

Letters and short articles by Nightingale published in newspapers, *The Times*, *Daily News*, *The Lancet*, *Leeds Mercury*, *Daily Mercury*, *Social Notes*, arranged chronologically by date of publication

### 1855

Letter to the mother of John Cope, Wellcome Ms 5484 f18, clipping from the *Derby Mercury*

Barrack Hospital  
Scutari

12 April 1855

I am very sorry to have to communicate to you the illness of your poor son, Private John Cope, 95th Regiment, No. 2884. He was admitted here about ten days ago suffering from diarrhea. He was immediately attended to by surgeons, by one of my nurses and myself. He was fed in small quantities and frequently with port wine and arrowroot. He wished very much to have a letter written to you, and two or three times I went to him for the purpose, but he was always too weak and put it off, and once he wandered and said it was done. He often murmured, "dear, dear mother!" and tried to say many things to you--that he was well cared for and wanted for nothing--that he had no wish for anything. I sent for the chaplain, who came twice, and both times he was quite sensible and prayed fervently, and said he was quite happy in mind and could follow all that was said. He spoke little after this, and sank rapidly and died at 2 o'clock on the morning of Easter Sunday, quite quietly and without pain, in the full hope of a resurrection with Him who rose again on that day.

I remain with true sympathy for your grief....

P.S. I would have sent you something of his, but he left nothing.

"Letter from Miss Nightingale" to widow of soldier after his death. FN letter in *Times* 29 September 1855, *Boston Guardian*, *Sydney Empire*, *Colonial Times* [14:216]

Scutari BH Aug 18, "Letter from Miss Nightingale." Scutari, Barrack Hospital, August 18

Dear Mrs --I very much regret to be obliged to inform you that your husband [blanked out] of the Artillery, was brought in here sick of diarrhea, with symptoms of fever, on the 11th of August from the Crimea.

He asked me for a religious book, and I gave him the enclosed. He told me afterwards that he liked it very much, and so I send it to you, with another which he was already reading, a New Testament, and a letter of yours which was under his pillow, and his purse, containing £1.1.

He was taken worse on the 13th and became delirious. He was most carefully attended by two doctors, by the chaplain, by myself and by a kind and skillful nurse. He was very grateful and good, but alas! nothing could save him and he died at 11 o'clock

the same night. How sorry I am to tell you this bad news I cannot say.

From the little I saw of your husband I should say that his was a heart turned to God, and accepted by Him. Let us hope that what is your loss is his gain. He often spoke of you. Believe me,  
yours with true sympathy  
Florence Nightingale

10 March 1855 *The Times* 7E "The Hospitals at Scutari" [14:216]  
Miss Nightingale presents her compliments to the editor of the *Times* and begs that he will allow her to acknowledge in its columns a few of the presents from the benevolent which she has received. The greater number have been sent anonymously or referred to in letters which it is not possible to connect with letters received months previously. Messrs Cuthbert have announced 68 tons of goods by the Harlequin, not yet arrived, and goods are invoiced by the Croesus, Karnac, Lebanon, Chester, Snowdon, Hollander, Amity, Stately, etc.--vessels not yet in the harbour of Constantinople. [list follows]

29 September 1855 *The Times* 7D "Letter from Miss Nightingale"  
also in the Boston Guardian, The Observer. Hobarton Mercury Tas  
Scutari

Barrack Hospital  
18 August [1855]

Dear Mrs [blanked out] I very much regret to be obliged to inform you that your husband [blanked out] of the Artillery, was brought in here sick of diarrhea, with symptoms of fever, on the 11th of August from the Crimea.

He asked me for a religious book, and I gave him the enclosed. He told me afterwards that he liked it very much, and so I send it to you, with another which he was already reading, a New Testament, and a letter of yours which was under his pillow, and his purse, containing £1.1.

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From the little I saw of your husband I should say that his was a heart turned to God, and accepted by Him. Let us hope that what is your loss is his gain. He often spoke of you. Believe me,  
yours with true sympathy  
Florence Nightingale

## 1856

[Nightingale letter to Elizabeth Herbert, *New York Times* 2D  
Scutari Barrack Hospital Jan 6 1856

Dear Mrs Herbert: In answer to your letter (which followed me to

the Crimea and back to Scutari) proposing to me undertaking of a training school for nurses, I will first beg to say that it is impossible for me to express what I have felt in regard to the sympathy and confidence shewn to me by the originators and supporters of this scheme. Exposed as I am to be misinterpreted and misunderstood, in a field of action in which the work is new, complicated and distinct from many who sit in judgment upon it-- it is, indeed, an abiding support to have such sympathy and such appreciation brought home to me in the midst of labor and difficulties all but overpowering. I must add, however, that my present work is such as I would never desert for any other, so long as I see room to believe that what I may do here is unfinished. May I then beg you to express to the Committee that I accept their proposal, providing that I may do so on their understanding of this great uncertainty, as to when it will be possible for me to carry it out.

Believe me to be yours very truly  
Florence Nightingale

25 January 1856 *The Times* 8B "The Nightingale Fund" Oxford meeting, SH spoke, read FN letter (as in 2 February)

2 February 1856 *The Times* 12F "The Nightingale Fund" With a report of the Nightingale Committee to the public, Nightingale's letter to Sidney Herbert

Scutari Barrack Hospital, Jan 6 1856

Dear Mr Herbert, In answer to your letter (which followed me to the Crimea, and back to Scutari) proposes to me the undertaking of a Training School for Nurses, will first beg to say that it is impossible to me to express what I have felt in regard to the sympathy and the confidence shown to me by the originators and supporters of the scheme. Exposed as I am to be misinterpreted and misunderstood, in a field of action in which the work is new, complicated, distant from many who sit in judgment upon it, it is indeed an abiding support to have such sympathy and such appreciation brought home to me in the midst of labour and difficulties all but overpowering.

I must add, however, that my present work is such I would never desert for any other, so long as I see room to believe that what I may do here is unfinished.

May I then, beg you to express to the committee that I accept their proposal, providing I may do so on their understanding of the great uncertainty as to what it will be possible to me to carry it out?

I beg to name the following to act as my Council:  
Lord Ellesmere, Colonel Jebb, Sir James Clark, Mr Bowman, The Dean of Hereford, Sir John M'Neill, Dr Bence Jones.

With regard to the general committee, I thank my friends for the offer of making of making any additions to it which might suggest, but I am perfectly satisfied with it as it stands.

Believe me to be, yours very truly,  
Florence Nightingale

21 March 1856 *The Times* "Turkey" 7C M Baudens, inspector general left for the Crimea, with a letter from FN to Marshal Pelissier which offers port wine, lime jice, beef tea and bedding for the French hospitals in the Crimea

1 April 1856 *The Times* 12F "Miss Nightingale and Soldier's Widows"  
Barrack Hospital  
5 March [1856]

Dear Mrs Lawreance [widow of Private William Lawreance]

I was exceedingly grieved to receive your letter, because I have only sad news to give you in return. Alas! in the terrible time which we had here last year, when we lost from seventy to eighty men per day in these hospitals alone, many widows have had to suffer like you, and your husband was, I regret to say, among the number. He died in this hospital 20 February 1855, just at the time when our mortality reached its height, of fever and dysentery, and on that day we buried eighty men.

In order that I might be sure that there was no mistake of name, and that there were not two men of the same name, I wrote up to the colonel of his regiment, who confirms the sad news in the note I enclose, and though he is mistaken in the precise date of your husband's death, there is no mistake alas! in the fact.

I wished to get this reply before I wrote to you.

Your husband's balance due to him was £1.2.4½, which was remitted home to the secretary of war 25 September 1855, from whom you can have it on application.

As you were not aware of being a widow, you are, of course, not in receipt of any allowance as a widow; you should therefore make application to Lieutenant Colonel Lefroy, R.A., hon. secretary, Patriotic Fund....I enclose the necessary papers for you to fill up. Your colonel's letter will be sufficient proof of your husband's death. I enclose it for that purpose.

You will state all particulars about your children. Your minister will help you to fill it up.

I am very sorry for you and your trouble. Should you have any difficulty about the Patriotic Fund, you may make use of this letter, which will be sufficient evidence for you to produce of your being a widow.

With sincere sympathy for your great loss, I remain  
yours truly  
Florence Nightingale

28 May 1856 *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle* 2.

"Letter by Miss Nightingale. Miss Halliday, of Manchester, has received the following letter from Florence Nightingale: Castle Hospital, Balaklava, Nov. 22. You have my best thanks for your very kind offer of again assisting in the supply of the wants of

the soldiers. Of other articles there is now such a sufficient supply that the only things which it would be now of use to send are the following: stationery of all kinds, threads, cottons, tapes, buttons, the small 'diamond' size of Testaments and small Prayer-books, this size being best adapted for the space the soldier has at disposal; books of travels, biographies, 'Constable's Miscellany,' 'Household Words.' Of sermons and tracts and of novels we have an overabundant supply. I beg also to thank you for your kind inquiries after my health, which is better than it has been. I remain, dear Madam, yours very truly, Florence Nightingale."

29 August 1856 *The Times* 8D "Miss Nightingale" Reprinted in the *Daily News* and, 17 September 1856 *Toronto Globe* 2

23 August [1856]

My dear Friends

I wish it were in my power to tell you what was in my heart when I received your letter; your welcome home, your sympathy with what has been passing while I have been absent, have touched me more than I can tell in words.

My dear friends, the things that are deepest in our hearts are perhaps what it is most difficult to us to express.

"She hath done what she could." These words I inscribed on the tomb of one of my best helpers, whom I left in the graveyard at Scutari. It has been my endeavour, in the sight of God, to do as she has done. I will not speak of reward, when permitted to do our country's work. It is what we live for. But I may say that to receive sympathy from affectionate hearts like yours is the greatest support, the greatest gratification, that it is possible for me to receive from man.

I thank you all, the 1800, with grateful, tender affection, and I should have written before to do so, were not the business which my return has not ended, almost more than I can manage.

Pray believe me, my dear friends,  
yours faithfully and gratefully  
Florence Nightingale

## 1857

6 November 1857 *The Times* 7F "Compliment to Miss Nightingale"  
[Regarding a case of cutlery, manufactured expressly for presentation to Florence Nightingale by the workingmen, composing the Crimean Monument Committee as a mark of their esteem for her noble and unsolicited subscription and sympathy in aid of their monument to be erected in Sheffield, AD 1857]

I am exceedingly sorry to have allowed your letter to remain so long unanswered, but my occupations have of late been so pressing that it has been unavoidable. The proposal which your letter contains is peculiarly gratifying to me as coming from a place connected with which I have associations that will always be dear to me, and I should at once frankly accept the offered

kindness if I could secure one point, which would be essential to my comfort in so doing, viz., that the amount of subscription should be fixed on a scale which could not possibly become burdensome to anyone. It is not for me to dictate, but I shall be greatly obliged to you, if possible, to press this point, and to assure my friends that it is not a splendid specimen of what I already know Sheffield can accomplish that would be gratifying to me, but rarely a token and the simpler the better of goodwill and sympathy from a body in whose welfare I shall always feel an especial interest. So strong was my feeling on this point that my first impulse on receiving the proposal was to request that those who had this kind thought would content themselves by simply appending their names to a testimony of good will and could this be so, I should be more than satisfied. But this I must leave for other to decide.

Florence Nightingale

### 1858

28 January 1858, *Daily News*, also in *Morning Chronicle*, reprinted 22 May 1858 6 *Adelaide Observer*

London 28 January 1858

Your words of affectionate sympathy, and the expression of feeling from the gentlemen colonists of South Australia, which you are so kind as to convey to us, have come home to the hearts of my fellow workers and myself. We have read your memorial with grateful pleasure in having been thus remembered by you. If we have been permitted a little to labour in God's work, we may not call your kind words our 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 we will say, your words shall cheer us on while life lasts, in doing such work as may be yet permitted to us. Since the defence of our trenches before Sebastopol by our countrymen, you have heard of the defence, as heroic and as suffering of Lucknow. The first I saw, of the second we have every particular. There is nothing in Homer more heroic than these deeds. Well may we be proud of our race. The country you live in, gentlemen, is indeed part of our well-beloved country and home. England is one wherever her people dwell. That your hearts are with us in our struggle, and will be with us always, we know with a gratitude which will not pass away.

We can do no more for those who have suffered and 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 and wise management.

God bless you all, we say with all our hearts. And that progress and happiness in all that is good and true may await the colonists of South Australia is the fervent prayer of,

their obliged and grateful servant  
(signed) Florence Nightingale  
To the Colonists of South Australia

30 March 1858 *The Times* 12B "The Nightingale Fund" [After a meeting of the council regarding her fund]

30 Old Burlington St., March 23 [1858]

Dear Mr Herbert, I have been for some time hesitating as to the course I ought to take With regard to the large fund which is called by my Name, and which was generously placed in my hands for the purpose of being applied to a most useful and beneficent object.

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

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

But I strongly feel that its realization ought not to be indefinitely postponed, for a large sum intended for a benevolent purpose to be allowed to lie useless, because I am incapacitated by illness from undertaking its application.

I must therefore, under these circumstances, ask you and the council to consider in what way the objects contemplated by the contributors may now best be effected.

I remain, dear Mr Herbert,  
must faithfully and gratefully yours,  
Florence Nightingale  
The Right Hon Sidney Herbert, M.P.

22 July 1858 *Daily News*

Sir, The Royal Victoria Hospital, Netley, has gone through another phase of its existence. It appears from a Blue Book, which has just been laid before Parliament, that, from its origin, this unfortunate structure has been subject to every manner of attack, and that it is extremely doubtful, even now, whether it ought to be proceeded with. It appears to have been originally intended for an invalid depot. And as invalids generally arrive in ships, and must be got out of them somehow, the consideration of where they could best be landed appears to have been the one which determined the choice of the position of the hospital. Nobody seems to have thought of this, viz., that besides getting the sick man on shore, it was necessary to construct a suitable building for him in a climate where he was likely to recover. No sooner were the plans published than this

mistake was exposed, even before a stone of the foundations was laid. Contracts were, nevertheless, entered into, and the building made progress until about a year a half ago, when the medical officers of one of our metropolitan hospitals stepped forward on public grounds, and, treating the building as if it really were intended to fulfill the purposes of a hospital for sick, pointed out clearly and conclusively that for such a purpose it was wholly unadapted.

Government, finding that such remonstrance could not be neglected, referred the whole matter to a committee, and this committee, apparently considering the objections as applicable to the original design of the building--viz., an invalid depot, proceeded to make certain alterations in the plans with a view of meeting the objections. But this was not till the whole building was five feet above the ground.

Parliament was, however, not satisfied with this proceeding, and in the meanwhile the Royal Commission upon the Sanitary State of the Army had inquired into the whole question of army hospitals, and after accumulating the largest and most valuable collection of facts about hospitals on record, they arrived at a conclusion which condemned *in toto* the construction of the Royal Victoria Hospital at Netley, at least as a hospital for sick. The earliest objections against the site of Netley Hospital were those made before the commission in the evidence of Dr Gibson, deputy inspector general at Aldershot, who says (Q. 9141) "That there is wet ground upon both sides of the site--that Southampton is not a good climate for the classes of cases to be sent to Netley, and that invalids from the East Indies, Ceylon and the Mauritius and all our tropical possessions, want a dry, warm, bracing climate."

Pity that no one connected with the original choice of the site appears to have known this.

It is a conclusion at which anybody who knew the banks of the Southampton Waters might have arrived.

Government, not knowing what to do in the case, referred the matter to a commission for improving barracks and hospitals, of which Mr Sidney Herbert was the chairman. And these gentlemen, acting as it appears on the Report of the Royal Commission, sent to the secretary of state for war a report, in which they state that the climate and site would not be suitable for the majority of invalids, and that the hospital could only be administered as a hospital for sick, so as to fulfill the requirements of the royal commission, at a cost which would render it cheaper to the public to convert the building into a barrack.

The secretary of state for war thereupon calls together the original committee, sends them this new report, together with a letter of instructions, requiring them to report on the allegations, but, at the same time, giving them clearly to understand--such, at least, is the almost unavoidable inference from the instructions--that he expects a report to help him out



of the difficulty.

The committee, thereupon, proceed to call in a number of medical and scientific gentlemen to whom [missing] questions on scientific subjects are referred, [missing] main practical questions as to the cost of [missing] ...to the public, raised by the Barrack [Hospital] Improvement Commission, are not [missing]

[medical] men defend the site and structure of [missing] with right good will and to the best of their [missing] And the Netley committee report in the [missing] so that this important public question is now in the following position: the committee say that the site and construction are suited for an invalid depot. The medical men called in by the committee say that the site and construction are suitable for a hospital. The medical officers of Middlesex Hospital state that the building is unsuitable for a hospital. And now the question for the public to decide is, what is to be done? So far as the public is concerned, one thing is quite clear, for it is admitted both by commission and committee that the building cannot be used for a hospital for sick without a permanent cost for attendance and administration, the mere excess of which over what the cost would be in a properly constructed hospital would amount to the whole sum already spent on the site and buildings at Netley. Some of the opinions brought out in this controversy by the committee and its scientific advisers are of the most singular character. One gentleman, who receives a large public salary, whenever he comes into contact with a fact he does not exactly understand, gets over it by stating he is not aware of its existence. If certain other gentlemen are to be believed, the banks of Southampton Waters are the only remains left in this world of the Garden of Eden and its immortality. Others have promulgated the strange notion that hospital sites should be selected upon the principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and that, if the minority should happen to die of the climate, it is a thing not to be cavilled at.

The only really important bit of practical evidence is that given by a medical practitioner upon the spot, who, when he is asked if chronic cases from remote parts of England do well there, replies honestly that he has had no experience of such cases. And this reply, as it appears to us, would be equally fitting from everyone of the medical men who have been consulted. The contradictions on the question of hospital structure are equally remarkable. One conclusion follows very clearly from the evidence, that the question of hospital sites and construction has not much occupied the attention of the scientific advisers called in by the Netley committee.

Looking without bias at the whole question, the conclusion would appear to be that there has been too much public money thrown away on the building to warrant its being given up, if it can be turned to any useful purpose. It might be used

advantageously for certain classes of invalids, but, above all, for incipient consumption from home stations. But it is quite unsuited for a model general hospital for sick and for a medical school, the paramount necessity for both of which is pointed out by the above-mentioned royal commission.

The Barrack and Hospital Improvement Commission have established their case as to the cost of administration, and as to the general unfitness of the position and construction of the building. Now, as an invalid depot and a general hospital appear to be both requisite, the hospital and medical school should be placed in a better locality, and the buildings should be constructed on the most approved and economical principles; and, if the invalid depot be left at Netley, why should not the general hospital and medical school be placed at Aldershot?

Vigilans

31 July 1858 [anonymous article *The Lancet*, 121-22 **[16:269-71]**  
On the 28th of December last, some time after the Report of the Royal commission on the Sanitary State of the Army was sent in, the minister at war requested the "Barrack and Hospital Improvement Commission" to report upon the Royal Victoria Hospital. The commission had in their report pointed out the defects in the present system of construction, administration and attendance in army hospitals. It had shown the necessity for the public service of introducing into those institutions an efficient and economical method of administration and attendance upon the sick, and it had pointed out the defects of the present army hospitals, and the necessity for avoiding these in all future structures. Assuming that the intention of the minister was to ascertain how far the plans, etc., of the Victoria Hospital, if carried out, would realize the objects aimed at in the report already sent in, the commission of course proceeded to deal with the whole question from such a point of view. Having done so, they arrived at the conclusion that for such purposes the hospital was generally unadapted from its construction, and that even if it were used, the cost of the administration would be so great that it would be cheaper to abandon it altogether, or rather to turn it into a barrack. The main circumstances leading the "commission" to this unfavourable judgment appear to us to be well substantiated as facts, and the reasoning founded upon them as fully warranting the adverse opinions expressed in the report. The commission do not deny the apparent salubrity of the Netley district for healthy men pursuing ordinary avocations, but they maintain that it is not well adapted for the recovery of sick men confined to their beds--a distinction which, although it has been called in question, decidedly holds good. The commission assert that, as regards the district itself, there are ten square miles of mud exposed in the estuary twice in twenty-four hours, and that opposite the site of the new hospital there are seven eights of a mile of mud exposed at low water. In the next place the

proposed hospital is to be built upon earth from which bricks are, or were being made, a sufficient proof of the defective character of a sub-soil for such an institution. Farther, it is shown that although on a clear bright day the country for miles around the site of the hospital is dry and self-draining, the *immediate site itself* is not so, and the inspection of the building had to be carried on by crossing upon planks over the mud and water lying upon the surface. The commission place much stress upon the soft and relaxing, instead of dry and bracing, character of the local climate of Southampton. This they rightly affirm not to be the climate which should be desired, as it will retard or prevent the recovery of the particular class of invalids intended to occupy the Victoria Hospital. In fine, the following data being give to the commission, the rectitude of its judgment appears to us unimpeachable.

*Site:* Close to an estuary, with ten square miles of mud exposed at low water. Mud, containing vegetable matter and sulphurs, and saturated with mixed fresh and salt water.

*Climate:* Soft, mild, relaxing. Brick earth on the site of the hospital.

*Conclusion:* The shores of Southampton water are not a desirable spot on which to erect a hospital for the majority of such cases as will be sent there for treatment.

In coming to a judgment upon this important matter, it is most essential to keep in mind the class of patients who would constantly inhabit Netley. They would, of course, be composed chiefly of invalids form the tropics, men suffering form chronic diseases of the digestive organs, the sequelae of fevers, etc., diseases, indeed, belonging to the same category as those described by good authority as common to the hospital locality itself. Mr RANALD MARTIN has shown that all kinds of tropic invalids, whether suffering from fevers or form bowel complaints, thrive best in the *bracing* localities of the United Kingdom. They recover most rapidly in the highlands of Scotland during a summer and autumn residence, apparently from a union there of the ocean and mountain air--a union which appears to be especially advantageous to sick persons from the topics. However advantageous then, the humid and warm climate of Southampton Water may be for certain pulmonary affections, for delicate persons and women and children who dread a little freshness and cold, we agree with the commission in viewing it as quite unsuitable for the recovery of persons suffering under the sequelae of tropical affections.

The unfavourable conclusions arrived at by the "commission" have been reviewed and answered in a "Report of the Committee of the Royal Victoria Hospital." In this antagonistic reply, however, it appears to us that the "committee" has not deal with the report fairly. Ont eh contrary, it has simply accumulated as large an amount as possible of professional opinion against *certain only* of the points the commission raised, leaving the

others untouched, and then considering the *whole report* as fully and satisfactorily answered.

We shall return to the consideration of this subject.

21 August 1858, "Netley Hospital," *Leeds Mercury* no. 6837  
Some time ago, we called attention to the Report of the Royal Commission on the Sanitary State of the Army, in which, amongst other important matter, those causes which had led to the high rate of mortality in hospitals during the late war in the East were fully exposed. The report showed that there is, in England, no general hospital system capable of being made the basis of general hospital administration during war, and that to the want of such a system at home were to be attributed most of the disastrous results which rendered the hospitals at Scutari little better than pest-houses.

To avoid similar disasters in future, the royal commission advised the establishment of general hospitals at home. Some time before this, government had determined on erecting a large hospital for invalids on the banks of Southampton Water, upon a plan which has created perhaps more discussion than that of any other building in Great Britain in our time. We learn, amongst other things, from a large Blue Book just laid before Parliament by the Rt Hon Sidney Herbert and his brother commissioners, containing a number of reports on the site and plan of the Royal Victoria Hospital, that this great hospital for containing 1,000 invalids is being constructed on a plan directly at variance with the best experience and with the principles of construction laid down in the report of the royal commission itself. We learn that the hospital is unsuitable for the sick, that it cannot be administered as a general hospital, that it cannot be used for clinical instruction, that all its outbuildings and offices have been constructed in duplicate, that, in short, it is fit for nothing but to be a kind of lodging house for a certain class of invalids at an enormous cost to the country. The British Army is therefore still without a general hospital. The point is one of great importance to the public service. There seems to have been no reason why such a plan as that of the Royal Victoria Hospital should have been selected in the first instance, excepting merely as a piece of perverse ingenuity. At any rate the evil has been done, and it will now be the duty of the government to provide suitable buildings for a model army general hospital elsewhere. Otherwise, we may have at any time to bear the disgrace and the burden of another great catastrophe like that of Scutari.

The royal commission has clearly shown that such a hospital should consist of separate buildings or partitions, having wards with windows on opposite sides, with the means of thorough ventilation by the windows; that these buildings should be connected together by corridors for the purpose of administration and of exercise; that over the entire hospitals should be placed a governor with absolute power to provide for and regulate the

entire administration, that there should be a proper hierarchy of officers, attendants and nurses; that the wards should be of sufficient size for the purposes of clinical instruction and economical administration; and that, as the practical result of all, medical and other officers and attendants should be as thoroughly instructed in the organization and duties of general hospitals that the whole staff might be, if necessary, transported to the seat of any foreign war. Such is the result aimed at by the royal commission. There cannot be a moment's doubt that the Royal Victoria Hospital at Netley is quite unsuitable for a training establishment of this kind, and that the country, as usual, will have to pay for official stupidity by providing another building more suitable for the wants of its....

28 August 1858 *Saturday Review* [anonymous] "Netley Hospital," pp. 206-07 [16:273-78]

Before the fall of Sebastopol, Lord Panmure bethought himself of providing a suitable building for the reception of sick and wounded men from the army, to replace the miserable casemates at Chatham, where at present a grateful country receives its invalids, if not with open arms, at least with open arches, neither as roomy nor so comfortable as those under the Adelphi in which the youthful thieves of the metropolis find nightly shelter. The intention was a good one, but, like other good intentions, with which a certain place is said to be paved, it appears likely to lead to very sorry results. Unfortunately, ministers cannot build hospitals by putting on wishing caps. Like all other War Office proceedings, the project in question had to begin from below, and to work its way up to the top, commencing with the now happily defunct Army Medical Department, and receiving there that mark of incapacity which it is likely to carry on its forehead in all time to come. Between the Barrack department and the Army medical Department, the matter was so managed that one of the dampest districts in England was selected. Then the banks of a tidal estuary were pitched upon, with, as it appears, ten square miles of mud exposed at low water, on which to place the new building. To complete the folly, in a district with a gravelly soil, where there happen to be some two or three acres of clay land, this is the spot chosen, where the hospital is being reared.

The plan is as bad as the site. It is incapable of economical and efficient administration; it is constructed on bad sanitary principles; and altogether it will involve the country in an enormous and unnecessary annual cost. Public opinion has never ceased from the first to raise its voice, in and out of the House of Commons, against such a wasteful and worse than useless expenditure of money, but, with a perversity peculiar, as we have hitherto believed, to the sister isle, the War Department took no steps to inquire into the allegations until the building was all raised above the ground. After the evil was done, a committee was

appointed (on which were several members of the original committee which selected the site and planned the hospital) and most diligent inquiry was made to ascertain how the evil could have been prevented. A few amendments were introduced into the plans, but, unlike Mahomet and the mountain, the building could neither be got away from the shores of Southampton Water, nor could the ten square miles of mud by any means be got away from the building, and there they both are until this day, "to witness if I lie." In an unlucky hour, Lord Panmure referred the matter anew to a commission of which Mr Sidney Herbert is chairman. It so happened that the Royal Commission on the Sanitary State of the Army had just completed its labours; and this new commission--deeply imbued, as it appears, with the undeniably correct principles of hospital construction and administration propounded by the royal commission--made short work indeed of Netley. They completely scattered it to the winds, and sent their report and criticism to General Peel as a *bonne bouche* shortly after his accession to office.

The new minister appears to have been in what, in the language of nurserymaids, is called "a great taking" about it. And he therefore called together the old and defunct original committee, to whom he transmitted Mr Sidney Herbert's confidential report, and this committee, apparently also in a state of great alarm, called to its aid geologists, chemists, engineers, medical men and quasi-sanitarians, of whom experience shows that a certain proportion are always ready to help anyone out of a scrape. These very learned and benevolent individuals forthwith responded cordially to the summons of the committee, and the result of the whole is a Blue Book of some two hundred pages, containing an account of the descent, birth and early rearing of Netley Hospital, with a tremendous castigation of all those who have presumed to think that there is anything illegitimate in it. The bantling was, at that time, as we ascertain, only five feet above ground, and these learned men not only find no reason why it should not be allowed to grow to its full height, but think that those who ever maintained any idea to the contrary may fairly be charged with child murder. To their verdict are prefixed General Peel's instructions, as a kind of charge to the jury. He states fairly enough the objections raised by Mr Herbert's commission, and he asks for a delivery upon them, but, at the same time, he asks, in the most unmistakeable manner, a delivery from them.

When a minister asks for excuses, we may be very sure they will be found. Indeed, it is wonderful what may be done in this line. For 1000*l* of public money (the inquiry from first to last has cost but this) a minister may have on very short notice 200 pages of excuses. We are reminded of the grain of mustard seed, which indeed is the least of all seeds, but it becomes a great tree, and birds live in its branches. The excuse upon which Netley could be continued was the least of all excuses, but

70,000 pounds sterling have been lodged in its branches, and voted by the House of Commons this year, and about half a million will, it is supposed, be the aggregate vote of many years before it is completed. As for the quality of the apologetic argument, we must ask our readers to judge for themselves by the following specimens. Of the referees to whom government committed the task ;of procuring what was wanted, we have one gentleman, an army medical officer, who informs us he has been at Madras, and has come home in charge of invalids, and that *therefore* he is qualified to judge in England of the climate suitable for Indian invalids. We may say at once that this cruelly ill-used word *therefore* is required to play an entirely new part in this report. It is ignominiously made simply equivalent to *à propos de bottes*. Another gentleman among the referees--and this time it is a civilian geologist--tells us that the whole of the banks of Southampton Water, on which Netley is situated, are of gravel, and are self-draining but that just where the hospital is being built, there are two or three acres of clay--not "London clay" but "brick-earth." The "*therefore*" to this information is supplied this time by the Netley committee. It appears to be that among any given hospital sites, where we have all England to choose fro, three acres of clay are to be sought for in the midst of miles of gravel. Another authority, a chemist, detects sulphuretted hydrogen gas in the mud opposite Netley, but informs us that, although the sewage of Southampton is not to be detected in the water of the estuary at Netley, yet he is told that this sulphuretted hydrogen is imputable to "ships' sewage,"--the "ships" being some poor innocent barges occasionally moored opposite the hospital site--and he appears to believe it. We have another who attaches great value to the ages recorded on the tombstones near Netley, as a proof of the longevity and health of its inhabitants, yet we are told that the population is all emigrant, and that the people who die there are not those who have lived there. "Therefore" Netley is healthy. The same gentleman is much in love with both the climate of the locality, and the proposed construction of the hospital, yet he tells us that the former is only fit for consumption, and the latter is deficient both in light and air, in both of which assertions we believe him to be entirely right. "*Therefore*" say the Netley committee, the site is a good one, and the hospital structure excellent. Defend us form our friends@ What worse has Netley's worst enemy said than all this?

Again, we have a fine sentimental flourish about he "Medicina Mentis," and the sovereign cure which the soldier is to find in the "view" form Netley Hospital@ We are aware that the sailor can hardly recover out of sight of his sea and his ships. We have also heard an old saw (the prover is somewhat musty) that one man's meat is another man's poison. Here the soldier is to recover by the sight of a ship, as the sailor, we suppose, is restored by the sight of a camp. Would it not be advisable to

bestow Haslar Hospital upon the military invalids, and to send the sick sailors to Aldershot? Another of these gentlemen announces the singular proposition that in planning a hospital we can only consider what is best for the majority. Such being the principle, we would ask for *what* majority? For fifty plus one out of every hundred, or fifty plus two? And how many are to die from not having the best chances afforded them for recovery? Is it to be forty-nine, or only forty-eight out of the hundred? In order to enable us to understand this curious principle, we should at least have the percentage of patients given whose recovery is *not* to be considered in building a hospital. What should we think of a surgeon who told us that he did not profess to consider that his operations were to be performed in a way to benefit more than the majority of his cases? Again, the committee is asked how the patients are to be nursed in these uncommonly inconveniently--sized wards, and it is answered that they are to nurse each other. And finally, we have a host of local Southampton authorities to tell us that the climate is the most perfect in the world. It is an *elixir vitae*--the only certain panacea--a kind of specific. It is like Parr's pills for long life--it is a Morison's college for the cure of all kinds of diseases, none of which, unfortunately, as these authorities admit, have every been sent to them for cure, but they hope they will be. When the new hospital is built, they believe a whole town will spring up for wealthy patients to come and reside in for the benefit of their advice and their climate.

And who is to "pay the piper" for all this? The poor soldier. His grateful country is, as we have seen about to remove him from the casemates at Chatham to the mud banks of Southampton Water. And in case he should recover his health too quickly after returning from India, he is to be consigned to a climate where there is not much chance of restoration, and where he and his comrades may learn an occupation by which doubtless they will hereafter be able to earn a living in any part of England--viz., nursing each other.

One of the reasons we have heard assigned for the high mortality from consumption among the Guards in the casemates is the excessive care taken of the men when they come into hospital. They are not sent home to die when they are past recovery, but they are kept in hospital to die there, out of sheer humanity, and hence the Guards are most unfairly charged with the high rate of mortality attributed to them! We merely mention this as a hint to future defenders of the army. When they are taunted with the great loss among troops serving in India, as evinced by the statistics of Netley Hospital, they will perhaps be able to point to the beautiful situation, the care and comfort bestowed upon the men, and the long time they are kept there lingering before they die, as a convincing proof that the whole averment is a mere calumny. Now we confess we had rather see the soldier live happily than die comfortably. We think, upon the whole, that is



would be cheaper for the country. We agree with Mr Sidney Herbert that possibly the Barrack Department may have made a mistake in planning a barrack when they intended to plan a hospital, and we think the least expensive plan, after all, will be to build a hospital where the men may recover and go out quickly.

A recent Parliamentary paper informs us that a large hospital is about to be erected at Aldershot. Why not make the building fulfil the conditions required by the royal commission above named? Why not make it serve for a model general hospital on the pavilion plan adopted by that commission, and for an army medical school? Aldershot is high and dry, and, as it appears to us, would answer these purposes both in construction and site which, as the Netley committee itself proves, will not be answered either by the site or structure of Netley Hospital. In conclusion, we must express our disapprobation (we would we could say wonder) at the method of dealing with a great public question exhibited by the report of this Netley committee. It is one of the disgraces of the present time that a *soi-disant* science can be obtained to any amount to throw its weight into any scale. And we are sorry to say that this report should show a government which requires help out of an ugly difficulty at any cost may obtain it by such an agency.

[16:278]

21 August 1858 *Leeds Mercury* 6837 "Netley Hospital"

Some time ago, we called attention to the Report of the Royal Commission on the Sanitary State of the Army, in which, amongst other important matter, those causes which had led to the high rate of mortality in hospitals during the late war in the East were fully exposed. The report showed that there is, in England, no general hospital system capable of being made the basis of general hospital administration during war, and that to the want of such a system at home were to be attributed most of the disastrous results which rendered the hospitals at Scutari little better than pest-houses.

To avoid similar disasters in future, the royal commission advised the establishment of general hospitals at home. Some time before this, government had determined on erecting a large hospital for invalids on the banks of Southampton Water, upon a plan which has created perhaps more discussion than that of any other building in Great Britain in our time. We learn, amongst other things, from a large Blue Book just laid before Parliament by the Rt Hon Sidney Herbert and his brother commissioners, containing a number of reports on the site and plan of the Royal Victoria Hospital, that this great hospital for containing 1,000 invalids is being constructed on a plan directly at variance with the best experience and with the principles of construction laid down in the report of the royal commission itself. We learn that the hospital is unsuitable for the sick, that it cannot be administered as a general hospital, that it cannot be used for clinical instruction, that all its outbuildings and offices have

been constructed in duplicate, that, in short, it is fit for nothing but to be a kind of lodging house for a certain class of invalids at an enormous cost to the country. The British Army is therefore still without a general hospital. The point is one of great importance to the public service. There seems to have been no reason why such a plan as that of the Royal Victoria Hospital should have been selected in the first instance, excepting merely as a piece of perverse ingenuity. At any rate the evil has been done, and it will now be the duty of the government to provide suitable buildings for a model army general hospital elsewhere. Otherwise, we may have at any time to bear the disgrace and the burden of another great catastrophe like that of Scutari.

The royal commission has clearly shown that such a hospital should consist of separate buildings or partitions, having wards with windows on opposite sides, with the means of thorough ventilation by the windows; that these buildings should be connected together by corridors for the purpose of administration and of exercise; that over the entire hospitals should be placed a governor with absolute power to provide for and regulate the entire administration, that there should be a proper hierarchy of officers, attendants and nurses; that the wards should be of sufficient size for the purposes of clinical instruction and economical administration; and that, as the practical result of all, medical and other officers and attendants should be as thoroughly instructed in the organization and duties of general hospitals that the whole staff might be, if necessary, transported to the seat of any foreign war. Such is the result aimed at by the royal commission. There cannot be a moment's doubt that the Royal Victoria Hospital at Netley is quite unsuitable for a training establishment of this kind, and that the country, as usual, will have to pay for official stupidity by providing another building more suitable for the wants of its

## 1860

20 July 1860 *The Times* 5B "International Statistical Congress"  
[The following letter from Miss Nightingale, referring to the proposals for obtaining uniform hospital statistics, agreed to at the meeting of Wednesday, was read at King's College Somerset House:]

39 Old Burlington St.

18 July 1860

My Lord

I have been informed of the proposed additions to my proposal for hospital statistics, in which I entirely concur.

I am desirous of placing it on the record that the forms which I have submitted, and which have been adopted by the section, are intended to tabulate only certain classes of facts in one uniform method. The proposed additions refer to matters some of which can be obtained from all well-kept hospital books; others can be obtained on my forms by simply adding a note of instruction.

These points refer rather to annual summaries than to complete tabulation, which is my object, and in the necessity for which I am very happy to find that the section agrees.

I have the honour to be, my Lord  
your faithful servant  
Florence Nightingale  
The Rt Hon the Earl of Shaftesbury

**1861**

15 November 1861 *The Times* 7F

7 Hampstead, N.W.

23 October 1861

My dear Sir [William Brown]

I very well remember the kindness of your 1800 men when they addressed me some years ago from Newcastle. It is the remembrance of that kindness which makes me feel now that I must answer your note with my own hand, although ill health and overwhelming business seldom allow me to do so, even to my nearest friends.

I have ventured to send you, by post, six copies of my little book on nursing, which you may find useful among your people. Also two books on the Crimean army, published some years ago, and which I think I may have sent you before. If so, do not trouble yourself to return them.

In answer to your kind inquiry, I have passed the last four years between four walls, only varied to other four walls once a year; and I believe there is no prospect but of my health becoming ever worse and worse till the hour of my release.

But I have never ceased, during one waking hour since my return to England, five years ago, labouring for the welfare of the army at home, as I did abroad. And no hour have I given to friendship or amusement during that time, but all to work. To that work the death of my dear chief, Sidney Herbert, has been a fatal blow. I assure you, it is always a support-giving strength to me to find a national sympathy with the army and our efforts for it--such a sympathy as you express.

Believe me, dear Sir  
sincerely yours  
Florence Nightingale

**1862**

10 February 1862 *Toronto Globe* 3 "Miss Nightingale writes to Robert Hutchinson, chairman of the Liverpool Training School for Nurses]

"Few know, except medical men in the largest practice, how many rich lives, as well as poor ones, are lost for want of nursing, even among those who can command every want under the sun that money can purchase. This want you propose to supply by training nurses for all descriptions of people, as I understand. God bless you and be with you in the effort, for it is one which meets one of our greatest national wants. Nearly every nation is

before England in this; namely, in providing for nursing the sick at home. And one of the chief uses of a hospital (though almost entirely neglected up to the present time) is this: to train nurses for nursing the sick at home.

### 1865

26 September 1865 *The Times* 10E "The Wreck Register and Chart for 1864" [with her donation of £20 to the Lifeboat Institution "I can never see the accounts of the heroic deeds constantly performed in this cause without feeling that the age of heroes has not passed way; and may God bless, as He has so manifestly blessed, the valiant National Lifeboat Institution."

### 1866

12 June 1866 *Daily News* "Florence Nightingale and the Italian Army" [also in *Illustrated London News* 5737,37, p. 595 and 1 September 1866 3 *Queenslander* Brisbane] Our Florence correspondent: "I have just seen a letter written by Florence Nightingale to the Cavaliere Sbastiano Fenzi, one of the committee for organizing a system of volunteer assistance of the hospital department of the army....

"Thus far," writes Miss Nightingale, "I have given dry advice as drily as I could. But you must permit me to say that if there is anything I could do for you at any time, and you would command me, I should esteem it the greatest honor and pleasure. I am a hopeless invalid, entirely a prisoner to my room, and overwhelmed with business. Otherwise how gladly would I answer to your call, and come to do my little best for you in the dear city where I was born. If the giving my miserable life could hasten your success, or for martyrs of for volunteers, or for soldiers, our old general Lord Clyde (he is dead now) was standing at the port of Balaclava when, eleven years ago, the Italian Beragliere were landing, and he turned round and said to his companion (a man high in office) 'I wish to hide my face--I blush for ourselves when I see the perfect way in which those glorious troops are brought up to their work.' And what have not the Italians done since in these eleven years? The work almost of eleven centuries. I too remember the Italian (Sardinian) hospitals on the heights of Balaclava, and their admirable government, and since then what has not the progress been? I wish you God speed with my whole heart, and beg that you will believe me, Sir, your ever faithful servant, Florence Nightingale Cavaliere Sebastiano Fenzi, Florence."

1 September 1866 3 *Queenslander* Brisbane. "Miss Florence Nightingale, writing to an Italian gentleman who had solicited her assistance in forming a staff of Italian nurses, writes as follows: 'I am a hopeless invalid entirely a prisoner to my room and overwhelmed with business. Otherwise how gladly would I answer to your call and come to do my little best for you in the

dear city where I was born. If the giving my miserable life could hasten your success buy by half an hour how gladly would I give it. But you will not want for success, or for martyrs, or for volunteers, or for soldiers. Our old general, Lord Clyde (he is dead now), was standing at the port of Balaclava when, eleven years ago, the Italian Bersagliere were landing, and he turned round and said to his companion (a man high in office), I wish to hide my face--I blush for ourselves when I see the perfect way in which those glorious troops are brought up to their work.' And what have not the Italians done since, in these eleven years? The work almost of eleven centuries! I, too, remember the Italian (Sardinian) hospitals on the heights of Balaclava and their admirable government, and since then what has not the progress been? [from *Illustrated London News* 16 June 1866]

21 November 1866 *Empire* [Sydney] 8 "Miss Florence Nightingale to the Colonial Agent General." Correspondence laid on the table of the Assembly last evening by the colonial secretary.

"Miss Florence Nightingale to the Colonial Agent General."

Embley, Romsey,  
19 September 1866

Miss Nightingale presents her compliments to Captain Mayne, and is sorry to be obliged to inform him, in reply to his request for an "interview" (of September 15) that it is unfortunately quite impossible for her, she being an incurable invalid, entirely a prisoner to a couch (to which her present journey and absence from London is not an exception).

She is unable to see anyone except those who have long-established claims of urgent business upon her.

Should Captain Mayne wish to communicate with her by writing, she will be glad to do so. It is the way she transacts nearly all her business.

At the same time, she is not aware to what "communication addressed to her by the Government of New South Wales" Captain Mayne refers.

35 South Street  
Park Lane, London W.  
23rd September 1866

Sir: I am extremely obliged to you for so promptly informing me of what the government of New South Wales desire of me.

Would you kindly assure the Colonial Secretary that I am extremely interested in what he proposes to do, and that he may depend upon my trying to assist him to the utmost of my power. The plan which they propose is most desirable and praiseworthy, viz., to establish in the Sydney Infirmary a Training School for Hospital Nurses for the colony. The object is most important, and the colonial government will do immense good by so wise a measure. Whatever my humble efforts can do to second the plan shall be done, as I need scarcely assure the secretary of the colony. I shall, of course, do myself the honour of answering his

letter as soon as I see what can be done.

(I have not yet received any communication on the subject but yours.)

Now what can be done is the first question. We have (I am *afraid* I can safely assert) no such training "sisters" ready. If we had, they would already have been engaged and employed. Our supply is so very much below the demand, even in England, that the matrons and nurses whom we train are generally engaged sometime before their period of training is completed.

It would be easy to recommend persons partially unknown and untrained. But this we have never done.

We prefer it, when governments or institutions send us persons chosen by themselves, to train *for them*. But this, it appears, is not the plan of the Government of New South Wales, nor perhaps is it desirable from so far.

Having shortly explained my difficulties, I would now propose that you should kindly call yourself on Mrs Wardroper, St Thomas' Hospital, Newington, S.

I have already written to her explaining the desire of the New South Wales secretary, and leading her to expect your call. She is the valued superintendent of our training school, and matron of the hospital of St Thomas.

It is desirable that all the four "sisters" should come from the same training. When you have had your conversation with Mrs Wardroper, and when we have further communicated, I shall be able to see my way better. I earnestly desire *this* should succeed, but I have other resources if this should fail.

I am afraid I must prepare you that the matter will not march so fast as we desire it, or as the colonial government expects it. For I am nearly positive, as I have said, that no four such persons as we ought to recommend are ready, disengaged, but I will now only add that I will hasten the matter by every means in my power, if by a personal interview with you, when I return to London, as I conclude that you are a resident here, I shall be glad, as this is a matter very near my heart, and I can say, with great truth, that I am as eager for its success as those who have proposed it. I believe, however, that I can do everything by correspondence and by putting yourself in personal communication with Mrs Wardroper, or with others.

Pray believe me your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

Any communication to the above address is forwarded to me immediately if not there, F.N.

## 1867

8 February 1867 "Miss F.E. Nightingale to the Colonial Secretary." *Sydney Morning Herald*, also in Henry Parkes, *Fifty Years of Australian History* 1:210-12, in New South Wales

35 South Street, Park Lane London W.

October 21 1866

## 1868

15 September 1868 2 *Brisbane Courier* Qld FN letter to lord mayor of London in support of Colonial Emigration Fund

## 1870

3 March 1870 *Pall Mall Gazette* 3 "The Contagious Diseases Acts" Sir, You have done great service in facilitating discussion of the Contagious Diseases Acts by publishing Miss Garrett's letter on the subject; and each day I have anxiously looked through your columns in the hope of finding some "person" more competent than myself would have undertaken to answer it. But, as no one has yet done so, I now venture to ask you to publish the following observations.

Miss Garrett, in the third paragraph of her letter, says the question, Is legislation necessary? is "strictly a professional question upon which the opinion of trustworthy witnesses ought to be accepted as final;" and she adds,-- "it may fairly be asserted that the verdict of an immense majority of the profession has declared legislation to be necessary." Now, Sir, in the United Kingdom there are upwards of 17,000 medical men, and of these, according to the last published report of the Association for Promoting the Extension of the Contagious Diseases Acts, only a few hundreds--(the report gives a list of the members of the association, and the total number is below 800; but of these many are clergymen or laymen, so that the medical members of the association probably do not amount to 500)--have given their names as supporters of these Acts.

The evidence of Mr Paget, Sir William Jenner, and Mr Prescott Hewitt, given before the Committee of the House of Lords, and relied upon by Miss Garrett, affords no indication that those gentlemen have acquainted themselves with the effects of legislative control of prostitution where that system has been tried; and if they have not, their opinion as to the expediency of such control is of very little value. Mr Paget distinctly stated to the Committee that he had "no personal knowledge of the system on the Continent." Sir William Jenner advised the extension of the Contagious Diseases Act, but he did so while confessedly ignorant of its effects where already applied: when asked, "Do you know anything at all of the operation of the present Act referring to this disease?" he replied. "Only generally." And when Mr Prescott Hewitt was asked by the Committee, "Can you say whether it [the disease in question] is an evil existing to such a degree as to require, if possible, a legislative remedy?" he also admitted his ignorance of the effects of the system of legal control practised in Paris. When this question was put to him, "You cannot, then, give us any information as to the effect of those regulations?" he answered, "No, O hardly could." Now, in the name of commonsense, I ask of what value is the opinion of even these eminent men on a subject of which they are ignorant, to the extent revealed by their own

confessions?

IF, on the other hand, we ask counsel of men who have really studied the subject, and whose opinion ought, for various reasons, to be most weighty and authoritative, we learn that their verdict is precisely opposite to that of the three distinguished witnesses just quoted. Mr John Simon, surgeon to St Thomas's Hospital, and chief of the medical department of the Privy Council, has earnestly considered the question, as in his official position it behoved him to do, and he has become so strongly convinced of the inexpediency of extending the Contagious Diseases Acts that in his last annual report he has, in the course of ten pages devoted to the subject, advanced an earnest plea, supported by various cogent arguments, for the non-extension of those Acts, and has expressed his conclusion as follows:--"The broad result in my mind is that I very decidedly refrain from recommending any change in that neutral position which English law has hitherto held in regard to the venereal diseases of the civil population." Again, Dr Balfour, F.R.S., Deputy Inspector of Military Hospitals, and head of the statistical branch of the Medical Board, who has had, as he told the Committee of the House of Commons, "opportunities of seeing the returns made from different stations," and who has "been called upon at different periods to prepare statements, showing what the operation of the Act has been," protested against the principle of the Contagious Diseases Acts before the first of them became law, and, in July, 1869, declared that he had no reason to alter his opinions "in the main."

I learn from a statement recently made at the London Medical Society that out of the fifty--nine medical men of Nottingham--the only provincial town in which, so far as I am aware, medical opinion on this subject has been thoroughly agitated--fifty--six have signed a protest against the Contagious Diseases Acts. I also learn from the *Medical Mirror* for February that Mr Holmes Coote, surgeon to St Bartholomew's Hospital, Mr R.W. Dunn, surgeon to the Farrington Dispensary, and Dr C. Drysdale, physician to the same dispensary and to other charitable institutions--gentlemen whose names are in the list of promoters of those Acts--have withdrawn from the association and have disavowed both its principles and objects. The same journal states that Dr John Chapman's name was inserted in that list without his knowledge or consent, and that he never was a member of that association; and I have reason to believe that even the number of medical names to appear in that list will steadily lessen. At a crowded meeting of the Medical Society of London on January 31, convened to discuss the Contagious Diseases Acts, the feeling of the majority of the members appeared to be strongly against them, and of the eleven who spoke six were certainly opposed to them, and one was neutral. There are five medical papers published in London: of these three have distinctly pronounced against those Acts, one is "halting between two



opinions," and one only represents the opinion which Miss Garrett advocates.

Miss Garrett's remedy is the extension of the Contagious Diseases Acts. She quotes from the evidence of several medical men, given before the Committee of the House of Lords, statements to the effect that "contagious diseases" are very widely diffused, and that they do an immense amount of injury; she also quotes hospital statistics to the same effect, and, having filled quite half a column with this evidence, Miss Garrett seems to think that her readers will immediately conclude that legislation is necessary; but I fail to see in the existence of a great amount of disease, however baneful its effects, a proof legislation is necessary for its repression. It may be so, but certainly Miss Garrett had adduced no proof, and no semblance of a proof even, that it is so.

Miss Garrett appeals to actual experience of the beneficent effects of the Acts, and I must say she has shown great skill in weaving the few scattered threads of advantage into a substantial--looking piece of stuff, with which she has succeeded in hiding from the eyes of a large number of your readers how really naked of good results the Act is. She says that "a decided diminution [of disease] is observed in all but one case, where the failure of the Act was due to special causes;" and that "officers in charge of the stations before and after the Act came into effect assert emphatically that the Act has done great good in every one of the protected places." As Miss Garrett has not furnished your readers with any example of what she calls "a decided diminution" of disease, your readers are precluded from forming a precise idea of what in her opinion the words "a decided diminution" really mean. I will, therefore, endeavour to help them to form a definite conception of the facts which she denotes by that phrase.

The following table shows the admissions onto hospital per 1000 of mean strength for venereal diseases at the stations named for the four years 1865-68:

Stations	1865	1866	1867	1868	Date when Act commenced
Devonport					
& Plymouth	360	317	312	280	Oct. 10 1866
Portsmouth	329	359	378	348	Oct. 8 1866
Chatham					
& Sheerness	292	326	277	275	Nov. 6 1866
Woolwich	204	219	255	191	Nov. 6 1866
Aldershot	302	233	261	237	April 12 1867

It thus appears that while at Devonport and Plymouth the amount

of venereal disease in 1867 was very slightly less, viz. five per 1000 than it was in 1866, and while at Chatham and Sheerness the ratio of the admissions to hospital in 1867 a positive increase of disease at the other three stations mentioned. If the numerical results at the five stations be added together and an average struck, it will be seen that on the whole the average ratio per 1000 of admissions to hospital on account of venereal diseases in 1867 was  $296 \frac{3}{6}$ , where as in 1866 the average ratio per 1000 of admissions to hospital at the same stations was only  $290 \frac{4}{5}$ . A comparison of 1868 with 1867 shows, however, that in 1868 there has been a slight decrease of disease at all the stations named in the table. It is worthy of remark here that Sheerness, which exhibited a considerable fall in the number of admissions during 1867, and which, being to a certain extent isolated, is held up by Miss Garrett as a convincing illustration that "success has everywhere been in proportion to the isolation of the protected district," is precisely the station where the least diminution of admissions to hospital is observable in 1868: there were only two less in that year than in 1867. The average ratio per 1000 of admissions to hospital at all the stations was, however, reduced to  $266 \frac{1}{5}$ , or  $24 \frac{3}{6}$  per 1000 less than in 1866, and 28 per 1000 less than the average ratio per 1000 of admissions f\during the two years of 1865--6, before the Act was in force. In other words, about one--eleventh part of the total amount of disease previously existing seems to have been subdued by the operation of the Contagious Diseases Act. I say *seems* to have been subdued; for the fact is, venereal diseases were actually lessening at the stations in question before that Act came into force. The average ratio per 1000 of admissions into hospital during each year from 1860 to 1865 inclusive is as follows:

AVERAGE RATIO PER 1000 OF ADMISSIONS TO HOSPITAL						
Years	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865
Ratio	$421 \frac{1}{5}$	$408 \frac{2}{5}$	$361 \frac{2}{5}$	$363 \frac{2}{5}$	5296	$297 \frac{2}{5}$

It will be observed that in 1862 the ratio per 1000 of admissions to hospital were  $37 \frac{1}{5}$  less than they were in 1861, and that this diminution is 13 per 1000 greater than was the diminution in 1868, under the operation of the Contagious Diseases Act, as compared with the ratio per 1000 of admissions in 1866, the year before the first compulsory Act came into force. It is thus evident that the statistics relied upon by Miss Garrett and the other advocates of the Contagious Diseases Act are worthless as an argument in its favour, and that had the diminution in 1868 been even greater than it is, experience would justify the ascription of it to causes quite independent of the operation of that Act. In presence of this official and authoritative information, Miss Garrett's appeal to the vague assertions, however, emphatic, of "officers in charge of the stations" in confirmation of her statements may be summarily dismissed.

There are several important points in Miss Garrett's letter

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which, for want of space, I have been unable to advert to on this occasion.

Justina [Florence Nightingale]

27 September 1862. "The Late Mr Alexander--Hospital Claims." *The Lancet*. 27, p. 336 [15:356-58]

A statue of the late Mr Alexander, erected by subscription in his native place, Preston Pans, was inaugurated at the commencement of the present month with due ceremonial by Lord Elcho, who pronounced a well-deserved eulogium on his character and exertions. To these exertions it has been truly stated that the improved sanitary condition of the British Army, as well as the elevation in rank and consideration of its medical officers, are in no small measure due. His professional attainments were of the highest order, and he brought to the service of his country rare administrative powers and untiring energy. These qualities were observable throughout all his career, but they shone out conspicuously in the Crimea; and in the alleviation of the sufferings of his division there, in the subsequent reformation of the Department, and in the substantial accomplishment of the new plans, he rendered services which cannot be over-valued. It is pleasant to read of the public recognition of these services, and to know that, short as was his tenure of officer it sufficed to fix his memory indelibly in the minds of those who watched his conduct. Miss Nightingale has afforded a testimony too valuable to be lose; we put it upon record here; it fitly crowns the memorials which we have given and which have been elsewhere raised to the honour and perpetual recollection of this able man and public-spirited benefactor of his order. She writes:

"I can truly say that I have never seen his like for directness of purpose, unflinching moral courage, and honesty. These were the qualities which made his loss a public disaster. His independence, his high disinterestedness, were undoubted. He never sought advancement for his own ambition--never except to carry out the public service; and when he had obtained it, he never used it except to do the highest service he was capable of. Throughout the whole of the Russian War his published correspondence shows that he cared for no man or thing, if either stood in the way of the public interests. He might have gone on smoothly enough in his routine duties, would he but have let *ill* alone. But that was not his character. Everywhere--at Gallipoli, where he seized the blankets for his sick; in Bulgaria, where he fought such a fight for his men in that opening prologue to the Crimean tragedy; and, again, throughout the Crimean tragedy itself, he showed the same fearless devotion, incurring thereby a serious personal responsibility in order that his men might not perish. Most able in the discharge of his own professional duties, he at the same time knew that the army medical officers

were not dealt with as they ought to have been, and he was looked up to as the representative of all the best of them, and of their wishes and ambitions. Even in the Crimea, his character had pointed him out to all observers for the highest position in his department. When the Royal Commission on the "Sanitary State of the Army" was issued, Mr Alexander's service on it was considered so necessary that he was sent for from Canada. He afterwards served on a no less important, though less well-known Commission, for drawing up the new 'Army medical Regulations,' which gave our army medical officers sanitary powers and a position of usefulness which no army medical officers in Europe have but ours. In all these, he showed the same clearness of sight in discerning, the same directness of course in bearing down on his object. On the retirement of his chief, Lord Panmure called him to be Director-General; and in the short time he occupied the office, he showed high administrative ability, as well as his old firmness and honesty--his great characteristics. He had great difficulties, but he manfully breasted them all: doing the work personally of nearly his whole office, lest any failure at so critical a time should ensue. At this time he used to keep medicines beside him in the office to relieve the effects of hard work, which no inducement would make him lay aside, because he was convinced that it was in the way of his duty. As was predicted more than once to him, he fell at his post, as true a sacrifice to duty as if he had fallen on the field. His death caused a regret extending far beyond the limits of his own department; for the public instinctively knew that it had lost one of its best servants.

6 March 1867 *The Times* 12C "Miss Nightingale on Training of Nurses" [13:595-97] The committee recently appointed by the Poor Law Board to advise upon the amount of space needed in metropolitan workhouse infirmaries, and upon other allied matters, requested Miss Nightingale to give her opinion and advice in relation to a supply of trained nurses for these infirmaries, and received from her a series of suggestions upon the subject. Miss Nightingale begins with observing that the word *nursing* is improving its meaning every year, and that what she proposes to treat of is *trained nursing*, that is qualified nursing: "hired nurses, unless they are also trained nurses, are not worth their hire, except by accident." "An uneducated man who practices physic is justly called a quack, perhaps an imposter; why are not uneducated nurses called quacks and impostors? Simply, I suppose, because people have thought that every woman was a nurse by instinct."

There is now a great movement over England and, indeed, the colonies also, the object of which is to offer inducements to the best instead of the worst women, and to train them in nursing

duties under matrons and head nurses, called in hospital language *sisters*, as the basis for all nursing appointments whatever. Very few trained nurses are available for workhouse infirmaries. The demand is, and will be for years to come, far greater than the supply. To put one trained nurse, however efficient, in a large town workhouse infirmery is but to waste and throw away a valuable article; she either breaks her heart or becomes slovenly like the rest, and neglects her duty. In small, well-managed country institutions, where the sick may be nursed by one good trained head nurse, it may do. Otherwise no good can be done except in sending in (as at Liverpool Workhouse Infirmary) a trained superintendent with a staff of trained head nurses under her.

The principle of the training school at St Thomas's is to train women and certificate them, and then find employment for them, making the best bargain for them not only as to wages but as to arrangements and facilities for success, but at present the difficulty is to supply the demand or a tithe of that demand. Therefore, what Miss Nightingale advises is to complete a staff for one metropolitan workhouse infirmary, and make it a special duty of this staff to train nurses for other infirmaries, to make this one thoroughly complete from the beginning, and set in the right groove from the first, whatever intermediate course may be taken to supply meantime better nursing than at present in the other London workhouse infirmaries.

The system adopted at St Thomas's Hospital under the Nightingale Fund allows the probationers a stipend during their year of training, after which immediate employment is obtained for them, at present as hospital or infirmary nurses, commencing at not less than 20 pounds a year, with the usual extras. They are required to serve as such hospital nurses for four years, and this is the only recompense exacted for the costs and advantages of training. The principles are substantially the same under the like fund at King's College Hospital, where the training is for midwifery. Owing to the great opportunity for this branch of practice in London workhouses the nurses there trained would find a considerable demand from ladies' committees and benevolent institutions, which pay them well. The probationers receive the requisite medical and surgical instruction, at the bedside or otherwise, from the medical professors or resident officers. Miss Nightingale discusses the details of a proper training, suggests two years of it for those who have to train others in their turn, and remarks that in course of time there might be a trained superintendent-general for the whole of the metropolitan workhouse infirmaries, responsible directly to the Poor Law Board. With wages given during training it is thought that fit women (above twenty-five years of age) will present themselves. They are not likely to be found among the inmates of workhouses,

or at all events of London workhouses, but girls leaving the large union schools might be disposed to take hospital nursing, doing what they can in the children's and women's sick wards, and instructed in an industrial department until the full-blown hospital nurse is developed out of them, when they would earn more than they could ever except in domestic service.

Miss Nightingale is decidedly against placing the nursing establishment under the workhouse master or matron, or the medical officer. In workhouse administration for the able-bodied, there is ever kept in view the necessity of checking the constant tendency of a certain class to fall into pauperism, but with the sick the best policy is to cure as quickly as possible. The two departments are to be conducted on different principles. Vest the general supervision and administration of the infirmary in a governor responsible to the board or committee; vest the whole responsibility for the nursing, the internal management and the discipline of the nurses in the female head of the nursing staff, responsible to the constituted authorities. The orders of the medical officer are ever to be obeyed but "in disciplinary matters a woman only can understand a woman." Miss Nightingale goes on to state the results of her experience in reference to the number of beds advisable per ward, the surface area required, and other matters. She notices that the larger the number of sick (up to 800 or 1000) under one hospital government and one matron, the better both for economy and efficiency. Without consolidation of workhouse hospitals a great and quite needless expenditure would have to be incurred in attempting to secure the conditions under which efficient nursing can be carried out. Her object is to include in the proposed arrangements those workhouse sick who are infirm and aged, including "helpless cases," "dirty cases," such require more careful nursing than any, and receive it at all good establishment for infirm and invalids both in England and abroad."

\* 20 March 1867 6A "Parliamentary Intelligence" House of Lords March 19. earl of Devon speaking on "Metropolitan Poor Bill" cites FN on second reading, re "excellent and gifted woman" "Contemporaneously with her labours, the ill arrangement of the sick wards of he workhouses and the want of a proper nursing staff had pressed themselves on the Poor Law Board as matters requiring attention"

**[13:407-08]**

Sir, I beg to acknowledge your letter of July 21, relating to the selecting and engaging of 4 trained and training nurses for the Sydney Infirmary.

Let me, in the first place, assure you that all that I can

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do shall be done to forward your kind and wise intentions and that, so far from your application to me requiring any "apology," it has, on the contrary, a claim upon me. For Australia has always been a powerful Patroness of mine. And I hardly know how to thank you as I could wish for asserting that claim.

You are perhaps not aware that, after the Crimean War, a Fund was raised, called the "Nightingale Fund." Australia interested herself very much in this affair. I applied this "Fund" exclusively to the training of Matrons and nurses for the sick poor, and especially for Hospitals. But the demand is always larger than the supply, even for England alone. We are generally engaged years deep in training. We have always more posts to fill than, alas!, persons to fill them. And we have never a supply of this valuable Article ready *on hand*. Persons fit to be engaged always are engaged. And it is only within the last ten years that means have been taking to ensure a supply at all of *Trained* persons fit to take charge in Hospitals. You see that it is *I* who have to begin with an "apology." I would fain repay part of my heavy debt to Australia, according to my powers. -

But I shall have to crave your indulgence and time, if we are to supply you with such persons as, after training them, we could recommend.

Your plan is, if I may say so without impertinence, wise, benevolent, and well-digested, namely, to begin in the Sydney Infirmary a Training School for Nurses (people so often fancy that Hospital Nurses can be trained *outside* a Hospital) and gradually to extend it so as to become a Training-School for Nurses for other Institutions in the Colony. Of course, upon the receipt of your letter (of 21 July) I immediately put myself and also Capt. Mayne in communication with Mrs Wardroper, the valued Matron (Superintendent) of our Training School for *Hospital* Nurses at St Thomas' Hospital, in order to see how far we could meet your wishes and how soon, and also carefully to consider Dr Alfred Roberts' excellent business-like Memorandum.

I shall venture to ask you to give your consideration to the *details*, which Captain Mayne and Mrs Wardroper will give, concerning what I have submitted to you *in general* in this letter.

We think that it will be necessary to have a Matron for the Sydney Infirmary trained in the same School that the "4 Sisters", asked for, are trained in.

And we think the staff of assistants proposed rather small.

We venture to lay these things before you, because we always try to obtain, for the success of those Hospital Nursing Staffs which we send out, the conditions which, in our judgment, will alone ensure success. But I leave Captain Mayne and Mrs Wardroper to enter into farther detail. We shall then trust to receive

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from you farther instructions. And I will only now add, without vain words, that I am deeply touched and pleased at your claiming my poor services.

And that I am, Sir, with great truth  
ever your faithful servant  
Florence Nightingale

N.B. nor P.S. I do myself the honour of sending you by this mail the last Edition of my "Notes on Hospitals" -- not expecting you that you will have time to look into it yourself, but hoping that those who have more immediate business with Hospitals will glance over what I have said as to the construction necessary to ensure good Nursing and administration. I am sure that it will be a great advantage for our Nursing staff, should be fortunate enough to supply you with one--to work under Dr Alfred Roberts.

I would also say that I am an invalid, entirely a prisoner to a couch, but, I thank God, still able to work! And that no delay shall proceed from this circumstance.

I did not receive yours of July 21 till October 4. But I had already received notice of its advent from Captain Mayne on Sept. 21. Some little delay, but not much, has occurred in our reply from this circumstance. F.N.

5 August 1870 *The Times* 8E "Letter to the Times" [Sir Harry Verney, M.P., in a proposing a formal resolution for the appointment of a committee, read an interesting letter from Miss Florence Nightingale, who said: **[15:640-41]**

Respecting the society forming for help to the sick and wounded in this awful war (may God's best blessing go with it, as must the sympathies of all who have a heart in their bodies), what strikes me is this. This lamentable, this deadly war, has found us without any organization wherewith to proceed at once to the assistance of our suffering brothers and sisters across the Channel. There is nevertheless an organization in existence, having branches among other place[s] in Berlin and Paris. There is a common code of regulations pointing out the kinds of supplies which ought to be sent to the field hospitals, together with the steps to be taken to secure their neutralization and distribution. Had we in this country proceeded with the same activity as has been shown by both sides in this war, we should not now be calling meetings to inquire what ought to be done, and where the funds ought to come from.

Miss Nightingale, after remarking, "We have no practical knowledge of how to go about the work ourselves," and urging that nevertheless "we can assist those who are engaged in it," proceeds to make practical suggestions, adopted in the resolutions, as to giving aid to the combatants, and she adds, "I need hardly suggest, because Englishmen will always see fair play



done, that the most rigid impartiality should be observed in the division of funds." She then goes on to say:

"It is not unlikely that, besides supplies in money and kind, personal service in field hospitals might be asked for. I have myself received an application, or rather an offer of acceptance, of war nurses, should such volunteer, from one whom we all love and revere, and who is now in the thick of the dreadful turmoil. There will probably be a demand for efficient nurses, both men and women, and in this probability I would venture to say, from my own experience, that any who undertake such work must be not sentimental enthusiasts, but downright lovers of hard work. If there is any work which is simple stern necessity, it is that of waiting upon the sick and wounded after a battle--serving in war hospitals, attending to and managing the thousand-and-one hard, dry, practical details, which nevertheless mainly determine the question as to whether your sick and wounded shall live or die. If there is any nonsense in people's ideas of what hospital nursing is, one day of real duty will root it out. But are they capable of one day of real duty? There are things to be done and things to be seen which at once separate the true metal from the tinkling brass, both among men and women. And then come long, patient, unremitting, ceaseless, toil, anxiety, and responsibility for those who can bear it. Let those who may wish to serve in this work examine and test their own motives and fitness. I feel compelled to say this, because we have no organization and no nurses or other agents. But to those who can in any degree estimate the true greatness of the work and would wish to join in it, I would say let them offer themselves. x x

If I could rise from my bed of illness so as to be of any use, I should before now have been off to wherever the authorities would accept my services as most wanted. (Cheers). If I cannot, there are better who will be able and willing to go under this awful emergency which has come over Europe. Those who are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, our fellow Christians (Oh, that I should have to say it!) are met face to face in the deadliest struggle of our time, armed with every instrument of destruction which the latest science has placed in human hands. Can we stand idly by, or take a sentimental part either on one side or the other in the face of all this suffering? Ought we not rather to think only of one thing--the sufferings, incalculably greater than anything our eyes have seen or our ears heard, or that it has entered into our imaginations to conceive (and when we think of the peasants taken from their harvestings to fight, the whole organization of labour broken up, and children starving and helpless, we see the misery of war doubled and tripled tenfold by want and scarcity) ought we not to go to the relief of such suffering on whichever side, in whichever trace we find it, wherever we are allowed to go to it?"

The letter, which was warmly cheered, was dated the 2nd August, "the anniversary of Sidney Herbert's death nine years ago," as Miss Nightingale noted.

19 November 1870. *The Lancet*. "To the Editor of *The Lancet*," 96,2464, p. 725 (dated 14 November 1870) [9:916-18]

Sir, In your number of 29 October you inserted a kind and gentle criticism from Professor Maclean on certain parts of my "few words" appended to the last annual India Office report on sanitary measures.

Since the outbreak of this most terrible of all earth's wars [the Franco-Prussian War], I have had a hard time of it in defending others, and I have not had the least little moment to defend myself. Still, Sir, if you will allow me, I should wish to say that Professor Maclean seems to have read from a point of view opposite to that which was in my mind when writing these "few words." And I am glad that he has given me an opportunity, with your permission, to explain them.

My object was, as I need scarcely say, purely practical. It was to deprecate a tendency complained of by all of late years (this very complaint came to me from India), viz., the tendency to base sanitary proceedings on theory. Dr Maclean appears to think that I question the propriety of the cholera inquiry now proceeding in India. I was one of its first and strongest advocates. I strenuously urged the granting of necessary funds to carry it out, and I consider it one of the most important public Indian inquiries which has been ever undertaken on our subject. The very importance of it lies in this: if a fact is proved, it ceases to be theory. The inquiry in question is to ascertain, as far as may be, what *is* fact. This was the meaning of the passage which Dr Maclean interprets as implying "ridicule" on my part.

What I said about the present state of the fungoid theory I learnt from the published report of Drs Cuninghame and Lewis, about the ground water from Dr Townsend's Report on Cholera in the Central Provinces. These statements are not theories, but facts. If they are facts, they cease to be theories. The theories remain just where they were. Of course, if the theories were found on longer inquiry to be true, they too would be no longer theories, but facts and as such would afford good ground for expending public money in applying the *facts* to save life.

The case of Jenner,<sup>1</sup> cited by Dr Maclean, is in reality my case. Jenner first started a theory, but the Vaccination Acts, with the costs and penalties, were not enacted until Jenner's theory had become a fact by long experience.

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<sup>1</sup> Sir William Jenner (1815-98), physician to Queen Victoria, distinguished typhus from typhoid fever.

We all have the same object in view, viz., saving human life. This cannot be done without expenditure. And as theories are many and uncertain, all we ask is that the public should know what we are spending their money for. This the said cholera inquiry will, perhaps more than anything else, help to tell us.

Also, in what I said about cholera excreta, I simply dealt again with the facts. Dr Bryden has shown in his report on cholera, p 214, that the dry-earth system, which, in its application, would prevent the dangers of putrid cholera excreta, had not stayed the ravages of cholera. Hence Dr Bryden himself calls in question the theory. And I have done no more.

At p 59, para 170 of the report for 1869 by the "sanitary commissioner with the Government of India," just received, the results of dealing with cholera excreta are stated as follows: "With regard to the effect of the careful disinfection and safe disposal of evacuations which seem to have been generally practised, there is no evidence to show that any results can be professedly attributed to them."

Since Professor Maclean's letter appeared in *The Lancet* of 29 October, I have received Dr Lewis's able and most interesting report, the first instalment of the scientific inquiry into cholera which Dr Maclean fears my remarks may injure. It confirms the former joint reports of Drs Lewis and Cuninghame by a host of microscopic examinations and drawings, from which the following conclusion (No. 3, p 164, sanitary commissioner's report) is deduced by Dr Lewis: "3. That no special fungus has been developed in cholera stools, the fungus described by Hallier being certainly not confined to such stools." But these are the theories which have hitherto occupied the attention of the observers.

Even this information, though most important, we shall not, however, receive as final. We must inquire into objections and ask further questions. The real inquiry is only about to begin. Mere controversy is here useless.

With many apologies for writing so long a letter, which, had I had more time, I could have made shorter. Pray believe me, Sir,  
your faithful servant  
Florence Nightingale

## 1871

1 February 1871 6B "The Distress in and About Paris." *The Times* 1 February 1871, reprinted, *New York Times* 28 February 1871  
My Lord, May I be permitted to contribute through your hands my mite--£5 a week for four weeks--to the most appalling distress this country has seen--that of the starving population in Paris, where, on the opening of the gates, a million and a half of Non-combatants, principally women and children, will have to be fed

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like babies?

But the charity of England will be equal, under your auspices, to the emergency. For this terrible new year what can one wish but that there never may be such another to the end of the world? Still, England may by such another magnificent charity--as has been said by a princess very dear to us--has risen equal to the waste. I do not believe there is one man, woman, or child above pauperism who has not given, I will not say according to their means, but far above their means, for German and French who can never give again to them; "and all for love and nothing for reward."

I should like the working people of England to know that the working people of France and of Germany feel this. One expression of it--it was from a German--struck me particularly; it was to the effect that Prussian elementary education was far superior to the English--let the London School Board show that this shall not be the case long; but for the "education of the heart," continued my correspondent, give me the English working people. I fully endorse this. [end 15:771]

Pardon me, my Lord, this long note, for the declaration of feeling which, I think, must please you, and believe me to be, my Lord,

your obedient servant  
Florence Nightingale

23 February 1871 *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle* "War Items" [letter with donation to an association relieving the sufferings of the peasantry in France] reprinted in many Australian and New Zealand newspapers

I wish it was ten times as much, for in this most terrible of all earth's wars--in the countless horrors of this most horrible of mankind's histories--I believe the sufferings of the starving, stripped and burned out peasantry are the greatest horrors of all.

17 July 1871 8B "The Sick and Wounded in War" letter read by the chairman. Report of Captain Furley, then [FN lett]  
"Would I could be with you! But I can at least wish God Speed, which I do with all my heart and soul to the progress of the 'National Society' so efficiently begun under your auspices--to its union with other Red Cross societies of all peoples and tongues--in a work which is one of the truest charity, the greatest in the world, because it seeks to help those of all ways of thinking and living. May our 'society' never have the same dreadful work to do again, but may it always live to provide and prepare against miseries, and, by preparing, end them."

17 July 1871 8B "The Sick and Wounded in War" following letter

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read in the evening by the chairman. Report of Captain Furley, then

"Would I could be with you! But I can at least wish God Speed, which I do with all my heart and soul to the progress of the 'National Society' so efficiently begun under your auspices--to its union with other Red Cross societies of all peoples and tongues--in a work which is one of the truest charity, the greatest in the world, because it seeks to help those of all ways of thinking and living. May our 'society' never have the same dreadful work to do again, but may it always live to provide and prepare against miseries, and, by preparing, end them."

14 October 1871 7 *Queenslander* Brisbane Qld "A Letter from Florence Nightingale," *The New York Tribune* says: Florence Nightingale, writing to a friend in Brooklyn, in acknowledgment of a certificate of honorary membership in a Missionary Society, speaks in very feeling terms of the generous contributions made in England and the United States to alleviate the sufferings caused by the late war between Germany and Franc. She says "I am sure it will please your society to learn (for are we not all brothers and sisters in the United States and in Old England - of one family and of one tongue?) how their English relations, the subjects of our Queen in all climates and in all longitudes - not by any means only the rich, but the whole mass of hard-working, honest, frugal people - have contributed every penny they could so ill spare. Women have given their very shoes off their feet, the very suppers out of their children's mouths, to the poor sufferers in this awful war - not of their own creed - not of their own thinking or way of living at all - but in the truest spirit of Christian charity, all have given, every man, woman and child above pauperism. We ..... re Missionary Society honorary membership

## 1872

31 January 1872 *The Times* 8B "The Livingstone Expedition"  
"I send you my little mite for Dr Livingstone's search. May God speed every effort to save one of the greatest men of our time, or, if he is dead, to save his discoveries! If it cost £10,0000 to send him a pair of boots, England ought to give it. But England provides the great men, and then England leaves them to perish."

15 July 1872 *Huddersfield Chronicle* "A Letter from Florence Nightingale."

*The New York Tribune* says, Florence Nightingale, writing to a friend in Brooklyn in acknowledgment of a certificate of honorary membership in a Missionary Society, speaks in very feeling terms of the generous contributions made in England and

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the United States to alleviate the sufferings caused by the late war between Germany and France. She says:

I am sure it will please your society to learn (for are we not all brothers and sisters in the United States and in Old England--of one family and of one tongue?) how their English relations, the subjects of our Queen, in all climates and in all longitudes--not by any means only the rich but the whole mass of hard-working, honest, frugal people--have contributed every penny they could so ill spare. Women have given the very shoes off their feet, the very suppers out of their children's mouths, to the poor sufferers in this awful war--not of their own creed--not of their own thinking or way of living at all--but in the freest spirit of Christian charity, all have given, every man, woman and child above pauperism. So general a collection among the "working classes" never has been, not even for our own Patriotic Fund. Poor congregations of all kinds: "Puritan chapels in my own dear hills of Derbyshire, national schools, factories, poor negro congregations in the West Indies; in London, ragged-school children who, having nothing to give, gave up their only feast in the year, that the money might be applied to the orphans in the war, "who want it more than we." London dissenting congregations, without a single rich member, who sent their large collections; poor working women's parties, who made up warm clothing for the sufferers in that frightful winter campaign and refused to be paid for it, and then the children, making their little birthday presents for the "Lord Christ," for Him to give to the children made homeless and well-nigh hopeless by the war.

31 January 1872 *The Times* 8B "The Livingstone Expedition"

"I send you my little mite for Dr Livingstone's search. May God speed every effort to save one of the greatest men of our time, or, if he is dead, to save his discoveries! If it cost £10,000 to send him a pair of boots, England ought to give it. But England provides the great men, and then England leaves them to perish.

**1873**

11 October 1873 *The Times* 11F "Miss Nightingale on Prison Discipline" and in *Transactions of the National Congress on Penitentiary and Reformatory Discipline*. Cincinnati Ohio [5:225-26]

London

1 September 1872

Dear Sir [Rev Dr Wines]

I have to thank you for your kind note and very interesting address, written to be read at Brussels. I do not feel myself competent to express any opinion on its point, excepting that each should speak in his own language, unless that language

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should be for example Hungarian, that is, one rarely spoken out of its own country, in which the educated inhabitants almost always speak some language besides their own.

The only other point on which I will continue to speak, and this only because you are good enough to write me to do so, is the question of subjects. Have you tried any new experiment of prison reform and practically proved its success or failure? Devised any new reformatory system? In the matter of devising the best mode of reformatory punishment for crimes against property, to which I owe my correspondence with yourself, I believe nothing has been done but talk. Yet the subject is becoming more pressing every year. No one but knows of skilful workmen, discharged with a good character [reference] and a good trade from prison, yet resuming the trade of theft within a few days, even a few hours, as more lucrative and even informing employers that they had been in jail as a means of escaping employment.

Who can believe that this would be the case if these persons had to work out and repay the price of their theft? Theft would not then be lucrative. As it is, a good prison is actually a reward, not a deterrent to the thief. No one but knows the sickly, unskillful thief who likes the good bed of the prison, his trade of thieving not being remunerative, but the prison is. It is stated that one of the four American forgers who have just been convicted here was just out of an American prison for forgery. Who can believe that had he been sentenced to work out and repay the price of his former forgery, he would instantly on his release from prison have recommenced the same course? The prison is actually not punishment for but, as it were, an encouragement to thieving. At least it is theft made easy. (For crimes accompanied with violence, especially for violence toward women and children, I would whip.)

Now the United States, which are foremost in the field in these good matters, ought they not to show us some new system in these things? The important subject of "how to reform prostitutes, how to teach them to earn an honest livelihood, with all the means absolutely essential, moral and religious, for strengthening the wills of these poor creatures, equally far from pelting [?] and from revolting cheerlessness, this, too, is a thing on which we seem to have made little progress, and in which we might well exchange international experience.

Pardon me, dear Sir, this note, for which I feel I do, indeed, need your pardon, as my hands are already so much too full of business that, invalid as I am and a prisoner to my room, it is impossible for me to take up and practically to work out this reformatory subject. I leave it in worthier hands than mine. May God bless you for all you have done, and all you will do. Pray believe me,

ever your faithful servant,

Late Thomas Alexander, Army Medical Dept

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Florence Nightingale

**1873**

4 November 1873 *The Times* 10F "Voting Charities"

30 October [1873]

Dear Sir Sydney Waterlow

I am very much pleased to find that you have been bold enough to invite public discussion in reference to the present system of electing candidates for what are known as the great voting charities of this country. It is an arduous undertaking. In none more do I wish you 'God speed,' and in none more do I believe you will succeed. You have to consider, for one thing, the great nuisance of the present mode of electing candidates. My experience of it induces me to describe it as the best system for electing the least eligible, or, at any rate, the system for preventing the discovery of the most eligible. There is truly a traffic in votes, and I cannot but conclude that many contributors sell theirs, from the frequent applications I have not to sell mine, but to give money to buy those belonging to other people. I will add that for many years my experience has been such as at length to compel me to decline contributing to any charity which elects by votes the poor who are to benefit by it.

In more than one instance the managers of charitable institutions have insisted on keeping my name on the list of subscribers, without my subscribing. I was once informed, upon withdrawing my name, that 'my name was worth more than my money,' and the consequence is my poor name still figures on their list of subscribers.

As to the evil, one scarcely knows whether it is greater to the canvasser or the canvassed--to the canvasser in absorbing talent, time, money and energy which might go to relieve a legion of sufferers, or to the canvassed in that they who want charity must get the least.

Permit me one illustration: a lady of noble name and power of work once gave me the story of her exertions in the canvassing line. She worked for six weeks 12 to 13 hours each day; 180 letters the task for nearly every day, about 3£ the expense to herself of each canvass, and a nervous fever at the close of the election!

Upon my expression of astonishment that so much power to do good would have been thus wasted, she added, 'These things have ruined my health for life.' One more illustration of an evil system: I have lately been consulted about a proposed charity where the poor applicants will have to subscribe, but the annuity promised will still remain with the vote of the rich, and this is to be done on the ground that otherwise the rich will not contribute!



Late Thomas Alexander, Army Medical Dept

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How ingrained must be our gambling propensities!  
Wishing you again 'God speed' in the work you have  
undertaken

I remain, faithfully yours  
the Rt Hon Sir Sydney H. Waterlow

**1874**

**1875**

8 April 1875 6 Parliamentary Intelligence. Re the bill. speech by  
? "Had the early life of Miss Nightingale been spent in  
preparation for political strife, and if her maturer years had  
been employed in party warfare, she would never have been the  
Florence Nightingale we all revered; she would never have risen  
to the tender, ministering woman who had attained more than a  
hero's glory and more than a statesman's renown. (Cheers.) Hoped  
would not be a party one

**1876**

12 January 1876 *The Times* 5E "The Goliath," [Letter received by  
the Lord Mayor 31 December 1875]

My Lord Mayor:

Though much burdened with other claims, I cannot help taking  
advantage of the kindness with which you inaugurated help for the  
Goliath, and requesting you to accept, though but a poor mite,  
the utmost I can afford--ten pounds for the purpose, believing,  
as I do, that these training ships leave a much better legacy to  
the country in these depauperized subjects and well-trained  
sailor boys than if, as Lord Shaftesbury said, we left a legacy  
of £100,000, though I wish I had it to leave for such a purpose.  
Every so trained and so depauperized boy is a bequest to England  
worth making.

With best wishes and three cheers for the success of all  
such training ships, I beg that you will believe me, my Lord  
Mayor, with many apologies because I am very ill,

ever your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

22 January 1876 *Staffordshire Advertiser* 3 "North Staffordshire  
Infirmary"

I wish I could answer your question with regard to  
children's hospitals, and children's wards in general hospitals,  
with more satisfaction to you and myself. I have not "modified  
the opinion" to which you refer in my *Notes on Hospitals*. Rather  
do I see reason every year to be confirmed in it. But every  
"view" is to be "modified" according to its modifications (i.e.,  
mutatis mutandis [with appropriate changes]). A local district

wants according to its local wants. A local arrangement is modified according to its local modifications. I can only explain this by giving illustrations, and I will give none but actual facts coming within my own experience, e.g. (1) an experienced matron or head nurse, whose "opinion" is really valuable, tells you "never put sick children in an adult ward; they disturb the other patients." You inquire, and you find her experience to be that of a ward of forty beds, where throughout the winter there have never been less than twenty severe children's cases, chiefly burns, and twenty "heavy" adult cases, all of them too serious to think of anything but themselves, or to be able to take any other interest in a child than to be disturbed by its moans and cries. It is obvious that here the very object of treating children amongst adults is lost by their being treated amongst adults. If, added to this, the head nurse has not that peculiar power, which seems almost a gift, of soothing children, so that the most suffering cases will not cry, but will quietly lie patient or even happy, you have certainly the most imperative of all conditions for treating your sick children apart.

Crying children do not so much disturb one another as they disturb women seriously ill or in a state of prostration. Children's cases must obviously bear a certain proportion to adult cases in the ward, and not only this but to severe adult cases, if their presence there is to be a benefit to themselves and the other cases. If they exceed this proportion, there must be a children's ward for the excess of infants and very young cases. But I think I would never put this children's ward into a building so separate that the same current supervision cannot be extended to it. And I would add that a great medical school of students, and a great training school of nurse probationers ("lady" and otherwise), materially diminish the danger of children being left to the mercy of one or more nurses, for you bear in mind that children cannot complain like adults.

But I would also say that I know at present in England hardly any one children's hospital or children's ward in [a] general hospital, which gives a good training to probationers, and when I see this I extremely doubt the quality of the nursing or supervision. I wish my children back in the general wards.

Now take the other side. (2) An equally experienced matron or head nurse whose "opinion" is as valuable as that of No. 1 tells you, "Never put your sick children except in an adult ward; they do the other patients so much good, and the other patients nurse them." You inquire, and you find her experience to be that of a ward of thirty-two beds, with five or six (or even more) children in it, a clever sister (head nurse) placing each next [to] an adult whose own woes are capable of alleviation by alleviating the child's. You see, e.g., a young unmarried man of twenty (who has not been over sober or over good in times past)

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taking the entire charge of washing and amusing and feeding a troublesome, naughty child of three, who will be good with no one else but its impromptu nurse, whom, however, it has never seen before. What good influence can replace this for either man or child? The man, even when in the progress of his disease, too seriously worse to leave his bed, has the child's bed wheeled up to his with doctor's and nurse's joyful consent, and both continue their care of each other, and both recover.

A little mombey of two, a lithotomy case, swore frightfully in a children's ward, and with two nurses, one by day and one by night, to itself, was almost unmanageable. It was placed in an adult ward; it was quite quiet and good. Where there is a good sister (head nurse) you rarely, if ever, hear swearing in a man's ward. But everything depends on the head nurse.

I might multiply instances, but everyone can do it for himself. I despair of seeing anything like a children's hospital with proper adjuncts in England. May I add that, in your case, I should feel more inclined to have the roughest children's convalescent home by the sea, of about twenty-four beds, than to put them in the kind of building you describe. The difficulty of getting a really good *children's ward* head nurse ("sister") I believe to be immense. I have known but few in my whole life. "L'art fait un cuisinier; on est né rôtiisseur"; art (training) makes a hospital nurse; one must be *born* a *children's* hospital nurse. If I have said nothing satisfactory to you, may my good intentions stand in lieu of deed. I would gladly help your case if I could.

I have kept this open several days hoping to get you some additional information. It would be exceedingly interesting to find out the relative rate of mortality and duration of sickness in children's cases, otherwise *similar*, placed in "general" or "children's" wards or hospitals, but unfortunately hospital statistics are not sufficiently well kept to ascertain this. I am (perhaps more than ever) under pressure of illness and business.

13 March 1876 *The Times* 10C "Bosnian Fugitives"

Miss Florence Nightingale asks us to publish the following extracts from a letter she has received from Miss A. Paulina Irby, Pakratz, in Slavonia 29 February.

I return from a long day's work just in time to tell you that we are starting two schools for Bosnian children in two villages in this neighbourhood. One will be taught by a poor crippled but very clever Bosnian, himself a fugitive, and who has been three years schoolmaster in Bosnia, the very man we have been looking for to teach the fugitive children. He was brought to us by a Bosnian exile who has lived in Serbia since 1861, a fine tall man with a very striking countenance, and what the old Serb song describes as the "glad bright eye of heroes." There are

161 Bosnian children under twelve in this village, Kukonevab, where the crippled schoolmaster is to teach, and other children in the neighbourhood. The arrangements for the second school are somewhat similar. We are trying to form others, and expect to succeed. Two thousand five hundred more fugitives have arrived on the Croatian military frontier since 1 February. They have been horribly persecuted and say they would rather drown in the Unna river than go back under the present rule in Bosnia. In this neighbourhood they will be able to get a little work in spring and summer...

The number of fugitives on the military frontier is now much over 30,000. There was an addition of many hundreds five weeks ago on the "dry frontier," in a wild district south of Kostainitza. There are probably from five to eight thousand in the province of Croatia and Slavonia as distinct from the "military frontier." We went on Monday, the 21st, to Posega in the province of Slavonia, a very fatiguing journey of seven hours in a springless cart. Hitherto in the bitter cold the villages have looked terribly desolate, but it was cheering now to see signs of life. The Veliki Zupan, the chief authority, came to take us in a cart with four horses, tearing through mud and over stones, round some neighbouring villages, where we visited houses where Bosnian families were lodged, returning at night after a drive in the dark, at the risk of our necks, to Posega...

We find, however, that the fugitives throng to the neighbourhood of Pakratz, not only because the inhabitants of this district are Pravoslavs, but also because a large portion of them are Bosnians who have settled here in former years, and more especially after the rising of 1858 and of 1861. All will settle in Bosnia again when the land can have protection from the Turks. I give as instances of these families (1) a small miserable-looking wooden hut with two partitions, of which one open to the weather served as kitchen and pig-sty, the other as dwelling and sleeping place for two families. One family consisted of father, mother and grandfather, with five children, the other family, father and mother with three children. The family who owned the hut were Bosnians who fled from Turkey in 1858 and earned enough to buy this hut and a little bit of land. They had taken in the other Bosnian family who fled here last September. The room was stifling. There was not one single article of furniture in the hut except a sort of open box. A naked babe, born on the flight, lay asleep on the earth floor in a man's tattered jacket. We gave shirts and linen. While we were there the father and mother came back from the town where the blankets had been given out, and they had been given one. It was cheering to see the smile on the poor woman's hard, misery-stricken face.

(2) The driver whom we engaged to take us to Posega was a Bosnian who came over seventeen years ago with his father, mother

and brother. The two young men have been so industrious that they have been able to buy a little house and a piece of land for 1,000 gulden paid down. In spring Bosnians may earn sometimes fifty to eighty kreutzers a day. (3) A family of five brothers, all married, living in a "zadruga." (4) Two Bosnian families, came last autumn, allowed to occupy a wretched little hut used in the vintage: a man and his wife, with three children. They get nothing from the Austrian government; he earns fifty kreutzers a day cutting wood. The other family, a widow with five children; she receives the allowance and can earn nothing. We have given them shirts and shifts and linen...

To explain what a "zadruga" is I was very much interested in visiting a Slavonian "zadruga" of the better sort, consisting of five families (thirty souls) near Posega. There was the general working room and kitchen of the whole community, a room occupied by the house father and his own family, and four separate little rooms opening into a yard, where the other four families slept. These buildings formed two sides of a most filthy farmyard...

The relations and friends with whom the orphans with whom the orphans starve cannot bear to let them go among strangers. The Bosnians are, as a rule, kind to orphan children, who become the children of the community. Every community has its "elder," even in this exile, who has a voice in the disposal of the orphans. But in these evil days the number of poor little Bosnian "waifs and strays," of "gutter children," is said, on good authority, almost to pass belief. I calculate that the expenses of board, lodging, clothing and schooling for a child on this frontier will be about £10 per annum." The following statement is given by Miss Irby of the way in which she has applied personally, through all the villages named, a part of the funds so generously entrusted to her up to 24 February 1876: [the amounts and for what spent are spelled out, including linen, shoes for children, corn, lodging]. Subscriptions will be received for the relief of the suffering Bosnians by Messrs Twining, 215 Strand.

14 April 1876 *The Times* 6CD "Trained Nurses for the Sick Poor"  
**[13:750-56]**

Sir: The beginning has been made, the first crusade has been fought and won, to bring a truly *national* undertaking--real nursing, trained nursing--to the bedsides of cases wanting real nursing among the London sick poor, in the only way in which real nurses can be so brought to the sick poor, and this by providing a real home within reach of their work for the nurses to live in, a home which gives what real family homes are supposed to give: materially, a bedroom for each, dining and sitting rooms in common, all meals prepared and eaten in the home, morally, direction, support, sympathy in a common work, further training

and instruction in it, proper rest and recreation and a head of the home who is also and pre-eminently trained and skilled head of the nursing, in short, a home where any good mother, of whatever class, would be willing to let her daughter, however attractive or highly educated, live. But all this costs money.

Allow an old nurse to say her word on what a district nurse is to be. This system, which twenty years ago was a paradox, twenty years hence will be a commonplace. If a nurse has to "find herself," to cook for herself when she comes home "dog tired" from her patients, to do everything for herself, she cannot do real nursing, for nursing requires the most undivided attention of anything I know, and all the health and strength both of mind and body. If, then, she has to provide for herself, she can only be half a nurse, and of two things happens. Either she is of the level of her patients or she sinks to the level of her patients and actually makes apologies for their dirt and disorderliness, instead of remedying these and instead of their making apologies to her and being anxious for these to be remedied. Nay, as the old hospital nurse did thirty years ago, she may even come to prey upon what is provided for her patients. There is a third alternative: that she breaks her heart.

The thing which always does happen is that no woman really fit for the work will do it, or ought to do it. To have a person fit to live in a home, and who would have any other?--and to create homes for the poor, for it is nothing less--you must have a home fit for her to live in. If you give nurses a bad home, or no home at all, you will have only nurses who will live in a bad home, or no home at all. They forget what a home is. How, then, can they reform and recreate, as it were, the homes of the sick poor?

The very thing that we find in these poor sick is that they lose the feeling of what it is to be clean. The district nurse has to show them their room clean for once, in other words to do it herself: to sweep and dusty away, to empty and wash out all the appalling dirt and foulness, to air and disinfect, rub the windows, sweep the fireplace, carry out and shake the bits of old sacking and carpet, and lay them down again, fetch fresh water and fill the kettle, wash the patient and the children and make the bed. Every home she has thus cleaned has always been kept so. This is her glory. She found it a pigsty, she left it a tidy, airy room. In fact, these nurses are so far above their patients that the poor are "ashamed that we should see their homes dirty again."

One woman burst into tears as she said, "It looks like it did before I was taken ill and all my troubles came upon me; indeed I used to be clean and tidy; ask the neighbours if I wasn't. But, what with sickness and trouble, I let one thing after another get behind and then it was too much for me

altogether. Why I haven't been able to make my bed properly since I came out of hospital, for I did not seem to have heart or strength to do anything, but I will never let it get into such a state again." And she kept her word, the nurse helping daily in the heavier part of the work, while attending to dress the patient's wound, till the woman was able to do it all herself.

In another case, the mother had been two years in bed. The place was a den of foulness. One could cut the air with a knife. The nurse employed two of the little children to collect the foul litter and dirty linen from under the bed and sort it, emptied utensils which had not been emptied for a fortnight (this is common), cleaned the grate and carried away the caked ashes, washed the children, combed and cleansed their hair, crowded with vermin. Next day the oldest girl, of eight, had scoured the place and, perched on a three-legged stool, was trying to wash the dirty linen with her poor little thin arms. A woman, a neighbour, was found to do this.

The highest compliment of all has to be told. In another den of dirt Miss Lees, the "head nurse," was proceeding, after the other most necessary operations, to wash a little puny boy when he exclaimed, "Willie don't like to be bathed. Oo may bath de debil if oo likes." Such was Willie's opinion of the extraordinary powers of this new nurse: she could wash black white. ("The devil" is a sadly prominent figure in the religion of the poor. One has heard of blackening the devil; one seldom heard before of whitening him, except from Burns, and he called the devil's a *den*. This is, indeed, a crusade against the devil and the devil's den.)

How have the tone and state of hospital nurses been raised? By, more than anything else, making the hospital such a home as good young women--educated young women--can live and nurse in, and, secondly, by raising hospital nursing into such a profession as these can earn an honourable livelihood in. If this is the case for hospitals, how much more so for district nursing, where the nurses have to be out in all weathers and not in cab or omnibus, and where must be created, for there is not now, the *esprit de corps* which inspires the nurses of a good hospital and training school as it does the soldiers of a regiment of many battles and well-worn colours, whose glory has to be kept untarnished!

Even now, except in some remarkable instances, the hospital nurse wants more and gets less of the helps, moral, material and spiritual, than the woman in a good home or service. The district nurse wants yet more than the hospital nurse, for her life is harder and more exposed, and gets none. Women cannot stand alone (though, for that matter, still less can men). Everybody knows how easy it is to sink to the lowest: "it is all the way downhill," as I heard an old man say--how hard to rise to the

highest!

A first beginning has been made to give to the district London nurse the real help and the real home which are the secret of the success of active religious sisterhoods abroad, together with the real independence, enterprise, indomitable self-reliance, capability of training all the powers to the best efficiency, which are the secret of the success of the highest British character, and all of which are wanted in the crusade against dirt and fever nests, the crusade to let light, air and cleanliness into the worst rooms of the worst places of sick London.

To set these poor sick people going again with a sound and clean house, as well as with a sound body and mind, is about as great a benefit as can be given them--worth acres of gifts and relief. This is depauperizing them. But to train and provide such district nurses and such district homes costs money.

What is a district nurse to do? A nurse is, first, a nurse. Secondly, to nurse the room as well as the patient, to put the room into nursing order, that is, to make the room such as a patient can recover in, to bring care and cleanliness into it, and to teach the inmates to keep up that care and cleanliness. Thirdly, to bring such sanitary defects as produce sickness and death, and which can only be remedied by the public, to the notice of the public officer whom it concerns.

A nurse cannot be a cook (though sweet Jack Falstaff says she is), a relieving officer, district visitor, letter writer, general storekeeper, upholsterer, almoner, purveyor, lady bountiful, head dispenser and medical comforts shop. A district nurse can rather less than a hospital nurse be all this, though, where things are wanting and wanted for recovery, she or her head know how and where to apply for them. There are agencies for all these things.

Upon the written order of the parish doctor we generally obtain from the workhouse authorities, for those patients whose state requires such nourishment, a supply of meat, brandy, wine etc., and when we have found a difficulty in obtaining these from the parish authorities, the clergy, district visitors and charitable missions have supplied us with them, as well as with linen and other necessaries. In some cases the nurses have prepared such nourishment as beef tea, light puddings and cooling drinks at the homes of the patients, in others they have been prepared in the central home, but usually medical comforts of this kind have been made (as well as given) by the district visitors. In no case has any nurse given anything to the patient beyond the actual nursing rendered them, but if, as nurse, I am capable of judging nurses work, I feel I may fairly say that this service has been of a higher character than that rendered by



any other nurses in the kingdom (Extract from First Quarterly Report of Miss Florence Lees, Superintendent-General).

One may pretty safely say that, if district nurses begin by giving relief, they will end by doing nothing but giving relief. Now, it is utter waste to have a highly trained and skilled nurse to do this, without counting the demoralizing and pauperizing influence on the sick poor, who have too many such influences already. How often a drinking man will go all to drink if you support as well as nurse his sick wife is perhaps little thought of, as also what efforts such a man will make not to drink when his wife is sick, if you help him to help himself and her, to maintain his independence, and if you make his home by cleanliness and care less intolerable. Perhaps sickness is sent for this very end, and you frustrate it.

The present association wants to foster the spirit of work (not relief) in the district nurse, and for her to foster the same in her sick poor. Nor are these district nurses without hearing and receiving evidence that this spirit is now becoming really understood among their sick. One poor old woman was heard saying to her younger neighbour, "Them nurses is real blessings--now husbands and fathers did ought to pay a penny a week as 'nd give us a right to call upon they nurses when we wants they." This is the real spirit of the thing.

So nothing is given but the nursing, and some day let us hope that the old woman's sensible plan will be carried out. In the meantime, the nurses are nurses, not cooks, not yet almoners, nor relieving officers. If needed, things are procured from the proper agencies and sick comforts made as well as given by these agencies.

1. A district nurse must first nurse. She must be of a yet higher class and of a yet fuller training than a hospital nurse because she has not the doctor always at hand, because she has no hospital appliances at hand at all, and because she has to take notes of the case for the doctor, who has no one but her to report to him. She is his staff of clinical clerks, dressers and nurses. These district nurses--and it is the first time that it has even been done--keep records of the patient's state, including pulse, temperature etc. for the doctor. One doctor stated that he knew when an operation ought to be performed by reading the nurse's report on the case. Another, that by hearing the nurse's history of the case he found patients to be suffering from typhoid fever who had been reported as consumptive. A hospital doctor, who had admitted patients into hospital with the nurse's written history of the case "doubted if many of our medical students could have sent a better report."

2. If a hospital must first of all be a place which shall do the sick no harm, how much more must the sick poor's room be made

a place not to render impossible recovery from the sickness which it has probably bred? This is what the London district nurses do; they nurse the room as well as the patient, and teach the family to nurse the room. It requires a far higher stamp of woman to do this, thus to combine the servant with the teacher and with the gentlewoman, who can so command the patient's confidence as to let her do this, than almost any other work. A well-known bishop, now on the bench, cleaned himself the pigstys of the normal training school of which he was master, as an example, perhaps one of the most episcopal acts ever done.

3. A district nurse must bring to the notice of the officer of health or proper authority sanitary defects, which he alone can remedy. Thus, dustbins are emptied, waterbutts cleaned, water supply and drainage examined and remedied which look as if this had not been done for 100 years.

Hospitals are but an intermediate stage of civilization. At present hospitals are the only place where the sick poor can be nursed or, indeed, often the sick rich. But the ultimate object is to nurse all sick at home. Where can the sick poor in general be sick? At home; it is there that the bulk of sick cases are. Where can nurses be trained for them? In hospitals; it is there only that skilled nurses can be trained. All this makes real nursing of the sick at home the most expensive kind of nursing at present. Yet no one would wish to convey the whole sick population into hospital, even were it possible, and even if it did not often break up the poor man's home. In one case Miss Lees' trained nursing enabled the parish doctor to perform a very serious operation in the woman's own home, whereby the parish was saved a guinea a week and the poor woman's home was saved from being broken up.

All this costs money. The district nurses cost money and the district home costs money. Each district nurse must have, before she is qualified (1) a month's trial in district work; (2) a year's training in hospital nursing; (3) three month's training in district nursing, under the superintendent-general.

More than five or six district nurses, with their superintendent (who initiates and supervises their work) cannot be placed in one district home, for they would be too far from their work. This multiplication of homes will cost money. For anything like a *national*, or even a *metropolitan*, concern, a capital of 20,000 pounds and an income of 5,000 pounds a year are wanted. Of this a great part is wanted at once, to set on foot three district homes, to pay and maintain their superintendents, nurses and probationers, to create a hospital training school in which to train.

What has been done at present is to establish one district home (which it is hoped will be the central home of many other districts) under the charge and training of Miss Florence Lees,

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as superintendent-general, with five hospital trained nurses and three nurse candidates, and to carry on the previously existing work of the East London Nursing Society with six nurses. The Central Home was opened at 23 Bloomsbury Square in December last, the nursing work having been begun in the neighbourhood from a temporary abode in July. The Nightingale Training School at St Thomas's Hospital is at present giving the year's hospital training to six, to be increased to twelve, admitted candidates.

A group of districts is now about to be nurses where the residents have engaged to raise £300 a year towards the expenses of a district home, with a skilled superintendent for supervising the nursing of four trained nurses, with one or two servants, for district nurses have quite other things to do than to cook for an wait upon themselves. They are the servants, and very hard-worked servants, of the poor sick.

I ask the public not to add one more charity or relief agency to the many that are already, but to support a charity truly *metropolitan* in its scope, and truly *national* if carried out, which never has been before. Subscriptions may be sent to the Secretary of the Metropolitan and National Nursing Association, 23 Bloomsbury Square, WC, or to the account of the association at Messrs. Cocks and Biddulph, 43 Charing cross SW. I beg to remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

Florence Nightingale

16 August 1876 *The Times* 6E "The Wounded in Servia" [5:273-74]

13 August 1876

Good cheer to your efforts to help the sick and wounded of both sides and bring them hospital and medical necessaries and comforts, too, I hope, in this heartrending war--a war for a cause as intensely interesting as the cause of most wars is uninteresting--a war which will, please God, at last, at last bring freedom, the safety and blessings of home, of industry, of progress--all that Englishmen and Englishwomen and English children must prize.

And let every English child give its mite to what are now the Valleys of the Shadow of Death.

But for this--to "execute righteousness and judgment for all the oppressed"--we must help "righteously" the sufferers on all sides.

So God speed the "Eastern War Sick and Wounded Relief Fund" prays Florence Nightingale with all her might from her sick bed.

With £10.10 and I wish it were 100 times as much.

18 September 1876 *The Times* 6 "The Atrocities in Bulgaria" [with cheque for £10 for the relief of Bulgarian refugees] [5:273-74]

God speed Sir John Bennett in collecting help for these innocent Bulgarians, martyrs of a persecution like which there has nothing

been seen in Europe since the persecution of the Christians under a Roman emperor whose name was cruelty. In the midst of their rose-garden industry their women and children are all at once attacked and butchered with never-to-be forgotten horrors of wars. Their valleys, beautiful as our own Derbyshire valleys, where every stream once turned its mills, are laid waste into literally "howling wildernesses." Their very means of life are gone--burnt, pillaged, destroyed, and this in a country in which if in education it has not yet raised itself to a level with the West, American missionaries had but to plant schools; at once these spread and multiplied a hundredfold in the people's own hands. These schools, these particularly, are all destroyed, the mistresses and masters tortured, girls sold into slavery. I say that a poor little country which could do so much in fifteen years under such a brute force of a government--a government to which one has to pay tribute not to be burnt, plundered or murdered--is itself not only struggling into our Western life, but up to the highest level of civilization. To this country, thus bravely, industriously struggling into life comes the brute vile rapine with nameless crimes. Some tell us the same things are to be in Serbia. Already, already they are there in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in a chronic state, intolerably aggravated now. Oh let us help them back to the struggle into life! Let us, who have everything they have lost: homes, schools, security, good government, independence, freedom to worship God, show how we value these by giving each one our mite to help them to help themselves.

Florence Nightingale

### 1877

30 March 1877 *The Times* 3E "A Hospital for Madagascar" [13:553-54]

It is but just that we who are supposed to be the most advanced in knowing how to cure should help in alleviating a scourge which our boasted civilisation has inflicted upon an aboriginal population. May I mention that the nurse whose services proved so opportune is Miss Emily Gregory, who, with experience gained in hospital nursing here, was led to take up missionary work in Madagascar/ Subscriptions for the 'Madagascar (Tamatave) Hospital) will be received by Messrs Coutts and Co., 59 Strand, on behalf of Bishop Cornish.

1 June 1877 *The Times* 10F "Mr Gladstone at Birmingham"

["One word from a letter of Florence Nightingale (loud cheers) which is dated--touchingly dated--from her sick bed. She says: 'I hope in this heartrending war--a war for a cause as intensely interesting as the cause of most wars is uninteresting--it will please God at least to bring about freedom, safety and the

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blessings of home, and industry, and progress, and all that Englishmen and Englishwomen and English children prize."

(Cheers).

22 June 1877, translated from the French, Fawcett Library. Letter addressed to the Geneva Conference by Miss Florence Nightingale

Should we, without distinction of sex, combat the social evil called prostitution? All women endowed with intelligence and heart will answer, Yes.

Has the regulation of prostitution succeeded in reaching the particular goal it had set to itself--to prevent diseases from spreading? On the basis of my own experience and that of the government which cannot be doubted, I answer, No.

Regulation under cover of alleged security only increases evil. To believe that it is possible, by means of immoral laws, to avert the consequences of immoral actions, is an unwarranted assumption. Every year experience confirms that opinion which I have long held.

Worn-out by work and illness, I shall only mention one fact, one capital fact, namely: the result brought about by regulation in India, the largest of British possessions and the one in which government, being absolute, can legislate with sovereign power. Here is the result of thirteen years' experience.

"In spite of the full introduction of preventive rules concerning venereal diseases, the expected results have been null and void. The sanitary state of cities with lock hospitals is not better than the state of cities without them. It is asserted that the disease is less serious today than it was in the past, but not a single fact can be presented in support of such an opinion.... It is most unfortunate to have to confess that the measures in question have failed. They were adopted upon recommendation of the sanitary department and their effects have been carefully assessed year after year. Several innovations were even suggested in order to produce a good result but up to now that hope has been deceived. One of two explanations ought to be right: either women at the source of the disease slip by supervision or, and this is a danger that seems not to have been sufficiently taken into consideration, monitored women, while apparently healthy, are able to spread the disease." (See the 12th annual report of the sanitary commission of the Government of India)

These are the words of the *government*, not those of some private person or authority, which could be questioned. Such is the government's statement concerning measures it has itself taken. Those facts and that authority cannot be challenged. Those facts are *proofs*.

The regulation of contagious diseases, like many similar regulations, was based on an exclusive concern, on an incomplete

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and hence inexact assessment of the problem. A serious inquiry is necessary to place this question back in its true light, and the sooner the better both for our honour and for the unfortunate victims of that system. Means other than these wrong principles ought to be actively sought for in order to find a remedy for such social evils and their terrible consequences.

In the present state of affairs, one might think that many of the so-called sanitary rules have been put forward by the very enemies of all progress, for they but prevent all progress toward morality, civilization and public health.

21 June 1877 *The Times* 8B "Portsmouth Soldiers' Institute"  
[letter read at Mansion House meeting 19 June 1877] [15:521-22]

May I from my sick bed cry for help from England for her soldiers and their Institute at Portsmouth, the great port for embarking and disembarking? If you knew as I do (or once did) the difference between our soldiers cared for in body, mind and morals, and our soldiers uncared for--the last, "Hell's Carnival" (the words are not my own); the first, the finest fellows of God's making--if we knew how troops immediately on landing are beset with invitations to bad of all kinds, we should hasten to supply them with invitations to and means for good of all kinds. Remembering that the soldier is of all men the man whose life is made for him by the necessities of the service--he cannot go seeking work, better places and proper recreations for himself, still less for his wife or family--if we realized what were the only places open to our men out of barracks--places not of recreation, but of drink and of vice, to the intense misery and degradation of men, women and children; if we knew, as officers know, the difference to the service of these men and of those; ("Turn out the saints, for Havelock never blunders and his men are never drunk"; we may not hope to make saints of all, but we can make men of them instead of brutes) if you knew these things as I do you would forgive me for asking you, if my poor name may still be that of the soldiers' ever faithful servant, to support Miss Robinson's work at Portsmouth--the place of all others of temptations to be brutes.

20 August 1877 *The Times* 6E "The Famine in India"  
also in *Daily Telegraph* 19 August 1877 and reprinted in many  
Australian and New Zealand newspapers

London

17 August 1877

My Lord:

If English people knew what an Indian famine is--worse than a battlefield, worse even than a retreat, and this famine, too, is in its second year--there is not an English man, woman or child who would not give out of their abundance, or out of their

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economy.

If we do not, we are the Turks who put an end to the wounded, and, worse than they, for they put an end to the enemy's wounded, but we, by neglect to our own starving fellow-subjects, and there is not a more industrious being on the face of the earth than the ryot. He deserves all we can do. Having seen your advertisement this morning only, and thanking God that you have initiated this relief, I hasten to inclose what I can--£5, hoping that I may be allowed to repeat the mite again, for all will be wanted. Between this and January our fellow-creatures in India will need everybody's mite, given now at once, then repeated again and again. And may God bless the Fund.

Pray believe me, my Lord,  
ever your faithful servant,  
Florence Nightingale

### 1878

21 February 1878 *The Times* 8A "Trained Nurses" [read at second annual meeting of the Metropolitan and National Nursing Association] [13:759-60]

My dear Sir. Your meeting and your district nursing will have better help than mine; a deeper root and wider spread than any I can give. As to your success? What is not your success? To raise the homes of your patients so that they never fall back again to dirt and disorder; such is your nurses' influence. To pull through life and death cases, cases which it would be an honour to pull through will all the appurtenances of hospitals or of the richest in the land, and this without any sick room appurtenances at all. To keep whole families out of pauperism by preventing the home from being broken up and nursing the breadwinner back to health. To drag the noble art of nursing out of the sink of relief doles. To show rich and poor what nursing is and what it is not. To carry out practically the principles of preventing disease by stopping its causes and the causes of infections which spread disease. Last, but not least, to show a common life able to sustain the workers in this saving but hardest work, under a working head who will personally keep the training and nursing at its highest point. Is not this a great success? The aim is high, but above all beware of letting it be lower. There must be failures. But the thing to be feared in the highest work is degeneration, not disappointments; common degeneracy, not individual failures. And where is the highest work without its disappointments? Keep your standard high, it is so easy to let district nursing degenerate into "relief and visiting," gossiping among the poor instead of gossiping among the rich. One company scaling the breach is better than a whole army in retreat. No fear but what others will follow after the scalers, gaining the victory, spreading the success. No hope either but

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what many will join the retreat. 'Put your trust in God and keep your powder dry.' Put your trust in God and man, and keep your standard high. You have a glorious future if you keep your standard high, as you will.

District nursing, so solitary, so without the cheer and the stimulus of a big corps of fellow workers in the bustle of a public hospital, but also without many of its cares and strains, requires what it has with you, the constant supervision and inspiration of a genius of nursing and a common home. May it spread with such a standard over the whole of London and the whole of the land!

Your association will stand or fall by its own standard. And it will. God bless it.

Its faithful servant  
Florence Nightingale

18 March 1878 *The Times* 4F "Volunteer Ambulance" [Letter sent 28 February 1878 to the honorary secretary of the Volunteer Ambulance Department] **[15:521-22]**

Sir:

Believe me that I feel the very deepest interest, as who can help feeling, in the progress of the Volunteer Ambulance Department and bid it "God speed" with all my might and main. May it reach the highest efficiency of good work! I am most thankful that it has a recognized official position, that it has all proper instruction, use of barracks for ambulance drill and ambulance material at its disposal. Will you present my thanks to the committee for the honour they have done me in wishing me to become a patroness of the association?

If it were for the interest I take in its welfare I should solicit them to allow me to become such, but I wish that they could find some other way of allowing me to show my warmest good will. Unfortunately, I am compelled to decline the honour from so many institutions from an unwillingness to give my poor name where I cannot give my work. I am, and have been for years, a prisoner to my room from illness, and am overwhelmed with work of many kinds. Believe me that my deepest feelings are with the poor (future) sick and wounded in the field, for whom you are so wisely giving yourselves the indispensable training and discipline to do good work.

I should like to send my warmest good wishes to every man of your members if that were possible, as I do in my heart, and these are my heart's wishes. It is a very different thing to do ambulance work in the field from what it is to do the drill in the barracks, but my experience is that a good orderly Englishman at home is two good Englishmen in the field. Therefore I bid without fear your volunteers good speed and perseverance in their drill, and pray believe me, Sir,



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ever their faithful servant  
Florence Nightingale

If a contribution of 25 pounds would be of any use it is very much at your service.

27 March 1878 *The Times* 11D "The Coffee Publichouse Association"  
Dear Duke of Westminster. You were so good as to speak to me about the subject of your Committee on Intemperance once, and to send me your Blue-book "God Speed" with all my heart to your "Coffee Publichouse Association," with all the heart of an old nurse like me, appalled with the diseases of hospitals, and especially of workhouse infirmaries, where the young men patients--at least a very large proportion--come in from 'the drink,' and worse, come in again and again from 'the drink,' and women come in again and again from 'the drink,' knowing that it will be 'the drink' again which brings them there, and will bring them there as long as they live, helpless and hopeless to save themselves, knowing that they are caught and will be caught (like Hindoo ryots in the moneylender's clutch) in the same desperate trap, which, like the India moneylender, extorts a higher and a higher rate of usury every year--another pound of flesh--to their dying day.

"Almost all the unmarried men and some of the married ones (away from their wives to be near their work) in these infirmaries tell the same story:

'I live in a miserable lodging where I am not wanted, and may not poke the fire [the definition of a comfortable lodging is to be allowed to poke the fire] or even sit by the fire. I have nowhere to go but the publichouse, nowhere to sit down, often nowhere to take my meals. We young men lodgers often sleep in one room with two or even three generations of the same family, including young women and girls, unless, indeed, we can get into the model lodginghouses. Coffeehouses might save us, model lodginghouses might make model men of us; nothing else would. As it is, here we are, and here we shall be, in and out of the same sick ward, 'every man jack of us,' till the last time, when we come to die in it."

This is the story told, with every shade of feeling, from tears to desperation or callousness, sometimes mixed up with a pitiful love story, sometimes with a theft story, or worse, of thousands.

Yet these men are so far from 'all bad' that if the nurse of the ward is a 'trained' nurse, which implies a character and education, to carry some weight and influence, they will scrupulously respect their nurse's property, and even her feelings, and will send her word if they have 'kept straight' how seldom! or when they have got work.

The children of these men are as much born to the same lot

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as the children of English are born to be English.

The excellent medical officer of a workhouse infirmary which we nursed used to say to all such patients, "now, my good fellow, do drink coffee for the rest of your life." Where are they to get it?

Thousands and tens of thousands will, I am sure, bless the Coffeehouse Association, especially if it could be made to include lodgings. What these men want is a place where they can have coffee, read the newspapers, and play games (without temptations to gambling), also a place where they can eat and have decent sleeping accommodation.

Have you seen "Our Coffee-room," two vols. by Miss Cotton, now Lady Hope?

I must not even ask forgiveness for this long letter, filled with hope at your making this subject your own, yet ashamed of taking up your time, and of asking your Grace to forward this little cheque to its destination, and to believe me

ever your Grace's faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

His Grace the Duke of Westminster

11 May 1878, *Soical Notes*. "Who is the Savage?" No. 10 145-47. A vast town of some hundreds of thousands of people--a splendid river, immense docks, fleets or merchant vessels to and from all parts of the world, rich "argosies" steaming to and fro, representing almost every port on the globe: this city lies like a colossal industrious spider in the heart of a web of railroads. Plenty of work, plenty of wealth, art enterprise, patriotic monuments, merchant princes devoted to the good of their native place, a metropolis of trade and commerce--this is a true picture of that vast city.

Now, with the eyes of a nurse by the bedside of many among the "masses" in that great city, this will be a true picture of their condition: wages nearly as much *per day* as are earned per week in some of the southern agricultural counties of England--10 shillings a day not an uncommon rate for unskilled labour. This is squandered in drink, as much by the women as by the men. One woman said what, being translated means: "She thought no more of her money than of a 'flea in a churchyard.'" The first day that these people who are earning, say, their 10 s a day are out of work they are absolutely bare. They beg of what we may call the district visitors and nurses, beg to pawn.

If a mutton chop, say worth 7 pence is supplied by the nurse, unless she sees the patient eat it, it will be trucked by the family for a pennyworth of drink. A doctor prescribes stimulant for a child, the mother takes it herself as a matter of course. A doctor says to the lady nurse of his patients: "Oh, don't was them; feed them up; you can wash them when they're

dead." Bedclothes lent, even when stamped right across, are pawned at once for drink. This with people in receipt of a yearly income equal to a government clerk's in London or to that of many curates.

A woman dying of consumption was found by the nurses literally with nothing in the house: no food, no fire, no bed. They made her comfortable and, coming back at night unexpectedly with supplies, found her provided with everything: lamp and all, "everything beautiful," sitting up nicely dressed by a good fire.

In the lodging houses of people in good work you may find all ages, both sexes--boys, men, girls, women and children--lying perfectly naked in the same bed or on the same straw, with nothing over them but their own day clothes. It is impossible to tell details without a strong feeling of sickness. We spare the reader.

How can the women, even when not drunk, attend to their homes? They are degenerating, deteriorating--body, mind and heart--under drink or the reaction of drink. There are but two conditions under which they can do nothing--when they are drunk and when they are not drunk. And these two conditions make up their whole lives.

Unmarried mothers with babies lie about on the floor--"they did not wish to be married." There are, indeed, here whole classes of different stages of fallen women or, rather, as was once too sadly said, "these women cannot be called "fallen women" for they have never stood, they have never been not fallen, they have never known a state to fall from." How could they?

Street brawls are, of course, the rule of life and not the exception. The "cornermen," that is, the men standing at the corners of streets waiting for a fresh job, are hardly safe for any woman or child to pass. ("Oh, those are the scalp wounds," would be said by the infirmary doctor of a large class of his patients, street brawlers, in a similar town.) A gentleman, a magistrate, passing by saw one of these men strike first his wife and then his baby in her arms. He, the magistrate, instantly defended the weaker party with force and a stick. He was thrown down, the woman, the mob and the policeman all siding against he, and he scarcely escaped with his life.

The son of one of these men killed his father at home; the son of another, his mother, both murderer and murdered being drunk; and in one case the son, the murderer, perfectly indifferent after it. "Yet these are the same flesh and blood as we are," was the agonized cry of the nurse. How to help them one does not know. These people are not wholly illiterate; their language is often good, sometimes even elegant.

But not only do they pawn all they have and all that is given them, not only do they run tick for all but drink, I was about to say, but this cannot be said: they do pay ready money,

they pay it to have something to pawn beforehand generally for drink. They have a frugal foresight for nothing but pawning. They have actually invented a new method of pawning thus: they will buy, say, an article of clothing, paying for it at the rate of 1 s a week, giving 20 s for what would cost 10 s, and then pawn it beforehand for half the cost.

Where is this town? Is it in some gold diggings? In some half-settled state of the new world? Or on some African or eastern or south sea coast where the most demoralized of European or Levantine adventurers or slave stealers meet with the lowest forms of savages and fetish worshippers? Is it there? Is it an old convict settlement on ticket-of-leave? Does it belong to some past age--the invasion of Attila? the Spaniard in South America? Some past age of lust and brutal savagery?

This town is in England. The time is the present. It is in order-loving, Christian England, the only country untouched by revolution and riot, the home of family ties, the home of a boasted free civilization. And this is civilization--Christian, settled progress and civilization. If this is to be civilized we could almost wish to be uncivilized.

If this is civilization, what are we to of the Hindu, the frugal, laborious, sober, poor Hindu who supports his whole family on 10 s a month, who never begs and who never has "parish relief," for there is no Poor Law, no union for his "superfluous relatives" who live with him? Must we speak of him as belonging to a higher civilization?

Loathsome details I am not here to enter into about such dwellers of this town, for the object is not to disgust, but to ask what is to be done:

1. Can a lesson be taken of Octavia Hill in London and others as regards improved dwellings, taking blocks of the present poor dwellings, letting them out and collecting the rents and improving the dwellings and the dwellers by degrees?
2. Can coffee public houses be extended so as to make them in time as plentiful as ginpalaces? As plentiful, did I say? Rather to make the coffee palace cut out the gin palace. can the coffee public house always supply meals both to men and women, and cooking for those who bring their own food, dining rooms, reading rooms, newspapers and games with no temptation to gambling, as has been so successfully done elsewhere?<sup>2</sup> Can decent lodgings for single men be added to the coffee tavern? Also a coffee room for women?
3. Can co-operative stores be multiplied? Co-operative stores begun, as once was done, by a counter displaying side by side a

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<sup>2</sup> In the Crimean War Nightingale organized cafes and reading rooms, which the soldiers greatly appreciated and used.

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large heap of say, sugar or tea: "This is what you buy with ready money," a small heap; "This is all you have for the same money if you run tick." And so with other articles: the large heap and the small heap, side by side, speaking to the eye--the large loaf and the small loaf. The co-operative store followed, where the child may put his penny into a bank and receive 5 percent.

Now in shops of the vast town we speak of, by the small heap sold to the runners-on-tick should appear the much smaller heap sold to the ingenious person who tries to get the very least for her money instead of the most--to be pawned before it is paid for, supposing it to be at that same shop--thus getting the twice-reduced quantity on the reduced quantity. Show her the twice *increased* quantity and even she must mend her ways.

4. Can some system be extended, as that described in "Work in Brighton," for bringing the poor vicious women out to "Homes," instead of waiting for them to bring themselves? Indeed the nurse here does the "Work in Brighton" herself. "These poor women are closed to Scripture readers, closed to Bible women, closed to ministers of every denomination, not closed to us alone," said a lady nurse.

Instead of the pawnbroker's, to set up the co-operative store, instead of the gin palace the coffee public house, instead of the filthy, indecent den the improved dwelling and, if possible, to rescue some of these poor victims of vice, mere girls as they too often are. Are not such the ways to help these, our own poor flesh and blood?

30 December 1878 *The Times* 8D "The Prevailing Distress"

Christmas Day 1878

London

Sir [the mayor of Sheffield]

Grieved to the very heart for the sufferers of Sheffield, my dear and if not native place, yet a place where my father's father and mother lived and died, may I send you a poor little sum (£25), wishing it were 20 times as much, and hoping to be allowed to repeat it, for your relief fund? Might I ask that it should be applied to providing work for the poor mothers--work which I know has been so well organized and, if I might breathe a hope as earnest as that which trusts that Sheffield will tide over these sad times, it would be that her men may learn from these a lesson of prudence and manly self-control, and when good times come again, as pray God they may, might use their higher wages so as to become capital instead of waste.

Though this is a dreary Christmas, that God may shower his best Christmas blessings upon Sheffield, among which are thrift and self-help, and upon all your wise and vigorous efforts to help her, is the earnest prayer of

your and her ever faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

**1879**

**1884**

15 November 1884 1 *Mercury* Hobart Tas "Sanitation. No. 2." letter to editor from Richard A. Bastow: "The following words of Miss Florence Nightingale came forcibly to my mind: 'I have met just as strong a stream of sewer air coming up the staircase of a London house as I ever met with at Scutari and this sewer air is retained in the bedrooms. No house with an imperfectly trapped pipe communicating with the sewer from the sink can ever be healthy, and may at any time spread a fever among the inmates of a palace. If a fever can be spread abroad by an insignificant sink pipe, what a host of vile and destructive agencies must be let loose from the gaping grid I have referred to, which is more than 100 times the area of a sink pipe.'"

**1885**

21 March 1885 *The Times* 12C "The Gordon Memorial"

Miss Florence Nightingale, also writing on the same subject, says: To have a real hospital on a good plan built there on the great highway between two worlds is truly a national object, and worthy of a national memorial by England.

**1886**

1 October 1886 *The Times* 4E "A Memorial to Sister Dora" [Replying to an invitation to unveil Sister Dora's statue, writes to the Mayor of Walsall]

I would fain say what I cannot say, how deeply touched I am by the feeling of your town that I should unveil the statue of your own Sister Dora, and of the world's honoured Sister Dora, and would you kindly tell them so, as well as my deep regret that, overworked and a prisoner from illness for years, as you have favoured me by calling upon me, I cannot answer to your call. The noble tribute which you are raising to her memory--that memory, nevertheless, more everlasting than stone or marble--deserves the thanks of all who would see a noble life honoured, but I especially would thank you in the name of all us nurses who long to see the high motives such as her's, the love of God and our neighbour, become the true life of us all, leading us to seek, ever improved, to do the work better. May the lesson which you are generously giving us bear fruit till every nurse, though not gifted with Sister Dora's wonderful capacities, recognizes her true mission in humility and self-devotion, to grow in training and care of her patients, so that she may be won for her Master's use, not only for their bodies, but their spirits, that none but may be better for her care, whether for life or death,

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and may she remember, too, courage and obedience, and also that men patients especially are critical of religion nowadays, and look sharp to see whether she is acting, Sir W Gull and Dr Carpenter. Randolph Churchill. up to her profession. Such are some of the lessons taught by Sister Dora's life. May we lay them to heart, and to the noble rough fellows, the workmen round Walsall, who so loved her, may I send my heartfelt greetings.

### 1888

22 January 1888 *Times* 8B Household Science readings. FN letter published by Rev. J.P. Faunthorpe, principal of Whitelands College: "I also ordered for myself, that is for school girls' libraries and village libraries, your inestimable books. Florence Nightingale"

9 July 1888 *The Times* 4E "The New Hospital for Women" [Report on Lord Mayor's meeting 6 July 1888 at Mansion House, where her letter was read] [8:63]

You want efficient women doctors, for India most of all, whose native women are now our sisters, our charge. (There are at least 40 millions who will only have women doctors, and who have none.) But for England, too, you want them. Give them, then, besides a women's school of medicine, a practical school in a women's hospital. Life and death depend on the training.

27 July 1888. Letter from Miss Nightingale. *Journal of the Public Health Society* IV,2 (October 1888): 63-65 [9:935-37] [to W.J. Simmons, Esq., Honorary Secretary, Public Health Society, 6 Hastings Street, Calcutta]

27 July 1888

Sir

Allow me to thank you most gratefully for your kindness in sending me from time to time the various papers and documents which interest me so deeply, and especially for your society's journal, and the suggestions of your committee on the then pending municipal bill, now carried.

It is remarkable how the memorandum of the Army Sanitary Commission in this country on the municipal reports for 1884 and 1885 confirms the conclusions which it is the object of your society to establish and make popular. It must be a matter of great satisfaction and encouragement to you and your good fellow workers in the cause of Indian sanitation to find that your views are so completely in accordance with those of a body so experienced and authoritative in the things of Indian sanitation as the Army Sanitary Committee.

Having thus received the highest official sanction in this country, they cannot fail, we trust, to influence the future policy of the government in respect of this most important

subject. And you may, with reasonable confidence, we may hope, expect that neither indifference, prejudice, nor short-sighted economy, nor any other of the well-known obstacles to improvement, will be allowed in the future to stand in the way of reforms which you have shown to be so necessary, and which are advocated by the Army Sanitary Commission with no less urgency than by yourselves.

Of the vast additions to human happiness which these reforms are calculated to produce, of the deplorable amount of human suffering and sorrow which they would obviate, of the enormous money loss which such a mass of preventible disease and death entails on the community in which it is permitted, it is unnecessary now to speak.

Your reports have made these truths emphatic with results which are startling only to those who are too careless to study the subject. It appears to be demonstrated that sanitary improvements are fully as effective in diminishing disease in India as they are in England. The success which has attended the introduction of proper drainage and water supply into parts of Calcutta is itself a striking example. Where the sanitation has been complete, your mortality is as low as in the healthiest of English cities. Where it has been incomplete, where the water supply is inadequate or impure, where the drains have been allowed to be encumbered with deposit, or to remain untrapped, where dwellings are huddled together without reference to the requirements of the inhabitants in the way of air, water, purity of soil or prompt and effectual removal of filth, there I find that the mortality of Calcutta rises to a level which is happily now unknown in England, and that epidemics, against which we trust the English population is now effectually safeguarded, rage with as much violence as ever. We were much struck by the fact that, in the severe outburst which occurred in the last quarter of 1886, and which cost Calcutta more than 900 lives, the Park Street ward (with the exception of four deaths in October) enjoyed absolute immunity—a circumstance which seems to illustrate very forcibly the fact that, even when cholera is epidemic, systematic sanitation will prove, in India, as it does [in] England, an effectual safeguard.

It now remains for those who like yourself appreciate at their true worth the blessings of health to the community, to see that the invaluable advantages which have been secured for the richer portions of Calcutta shall be enjoyed equally by the poorer and by the inhabitants of the suburbs whose mortality is now so greatly in excess of that of the city. Your health officer has clearly indicated the causes of the evil and the means by which it can be obviated.

Calcutta and its suburbs must not go on losing, as they did in 1886, 3500 lives annually (Calcutta: 1741; suburbs: 1845 =



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3586) from an epidemic which your statistics show to be to so large an extent amenable to human control, and which in England, we have good reason to hope, has been effectually kept at bay by efficient sanitation. The same result it is doubtless within human competence in other parts of the world to attain by the means which science indicates. I feel the deepest sympathy with the inestimable labours of the Health Society to promote this result in India.

The Army Sanitary Commission reckon, I observe, that 38 millions of deaths have occurred in India within the last decade from epidemics which in other parts of the world have been either wholly obviated or curtailed within narrow limits.

But this is not the worst. If we reckon, as I believe is the correct estimate, twenty cases of severe disease for each death, the mind really sinks oppressed under the idea of the pecuniary loss, the laying aside of cultivators from their daily labour for weeks, if not months, every year, the deterioration in the physical powers of the races, the bodily sufferings, mental sorrow, family bereavement which such a death rate indicates. And all this, or the greater part, might be spared.

I can only wish you and your fellow workers Godspeed in what we must all regard as a most important and benevolent project. It must cost you I know much labour. Such things are not achieved without effort, patience, long delays and frequent disappointment. But you will succeed. And your success will brighten the lives and lessen the sufferings of millions who, but for sanitary reforms, would fall victims to preventible disease. I have written at length, but you will forgive me. The subject is near my heart.

Pray believe me ever the faithful servant of the cause and yourselves. Florence Nightingale

### 1889

15 June 1889 3 *Blackburn Standard and Weekly Express*:

Miss Nightingale has written the following to the Band of Hope of the Rev Lewis Davidson, Mayfield Free Church, Edinburgh: "Don't think you can do anything worth doing in a fit of enthusiasm, but train yourselves carefully to any work you are called on to do; and think nothing too small to do carefully, or to train carefully for, that is for the good of your fellow creatures. For instance, good or bad cooking may make or mar the lives of thousands, and those, too, who are trying to do great things for our race. God sends us real and lasting enthusiasm - that is, the spirit of love and of power, and of a sound mind to carry us through our training and our discipline. It is He dwelling in us. That is His goodness to us. I knew Gordon. More than in anyone, you felt when you were with him that there was One always closer to him than any one with him, in whose immediate Presence he

always lived. That was the secret of his life."

### 1890

8 February 1890 *Bendigo Advertiser* [Victoria] 3 "A Letter from Florence Nightingale" [to the Band of Hope, of the Rev Lewis Davidson, Mayfield Free Church, Edinburgh] [15 June 1889 Blackburn Standard]

Don't think you can do anything worth doing in a fit of enthusiasm, but train yourselves carefully to any work you are called on to do, and think nothing too small to do carefully, or to train carefully for, that is for the good of your fellow creatures. For instance, good or bad cooking may make or mar the lives of thousands, and those, too, who are trying to do great things for our race. God sends us real and lasting enthusiasm, that is, the spirit of love and power, and of a sound mind to carry us through our training and our discipline. It is He dwelling in us. That is His goodness to us. I knew Gordon. More than in anyone, you felt when you were with him that there was One always closer to him than anyone with him, in whose immediate Presence he always lived. That was the secret of his life.

4 September 1890 10A xerox "Juvenile Offenders" [5:228-30]

The work you are doing at Manchester in rescuing boys "had up" for their first offence is one of overwhelming importance, and yours is, as far as I know, the first and the only one of its kind. Forty years ago Sir John Herschel, in his review of "Quetelet on Probabilities," propounded to us that the result of punishments was a subject to study with careful statistics before legislating.

It is astounding that a practical nation like the English should have done this so little. We have a vague idea that 75 percent of the boys committed to reformatories for a first offence are reformed and do well. We have a vague idea that (say) 75 percent of those committed to jail return there again and again. But, as far as I know, yours is the only machinery in England which, profiting by the First Offenders' Act, attends at the police courts, the fountain head and the officers the magistrates the means of carrying out the act successfully.

Criminal statistics could only be of use if supplemented by what might be called criminal *social physic*, and then practical application. Another subject of statistical research is: Do paupers and the children of paupers return again and again to the workhouse? In what proportion do the same names appear generation after generation on the books, even from the excellent (separated) union school? It is to be feared that the girls especially are so little prepared for good domestic service that they do not keep their places, but fall into sin and often return to the workhouse ruined by a first fall. I could write much more

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but I have no power of following up this subject, although it has interested me all my life. For the last (nearly) forty years I have been immersed in two objects, and undertaken what might well occupy twenty vigorous young people. I am an old and overworked invalid. God bless you and bless your work, and multiply it a thousandfold.

Your faithful servant,  
Florence Nightingale

I pointed out in a postscript, I think to an article of mine in *Fraser's* (I forget how many years ago), that it was a complete *NoN sequitur* that, because a boy stole your watch, he should be supported on your rates in jail, perhaps for life, and suggested that perhaps he might be made to work out the price of what he stole. This was answered not by pointing out the obvious practical difficulties, but by saying that the punishment would bear so unevenly on different cases. That the punishment of jail is not deterrent experience too sadly proves, but *punishment* is, perhaps, not a word in God's vocabulary at all and, if so, ought not to be in ours. It would be of immense importance if, again and yet again, the public had kept before them the statistics well worked out, not the ordinary superficial ones, of the influence of punishment of crime or of reformatories and industrial schools on juvenile offenders.

### 1891

1 August 1891. Untitled. *Illustrated London News*, Vol. XCIX, no. 2728:135.

Perhaps the ablest of English military sanitarians was Dr John Sutherland, who died at Norwood on July 14....MD Edinburgh, journalism in Liverpool, first Board of Health, "a nomination which left its mark on the sanitary history of the country." bare record: reported on cholera epidemic in 1848-9, represented F.O. at International Quarantine Conf in Paris in 1851-2, given commemorative gold medal, bequeathed to the Br Museum. "But his life-work has been the improvement of military sanitation. When Dr Russell's letters on the horrors fo the Crimea aroused public opinion in England, Dr Sutherland was sent to report on the health of the troops before Sebastopol. He saw Florence Nightingale and her wonderful work in the hospital at Scutari. His inspection over, he was recalled to England by Lord Panmure to report, and was also summoned to Balmoral to give a personal account to the Queen and the Prince Consort. Then followed his membership of the Royal Commission on the sanitary state of the Army , in India and at home, from which have sprung most of the modern improvements in the health of both services. Dr Sutherland was an active member of the Barrack and Hospital Improvement Commission, afterwards the Army Sanitary Committee, which sat under the presidency of Sidney Herbert, and the value of his

work--which was continuous up to 1888--may be judged from a comparison between the vital statistics of the Army before the Crimean War and after that critical and unfortunate period. Later on he visited Algeria, and examined the reforms which had so largely reduced the mortality of the French Army." quiet life, deafness. No mention of Mrs S. "But his work and unrivalled experience were in constant request with sanitary engineers.

## 1892

2 September 1892 9D "The Cholera" "The National Health Society would supply in quantity cheap handbills and directions in simple words for the use of district nurses and visitors and those who worked among the people. We need not repeat the now well-known directions. In the words of Miss Florence Nightingale "Scavenge, scavenge, scavenge." Keep your houses, your cisterns, your stables, your cowsheds, pigsties and slaughterhouses, your drains, your yards, your dustbins, yourselves and your clothing clean; and help your poor neighbours to do so. Boil your water or drink a pure natural table water. Boil your milk (and here the lecturer gave an example of a well-defined cholera outbreak spread by contaminated milk). Inspect your fruit, fish and meat markets. Avoid unsound food and excesses of diet. Feed wholesomely the needy and destitute; help the poor to be as careful in their homes and habits as you will be in yours. As to contagion in the ordinary sense, have no fear. I repeat, cholera is communicable in the ways mentioned, but not 'catching' Like infectious fevers or measles or scarlatina. If you take cholera it will be because yourself or those about you have made you liable to it by neglect. Put not your trust in nostrums: cholera does not "come by Providence and go by medicine," although that is a common and ignorant belief in respect to it and many other diseases. A tried and safe preventive of the tendency to diarrhoea, which should always be checked, is sulphuric acid lemonade, made by acidulating boiled and sweetened water to taste with dilute sulphuric acid (or, as at the Post Office, Dr Waller Lewis's very palatable sulphuric orangeade). The citric acid lemonade lately vaunted was rather inferior in value to this. The cholera bacillus, as we now know was favoured by an alkaline fluid and did not live in acid media. An excellent and well-tried preventive of the prevalent slight diarrhoea was the Vienna mixture (used in barrels formerly in hospital practice). It consisted essentially of 15 drops of dilute sulphuric acid to 6 ounces of boiled and sweetened water, to which might be added, under medical advice, ten drops of sulphuric ether and five drops of laudanum for an adult. On icebags, camphor solutions and other expedients of the kind, no reliance could be placed, except in skilled hands and for selected cases. Many people poisoned themselves with camphor during a late epidemic as a precaution

against cholera. Once established, and in well-marked cases of Asiatic cholera, drugs would do little to cure. The mortality of cholera all over the world and in all epidemics had defied drugs--just as severe arsenical poisoning would do--and varied according to intensity and the age and condition of the patient from 45 to 64 percent. It was eminently a case in which prevention was far more efficacious than cure. As to precautions in cholera nursing, they were essentially the same as for nursing typhoid fever, only more rigid and severe, as the disease was more virulent."

16 September 1892 *Liverpool Mercury* "Miss Florence Nightingale and Local Authoress" Miss Gertrude and Miss Ethel Armitage Southam, join authors, on the fresh and truthful sketch of hospital life pub a few months ago "Hors de Combat, or Three Weeks in a Hospital" reviewed, "have received from Miss Florence Nightingale the following acknowledgement of a copy of the work: "Your 'Hors de Combat' which you so kindly sent me and of which I have given and shall give, many copies, is an excellent book, an admirable, book, 'most musical, most melancholy' most cheerful and hopeful, a true and bright ideal of hospital life which ought to put spirit into people, and for which people must thank you, as I do."

14 November 1892, 3 "Miss Florence Nightingale on Husbands and Wives," *Daily Telegraph*, and *Nelson Evening Mail* 26,261 ref to in *Spectator Archive* 27 August 1892:12 7 Sept 1892.

Miss Florence Nightingale contributes the following to the discussion in the *Daily Telegraph* on English wives:

"I endorse what an 'Irish Wife and an Irish Spinster' says. Irishmen are more sympathetic, more true to their wives, and, in my opinion, we should hear of less unloved and unlovely marriages, less of the divorce courts, if Englishmen showed more sympathy and interest in their wives. Women need more--and I speak from a woman's standpoint of view--than the conventional husband who judges his wife from the care she bestows upon his household and his children. We need someone we can lean upon, and if a wife wishes to welcome her husband with a bright, smiling face, knowing she has nothing to hide, nothing to fear, and nothing to conceal, she can only do so in the 'perfect love' which 'casteth out fear.' Irishwomen are far more virtuous than their English sisters as a rule, and I believe it is in the main because there is more oneness between them and their husbands. Those little attentions, those little words of love, are not lacking in an Irishman which are so dear to every woman's heart, and more particularly so when she is tired and harassed with household cares, and these words, so often withheld, would soften a wife's monotonous duties and help to make English homes ideal

homes."

25 November 1892 *The Times* 10A "Miss F. Nightingale on Local Sanitation" [Read by F.W. Verney to the Buckinghamshire County Council during a discussion on appointing a sanitary committee] **[6:594-96]**

We must create a public opinion which must drive the government, instead of the government having to drive us--an enlightened public opinion, wise in principles, wise in details. We hail the county council as being or becoming one of the strongest engines in our favour, at once fathering and obeying the great impulse for national health against national and local disease. For we have learnt that we have national health in our own hands--local sanitation, national neath. But we have to contend against centuries of superstition and generations of indifference. Let the county council take the lead. Let it represent us, command us, instruct us by a sanitary committee in our struggle for health. We do not ask at present for county council executive power. But what a moving power would such a sanitary committee, if wisely conducted, be, gathering experience every day, encouraging the true reports of able medical officers of health instead of quashing them, saying, 'We will not have cholera, we will not have fever, nor infantile complaints, the true test of what is sanitary or insanitary--sickly children growing into sickly parents. We will have good water supply, good drainage, no overcrowding, pure air, pure water, pure earth; for disease is more expensive than sanitation. We will be able to say to cholera, if it comes--There is no room for you here, there is no place for you to plant your foot. Scarlet fever, typhoid, cannot come here. Bucks shall be a county of healthy villages.' The sanitary reform must be a work of years, not of a day. Other counties have undertaken it. But there must not be a day lost in beginning it. Cholera may be upon us next summer. Disease is always with us. Give us our sanitary committee. Good speed to you.

God speed you.

Florence Nightingale

### **1894**

13 October 1894 *Daily Telegraph* 3 "A Visit to Florence Nightingale" [An American who has lately been in England has contributed to the *New York Tribune* some particulars of a visit paid to Florence Nightingale]:

I am constantly being remembered by kind friends who are personally unknown to me, but whose kindness touches me more than I can say. I wish you would thank my American friends for their kind words that are constantly coming to me. If I have done good

in my life, I am being fully rewarded now. What gratifies me above all is that all my hopes have been fulfilled. But it still horrifies me when I think of how our men were treated when they were ill or wounded at the time of the Crimean War. Today, what with improved hospital services and trained nurses, with such organisations as the Red Cross and others, our system is well-nigh perfect.

### 1895

14 February 1895 *The Times* 4A "St Thomas's Hospital" [ At meeting at Mansion House yesterday for appeal for St Thomas' Hospital, Nightingale's letter was read on the work of the hospital for the sick poor] [12:461-64]

It is distinguished by a high tone of morals, by admirable organisation, by the wise and liberal devotion of the doctors; it is a place where any good mother of any class might be glad to see her daughter on the nursing staff, such it must be to a good training school, whether for nurses or medical students; a place where the essentials of good teaching and good practice exist.

25 October 1895 *The Times* 6B "Miss Florence Nightingale on British Soldiers" to the secretary of the Balaclava Anniversary Commemoration, also in *the Nursing Record & Hospital World* (9 November 1895) 339 [14:1042-43]

I could not resist your appeal, though it is an effort to me who know not what it is to have a leisure hour, to write a few words; I have not 'time to make it any shorter.' It seemed as if the most profitable way of answering your appeal was to show the great virtues of our soldiers in time of war and discipline, and to ask them to show the same virtues in times of home life in peace. As a great writer has said, 'We hate war, we admire discipline as an aid to duty.' It seemed useless to enunciate this without giving a few splendid examples which I could multiply an hundredfold, but I know it is much too long, and I generally resist all temptations to write except on ever-pressing business. I am often speaking to your Balaclava veterans in my heart, but I am much overworked; and what I speak in my heart is something like this:--The soldier has such good stuff in him, he really loves his comrade as himself; when he himself has returned out of gunshot, or he finds his comrade or his officer missing, he goes back to bring him off. How many have lost, or rather 'gained' their own lives in this way, killed or wounded! And there has been no swagger about it. And when he loves his God, he really does love Him; accustomed to discipline, to obeying orders exactly, he sets his heart to obeying the orders of God, the great Commander-in-Chief, exactly--the orders of truth, holiness, and love. He becomes a real Christian; he resists temptation; he becomes pure, sober, active in doing good to others--to his wife

and children first, if he has any.

There are brave home-livers, brave cripples, brave invalids, as well as brave soldiers. Men are not always fighting with bayonet and gun, but with the world, the flesh, and the devil; not minding being chaffed, keeping their bodies as the temples of God, just and truthful in all their doings. In India a well-known Commander-in-Chief, whenever there was anything very hard to be done, used to say, 'Call out the saints, for Havelock never blunders, and his men are never drunk.'

Fight the good fight; never forget you are the brave soldiers of God, who loves you. You are fighting for Him and His England now. God bless you, and He will bless you. Such are the thoughts for the old soldiers of

His faithful servant,  
Florence Nightingale

### 1897

25 May 1897 *The Times* 12A

[8:508-09]

"We desire to express our anxious hope that effectual measures will be taken to check the spread of contagious diseases among our soldiers, especially in India.

We appreciate and respect the opinions of those who, notwithstanding the appalling statistics to which a competent committee, appointed by government, has recently given authority, are opposed to us on this subject. We believe that they hold, in all sincerity, that the evil of rendering vice safer and the risk of degrading women outweigh all other considerations.

But, speaking as women, we feel bound to protest against these views. We believe not only that preventive measures, if exercised with scrupulous care, do not cause any real danger to women, but that they constitute a valuable safeguard of women's virtue, and afford a great opportunity of escape from a life of vice.

We feel that it is the duty of the state, which, of necessity, collects together large numbers of unmarried men in military service, to protect them from the consequences of evils which are, in fact, unavoidable in such a community and under such conditions. And with the deepest earnestness we call on the government to do all that can be done to save innocent women and children in the present and future generations from the terrible results of vices for which they are not responsible.

The signatures of Miss Florence Nightingale and Mrs Humphry Ward are given subject to the addition of request that: "An independent inquiry be at the same time set on foot at the several stations in India, as recommended by the governor-general of India and Council in the military despatch, to the secretary of state for India, No. 184, dated Simla, 4 November 1896, appended to the report of the Departmental Committee."



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### 1899

26 October 1899 *Daily Gazette* "Miss Nightingale on War" [letter read at dinner given last night to survivors] reprinted in many Australian and New Zealand newspapers

As was once written about the advantages of persecution, we may write about the advantages of war, yet few men, and perhaps no women, have seen as much as I have of the horrors of war. But see those manly fellows in time of war, men not near the beasts as sometimes we too sadly see in the time of peace; see them not one taking a drop too much; not one gallivanting with the women; every one devoting, aye, even his life for his comrade, fetching his comrade off the field, without notice or praise from anyone, either in words or in print; and if 'killed in battle' always devoted even to the death, as our Great Master and Friend, Jesus Christ, was to His fellow men. Oh, if such be war, we will not say "Let there always be war! But blessed be war which make such heroes of fellowship out of war. Sad is the death of our comrades. But we may say, "Death comes not untimely to him who is fit to die. The briefer life, the earlier immortality!" Who would keep him back? Not even his wife. My friends, survivors of Balaclava, I pledge you in this cup, not all of grief, but of living life, worth perhaps all the downy chairs we know of. Those who are gone are with us still, working with us at the good and right and the happiness of our fellow men.

29 November 1899 *The Times* 6D [Mrs Postlethwaite recd a letter yesterday from Nightingale]

10 South St.

Park Lane W.

Nov 27.

Dear Madame

It is a capital idea about the nightcaps and I trust that you will succeed. Allow me to enclose £2 towards the nightcaps. I wish it were more, but as you, I am sure, know well we have so many now calling on us for help that we cannot do what we would for each.

All success to you from

Florence Nightingale

with best wishes

### 1900

10 February 1900 *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate* [New South Wales] "Jottings" [Nightingale message to the Cape of Good Hope Society for Aiding the Sick and Wounded]

This is a sad, painful business, but how much good it has called forth! May we hope that the nurses, everyone of them, will prove themselves worthy of the great opportunity afforded by God's goodness. I wish I could go, but I am chained to my room by illness. Three cheers for you, wherever you are--cheers to

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strengthen, not disturb, the sick.

**1901**

15 April 1901 *The Times* 11D "Queen Victoria's jubilee Nurses Endowment Fund"

12 November 1901 *The Times* 6A "Ladies' Home, 90, Harley Street."  
10 South Street, W.  
November [1901]

Sir

I write to make an appeal for an institution which is doing good work--work after my own heart, and, I trust, God's work.

It is, everyone says, a bad time for appeals for money. The needs of our soldiers and of the thousands of sufferers in South Africa are still with us, but are not the burdens to be borne that war must inevitably bring, and the sufferers at home yet not be forgotten?

No. 90, Harley Street, is an establishment for gentlewomen in temporary illness and has been in existence since 1850 [1853], when, with the help of Lady Canning, I was able to set it on foot and to preside over it until I went to the Crimean War. There is no other institution exactly like this. In it our governesses (who are primarily eligible), the wives and daughters of the clergy, of our naval, military and other professional men receive every possible care, comfort and first-rate advice at the most moderate cost. But this cannot be done without larger contributions.

Look at these few statistics, which I take from the report of 1901, and these may be considered fair averages of past years: ordinary expenses £2,424.0s.1d, ordinary receipts £1,770.19s.6d, deficit in 1900 £653.0s.7d.

This deficit has been met year after year by trenching on the small invested capital or by using legacies instead of investing them, but for 1901 there is no such help forthcoming by legacies.

The number of beds in the home is twenty. The average cost of each patient per week is £3.10s.7d. In 1900, patients treated 164, cured 145, operations performed 123.

All this good work has been done entirely gratuitously by eminent physicians and surgeons. The patients contribute to their board and lodging, and thus meet half the expenses of the establishment.

Everyone connected with this home and haven for the suffering is doing their utmost for it and it is always full. It is conducted on the same lines as from its beginning, by a committee of ladies, of which Mrs Walter is the president, and she will be glad to receive contributions at 90 Harley Street, W.

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I ask and pray my friends who still remember me not to let this truly sacred work languish and die for want of a little more money. What is more grievous than suffering which cannot be relieved for want of means?

yours obediently  
Florence Nightingale

### 1935

20 December 1935 *The Times* 11B

Scutari Barracks Hospital

11 August 1855

Dear Sir

I beg leave to thank you for your liberal proposition. I have no intention of publishing my Crimean experiences.

I remain  
your obedient servant  
Florence Nightingale

### 1910

15 August 1910 *Daily Telegraph* "Hammersmith and Fulham District Nurses"

10 South Street, April 17, 1897

Dear Miss Curtis

I have been in familiar touch with district nursing ever since its first establishment in Bloomsbury. I do indeed look upon it as one of the most hopeful of the agencies for raising the poor physically and morally, its province being not only nursing the patient, but nursing the room, showing the family and the neighbours how to second the nurse; also and eminently, how to nurse health as well as disease, and especially the health of infants and young children. This is a matter of national importance, for it includes feeding (above all, feeding them), clothing, and cleanliness. For if a child sets out in life - with digestion weakened, feeble mind, and craving for stimulant, its prospect is poor indeed. It includes being a friend and helper, not a patron or almsgiver, to the poor family which receive the nurse as a friend to mind and body.

And I bid you God speed with all my heart and mind.

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

To the Superintendent of the Hammersmith and Fulham District Nurses

12 June 1943 2C *Times* "Florence Nightingale Letter. A Crimea Incident" from Castle Hospital Balaklava Nov 10/55 in RCN/FN1/2/3

27 June 1865 "Florence Nightingale." *New York Times* letter to ed re visit to her and her sympathy to Americans. Benjamin Howard, M.D. late USA, Pall Mall, received a letter from her, "in own hand, in which expressed her 'deepest sympathy of grief and

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horror' with which she contemplated the terrible catastrophe--  
stating that she thought it had produced a feeling of greater  
general distress than did the death 'of our own Albert.' in a  
subsequent note, "Miss Nightingale spoke of her 'constant and  
deep sympathy' with America in the loss of her 'honest, noble-  
hearted President,' with a warmth of affecting which would de  
credit to any patriotic American.