to his  
brother by this  
mail.

**f139**

I find Sir R.  
Martin is not in  
town. Could you  
yourself inform  
Genl.(?) Maclean?  
His address is  
1 Leinster Sq.  
Bayswater

W

yours faithfully  
Florence Nightingale  
Dr. Morehead

**f140** Typed copy of letter to Mrs Gaskell **[15:432-33]**

30 Old Burlington St  
London W  
Oct. 12/60

My dear Mrs. Gaskell,

Mr. Herbert has written to Sir Wm. Codrington at Gibraltar & called on him for a Report of the "soldiers' Home," & a statement of its present condition & his own opinion. (I shewed Col. Shadwell's paper but privately, in the "*proper quarter*.")

Mr. Herbert gives £500 towards the debt & guarantees the rent.

I am not quite satisfied with this as a rule for *general* action in "Homes." I hope to obtain from the W.O. that it shall double all subscriptions for original outlay & pay half of all rents - publishing an account of the Gibraltar Home as an incentive to others.

The "guaranteeing" rent is open to mal-praxis. And to pay a fixed annual sum would be much better -

The W.O. will leave the Gibraltar Home entirely in the hands of its own Committee.

If you can make any use of the above information, short of putting it in the newspapers, for the purpose of obtaining private subscriptions, please do -

I should be glad if you would tell Col Shadwell, who has interested himself so kindly, of our success so far.

I do hope the rest of the debt may be defrayed by private subscription,

ever yours sincerely,

(sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE.

Is Capt. P. Jackson back at Gibraltar? **[end 15:433]**

f141 typed copy of FN to Mrs Gaskell from F. Nightingale Oct 16 1860

**f142** typed copy of letter to Mrs. Gaskell **[15:433]**

30 Old Burlington St.

London W.

Oct. 24/60.

My dear Mrs. Gaskell,

Not only has Sir. W. Codrington approved of the "Soldiers' Home" at Gibraltar - but I have the very best means of knowing that he has pressed its claims upon the support of the War Office more than once during the last twelve months - on the ground that it deserves every encouragement which can be given to it, on account of its success in the purpose for which it is devoted - and also on the justice and good policy of Government assistance being given to the "home."

**[end]**

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

ff143-44 not FN hand, Oct 20 1860 re letters re Dr Stone. FN hand: To be returned to F.N.

Dr Stone begs to send Miss Nightingale the heads of the classification in the reports for 1858-9 at St Thomas' Hospital. *It is not a nosology* merely an orderly arrangement of headings on the bed tickets....illeg. That if it got into Dr Farr's hands it might be thus construed and seriously misrepresented. In a letter from that gentleman published in the current Medical Times, there is what may be considered a threat that he (Dr Farr) will retaliate for some strictures, and Dr Stone...

Dr Stone must therefore illeg beg that this condition of affairs be borne in mind wherever the accompanying papers may travel to. A hostile analysis of the paper or the hypothesis & its setting up for a skeleton form for classification may do Dr Stone serious personal harm and increase the confusion already unfortunately existing on this topic. 13 Vic. St. W.

**f145:** typed copy of letter to Mrs. Gaskell: archivist: Oct 1860  
**[15:433]**

My dear Mrs. Gaskell,

I have Sir W. Codrington's letter about the Gibraltar "Home" (to the W.O.) lying before me at this moment - and the enclosed, which you are at perfect liberty to use with Col: Shadwell, is in fact an Extract from it (you know Sir W. Codrington does not write the Queen's English) but I have not put inverted commas, because I must not without asking Mr. Herbert. If however Col: Shadwell is not satisfied, I would ask permission to send Col. Shadwell a copy of all the important documents about the "Home," which the W.O. has received, & which I now have.

Do not suppose that we are voluntarily wasting time about having your £120 paid in. In the first place, every thing is slow at the W.O. In the second, one of the Gibraltar "Home" Committee, now in England, is to receive & advertise all the money contributed for this purpose - (His name is Capt. Hale, R.E.) And I am only waiting to know thro' the W.O.) the best means of doing this - in order to get other pounds - an also in order to get the same done for other places.

**[end]**

Yours ever  
(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

**f146:** typed copy of letter to Mrs. Gaskell**[15:433-34]**

30 Old Burlington St.  
London, W.  
Nov. 3/60

My dear Mrs. Gaskell,

It is thought between the War Office & the Member of Capt. Jackson's Committee now in London, that the Subscriptions (private) had better be paid in immediately to Sir Charles McGrigor's (mentioned at the bottom of the paper) which I have done to-day - that, as it is important, both from Sir Wm. Codrington's position in the Gibraltar Garrison, & from his personal temper, that *he* should appear as the prime mover in the thing, he should be written to ask his sanction to the private subscription, & also to *give the terms* of the Advertisement in which a farther appeal to the Public is to be couched - that then, & not till then, the names & amounts at Sir C. McGrigor's should be published (in the same Advertisement).

I have written to Mr. Herbert to ask him to write to Sir Wm. Codrington to this purpose stating at the same time that the War Office gives £500.

There need however be no delay in paying in your magnificent Subscriptions.

Perhaps you will inform Col. Shadwell of this, who was all along of this opinion about Sir Wm. Codrington. **[end 15:434]**

Yours very truly,  
(Sgd.) F. NIGHTINGALE

**f147:** typed copy of inscription in book signed by Nightingale.

Notes on Nursing  
by  
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE  
1860.  
Mrs. Truelove  
in kind remembrance  
Nov. 5/60.  
from (Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

**f148** Note with sketches a baby's hand

**f149** on letter to FN by Bertha ESS f148 FN adds on blank page following  
[Bertha Elizabeth Shore Smith]

What do you think of  
sending Richard to them  
at Combe, in order to  
enable them to spare  
Bratby longer?

There never could  
be a time when we  
shall have fewer  
messages to town to  
send him on than  
now-

He should be at  
Mr. Clough's before  
Bratby leaves, I  
think, if he does go.  
Otherwise Mr. C. may  
be sending Bratby  
back tonight.

**f150** unsigned note by FN to Clough, pen

Has Richard been to look for Sir  
J. Franklin?

I think Mr. Clough does  
not want to have Mr.  
Whitfield here *this* week  
--more especially not  
Saturday-

Mr. Clough must  
decide because all *I*  
am going to do with  
Whitfield is to introduce  
him informally, tell him  
Mr. C. has been so good  
as to undertake this-&  
then back out--only to  
be upstairs to be referred  
to, in case Physic  
should set to with the  
jaw=bone of an ass.

If Mr. & Mrs. Clough &  
son would stop over Sunday, we  
should be too happy.

**f151** unsigned note

*T. Alexander Esq D.G.*

1. Orderlies 1 to 10. How do they  
do now for Wards *under* 10  
beds-

2. Diets - Rolls to be hung up  
in Reg. not Gen. Hospitals?  
to be made up for the  
*following* day in Reg. not  
General Hosps?

diets include now extras.

3. Reg Hosp. plan wanted

4. Med. Sch. scheme wanted.

5. Ask if Longmore is at home.

ff152-53 Jan 3 1861 letter to FN from Sir Wm Bowman

ff154-57 letter to FN from Maclean Jan 11 1861. 14 St James's Square. I ought long ago to have thanked you for your kindness in obtaining information from the War Office regarding my appt to the chair at Chatham, info which tended at the time greatly to relieve the minds of those who were in some anxiety about the matter. I shad have addressed you sooner to convey my thanks for your consideration, but I delayed in hopes of being able to communicate at the same time tidings of the final est of this affair, which has been pending for about six months. I am sorry to say that up to this hour I do not know wh or not I am to be appointed. I came from and from somewhat rashly under a grave misapprehension regarding the terms of my appt first that the sacrifices I must make to ... unless Mr Sidney Herbert can see his way through the difficulties wh stand I my way, I must return with as little delay as poss. I feel however deeply sensible of my obligations to you in this matter and beg that you will accept the imperfect expression of my grateful thanks. Knowing the deep interest you take in everything that relates to the working of illeg I have left at the War Office to be forwarded to you a map showing the positions of hill stations available in southern India. You will observe how they are situated with regard to the great mil stns now occupied. This qu is not ripe for action, and in the present financial difficulties of India, its agitation is useless. But I look forward confidently to the time when these diffs will no longer stand in the way of this and many other important san measures. McPherson, our insp gen of the India Army has himself visited many ...

ff158-59 letter Jan 15 1861 to FN from J.R. Martin

ff160-61 16 Jan 1861 to Madam from Robt D Lyons, illeg Sq Dublin, a copy of my work on fever. Your friends Lord Herbert and Sir James Clarke ackn of the service to medicine in the foundation of the Army Med School. I am not unaware of an illeg the important part you have yourself performed in assisting to work out the design of that inst and bring it into practical effect. I hope for and anticipate much from it not alone for mil medicine but for the medical sciences and arts and applications of civil life. Trusting that the report which ...

f162 letter of treasurer of Leeds Inf to Joseph Adshead 21 Jan 1861, receipt of his 18th and his work, Rev Rhodes on com

f163 Jan 19/61 copy to Dear Sir from George Wilson, general physician, Leeds Inf

f164 newspaper clipping re enlargement of Leeds Inf, Adshead of Jan 15 1861 to Roberton. *Leeds Mercury* published Jan 17 1861. Robertson (the incorrect "s" is crossed out in article).

"The Leeds Infirmary and its Enlargement" Mr Roberton (of Manchester) in his paper on hosp acc says, "When at Leeds, in the autumn, I was sorry to learn there was some fear that the rebuilding of the inf wd fall through, owing to the difficulty of securing the necessary funds." Mr Roberton further remarks, "The health of the house is said to be generally bad: a fact which no person competent to judge, who will take the trouble to walk through the wards and examine into the condition of the patients can for a moment doubt." I remarked to one of the med officers, observes Mr Roberton, "you need a new hospital." "Yes," he replied. "*We know that to our cost.*"...

I learn within the last few days that the old hosp is to remain, and that enlargement is intended, as the board of the inf are offering a premium for the best plan. Now I will venture to suggest *the best plan that can be adopted* (without premium) and *that is, to have branch convalescent hospital*. Make no more town hospital additions Miss Nightingale in her notes on "Nursing" remarks:

Would it not appear a main point in regard to all hospitals in populous district for each to have...[is this from notes on hosps?

Such views, and from such an authority, cannot fail to have influence. So far as I am personally venturing this publicly to refer to on e of your important local insts, it may appear somewhat intrusive, but the subject is *not* one of mere locality, but one of *common humanity*,

and as such it is that I regard it; and I wd urge the respected members of the Leeds Inf board to *pause* before they further commit themselves to any plans for *town* enlargement.

The present hosp by diminishing its number of beds in the wards wd proportionally increase the cubic space measurement per patient, and render the wards more healthy, and this mt be done by grafting your conv in an early stage to your district hosp.

Whilst Leeds has done so nobly in its town hall and un convenience, there is not wanting either public spirit or public liberality.....sends copy of his Plea for the est of a conv hosp for Manchester and its surrounding district...Miss N expresses *in very strong terms* the high importance of *pure air* for hosp inmates. Can it be obtained in a town of Manchester or a town of Leeds atmosphere? It cannot. ...Better leave the sick at home unless this is realized. Aggregation of helpless sick and maimed under one roof in a given space.



ff165-68 letter Jan 1861 to FN from Maclean

ff169-70 Feb 1861 letter to J. Scott Robertson, purveyor in chief, War Office, from purveyor's office, re Women's Hosp, Aldershot

f172 memo re above, JS hand, At Aldershot re staffing arrangements

ff173-74 March 11 [1861] letter to My dear Friend, on House of Commons embossed, from RMM, Jowett was only in town for 24 hours, his address is Balliol Coll, Oxon. I believe he is going to take a leave after his university work is over.

I have often thought of asking you what you meant to do with the papers you have written on social and speculative objects? They surely should not be destroyed and yet I hardly know to whom you could entrust them. xx misunderstand, misinterpret and misuse them. If you choose to leave them in my hands they would be at any rate be safe from irreverent handling and crude exposure and could be used in any way more or less illeg you might think fit. If I am not mistaken your letters from the East were in print before you went to the East, your people showed me some of them then, but I have not liked to touch on the subject with them since.

Of course there is no answer wanted to this letter; it is merely thrown out for you to think about.

Mr Clough thinks the bishop would do as they do in their capacity of "sentinels" illeg an institution with the right or wrong of which they have no more business to acquire than an officer into the justice of a war!

yours ever

R.M.M.

ff175-76 23 April 1861 to FN from A.J. Humbert re Lisbon Hosp. As to the unfortunate "paragraph" to wh you allude in your letter of this day's date, I certainly do consider that I, of all persons in the world, have the greatest cause of complaint.

Its first appearance in London was in the Builder of the 23rd of March last. My attention was immediately directed to it by a friend, and I wrote to Mr Rogers for an explanation. I enclose for your perusal 2 of his letters upon the subject.

I was doubly vexed at seeing this paragraph, first because nothing whatever ought to have been made public w/o my consent, and secondly because it implied that (from ignorance or otherwise) I had deputed another to work out the matters entrusted to me. Whereas, I can assure you that the whole of the design, w/o exception, was made in my office from my own rough pencil drawings.

It is gratifying to me, in the highest degree, to find that you express so favourable an opinion as to the architecture of the hospital. When the upper story in the front bldg was done away with (in order to place the nurses in the pavilions) I found with regret that the little effect I had hoped to get in the principal front Was entirely spoiled.

From the commencement I had however made it a rule that all external effects shd be subordinate to the requirements of the bldg itself and its internal arrangements.

I had the honour to submit the drawings to the prince on Thursday last. I am glad to say that he fully approved of them. A slight alteration was thought desirable to the principal entrance doorway, by putting a small portico with columns, which in no way affects the other parts of the bldg, and serve to mark it more prominently.

The drawing and specifications are now in HRH's hands for transmission to Lisbon, and I have appended to the latter, in accordance with Dr Sutherland's letter of the 15th inst a memorandum taken from your paper, a copy of which I will transmit in a day or two.

ff177-78 Apr 2/61 to FN from Wm Bowman, 5 C. St. Thank you for your "notes" on the chaplaincy, in every word of which I concur. All depends on the good sense of the man and, if he wants that essential quality, and tact, we had better wait for better things. But perhaps he mt be indoctrinated with your views if put into communication with you. Almost any clergyman wd have to be educated for so special a work. The nurses must be separately handled and I shd think it unnecessary to give them much positive religious instruction. What I contemplated was rather the general cooperation and help of the chaplain in our work, his good feeling and support for our experiment and his sanction to all that is done, exhibited to all persons among whom our probs are thrown. An *able and judicious* clergyman wd no doubt be very useful - in elevating the tone and spirit of our nurses, but I am aware of the "per contra" possibilities.

ff179-80 Apr 27/61 to FN from A.J. Humbert 27 Fitzroy Sq. As I informed ou in my letter of the 23d inst I attached a memorandum in your name to the papers sent out to Lisbon with the drawings of the hospital. Subsequently to the date of your own paper (a copy of which I retain) very considerable alterations were made in the disposition and general arrangements of the building, esp with the view of obviating the objections referred to in that paper; it consequently become desirable that certain modifications shd be made in it.

I beg to enclose a copy of the memo sent out, and I trust that the alterations (almost w/o exception omissions) will meet with your approval.

Adverting to the portion of your letter of the 23 inst which refers to the excessive cost of the structure, I shd wish to state that, considering the great development it was thought necessary to give to certain parts, by having the small wards complete in themselves, by having double baths for boys and for girls &c &c I am not disposed to think there is any *extravagance* in the design--on the contrary it appears to me to be as simple as it cd be consistently with those arrs which were considered indispensable.

I have not made a careful estimate as to its cost. In this country it wd probably not cost less than £40,00 or (for 160 beds) at the rate of £250 per bed.

I have no knowledge of what the cost is likely to be in Lisbon==nor do I know what has been the cost of those five continental structures--at Bordeaux, the Lar. &c But I strongly suspect that they must have cost enormous sums of money.

In the Builder for instance of the 20 Sept 1856 I find that the Hosp of the "Clos St Lazare in Paris, of 600 beds (copying the principle of that at Bordeaux) cost, including the land, rather more than £560 per bed.

Permit me to take this opportunity of tendering my warmest and best thanks for the kindness and patience with which you have gone through the very rough plans illeg in the first instance and for the invaluable info I have derived from your experience in these matters.

ff181-87 Memorandum by Miss Nightingale upon the arrangements connected with the *Royal Hospital of re Children's Hosp* in Lisbon, handwritten by A.J. Humbert 27 April 1861, this is his copy of most of FN's memo to him, which was split, word for word.

f188-95 pen: part of a draft letter to unnamed recipient: Dec 24/60,  
continues in 45825 [to Humbert]

**f188**

*Lisbon Hospital* {beside text of f188 - left side of page}  
*Information wanted* {recto side of f188 begins here} **[16:526-31]**

I. *Site*

1. A description  
of the ground  
about the site,  
whether it be  
more or less  
built upon, or  
open, or laid  
out in gardens  
or the ventilation  
obstructed by  
higher ground.
2. Whether there  
are extensive views  
from it, and in  
what directions.
3. At what point  
or points there are  
easy means of  
entrance to the  
ground for sick.
4. A common plan  
of Lisbon shewing

the streets and  
houses, with the  
proposed site  
marked on it -  
would be a great  
help.

**f188v**

## II. *Nursing*

Will the ordinary  
system of Roman  
Catholic nursing  
viz. Sisters of Charity  
    {Male attendants  
    {Female "  
        under the "Sisters"

be adopted in  
this Hospital?

If so, "Communauté,"  
accommodation must  
be provided for the  
"Sisters" and Dormitories  
for the men.

## III. *Diseases*

**f189**

Some general idea  
must be obtained  
from the books of  
any Hospital in  
Lisbon what kinds  
& proportions of  
diseases & accidents  
there will be -

e.g. among the  
women are there  
but a very small  
proportion of  
Capital operations,  
or of accidents,  
and are ~~very large~~  
~~proportion of~~  
Fever cases admitted?

Is it intended  
to have a Midwifery  
ward -

Is it intended  
to admit Venereal  
cases? If so, they *must* be  
separate.

What is the

**f189v**

average annual  
number of  
*noisy* cases {male  
                  {female

Are there delirious  
fever cases, or is there  
any delirium tremens?

What is the  
average annual  
number of  
*offensive* cases           {male  
                                  {female  
requiring segregation,  
such as

Erysipelas  
Hospital Gangrene  
&c

What is the  
average annual number  
of Operations {male  
                  {female

Florence Nightingale  
London Dec 24/60

IV. *Soft* pure water (&  
a plentiful supply)  
is so essential to  
a Hospital that  
it would be well  
to have information  
about the Water  
supply & especially  
whether there any  
sulphates in it.

F.N.

V. Is the Hospital  
intended to be also  
a Medical School?

F.N.

**f190***Lisbon Hospital*

~~1. The wards should have  
a cubic capacity  
= about 1600 or 1700  
feet per bed, the length  
& breadth remaining  
the same as in the  
plan. This determines  
the height.~~

2. There is no sufficient  
accommodation for  
Nurses - One for 8  
sick is the number  
required in France.

    If there be Sisters  
of Charity, and if  
there be male  
attendants, as in  
France & Germany,  
this makes a difference  
in the kind of  
accommodation required.

    For each ward  
of 32 sick (men)

**f190v**

one Sister  
one Nurse  
two men attendants  
For 32 sick women  
one Sister  
two Nurses  
one man (attendant  
The Sisters, if they  
belong to a religious  
order, will always live  
in a "Communauté"  
building by themselves.  
Kitchen & sleeping  
room to be in this.  
The "Matron" then  
becomes the supérieure,  
living in the same.  
The "Nurses" rooms  
at the end of the  
wards are occupied  
by the Sisters in the  
day-time.

*Dortoirs* for the male  
& female attendants  
must also be provided.  
It would be desirable  
to have all these  
points known,  
before proceeding  
to criticize.



**f191**

~~3. Small wards  
to have windows  
on opposite sides,  
(as well as large  
wards) opening into the  
outer air & not into passages.~~

~~4. It is generally  
preferred now to  
transfer Operation  
Cases immediately  
to the large Surgical  
wards -- to have these  
on the ground floor,  
and consequently  
to have the operating  
Theatre also on  
the ground floor,  
in as central a  
position as possible  
to male & female  
\* wards -- one Theatre  
being enough.~~

~~5. It is generally  
preferred to have~~

\*A north light is  
preferable - and  
from only one large  
window or skylight.

~~small wards only  
for noisy  
and offensive cases,  
which require  
segregation in order  
not to harm others.~~

~~6. The Chapel should  
not project into the  
enclosed court.~~

~~7. 32 beds in a ward  
are preferable to  
30 -- require no  
more attendance --  
and prevent the  
four corner spaces  
from being lost.~~

~~— The fire-places  
should not be so  
near the ends. A  
window farther would be better.~~

**f191v**

Add Mss 45797

978

~~8. Some of the~~  
~~inside walls seem~~  
~~to be too thick~~

**f192***Lisbon Hospital*

1. The wards are perfect. They will be among the, (if not the very) finest wards in Europe.

**[16:527-]**

I only regret that adults are not to be intermingled with the children.

But one thing I would strongly urge. Let the age of admission be raised to 15 years - especially on the female side.

It is matter of universal Hospital experience that this intermingling of ages is essential

2. There seems a confusion of the idea of a Military Hospital with that of a Children's Hospital (in the plan)

**f192v**

The ideas ought to be the very reverse.

(a). Not one woman more than is absolutely essential ought to be in a *Military* Hospital.

Not one *man* more than is absolutely necessary ought to be in a *Children's*

Hospital. (b) In a Children's Hospital the Nursing Staff

(so far from {text resumes at f193 - below})

If the Female Quarters ought to be locked up in a Military Hospital,

{note beside text of f192v}

Add Mss 45797

980

certainly the men's  
ought to be in a  
Children's Hospital

Undoubtedly the best plan is for the whole of the women-attendants of each ward to sleep near their own ward - for the kitchen & Bath & other attendants (all women) to sleep near the Matron - & for the men's quarter to be quite separate.

But no information whatever has been afforded as to what the Staff (essentially quite different in a Child's form that of any other Hospital) is to be.

Where, for instance, are the "Sisters" & Nurses not attached *to the wards to eat?*

Lifts must be provided.

{note beside text of f192v}

requiring separate  
stair-case & all  
that, had better  
be as near their  
wards as possible

c. The W.C.s &  
Baths fitted for a  
Military are quite  
unfit for a Child's  
Hospital.

3. The only men  
who ought to sleep  
in a Child's  
Hospital are

1. Director

2. Resident Medl. Off.

(supposed to be men  
of weight & experience)

3. Porter

(who should be as far off the wards  
as possible).

4. Chaplain

(if this is conformable with

the usages of the clergy)

**f193v**

Sweep away  
the Steward - In  
so small a Hospl.,  
the Director can  
want nothing but  
a clerk, who should  
not sleep on the  
premises.

And the Cook  
and her assistant  
or two assistants  
must be females.

[This is not  
*may* but *must*.]

It is in these  
little things that  
I see the confusion  
of idea between a  
Mily. & a Child's  
Hospl.

In continental  
Hospitals, where  
men do far more

**f193** {picks up from "so far from"}

**f194**

2

of household work  
than in ours -  
the necessity of having as few men as possible is  
fully recognised  
as to *Children's*  
Hospitals.

Women must  
be in undisputed  
charge of a Child's  
Hospital - saving,  
of course, the  
Direction &  
Medical Service

4. In all Children's  
Hospls. abroad, the  
classification is

1. Medical
2. Surgical
3. Cutaneous

And in all Continent-  
al Hospls., the  
proportion of the  
Cutaneous is so large

**f194v**

that I would fain  
know *what it is*  
*expected to be*  
*at Lisbon*, before  
going farther.

It is a great  
pity that precise  
information &  
instructions were  
not afforded on  
all these points.

In no experience  
that I have, would  
the small wards  
here planned, be  
in proportion for  
the Cutaneous cases.

5. Day Rooms  
are not necessary.

In all Hospitals  
(in Children's Hospls.  
*much* more than

Add Mss 45797

984

in others,) the Patient



**f195**

must not stay a  
day longer ~~the~~ in  
Hospl. than is  
*absolutely* necessary.

Physical exercises,  
in & out of doors,  
are a part of its  
treatment, in all  
but acute cases.

Bathing also

Teaching also  
But secular as  
well as religions  
teaching should be  
conducted by the  
Chaplain in the  
Chapel - which  
should be contrived  
for this purpose -

It must never  
be forgotten that  
children can never  
be left alone for  
a moment and  
that you must

**f195v**

provide a separate staff  
for every room -  
I had almost  
said a nurse for  
every child.

6. Every Hospital  
is a bad moral  
atmosphere for  
a child. This  
must never be  
forgotten

7. Boys & girls  
may sit on  
opposite sides  
of the Chapel.  
This is the only  
place where they  
should meet.

8. Without knowing  
the proportion

Add Mss 45797

986

of cutaneous cases,

**[end 16:528]**

[memo continues in 45825 f92]

**f196-197** printed letterhead: pen: letter to unnamed recipient **[5:90]**

30 Old Burlington Street  
W.

April 28/61

My dear Sir

I venture to send  
you my paper on  
Hospital Statistics  
with some abstracts  
added at the end.

The Statistical  
Congress will send  
it officially to all  
the Hospitals.

There is no Form  
for operations in it

**f196v**

because I have not  
been able to satisfy  
myself with any.

I am going to  
send you three in  
M.S., two, for  
amputations and  
one for others.

And then I  
shall wait till  
your book comes  
out. Because then  
having before me

all the causes which  
influence the results  
of operations, I shall  
be better able to  
construct a Form  
which shall give  
us the greatest  
amount of information  
upon these.

**f197**

**[end]**

**f198-99:** printed letterhead: pen: letter to James Paget Esq.

30 Old Burlington Street  
W.

April 29/60

**[16:589]**

My dear Sir

I enclose you some  
papers with regard  
to the Winchester  
Infirmary.

Please return  
them to me as soon  
as possible.

Here is an  
indictment, to which  
the verdict must  
be "wilful murder".

Here are, in 9  
James Paget Esq

months, in a country  
Hospital. (of only  
100 Patients) and  
by no means the  
worst of its class -  
24 poor creatures  
brought together to  
run the gauntlet  
of their lives - through  
Erysipelas contracted  
in the Hospital -  
of whom 8 perish  
and 16 just escape

**f198v**

with life from this  
fatal building.

Depend upon it,  
other Hospitals, if  
as well enquired  
into, would give as  
disastrous or *more*  
disastrous results.

It is not the  
cubic space; but the  
ward construction  
(& other causes which  
make foul the ward  
air) which produces  
the result in *this* case.

We are trying to  
get this Hospital  
removed & rebuilt.  
And I think I have  
a fine handle in  
my hands with  
this Table.

F.N.

**f199**

**f199v**

**[end 16:589]**

**ff200-01:** pen: letter to James Paget [5:90-91]

30 Old Burlington St.

May 1 1861

My dear Sir [Sir James Paget]

St. Bartholomew's has the credit of having produced the first Statistical Report which is worth having. The Army Hospitals are now using similar forms, but they have not yet published any. No one can look at what you have done without seeing what a fund of information for future reduction has been collected. This is all important. The data, however, will have to be reduced by future Statisticians, to be useful.

The only weak point which strikes me is the Table

**f200v**

of operations.

It would be most desirable that an uniform Table should be adopted in all Hospitals for this purpose. The Army has one. But it is adapted only to war-wounds. A proper operation Table could only be drawn up after very careful enquiry as to the practice of different Hospitals, so as to include all the elements of

Age

Sex

Accident

Surgical Diseases

Habit of Body

Nature of Operation

After-accidents

&c &c

It would be well worth while

**f201**

to attempt such a form, on account of the great importance of the enquiries springing out of it.

Topinard's book shows what might be done in this direction in one or two points. But the *whole* result of Surgical practice should be reduced into elements for Tabulation - as we hope that Medical practice may be.

I have been shown an extensive tabulation by eminent physicians of results of treatment - in Paris of Phthisis - in London of Cholera And the results showed that hardly any two people treated the disease alike. And yet the Mortality was exactly the same.

Surgery being a more positive

**f201v**

Art than Medicine would no doubt give more satisfactory results. And it is worth while trying to obtain them.

Yours sincerely & gratefully  
Florence Nightingale  
James Paget Esq.

P.S. I have written this letter and its enclosures at different times, because I have been more than usually incapable - & before I had your kind note. Could you come in tomorrow (Thursday) between 2 and 4, and bring your list of the causes of death after operations? - It would be invaluable, coming from such an authority - for constructing a Form.

If this time does not suit you, let us try another.

F.N.

ff202-03 letter of J.S. Howson to FN

5 May 1861  
Liverpool

My dear Madam [Florence Nightingale]

I have had the pleasure of receiving a copy, doubtless from you, of your *Notes on Nursing for the Labouring Classes* and I thank you very much. I thank you almost more for allowing me to see the letter which you had written to W. Rathbone. Its contents are absolutely safe with me and in no danger of being misunderstood.

I think I just saw Miss Agnes Jones at Kaiserswerth. My impression is that she is afraid of being put into circumstances where she would not be able to show her true colours and that that force she has unfurled the Blue Flag instantly. Perhaps something she has heard may have alarmed her. I shall be truly glad if after some conversation with you, some training at St John's House and a little more experience, she turns out to be the person whom W. Rathbone is seeking. I hope to make her acquaintance and, as I know Mrs Ranyard and expect to be in London all the better part of June, this will not be difficult, if she is there then.

How it is an advantage to begin a good work under the orange flag. This will be enough to introduce what I take the liberty of enclosing [?] My hope is in such scattered experiments will produce experience. Others meanwhile are beginning to found training institutions. So I hope the fragments will draw together and grow into a system. With much [illeg]

very truly yours  
J.S. Howson

ff204-05 letter to FN from W. Bowman 5 Clifford St May 10 [1861]. Dear Miss Nightingale. There is no necessity I think for the poor man to be coming p as an outpatient. His knee is really well. He complains still of some pain in the foot for which there is nothing to show and I deem it unimportant. He does not seem at all a strong man. I do not myself see outpatients at K.C. Hosp but if he comes any Monday or Wednesday at 9 o'cl & goes up to his old ward I will see him.

I shall be very glad if, sometime, something can be arranged to associate St John's House with your Fund and name, but I fear there may be difficulties on both sides. I hope Miss Jones will go a little into this idea with you, if you will let her. Most truly yrs, W. Bowman.

ff206-07 letter Georgiana Moore, Minster Yard, Lincoln. (not the Rev Mother) 19 May 1861, re entering a hospital for training for herself & friend. Madam, I trust the subject of this letter will be a sufficient apology for intruding upon you. I have for some time been anxious to enter a hospital a training nurse and I have applied to Mrs Wardroper at St Thomas' Hospital, but from her last letter to me, it seems very unlikely that she can receive me, at least for the ensuing election in June. Asks if any place other than St Thomas where cd be received, with a friend who is as anxious as myself to find some work in the world wh may be useful throughout the whole of our future life.

I have been more anxious than ever to become a good nurse since I studied your *Notes on Nursing*.



May I request your advice for my friend and myself? Can you tell us of some establishment for training nurses, where if poss we cd go on a trial for 3 or 6 months, for we cannot tell till we have tried, whether we can go through it and I think Mrs Wardroper is disposed to think that we shd not succeed because our health is not quite *robust*. I say this because we have both plenty of energy and vigour but yet could not be said to have strong health.

I shd scarcely have liked to trouble you with this letter but I cd not feel but what you would willingly give your advice and I feel as if I cd not live another week without having some decided object in life and some opportunity of being useful, the short time we have to live in this world.

**f208** James Paget to FN ink

1 Harewood Place  
Hanover Square  
June 6.1861

My dear Madam

I am very much obliged  
to you for sending me the  
report, which I dare say  
I might call yours without  
being in great error. No  
doubt, I shall thank you  
still more when I shall have  
read it, or the greater part  
of it; but work and some  
country journeys have used

208v

up my time since I received  
it. Nevertheless, let me thank  
you and remain, my dear  
Madam, always sincerely yours

James Paget  
Miss Nightingale

no f209

ff210-11 letter 9 June 1861 to FN from illeg, Army and Navy Club, Re Invalid depot under my command at Yarmouth will shortly be broken up in order that the bldg may be restored to the Admiralty and that the hosp at Woolwich is to be reorg, I trust I shall not be deemed trespassing too much on your former kindness in asking permission to quote (privately) that passage of your letter of the 21 Feb in wh you did me the honor to express yourself approvingly of the Yarmouth Hosp. As I feel assured that any favourable opinion of yours in such matters will be highly estimated and may be most beneficial to me in obtaining the governorship of either Woolwich or same future similar appt. [ref to FN letter]

ff212-13 from Army and Navy Club sane person. June 11 1861. When I took the liberty of addressing you yesterday I confess I never anticipated such a kind reply, for although I was sure you wd not be offended at my stating openly my reasons for making such a request, I still felt considerable delicacy in doing so, which was only overruled by the fact of my being entirely dependent upon professional employment, and my health having suffered so much in China as to present my continuing he more active duties of the Army. Your most kind and considerate letter was therefore a get relief to my mind, and I have again to thank you most sincerely. I need scarcely assure you that every care will be and has been taken by me to prevent any public allusion to your letters, which I have always considered private, and I have only been shown to one or two of my very near friends or relations who I am sure would not compromise either the writer or myself. I take this opportunity to ...you a

copy of a letter which I had permission to do from General Bloomfield who is the only officer who ever interested himself in the Yarmouth Convalescent Est with any efficient interest. My object in doing so is simply to show you that my efforts did not appear to be overlooked by an officer of rank whom I had never met before or since And I think it wd be satisfactory to yourself to know this. Shd your kind rec meet with the approval of the committee, I feel that the best way of evincing my gratitude will be to use my endeavour to promote the ..of the est. Signature illeg

ff214-15 26/7/61 to Dear Sir from W.I. Bloomfield Maj Gen from Dublin to previous writer. when commandant at camp at Colchester, visited Yarmouth Norfolk Inst 2 years ago. Re conv hosp under your charge.

ff216-17 to FN from Maria Fischer of Denmark re a course she wants to take in London and?

ff218-19 22nd June 1861 re a pamphlet signed by Howson

ff220-22 missing letter [June 1861 arch] My dear Madam, I fear I have failed adequately to impress you with the exhausted and suffering state Miss N is in. In the excitement of the moment she no doubt appeared to you as she has done to others quite capable of exertion, but I can assure you that in spite of the assurance which you received from and her word that ...she was for the .... charge of answering the innumerable applicants who while strongly urging her to spare herself in all other matters each strongly urges some exertion for his own special object. By?

ff223-24 signed letter from Alex Tulloch, 163 Eaton Sq 3 July 1861 thanking for report. Many thanks for the interesting volume you have sent me, with which though your name is not connected officially, you have I entertain no doubt, had much to do.

How glad I shd have been, quarter of a century ago, when I just began to comment on the defects of the soldiers accommodation, to have had such a volume to support me, instead of being obliged to do battle with the Ordnance Dept of that day who, like some of the philosophers of old, were disposed to maintain that "whatever is, is right."

When I leave the War Office, it will be a great satisf to know that such a volume is on record, as I am sure it will effectually prevent matters from ever going back again to the condition in which I originally found them.

Trusting that you may long be enabled to continue the exertions you have made for the welfare of the soldier and with Lady Tulloch's best regards, I am your always, Alex M Tulloch

f225 pencil note to FN [3 July 1864] I don't think Genl Tulloch has told you half how pleased he is with your book. I have not known him think so much of any book for a long time. Please send me word how you are. E.T.

f227 letter to FN from F. Sandford re International Exhibition, at end

f228v FN note on letter from International Exhibition 1862  
from Secretary F. Sandford

Mr. Sanford  
asked me officially  
to belong to the said  
Committee of Ladies. I  
answered privately that  
I could not indoctrinate  
all these fools. but that I  
would do for him what I have  
done for every fool for the last 3 years  
viz. look over & criticize their inventions.  
He answers this (rather beside the mark)  
What shall I do? They seem to me to  
want my name & not my work.

ff229-30 notes by no name to FN; The illeg wd doubtless be glad of your work,  
but at all counts of your name. Now I have answered many many applications  
from local insts by saying you really objected to giving the name w/o the  
work or at least cognizance of others' work. This is that case, with the  
additional objection that from its notoriety more strong minded women will be  
anxious to meddle, and will be less inclined to be illeg by your recs so that  
your authority will very probably be ultimately quoted or at least made  
available to sanctions selected you wd distinctly disapprove. It is their  
source of arrogance I dread for you, much more than the positive work wh wd  
be demanded of you. I think you must decline unless with a very "limited  
liability" [but not clear what for]

ff231 to FN July 9 1861 from Eliza Blakey, Surrey. Takes liberty of  
addressing you, to use influence on my behalf....last work I did was some  
white embroidery for Orphan Home.

**f234** note of FN, follows card of Infant Orphan Asylum, Wanstead and letter

This woman is  
only a regular beggar.  
She has been to me many  
times. I wonder if the  
"Infant Orphan Asylum" & other  
Institutions know how extensively  
their cards are used "for begging  
purposes."

ff235-36 July 11/61 to FN from George Coulcher, Wattisfield Rectory, by  
Scole, Suffolk, someone asking a favour, a stranger, a parishioner was in  
hosp, his wife nurse at Flushing at St Sebastian Paris after Waterloo, in her  
hosp, asks money for her

**f237** note with nothing else

I have no  
objection to give  
this old woman something  
if you will do it, please  
though I never can understand  
why I am to serve every body  
& nobody is to serve me.

ff238-39 letter to FN from J. Jebb re 1st year, 22 July 1861 of council. The committee of the Council have expressed their opinion that the results of the first year's trial has been satisfactory and I trust you consider it so. We have gained a little experience as to the probably number of nurses who can be trained at the expense of the fund, say 15 annually, at an expense of about £1000. When in full working order and with more economical arrs it mt be anticipated that as many as 25 mt be trained by devoting the whole income. The qu I am anxious to submit to your better judgment is, whether having regard to the great importance of extending as widely as poss the benefits to be derived from a superior system of attendance and nursing in hosps and generally throughout the length an breadth of the land, it wd not be advisable to adopt the pr applicable to train schoolmaster, each of whom is educated with the distinct object of *training others*.

It is very well for St T. Hosp to engage the services of N nurses who have been under instr for a year, if it may be regarded in the light of another year's training, but what is to become of them after that time?

It is in the large public hosps of London, Liverpool, Manchester and in counties where their superior attainments wd be of the greatest benefit, but in order to obtain this advantage *they must not be in a subordinate position there*. A certificated nurse entering a large hosp est and taking rank only acc to seniority, among a large staff who had enjoyed their privileges and prejudices for many years, wd have an indifferent chance of peace or usefulness. Nor wd it appear reasonable to expect she shd be placed at once in a more commanding position unless her attainments were backed up by her having been *originally in a higher social position than the ordinary run of nurses*.

It is on such considerations as these that I am led to the concl that it is an object to make such arrs for the N nurses during their training and in the endeavour to secure their future prospects as will be likely to bring into the field a higher class of persons than those who usually apply.

We have a right to hope for persons in a higher station of life presenting themselves from higher motives than mere pecuniary considerations, but there is reason to fear that it may not be *expected* as a permanent provision.

ff240-42 memo re St Thomas' Hosp and N Fund, signed J. Jebb, re charges

f243-44 letter 31st July 1861 to FN on letterhead from Glasgow, signed David Smith. I have yours of the 29th with your very valuable gift of your work on Nursing and three most interesting reports. Accept of my best thanks. There are suggestions which I hope to make useful not only in our hospital, but also in other insts, where I am a director, such as the City Fever Home, which has on an average 1000 indoor poor, the Boys Home of Refuge which has 320 (under Palmerston's act) the Reformatory School 190 (under Dunlop Act) and the Asylum for the Blind which as from 40 to 50 inmates, besides 100 day workers, male and female. It wd be folly in one to enter into any controversy with a lady so thoroughly versed in hosp constr. Had we ground and means, a close approximation to your own suggestions mt have been made. We have done the best we cd with the means at our disposal. It was the desire of the directors to retain the lofty and airy site, with the former portion of the hosp occupied, to combine unity of mgt with convenient proximity to the mass of the friends of patients and also to retain their position near to the two great medical schools of Glasgow. You will see some of these matters adverted to in Dr McGhie's pamphlet. A suitable site is as difficult to be had in Glasgow as in London. Govt has been looking for a site for New barracks for 4 or 5 years in this vicinity and has not found one yet. Our present barracks esp for hosp acc is most defective. Neither appear to be managed more illeg. I was down at dinner with the late lamented duke of Richmond when he was here commanding the Royal Sussex Militia, about 18 months ago, and I think the squares were then light lighted with old oil lamps. The good old duke had only two rooms for himself.

I shall call the attention of our supt to the position of the infant beds in the new house.

I read with deep interest about 30 pages of your work on nursing. I shall ask my colleagues tomorrow at our weekly? meeting to authorize procuring a supply of the book for the instr of our nurses.

My attn has been turned to a kindred subject for many years, that of the necessity for a building act for al large towns. I believe that we wd have fewer demands for extended hosp acc if the houses of our pop were better regulated. Progress however is also making in this direction. I was the originator and chairman for 4 years, while I was in the city magistracy of such a com which has effected a considerable amount of good, but much yet remains to be done. I send you a Glasgow paper with a sketch of my remarks on this subject.

f245 card of David & John Smith, Wholesale Boot and Shoe Merchants and Manufacturers, Glasgow with note: re New surgical hospital of Glasgow Royal Infirmary

**f246** note from 49 Up Brook St.

49 Up. Brook St.

Aug 2

6 p.m.

Dear Miss Nightingale

All is over!

Poor Lord Herbert  
breathed his last  
about 11 this mg  
half an hour after  
I got there.

He had a convulsion  
in the night & was  
thought to be sinking  
then but rallied  
after & was quite

**f246v**

sensible-took leave  
of them all-quite  
aware of his ap-  
proaching end.

Except at the  
last he suffered  
no pain--when  
I asked him, he  
then said he had  
pain in the  
chest--the death  
pang--but it

**f247**

did not last &  
he passed away  
quite quietly

A telegram  
from Ly Herbert  
requesting me  
to acquaint you  
awaited my return  
& I lost no time.  
Pray let me hear

how you are in  
a day or two  
yrs sincerely  
C.J.B. Williams



**ff248-49** letter of Samuel Smith to Maria Fisher 8 Aug 1861, FN asked him to communicate to her re hers of 21 ult, to contact Kai and St John's House

**f250-51** signed letter from Chermside to FN

Salisbury

Wilton

August 10

My dear Miss Nightingale

Your heart will  
need neither explanation  
nor apology for this  
note.

I may have occasion  
to pay publicly a  
poor poor tribute  
to that choicest

v

soul among God's  
workmen, gone to  
work good, better,  
somewhere else in  
the Kingdom.

I believe you are  
setting down, at his  
dearest wife's request,  
some particulars of  
what God let him  
do. She sanctions  
my making petition  
for a duplicate or

**f251**

abridgment of it, which  
may secure beyond  
dispute the accuracy  
and comprehensiveness  
of what I may find  
it possible to say.

No one can tell me  
exactly what you  
can--if your health,  
which God mend! allow  
of the exertion.

Only, I am compelled  
to say that the time

**f251v**

to the day of publication  
is so short, that any  
help you vouchsafe  
me  
must be speedy.

Ah! with what stroke  
we are smitten; but  
God is good. He gives  
her a wondrous force  
of calm in her desolation.

Yours with reverent affection.  
R.S.C. Chermside

**ff252-53** 11 August 1861, letter to FN from R.D. Lyons, Dublin re reading her paper at Dublin, My dear Madam. It will give me extreme pleasure to read your paper at our approaching meeting of the Social Science congress. You do me but justice in saying that I appreciated and admired Lord Herbert. So much did I value his labors as they bore on my own profession and through it therefore its highest reachings, on humanity that I came to honour him easily indeed to forfeit my own position and purpose here & become one of his illeg. One such man's work is worth more than centuries of the pitiful efforts of our illeg medical corporations. Little did poor Lord Herbert think when speaking to me so feelingly about you this time two years, that his own call would have been so premature. England has had no such loss this quarter of a century. Illeg work was all done.

I have often desired to mention to you the particulars of a most singular, I believe, unique case. Allow me to do so now in briefest terms. It is that of a gentleman who for

five years laboured under the most aggravated symptoms and *physical signs* of advanced heart disease as determined by the Faculty here (myself included) and elsewhere. The physical and *moral* suffering and depression were extreme. He is now and has been the last five years in the enjoyment of perfect health and all signs and symptoms of heart disease have so completely disappeared that his life has been illeg for insurance (once in my report) in two companies on different occasions. Of the conclusions to be drawn from one such can however complete and satisfactory in itself I should say nothing to one of your clear mind.

**ff254-57** Signed letter to FN by Rev R.S.C. Chermside dated 15 August 1861, from Wilton, claims closeness with SH, and concern to save his name, distress at newspaper reports

ff258- letter to FN from Jebb, The Elms, Parsons Green, Fulham 22nd August [1861] Mr Caster tells me it is impossible to get a illeg either of the Council or N Committee for I cannot ...I fear therefore our proposition must "remain over"for a time. May recollection is that the Committee....£1000 a year, .. How I wish you could visit Woking. It has now been

**ff263-65** corr re Herbert Memorial Fund

f265 receipt from Herbert Memorial Fund to FN for £20 for convalescent hospital (option of statue also, not taken)

f266 receipt for £10 also for hospital and also option for statue given

f267 printed notice of Herbert Memorial Fund, refers to public meeting, chaired by Rt Hon T.H.S. Estcourt MP

mayor of Salisbury, sec C.W. Everett

proposed by T. Baring, MP, sec General Buckley

proposed Ld Bishop of Salisbury, sec Alfred Seymour

proposed Ven Archdeacon Hony, sec George Eyre,

prop Wm Ewart, sec Rev Prebend Lowther

prop Danby Seymour, sec Rev Prebend Fane

issued 25 Sept 1861

2 aims of statue in Salisbury and conv home

**ff268**-75 hand copy of FN letter to "B" dated Sept 1861; too difficult to read to use; the following is quite uncertain,

There are 3 whom I am  
inclined to put together,  
Cavour, S. Herbert & J [?]  
all 3 were engaged in great  
administrative reforms.  
without a particle of per-  
-sonal feeling-

Cavour & S.H. were  
born within a few months of  
each other. They died  
within 2 months of each  
other-in fact on June 7  
I heard of Cavour's death  
& Sidney Herbert's intended  
resignation in the same  
letter from S.H.--although  
I put Cavour unreasonably  
the first-indeed I believe

**v**

him to be alone of his cen-  
tury & of the (civilized)  
world-I compare  
no one with him-but  
I think myself ye only per-  
son now living capable  
of approaching eciating him & un-  
-derstanding him-I ask  
myself of all the thousands  
who read & deplore his  
death on that June 7, is  
there one who has lived  
such a life that he was  
capable of, of deploring  
him-yet *all might*  
be

**f269**

What couldn't then not  
watch one hour with me  
I often say sadly to my-  
self, when I see no one  
capable of attending seri-  
ously to an administrative  
question "You are illeg."

It ... S.H. and Cavour it seems to me that I ... think what distinguished  
all 3 in was a ...practical over the ideal .

He was nothing as an administrator or an organizer. When I came from ye

Crimea and even after he had actually begun his famous Report on the Sanitary State of the Army he was totally .....Since I began in England (i.e. but including ye Crimea) I have saved 750 lives every year and made ...army's life worth living. Now this is all at an end. But what was I going to say ...to ....I can only say that not one person who has ever lived with me has ever been influenced one iota by my life, i.e. by my mode of living, ney more everyone has been unconscious not only of my influence but even of what thought about my purposes. And even if I expressed it has manifested not only surprise but incredulity. Mme Mohl once said of me that I "never could take my own part." I believe this is true of many and therefore I am now "taking the part" of many and many still unborn I hope in saying this. Shew this letter to Papa-he is so candid and so generous I believe he will like to see it.

I find people laboring under such strange ...mistakes about me even those who will be supposed to know ...I thought (mercifully for you are taking my B but also for others) I ought to tell one of my experience for as I say "unconscious influence" has my life

[this is dreadful, not finished]

**f272**

I have saved 750 lives  
every year  
and made the whole of the Army's life  
worth living--now it is all at an end  
But what was I going  
to say of myself? What  
was my practical life  
object going into this  
at all? Merely that I  
am quite certain I am  
possessed of no peculiar  
talent whatsoever, that  
what I did anybody  
could have done--

**f272v**

I am certain that I  
am rather slow of perception  
and observation  
that I have only an  
average power of acquiring  
from others my experience  
and an only average  
power of administration.  
The 3 things which illeg  
what I have done are  
1. I put 2 x 2 together-  
(& this I see no one else do)  
Of all the people who  
went out to the Crimea  
who came back with

**f273**

just as much idea of  
organization of anything  
as of administration of  
anything Instructed [?]

Excepting myself  
Sir John McNeill & Dr  
Sutherland  
2 I have no persona  
lity. I cannot even re  
member in my life being  
guided in any decision  
(to the least degree) by  
any personal taste or feeling-

3. I have clear  
will. I say a clear  
will rather than a

**f274**

Much is said about  
"unconscious influence"  
I can only say that  
*not one* person who has  
ever lived with me  
has ever been influenced  
one iota by my life  
i.e. by my mode of  
living--nay more  
everyone has been  
"unconscious" not only  
of my influence, but  
even of what *I* thought  
about my purposes.

**f274v**

& even if I expressed it  
has manifested not  
any surprise but  
incredulity-

Mme Mohl once said  
of me that I "never  
could take my own part"  
I believe this is true  
of many & therefore I  
am now "taking the  
part" of many (& many  
still unborn I hope)  
in saying this.

**f275**

shew this  
letter to Papa--he is  
so candid & so generous,  
I believe he will like  
to see it-

I find people  
labouring under  
such strange & hurt  
ful mistakes about  
me, even those who  
will be supposed to  
know the best, that

**v**

I thought (principally  
for your own taking my B  
but also for others)  
I ought to tell one  
of my own experiences,  
for, as I say, "uncon  
scious influence"  
has been my life exercised  
on none, *not*  
even the nearest.  
(Signed) F.N.  
September 1861