

BL07 Add Mss 45779-781 and Add Mss 45783-85, correspondence with Benjamin Jowett, 1064 pages total

Add Mss 45779, Indian correspondence, 265 folios, 147 pages, microfilm, Adam Matthew reel 21

ff1-81 to Cranborne/Salisbury:

ff82-135 Northcote/Iddesleigh;

ff136-95 Louis Mallet;

ff196-265 various to Napier and Ettrick and Lady Napier

unsigned letter draft, ff1-2v, pencil, {not FN hand, maybe JS}

ff3-4v, Lord Cranborne to FN, July 17, 1866, re FN's question about a sanitary despatch

unsigned letter draft, ff5-6v, pencil, {not FN hand, maybe JS}

f5

Ld Cranbourne 18 Augst 1866 [Cranborne]

We must look at what was the intention of the Royal India Commission. Lord Stanley

unsigned letter draft, ff7-7v, pencil

f7

Ld Cranbourne

As the Session of Parlt is approaching, it has occurred to me ~~touching~~ that you might possibly afford most valuable assistance in advocating those administrative Reforms which are necessary for giving effect to Public Health improvements in India -

I was impressed with this on reading your most able speech on the Orissa famine. We know perfectly well that the P. H. service is just in as great a chaos as was the Orissa administration- & that at the present time there is just as little personal responsibility in the former as there was in the latter -

Crowds of people have died in India since the Orissa famine from Cholera including many of H. M.'s troops And it would be just as difficult to fasten the responsibility of those deaths on the right man as it was in the case of the O. famine -

The prevention of famine indeed has always been an important part of P.H. service -

The subject is too long & too important for a letter. But such is the interest I feel in it & so high do I estimate your influence in obtaining a P. H. code for India that weak as I am, I should be very glad to have the opportunity of discussing the subject with you when you could conveniently do so -

f7v {this is too faint to read}

{ff8-80 the incoming letters are from Lord Salisbury}

copy of signed letter, f8, pen {not in FN hand}, original
Marquess of Salisbury Collection OIOC

f8

35 South St
Park Lane. W.
April 25.74

Dear Lord Salisbury,

You cannot be so penetrated with my impertinence
as I am, and I know will be more ready to excuse me
than I am myself, for asking you to glance over this
little pamphlet which I have just printed.

One of my reasons is: - your noble speech about the
India Famine at the Lord Mayor's Meeting: - another, of
course, that we hail the reign at the I.O. of one who is a
real workman & born ruler of men:

- a third that I have now been engaged for 15 years in
Indian Sanitary administration: & that a great part of
its official & private documents passed thro' my hands.

The first part of my little book has grown out of
this:

the second out of this dreadful famine.

with regard to the first part: - Mr. Plowden's admirable
annual Digests prepared at the I.O. (his Sanitary Blue
Books) manage to place every year in small compass
before Englishmen what otherwise most of them would
know nothing at all about.

with regard to the second part: the *Irrigation*
facts: - there is no one but yourself who could, if
you believe in them, turn by their means Death into
Life for India.

Pray believe me

ever your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

(The above in pencil)

ff9-9v, 20 Arlington St. S.W., April 27, 1874, from Lord
Salisbury to acknowledge receipt of the pamphlet mentioned in f8

ff10-13v, November 4, 1874, re the financial difficulties
regarding sanitary improvement in India and promising to forward
FN's letter to the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook

ff14-14v, January 2, 1875, to forward the answer of Lord
Northbrook to the letter from FN

ff16-24v, Calcutta, December 11, 1874, from Lord Northbrook to
Lord Salisbury in reply to the letter from FN forwarded to him by
Lord Salisbury

unsigned letter or draft?, ff25-28v, pen & pencil

f25

For criticism

19/1/75

Dear Lord Salisbury

I cannot thank you enough for your great

[10:124-26]

kindness in sending, nor Lord Northbrook enough
for his great consideration of the Soldiers' Health question in
writing

so admirable & thoroughly capital a letter -

After such a letter, certainty is doubly sure,
tho' I will not admit that there was any doubt
before, that at least under Lord Northbrook's
administration there will be no relaxation
of effort. For Sanitary work is never finished

For instance:

Fort William - Hospital Water supply:

"pure water in carts from the Calcutta Mains"

No doubt they will go on to that first requisite
for a perfect Hospital pure water in pipes
& cisterns ad libitum? -

not in Carts like Champagne.

Alipore the same To native troops the
water supply is even more important than to
Europeans, for they cannot qualify bad water
with Rum & Porter.

Barrackpoor the same

Hazareebagh All honour from thousands
of voices & souls to Lord Northbrook for
withdrawing the Troops from the fever hot bed
Barracks - [Ought not Some one ~~ought~~ to have had
something the reverse of honour for leaving
Troops so long in such Barracks, so often
& so long since condemned?]

‡/We Sanitarians feel on this side the world, ~~only~~ very ~~humble~~/
timid - for it is no business of

~~mine~~/ ours, and if it is right to do it it will
be done - in saying that Hazareebagh is just
one of the places - a naturally healthy situation,

? in a good Strategical position, in a cheap
well supplied province: where there ought
to be the best of Barracks - & in asking
whether ~~they would~~/ such might not be built for your

moveable

Reserves whence you may any day withdraw
all your fighting men & leave only women,
invalids & children to keep the Barracks aired
without risk of their being attacked by mobs
or insurgents: whereas, in front of great
native Capitals, can you in troublous times
withdraw a man without strong remonstrances
from your political Agents, & frightening all the
non - fighting folk out of their wits -

But you will tell the shoemaker not to go beyond his last.

Umballa I know I deserve the same stricture
 & a great deal more from you for asking
 about the Water supply at this Station.
 - will not the Raja of Puttiala give as much
 water as the Queen & all her European troops &
 subjects in India can drink?
 and will he ever ask or accept if he can
 help it a sixpence for the water?
 for is he not a loyal Indian prince and a
 gentleman?

 But are not our Engineers charged to send
 in estimates for none but "remunerative" works
 meaning waterworks for irrigation?

 And it is said that Puttiala does not see
 why his fields & Ryots should be deprived of
 their water to supply ours.

 It is cutting off my own head, which is
 crammed full, being an empty head, of Irrigation
 works, to say even thus much against
 them for the present. But are we not trying to get a good
 Irrigation project out of our Soldiers'

 drinking water? and must not our men
 drink good water in order to live?

 And if the Viceroy were to say to his Engineer:
 (postponing irrigation or navigation for the present)
 send in a project for drinking water for the
 Umballa Barracks: will not the thing ~~will~~ be done?

 If he says to the Raja of Puttiala: "our

Umballa soldiers want water what will you
take for your water springs?" will not

H.H. say, as the Hittite did to Abraham:

"the land is thine: it is worth so much -
but what is that between me & thee?"

~~Will~~/ May not Lord Northbrook then buy the springs,
& do what he likes with them?

[You will remember how this Raja's grandfather
dealt with Sir Geo: Clerk when Ld Ellenborough
bought Kupowlie Hill to house his troops
returned from Cabul. The spirit in which
the grandson will act, if rightly handled, is
said to be the same.]

Peshawur: the most flagrant case in India:
what am I to say that will ~~not~~ 'sentir della
speziera' only as I ought to smell:

I must borrow expressions far more abject
in their humility than the Hittite's: as when
I heard a Greek peasant on the Salamis shore
say to Mr. Wyse that "God Almighty was
an Englishmen' [No compliment could
ever beat that for depth & point & the
poor man meant nothing more profane
than Homer.]

In such a flagrant case then as Peshawur,
would it be possible to turn the flank of so
~~the~~ costly a difficulty?

to have your main Punjab frontier Garrison
Reserve, East of the Indus, say at
Rawul Pindee with a good Bridge over
& Tunnel under the Indus - defended by
small but strong works at each end -
a Railway to Peshawur - & no more troops
at Peshawur than can hold securely a small
strong isolated Fort, so strong & small that
the Garrison can be relieved, weekly if necessary,
by Railway - from Cherat - the Indus passage
Forts - or Rawul Pindee

a strong moveable force at Cherat or anywhere
else where the water is good, & site healthy
West of the Indus -

Pallas herself might well shrink from giving
her own opinion in such a case -

But this is experienced Indian opinion.

If however it ought to be done we know
it will be done under the two present
heads of the Indian Empire.

f27v

It is the apparent impossibility of making
Peshawur even tolerably healthy except at ~~an~~
~~unprecedented~~ & intolerable cost that
causes these suggestions.

Also: must not the Afreedies & their neighbours
be managed so that they shall not carry off
your Bandmasters for ransom, if they chance
to go to sleep on their way home from Mess
[a very sensible & healthy proceeding - much
more healthy, I have no doubt, than the inside of any
building in the cantonment, if only the
Efreetts were not there.]

Kamptee: like Peshawur:
 what can one ~~say~~/ ask but something like
the above which is entirely out ~~of~~/side the duty
of us Sanitarrians to ~~say~~/ ask at all ?
 viz - should there not be an entire new
arrangement of your force for the whole
province? but again, if there should
then it will be done -
 "The Barracks are not good, & the Hospital
is bad" indeed. Will reporting make them better.
or save them from ultimate condemnation?

f28

As regards intemperance:
most truly are we to be congratulated that the
Temperance movement is spreading -
For is not spirit - drinking the great curse of the
British soldier?
If he could be weaned from it by supplying him
with good tea & coffee & iced water, in his
Recreation rooms, even at the public expence,
the saving in efficiency would amply
compensate the Public.

As regards Mr. Clark:
we feel assured from experience of him
he will be able to save money to the Government
by pointing out plans for improving the
water supply & drainage of Stations ?

f28v

It seems impertinent for me to ~~add~~ repeat
as if I thought it possible for us to be praising
Ld Northbrook's ~~policy~~ & administration
~~that~~ how well aware we are that
Lord Northbrook has done all ~~(& more)~~ that
can be done & more without a good working
surplus: to reform his Barracks: to irrigate
& a hundred other things of which he sees
the necessity more clearly than any one else
& that he need ask none ~~but fools~~ to trust
him to do as much as he can possibly find
money for: & not to press him too hard because
those who have not to find the money do
press him for the works: He will never
save money from improvements merely to
have a surplus. Under him there is no
danger ~~of~~ / lest the great success which has attended
the past efforts of the Government of India
for the soldier's benefit should lead to
~~relaxation~~ slackness of effort & to saving of
outlay which really could not be saved. **[end 10:128]**

ff29-30, January 23, 1875, in acknowledgement of FN's letter
ff25-28v and asking permission to forward it to Lord Northbrook

f31, January 25, 1875, in acknowledgement that permission to
forward FN's letter has been granted

ff32-5, May 10, 1875, re difficulties in getting accurate financial reports of work in India

ff36-7, May 13 1875, re the untrustworthiness of some figures obtained by FN

typed copy of signed letter, ff38-42, original OIOC Salisbury Papers **[10:] dup**

[9:755]

f38

Copy.

IRRIGATION RETURNS
INDIA

Private

35

SOUTH ST

PARK LANE, W.

Oct. 5 /75

Dear Lord Salisbury,

[10:]

In obedience to your most kind letter of May 10 I
pa-
tiently waited for that Irrigation "Account" or Returns
which
you said you were "trying to make out for Parliament",
"to
which" you could "safely give official sanction".
Not having seen it appear, I did not like to
assault you
the moment Parlt. was over: nor do I now.
But your kindness and the extreme importance of
the subject
are compulsory.
Your willingness, some months ago, to take steps
for secur-
ing accurate Irrigation Statistics from India: & your
just com-
plaint that there were none: seems to show you as
thinking that
there is ample scope for asking for enquiry: & make the
prayer
of me (who have been up to my neck in Indian "Returns"
for 16
years) less audacious.

[end 10:]

You said that you could not be satisfied with the
present
position of the question. And the Irrigation matter is

one

which

which cannot drop. Therefore

1. Might I ask you, would you send me such *Irrigation Returns* as you have doubtless already procured & "given official sanction " to, since May: I mean of course such as it would not be an impertinence to ask for?

2. And if you are not satisfied with what you have obtained am I too daring in suggesting that now would be the time to give effect to your desire TO MAKE AN ENQUIRY such as shall secure *results & returns* which can be laid before Parliament & the public with confidence?

May I venture to say that the 5 points or difficulties mentioned in your kind letter of May as standing in the way of obtaining accurate Returns suggest the following questions which are entirely based on your letter? [end 10:]

Pardon my troublesomeness & let me go on

Irrigation Enquiry

Might not the enquiry be by a Commission, x if that is the shortest & best way of getting at authenticated *facts*?

bearing in mind that what is wanted is: *not theory nor opinions*, but *facts & the results of actual experience*.

that therefore no special or professional qualifications are required in the Inquirer, beyond those necessary to enable

him

x It has been suggested that the Commission might be of Sir Andrew Clarke; & one good Civilian?

him to collect & present his facts (great qualifications indeed! perfect independence & impartiality & freedom from bias, *as to prevailing or fashionable theories* - with industry & promptitude, so that the inquiry may not, (as some of its predecessors have - have they not?) - run on for years and official generations.)

Might not the inquiry be easily made by means of *printed Questions & Tables*? (upon an *uniform* basis of course: so as to secure *uniform* data, which *can* be compared & tabulated: as you said, the great difficulty has been that hitherto Returns have not been comparable).

- *each local Governmt. & Administration* x collecting the replies, & returning them to the Commissioner.

Naturally, I suppose the Commission will summarize the results; especially as regards

(1)	extent of capital invested	a	by Government
		b	"
			Cultivators

x Note: that the information is wanted from practical & regular cultivators: not from wild tribes: so that as a rule the Superintendents of Hill & Forest Tracts need not be asked for returns: - need they?

B. Special facts relating to great works which affect more than one village.

OLD WORKS repaired or extended:

1. State culturable acreage of area affected by each work:

3. Cost of construction: showing separately interest, if any,

4. Cost of (a) maintenance

(c) repairs

5. Returns distinguishing

(b) indirect

f42

6. Net Results according to local calculation of profit or loss.

[10:]

Dear Lord Salisbury: I am sure that I need no apology with your kindness & genius & great interest (in a subject so vital to India that I should be impertinent if I were to doubt these) What I do need to make apology for is: not in asking for enquiry: - but perhaps in the length of these notes

meant to show the direction inquiry should take, if it is desired to have real results & returns. But these notes can easily be set aside: the enquiry I am sure you will not set aside: since evidence is necessary to show *what is* the duty of the Govt in promoting irrigation **[end 10:]**

by great works ?	by small ?
by wells & tanks ?	by great & small Canals ?
by private Capital ?	by great national grants & loans ?

So many authorities are hopelessly at variance as to facts, or the basis of any theory of Govt duty: (in writing this I

am

f43

not simply writing as a parrot, if *parrots* write; - for I have laboured thro', & tried to tabulate, immense piles of (so called) Indian Statistics myself:) that Secretaries of State have almost come to look upon the question perhaps hopelessly too as a mere worrying puzzle: & it seems left to Lord Salisbury's genius victoriously to solve it & arrive at real definite results which Governments can act upon. Hope deferred makes my heart sick - what must the Indian Cultivator's heart be? - - & the famines? - - - **[end 9:756]**

I will at least not take up your time with wordy apologies. but pray believe me

dear Lord Salisbury
ever your faithful servt.
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

The Marquis of Salisbury
&c., &c., &c.,

ff44-5v, Hatfield House, Hatfield, Herts, October 9, 1875, re
returns he will forward to FN

ff46-9, October 22, 1875, re more accounts he will forward to FN

ff50-4v, Balmoral, November 1, 1875, re the difficulties in
obtaining accurate financial accounting in India

f55, envelope, postmarked OFFICIAL PAID CHARING CROSS. W.C. E NO
2 75

copy of signed letter, ff56-7, typewritten

f56 Copy.

IRRIGATION INQUIRY

PRIVATE

35 SOUTH ST, Park Lane, W.
Feb 26/76.

[10:135-36]

Dear Lord Salisbury,

I am afraid that you will think me committing a strange indiscretion in venturing to remind you of your willingness some months ago to take steps for securing accurate results & returns (which can be laid before Parliament & the public with confidence) concerning the general & special facts of Irrigation; so as to form a basis for some theory of Government duty.

I should indeed be inexcusable if (in a subsequent letter) you had not implied that at that particular moment you did not wish to make suggestions on this subject to India.

Now that Lord Lytton is going out as Viceroy, your kind letter, (which gave me leave to ask for inquiry) puts hope into me that you might think it not inopportune to give him your Instructions.

You will probably remember that - in the last letter which you did me the honour to write me - your idea was that Sir Andrew Clarke & the Duke of Buckingham (for Madras) both of whom you said were "masters of detail" - a Civilian possibly might be added to Sir A. Clarke. might act as Irrigation

Inqui

rers

f57

Inquirers" under instructions from the Government of India
under instructions *from home*.

You showed yourself thoroughly dissatisfied with the present position of the question.

I could in half an hour out of the letters which you were good enough to address to this "Importunate Widow" & out of the printed documents we have from India, draw up notes to help to show *the direction* inquiry should take:

but am unwilling to trouble you with one word without your orders.

[end 10:136]

& only beg you to believe me

dear Lord Salisbury

ever your faithful servt.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

The Marquis of Salisbury

ff58-61v, 20, Arlington St. S. W., February 27, 1876 re
difficulties in obtaining accurate statistical information from
India

f62, envelope, postmarked LONDON S.W. 7 FE 28 76

ff63-4v, June 4, 1876, acknowledging receipt of a letter from FN
typed copy of signed letter, f65

f65

Copy.

35 SOUTH ST, PARK LANE,

W. **[10:136]**

June

5 /77

MADRAS DRAINAGE

MOST PRIVATE

Dear Lord Salisbury

I thank you most gratefully for your very kind note
Its welcome promise that you will take the whole matter into
your own consideration encourages me to believe that you will
not think it intrusive if I add a piece of information which
I have just received: viz: that there is reason to fear that
"the Duke" (of Buckingham) may commit "the Govt" to some in-
sufficiently considered scheme & so perhaps render improvement
hereafter more difficult than ever. **[end 10:136]**

This is of course for yourself alone.

& I am ever your faithful servt.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

ff66-7v, August 22, 1877 enclosing a letter from the Duke of Buckingham addressing FN's concerns about Madras

unsigned letter, ff68-9v, pen

f68

Madras Drainage

35 South St

Park Lane W.

Sept 1877

Dear Lord Salisbury

[10:138]

I know not how to thank you for your interest in this all important subject & for your note to me of Aug 22.

I return the Duke of Buckingham's letter of July 24 with many thanks .

May I rush at once into a few observations? From the Duke's letter I gather

that both the *system to be adopted* & the *man to be employed* to carry it through are still unsettled points:

The crime of past Governments of Madras is to have dallied with these questions so long & allowed the evils to continue unabated, while the Municipality was allowed to wrangle, job, muddle & delay, in fact do all that a bad vestry was likely to do.

[end 10:138]

[Unquestionable when the Government of India decided that Sanitary work should be done in India by Municipalities *who were to find the money*, it adopted Municipal Government such as it might turn out to be in India with all its immediate defects.

f68v

Hence, all that can be done consistently
with the principle is to help Municipalities
with the most competent & skilled advice
- *but is not this therefore the more*
important? & with moderate loans
at interest & *not allow them to job*. We cannot force
anything
under this system.]

It was for the purpose of deciding the very
important point "Clark's scheme", that
I thought the services of a highly trained
& experienced Sanitary official to be essential
as I do not believe there is any one in
Madras with the necessary qualifications
for coming to a sound conclusion.

The ~~Pa~~/ Governor of Madras knows more
about the subject than any one in Madras
but is not a really *Scientific opinion* wanted?

[end

10:138]

[Under the Municipal system a vast amount
of really good work has been done altho'
in Madras Presidency some Municipalities
have lapsed from not working:
and of all Municipalities in India
has not that of Madras been the least
progressive?]

[10:138]

As to the *first rate Engineer*:

it is true that no man who has not had considerable Indian experience is fit to judge of drainage works for India:

An English Sanitary Engineer, or all of them put together, might, if sent out fresh, proceed as they would do in London, spend large sums in providing rainfall sewers. [no rainfall in India should enter sewers] & the practical result might be that, after all the expenditure, the work would have to be done over again. This is true.

But you have one man here who knows all about it:

Major Tulloch of the Local Government Board.

He is the man to whom alone Mr. Clark's plans could be referred. & all the necessary experience could be had from him without his going out at all.

Let them submit Mr. Clark's plans to Major Tulloch & Mr. Rawlinson. The one will look to see that the leading principles are applicable to India & to Madras: & both will help materially with the details.

[10:138]

f69v

The Municipal President:

Of course a first rate Chairman is a great necessity:

should not means be taken to obtain the services of a good practical Indian Civilian as Chairman - - the Government aiding him with its countenance & helping him to find money. [they are spending nearly as much money in doing things badly as would enable them to do them well.]

The new Chairman must be a man of large Indian experience & one on whom confidence is reposed.

When a Chairman has tried to walk before his horse or his machine, he has soon found out that it did not follow:

ff70-71v, September 19, 1877, re the financial problems of Madras drainage

f72, envelope, postmarked {illeg}

ff73-4v, February 12, 1878, rejecting a proposal of FN for solving statistical problems in Madras

ff75-6v, February 27, 1878, forwarding the opinion of the Indian Councillors on FN's proposal

ff77-8, Minute from the Revenue Committee regarding FN's proposal

incomplete, signed letter, ff79-80, pen & pencil note

f79

3 {archivist: [1885-1892] 69? 89?
an hour's leisure, or an evening
to himself - Now, he has never
an evening or a morning for his
wife & children & himself. And the greater
part of the night has sometimes
been absorbed by his work
He has scarcely ever taken a holiday
The result was, as might have
been expected, an illness, for
the first time in his life - due
entirely, as his ~~Doctor~~ /Physician says,
to overwork, during which he
~~was at~~ / {illeg} death's door. And
he is now at Cannes, trying to
recover.

The medical verdict is that
he ought to have 3 months'
holiday every year, If he is
to live & work. But this
holiday is impossible to him
~~He has scarcely ever taken a~~

f79v

holiday -

He was urged to give up
his Secretaryship to the
Nursing Association. But
this also he declined to do.

It remains then, according
to Medical & other advice,
that, if he could obtain a
Canonry, which would give
him change of place & work
for two or three months in the
year - for he would never
rest - this would be the
most likely means of saving
so valuable ~~a-life/~~ and a & career so useful as this.
{the following paragraph has a line drawn through it}

Would Lord Salisbury kindly
put Mr. Dacre Craven
high on his List for a

f80

~~Canonry~~

If not too great an impertinence to
venture to ask, would Lord
Salisbury think well to take it
into his kind consideration whether
Mr. Dacre Craven's name might not
be put down on the List for a

Canonry? F.N.

Florence Nightingale
The Marquis of Salisbury K.G.

f81, archivist's note describing correspondence between FN and Sir Stafford Northcote

unsigned letter draft, ff82-85v, pencil

f82

My apology for writing you on a matter intimately affecting the ~~interest~~ health of Her Majesty's British troops in India is that I took part in the Royal Commission of enquiry into the Sanitary state of the Army, and that ever since that time I have been lending what little aid I can lend to the improvement of Indian Stations, hospitals, & the like. On this subject I have been in frequent communication with the authorities both here and in India, and thus it happens that a short time ago my opinion was requested by Capt. Galton on ~~the~~ certain proposals made by the Indian Government for using doors in every

f82v

case where we would use windows as a means of ventilating both barracks & hospitals thereby exposing ~~the~~ both healthy & sick men to grave risks from a method of ventilation which had been directly condemned by the Royal Commission as well as by Medical officers serving in India.

The subject is one of the very greatest import to the future healthiness both of Barracks & hospitals in India for the proposal of the Indian Government if carried out wd simply be to increase the ~~{illeg}~~ risk of disease & death at all stations where there are rapid changes of temperature. The matter was referred to the War Office Sanitary Commission & will

f83

Public works departmt
Letter 1 April (No 61) 1867

as to the relative merits

of doors & windows for
Barracks and Hospitals
for European troops
in India.

consideration ~~for~~

Indian Governt

this

state

will be

to the

matter

recommended the

Commissions

each

the

all

to the

Country. These

appointed

Sir

I have no doubt come
before

you with their
opinion in

proper time

My present object in
writing is not to discuss
this matter but rather to
ask your

of the means by which the
decision of the

was arrived at; and

I now proceed to

but in doing so it

necessary to go back

history of the

~~{Illeg}~~ The Royal
Commission

appointment of three

of health one for

presidency to advise

local Governments on

questions referring

health of the

Commissions were

after a despatch of

Charles Wood but the

f83v

authorities in India never
adopted any organized
system of procedure, by
health officers such as we
have in this country, and
at last they ~~filled~~ broke
up the Commissions, retaining I believe the
name without the
~~organization~~/ constitution recommended
by the Royal Commission
& proposed

to make the duty of
Inspector of health a part
of the duty of Inspector of
Prisons. This matter
was I believe in Lord de
Grey's hands just before he
left office & I believe
also that he has left
on record in the India
office his views on the
future organization of the
health Service in India.

I am not aware whether, during
subsequent ministerial
changes ~~have~~ any action
has been taken in regard to
the organization of a more

efficient health service
but the recent occurrence
which has led me to write
to you has shown that
the whole affair has gone
to ruin and that if any
good is to come of the
Royal Commission over
which Lord Herbert &
Lord Stanley presided
some immediate action
is necessary

I will now state the
case in a few propositions

1st The R.C. recommended
certain principles for
ventilating barracks and
Hospitals

2nd These principles were approved
& sent to India in a
detailed form for local
application to ~~suit~~ suit
local circumstances by the
India office on the recommendation of the
Army Sanitary Commission
at the W. O. on which

f84v

Sir Proby Cautley & Sir
R. Martin represent the
India office. All the
members being experts.
3rd The ~~In~~ Government in
India instead of proceeding
to apply the principles
~~and consulting the~~
~~Sanitary Health Commission~~
~~on the principles send~~
by the assistance of these
Health Commissions.

Sent the whole subject
abroad all over India
to the following authorities

- Local Government administrations
- Local San. Commissions
- Medical authorities
- Military authorities
- Public Works authorities
- Sany Committees

India

- Madras
- Bombay
- Bengal
- N.W. Provinces
- Punjab
- Straits
- British Burmah
- Central Provinces
- Oudh
- Mysore
- Hyderabad
- Rajpootana
- Central

As already stated the
Con effective constitution
of the Sanitary Commissions
had been broken up so
that they no longer represented
the ~~spec~~ decision of the
Royal Commissioners and
none of the other authorities
to whom the question was
sent ~~had~~ have any
knowledge of it except
the Medical authorities.
These last gave opinions
similar to those given
by the R. C., and by the
Army Sanitary Commission
at the War Office, &
still ~~still~~ the Government in
India, ~~adheres~~ recommends
the continuance of this
most objectionable of all
Barrack & Hospital Construction arrangements
in the teeth of the only
persons competent to advise ~~them~~

them.

It is this procedure which has alarmed all who take an interest in the future ~~public~~ health civil & military of India

We feel that with such a course of proceeding it is impossible that good can come & the great question now is: how to put the Indian health question once for all on a satisfactory footing. ~~I per~~

This I believe was the ~~question~~/point raised by Lord de Grey. It can only be done after thorough consideration of the problems the Royal Commission & to be met. These late occurrences have merely shown that ~~we even~~

those who feared the prospective ruin of the health question in India from the proposed changes in the Constitution of

the Commission ~~there~~ were in the right.

And they afford the ~~part~~ best possible reason for taking up the question again.

It is in the hope of being able to act in ~~new adjustment~~ this

that I have now ventured to address you. I have already written to Lord Stanley who was one of the Presidents of the Royal Commission & he has kindly offered

to speak with you on the subject.

signed letter draft, ff86-92, pen {this appears to be another draft for ff82-5v}

f86

Altered {archivist: [Draft for FN's letter to Sir Stafford Northcote 25 July 1867]}

London July 1867

Rt Honble

Sir Stafford Northcote M.P.

Sir

I should be afraid
that you might think
her a *harmless maniac*
who now addresses you,
but that I believe
Lord Stanley has
already kindly spoken
to you about this
matter - & that
Capt. Galton will
also forward this
letter to you.

{ff82-3 continue with minor variations}

f87v

... These Commissions
were appointed by Sir
John Lawrence after he

went out, in accordance with a
Despatch of Sir Charles
Wood, August 15, 1863,
(but which was not
acted upon till Sir
John Lawrence became
Governor - General.)

The authorities in
India have not
however followed up
this measure by
other measures essential
to give it practical
effect.

They have not
adopted any organized
system of procedure
by Health officers, as was recommended
by the Royal
Commission &
such as we have in this country.

And at last they
broke up the Commissions,
(to save cost,) retaining
however the heads
& the name, but
without the constitution
recommended by the
R. Commission &
without substituting

f88v

any other constitution which increasing local experience might have [~~recommended~~/pointed out as find more efficient.

In a despatch from the Governor Genl in Council, dated 13 -20 January, 1866, it was finally proposed to make the duty of Inspector of Health a part of the duty of Inspector of Prisons.

[This despatch, unfortunately, from not being addressed to the Military Department, was overlooked or mislaid, & could not be found ~~by~~/for Lord de Grey till he found it himself on May 5, 1866.]

The matter was under Lord de Grey's consideration just before he left office. And he has left on record in the India Office (about June 20, 1866) his

f89-9v {the end of f83v & f84v continue}

f90

{after the list of places in f84v is inserted:}

the foolscap wanders
collecting opinions
on the universal suffrage
principle.

As already stated, the
effective constitution
of the Presidency Sanitary Commissions
had been broken up,
so that they no longer
represented the
recommendations of the
R. Commissioners,
nor indeed responsibly
represented anything,
except a new element
of discord & dissension,
a new element of
uncertainty.

And none of the other authorities

f90v {f85 continues}

f91 {f85v continues }

...good can come.
It is not only that
"too many cooks spoil
the broth" It is that
actually many of the
"cooks" who are invited
to make the "broth"
are not "cooks" at all
[It is as if I were to
invite Railway clerks
& Workhouse officials
into my Hospital
kitchen to help me
in the cooking.]

As it is now, all
Sanitary progress in
India is impossible.
And the great question
now is: how to put
the India health Service
once for all on a
satisfactory footing.

This was the point
raised by Lord de Grey
It can only be done
after thorough
consideration of the

f91v

problem to be met.

These late papers
have merely shown
that those who feared
the prospective ruin
of the Health question
in India from the
delay in working out
~~the~~/any Public Health Service
at all, as also in
working out an efficient
responsible constitution
for the Sanitary Commissions
in India ~~were~~ had
unfortunately too much
reason for their fears.

And these occurrences
afford the best
possible reason for
taking up the question
again -

It is in the hope of
being able to aid in
this that I have
now ventured to
address you.

f92

I have already written
to Lord Stanley who was
~~the surviving~~
one of the Presidents
of the (said) Royal
Commission - And
he kindly said that
he would speak with
you on the subject.

Pray believe me
Sir
ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

signed letter, ff93-99v, pen {this appears to be another draft of ff86-92 with minor changes}

ff100-01, from Lord Northcote, July 30, 1867 promising to look into matters raised in a letter from FN

unsigned letter draft, ff102-04, pencil

f102 {archivist: Sir S. Northcote [reply to his letter 30 July 1867] Draft}

{I'm not sure this is FN's writing, maybe it is JS's. See archivist's note, f105}

I entirely agree with you that in carrying out any measures for protecting public health due regard should be paid to local information & peculiarities This is in fact indisputable but the principle applies to details rather than to great leading Sanitary works. The question which ~~made~~ occasioned my writing to you was precisely one of this nature. It regarded the application of a great general principle to suit local circumstances and the gist of my complaint against the method pursued by the Government in India was this, that instead of proceeding to apply the principle to suit local circumstances they threw the question broad cast over all ~~it~~ India to all classes of persons, and after having got opinions especially from Medical officers who understand the points, the Government in India passed a minute in the teeth of the advice they had asked for and determined to apply an iron rule to the almost infinite variety of circumstances to which ventilation has to be applied. And as a certain result of this decision if carried out we must all look for the continuance of certain diseases among the troops which are perfectly well known to

f103

have been occasioned at certain stations by the very kind of door ventilation which the Government has decided should be applied to all.

But more than this. We object in toto to the method of application of principles which the Government of India has adopted in this case simply because it is known to be intrinsically mischievous & because we have a decision of a Royal Commission presided over by Lord Stanley & Lord Herbert which points out what the administrative principle ought to be.

These health commissions were recommended & appointed & ~~also under~~ /connected with these there were to have been officers of health & executive authorities. Health questions in India comprise two classes. 1st Those of Military stations & the populations about them. 2nd Those of groups of population where there are no Military stations. Both have to be provided ~~by~~/for. Both require authorities to administer under the advice of the Commissions on all special questions & also laws & regulations to ~~-admittance~~ to be administered. Both require inspection . Both require funds. And what is

f103v

of great importance the India office here should keep its ~~hand~~ /hand so over the work in India that it should know about by every mail what is being done to improve stations & people and it ought to be able to check the work and to report annually to parliament. Even in Algeria this is done & the reports are published annually to show the progress in wellbeing & health of the entire community civil & military. § Almost every case of disease is reported, at least of special diseases. Why should we not do this for India. The practice since the report of the R. C. was published has been nothing more than playing with one of the greatest questions of our foreign empire. Those ~~to~~ who ~~des~~ interest themselves in these subjects know that we, the english people, are rotting out every where because we will not learn what the natural laws are ~~in~~ which we must obey in order to

f102v

live. Look at Bermuda, Demerara, Mauritius as recent examples & to India itself. ~~Knowing~~ Recurring epidemics are the result solely of ~~want~~ want of civilization & neglect in applying remedial agencies. It is not as if the questions were ~~t~~ new. Every thing is known. There is one thing only wanting which requires to pervade all government offices having any thing to do with foreign possessions & that is "intelligent doing" There is no question of the kind so great as this Indian question. I have reason to know that we have made the natives *think* more about it than we have been able to get government to *act*. And now is the time to begin. (not wishing to press him.)

If I might suggest any thing, it would be that the subject should be considered here before Sir J. L. is written to. I have been in the habit of communicating with him & have written on this very point, but what we really want is not

-4-

f104

-5-

so much to deal with the present case as to enter on a new phase altogether & to organize a health service once for all. It is not a difficult matter to do. And it requires to be done. And it ought to be considered just as much in the estimates - ~~as any other part of the public service~~, and also as much a part of the current work of the Sec of S for India in Council as any other part of the public service. You have members of Council of large Indian experience who thoroughly understand the whole subject.

unsigned letter draft, ff105-8v, pen {this is very faint}

f105 {archivist: (See reply to her letter of 30 July 1867, the draft prepared by FN & Sutherland written out by F.N.)}

Dear Sir Stafford Northcote

I am very much {the rest is too faint to read, but it seems to be a version of ff102-4}

ff109-9v, August 19, 1867, asking for an appointment to see FN

unsigned letter draft, ff110-3, pencil {this appears to be the draft for ff114 -8; I have transcribed the latter. f113 does not appear in ff114-18 - it follows}

f113

by Districts, Officers of Health & Inspectors
followed by the execution of works &
measures with such

unsigned letter draft, ff114-18, pen & pencil

f114

London September - 1867

[28]

Dear Sir Stafford Northcote

I have no apology for again writing to trouble you (And therefore I may as well not attempt any) but the urgency of the business. You have no doubt received the same deplorable accounts of the Cholera in the N.W. Provinces, as I have from Sir John Lawrence.

Up to the date of the last accounts several companies of the best soldiers in the British Army had perished at & near Peshawur - the regiments losing as many men from Cholera as usually fall in a great battle.

We have besides had a great many papers (after Indian fashion)

f114v

on the subject, which
show that the Sanitary
arrangements are just
as unsatisfactory now
as they were years ago.

& that there is no
reasonable hope of any
thing really efficient
being done, unless there
be established a
properly constituted
Public Health Department
at the India Office and
in India - as a
recognised branch of
permanent administration.

On this general subject
printed papers sent
to me from India in
answer to my own
letters - all shew that
whatever has been done
in the way of improving
the Public Health, has
been done by fits & starts
& without any system.

It is true that
Barracks are being built
& that some Stations are

f115

being improved. But these things do not constitute Public health administration, any more than building houses in London.

E.g. why are Mean Meer & Peshawur so deadly to Regiments quartered there? It is not the first time that these catastrophes have happened. Men have been perishing by Cholera year after year. And we who have been asking & receiving deluges of information, both public & private, on this matter, cannot nevertheless at this moment give an opinion as to the causes of unhealthiness at either Station - No document in our possession gives the slightest hint as to what steps have

f115v

been taken to remedy
the unhealthiness.

Surely the most
costly of all
administrative
proceedings is to
send these strong
Highland Regiments
into districts of
country where the
causes of unhealthiness
ought to be perfectly
known when no
efficient steps are
taken to remove them.

Years ago we were
told that at both
Stations the troops
died, because they
had no wholesome
water to drink. The
late experience would
show that the same
deficiency exists still.

It is obvious that
such calamities ought
not to recur - neither
in the Army, nor
among the Civil
population.

f116

2 Our present position
is simply this:
that, four years ago,
the Report of the R.
Commission was sent
to India. that
every thing promised
fair in the first instance.
- that the beginning
of a Public Health
administration was
first made & then
unmade, before the
administration itself
was organized.
Something has been
done on no definite
system, and without
any defined
responsibility. - so
that in all probability
(to quote my Nursery)
"all the Queen's horses
& all the Queen's men"
could not find out
who or what was to
blame for either
Meean Meer or
Peshawur.

f116v

In Madras Presidency alone was any definite method proposed for organizing a Public Health Department - viz - by Officers of Health & Inspectors, acting under the Presidency Commission.

- But it was first discouraged, then rejected. And the Head of the Commission, Mr. Ellis, was so disheartened that he intended to resign, because he could do no good - He is now Secy to the Govt. of Madras -

This great question being now in this position - Sir John Lawrence who has done the very best he could under the circumstances will be home in a year or little more. And

f117

there will be no security
that the work which
he has been doing his
utmost to forward
will make progress
for a single day
after he has returned -

that is, not unless
there is some
Executive machinery,
in India to ~~carry~~ out
~~on~~ the work & some
Controlling machinery
here to know that
it is being done.

We have now ample
experience to guide
us as to what should
be done.

The first step
towards improvement
is (what you kindly
informed me you
proposed) ~~namely~~
the Public Health
Committee at the
India Office.

It is perfectly true
that you cannot
improve the Public

f117v

Health in India, except
by local action in
India in the places
where causes of disease
exist - But your
Committee would
forward the
systematizing of local
efforts. And, from
the perfect command
of the whole Indian
subject of its Head,
he would be able
to advise on all
administrative points
connected with the
reform of Stations,
Bazaars & towns
while he would also
aid in the consideration
of methods of procedure,
Sanitary laws & all
the machinery, so
requisite, - which
may be proposed in
India for the future
improvement of the
country. All persons
in India having any
Public Health functions

f118

3 to perform would know
that their proceedings
were watched by a
special Department
of the India Government
[Nothing stimulates them
so much] And such things
as have happened
at Peshawur could
scarcely pass without
rigid scrutiny &
discovery of the causes
& their ultimate
removal.

As Mr. Ellis is now
Secy to Govt at Madras -
would it be possible
& advisable to allow
him to make a trial
of his Health organization
(by districts, Officers
of Health & Inspectors,
followed by the execution
of works & measures)
with such modifications
as farther consideration
may have enabled
him to make in the
plan.

This would bring

f118v

us farther administrative
experience

But - What we really
want is a thoroughly
comprehensive
organized system of
proceeding.

[The things to be done
are all laid down in
the Report of the R.
Commission over which
both Lord Herbert &
Lord Stanley presided]

And the time has
certainly now come
when Indian
administrators should
take this great subject
in hand, & define
the *methods* in which
these things are to
be done.

unsigned note, f119v, pencil

f119v

Sir B. Frere says, that, when the Committee
has been appointed fifty times, still Sir J. Lawrence's
initiative will be much more regarded at the
I.O. than anything else -
that Sir J. Lawrence's initiative will be always
much more easily gained by me than by 50 Committees

Capt Eastbranch is to be on Sir B. Frere's Committee
Sir B. F. says he is the best man there
He says, he 's too old Sir B. F. says he is the
only one who is not too old

Well, while Sir B. F. chooses to go on coming here

ff120-1, October 18, 1867, re his delay in attending personally
to the matter of organized work

incomplete letter draft, ff122-3, pencil

f122

It must be somebody's business to do the work in India
The work must be done the {illeg -too faint}
responsible agents must be appointed
Means must be found to pay the costs
The India Govt here must have the means of knowing
what is going on & seeing that the responsibilities
are properly fulfilled

Telegram
Army Sany Comm
See Despatch Sir J.L.
Sir S.N.

f123

I have not answered his letter yet
It must {illeg too faint}
in India
the work must be done {illeg}
Responsible {illeg}
The India {illeg}
have the {illeg - the rest is too faint to read}

ff124-4v, October 22, 1867, re a proposed visit to FN

unsigned draft, ff125-7v, pencil {this may be in JS hand. ff128-31v are almost the same in FN hand. I have transcribed them}

unsigned draft, ff128-31, pencil

f128

1. The Commission
2. The Recapitulation
3. The Recommendations
4. When the *Commissions* in Bengal, Bombay, Madras were proposed - it was intended that they should be advisers of the local Govts. & that there should be an administrative machinery for carrying out reform
5. "*Suggestions*" proposed by desire of S. of S. contain leading points which have to be entertained in administrative machinery 1 2 3 4 5 p.1
6. *Suggestions* / 1 2 3 4
All that part of the Suggestions relating to drainage water supply construction &c of Stations is supposed to be under Public Works Dept.
But subject is *special* & requires special training - And there is no evidence that Indian Engineers know about it
What is required is that Engineer Officers be trained (Algeria Report p.3)

f129

- 7 Suggestions All those parts referring to
 native towns Bazaars &c
 require machinery to be
 provided to carry them out
8. For all these purposes funds have to be
 provided & administered
9. Then you ought to know what is being
 done in India, & this can only be
 accomplished by having some one at
 the I.O. to keep an executive hold
 over the authorities in India
10. There should be an annual Report
 not as heretofore of defects, but of
 work actually done
11. On all matters connected with plans
 of Barracks, Hospitals, drainage,
 water supply &c there is the best
 available opinion in the kingdom
 at the W. O. in the Army San. Comm.
 Questions can always be referred to them
 for solution

-2-

f130

We want the *Executive Machinery*
 to do it & the *Controlling Machinery*
 (at the I.O.) to know that it is being done.

No time should be lost in sending R. E.s
 intended for service in India to examine
 & make themselves acquainted with
 improvements in Barracks & Hospital
 construction
 in sewerage }
 drainage of towns
 water supply
 & in application of sewage for agriculture

-3-

f131 {too faint to read}

unsigned draft, f132, pencil

f132

In India
Officers of Health are wanted for cities & country districts -
[They might either be specially appointed or they might
be Civil Surgeons.]
There must be some authority to whom Officers of Health should
report
This authority must have power to abate nuisances & to
execute works i.e. he must be able to spend
money
The questions, besides those of simple cleansing & prevention
of epidemics are all Engineering questions: -
e.g. water supply
drainage
irrigation
Organizations for such works should comprehend
cities - towns - villages - country districts
1.
What would be the best authority in each case?
2.
What would be the best Engineering organization?
3.
What the best Medical Officers organization?
4. Should there be a central responsible authority in
each Presidency or local Government?
5.
To what extent could inspection districts be formed?

signed telegram, ff133-4, pen

f133

{archivist: To Sir Stafford Northcote Telegram sent to Indian
Nov: 1867 Govt 29/11/67

Telegram - it might
approve of proposed
appointment of Sanitary
Officers of rank of
~~Deputy~~ Inspectors General
to do duty under Civil
Governments as proposed
in Despatch One hundred
and fifty two, sixteenth
August 1867, as part
of a Sanitary administration
for India. A Despatch
will be sent on the
whole subject -

I will not take up a moment
more of your time with
apologies for my lengthiness,

f134

as it is the subject which is
important and not I -
Pray believe me
dear Sir Stafford Northcote
ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

ff135-5v, 11, Downing Street, Whitehall, April 29, 1874
acknowledging receipt of FN's paper Life or Death in India

ff136-40, October 1, 1875, from Louis Mallet, re the difficulties
of obtaining reliable statistics

ff141-2, October 29, 1875, expressing willingness to examine FN's
papers & notes before his (L. Mallet's) departure for India

ff143-4v, October 30, 1875, re the difficulties of accomplishing
anything in India

unsigned, incomplete letter, ff145-6v, pen

f145

Address 35 South St
 Park Lane W
 Nov 16/77

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I dare say that you would be almost
amused if you knew how your little note
of Sept 25 stirred me.

And I was only prevented from answering it
by your saying that you had "no time to write"
& fearing that you would think I wished to
claim your time.

It grieves me beyond measure, ~~because~~
& I am afraid I could tell you some things
which you would say confirmed your opinion,
- that you think our present calamity will be
a pretext for the postponement to another generation

f145v

of the real duties of

f146

if I were a man I would never/ too much of an Englishman to know
I was beaten

surest element of victory
~~bat~~ must be an uphill game - to be before one's Govt
greatest reward that my work should be so
complete that the next generation should forget me
& call my work an obsolete truism
which my own generation called a visionary fanaticism

unsigned letter draft, f147-7v, pen

f147

35 South St
Park Lane W
Feb 11/78

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I have never thanked you for your kind [10:479]
note of September

My best thanks are that I wrote you a
long letter in answer about matters
pertaining to Indian cultivators & Madras
poverty which I was so good as not
to send respecting as I do your
time.

My reason now for troubling you with

f147v

this short note is this:
you will kindly remember that when I last
had the pleasure of some correspondence
with you it was to lay before you the
gist of a statement which Lord Salisbury
permitted me to make to him as to the
heads upon which information should be
required from India upon an uniform basis
which information could not be sufficiently [end 10:479]
challenged. It concerned

unsigned letter, ff148-55, pen & pencil

f148

35 South St
Park Lane W
Feb/78

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I dare say that you would be almost amused if you knew how your little note of Sept 25 stirred me.

And I was only prevented from answering it by your saying that you had "no time to write", & by my fearing that you would think I wished to claim your time.

It grieves me beyond measure that you think this great Madras calamity - so much greater than our Governmt at all allows - will be a pretext for the postponement to another generation of the real duties of England to India.

[10:479-81]

But you are too good an Englishman ever to know you were beaten : - & that is the surest element of victory -

To be before or ahead of one's Government is the most uphill game:

but then it is the greatest reward that our work should be so complete that the next generation should forget us & call our work an obsolete truism which our own generation called a visionary fanaticism.

But it was

not to moralize that I venture now to write
to you.

It is about the Indian Ryot:

[to ask some questions I should say, but that

I have no hope you have time to answer them.]

the Indian Ryot: so incomprehensible to us:

the poorest in the world: & it is said getting
poorer & poorer every year: the most industrious
in the world: the most heroic, the most secretive
& false.

the Irrigation, so vitally, so mortally needed:

the indebtedness to money lenders, so that a full
crop, if he has one, merely means so much in
the money lender's pocket:

the slavery (in Bengal) to Zemindars, worse than
any Bulgarian slavery to Turks

These are the subjects, heart stirring enough in themselves
which in your hands might stir all England:

1. *Water:* if we had given them water, we should
not now ~~to~~ have had to be giving them bread:
& not only this but to have seen millions
(take all the Famines in this century) perishing
for the want of it, in spite of all the Governmt
has done:

i.e. Irrigation by strengthening, repairing & keeping
up the old Tanks:
by storage & regulation of water: where possible,

f149

for keeping the old Tanks always supplied

I see appeals from 'influential ' numerous natives, notably from Arcot & Trichinopoly, for this & accounts of success from Scinde & Bombay by wells in other Irrigation means: Irrigation by every attainable means: canals, tanks, storage, wells and

Cheap Water Transit, including

Steam Navigation Canals.

I see appeals from Mr. Leslie & other Railway

Engineers for Cheap Water Navigation by

the side of Railways: notably from Goalundo

Indeed it seems to me that all (Royal) Indian

Engineers are for it, wherever practicable.

Was not Lord G. Hamilton's speech, ("Times" of

Oct 5,) appalling, saying that "Rails pay

& Water does not"?

But who is to expose it?

Also: Ld Salisbury's speech at Bradford,

("Times" of Oct 12) "water can't run up hill"

& therefore we can't have Irrigation

He does not know the facts when he says this:

perhaps he does not know what he means.

Above all, showing the English people that

Irrigation pays Mr. Thornton, of the India

Office, has done this, & I understand is to do

it again in a Lecture. And the last official

"Progress Report" gives the financial result

of Godavery at 81 per cent

& Cauvery

2. The giving the Ryot in Bengal every
 legal help against the Zemindar, his landlord,
 pampered by us under the Permanent settlement,
and
Zemindaress
 Maharanai
in Burdwan

 so that all his, the Zemindar's, dues have
 been more than paid him: none of his
 duties under that Settlement required of him
to require of him as a landlord some at least
of these duties under the form of Water Cesses,
Road & Education Cesses, &c &c .

 Otherwise give the Ryot water, & the profit
will all go into the pocket of the Zemindar:
who has had all the rights without any of the
duties of landlords given him:

 Some high authorities say:

 "give the people of India, as you at last gave
 "the people of Ireland, a poor law: make
 "the Zemindars insure the lives of the people
 "on the land against death by starvation -
 "& they will take care that the ryots are duly
 "instructed in the uses of irrigation: & in
 "religious dogmas, affecting life & property also"
"Where the State is the Landlord, it must accept
the duties as well as the rents, say in Madras

 However it may be about this question of a
Poor Law at least one thing seems proved
by the Madras Famine relief: that the people
are the farthest from pauperization that can
possibly be, often preferring death to relief -
~~& that/~~ Indeed all over India there is less pauperism
& less mendicancy, other than religious, than
any country we know of.

f150

-2-

The extraordinary self- control shown by the Madras farmer in almost every village in keeping the secret of his hoarded pits of grain, hoarded for seed -corn but also for another year of famine - a secret which must have been known to many in each village & not selling at the time of highest prices - reveals to us a thrift, a self denial, a Political Economy, but on the very reverse of our Political Economy, unknown to any Western nation.

f151

3. The giving the Ryots especially in Southern India, every legal help against the Money lender, into whose hands the ancestral lands seem to be passing & the Ryot becomes not metaphorically but in some cases literally & legally the Money lender's slave

instead of as we do now giving the Money lender every legal help to possess himself of the lands of India & to make the Ryot his slave.

Otherwise, give the Ryot water, & the profit will all go into the pocket of the Money lender -

Is it not strange that under a nation probably the justest in the world & the Abolisher of the Slave Trade, a poverty, an impecuniosity, an impropriety-ness, leading to virtual slavery, should be growing up, actually the consequence of our own laws, which outstrips in its miserable results, because it enslaves & renders destitute a land possessing peasantry, anything except the worse Slave Trades. And in some respect we are worse than the tax farming Turks.

One thing has been most urged by my Madras correspondents:

a system of small loans from Government at moderate interest to the country ryot which is now carried out (to a very small extent) to be extended to meet the need & supplied by British capital.

But the ryots, it is said, won't take them.

Is it true that a rate of 36, 40, 50 or even 60 per cent is a not more uncommon rate of interest in the (country) interior of India as exacted from country ryots by money lenders than a rate of 3 ½, 4, 5 or 6 percent is in England?

If so, the fear must be not of the conquest of India by the Russian but of the conquest of India by the money lender?

Is it possible that England would reconquer India by enabling the indebted country ryot to redeem his lands & pay off his debts, lending him money at 7 or even 10 per cent?

What a glorious conquest that would be! Was it the old rule that more than twice the principal could not be exacted? It was said that Sir Arthur Hobhouse was going to re-introduce this into Bengal -

f152

it is said that "*Thrift*" is what must save the
Indian ryot This is what the S of S
for India says

We have heard of the horse being made to live
(or die) on a straw a day: but I don't know
that we ever heard before that the horse
ought to exercise "*thrift*" & save his one
straw a day.

Yet this is what it appears the country ryot
has actually done - [He justified Lord
Salisbury & died]

There is so little danger of pauperization
that for one who threw himself without
need on the Relief measures, ten died in
silence, almost unknown to our Masters - (not like the wolf,
"biting hard")

There is such an element of endurance &
heroism that quite unknown to our Masters, during the
greatest starvation

& the highest prices the hoarded pots
of grain have remained buried in the earth

[none betrayed the secret.]

put by not to sell again at the highest Famine
prices but for seed corn against another
failure of crop. And not till the present
crops were safe have they appeared.

What thrift, what endurance, have we
Westerns compared with this?

And we in the West preach thrift to them.
The horse literally 'saved' his one straw a day
for his children's sowing.

f152v

And they call these people not thrifty -
It is the very heroism of thrift.

Compare the people of Liverpool with
their drunkenness, their vice & brutal crime, their reckless
waste, & unthrift,
with the people of India.

Which is highest, even in the scale of
civilization?

But there is no comparison.

f153

4.

The first question to be asked is:
in cases where ryots are said to be unwilling
to accept the water for Irrigation purposes
Why are ryots unwilling to accept the water?

Because it puts them in the power of the
minor officials, all natives, the Tehsildars &c ?
Bribery, oppression, corruption, bullying, is said
to be the rule, the universal rule with these
they have unlimited power to make themselves
disagreeable, & must be bought off with a bribe.

Does the official network of petty administration
require improving?

The second question refers to the point already
alluded to viz. that the indebted ryot, indebted
tho', except at his children's marriage, he is
the most frugal of mankind - & the usurious
money lender are pretty much the same
all over India.

Government is the first mortgagor on the land:
It has all the machinery ready for lending: it
would lend at less than 7 per cent: But
this is taken advantage of by the ryot in an
almost infinitesimal degree, perhaps in
all India only a quarter of a million is out
at interest in this way -

The question is:
Why ~~does~~ ~~are~~ is the indebted ryot unwilling to accept

f153v

the Govt loan at less than 7 per cent
& prefers going to his own money lender
at 5 or 7 or even 8 times that ~~amount~~/rate of interest?

Is he afraid of putting himself in the power
of minor officials of Government?

Is he afraid of offending his banker?
Is it quite true that the land is passing into
the hands of the money lenders?

that the ryot's crops are not his own but
the money lender's?

that all over India land is changing hands?

~~(as in India~~

that the money lender sells the ryot up &
gets his land for a tenth or less of its value?
that the ryot is absolutely in the money lender's
power?

It is said on Government authority, in the last
India Office Progress Report, that "even
"when, after floods at Ahmedabad, Government
"sanctioned the advance of £1000 to poor
"cultivators without any interest at all, no
"one availed himself of the offer "

And it is added "There are few ryots in a
"position to offend their banker. The great
"object of the money -lender is to evade repayment
"if the season is good he lets the debt run on
"from year to year - at 36 per cent interest:
"& this system is preferred by the cultivators

f154

"to the tedious formalities & rigid terms of
"repayment attached to Government advances"
It is Government which says this:
Is there not procedure to obviate it?
The same Progress Report speaks of "their (the
"moneylenders") heartless & unscrupulous action
"towards their debtors." & adds: it is the
Government who say this:
"it is ~~to be~~ hoped that some amelioration
"may be effected in the position of the ryots
"by a modification of the present system of
"civil procedure"

One echoes the hope that the Government
will make good their hope

In The same Report says it is the "Financial Commissioner"
who speaks "That sales & mortgages take place
"to a large extent is not to be doubted. It is
"desirable that the landholders should, if possible,
"retain their lands & should prosper."

Probably

It is in relation to the flourishing Punjab that
the remark occurs.

f155

5. improved
agriculture
Another thing urged by my Madras correspondents
is
that the orphans & destitute children ~~now~~/ lately forming
the main population of Relief Camps should
be taught useful trades instead of being sent
back to swell the already too large agricultural
hosts.

But should not rather better agriculture be taught?

Can nothing be done for these Deccan people?

To show them how to have better & more produce

& to give them a market for their goods?

the first by Irrigation & better methods of agriculture
fodder crops &c

could there not be a model farm under a Irrigatd system
at Poona?

the second by cheap Water {illeg} to

The common people who find it hard to live when bread is cheap
feel themselves about to die when it becomes dear.

[end

10:481]

signed letter, ff156-9, pen & pencil, see original Balliol Mallet
March 11/78

f156

Private Land & Water Schedules
 Mr. Prinsep

35 South St.
Park Lane

W.

March

9/78

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I have waited to thank you, which I do
with all my heart, for your kind note of
March 1, saying that "every facility shall be
"given for our "enquiry", - till I could submit
to you one tabulated blank Form, (enclosed) printed; to save you
trouble
which, if it could be filled up with figures & ~~remarks~~ according
to
the printed Instructions, would give nearly
all the information needed to proceed further.

There are 4 Schedules (for each)
A.B.C.D. They are exactly the same form
But there is a 'Note on Column of Remarks,'
printed at the back showing how that Column
of Remarks is to be filled in differently for
B.C.D. insert at end

The Form (to you) will probably carry on its
face what is wanted to use it so that the
figures can be used authoritatively. But I
would gladly write any amount of explanation,
fearful only "to make things darker which were dark enough
before" -
or Mr. Prinsep would wait upon you -

2. It gives me more hope than anything that has happened for many a long day that you approve Mr. Prinsep's views & that his practical experience confirms your opinions in this matter -

Nothing would please Mr. Prinsep more than to go out to India for a short time to carry out the scheme he mentioned summarily to you if indeed he were ~~f~~/armed with authority to give it a fair trial, which includes protection from those who will have nothing but large & costly works & spend the people's money so as to bring discredit on the hitherto poor results.

3. No two countries, both under England, could, I suppose, well differ more than the Punjab & Madras Presidency: except that they both want water to live. But the ways to satisfy their crying want are the difference And the population of Punjab & Madras are I suppose so different as any in Northern

& Southern Europe except that both have industrious & frugal (with Mahometan

exceptions)

I am not going to argue ~~further~~
as to what is commonly called the Madras system of Canal
Irrigation

& Navigation of ~~/in favour of~~ Sir Arthur Cotton whose genius

can be doubted by none who really know what
 he has done & what he could still do.
 but merely to crave your attention as a man of
 authority for one moment to a point
 in which there is no difference in two such
 opposite countries as the Punjab & Madras:
 viz the people crying for water, willing to
 give their hardest labour, often to make the utmost
 sacrifices to get the water: & the officials
 putting obstacles in the people's way, & then
 we at home saying (in all honesty no doubt) "the people don't
 want the water": or "the people won't use the
 water"

Ill judging friends have managed to establish
 such a 'raw' about Madras

[Da chi non mi fido mi guarderò io:

Da chi me fido mi guardi Iddio.]

that I will not detain you a minute about
 that but let me tell one or two test facts about
 the Punjab: & then ask you at the end, a
 favour:

(a) I take only one District: "Montgomery": the Punjab 1867

-

The Deputy Commr of this District offered to
 Governmt to construct in co operation with the
 people, 13 ~~new~~ Canals 8 of which only wanted cleaning out &
~~then~~ new mouths ~~cleared~~

Two of the Canals, making
 72 miles in length, & costing 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ lacs, the people were
 ready to construct subject to Govt. conditions

The offer met with no answer.

The Depy Commr says that the District contains 33 Lacs of acres of excellent land ready for water: Land Revenue could be raised thereby to 33 Lacs pays now only 4 Lacs & this has to be reduced to {illeg meet?} distress for want of water

(b) I take another District (Ihung, in the Punjab:)

The people come forward, even subscribe, & nothing is done:

The Dy Commr says: The people offer to make & pay for 7 of these (11) Canals &c &c & even to contribute Rs 23000 to those to be made by the State in other places [These 4 would in less than 7 years' annual income repay the out lay]

In spite of all these offers, nothing was done.

(c) Only one test fact more:

In the Punjab there is eagerness to buy land: not only among the richer - but among the yeomen people. One family alone wished to spend 6 or 7 lacs in land: The old Sikh aristocracy complain of this British Govt which is so 'close fisted' about letting them buy its land. They are doing nothing.

But two things are wanted:

one is, to let them pay by instalments - the other, *fixed* conditions known beforehand, including irrigation

canal water rate after 10 years
enhanced Land Revenues due to Canal

drd

&c &c &c &c

f158

-2-

4. The favour that I am going to ask is
that Lord G. Hamilton's Ho: of C. Committee
will, if not already done, call to give evidence
Sir A. Cotton on Madras & future schemes
Mr. Prinsep Punjab & " "

There are men whose evidence would be invaluable:
for each Province or Presidency, as

	C. Bernard	Bengal
	Sir R. Temple	Bombay
	& Pedder	
in England	Col. James Fife	Bombay & Sind
in Europe	Col. Rundall	pretty nearly all India
in England	Dalyell	Madras
	N.W.P.	Auckland Colvin
	Central Provin	
	Auckland Colvin	N.W.P.
	J. Morris	Central Provinces
	Chief Comm	

But of these only Cols. Fife & Rundall & Mr.

Dalyell are I believe in England or in Europe
Genl Strachey too but he is gone to India

f158v

II. To return to our one tabulated Blank Form which I hereby submit to you:

I confess I am somewhat grieved that the more general & comprehensive set of questions more suitable to all India (suggested to Lord Salisbury & to yourself but two years ago) could not be answered: at least in some measure.

the present Form is less comprehensive & deals more particularly with a certain scheme:

but it has the advantage that it can be filled in almost ~~entirely~~ by figures, with only one column of remarks, for which figures will also answer & can be completed by a descriptive sketch map x for each Province for which an

instruction (at the back) ~~can~~ also given This would show the opening for new Irrigation works of every description which can be taken advantage of /~~and~~ that it can be filled in at the I.O. if not entirely, with very few exceptions.

If you will be so very good as to correct or alter the Form submitted, supposing that you in any way approve it,

f159

& will return it to me for a printed
Revise I would then ask permission
for me to send the Form printed, say
a set of four separate Schedules A, B, C, D. for
each Province, x to the I.O., so that
the classification may be made there
according to the printed Instructions
Pray believe me
dear Sir Louis Mallet
ever your faithful & grateful servt
Florence Nightingale
Sir Louis Mallet CB

A	for Districts chiefly watered by wells
B	" " abounding in Tank Irrigation
C	" " protected by private Canals
D	" " protected by State Canals
	the large & costly new Canals
	constructed by British Govt

unsigned letter, ff160-1, pen

f160

Search in I.O
Blank Forms

35 South St
Park Lane W.
March

27/78

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

If hope deferred maketh the heart sick,
you will judge how hope revived & then
struck down makes the heart faint -

I have been connected with India & I.O. Off for
19 years.

But I ~~am~~/ would now only ~~desirous~~/ attempting to explain tho
I am sure you do not suspect the contrary
what yet I do not believe you would
suspect ~~that there~~ / now it has been no double /all simple
dealing on my part.

There has not been a "simultaneous
corresponde" going on between Lord
Salisbury & me in the sense that might
be referred.

I wrote to you, stating the request that
I had made to Lord Salisbury almost in
the same words ~~that I had made it..~~

My second letter to Lord Salisbury was
merely in explanation of my first, in answer
to one which he was good enough to address
to me, supposing that mine was merely
a Financial result question.

I think I informed you of this: but I

f160v

dare say I did not state ~~the~~ directly who
that I had stated it to Lord Salisbury:

~~when you kind note came making an
appointment for Mr Prinsep almost
I considered for some half hour
"simultaneously" with a second answer from
whether~~

~~Id S.~~

I ~~should apprise~~ /ought to inform you of ~~this~~ Lord Salisbury's
second answer to me: but it appeared to
me ~~& it still appears to me~~ as if
that would have been almost an
impertinence to suppose that I had
information to give ~~you~~ Indeed I honestly supposed

~~that at no~~ this too had been thus settled
& I did not know except from Mr. Prinsep
~~himself writing to me~~ It was not for me
to ~~give notice of it~~ tell him nor
that he had been allowed
to show himself by a search where the information could
be found in the I.O. ~~And I concluded that this too had been so
settled~~

~~I knew from yourself that~~ you were
kind enough to offer an appointment ~~to be made / a time /~~ for Mr.
Prinsep to see you some ~~little time/~~ few days before this

I did not of course mention ~~anything~~ to Mr. P.
about my having ~~had a corresponde with/~~made my request to
the S. of S., which I should have deemed
an impropriety to speak of .

He understood you to say in that interview ~~which took
place after Id Salisbury's~~
that Lord
Salisbury had desired that every information
should be given from the I.O.

~~And I therefore concluded that it in my own mind~~
that it had been ~~thus~~ /so settled.

f161

~~The~~ I have not mentioned to any one that I have been in rather close corresponde with the great ex-Indians in London lately upon these matters, that anything was going on with regard to an enquiry filling up blank Forms or Mr. Prinsep in the I.O. researches so that, (no precedent thereby will be established, by/if any irregularity has been committed) But others, even ladies, are notoriously allowed to search for themselves in the I.O. Records.

I greatly regret that I did not write to Sir Barron Ellis, to whom Sir Bartle Frere gave me an introduction, upon this matter if it would have been proper to do so: but as I ~~have~~/had not the honour of his personal acquaintance I feared troubling him.

This is ~~rather~~ a long explanation: I know not how to make it shorter.

I am sure you will kindly tell me whether I ~~ought to~~ /there is anything I ~~could or~~ should now write to Lord Salisbury ~~now & what~~ in furtherance or an explanation of the matter.

I need scarcely point out that the Blank Forms could now be filled up in the I.O. by the I.O. itself, if that would be permitted: without further researches by ~~Mr. P.~~/outsiders if they are objected to.

Pray believe me
with great regret

unsigned letter draft, ff162-3v, pen & pencil

f162

To Sir Louis Mallet

1/4/78

Deccan ryots - his masterly Minute
seems as if till that were put right
Govt ought to think of nothing else

much humbler

2 Letters on Agriculture & Irrigation

1. improved cultivation up on Mysore may mean diminished
fertility on Tangore

see Sir A. Cotton's

letter March 27

2. Toombuddra Canal

no value as a distributor of essential manure
But why can't he have an Analysis made?

see Sir A. C.

Mar
27

Now here are 2 assertions diametrically opposite
"expectations"

[I thank thee Jew for teaching me that word]
{Shakespeare: *The Merchant of Venice*}

iv i- GW}

Tho' matter for analysis, neither gives one
[Nurses manage things differently - we should not

leave a

question of that kind a day unsolved which concerned

the

medicine of a single Patient

Yet here is a question which concerns the Good of
millions

of Patients - not to say revenue & financial results

And two vast Govt (India & I.O.) content
themselves with

vague & contradictory assertions

[Mr. Thomson (?) Chairman of Madras Irrigation Co.
in England

Make him be examined by Ho of C co & supply an
analysis]

It may be at Kurnoot as the Madras writer says

The poor Deccan Ryot's miseries are so intense
that a

revolution in the system of Bombay settlement on
awakening to the distinction between income & rent & to

the

real basis of assessment

seems necessary to
free them

But here is the very simple question of what great
Rivers are made of

And every body asserts
& nobody knows.

India In Sanitary Analysis we are making real progress in

We boast that we have analysed all the "potable"
waters from Calcutta to Peshawur

The Jumna water for Irrigation has also been analysed

Why can't they analyse the Toombuddra Canal Waters
at Kurnoot & elsewhere & other

waters & set the

f162v

question at rest: an essential question for
agriculture

3. He objects to tanks "on ground of " silt being caught & deposited"

see Sir A. C.'s letter Mar 27

4. he says "Wells" a most useful form of Irrigation
Now it is ~~curious~~/strange that while "expecting" that
the

Toombuddra Canal is without silt "at Kurnoot",
& asserting that the Tanks are "objectionable", because
they do not distribute silt,
he ~~entirely~~ omits the characteristic of wells, which
makes them "objectionable" for irrigation -
Well water has no food for plants

see Sir A. Cotton's
letter

Mar 27

If he had said "Wells are indispensable", "people should
be assisted to make Wells", "while the great Irrigation

works must be made by Govt or Companies, wells
can be made by the people themselves & this is
incontrovertible for if he had attended to the
tilling system possible in the Punjab -

[His remarks apply exclusively to Madras & Mysore
mine therefore limited to these two]

Not to contradict the "two Letters" but a prayer that you
will have settled by the Ho of C. Comm - by taking
competent evidence on both sides Civilian & Engineering
Irrigation & the Irrigation advocates, all sides
these questions practically for once & for all, & many
more

e.g. how much can a Railway carry
& how much have you to carry
& go up the valley of the Ganges?
what a Railway can do
& what it cannot

f163

what a Canal can do
& what it cannot
what a certain country requires in the way of Transit
& what it does not

[In the Crimean War our Army was nearly lost
because no one had thought of asking the question:

how much &
what is there to be carried?
how is it to be carried?

That was only a temporary question
concerning perhaps 50000 men

but this is a permanent question affecting the lives
of 200 millions of people
& our own Revenue & hold of the country

Why do we play these pranks?

We are usually supposed a practical people:
Yet I say - as you so greatly say of the Bombay Settlement
system so of all this question of Public Works
that "the real issues are systematically shirked &
concealed", "under every conceivable form of technical
jargon", by those who are connected with the Government"
"by the financial hocus pocus".

f163v

II.

As for that Minute & for that Report of the
Comm. on the Deccan riots, the revelations on the
chronic state of the poor Deccan cultivator
are absolutely astounding
over assessment
his land cultivated sometimes almost at a loss
or "only just repaying cultivation"

But you may put one touch more to your hideous
picture of the money lender

he is also the valuer & not only this - the advances made by
him (in kind)
are made at his own valuation, as the repayments
made to him (in kind) are also made at his own
valuation

If in an European Army it is found that, ~~if~~ /where the
Commissariat are also the Paymasters, the men
men are almost at its mercy, what must
it be with the poor isolated, defenceless, ignorant
Hindoo Ryot?

And the English Govt is always be praising itself
in India

I seem to think of your Minute night & day

May God avert this frightful War, of which not the
least frightful consequence will be that it will
withdraw our attention from the most urgent

doing justice to India

Forgive this reminder of your own kindness

{illeg save?} horse & you'll get grass
"famine"

unsigned letter draft, ff164-5v, pen & pencil, see original
Balliol Mallet May 30/78

f164

35 South St
Park Lane W.
May 29/78

My dear Sir Louis Mallet

I have not written to thank you for your very kind note telling me that the Forms, which Mr. Edwd Prinsep first began to fill up, are not laid aside: but that the I.O. is filling them up under the other Mr. Prinsep.

I am quite sure your labour will not be wasted.

It is rather because I think too much of it than too little than I have not written.

f165

I think so much of the great future that you will see even yet to your work & labour of love for India.

But England is not interested: now you must have England at your back.

Do have a school of prophets: in these days of course prophets are young reviewers & article writers: do fire their imaginations about India.

Certainly Cobden did fire men's imaginations: Is it possible that any subject could be more heart-stirring - a subject which in your hands might stir all England - than the whole question of land tenure of India the modes of ~~life~~/ living & dying of these incomprehensible peoples: never doing what we expect: always doing what we least expect: but incomprehensible only because we have never taken the trouble to understand modes of thought so different from ours.

I predict that, just as you think yourself altogether disappointed, you will find that you have roused all England to do the right for India & India to do the right for herself. Though I have not the least of a prophet in me I could fancy that India's day is coming For one thing, it was the firm belief of an old

f165v

friend of mine, who knew more
about the East & its religion than any man:
M. Mohl (he is dead) that Mahometanism
was dying out / decaying: notwithstanding its 200 million:
he said, it is merely alive at its extremities,
v. the Wahabees - at its heart it is almost
extinct. That is the way religions decay /die out,
he said.

Please God we only have peace, India's day
may be rising.

{the rest of the page is written the other way around}
~~with~~ incomprehensible only because we do not take the
trouble to comprehend

with virtues of thought & endurance of heart & industry far
beyond

any we Westerns can boast of & yet the poorest of people with
powers of progress I will back
some agricultural population of India against the agricultural
population

of England any day for capacity of learning improved methods. And
yet

India is more hopeful in its poverty than
some great towns of England with their high wages
& religion a true sketch}

unsigned letter draft, ff166-9v, pen, see original Balliol Mallet
Aug 5/78

f166

Address

35 South St
Park Lane W.
Aug 3/78

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

May I venture to think that I am
fulfilling your own behest in having
done my little utmost to draw people's
attention to the Deccan Riots Report?

The thought that I was doing what
you wished & considered right comforted
me in wading thro' this terrible subject.

And may I venture to send you my
poor little Article in the 'XIX Century': - of which
your kindness is indeed the father.?

And this, above all, strikes one
1. can there be any private enterprise in
factories in trade or commerce, manufactures or in new industries
&c

where to *moneylending* are guaranteed by
our own Courts profits which no healthy
enterprise of the kinds that India most wants can
~~approach/rival? & where borrowers & money~~

~~lende~~
~~rs~~

~~do not spend their gains on any industries~~
I remember your saying that till private
capital embarks in India in public works

f166v

&c as it does in England you look
upon the state of things as almost
hopeless

But is not this tying up of private capital
in usurious money lending ~~in~~ money
lending too which makes the borrowers
beggars instead of honest traders or manufac-
turers - one of the main causes that
there is little or no private enterprise
in India? Money in India
makes the
borrower poorer/ a pauper
& the lender
a villain

This seems to me the most dreadful
part of the business: that it is "hopeless"
if nothing can be done to modify by law
a state of things so greatly encouraged if not produced
by law - Law & our 'Settlement' -
a state of thing where the largest/most successful money
lenders & also ~~are the most prosperous~~ land
accumulators are the worst landlords, and the biggest villains -
forgers, ~~successful~~ thieves, on as large a scale as money-
lenders, open defiers
of our law, our law which crushes only the *poor borrowers* (as
shown by official Report

~~while~~ these borrowers who (not like ~~our~~/English people
manufacturing or farming ~~who flourish properly~~ on borrowed money)
are ousted from house & home, ~~beggars~~/ made paupers

f167

& even slaves, as also shown by official
Report: by borrowing

I am looking with an intensity of hope to your bringing
light out of darkness in these great subjects - & making our
Government see. They have eyes & see not.

What is to be done?

Your kindness has put me on this tack:
will not your kindness & ~~your~~ the practical
wisdom of one of the greatest Economic
authorities, living or dead, suggest some
remedies, whether public such as Registration of debt or bonds
 Pawnbroker's Acts
 Acts limiting rate
of interest

 (legal) or private
 such as Municipal Loan Funds or private Associations,
for Monts
 de Piété, or combinations of native gentlemen in a kind
of co-operative Bank?

In England, any interest that has been "agreed on" by the
borrower

can now be recovered ~~or private~~ But the unhappy
Deccan borrower can scarcely be said in any reasonable sense
to make an "agreement" with *his* creditors.

The wants of India are so very different
from those of England, as we all know:

Government has to do so much which in
England is done by Education, & the public
opinion resulting from Education:
by private enterprise & private benevolence

In India the people suffer immeasurably
more than ~~an~~ English press or Parliament
~~can conceive~~ /ever dreams of not only by what
Government does but by what it *does*
not do. & what ~~they cannot do~~ for themselves. And native gentlemen
even

 talk so much
better than they *do*:

 In India has not the Government to
take upon itself many functions which in Europe fall to

f167v

private enterprise, to private organizations ~~Institutions~~
& private benevolence, & to ~~the~~
public opinion & moral courage resulting from the freedom of
Institutions & of Education those qualities or organizations or
institutions which India

has not & will not have for generations

But I feel so helpless - And you are so powerful.

- 2.a. Do you think (I believe that the idea of
Monts de Piété conducted by ~~Government~~
has been given up) do you think
that a private enterprise, selecting one
district at first & establishing Monts de
Piété in each large village, supported by
British capital & taking a rate of interest
to cover working expences & give a return
of say 5 per cent to share holders might be feasible?
- b. Or Could the Municipalities of India start Monts de Piété; as
in

France: where I believe they not only do immense good, ~~but~~
to the people, but actually

remunerate the Municipalities well?

The French
& the Indian
peasantry
are ~~both~~

each

a

hoarding

people.

3. Could there be an Act limiting the rate of
Usury recoverable by law?

Practically such a law is, I believe, in force
at this moment in Oude - When we take
a Talookdar Estate (in a case of accumulated
debt) under Govt management, we do not
allow more than 6 per cent to the creditors,
altho' the original loan has always been
contracted at 24 per cent - & often at 60 per
cent. And indeed in cases where the
money- lender has already realized more

f168

-2-

than double the principal in interest we sometimes allow no interest at all -

It seems ~~hard that what we~~ /very helpless to find it possible

to ~~do~~ / make such a law for our own selves, ~~we don't find~~ & impossible to ~~do~~ /make for these wretched Deccan debtors.

The rates of interest recoverable by law are, I believe, limited in the Bengal & Madras Presidencies

The Usury laws were, I suppose, done away with in England as useless -

~~But we say~~ - because India is so different from England therefore we say we will give the ~~English~~ laws & Institutions of England to India

Sir Salar Jung has made a law now in force in Hyderabad that any Arab Jamadar

(I understand) lending money should do so at his own risk, & that the money should not necessarily be recoverable in a Court of justice

This law has put an end to the Arab usury in Hyderabad. [The Jamadars used to lend money at enormous interest, used to double & treble the interest & enforce its payment by taking possession of person & property of their debtors just

as the Deccan Marwaris do.]

I am not even supposing that so arbitrary
a measure would be possible - or desirable,
were it possible, - in the English dominions.
And the Arab Jamadars are servants of the Hyderabad State
& can be dealt with arbitrarily

But is it impossible that some Law or Act
could not be found as a remedy? The great evil seems
to be the enforcement of claims in an English Court.

Native gentlemen have written to me asking
that "in the present state of our Society, where
"little or nothing can be expected from
"private beneficence", there should be
some "Act of the Legislature".

either "an Enactment to the effect that, unless
"the interest was within a certain limit - fixed by law,
"no action should lie"

or, more practically, "that no Court of Justice
"should be allowed to decree, as it does now,
"the *whole* of the interest but only an reasonable
"portion of it - the portion being either fixed
"by law: say at 6 per cent, or determined
"according to the peculiar requirements of each
"case" as is actually the ~~case~~/ law, for
our own benefit in Oude.

4. You have, of course, seen the Bill for the relief of the Deccan debtor, before the Legislative Council at Simla.

Is it at all satisfactory?

If one is to judge by the Abstract in the "Times", it might almost be called a Bill for the relief of the *creditor*.

2. does not both our I.O. & native capital in India equally need to know that there is a spending side to *Economy* as well as a saving side.

& that the *spending* side actually needs enforcing more than the hoarding side.

that it is not the 'running into debt' which makes people poor. for to what is England's prosperity due but to borrowed money?

If the native money lenders would spend their gains in commerce & industries, in creating riches instead of creating pauperism - might they not be a blessing instead of a curse to India?

And our masters who say that the only way for nations to get rich is: to save their money - do not nations also get rich by spending & by borrowing?

f169v

Famine Reports
to be read by

the public in England.

the public has an appetite
for anecdote &
in a sense
it is right

so much more than reports in general with an
ignorant or indifferent public is that it gives
individual facts about individual ryots with
name & place -

Could you point me to Reports that do the
same as to if possible

Land assessment & Land Tenure
as to the Ryots' condition under the Zemindaritenum
" Ryotwari
under different Methods of Agriculture: working of
Takavi

Forests ~~planting~~ or no Forests
under Municipalities: ~~Methods~~/Systems of
Representation

such as
they are
people
themselves
are
~~such as they~~

under Land or Rent
Unions

daily food & habits of people
under Irrign Water commn markets *real*
or none or none or none *facts*
- not
only
the
Repor
ter's

own opinion or

generalities

as to the dwellers

Can you forgive her? F.N.
you really care for
the people of India
not as the Ho.
of C. cares

The reason why the Deccan Riots
Report tells

The I.O. must have untold treasures in this
respect

from p. 4

2c. Or could not Govt loans be made exceedingly
easier & more extensively acceptable?

People in Madras say that if it were once thoroughly
understood why the ryot refuses Govt loans at low interest
& prefers paying ~~+~~ exorbitant rates to his money lender, the
difficulty would soon be overcome - but that those officials
who would rather know & serve the ryots under them than
please ~~those~~/the authorities over them do not as a rule rise high
in office.

2d. And could not forgery of documents be widely
prevented by an Act that all debts & bonds should be
registered before they can be enforced by law?
initialled letter draft, ff170-4, pen & pencil

f170 draft letter, original Balliol Mallet

Private

Address

35 South St

Park Lane W.

Aug 10/78

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I cannot thank you enough for your kind note/letter.

But the first thing is to try to answer your question so ~~as~~ that at least all should be honestly trying to get at ~~the~~/some kind of truth ~~about some sort of~~ & measure as to the loss in the recent Famine.

Your question is: whence come my "figures" "about the *deaths* from the recent Famine". The "Papers from the Govt of India" speak only of "registered" Deaths. And you say: "we cannot make up more than about 1,300,000 including Mysore."

Now in *Mysore* alone, the "Famine Commissioner reports" "a decrease ~~of~~/in population of 1,250,000". (scarcely less than the 1,300,000) pop. of Mysore 5 millions & add loss about one

fourth

My paper gives "our loss in one year's famine - (not "Deaths" from famine" - still less *Registered Deaths* from famine)~~as~~/but the probable decrease of population - disappearance of population "in southern India, that is, in Mysore, Bombay, & Madras"

f170v

And in the sentence above "We have *lost* in one year" "*out of* the 20 millions more especially under the famine scourge in Madras Presy meaning not the "Deaths from Famine" but the disappearance of population . ~~but~~ what the "Famine Commissioner means when he "reports that "the results of the partial census" "show a *decrease in population of*"

Or as Army returns say: "a loss of" meaning killed, wounded & missing

The only contradiction or explanation of my figures which reached me (& did not reach me till after my paper was out) was this:

"At one period there were 200,000 famine refugees in Madras. This would raise the population to say 600,000. Taken over the year 1876-7 - the total Deaths on this number were 25000. In 1875-6, the Deaths on the normal population were 14,415 so that the famine added 10585 deaths out of 200,000 refugees." "These 200,000 people

f171

"all came from deserted villages, & would be
"counted as Deaths there, while only
"10,585 of them died."

[I should certainly have put this in, had
it reached me in time:]

But it explains so very small an ~~item~~/number in
comparison. And there are not so many Madras cities
The very authority says: we have no reliable
information about famine mortality,
except for Madras City" "We cannot
get the Total Mortality without a Census"

3. As to "registered" deaths, how many
were not registered?

In the deserted villages, in the ditches, by
the road sides, among wanderers in search of food,
especially deserted children, into wild places,
were the dead bodies, or the missing, ~~found,~~
~~count~~ "registered", counted or even found?

Officially, or unofficially, ~~no one~~, I believe,
has any one ever doubted that ~~they~~/those who were *not* may be
numbered by thousands & tens of thousands.
Could not ~~the~~ the only way ~~would~~ be to take a complete
Census & compare it with the estimated
population from the last Census? ~~would it~~
~~not?~~

f171v

4. The "disappearance/decrease of population", as
resulting from a Census general or partial
would include deaths from famine,
from cholera, small pox & fever
~~& all causes~~
greatly ~~mi~~ increased during the famine
& all causes
migration
decrease of births
5. The *Bombay* Government has always declined
& as far as \pm /we know declines still
giving ANY estimate of the Famine Mortality.
But you will know far better whether this
is the case.
6. The Viceroy in Council says "that the papers
now before the Government of India do *not*
"furnish means for forming a correct estimate
"of the famine mortality in Southern India
"during 1876-8"
And he is quite right.
*NB the "Papers" give the "registered Deaths" how can
all deaths from Famine in a country like India be *registered*?
over a population of 13 765, 165 in Madras Presidency
My paper give the *loss* over a population of 20 millions.

7. My "figures" were "taken " from those I saw from the "Trial Census operations" of Madras Presy on March 14

There were ~~not many~~/ few or none among those I saw besides those I gave.

Salem was counted as to its entire population in order to correct errors from migration.

The estimate of "loss" not "Deaths", " in one year's famine", ~~or~~ "in out of the 20 millions "more especially under the famine scourge in "Madras Presy" and "in Mysore, Bombay & Madras" was appended to this letter. x

Your estimate of "1300000" which may God grant is the correct one is it of "Registered Deaths"? and is it of Bombay Madras & Mysore?

I ~~should~~ regret more than I can say that I have not been more explicit as to what my figures mean: population unaccounted for: population disappeared: missing -

And in the first part of the Paragraph I have ~~ut~~ left in words which I cannot justify to myself -

f172v

"deaths from famine" "have died" instead of "were gone"
If I had known what I do now, I should not

have left them in - The alteration of five words would
have done it: & made ~~them~~/it absolutely correct.

But I waited 2 months for some contradiction

- they appeared in the "Times" of May 15:
in a letter from their Madras Correspondent
of April 20 -

Otherwise I should have published the figures
in two little papers of mine of June & July in
good Words & the 'Indian Assocn Journal'.

I mean I *should* regret more than I can say
and may God grant that the estimate in my
paper may prove incorrect by millions, tho'

~~I doubt it being so~~/still fear that it is not much over the mark

- but that & I am sure

you will not think this 'cant': I should esteem
the loss of any writing reputation of mine as
nothing if official attention at home could but be
directed to the things I have mentioned about
things which are appreciated by many of the
officials out there.

And who can appreciate their labours as I
do? One feels a sort of agonizing respect
for them.

f173

8. Would you advise me to put in the next No. of 'XIX Century' a sort of fly note - explaining what the figures in my paper mean' - the impossibility of Registering Deaths in a famine in India &c &c &c

Or do you think I had better wait till more perfect information can be obtained?

9. Would you kindly send me 'Papers relating to the partial census in the famine stricken districts of India': including an extract from Despatch from the Govt of India to the S. of S. for India about N.W.P.

I am glad that you do not defend me for the sake of the cause which is all we either of us have at heart - it is "3 millions" times ~~better~~/more important that you should not "lose your character" than that I should lose all mine -

As to my paper being "a shriek" we cannot cry (loud enough to be heard) without crying: any more than we can fight without fighting.

If a Town Crier were as old, as worn out & as cracked as I ~~am~~, his cry would be "a shriek" I do not at all quarrel with them for saying that

f173v

I am amazed at my own moderation in my paper
~~tho' if I had had time, I should have written~~
~~the article in a~~

I would have given a List (out of official Report)
of the principal landholders (Marwaris in
(money lenders
a places in the Deccan, against each of whose
names figures a list of forgeries, thefts &c &c
which Satan himself might have envied.

x x

Had I had time, I shd have given a different
tone to the Article but it was written between
5 and 7 a.m. 30 in the mornings: for always as I am
under severe stress of business & illness -
this I know is however no excuse for publishing a bad
article.

Do not give me up: that is all I ask:
& I will never claim you

I did not receive your most kind
letter of Aug 8 till this mornng (Aug 10) - &
am anxious to answer it at once - [I am
at Lea Hurst Cromford Derby - attending on my
mother]

I do most cordially echo all you say about
Mr. Caird's "mission": & look forward to your future
"Commission on Land Tenure & on 'the condition of the
people'"to obtain facts" - ever yours ffully & gratefully
F.N.

x

But what always strikes me as a hypocrisy worse than that of the "Scribes & Pharisees" is that while we prate & gabble as if we were the Apostles of the Gospel of Administration & about our ~~Go~~ mission, to govern the 'benighted nations' of "our vast Eastern Empire" for the people's own sakes &c &c scarcely 6 men can be got together in the Ho. of Commons ~~when~~ "for the people's own sakes," when the finances of our vast Eastern Empire or questions involving the very existence of the vast people are the subject of debate

[Teignmouth Shore said in a sermon on the Famine: you talk of the inscrutable dealings of Providence: you had much better talk of the inscrutable dealings of Englishmen]

x x

People in Madras say that if it were once understood why the ryot refuses Govt loans at low interest & prefers paying his money lender exorbitant rates the difficulty would soon be overcome but that officials who wish to know & serve the ryots under them rather than please the authorities over them do not as a rule rise high in office.

I forget whether I bored you with this before.

unsigned letter, ff175-6, pen

f175

Private {archivist: [illeg Aug]

You are so good as to say that you will ask Lord Cranbrook whether he objects to my seeing the papers & Reports mentioned in the Mema. -

I had a kind little note from Lord Cranbrook about my poor little paper in the 'XIX Century':

but he evidently thinks that the "indebtedness" applies merely to the "Poona & Ahmednuggur" Districts: & that I have exaggerated, if

f175v

not the intensity of the evil there, yet the extent of it:

Mr. Stanhope, in answering a question & releasing/presenting the Deccan Riots Report in the Ho. of C. said the same thing.

Surely this can arise only from Lord Cranbrook not yet having had time to examine the case -

Now, not only does the "Deccan Riots" Report ("Poona & Ahmednuggur") deal with nearly every part of the Bombay Presy, ~~except~~/including Sind but it also deals with the N.W.P., with the Central P., & in some measure with the Punjab & Oude

f176

But I have also been amazed & as it were agonized with letters I have received directly or indirectly from Indian officials & ex-officials belonging to many other parts of India: saying: All this I have known in my District: Or I have had to condemn ryots (according to law) to be bond-slaves: & have not been allowed (by law) to represent the case to higher authority.

f178v

<i>Famine</i>	Madras
Population affected	20 millions
severely "	17 "

European supervision
neglected or impossible
native petty official corruption
hideous both on the relief
works & in distribution of relief
all kinds of bribes taken by the
native officials. Relief did not
reach the persons it was intended
for
Relief camps models of sanitary
defects

Registered Deaths not 50
per cent of actual Deaths

Mysore
Registered Deaths
22 per cent
of actual Deaths
according to
Mr. Elliot.

Village accountants thought that
at all events Famine Deaths were
not to be recorded

see p
Cholera = anything result of Famine
Small pox + result of Relief Camps
Fevers = famine Fever
Bowel = generally almost always no children
Complaints the internal state due to starvation
Other Causes = anaemia: innutrition: direct result of Famine

f179

Famine *Bombay*
Population affected: 8 millions
severely " 5 "
European supervision
made effective by
enlisting the higher native
officials - the native gentlemen
Not an anna but reached the
hand it was meant for:
if a bribe was required to be put
on relief works detected &
native official instantly dismissed
or punished
So also with sanitary supervision
of relief camps
Registration of Deaths better
than in ordinary years
more accurate than in preceding
years due to increased supervision.
The village head men, registrars were afraid
of not having Deaths enough:
Headmen thought their English masters
wanted Deaths:
Cholera = real Cholera
Small pox worse where Famine was least
Fevers = malarial Fevers
Bowel
Complaints anaemia - innutrition other direct results
of Famine classified under these two heads
Other Causes

f180v

Madras
speculation immense
almost unchecked

poor natives had no reserves of money or grain
exhausted they were put on relief works
& on the insufficient pay or rations
& no "special treatment" was given
or perhaps possible.

Famine from Nov 1876	<i>Mysore</i> in Jan/78
to March 1878	Death rate
	still high

Increase of Population
at 1 percent included

Villages deserted by the thousand

Europeans have counted 90 corpses by
the way side in a morning's ride
Inquests impossible either on the one
corpse or on the *hundred* corpses

Sir R. Temple as Delegate in Madras different
from Sir R. Temple as Govnor of Bombay

f181

Bombay

no speculation possible
European or high native officials
saw the money (daily pay) paid
into the people's hands

poor native had generally reserves of money or grain
without these reserves, relief pay (or works)
would not have been sufficient
if they had none, they were put on
"special treatment" till able to work.
children under 7 years had their allowance

Famine from Jan 1877
over in November 1877

Increase of population forbidden
by Secy of State (to be included

No deserted villages

Sanitary Commn never saw but 5 corpses
by the way side. Inquests on every
corpse. corpses had
money in their
pockets

they would try &
{illeg wander ?} home
as wild
animals do
to die

Sir R. Temple's policy very different
as Govr of Bombay from Sir R.T.'s policy as
Delegate in Madras

f182

In both Presidencies, {illeg} of Govt are the 6 Headings
allowed by order of Govt for Mortality

Returns are {printed address:} 10, South Street,
Park Lane.

W.

Cholera	Small pox	Bowel	Injuries	Fevers
		Other		
		Complaints		Cause
				s

It is clear that there is no room for
Famine Deaths {illeg} under any of these heads .

What has been learnt from Madras
& Bombay respectively is just
indicated in preceding pages

I have carefully gone over
the Bombay Report: & have
had the advantage of two
long interviews with Mr.
Hewlett (whom you saw)

He is a correspondent of mine
of some 20 years in all his
Sanitary labours -

He is a sort of hero: as brave
a soldier against Sanitary evils
& Famine as the bravest
soldier in War -

The grandness of the success with

f182v

which the Bombay Famine
was combated deserves
its place in history -

No words are great enough
for it.

Sanitary {illeg precedent?} on Relief Works Madras
& Bombay children {illeg}
special treatment

The Registration of Deaths
appears to have been more
accurate than in ~~fo~~ ordinary
years.

Epidemic Deaths, at least as
far as Cholera & Small Pox
went, appear to have been
Epidemic Deaths & not *Famine*
Deaths - In Madras the reverse

Still as I look over the Mortality
Returns I find my pencil notes
on the margin:

"But there is no evidence of *famine*
Deaths" "in any part of this"
"Famine Deaths might not have been."

f183

"What are real Famine Deaths
registered under?"
"where are the Famine Deaths?"
 &c &c &c

I may say / It is understood that Mr. Elliot does
not accept Sir Richd Temple's
figures or conclusions -
And I understand that others
among whom the Sanitary
Commr of India, consider the
separation of Cholera & Small
Pox *as unconnected with famine*
as unsound: And Mr. Elliot,
I believe, makes no secret
of the conclusion that '*ignoring 'the results of the partial
Census'* has made the Bombay
'facts' unreliable: & that they
have 'yet to be subjected to
impartial review'.

At the same time, it is quite

f183v

obvious that there was
success in overcoming the
Famine, in registration, in
everything, in *Bombay*
that there was not in Madras.
And it has done no little good
in removing the ~~intense~~
bitterness, felt by those who
knew that the *Registered*
Deaths in Madras were not
50 per cent: in Mysore
22 per cent of the actual (at what
appeared like an attempt
of the Govt to state to an
ignorant Ho: of Commons
registered Deaths as actual
Deaths) to know that
in *Bombay* they were
more nearly so: But it remains
that it is quite impossible to
eliminate Cholera, Small pox,
Fever &c in Madras from Famine Deaths.

unsigned letter draft, ff184-4v, pen & pencil

f184

Private

& Confidential

Bombay

{printed address:}10, South
Street,

Park Lane. W.

I may tell you as a fact
(stated to me by the ~~illeg~~/authorities
themselves) that the
Monthly or occasional Famine
Reports were not published
& never will be published,
because they reflect discredit
& give statements which the
Govt do not wish to have known.

But I was told this in the
strictest confidence.

And it is a matter of too
frequent occurrence to excite
much surprise.

{some pencilled notes appear in the space between paragraphs, but
they are too faint to read}

Many thanks for Sir Rich.
Temple's Minute on your Deccan
Riots Minute.

It is a curious piece of naiveté

f184v

on Mr. Ashburnot's part
that whereas he did
think the assessments too heavy
when he was Judge - he
ceased to think them too
heavy when he was of the
govt:
But I have not finished the
papers.

envelope, postmarked, ff185-5v, pen & pencil

f185

{postmarked:} OFFICIAL PAID W.C.S.M.P. 4 AP 19 79
whether he shd {illeg illeg illeg}
them before the Comme
or whether S. of {illeg}
should {illeg} {the rest is too faint to read}

f185v {too faint to read}

unsigned letter draft, ff186-7v, pencil

f186

<i>Sir J. Campbell</i>	{with my 3 letters}	<i>Mr Ser</i>	May 30/79
<i>Sir L. Mallet</i>	{Ill London News}	(part)	May 31/79
			May 30/

Might I ask what further you have done about
Bengal Arrears of Rent Realizn Bill?

Have you seen Ryots' petition against provisions of
Part 2 of Bill under head "Procedure for summary
realizn of arrears of rent?

circulation of petition for signatures is stopped because
Lt Govnor in accordance with suggestion of Select Commee
postponed further discussion of Rent Bill till next
Session - very glad

~~very glad~~ He has appointed Commion as you know
for revising & amending entire Rent Law - how important
5 members (follow names) but no unofficial member:

Are these Govt men

& do you augur well of it?

Petition dwells much upon fact that whereas Zemindar's
rent same now as in 1793 ryot's rent from 3 to 20
fold what it was in 1793 true?

"So that even if Zemindar had to wait a year for his
rent, he could not complain of inability to pay Govt
assessment from previous year's rent."

[If true ~~says~~ that, tho' "Zemindar may have parted to
Middleman with much of difference between rent paid
by ryot in 1793 & much larger rent paid "now", yet
"fact that many are now fattening on ryot, whereas
Com Settt designed only one Zemindar to (not fatten
upon but) protect & cherish ryot is no reason for collecting
from ryot with extreme severity high rent he now pays
reasonable?

In a long note petition goes into fact that in 1853 Regns of 1799 & 1812 were "mere instruments of oppression in landlord's hands" & gives many reasons to prove that these "observations equally apply to provisions of Sections 3 & 4."

Note dwells particularly on fact that "a Zemindar, by simply stating an untruth, can either consign a man to prison or sell off his property by distress x x & that "this power is not only in hands of Zemindars but also in hands of their agents, Gomeshtes, petty farmers & in fact of any one who wishes to assist falsely, whether in part or entirely, that a cultivator is in balance of rent due to him.

that "the tenants have no effectual remedy", because " for a poor man to find security is almost impossible & that it must be "security to satisfaction of ferosh amend or nazir, both of whom probably are BRIBED by the more powerful party to reject it" &c &c &c that " the *Zemir* has, in effect, *arbitrary power*" for "Zemr acts on his own legal respty & ryot is left to enforce that respy by process of law

Petition prays that, "Zemr shall no longer be allowed to be judge in his own case, subject merely to unreal & ineffective restriction." states that even Courts of justice say, "The witnesses say so & so

I have no reason to disbelieve them: whereas it is well known that witnesses can be purchased for a few annas a piece was & is too true states that "almost all claims entered by these means false.

f187

"Indian Tribune publishes articles on Bengal Rent Bill - & Tables (important) - says that Mr. Mackenzie's Bill is based upon assumption that in vast majority of suits for recovery of arrears of rent defence set up is {illeg forsalaris ?}"

follows Tables for last 3 years in 24 Pergunnahs - showing that " out of 1915 cases in wh. defence was entered, it failed only in 478, while it was successful in 1437 cases,

goes on to argue that "if any restrictions to be placed on any party in rent suits it is on landlord plaintiff & not on tenant defendant

& that "if this is the Table for 24 Pergunnas, where relations between landlord & tenant good & Zemnr enlightened & "actually commended by {illeg Rombough?} for conduct towards their

ryots, what must state of things be in other parts of Bengal?

If Govt of Bengal were to ascertain proportion of suits for arrears of rent, in wh. defence proved successful - assumption upon wh. Sir A. Eden formed first portion of Rent Bill falls to {illeg provided} true?

-said that

"landlords' accounts not worth paper they are written on "falsification of Zemrs' accts every day occurrence in Lower Provinces

tradition in Bengal to fraudulently magnify rent claim & support them by perjured witnesses & forged accts.

(This we know but too well)

writer "challenges" any one to contradict this.

challenge not yet taken up

Editor of Tribune formerly Moonsiff in Bengal petition drawn up by "lawyer of some standing, a vakeel of High court of Calcutta & was circulated in {illeg mopaper?} for signatures

Can Part II of Bengal Rent Bill be so worked as to prevent

f187v

absentee Bengal Zemr?

Side by side with all this quotations form powerful English
at home in favour of employing natives in all Govt offices
(wh we all so wish for)

How does evidence of corruption furnished by natives
themselves confirm plan of putting natives in to Govt situations
real fount of difficulty

what do you propose to reform corruption?

As regards "transferability of tenure " Mr. Sen's 'remarks'

x x x x

Would it not be most desirable to appoint two *unofficial*
members in Commissn to revise whole Bengal Rent Law?

such an important thing - one to represent Ryots
one Zemindars/ Urge?

II

from letter to Mr. Gladstone (Poona first)

III Famine Mortality offered Cornish's Mema

Bombay 700 000

Hyderabad will never be known

As for figures to Ho of C. if *questd* merely one of
arithmetic

like a sum on a child's slate in the lowest class - a child
just beginning to count

have not sent you these figures - if what is *certain*, what
is known already, what is *beyond* dispute & challenge does
not move Govt to action nothing will.

IV

Mr. Caird satisfactory

V Deccan Villages offered from as to lands passing into
hands of

money lenders in villages transferred from Nizam to us

VI Don't betray any information coming to me not coming to
Govt.

unsigned letter draft, ff188-193v, pen & pencil

f188

{archivist:} 1884

Jan 5/~~83~~?-84

{printed address:} 10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I do not know whether
you were so good as to say
that you would care to
hear from me: but I cannot
help sending you my very
best wishes for the highest
blessings of the New Year
upon your self, your work
& your big child India.

There is not the least
doubt that you have much
more news than I have
from that big place.
For I cling to the belief

f188v

that it is still your child.

And therefore all that
I may be bold enough to say
must have a query at the
end.

Had it not been for the
Ilbert Bill compromise,
query what do you think
of that? - & for the dozenth
remodelling of the Bengal
Tenancy Bill - query, are
you satisfied with that?
incurring delay & greater
opposition I might have

f189

asked you to let me indulge,
as a harmless lunatic, in
a little congratulation.

we do not apologize: we
look upon this as the greatest
triumph of the time - 220
millions of this {illeg} for the first time
~~satisfied/content~~ with our rule -
content, it is true, in
confidence & hope, more than
in fruition: but still ~~with~~
~~a sort of contentment for~~
~~the first time~~: we might
begin to disband the army now -
Lord Ripon is in himself an
Army: Russia could not
invade India now.

f190

This is not a camel
'elaborated out of my own
consciousness'. It is what
I hear experienced Anglo
Indians say: certainly not
belonging to the India Council
- certainly not to the High
Court not to the 'Times'
but perhaps men whose
opinions may be after all
more 'founded in fact'
than those of the Times
or the India Council &
'Departments'. men of
20 or 30 years' experience
in high posts in India
They think that the day

f190

-2-

spring from on high has
now visited India - & that
now for the first time there
has arisen a Star in the
East. {the following five lines are intermingled}
it is most extraordinary that the

Liberal party has not seen that

Ld Ripon's hour has {illeg come?}
Mr. Gladstone does
support Lord Ripon. But
surely they should declare
loudly & with iteration
their adhesion. They are
losing their opportunity. They
{lines are intermingled again}

should say compromise - apology

we have nothing to compromise we consider
this the greatest triumph
of Liberal principles of our day - perhaps of

all time. You say these have

failed in

But
why
do
not
Minis
ters
~~take~~
advan
tage
of
this?

ought
to
stump
it
about
the
count
ry.

It is
said
that
Mr.
Glads
tone
~~has~~

f190v

Ireland, in Egypt, in Zululand.
But here in India is the triumph of
Mr. Gladstone's Liberal
principles on the largest
stage, the ~~biggest~~/ most stupendous scale

in the world. ~~Ireland~~
~~secedes from us,~~ the more
we try to conciliate/ reform & {illeg help?} her/ in Ireland
the more her poor little 5 millions secede & go
farther from our arms.
But ~~Ireland is but 5~~
~~millions.~~ But in India the 220 million meets
us half way, /they welcome our principles with open arms.
She has not yet grasped
~~what she wanted/~~redress before
she cries out her gratitude
~~And India has 220~~
~~millions.~~

f191

~~But here you hear/class Lord~~
~~Ripon classed with the~~
~~Mahdi & the Cape.~~
~~(the Mahdi & Lord Ripon~~
as two not harmless fanatics)
setting vast regions in a blaze.

~~And no one~~ says a word
to enlighten public opinion.
Indeed no he is the grandest success of our time

[By the way, Lord Kimberley
made the most ferocious
mistake in sending for Mr.
Atkins: Mr. Atkins was
completely defeated, crushed,
till the Sec of State! sends
for him !!] Apologize for, excuse

Ld Ripon's policy No indeed.

5. Mr. Gladstone 'stumped'

Mid Lothian 4 years ago

Surely that great country

India who now knows her right hand from her left would be worth

Mr. Gladstone's Govt ought to have spoken

& got men to speak for Ld Ripon's measures

191v

~~some one/ a little 'stumping' it now.~~

Dalkieth, the centre of
Mr Gladstone, asked a
Scotch Anglo Indian 'de
mes amis' to give a Lecture/paper
on ~~India~~/ Lord Ripon's policy. The poor man
was just starting to go back
to India. He had twenty
engagements. He was obliged
to decline the triumph of Mr. Gladstone's
principles in tranquillizing
a {illeg} company
work that {illeg}

Now why don't /~~But Ministers ought to~~
~~send~~ such people about.

Lord Hartington & Mr. Chamberlain
speechify about. ~~Why~~ is
India alone unworthy of their
attention ? 3 at stake, one's blood boils
at such unopposed misunder
{printed address, upside down:} standing, such uncorrected
10, South Street, mistakes
Park Lane. W.

2

For electioneering alone it ought to have been
done. But when one thinks that the lives of
200 millions for this world & the next {illeg above?}
{written in the left side margin}
Did I not say that India's interests were too big to interest us?

f192

Say to the few Anglo Indian agitators: we are
very sorry for your, tho' we know it to be
{lines are intermingled again}

What
a
subje
ct
it/In
dia
would
now

altogether a mistake we will do what we

can to please & make it easy to you but

apologize for the grandest policy that has

ever yet been tried successfully.

succeeded by honesty alone that we

cannot do.

the Agricultural Advances
Act & Land Banks - the
Suspensions & Remissions in
~~of~~ collecting Land Revenue
involving as it must no long time hence

make -
there is
the Land
the giving
occupancy
rights in
Bengal -
(but
perhaps we
had better
~~say as~~
~~little as~~
~~possible about~~
~~that now~~

all the Land Settlement question
of all the Local Self-Government the
biggest of all schemes & Acts.

- there is the encouragement
of native arts & industries
by Government, the greatest
consumer, ~~getting~~/which now has everything
made by native artisans ~~made~~ that
can be made. This is in itself an
immeasurable boon.

there is,
most
important
/{illeg},

f192v

there is the employment
of natives ~~the~~ not
allowing European interlopers

to intercept the more
lucrative posts for promotion to which/~~that~~ natives
have fairly worked their way
up ~~to~~. there is the Education
there are other things
which you ought to be
telling us end
Why, it is ~~the greatest~~ almost an Epic poem
a 'Ramayana' ~~in the world~~
a Paradise Regained
Only there is no body to sing
it! go to there is the Land
If Mr. Bright would
really get up the subject,
he might make a regal
progress: & interest everybody

f193

Rarely or never has a
Cabinet, a Parliament
such an subject opportunity
But they let the Times, the
High Court pour forth those
ghastly fictions. I should
have thought some things Sir
J. Stephen had written were
treasonable - & no one lifts
a voice or scarcely a finger
strongly enough, or often
enough to be heard.

Or if they do, it is only
in apologetic terms.

This is the Anglo Indian
mutiny. Should not
Ministers say: we wish
to make any concessions to
soothe, to conciliate you

f193v

But Lord Ripon is carrying
out our principles the
Liberal principles which
are our very raison d'être
And we are not going to
give up these.

& say it so as to be
heard

4 Look at Ld Ripon's measures - for the
Land - for agricultural advance -
for most important of all, local Self
Govt - for employment of natives
for encouragement of native arts &
industries

And here they stuck fast at this
wretched Ilbert Bill.

Extraordinariness the Second - people do not
see the immense changes wrought in India

{printed address, upside down} 10, South Street, by our own
measure during the

Park Lane. W.

last 10 years education railroads
opening up the country &c &c wh make Ld R's
measures not only safe but imperative

signed letter draft, ff194-5v, pen & pencil

f194

Private
& Confidential
{printed address:}

Jan 2/85
10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

Let me first wish you
the choicest blessing of the
New Year: & health to pursue
your labours for our benefit
I know that you are writing
for us now.

What do you think of the
appointment of Lord Reay
to Bombay - might I ask?

But my real reason
for troubling you now is not
Lord Reay but Mr. Gladstone
I have had a most unexpected

[10:328]

f194v

opportunity given me of writing "notes" to him
upon the Indian administrative
{illeg}/measures to be desired as connected with
Lord Ripon's past & Lord
Dufferin's future policy
in ~~these~~ administrative matters
including the Bengal Rent Bill, Local
Govt &c. I have already sent in a
sort of very brief "Contents"
[Naturally the next "notes" must be
very brief too.] Might I
ask of your very great
kindness *what you should*
consider the main points
to be urged as right in
Lord Ripon's measures &

f195

to be urged on Lord Dufferin
for the future?

[You have been so very
kind to me that I may
also perhaps mention (in
confidence) that Lord Dufferin
came to see me; & at his
desire I wrote "notes" for him.

One can only wait & see
what, if anything, comes of it.] [end 10:328]

Let me be ever
your faithful & grateful servt
Florence Nightingale
I can scarcely
~~hope or~~ expect
or indeed wish
that you should
come into London this weather But

f195v

if ever, as you kindly promised
you could come & see me
some afternoon, would you
be so very good as to make
an appointment beforehand.
F.N.

ff196-97v, from Lord Napier, 24 Princes Gate, Hyde Park, February
16,{archivist: [1866]} re communications received from FN and
expressing his willingness to support sanitary measures

f198, February 19, re a proposed visit to FN.

ff199-202v, Kodehand, Pulneis, September 22, 1867, re changes
being made in India

ff203-09v, printed account of the Proceedings of the Madras
Government, Public Department, September 12, 1867

ff210-11, October 24, re the satisfactory state of troops at
Bangalore

ff212-14, May 29, 1868, from Lady Napier, thanking FN for her
assistance re hospitals at Madras

ff215-18v, June 24, 1868, from Lord Napier, re Female hospital in
Madras

ff219-20v, July 8, re proposed Sanitary Institutions in the city
of Madras

unsigned letter draft, f221, pencil

f221

Lord Napier

I am glad you have got anything for the nursing scheme. It is to be hoped you may succeed better with St Mary's All I can do is repeat I have already done, namely to {illeg let go?} all this for your consideration for the nursing, and wherever you are it {illeg} to ask for trained nurses I will do my best for you

ff222-23v, Madras, September 3 [1868], re sanitary work at Madras {archivist's note: see Miss N's letter to Sidney Herbert 14.1.55 Important}

ff224-27v, November 15, 1868, re Sanitary improvements in Madras

ff228-9v, December 13, 1868, {archivist's note: [re Lord Mayo, machinery & agriculture]}

ff230-33v, January 17, 1869 re the visit of the new Viceroy

ff234-35, Berkshire, May 28, 1869, from Lady Napier, requesting an appointment with FN

ff236-36v, 15, South Audley Street, London, May 31, re a proposed visit

ff237-40v, Madras, June 3, 1869, re various matters in hand in Madras

f241, 15, South Audley St., June 11, 1869, from Lady Napier enclosing some memoranda

ff242-3v, Thirlestane, Selkirk, N.B. acknowledging a donation of FN to Lady Napier's charities

ff244-8, 1 Queen Square West, {archivist: April 28, 1874} from Lord Napier, re errors in a book on Irrigation in India {note in the margin in FN hand please return to FN}

notes on envelope, ff249-v, pen & pencil

f249

Panchayats
People in Madras
remedies Pawnbroker's Act
 & &

Lord Napier

Deaths

 money lending
{in another hand: Miss Nightingale}

truth?

&c

What we want to see is *native* capital embarking
in enterprise as in England, instead of state in India

f249v

capital creates pauperism
 Remedies Registration
 Pawnbrs Act

O if we could but get the natives to teach **[10:]**
us & cooperate with us in measures
 for their improvement

10:]

Lord Napier
his evidence
Storage Tanks: List
 Col.
 Fife
his question in Ho
of Lords
papers *registered*

1. opinion of
 Panchayat on

Reports on Subject
2. People in
 Madras
 any

3. Panchayats for
 P. W. natives
overseers taking bribes

4. Can there be
 private
 enterprise?

[end

unsigned letter draft, ff250-3v, pen & pencil

f250

Mr. Robertson

7/3/79

{printed address: } 10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.

Dear Lord Napier

I cannot thank you enough
for your kind letter of Nov. 21
or for its accompanying Reports,
Col. Sankey's remarks on the
famine in Mysore:
& the Report of Government
Farms in Madras for 1877.
{written in the left margin:} to D. of Buckingham
18/4/79

The prospect of model
Farms, Agricultural Colleges
& native teachers & managers taught
cheers & warms one's heart.

Do you know if any of the
money lenders, particularly
those in Bombay (I see a
large proportion of Bombay
{written in the right hand margin:} Lord Napier's
letter

f251

suppose so conspicuous in commerce
carrying that energy into 'land'
& sending their young men to the
Agric. College

as well as the Brahmins
If the process of agricultural education
extends, if there could be as you
say model farms & native teachers
in every province, & these be
widely imitated, much of the
desperate condition of India might
disappear.

[written across the page:] to D. of Buckingham
18/4/79

It moves me to see how the
accommodation in the Agricultural
~~Kno~~ Coll is neglected. Class Rooms
& Lecture Rooms so bad. Mr.
Robertson said that improved
accommodn has been estimated
& he hopes that "before another
year it may have been provided

I am sure if pressure could be
bring this about ~~you~~ will have

f251v

"provided" pressure.

{written across the page:} to D. of Buckingham

18/4/79

If it is not done I think one
might almost have got up a Subn
for it.

I have always greedily read all
that Mr. Robertson has 'reported'
& this Report which you have
been so good as to send me is
particularly interesting: especially
all about manures - the wickedness
of letting manure being used as fuel

how to grow fodder crops for live
stock &c [I remember Mr. R.
saying that we i.e. British Govt
or Govt of India had not the
shadow of an idea what was the
annual loss from chronic starvation
of cattle: & yet that no country
was so {illeg fertile?} for fodder crops than
India

Both the Report & Section VII
of Com. Sanitary Report threw so

much light upon the state & ways
of the people - by no means always
a favorable one. I mean their
tricks & their deceptions but also their eagerness about the
use of water &c & the reasons
for the failure of experiments
that I wish these could be better
known to practical Englishmen.

{illeg Often?} these things ought to give
one hope - instead of the reverse
for they show that if we knew the
natives better & how to deal with
them, experiments which seem to be
failures might be made successful
Two failures often = a success

Facts, personal narration of
individual natives with names &
places: how I wish these could
be brought into the popular
literature of England so that English
might *discover India*.

[Englishmen generally will not
read Reports: least of all Indian Reports
As Ld Derby says Indian officials are

f252v

so fond of paper & print]
The only Reports I ever saw which
gave these individual narratives
or evidence with names & places
were those on the Deccan
indebtedness.

The "Times & D. News"corres
pondents have discovered Cyprus
Why cannot ~~they~~/could not the Madras Times & the Madras Mail send
special
correspondents to discover the interior, the agriculturists of
India
writing in that lively manner which
Englishmen will read. There would
not be that difficulty about the languages which prevent
an English 'Special Corresponent' from London being sent
into the interior of India if an Indian Dickens would
tell us something
about the Ryots. One appendix of Col. Sankey's
is more than ever interesting: -
that in which he gives the large
contributions in money & labour made
by the people themselves to restore
the tanks & roads - & speaks of
handing over each restored tank
to the ryots to keep up themselves
& the habits of care & order
thereby enforced -

f253

& of the "dry crop lands being the
back bone of the country

I had just been reading a private official Report

But where he dwells on the *money*
famine following in the steps of
the grain famine & no way of
meeting it but by carrying out
Public Works advancing Takavi
for Wells &c, it is truly pathetic

It is these after consequences
of famines on the half starved
& ruined Survivors terrible to think of which one dreads &
which are in England scarcely
thought of there are more things twixt heaven
& earth than are dreamt of in
{illeg Sankey's?} philosophy

I feel were I to go on I
should write a letter as long as
the Report. So I stop
But please consider me worthy
at least from deepest interest
of more of your {illeg}
And there comes {illeg} (misery
twice told) from Bombay saying that
no new works are to be undertaken

f253v

all p. wks to be suspended - no
applications sent in. All
expenditure retrenched &c &c

unsigned letter draft, ff254-5v, pencil

f254

We want to rouse the interest of the public - for
behind the Cabinet in England always stands the Ho.
of Commons & behind Ho. of C. always stands the
Brit. public. And these are they we ought to interest.
And these can only be interested by narratives of real
lives.

see Mr. Jowett's notes (Lea Hurst)

Mr. Prinsep Report/& plan to have no {illeg money?}
Very disheartening after all the cockcrowing in Parl
to find that only 1 per cent of Local taxes in 4 great Provinces
has been invested by the State - but better to know it &
know it too out of the State's own records
And then something may be done
The people themselves have done 9 times as much as the State

f255

Terrible to think of that one third of the {illeg Tahal?}
area
could have been & has *not* been brought under
cultivation, while the people are dying

f255v

The loss of our Princess Alice is a real loss - Everything
good she set herself to learn. She never came to London
but she went to see herself all the best & most practical
methods of doing good. She was known & loved
at our Training School for Nurses. She had established
one: & was to establish one exactly similar to that model
as soon as she was {illeg grand?} {illeg Duchess?}. ~~Our Nurses~~ /We
are
sending a little wreath for her grave.
Poor {illeg} poor children

unsigned letter draft, ff256-61v, pencil & pen

f256

12/12/78

-3-

II. It seems almost too grievous to recur to the Famine now so late. But completed Reports are coming in now, of which I have seen one in the rough 'proof' which gives the Morty as actually higher than the estimate I gave (in my paper in 'XIX Century' for August - 5 or 6 millions) as "over 6 millions"

Do you remember the papers moved for, & presented to Parliament just before it rose last Session? These gave the Famine Deaths 1 300 000 Now those Deaths were the *registered* Deaths. I asked at the time what was the estimated proportion of registered Famine Deaths to *total actual* famine Deaths - & received no answer

Shortly after (& after a great deal of abuse from the magnates for my unparalleled "shriek" in the ~~pa~~ Article - their own word) I received from Simla a bundle containing the same papers as those presented to Parlt - but it contained one more in which the *registered* Deaths were estimated at 22 per cent of the *total Deaths from famine*.

And the Reports now coming in & closely entering into all the figures Death by Death 'returned emigrants &c &c &c figure by figure give the total ascertained Morty very much the same as the estimated Morty is given in that Simla paper, *not* presented to Parlt.

These Reports are not yet published
The Famine is forgotten.

People's minds are so taken up (& rightly too) with this
[15:847]

Affghan War on one side or the other, that they forget the far deeper tragedy than any that can be acted there which took place but one short year ago here in Southern India: an interest of immeasurably greater magnitude, weight, & height & depth.

I have made no use, public or private, of these facts I have not even written to Lord Cranbrook or Mr. Stanley who presented the papers/ famine figures in the Ho. of C. The I.O. must

be aware of these facts if they choose probably were aware of them at the time they were denying them in letters to me about my "shriek" - & asking where I *could* "have got my figures?"

I am so heartsick that I do not care to revive the personal question - And they would not attend to the lesson.

People's minds are so taken up with the vulgarest & most claptrap sides of our

Indian Empire that they seem indifferent to the great sides of this stupendous

Empire The good govt of the people You must arouse them to it.

Thank you for raising your voice against putting the cost of the Affghan War upon India. Is not that base? I believe there is scarcely man, woman or child in England who would complain of being taxed to pay for it. And we *can* complain. The Indian natives can't.

I earnestly trust that you still prognosticate that, "after our first advance - "a pacific adjustment is still possible"

How much of good to India will be stopped otherwise as it is stopped even now.

[end 15:847]

III A friend has sent me the new Bill for 'relief of indebted agriculturists in parts of Bombay Presy.' It is almost too good to pass - for it includes the old 'Hindu rule' by providing "no agriculturist shall in any case pay interest exceeding in the aggregate the amount of his principal debt."

The Govt. of India took charge of some of the other objects proposed as you know but said that *this* (concerning 'interest' & 'ancestral debts') shd be undertaken by the Govt. of Bombay in Council.

Great opposition was expected from some of the native! members of the Bombay Legislative Council

It is a subject so very interesting to me that I venture to ask you 1. whether you approve the Bill
2 What has been its fate

IV And your kindness inspires me to ask a yet more troublesome question:

Do you know what is become of the Bengal 'Enhancement of Rent' papers? They were sent home I believe about a year ago - they were before the S. of S. for India in the summer - they were asked for & were to have been presented in Parlt before the close of last Session - but it was understood that the S. of S. begged for grace - till event decided whether there was to be war with Russia (on the ground of not making enemies of the Bengal Zemindars)

f258v

And then - you know how things go -
The papers were *not* produced
Can you tell me what became of the question?

I have received a pamphlet from a native Bengal gentleman, a Mr. Sen, (whom I know nothing at all about) on a similar matter, which is interesting particularly the part, p. 30, about agricultural earnings in Bengal. And after reading the Madras Report about your (Mr. Robertson's) Govt. Farms, the part about the dispersed character, p 24, of petty holdings & the impossibility of having model farms - p. 25, seems piteous. There is much too about the decrease in *amount* of produce & the Hindoo's ignorance of rotation of crops & manures the determination of cattle, p. 20 pp-21, 22 pp16,17 & the Zemindar not helping his tenant by providing anything neither capital, seed nor cattle, p 51 The introduction of "competition" & its effect are pointed out p.50

V. Some of the answers which have preceded at home the future Report of the Famine Commission are intensely curious or pathetic or interesting E.g. the way the Zemindars (this in the N.W.P.) actually deter the cultivators from taking Govt 'takavi' advances to dig wells - because, short sighted creatures! they wd have to give compensation if cultivators left.

f260 {written in the top margin}

I don't see however that this tell for o much as the Commn supposes. If ~~a man~~/is borrowed 20, half at low interest, half at high & is applied half to ~~his~~ necessities, & half to well=digging, as if well-

digging were not a necessity it does not much signify which is which -7-

One Comm. or Collector says that loans from the moneylender at high rates of interest are actually more productive of good i.e. of wells, than loans from the Govt at low rates, because the former, those from the Mahajam are applied to digging wells - while those from the Govt are really taken for something else. Some pressing want & only a portion of a well is made to satisfy the Govt inspector - & But the pictures of the misery of the people are frightful

There is that /are more things going on than are dreamt of in Simla'-s philosophy ~~or~~ still less in the I.O.'s

The rage of the small Talookdar at being asked to repay the Govt loans to the day, whereas his Mahajam only wishes *not* to be repaid, is described by other Commrs or Collectors. In one instance, an Assistant Collr was ? blown up by his Collector - for having his 'Takavi' advances in arrears - & the consequence was that the people swore never to take another Takavi advance from Govt. altho' the money lender exacted 10 times the rate of interest.

[All these reasons how Govt Takavi with its low rate of interest comes not to be taken ~~is~~/are very important & significant] Surely the greater contains the less Perhaps

they would not so often be obliged to waive

their dues, if they 'accommodated' the poor ryots with

advances more easily to put them beforehand with the world

& to pay their dues. Homestead Law. Would this such as there is

in America be possible? the 'Homestead' cannot be sold for *any* debts. (the 'Homestead' is as much as the man can cultivate himself & as will grow

I believe {illeg subsistantion?} - For himself & his family. All this is most strange & instructs us as to why Govt advances are not taken Could there not be some

~~small~~ modification or relaxation of rule &/or method
in granting Takavi. Govt is constantly obliged to grant
remissions of assessment or rent

But this letter is an irrigation, I mean an inundation
of talk. Pray forgive it.

Pray accept my old (too true) excuse for long delay in thanking you - pressure of overwork & illness the ~~excuse~~ cause.

In London I am overworked but in the country autumn I am ground to powder for there is no one else since my father's death to do anything for the place of people

You will justly think however this long letter {illeg} a yet more humble excuse

unsigned letter draft, ff262-3v, pencil

f262

Lord Napier & Ettrick

31/3/79

thanks for copy of Annual Agricultural Report Madras 1879 - came in nick of time

very sorry to see they have *not built* an Agricultural Sch: *Lecture Rooms & Class Rooms* so much wanted: {written in top margin}

write to Duke of Buckingham & that they had (I suppose in consequence) instead of 3 classes going on with their training, only one - tho' the building of a Chemical Laboratory is sanctioned. But that is almost putting the cart before the horse - is it not?

not ungrateful for not having thanked you before for Vol. of Minutes during your Governorship

Minute on Experimental Farms particularly interesting Have your proposed Model Farms in {illeg Combalam or Salem in Bettary, in Tinnevily, ?} & perhaps in {illeg Gajara?} been carried out as they ought?

But above all, has your wisdom been followed in educating natives of India & ryot natives at the Govt Sydapet Farm for superintending the Provincial Farms? That seems the pith of the whole system.

And do the Provincial Farms show to poor men of small means how they can make the best of what they have - show them "models of good cultivation" as you say, in "bread stuffs" - instead of only the more valuable cultures, which the poor men cannot attain?

So glad to see your approval of the "intelligent" people of "flourishing" Godavery.

There is not that I can find in Mr. Robertson's Report (1879) any account of the caste or class of his pupils, as

f262v

there has been before. One wants to know whether
- as you advise young men of the ryot class do come
for instruction, or are sent by the Collectors. That is
all important - is it not?

And does the use of LIME p.p.87 to as a manure make progress
about the Madras Presy?

I cannot find in Mr. Robertson's look in Mr.
Robertson
p.87
p.36

Report
t
what

you so wisely dwell upon - that as he has supplied
improved ploughs, sickles, pick axes &c - could he
not effect economy by simple *cleaning cotton machines*,
silk combing, *grain grinding machines* &c &c?

Probably I am quite out of date & all these may p.p.

36-37)

have been supplied or improved.

But I learnt lately that sugar machines where
sugar can be cultivated (my information however was
from {illeg Khanderah?}) do not express 50 p.c. of the Sugar
And even in this profitable sugar cultivation, the
farmers cannot afford, or do not know how to get
a better machine !

I had a most interesting woman here lately - wife
of one of the Secies to Govt at Madras who, after a
4 yrs' Medl course at Madras, has come to London for
a further 3 yrs course, Examn of London Univ & degree
= in order to return to Madras & practise in the Zenanas -
[I don't like 'Medl women' in general - don't betray me -
they are such prigs - & their knowledge only surface know
ledge - I have seen Lady Doctors who certainly did not
know so much as a first rate Nurse Yet Medicine &
Nursing shd never be mixed up -

But this lady was the most thorough going devoted woman
I think I ever saw]

She has had great practise already among native women, poorer & richer. She described to me the amounting of disease among the mothers & deterioration among the children arising from these {illeg unhealthy?} mothers (before the children are born) taking the violent exercise, - standing up in an unnatural position, with a long heavy pestle - necessary to, as I understood her, bruise or grind their grains - these women being in a half starved condition

And I thought I would ask you: is it impossible to have a little common simple machinery here?

Some one at Madras sent me 2 Lectures of Mr. Robertson He says in his Report Fodder has not failed this last year.

I have the most dismal accts of the results of the Famine in deserted villages &c from Madras Presy. & even from Bombay Presy of ryots, prosperous ryots who have lost their bullocks & their all, borrowing a cart & bullock, & coming 30 miles to sell the rafters of their houses for 5/ to feed their children for 2 months.

Sen's performance at Ali Masjed deplore these degenerate days when our boys do not run away to sea -

benefits innumerable thank for write to Sir A. Cotton
Dr. Cornish's
letter of

tribute {illeg}

Irrigation

Annual Progress Irrigation Report Madras 1877-8
with kind remarks - & Revenue Mema, April 1878
with statement of areas irrigated & proportion of Revenue
"fairly attributable" to Irrign

next letter on this & Godavery, Kistna &c contributions of grain

to famine & EDUCATION || (BEGUN) & Robertson Report p.50: Introductory 5

continued oppression?

Then the people listened.

"The Press, the Parlt & the Bishops were all against us" as Sir G. Stephen said but when the note was sounded

"Can innocent men be justly made the chattels of other men? If life sentenced felon's children &

children's children cannot be made such, how can the children of captured slaves be justly made slaves?

When this note was sounded, the interest of the country rose en masse. 20 millions were voted & the victory was won.

What was done then about the Slave Trade & slaves who after all were little known to our people - could it not be done now about 200 millions of our fellow subjects in India (where at least 150 000 of our white men relatives spend their days) if only we could interest the people of England in some broad principles & facts that they could understand? The famine might have done this but has fallen 'flat' The Press so against us - So it was in the Slave Trade.

Nor would it be the least danger if some demagogue who knew not India took up the matter with broad principles. It *must* be some one who thoroughly knows the people of India & has GOVERNED there !

so glad you think something might be done about a 'homestead Law'

Your Black & White most interesting

Mr. Caird home on April 5 - does your P.W.Committee sit again this year?

31/3

unsigned letter draft, f264, pencil & pen

f264

Lord Napier

April/79

wrote to D. of Buckingham about buildings of Madras Agri:
Coll.

Annual Agri Report Madras 1879 p. vi p. 53 & note

large expenditure useless p. 53 p. v

asked about "Manual of Agriculture" for Village Schools

p. 40 Normal School students p. 50 Para 26

p. 50 Para 27

did not go into *this* with D. of B.

p. 52 Para 29 general agri pop

p.49 Para 24 {illeg Kamma?} youth

p.v 2nd para

did ask D. of B. this,

p. 91 Para 15 As manures

p.93 Para

lime almost unknown 26

bones " " 25

agri reform 24

green manuring para 27

" 18

p.93 " 28 urine sewage " par. 23

91 " 18 - dung used as fuel

p. 36 111

ploughs, hoes, harrows &c improved & cheap

supplied

but no cleaning cotton machines *grain grinding machines*

silk winding do.

Mrs. Scharlieb

unsigned letter draft, ff264v-5, pencil

f264v

Ld Napier Ap 30/79
thanked for Annual Progress Report P.W.D. Madras,
1877-8 blue paper
& No 561 Reve Dep. Madras Ap 9/78 white paper
for his comments
thro' Ld Salisbury in 1875 instituted investigations for
p. 37 Para 3 blue paper
2
last
p.11 Col 6 white paper
7
acknowledged his remarks on {illeg Strivarkantha?} Ancient
his hopes that Toombuddra might yet succeed
gave Dr. Cornish's difference in Famine Morty
between irrigated & non irrigated Taluqs
{illeg Tr?} Kistna {illeg T??d?} Tangore -
Gave out of 'note' list Para
You say Carry out Better works to perfection
Diffe of Note & Progress Report after "careful cultivation"
& "special
investigation"
Note Clear interest on capital outlay
Godavery 14 9 p.c.
Kistna 10 23
{illeg} Reve "on cap out
Godavery 21 35
Kistna 15 48
Add in Illustrated News what Sir A. C. says
(21, 28 or 40)

f265

Gave Notes "prop value of once 495 lakhs

asked whether I might quote his name & words
in description of {illeg Invalid ?} Ill. News

gave Notice " {illeg?}

studied your papers comparing them

I only venture, xx in order to show you - the only way I can -
- how grateful I am & how heartily I have studied
your papers comparing them with every paper I could
lay hold of for more elucidation

can scarcely bear to add that: having just received
the Morty Returns for 1878

[but wh I am desired to make no use of till the
Govt orders are 'out upon them']

Punch says that Births Death & Marriages are
not in future to occur in Russia without Govt orders.

So it appears it is in India]

Grievous to say, Gody Kistna, Tricky, Tangore
have not been able to maintain thro' 1878 their
high rate of {illeg} from Famine Deaths

But there are not yet the Statcs distinguishing
between 'dry' & wet Taluqs

Govt {illeg} however is all wet is it not?

Add Mss 45780, microfilm, Indian material; incoming letters unless otherwise indicated from Sir Bartle Frere, 338 folios, 29 pages, Adam Matthew reel 21

unsigned note, **f1**, pencil in rough draft hand

Mr B. Frere [June 1867]

I had a note the other day from Miss Carpenter in which she conveyed to me your wish to see me on Indian matters. My health is at present very precarious, but I take so deep an interest in the whole subject of Indian development that I cannot deny myself the opportunity of conversing with you about it

f2 unsigned note, pencil, rough JS hand

Sir B. Frere

A short time ago my opinion was asked by Capt. Galton on certain points involving the ventilation of hospitals in India and a paper was sent to me on this subject. On reading over the paper I found in it much more than the simple question of ventilation. I found that the government in India has arrived at a most unfortunate decision of the question by an administrative proceeding ~~which certainly was never contemplated~~
~~a body the Royal Commission -- of 1857~~
~~presided over by Lord Herbert a illeg~~
~~R.C. on the Indian Army of 1867 presided~~
~~over by Ld Herbert & Lord Stanley I illeg~~
to which I am very desirous of calling to attention of Sir St. N. I have written a letter on this subject hereunto enclosed. Might I ask you to be so very kind as to present it for me ~~to Sir S.N.~~

ff3-4v, June 11, 1867, re Dr. Hewlett's report, letter on embossed India Office paper

ff5-7v, July 16, 1867, re a recommendation that FN receive Messrs Dadabhoy Nowrojee and Nowrojee Furdonjee on embossed IO [Frudoonji?]

ff8-9, July 19, 1867, re a proposed visit, embossed IO

ff10-11, July 23, 1867, re a missing Minute of Lord de Grey, embossed IO

ff12-12v, July 24, 1867, re a proposed visit, embossed IO

ff13-14, July 27, 1867, re the help solicited of Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Henry Anderson, embossed IO

ff15-17v, 44 Princes Gardens, August 10, 1867 re difficulties in setting up a Public Health Department in India

ff18-19, August 13, 1867, re a proposed visit, on embossed IO

f20 pencil note very faint, rough JS hand

[20 Aug 1867]

Sir B. Frere

I have seen Sir S.N. and he [too faint]
into the which subject as [faint] He is
going to have a committee [faint]
subject you previously [faint]
&c You will I suppose have the [faint]
contesting &c [faint]
work & it would be will now to
draw up some scheme of proceeding

ff21-3, August 22, 1867, re Sir Stafford Northcote's help, from 44 Prince's

f24 FN note, faint, pencil rough JS hand

[c. Aug 22-26 1867]

Sir B. Frere

I send you these very interesting papers which have been printed as you will see against me on account of an impertinent letter of mine asking them what they are about.

I am most glad they have come just now, because so far as Bengal is concerned they give a vivid idea of the present state of the public health question. --what has been done--what has been left undone--where the organization is defective & in what points it can be improved. It is most likely that the papers have come just now because among other things they point out exactly where your India House [?] Committee could be of use

Will you be so good as return them to me after you have read them.

ff25-5v, August 27, 1867, re a proposed visit on 44 Prince's. I am grieved to return the papers with my notes incomplete, but I was unexpectedly called away last week into the country....will call

has FN note on f25v
Then comes the great question of
obtaining Census
annual reports--mortality
works proposed
" executed
what next to be done?

ff26-28 September 7, 1867, re an apology for delay in responding to FN's papers & a promise to complete notes on them

ff29-66v, September 8, 1867, re his comments on Dr. Farquhar's and Major Malleson's Memorandum as well as Mr. Ellis' memoranda

ff67-7v, Sept 11, 1867, re a proposed visit, 44 Prince's

ff68-70v, India Office, September 17, 1867, re FN's replies to Sir J. Lawrence's letters and Mr. Ellis' papers

ff71-72 faint pencil note, rough JS

[20 Sept.

1867]

Sir B. Frere

I have sent the letter to Sir J. L. And the next question is what has next to be done. Must we wait until Sir J. L. Submits a plan, if he ever does do to the India Office. Or must we wait until the committee is appointed at the India Office & then help to draw up a plan of procedure for the Committee work to be submitted to Sir S.N. or must I write to Sir S.N. & is so on what subject & in what direction.

V

Under these circumstances I feel myself functioning officio

[9:971]

in this matter, at the very time when we are sending to ~~Australia~~ New South Wales a Superintendent & staff of nurses ~~prepared~~ trained here at the request of the Colonial Government, & which staff might have been landed at Calcutta. And at the very time when applications are coming to me from natives in India for help in improving the hospital nursing there.

[end 9:971]

ff73-4v, 44 Princes Gardens, September 21, 1867 re the appointment of a Committee on Public Health at the India Office

ff75-5v, September 25, 1867, re a proposed visit & FN's draft, Prince's

ff76-8, October 19, 1867, re a proposed visit of Sir Stafford Northcote to FN, and the establishment of a Public Health Department in India, Prince's

ff79-80, India Office, October 22, 1867, re a proposed visit, India Office embossed

f81 faint note, pencil, JS rough hand

[23 Oct 1867]

Sir B.F.

I herewith enclose Mr Ellis' papers to which reference was made yesterday

In my printed memo contains Mr Ellis' proposed organization for Madras which was never sanctioned.

The shorter printed memo was drawn up at the time when the commissions came to a dead lock

My other MS papers are replies to the Governor General on certain points raised in official communications by the Governor General: They are useful at present as showing the extent to which the questions have been discussed and as indicating the directions in which the administrative element should move. Will you be so good as read them over & return them with any remarks which occur to you.

ff82-89, 44 Princes Gardens, October 26, 1867, re FN's notes on a Despatch to be sent to India, Prince's

ff90-93, October 30, 1867, re drainage problems in Bombay, from Prince's

ff94-95, November 9, 1867, re the formal appointment of the Public Health Committee, from Prince's

ff96-97, November 22, 1867, re lack of progress made and proposed visit tomorrow, from Prince's

ff98-101, December 17, 1867, re the doors and windows question and a proposed visit, from Prince's

ff102-03v, March 11, 1868, re the prospect of another famine in India, embossed IO

f104 FN note to Frere, faint, rough JS hand

[19 Mar 1868]

Sir B.F.

I know you will excuse my writing to ask how your committee is going on and whether the dispatch to Sir J.L has yet been sent out. I am very desirous of doing what I can & I will write to India as soon as I know how matters stand here.

ff105-6v, Bilton near Bath, March 23, 1868, re difficulties in preparing a Dispatch for India, pub in Martineau, *The Life of Sir Bartle Frere* 40

ff107-12v, 22 Princes Gardens, April 28, 1868, re some small locks of wool of disappointing size and comments re the Abyssinian situation

ff113-16, June 25, 1868, re proofs for a Blue Book, embossed IO

ff117-21v, Marienbad, August 28, 1868, re delay in sending Sanitary Memorandum to India

ff123-26, India Office, September 10, 1868, re further delays with the Blue Book embossed IO

f127, 22 Princes Gardens, October 9, 1868, re a proposed visit
unsigned note, f128-28v, pencil, on back of Frere's letter above

f128

I thought the "Investigation" had been
done already

When Ld Ranelagh appeals to *my*
"better nature" I've no "better
nature" to give him

It's just as well for justice that Ld
Ranelagh *should* have put his
statement into the papers

How many towns have Municipalities
& Municipalities rich enough to have
an European Municipal Commission?

I believe he has been there
Is there anything else I should say to Sir
B. Frere?

f128v

What am I to say to Sir B.F. about
Hewlett?

What am I to say about a successor to Sir
P. Cautley?

But it must be--a member of Council

He's so overwhelmed with business

If we could put *him*, I should consider our
fortune as made.

What am I to say about all Malleson's &
Lord Napier's letters/

ff129-30v, October 14, 1868, re the establishment of a permanent
basis for the work in India before the departure of Sir J.
Lawrence, embossed IO, excerpt Martineau 41

unsigned letter draft, ff131-32v, pencil, FN's copy of draft
noted, FN hand

The Hon Sir Richd Temple KCSI
Calcutta

IO

Oct 14/68

[9:613-14]

Private

My dear Temple

By this Mail you will receive a copy of a
Blue Book on Indian Sanitary matters up to
the end of 1867. It is as you will see no
quite complete as a precis, but it gives all
that is officially on record here & some
important papers, which you perhaps have
not seen. Let me especially beg
your attention to p.p. 14 to 17.

I know that your financial labours will
not diminish your interest in these matters;
& your aid is now especially needed because
all men do not feel as strongly as, I am sure,
you do, that the best way to save the public
revenue is to spend a good deal of it in
saving the lives & the health of industrious
& money making morals- & you will not
I am sure, be deterred from helping to save
life & health, merely because it costs money.

But what I want you immediately to do
is to get Sir J. Lawrence to take the decisive
steps necessary to put the work on a proper
footing before he leaves. The Blue Book will
show you how much has been done & how

131v

much proposed since he went out, but you will see that everything is in a transition state & that unless something be done to give fixed & definite form to the sanitary Dept. & make it a regular recognized part of the administrative machinery things may revert pretty much to the state they were in before the Crimean War.

There is now a Sanitary Dept. In this office, but I cannot learn that the Govt. Of India has noticed this fact, which was conveyed to them in a Dispatch dated in Nov. Last--for nothing comes direct to the Dept. here & they still glean their papers haphazard from the Military P.W. & other Depts. nor has any reply come to a subsequent Dispatch sent in Ap. last which you will find at p. 12 of the Blue Book.

You can understand why I do not write to Sir John direct- but this is a subject which much concerns the credit of his administration, as well as health & life, & on which, I am sure, he feels very deeply- & if you could discover where the hitch is, & remove it, you would prevent the labour & thought he has bestowed on the subject at Br Lib]

[text corrected

being wasted, as well as promote objects which are I am sure not indifferent to you

f132

& for which you have laboured efficiently in all parts of your career-

A parting Resolution by the Viceroy in Council reviewing what has been done & being done a course of proceeding for the future might be drawn up-

The expence of the Executive which is required to give effect to what all wish to do is the only difficulty I can think of & if you could wind up the Resolution by a promise that a special assignment should be made for this purpose in the forthcoming Budget, there ought to be no more excuse for inaction. The local govts ought to be able to tell you by tel: what they will want- or Strachey of Bengal- Ellis for Madras- & Bell (Col.) for Bombay could at once name to you a lump sum which would suffice to start with, in each Presy, & you could fix something less for each of the other administrations-

But much of the expence will of course be borne by the Municipalities- I need not tell you how much will depend on leaving much latitude in details to local judgment till you see what the Local authorities propose to do with the discretion you grant them.

[end 9:614]

132v

I have much to say about Finance but must now only add that I am my dear Temple
ever sincerely yours

H.B.W. Frere

ff133-34v, 22 Princes Gardens, October 17, 1868, re a letter from FN to Sir J. Lawrence before his departure from India and some information about Lord Mayo, 22 Prince's

ff135-38, October 23, 1868, re a proposed visit of Lord Mayo to FN, with a suggestion that she outline in a memorandum what should be done in India, and that she meet Lady Mayo, embossed IO

ff139-40, October 31, 1868, re a proposed visit to discuss a letter from FN to Lord Mayo before his departure for India, embossed IO

f139v FN pencil note on back of Frere letter

Are there any other questions
to ask Sir B. Frere?

About Ld Mayo

Durand is dead against us

Mansfield is crotchety & ill tempered

Strachey is always after some new plan.

ff141-44v, November 1, 1868, re FN's memorandum for Lord Mayo, 22 Prince's

ff145-46v, December 2, 1868, re the establishment of a special
service for sanitary matters in India

unsigned, incomplete letter draft, ff147-47v, pencil faint, rough
JS hand

[end of Feb 1869]

Look, poor Tulloch is all in a mess

Aitken has attacked him

This is my answer- F.N.

Mr Arthur has no chance with Tulloch

who is an engineer & a sanitary engineer

He then appears to be an élève of the

costly metropolitan system which would

never do for Indian cities for it

could not be paid for.

Sir B. Frere

So far as an outsider who never laid

down & never can judge, Mr Arthur

has no chance with Tulloch. I judge

from the extract simply, which Tulloch gives

from Aitkens pamphlet. Have

you the original itself? As the case stands

in Tullochs reply, you could not sanction all his

plan which would be enormously costly &

could pollute your

harbours &

freshnes [?]

[upside down]

This man has come to inspect

our Cisterns & water=apparatus

I suppose he must?

ff148-49v, March 23, 1869, re death and disease rates in London
and other large municipalities, 22 Prince's

unsigned memorandum draft, ff150-57, pen [JS good hand, arch: Dr Sutherland] embossed War Office

f150

I. PROPAGATION of {archivist: illeg 1869}
CHOLERA OF 1867

The abstract of Indian reports [9:900]
up to "General Conclusions" page
30 gives a correct picture of
the facts as they presented
themselves to the Indian
Medical officers.

But it is well known
that of late years the Medical
profession has been declining
in its powers of accurate
observation, and has either
supplemented this deficiency
by theory or has observed
from a theory as a centre.

The older & abler race
of Indian medical officers

f150v

now extinct, avoided this error
& hence the earlier Indian
reports on cholera are still
standard works of reference. [end 9:900]

The present decline in
India dates from the time
when a mere theory of a
Bristol contagionist was
printed in an Indian governt
report & was accepted as
a truth. This was done as
an appendix in Mr.
Strachey's report on the
previous cholera epidemic.
And the cholera of 18567

f151

has been observed not as it took place, but as it was seen from the light, or rather from the darkness of this theory, & the shadow is on all the reports - of the cholera of 1867 of which you have given abstracts.

There are but two ways of dealing with the 1867 reports, either to criticize them, or merely to give the facts without comment.

Long ago you sent me (F.N.) the first papers on the subject received from India, and I (F.N.) advised

-2-

[9:900-01]

f151v

you to send them to the Army San. Com. You did this & the Committee made a careful abstract of them. They very soon traced the error to its source, but did not wish to say a single word against any Medical officer in India. They drew up a minute for the General Committee (herewith sent) the practical result of which was that the reports should not be returned to you with a criticism, but that an attempt should be made

f152

to settle the disputed questions
by a careful &
unprejudiced enquiry.

The General Committee
directed instructions for this
to be prepared, and after
the next meeting they will
be sent to you with a
request that the enquiry
be undertaken. Great
care has been bestowed
on them & they represent
all the points requiring
investigation as these are
considered necessary by
epidemiologists both here
& abroad. Now it will
be stated to you that

f152v

that the result of the examination
of the reports has been
to shew that it would be
most desirable to undertake
a special enquiry into the
whole subject of epidemic
cholera in the East.

[end 9:900]

If you compare this conclusion
with your own criticisms
at page 30, which conclusions
are based on the *opinions*
contained in the Indian
reports, you will see that
you differ altogether as to the
result of the Indian reports.

Again at page 31 is

f153

given a table of "facts" about cholera & its propagation. A moment's examination of the table shows that there are not *facts* in it.

For instance the date of the arrival of pilgrims is not given.

The state of health before arrival is not given.

The date of attack among residents is not given.

The only thing that is given is that a pilgrim was attacked on such a date.

The evidence is exactly the same as that on which witchcraft trials

f153v

used to be founded & has no value in the eyes of any one who knows the question.

The evil of it is that it infallibly conveys the idea of importation to weak minds.

I (F.N.) actually wrote to India to get a printed table of the attacks in relation to pilgrims. This table is far more complete than yours & here are the results of a careful analysis. (The table was prepared by Dr. Murray & sent to me by Dr. Cunningham)

f154 [embossed War Office]

(insert analysis of table)

This is really the best evidence you have about the transport of cholera by pilgrims & you will see that it by no means justifies the opinion that beyond a doubt the pilgrims carried cholera in their clothes (which is the real averment)

I think the best way to do would be to give no decided opinion in the subject. Before your report is out you will have had the "Instructions" & you

f154v

might insert them if you agreed to carry out the enquiry. It is looked forward to with great interest & one part of it is already going on.

With regard to the cholera rules.

Nothing of importance has been added to those of the General Board of health of 1848-49. The additions such as they are have been on the side of the efficiency of contagion as a cause of cholera. (the questions to be proved) This is unfortunate because it turns mens

f155

minds from the real efficient removable causes. Diseases may or may not be contagious but the question to be settled by the Indian enquiry is whether contagion is so important an element as to form the basis of Sanitary procedure & official doctrine.

The latest paper on the subject which I have seen quite recently was one sent to the Academy of Sciences for the Mounthryn [?] prize, from Calcutta in which the author claims the discovery that cholera is

f155v

positively non-contagious & that it is to be managed through a different pathology altogether.

The practical result is that I would temper down so as to leave undecided in the mean time all the disputed questions.

OPINION in *Medicine* is neither here nor there, but when it is applied in *Sanitary questions* it is simply destructive. Sanitarians like ~~filleg~~/ Chemists deal only with ascertained facts.

f156

II

[9:901]

*Deficiency in information
regarding the Cholera of 1867*

As the abstract stands it
places the whole, or almost
the whole causation of
Cholera in Contagion.

There is nothing said on the
Sanitary state of attacked
towns & villages.

There is nothing said about
the water supply, while the
analyses now about to be
reported on by the Army
Sanitary Comms to the
India office shew that
there is scarcely a town

f156v

or station over the whole
region attacked by cholera
in which the water is not
dangerous, during epidemic
seasons.

Peshawur is specially
distinguished in this respect.

There is no account of the
Sanitary state of any attacked
Barrack, station, or hospital
or of any prison.

This defect in the reports
sent to you from India
should be noticed. None
of them are properly speaking

f157

Sanitary reports. They are
Medico-Statistical reports,
based on contagion.

You ought to require a
Sanitary report year by year
from every Indian Station.

[end 9:901]

You will see the points
laid down in the Instructions
for the cholera enquiry to
which I have referred.

[FN hand in pencil] March 30/69

ff158-62v, 22 Princes Gardens, April 2, 1869, re contagion theory
and cholera

f163 blank

unsigned letter draft, ff164, pencil faint [begins with rough JS
hand]

f164

[ca. 15 Nov 1869]

Sir B. Frere

The enclosed M.S. was left with me
by Dr Farquhar who was
Sir J. Lawrences Physician. I have read
it & been interested in it, but on the
other hand statements regarding the
native medical student, have been made
to me of a very different character.
Would you be so good as read this
over & tell me your opinion on the
subject.

[FN hand]

As I tell Sir B.F. that about that it's no use
moving the Regt. *after* the two cases of Cholera?
Is Logan's plan the exact opposite of
Cunningham?

But Cunningham says the Indian MO's ought
all to have Indian experience
You see it was all wasted time then- I have
no strength to waste unless there is really some
prospect of doing something.
Shew me Carpenter.

f164v

Fitzjames Stephen is *gone*-
I had his sister here yesterday-
I should now propose to *print* this (it will
not cost me much) & then I would send a
copy or two her or there to weighty persons.

He said it ought to be printed, that
Ministers would never read M.S.

And I do not like to put him to the expence
These are not men out of the Govt Schools.

ff165-69v, November 18, 1869, re a report by Dr. Farquhar,
interesting remarks re early medicine, Mohammedans etc. embossed
IO

ff170-71, November 17, 1869, re letters from Dr. Livingstone &
Dr. Cunningham, embossed IO

unsigned letter draft, ff172-3, pencil faint [rough JS hand]

Dec 6/79

Sir B Frere

Dec 7/69

Since I saw you I have had further private
information about these disastrous Indian
proceedings. It appears that they have
proposed to do away with insisting in
the Med Service & instead of using skilled
professional aid in keeping expenditure
for necessaries for the sick within the
bounds of efficiency, they wish to make
expenditure simply a matter of control
I have further heard that these "reforms"
have been undertaken without consulting
with any competent authorities, & that
Mansfield is believed to be at the bottom
of the whole matter. One fact is that
John Bull has had a dishonesty fit [?]
lately & his trade & revenue have fallen
off as they ought to do. Instead of
bringing common sense to bear on the
subject, he has resorted to the only remedy
he ever has under similar circumstances.
He takes a "saving fit" as he calls it
which is only another expression
for decreasing his expenditure for the moment
at an immense amount of suffering to
many people & of immense risk to the

f172v

country. The disaster at last comes & he can find nobody to hang & after a good deal of swearing he opens his house again. Now the[?] fare for this fit of illness exists in England as well as in India.

I should say treat it on rational principles. Save where it can be done without inflicting injury. But beware of saving under fright, for of all remedies this is the most costly! As for as India is concerned I should feel inclined not to yield a single step without the fullest & most convincing reasons- & having two things first that the proposed saving is absolutely necessary, 2d that it will do no harm whatever. If the question then becomes one of misery get the money at a less sacrifice that would result from saving & be more careful n future. A firm & enlightened opposition is what all permanent offices to make at the present time

f173

Keep up your trained medical service. You have few enough medical officers in India. One of the Mansfields proposals is to reduce the 2d assistant surgeons & anyone with a nose to his face will tell you what this reduction will do in times of epidemics, especially of cholera. It will if carried out expose both officers, medical officers & men to greatly increased risks during epidemics.

ff174-77, 22 Princes Gardens, December 11, 1869. re young doctors to be appointed Assistant Surgeons and a proposed visit to FN by Lord Napier

ff178-79v, December 23, 1869, re the Livingstone family, Prince's

unsigned letter draft, f180, pencil faint [1868-1869]

Sir B.F.

I have often had it on my mind to talk to you [9:701]
about the awful mortality in
Indian prisons. It crops out in all your
papers: fever & cholera, cholera & fever
and the doctors with one or two brilliant
exceptions knowing nothing about how to
analyze to treat ordinary disease
manifestations & because they are so
laying the blame on the old devil
contagion just as firmly in this
country. Old women were burned because
cattle died of bad treatment. Can nothing
be done in this matter. Could you at
the India Office not take it up &
deal with it? A century ago we
in England were so well up in jail
fever that we could kill not only
prisoners, but witnesses & judges at
trials, I believe we once killed a Lord
Mayor. Thanks however to Howard & next to Sir Josiah
Jebb & other prison reformers our
prisoners go out better in health
than they came in . Here is a noble
filed for reform in India. Who will
lead?

[end 9:701]

ff181-82v, February 16, 1870, Frere letter to FN re a visit from Dr. Cunningham to FN, embossed IO

unsigned letter draft, ff183-85, pencil faint, rough JS hand [end of Feb 1870]

f183

Sir B.F.

I have been particularly impressed with the facts mentioned about the village arrangements in your essay on missions. It appears as if the absorption of all village administration into departmental administration were inevitable. If this be so and if there be no prospect of reorganizing the village system could we suggest to Lord Mayo any steps by which the villagers themselves might do the ordinary work of cleansing & keeping the ground about in proper order. Finding & [illeg] under [illeg] & the like. A periodical visit from an inspector would be useful & perhaps necessary but there might be some means of doing the local work daily. Could printed handbills telling the people what to do & its importance to health to do it answer a good purpose, or how could we forward these village reforms.

[10:105]

[end 10:105]

f184 [ca. Mar 24 1870] pencil note, rough JS hand

Sir B. Free

I have received the enclosed letter from Calcutta. I shall have to reply & acknowledge the honour they have done me, but I ought to do a good deal more than this if you will be so kind as tell me what you think about the association at Calcutta & whether from your knowledge any good would be likely to come of my proposed letter to them. It occurred [?] to me that if they were people who were moving in the right direction, that I might use the opportunity for writing such a letter on the social aspects of the health question in India especially with reference to what the people might do for themselves, as if translated & printed would make a sanitary tract that might do good. This could not interfere with the letter you asked me

184v

to write for you, because it must occupy different ground & the two letters might finally do good together.

But as I know nothing more of the parties than this letter contains I should not like to move without your advice.

f185v

?

Proofs of
the answers to Dr Cunningham

[upside down]

What

Sir B.F. & you proposed
for the letter he asked me for
was
extracts from the red book
& adaptations of my letter
to Ld Mayo
of which the M.S. is *there*.

ff186-90, March 25, 1870, re a reply of FN to Lord Napier and problems of decentralization, 22 Prince's

ff191-91v, March 29, 1870, re a proposed visit, 22 Prince's

ff192-98, Wressil Lodge, Wimbledon, June 1, 1870, re a miscellany of Indian affairs

ff199-202, June 16, 1870, re FN's paper for the Calcutta Social Science Association & translation of it, embossed IO

ff203-06v, June 23, 1870, re FN's Calcutta paper, embossed Athenaeum

ff207-08v, July 6, 1870, re a paper of FN's to be put in type by Mr Plowden, Wimbledon

ff209-12, September 22, 1870, re help from India for the Franco-Prussian war effort in hospitals, etc.,

ff213-5v, August 31, 1870, re the enlisting of Indian officers under the Red Cross banner

ff216-9v, November 18, 1870, re Sir B.F.'s return to India and the work to be done, embossed IO

unsigned letter draft, f220, pencil faint [ca 27 Nov 1870] FN

To Question

Sir B.F. on his views

on present position of matters

with special reference to

1. Delta improvements
2. Village "
3. Stations "
4. Progress Reports
5. Selecting some place for complete improvement.

ff221-22v, December 2, 1870, re the lack of information about the actions of the Government of India, embossed IO

ff223-23v, December 8, 1870, re a proposed visit, 22 Prince's

ff224-27v, May 27, 1871, re problems in India, embossed IO

ff228-28v, May 30, 1871, re a proposed visit with thanks for Mr. Chadwick's memorandum, embossed IO

ff229-34v, Feb 14, 1874, re the death of W.E. Nightingale and Dr. Livingstone 22 Prince's

ff235-36, Feb 19, 1874, re a planned publication of FN's and her letter to Miss Livingstone, 22 Prince's

ff237-42, India Office, March 16, 1874, re FN's paper and the preference for Canals over Railways in India, India Office

ff243-45v, 22 Princes Gardens, Hyde Park, W., March 29, 1874, re FN's book, and asking for a contribution to the Livingstone Fund, indulging self on birthday reading her admirable little book, has interleaved a few remarks, thanks for letting see it, sends papers of a Quaker Mr Long re Alsatian illeg, asks her to send copy of her book to Ld Salisbury

ff246-47, April 9 [1874], re thanks for her contribution to the Livingstone Fund, printed 22 Princes

ff248-50, 24 Chapel Street, Belgrave Square, May 5, 1874, re FN's book on Irrigation in India

ff251-52v, May 15, 1874, re FN's reply to a letter from a governor of Madras, embossed IO

ff253-54v, June 24, 1874, re FN's forwarding to Sir B. F. of Mr Randall's paper and the excellence of Lord Salisbury as Secretary of State, embossed IO

ff255-58v, July 1, 1874, re the difficulties of providing facts for the English public embossed IO

ff259-68, Sept 25, 1874, re Lord Napier's Minute and improvements to Barracks in India, embossed IO, with coloured underlining

ff269-76, Wressil Lodge, Wimbledon, October 19, 1874, re FN's letter to Lord Salisbury and rearrangements at the India Office and lack of progress in India, with coloured underlining

ff277-79v, January 14, 1875, re a plan for financing FN's "schemes", embossed IO

ff280-88, January 15, 1875, re Lord Northcote's reply to a letter of Lord Salisbury & FN from Wimbledon. I return Lord Salisbury's and Lord Northbrook's letter with many thanks. The latter is satisfactory in some respects. That Caesar shd at once sit down, and write 6 sheets of 4to letter paper, to show he is taking proper care of his Legions, is satisfactory, as proving that your letter moved him, and that the subject greatly interested him. But I had rather he had sent a note from his Minister (Col Dickens) or some "Department" to show he had stirred them up, and I wish he had written less as he wd have spoken from the Treasury Bench, in one of those expls to prove that everything is as right as poss. Entirely satisfactory to the Treas majority, but not quite conclusive to the one questioner, who knows better than anyone else, what is wanted.

For instance, taking merely what he says himself.

Fort William Hospital water supply "pure water in carts from the Calcutta Mains." Is not a first re for a perfect hosp pure water in pipes, and cisterns ad lib? Not in carts like champagne and bottled tart fruits?

Aligove. Do Do. To native troops the water supply is even more important than to Europeans, for they cannot qualify bad water with rum and porter.

Barrackpoor Do Do.

Hazareebagh. All honour to Lord Northbrook for withdrawing the troops from the fever hot bed barracks. But ought not someone to be hanged for leaving troops so long in such barracks, so often, and so long since condemned? & is nothing doing to build better barracks at Hazareebagh? It is just one of the places where there ought to be the best of barracks, for your moveable reserves. A naturally healthy place, in a good & strategical position, in a cheap well supplied province, whence you may anyday withdraw all our fighting men, and leave only women, invalids and children to keep the barracks aired, without risk of their being attacked by mobs, or insurgents. It is in such positions that your reserves shd be massed. Not in front of great native capitals like Hyderabad & Gyalior, whence in troublous times you did not withdraw a man, without strong remonstrances from your pol agents, and frightening all the on fighting folk out of their wits.

Umballa. The raja of Puthala will give as much water as the queen and all her Eur troops and subjects in India can drink, and will never ask or accept if he can help it, a sixpence for the water,, for his is a loyal Indian Prince & a gentleman. Butour ?? Engineers are charged to send in estimates for none but "remunerative" works, wh means water works for irrigation, and Puttiala does not see why his fields and ryots shd be deprived of their water to supply ours. Let Ld Northbrook say to his engineer, "For the present never mind irrigation or navigation. Send n a project for drinking water for the Umballa Barracks." and the thing will be done. If he says to the raja of Puttiala "our Umballa soldiers want water, what will you take for your water springs?" He will say, as the Hittite did to Abraham, "the land is thine, it is worth so much, but what is that between me and thee?" & then Ld N. may buy the springs and do what he likes with them, but we are trying to get a good irrigation project out of Eur soldiers' drinking water nothing about, for it is the most flagrant case in India, and it is not easy to write of it with any patience./. /He will see the spirit in which the raja of Putialia will act, if rightly handled, if he will refer back to the records of how the rajas grandfa dealt with Sir G Clark when Lord Ellenborough bought Ressouke? Hill to house his troops returned from Cabul?/

But it mt be well if Lord N wd burn everything ever written about Peshawar & read nothing wh does not date subsequent to 1879.

There can be no doubt that the best thing to be done now as 20 years ago is

1. To have your main Punjab frontier garrison reserve, part of the Indus, at Rawal Pindee, with a good bridge over and tunnel under the Indus, defended by small but strong works at each end, a railway to Peshawar and no more troops at Peshawar than can hold securely a small strong isolated fort, so strong and small that the garrison can be relieved weekly if nec by railway from Chevat, the Indus passage forth or Rawal Pindee.

2. A strong moveable force at Chevat, or anywhere else where the water is good, and site healthy, west of the Indus.

3. Better mgt [and more]

Lord Salisbury is at Osborne. I hope he is not going to quarrel with Mr Disraeli and resign, nor to leave us to go to any other Cabinet post, even as chief. He is by far the best man the India Office has ever had, and even when wrong more right than others when most right.

ff289-90, April 22, 1875, re a paper of FN's on "Land Revenue", printed Wimbledon. Here are a few more words on the subject deal with in the papers I left with ou on Madras settlements. There are a few good letters on the subject in Sir Thomas Munro's Life. They were written by him to his sister, a sensible practical Scotch woman, and explaining as to such a person who knew nothing

of any land tax but the Scotch, what he was doing in his early days in India.

I hope soon to return your proofs. I trust they will give people in England what no one has given them yet, an intelligible and readable sketch of what "Land Revenue" means, in the East.

But as often as I get to work on that which I really care for, some very trifling but very imperative obstacle throws me off the rails.

I hope you will not let Sir G Campbell go. He is a very great loss to us in the India Office

unsigned note, f291, pen

f291

Where are to be found the "proper
"Revenue accounts" of each of
"the Irrigation works; from
"which the exact results of
"Each work can be seen."?
vide M. & M Progress
Rept for 1872/3 p.74

unsigned memo, f292, pen not in FN's hand, JS on embossed WO

f292

Memo for Sir B. Frere
Returns ~~for~~ of the revenue
derived from irrigation
works are published an
nually in the N. W.
Provinces Punjab and
Bengal. In Bombay and
Madras they are not
framed on a system which
will enable ~~the~~/such results
to be accurately determined.
The returns may be
seen in the Record Dept
India Office

ff293-301, May 5, 1875, re land revenue controversy in the India
Office and Notes for a letter to Lord Salisbury, printed
Wimbledon

ff302-06, India Office, June 25, 1875, re Irrigation statistics,
embossed Athenaeum

ff307-09, Wressil Lodge, Wimbledon, July 9, 1875, re Mr. Clark's
drainage plans and the visit of the Prince of Wales to India,
printed Wimbledon, coloured underlining

ff310-27, September 27, 1875, re difficulties between the India
Office and the Government of India and irrigation matters,
printed Wimbledon, with coloured underlining

ff328-29, October 6, 1875, re a proposed visit, from Wimbledon

ff330-31, October 8, 1875, from C.F. Frere re FN's offer of rooms
for the Frere family, printed Wimbledon. I return, by my father's
desire, the enclosed, wh I fear ought to have been sent back long
since. My mother who wd write herself if time permitted begs I

thank your kind love for your thoughtful & kind offer of rooms for tomorrow night wh my father told her of, but of wh we are unable to avail ourselves as my mother wishes us all to return home straight from the station.

T is pleasant to think the expedition begun tomorrow is followed by the good wishes of so many real and valued friends.

f332, envelope, postmarked LONDON SW OC11 75

ff333-38v, October 10, 1875, incomplete from C.F. Frere re Sir
B.F.'s trip to India, printed Wimbledon paper

Add Mss 45781, Indian correspondence, microfilm, many drafts by JS; 337 folios, 109 pages, Adam Matthew reel 22
ff1- f204 Lord Stanley;
ff205-337 Pattison Walker, many typed copies of FN to him, originals in LMA1 H1/ST/NC1

f1 Stanley letter to FN 14 May [1857]. I fulfil my pledge of sending the Draft Report of the Purchase Commission which will be considered in a few days, and probably made public, with the evidence in a few weeks. Routine declares it to be printed for members only and I am therefore bound to beg it may be considered, as it is marked, confidential.

You will see that the D of Somerset (the writer) wants to leave the rank of major purchasable. Herbert proposes to do away with purchase as regards that rank also. Sir De Lacy Evans TALKS of a place for entire and immediate abolition of purchase: but his plan has not appeared and we doubt its existence. The other military members have proposed nothing: Mr Ellice strongly objects to any proposition to alter things as they are, and I fear Lord Grey, whom we examine tomorrow, inclines to the same view. The Duke is well disposed to extend his plan so as to include Herbert's amendment and this, I hope, will be done. May I beg for the return of the paper in a few days as we have yet to go through it paragraph by paragraph. Believe me, most faithfully yours, Stanley

f5 Stanley note to FN 23 July [1857] re papers will be asked after tomorrow. As you appeared much interest in the subject of Military Education, I cannot refrain from sending a copy of that most interesting Report upon it which has been delivered to members this morning. It will probably reach you from other quarters, but as there is a chance of its not doing so, I venture to forward it. I enclose also Lord Grey's evidence on which your comments are painfully true. He knows better, if he would give his intellect fair play. Yet he has done us service by exhausting the arguments in favour of purchase, he shows to how little they come. With the evidence is a second copy of the Draft Report, altered at the Commission on Sat. None of these papers are yet published, though the first is largely circulated and its contents will soon be in the newspapers. Pray do not trouble yourself to return any of them, if you think them worth keeping, nor to acknowledge this note, occupied as you must be.

I live in hope of being allowed to receive some future instructions on the great subject of which we talked last week. The publication of the Report sent renders discussion inevitable. But everything rests with Lord Palmerston, who in this Parlt can do what he will.

Most faithfully yours

f6 Stanley letter to FN 30 July 1857 forwards papers lately

issued re barracks and Netley. I take the liberty of forwarding two papers lately issued: one on barracks, the other on Netley hospital, which may possibly not have reached you, though I think it likely that you will have recd them from others.

I gave notice of the question suggested by you: as witness the enclosed; the answer I recd was finally given, to the effect that the Commission had not yet reported nor was it thought that it would do so in time to have the subject discussed this session.

I infer from language told to me that there is a wish to be able to say, when the illeg contained in the evidence become public, "We have already applied a remedy."

I suggested the illeg executive commission to Sir J. Ramsden, and am now drawing up for him a short statement of the strongest facts embodied in the evidence. He, at least, is not yet apathetic.

Do not trouble yourself to acknowledge this.

f4v NOTES ON CHOLERA AND MORTALITY PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; or JS?

Since August/56

1 women's

2 children's mortality

f8 undated. printed notices of motion 2. Lord Stanley, to ask the Under Secretary for War when the Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the state of military barracks and hospitals will be laid on the table.

f9 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley, Oct 7 1858 to thank her or War Dept for volumes on hospitals, her name on title page. I do not know whether I have to thank you or the War Dept for the very interesting volumes on Hospitals &c bearing your name on the title page. I think however they must come from you, as they arrived safe, sent to the right address, and without loss of time, which could not reasonably be expected to happen if they had been despatched from the other quarter!

Let me thank you for them, and if not sent by you, let me at least thank you for the pleasure I expect in reading them, that pleasure is lessened only by one circumstance, the fear that such unceasing labour on behalf of the health of others may have injured your own.

f11 Stanley letter to FN 23 Oct 1858 re Dumdum affair, will be fully enquired into. I can only say at this moment that the

Dumdum affair shall be fully enquired into. I had seen it but I thank you nonetheless for reminding me.

f12-60 printed India Public Works Department letter 28 July 1859 re provision of barrack, accommodation for troops since Mutiny printed letter to Lord Stanley No. 17 of 1859 from Public Works Dept with plans

f62 Stanley letter to FN 3 June 1861 thanks for report of barrack commission. I lose not time in thanking you for he report of the barrack commission: I had not seen it, and what I have this morning found time to read of its contents appears to me fill of hints that will be useful for our India Enquiry.

One frequent source of disease in English barracks --their situation in overcrowded localities--does not exist in India. I think also our barracks built within the last 15 or 20 years are constructed with some attention to ventilation and to the avoidance of overcrowding. Where we seem to have been most in fault is in the choice of sites with reference to the healthiness of the surrounding districts. This consideration has been completely disregarded in some cases, and its importance underestimated in nearly all. I am satisfied that we shall do much good by our report: the taking of verbal evidence I hope to close within the next six weeks: much of the documentary evidence however has still to come from India. The recess will give ample leisure for digesting illeg when the only difficulty will be to condense the results within sufficiently narrow limits to give them a chance of being read.

f64 Stanley letter to FN 8 Sept 1862 re remarks on sanitary evidence have arrived and he will read. Your remarks on the sanitary evidence could not have arrived at a more convenient time, for here I shall have ample leisure to read and consider them.

I had hoped that we should get the report out before the close of he late session,...not yet accomplished, farther delay matters little. Reports are not criticised even if they cd be published and circulated at this time of year.

Comparatively unoccupied myself, I feel a delicacy about pressing Dr Farr to finish his work, which is for him a voluntary addition to many other labours. Nevertheless, if he makes no sign, a fuller reminder may be expedient.

|It is vain to expect that the mass of evidence which we must publish, and which economy compels us to publish in small type, will be read. But I will take care that your remarks, which people will read, shall occupy a prominent place.

In a few days I will send my remarks on your paper, if any occur to me, but in truth there is no one fit to criticise your opinions on a subject so peculiarly your own.

f66 Stanley letter to FN 12 Sept 1862 has read through her evidence, thinks "Lord Dundreary" had better disappear from p 10 and p 16. I have read through your evidence from first to last. I

think "Lord Dundreary" had better disappear from p 10 and 0 16, but that is mere matter of taste. No other comment occurs to me. Indeed the points touched upon are of such a nature that any judgment upon them would be worth far less than yours. It is right to mention that I have not the evidence with me and have therefore not been able to compare your description of the station reports with the reports themselves. But as your paper is yours, and not that of the Commissioners, I do not feel bound to verify every reference. The more so as I did illeg the accuracy of the whole.

The promise of payment to Dr Farr is new to me. It would be well if some official record of the promise having been given existed for form's sake. I had supposed the commission to be unpaid. We have been expensive already in the way of printing. Was the rate of remuneration mentioned? Whatever pledge has been given must be scrupulously observed, but I fear the Treasury who have given us a hint once already that we are spending a good deal of money. There can be no question as to the value of Dr Farr's services. The paper marked confidential is returned with many thanks. I here say thought of the subject and to me its difficulty increases with every consideration. The common answer given to one who states the difficulty to be solved is "Let the soldier marry." But this is easier to say than to do. If wives and families are left at home, little good is done; if they are taken abroad, the life is miserable, the cash enormous, the mobility of the force diminished. We pay the inevitable penalty of having a standing army which is, of condemning 100,000 young and middle-aged men to a life which is hardly compatible with family ties. I do not pretend to see my way, but I know that English opinion will never allow the regulation and recognition of abused which they justly consider as contrary to morality and I shall be glad accordingly to believe that no physical good result would follow from doing that which in England or under English authority, cannot be done.

In all you say about employing the soldiers I agree fully. Unless officers' reports mislead, it seems admitted that soldier will not as a general rule employ themselves except with the prospect of being paid for which they do. The experiment must be tried by many people, in various ways: it is enough if we can impress on the minds of officers that more to do and less to drink is the first requisite of the army.

The part of our case which comes out best is that which relates to drainage and ventilation. There we have a tangible definite evil, and the means of getting rid of it are simple. In that I look forward to a great saving of life, if we can keep our blue book from going the road of most blue books and getting shelved. All will depend I fear apathetic. But I have faith in the good sense of Sir G. Lewis and he is not likely to be appalled by the length of a report,, or by the supposed dryness of statistical details.

f70 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 18 Sept 1862 re missing fragment of his last note, re Dr Farr.

f73 Stanley letter to FN 21 Nov 1862 from 23 St James's Sq I have looked through your remarks and like them better the oftener I read them. The style alone (apart from the authority which your name carries with it) will ensure their being studied by many who know nothing of the subject. They will admirably relieve the dryness of an official report. I hope every India and English newspaper will reprint them, in extracts at least. They must be circulated with our report, separately from the voluminous mass of evidence which we can't help appending. You have added one more to your many and invaluable services in the cause.

ff74-75 NOTES ON SANITARY REFORM IN INDIA, AND DEATH RATES
LIGHT PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY JS; DATED DECEMBER 1862

f74

[Dec 1862]

[9:125]

I send you the abstract of
the Sanitary state of
Indian Stations. You will be
at no loss to discover that
the condition of the Country &
people -- & as a necessary
consequence of our Army
are very much the same
as the historians of the Middle
ages describe as once the
state of Europe.

~~Me~~ High death rate
occasionally augmented by
pestilence is the result in
India as it used to be in
Europe This is the
great problem of the future
civilization in India
Europe had to toil its
way up to safety by its own
efforts. India may now
have the advantage of European
experience & science if it
is properly gone about
Unfortunately those returning
You will see tell us
nothing of what might
be done. And anything
they do tell us in this

f74v

on this head is rather what
should be avoided. In these
things we should be guided
by evidence & the evidence
is certainly against the
conclusion that Sanitary
improvement will be self
developing in India.

What is wanted is to bring
vigorous effort to bear on
it from the country
while the administration is
left in local hands. I
see now other way out
of the difficulty

We have a very good
illustration of "the way to
do it" in Lord Herberts
subcommissions of practical
working men who were
appointed ~~Army into~~
~~the~~ to give practical effect
to the principles laid down
in the Report of his
Royal Commission & this
experience clearly points

f75

out the necessity of organizing
a working Commission in
England to ~~order~~ draw up
some general practical
scheme for India, and to
guide it for a little time
~~and~~ until ~~fr~~ correct
principles of improvement
are in operation in each
presidency

[end 9:126]

f76 NOTES ON INDIA COMMISSION, BARRACKS IN INDIA, PENCIL;
HANDWRITTEN BY JS; DATED APRIL 1863

To *Lord Stanley*, J.S.

I have ~~had~~ just had a
letter from Sir J.L. in
which he says he will be
very glad when the India
Commission report comes
out, so that what
changes are necessary
may be at once adopted

He says there are
now barracks in India
for full 25000 men
under [illeg] &
many are urgently
required. would it be
possible to expedite the
work by calling in all
the copies of the report
sent to the ~~Comm~~ members
of the Commission so
that we might
have a revise in
which either all
their views are
represented
[illeg]
[illeg]

f77 Stanley letter to FN April 26/63 re Sir C. Wood. I shall be
in London again tomorrow, and if Sir C. Wood consults me about
the proposed Bombay hospital, I will advise him not to act
without consulting competent sanitary authorities.

I hope our report will not now be long before it appears.

ff78-v NOTES TO LORD STANLEY? ON EDITING A REPORT, PEN;
HANDWRITTEN BY JS I think; UNDATED (April 1863?)

f78

if you will send all the
papers we will put every
thing right & return a
copy to you with the
corrections in M.S. & also
all the copies which have
been returned from the
~~Com~~ Members & then
you will be able to

judge the whole.

f78v

~~I hope the~~

It is of great importance to get out the report as soon as possible but ~~if~~ we have never yet received the copies sent out, so as to put every thing in a consistent shape. As it was sent out the report was only an arrangement of the matter requiring very careful conduct to see that it was after all logically accurate. No reference here also all to be ~~put~~ revised, and fresh references to facts put in

There are two or three days work on merely editing to do.

f79 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 30 April 1863, has spoken to CW re hospital question, he is quite prepared to acquiesce in their suggestion. I have spoken to Sir Charles Wood about the hospital question and I find him quite prepared to acquiesce in our suggestion that nothing should be done until the plans have been referred home. With regard to the employment of a particular architect, he demurs, knowing nothing personally of Mr Wyatt, and I cd not say much, being in the same case. Why nor refer to the War Office, who have done a great deal of building of late?

ff80-81v NOTES ON THE INDIAN ENQUIRY; PLAGUE IN CALCUTTA, PEN; JS
hand, DATED MAY 18, 1863

I am afraid from what I have heard [9:432]
of the Saturdays discussion on
the report that there is great
danger of the Indian enquiry
arriving at no practical result.

I suggested the ~~Commission at~~ propriety of using
home experience in dealing with Indian Sanitary questions,
because I knew exactly from
the evidence & from the
rebuts from Indian Stations
that there was no hope of any
practical reform & bringing up
in that quarter. It is
absolutely necessary that there
should be local Commissions in
India to carry out the works
there, but it is as certain as
experience can make it that
those commissions constituted
as they must be out of the
best available material will
not of themselves arrive at
a good practical solution of
the multifarious questions they
will have to deal with. Were
it practicable to pick out
a sufficient number of able
men in England & send them
out to form these Commissions

f80

there would be a fair hope of success, but I think I know well what the probabilities are of this being practicable, & I feel assured you would hardly be able to get men for money to undertake the work. that is men thoroughly up to the Sanitary question in all its bearings.

[end 9:432]

If then you stop with the Recommendation of ~~Indian~~ Commissions in India, your report will amount to this "See how bad things are in India. They have grown up into their present state under the guidance of ~~the~~ such account of practical ability & intelligence as was obtainable in that country. Four Commissions out of the same material & go on as before. It is true that great practical advances have been made in Sanitary works at home & the result has been a reduction of the Army Mortality to one half

f81

but it is not necessary to ~~under~~
make use of this practical
experience in India."

On what principle could ~~n~~
you be justify for example the
introduction of home experience
at Ceylon & keeping it out
of India. ~~They are~~ Their
diseases are the same. The causes
are the same, the troops are the
same & the measures required
would be similar.

The formation of a home
Commission was proposed because
Your Ld thought that the
Indian Government would not
like to have to do with the
W.O. But there is no
reason why the W.O should
not help with its own
Commission if the India
Government does not object.

Unless some arrangement
can be come to, it really
matters very little practically,
whether the report is issued
or not. It will merely be
a nine days wonder or the

f81v

first army report [illeg]. That report did nothing of itself.

All the real practical

[9:432]

work which has led to the

~~re~~ great reduction of

army mortality has been done by ~~none~~ persons determined

to carry out the principles

which were laid down

in it:

~~to do it &~~ who would

not be turned aside by

any obstacles: and who

from long previous experience

were competent for the work.

[end 9:432]

Nothing can shew more

clearly the magnitude of the

work ~~you~~ that has to be

done in India than ~~was~~ a

passage in the Indian intelligence

of todays times. They have

had Plague gradually surrounding

Calcutta, coming up from

the Sonderbunds where Cholera

took its origin epidemically

& spread over the world.

Plague did the same in

the Nile delta & thence spread

over Europe in the Middle ages.

It requires no great lengths

of vision to see what is likely

to follow from this Sonderbund

Plague in the present

state of Indian Cities.

f82 Stanley letter to FN on Ho of Co embossed 18 May 1863, can't say more at this moment in answer to her letter, shall be very carefully weighed, re local people of India. I can say nothing more at this moment in answer to your letter. I can that it shall be very carefully weighed. It does not, I think enter into the idées of any of us to leave the whole initiative in sanitary matters to the people in India. But the local commissions are necessary and we rather shirk from increasing their number by advising the creation of another at home. The whole question will however be reconsdiered illeg

f83 JS notes I think re Stanley's ...

f85 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 9 July 1863 re Mr Baker acting as Secy since he took chair of commission

f86 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 10 July 1863, has written to ask Dr S to call tomorrow to discuss his and her letter re Baker's title

f90 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 12 July 1863 re Mr Coningham's [Cunningham] ...

f92 Stanley letter to FN from Ho of C embossed 14 July 1863, only got last note after answering its predecessor re Sir C.W. consulting him about report

f93 Stanley letter to FN on H of C embossed 17 July 1863 re printing

f95 Stanley letter to FN on H of C embossed 24 July 1863 has had several conversations with Sir C W, considers it settled that report will be acted upon

f97 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 21 Aug 1863 recd her letter of yesterday and one from JS which he has answered directly

f98 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 28 Oct 1863 her letter requires consideration and so only ack it, shall probably see Sir CS and hear his opinion on the matters in dispute

f99 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 31 Oct 1863 returns Sir C Trevelyan's letter, papers shall follow, can call upon her towards end of week of 9 Nov

f100 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq on t=Travellers embossed, his coming to town delayed, can call tomorrow at 3:00 if suits

ff101-04 NOTES ON CORROBORATING SANITARY IMPROVEMENT PLANS WITH
INDIANS PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN (yes); DATED NOVEMBER 1863

f101

Course of proceeding recommended [9:253-54]
by your R. Commission for carrying
out the Sanitary improvement of
Indian Stations & towns.

-
1. to vest the executive in a local
authority, or commission of Health,
for each Presidency
 2. to give to these Indian authorities the
advantage of home experience in the
details of Sanitary improvement: --
leaving to the Indian authorities the sole
responsibility of accepting or rejecting
any information or advice sent to them
 3. as a Commission already existed at
the W.O., *advising* not only at home
but at all foreign stations, e.g. Ceylon,
close to India itself the R. Commission
proposed, if the S. of S. for India did
not appoint a special Commission, that
Indian members should be added to
the W.O. Comm'n, & that the joint
Commission should advise, & transmit
information to, the India authorities

f101v

This was done.

England is now constantly consulted by foreign Governments who send Commissions to obtain information as to nearly all exciting practical experience of Sanitary works. both as regards civil & military improvements.

Why should not her own Indian Empire do the same?

Neither interference nor control is proposed in any case, but simply to offer to the India Commissions our OWN accumulated experience.

The constitution of the Presidency Commissions comes, first, in importance.

Next would follow the question of local authorities already discussed in India.

Each Presidency Commission should present a report to the Gov't once a year.

f102

According to present understanding,
the connection between the Pres'y Commissions
& the home Commission would be: --

1. The W.O. has been already asked to
prepare model plans of Barracks &
Hospitals, these are now considerably
advanced. [These plans, when completed
2. will be sent to the I.O.
and, if sanctioned, transmitted
to India.]
2. The Pres'y Commissions are to send
home to the S. of S. for India any plans
or proposals of their own which,
before being sanctioned, will be sent
to the home Commission for advice
& information.

Besides this, however, which is good
so far as it goes, the home Commission
should help the Pres'y Comm'n by a
direct statement & description of the
kind of sanitary works, improvements
etc. applicable to Indian Stations,
as described in the stational Reports.

f102v

If the home Commission were
authorized to draw up such a statement,
it would clear away at once most of
the presumed difficulty in applying
improved sanitary methods to India.

[end 9:254]

The printed documents (from Calcutta)
upon the R.C.'s recommendations,
raise difficulties which could never
have occurred to the writers, did they
know what is being done at home.

A repetition of similar objections
should be prevented: --

by doing from India what the
S. of S. may not like to do from home --
viz. obtaining from the home Commission
all the information & suggestions that
they can send as to the best means
of initiating & carrying out sanitary
improvements at the Stations, together
with the most improved appliances
for Barracks & Hospitals.

f103

If this were done, almost everything that can be done in the way of laying a good foundation, on which the Pres'y Commissions could afterwards build, would have been done. If they get into a wrong groove at first, & commit themselves to wrong forms of proceeding, great cost may be uselessly incurred and to recede may not be possible.

It would seem a very natural thing for India to say: tell us what you have been doing, that we may be better able to know how to go about our work.

The Calcutta Municipality have sent their Engineer to England to obtain advice with regard to water=supply & drainage. The home Commission commands the advice of men engaged

2

f103v

for years (& the highest authorities) on these very questions.

Here is the very case arisen. But the Commission have no power to meet it.

The position is: --

1. the Pres'y Commissions are not yet constituted, & no forms of proceeding has been agreed to.
2. the home Commission (W.O.) is preparing plans of Barracks & Hospitals at the request of the I.O.
3. the I.O. will refer to the home Commission plans prepared & sent from India (that is, according to Sir C. Wood's Dispatch, Aug 15, 1863)

The points in which the position is still defective are: --

f104

1. The home Commission has no power to draw up any information on suggestions, on the general subject of the sanitary improvement of Indian Stations
2. it has no power to entertain applications for advice, as in the present case of the Calcutta Municipality alluded to.

ff105-113 NOTES ON CONDITIONS REQUIRED FOR SANITARY DRAINAGE
PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN (yes); DATED FALL 1863

f105

Present proposal of "Instructions"

1. to prepare plans of Barracks & Hospitals
2. to consider & report on any plans of Barracks or of Sanitary improvements sent from the I.O.
3. to assist in the provision of Officers of Health for India & in the question of educating Cadets of Engineers in Sanitary principles

N.B. With reference to 3, the proceeding would be as follows: all Medical Officers for the Indian Service are educated in Military Hygiene at Netley for Regimental purposes. But an Officer of Health, such as is contemplated by the R. Commission, requires more special manning -- & ~~And~~ with reference to Indian climates. It is proposed that the W.O. Commission,

f105v

with its Indian representation, should prepare a scheme of instruction for the guidance of the Professor of Hygiene. And, in communication with him, should keep the India Gov't informed of all students who, from their special aptitude & diligence, had shewn themselves peculiarly adapted for this line of service. It is a common mistake to suppose that Medical men generally have either the knowledge or aptitude for Officers of Health.

As regards the training of Engineering Cadets, they have at present the right by warrant to receive instruction in the principles & practice of Sanitary works. And the W.O. Commission would simply prepare a scheme adapted to Indian conditions, as in the other case.

f106

As to the "impossibility of water= drainage in a country *with dry seasons*." {illeg vide?} Lord Stanley 24/11/63
This question as to the barrack drainage of Indian Stations, under the local conditions presented by Indian climate, has been really answered in Lord Stanley's Report itself. It is there recommended that Barrack & Hospital latrines shall be drained *when practicable* only. -- not that there are cases where it would be "impracticable", but because it would have been unwise to have advised the improvement in every case without personal examination, and because what might appear impracticable to one Engineer, would be, or rather might be, practicable to another. Of this latter fact we

f106v

have daily experience.

The conditions required for Barrack & Hospital drainage everywhere are the same

1. water
2. drains
3. outlets
4. favourable levels

1. *water* Barrack latrines can be effectually drained with a gallon of water per day per man. This would be enough for India. But even ~~doubling~~ **doubling** it, you will see how very small an amount is necessary -- say 2000 gallons a day for a full Regiment. From this quantity must be deducted the present amount used for washing latrines, probably not less than half a gallon to a gallon per man per day. As every station has, or will have, baths, it would be perfectly possible to use bath water

f107

for supplying the latrines, so that a little ingenuity would enable any special supply for such to be dispensed with altogether. The water for such, any way, would be but a fraction of the amount required for the Station, & would make little perceptible difference in the amount for troops. The Meteorological tables show that every Station in India has rainfall sufficient for its purposes. But at most stations, there are rivers, large wheels & tanks. Even where there are none, a well, sufficiently deep, worked by an engine, would afford the supply necessary, even at the end of the dry season. At most of the Indian Stations, the dry season is shorter than it is in other warm-climate Stations where water could be obtained from wells.

Malta & Gibraltar are drier than any Indian Station. Yet we have done all this at Malta & Gibraltar.

f107v

Water is the least difficulty

2. *drains.* Earthenware or iron pipes are now so universally introduced for such purposes that it is only necessary to name them. The new earthenware latrines we are now introducing in warm climates answer perfectly.
3. *outlets.* This is the main difficulty in India. But the worst, i.e. the most unhealthy & the largest, Stations, are all near rivers or the sea. It is chiefly the smaller Stations where outlets would be difficult to find. But even this cannot be positively stated. And, besides, by the system of sewage irrigation in partial use for Barracks at home, the entire sewage of the largest Stations could be disposed of without any risk whatever. There is not a Station in India which would not require more water & manure for its Soldiers' gardens/ alone.

f108

2.

than the whole sewage would yield,
except perhaps the low wet Stations.
And these are close to outlets into the
sea or rivers.

A few thousand gallons of water
per day are nothing in India. If the
latrines were discharged after sunset,
there would hardly be a vestige of the
water next morning. In the day,
perhaps a single hour would dispose
of the whole of it.

4. *Levels.* In all the low flat districts
there would be a difficulty about
levels, as they are usually understood.
But we have the same difficulty in
low flat districts at home. In such
cases, we get over it by laying the
drain pipes well, & raising the latrine
6 or 8 ft above the ground in this
way the contents can be discharged
at a sufficient distance to prevent
nuisance.

f108v

We have even gone beyond this in cases
where the surface is flat, & where there
is no outlet of any kind. In these cases,
the latrines are discharged through
drain=pipes of greater or less length
into carts backed down an excavation
in the ground under the end of the pipe.
The care is covered & water=tight and
there is not the slightest nuisance.
In other cases, where it would be
unnecessary, to remove the whole every
day (as in the case of Detachment Barracks)
we should discharge the latrine into
a covered iron tank, which in its turn
would be discharged every three or four
days into a manure cart. [This is to be
done for certain barracks at Malta.]

So much as to the difficulties
(or non=difficulties) in drainage of Stations.
*Had the India Office given the home
Commission proper instructions, that
Commission would have been able
to state all the cases, & to give all the*

f109

information necessary. but as it has no Instructions, it must do the best it can.

As to *native towns*: --
how best to drain these:
no doubt there would be great difficulties at first on account of native habits. But you are ware that town drainage, as we use it, first sprung up in the East. With us it is merely an importation, and at the present day drainage is carried out, more or less, in most Mohammedan cities, where the personal habits of the people are similar to those in the East at the present day. Given any native habit, and we will undertake to get from our designers a perfectly practical apparatus for meeting it. I might know the rude domestic convenience of Turkish establishments. They are dangerous, no doubt. But this arises

f109v

not from the principle but from the manners of carrying it out. The habits, described in the Indian Station reports, are exactly the same; but the appliances are far ruder than those of Western Mohammedans. All these habits require a larger water supply at present -- and no more would be required to enable the same habits to be continued in a healthy way, & in a more civilized way.

Proper conveniences with water could be provided for every house in India, or for any group of houses, so as to leave the habits as they are, except divesting them of danger. Of course, so great a reform would require common sense in carrying it out. Railways & their example have done more for spreading a desire for improvements of this kind among the working classes at home than all preceding efforts. In India

f110

3.

examples are wanted, such as we have advised for Malta. It would not be difficult to take a few houses & try. The advantage would be seen at once, others would desire to follow, and it might happen in the end that European usages would be preferred.

[In a few days, our Mediterranean Stations Report will be out; and I shall send you a copy, with your permission!]

As regards *water=supply & drainage of Indian towns generally*: -- the principles should be the same as those for home use. Whenever there is a fall, you can of course drain. Even a tidal fall is sufficient, as may be seen in some parts of Southampton. If the level is below the level of the outlet, then *steam=power* must be used, as at West Ham & other places.

f110v

As regards water, there is scarcely a city in India where a good water Engineer would fail in supplying enough.

There is no fear of the *practicability* of the recommendations in your Report. The Evidence is enough to shew this.

f111

So far as the main causes of disease
are concerned, viz
bad Barrack & bad Hospital construction
want of drainage
defective water=supply
surface overcrowding from want of
Barrack accommodation
want of means of occupation
intemperance
want of suitable Hospital conveniences
filthy Bazars & towns

it is difficult to see how India
could have been freed from these
causes of disease in three short
years, which is about the average
time since the Stational Reports
were signed.

That they may have done
something in the way of
cleansing
ventilation
ablution arrangements
is probable. Seeing that they could

f111v

hardly escape the consequences of the
printed queries put to them & of
the replies which they made.

Besides which, they have had,
by their own shewing, the General Report
of the Barrack & Hospital Improvement
Commission before them. But the
measures recommended in this
report are applicable to cool climates,
like England, more than to theirs.

But even on the subject of
cleansing, we have, as you know, the
Report of a Government Commission
on the last Cholera, dated July 21,
1862, and its Appendix dated some
months *later*, an Extract of which
I sent you. conclusively proving
that, *up to these dates* nothing
whatever had been done in the
country to which the report refers.

You have also two printed

f112

documents of the Public Works Dep't at Calcutta, dated June 26 and Sept 9, of this year of grace (or disgrace) 1863, giving *at these dates* a worse account of the city than the report sent to your R. Commission in June 1860.

There is also another document from the Principal Inspector Gen'l of Bengal (still in your possession) dated October 16, 1863 -- in which the recommendations of the Commission are virtually accepted as necessary.

The danger is, that partial improvements will be put forwards in proof that little requires to be done. The recommendations of your R. Commission must be carried out entirely. The Indian Sanitary problem consists of many factors. And it will not do,

f112v

in dealing with it, to leave out any of the factors.

India can be cured neither by Engineers nor by Doctors nor by Sanitary Officers nor by Military authorities, but by a concurrence of all of these.

And the end aimed at is: -- healthy Barrack & Hospital accommodation enough of good water, properly laid on good drainage a proper Sanitary police over Bazars & towns abolishing means of occupation & other things indicated in your Report.

A moment's consideration will shew that no {illeg Adjutant?}=General & no Engineer & no Inspector=General can bring about this reform.

Your report asserts this, in asking for the appointment of Presidency Commissions to deal with the questions. There is indeed no other way of reaching them.

f113

And the Army Death=rate will never be *permanently* lowered by any other course of proceeding.

The Death=rate of the new soldiers, poured into the country since the Mutiny is, of course, considerably lower than past averages. You will hardly believe it: but I have actually seen this fact adduced by Indian *Engineering* Officers in proof of the assertion that the small improvements they have carried out at a few Stations have made the Army healthy!

f119v NOTE ON THE RECEIPT OF A LETTER FROM LD STANLEY PEN;
HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED FEBRUARY 13, 1864

Received
on Feb 13 -- and
purport forwarded
to Dr. Acland (by post to Oxford)
on Feb 13.

FN

f114 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 1 Dec 1863, saw Sir CW yesterday, went over sanitary question, though not so fully as wd have wished, re Sir J L appointment, great step gained, he knows what is wanted and has no prejudices in favour of existing military admin, shall see him tonight; "But why should not he see you? The plans are in the and in yours...." re Col Norman's memo, the answer I recd is as follows. It is not an official document; it was not meant to be made public and Sir Ch Wood thinks it ought not to be so. He has written to Lord Elgin to request him to call on the military authorities to make their defence in such a form as may admit of its being laid before Parliament. The substance of this case is "what the Commissioners have stated was in the main line true, while the *data* on which they ground their report were not true, but these returns are from three to four years old. Much has been done since then, much is doing and the report only describes a state of things which we have seen the evil of and are busy in getting done away."

I see that the authorities here believe this to be the truth. As to the instructions to be given to the Home Commission, the answer was "any plans illeg may be prepared in India shall be sent home and laid before it and no plan shall be acted upon till this is done; but in the meantime there is nothing for it to do."

Let me repeat-- you must manage to see Sir J.L. He does not go till the 10th. I am positive in respect of this while subject

is so peculiar that advice from you will come with greater weight than from anyone else.

f117 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 17 Jan 1864 has written ed of Westminster but address changed and may not get, glad she has succeeded with Edinburgh. I have written to the editor of the Westminster, but he has lately changed his address and may not get my note. I am very glad you have succeeded with the Edinburgh. It is just as well we shd see the case of the illeg in print so as not to fight in the dark if attacked in H.C. This comfort me for the Quarterly -- I always told yo that Lawrence's appointment would remove 50 percent of the difficulties Many thanks for your note.

f118 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 10 Feb 1864 expects answer from ed of Westminster in a day or two, will ask Sir C W for papers, thanks for her letter.

f119 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 12 Feb 1864 asks her to send Dr Acland's article to ed of Westminster, Dr Chapman, 25 Somerset St, W. I have settled for its insertion although I suppose Dr C will claim the usual editorial right of revision. ..., has settled for its insertion?; FN note on **f119v**

Received
on Feb 13 and
purport forwarded
to Dr. Acland (by post to Oxford)
on Feb 13
F.N.

f120 NOTES ON SENDING SANITARY APPLIANCES TO INDIA LIGHT PENCIL;
HANDWRITTEN by JS; DATED FEBRUARY 1864?

a Nursing

1. Normans report to be sent to us.
2. To set right Sir C.W. about journals
Coming to us direct from India.
3. To urge formal practical steps
in regard to implement of
Stations. Surveys under & a
as recommended in the
remarks
4. Or take a few Stations on trial
5. We intend asking Sir C. Wood
to let us make a collection
of Sanitary appliances to send
to each Presidency. If this
India offer will bring to
small cost.
6. There are papers e.g. Col
Crommelin's barrack & hospital
plans. The minutes of
the Commissions &c in which
{illeg} or much that is
good that we would
like. to support all that is
good by a very strong opinion
just as we give our opinion
against what is bad
- 7 McPherson or an Engineer
8. we would like to see their prepared Sanitary Codes
not to discuss methods, but to see that everything was
provided for

[FN: written vertically across the right side of the page]
I take the Sacrament to day

Lord Stanley comes to morrow.

It exhausts me much less to {illeg} you
the day before than the very day he comes.

f120v NOTES ON SIR C. WOOD, LORD STANLEY AND STRACHEY
PENCIL AND PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED seems FN

When then Sir C.W. said to Strachey
he could not put the screw on you,
what did he mean?
Yes but that won't encourage Sir C.W.
But We want him to send things to you.
But Sir C.W. will tell this story to Ld Stanley
About his having ~~a~~ received a paper from {illeg}
{written vertically, along the bottom right side of the page}
What are your subjects
at the W.O.?
{in pen, partially off the page}
tingale
Norfolk {illeg H?}
Park Lane

ff121-22 Stanley to FN Feb 22 1864. St J Sq. Col Norman's report
will certainly be made public as soon as it arrives. It is
written with that view. I don't believe it has come as yet.
Surely the only discipline illeg... We were desired to report. We
have reported. In so doing we have said things of which the
Indian authorities complain. They say they have an answer. If so,
it is for them to produce it. We here had the last word as
matters now stand. It is no part of our duty to goad them into
continuing. In fact our official duty is discharged; all that
remains is to vindicate our good faith and accuracy shd both or
either be attacked. But to opine beforehand that they will be
attacked looks like an uneasy conscience on our part. At present
our assertions are uncontradicted. What have we then to complain
of?

I am sorry hear of your troubles with the W.O. Lord de grey
I think wishes well to the object, but he has no leisure and not
absolute power.

f123 Stanley to FN March 1864. A copy of the Med Stations report
has been sent me - whence I don't know - therefore I return yours
at once, with many thanks. I shall read it in the Easter recess.
The more I see and hear, the more I am satisfied that we have
been substantially right in which we have said. I hear nothing
yet of the answer. If it does not come soon, I shall enquire
illeg about it -- but it is not expedient to seem to challenge
opposition of which I don't doubt we shall have enough.

F124 Stanley to FN March 12 1864. Dr Chapman was with me two days
ago, complaining that he had not yet recd Dr Acland's article. Id
don't know the dr's address, can you tell him to send it? The
West Rev ought to be out soon and the printing will be delayed if
it does not arrive shortly. Dr C is editor -- his address ...

Just got your letter, many thanks. I never drafted Sir J.L.'s will or power; the question now is, what can HE do? I could push on Lord de Grey easily -- Sir C.W. is less amenable, and I am afraid in his heart thinks he illeg. Still I cant say that he is actively hostile. He will not stand in the way if urged from Calcutta to proceed, and safe from Parl attack. I could call some morning if you prefer to discuss all this verbally.

F126- Stanley to FN March 25 1864. Thanks for the letters those of the 15th and 16th. |It is satisfactory to see that a move is being made at last. |I did hope a great deal from Sir Hugh Rose, although perhaps I have not valid reason for saying excepting general opinion of the character of his mind.

I go out of town on Monday for a week, after my return I shall have ten days clear of any very heavy work, from the 18th onwards many hands will be full with the London railroad. This is in case we have anything to settle.

Much will depend on Sir Hugh Rose's successor. It is not impossible Sir Hugh may wish to come home next cold weather, and then will be the trial. You would hardly suppose that the H.G. at one time were bent on sending out Sir R. Airey." The fact was so. Ld de Grey, however, has a veto and in him I have a good deal of confidence. The above is secret.

F128 Stanley to FN April 15 1864. I return the paper which is excellent and shows that at last Calcutta is awake. These abuses have existed always but custom made them invisible.

Pray send me any papers that come. I shall have time to read them, however busy.

F129 Stanley to FN April 16 1864. Thanks for the papers. They are returned herewith. The pamphlet signed Hygiene is very good and probably very true. I agree with you that the way the Hugly question was taken up in haste after long neglect is not a sign of good judgment. But better that there ... inactive. They have illeg I have great faith in Lawrence!

f130 Stanley letter to FN 14 May 1864 returns her papers, thinks "the sanitary question seems now safe not to be neglected. You must feel that your labour has not been thrown away.

FN: pencil note:

How little he knows

f130v FN pencil note on verso of above

I must write to Trevelyan
upon all this
It is a long while since I
have written him. He

sends me something by
almost every mail. Now
I want to write to him about
the whole
I can shew you your Notes for
that letter.

f131 Stanley letter to FN from Ho of Co embossed stationery 23
May 1864 return her papers with thanks, "The only news you send
me which is not good is that of Sir John's intended return in two
years. I hope however he may think better of it when the time
comes. all else most satisfactory

f131v note in pencil
If you can't do just what
you like upon that
authority you don't deserve
to be a Commission

f132 Stanley letter to FN May 23 embossed H of C, 23 St J Sq St
James's Sq but on Ho of Co embossed stationery asks her tell him
whether she has authority for saying that Sir J Lawrence stays in
India only two years? I had not heard of it before, and not find
that Sir C. Wood is unaware of any such intention on his part.

f133v NOTES ON HOSPITAL ESTIMATES PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN;
UNDATED

Can you answer a plain question?

7 : 10 :: 25 : 35
W.O W.O W.15. W?

7 : 25 :: 10 : 35

The Hospl Estimate of
25 includes brewing.

f134 Stanley letter to FN on embossed H of C 23 May 1864 not to be alarmed, his fault to write in haste re Sir C.W. Pray don't be alarmed! I fear it is my fault that when I wrote in haste left an unpleasant impression. You were not named or alluded to in the conversation with Sir C.W. I only told him that "some of Sir J.L.'s friends believed he had only gone out for two years'" and asked if that was true. Nothing was said that could lead to the suspicion of your being my informant, not that I see any harm in it if you had been so known. But your letters are quite safe in my hands -- safe, I never fear being quoted or referred to. You are kind enough to write to me freely and frankly on subjects which interest us both and it is a privilege I value too highly be the risk of losing it.

F135 Stanley letter to FN 29 May 1864 sends back Calcutta letter. It is satisfactory like all we have had from that quarter since Sir J.L.'s appointment.

f136 Stanley letter to FN on blue Ho of Co embossed 14 July 1864 Again thanks for your two notes, which I ought to have ack earlier. You will have guessed that last week my hands were rather full. The session is now virtually over, and before I go finally out of town which will be about the end of the week I shall have ample leisure to help in any matter on which I can be of use to yo. So pray send for me without scruple.

f138 Stanley letter to FN on embossed blue H of C 18 June 1864. I send back your papers above as you probably want them. They all tend to strengthen the case. I have been waiting for the answer which is to demolish our report. There seems no anxiety to produce it. And I can grasp the reason. But caution rather than controversy should be our object. My hands are pretty full at this moment, but I shall always be able to read documents that you are kind enough to send me.

f139 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 25 July 1864 re delays. I

don't wonder that the delays of the illeg should try your patience and I admire the more the care and success with which you keep all illeg show of annoyance to yourself. I had rather be criticised by anyone rather than you!

I am only passing through town today. There being nothing left to do; but shall be again in this place on Thursday and ready to wait upon you if any matter wants settling. If not I can only wish you health -- success is sure to come -- and beg that you will remember the value of your own public service and not by overwork endanger its continuance. Pray ensure a caution which I am sure I am not the first to give. Every day convinces me more of two things -- first, the vast influence on the public mind of the sanitary commissions of the last few years -- I illeg in the way of spreading ideas which otherwise would have been confined to a few persons -- and next that all this has been due to you and to you almost alone.

f141 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley Prescott 7 August 1864 May I ask if you know anything of a Dr Duncan Macpherson, who writes from Madras, having a grievance? He refers to you as having known him in the Crimea. A single line will be enough in answer. It is a shame to disturb your badly earned holiday@

f142 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 19 Aug 1864 Let me congratulate you on Sir Hugh Rose's letter. It is one sign among many that the cause is passing. Sir Hugh (I think) is not a man who wd go strongly against or even much precede, the general cause of opinion, and his support is on that account all the more valuable as a sign of the times.

I foresaw this effect and was therefore anxious if it cd be avoided. Not to get into a Parl fight with the authorities, which would have created hostility and opposition. As it is, they have had nobody to fight with, and the report has made its way by the force of plain fact. Next year, every paper that the office will consent to produce may be illeg for. I will do this with pleasure. I return the paper.

f143 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 5 Oct 1864 ack and thanks for printed minutes and re Calcutta letters say Lawrence in good health and likely to continue so; "everyone speaks well of Sir J.L.--that is, every European; among the natives he seems less popular. He will leave his mark on India."

F144 Stanley letter to FN on embossed Travellers stationery 23 ST J Sq 25 Oct 1864. I think Dr Leith ought to be answered. His position gives him consequence; he will be thought to speak with authority. But it is essential not to make an enemy of him; impossible to be too courteous or too cautious. Have you considered the best form of answer? A letter to Sir C. Wood, apropos of Dr Leith's remarks? I think we can hardly correspond

with him (Dr L) directly. One difficulty occurs to me. The commission is non-existent. It has ceased to be. Illeg its corporate capacity. No one therefor can be authorised to write in its name. The letter writer must be that of an individual, whose shall it be?

I am quite willing to be responsible for the defence, but I don't much like putting my name to a letter which is not my own. You will I think understand this feeling. Would Dr Sutherland undertake the championship? I wd write to express agreement or in any other way commit myself to his opinions. I think the duty would naturally seem to fall on him. But this is only a suggestion. Pray tell me what you think.

My address after Thursday will be Knowsley.

f146 Stanley letter to FN 2 Nov 1864 re delays because of session and Dr Leith's report. You will think me as bad as the War Office, but I am in the thick of quarter sessions which in this crowded county are a long business; and my writing time is limited. The papers are returned with many thanks.

Sir C Wood has sent me finally a copy of Dr Leith's report, which gives an excellent opening for following the course which you recommend, and I will write to him today or tomorrow in that sense.

f147 letter to Ld Stanley 4 Nov 1864 with undated note by Stanley to FN re Dr Leith's sanitary report, already despatched to barrack and hosp improve commission

f148 Stanley letter to FN from Hatfield on embossed Honi mal etc 18 Dec 1864. Your note of 13th reached me last night, having been forwarded from place to place. I will look over the draft and return it in the course of the next few days. Dr Leith's report is at Knowsley where I shall be on Tuesday and it will be well to compare the two.

I fear Trevelyan is knocked up financially. Per contra Lawrence keeps his health better than anyone expected. Mansfield I think is well as in feeling and he will be next C in C beyond question. So on the whole we are doing well.

f149 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 26 Dec 1864 I will ask Sir C Wood to send you or rather to send to the W.O. commission such papers as those of Col Crommelin officially. But the matter is so entirely deptal that I can only suggest to him the course you propose, and leave it to his judgment to act as he may think best.

I will return the draft reply to Dr Leith either today or tomorrow.

f150 Stanley to FN Knowlsely Dec 26 1864. I have pleasure in sending back the draft reply to Dr Leith with only one or two

amendments suggested. It seems to me well done, moderate in tone and conclusive in argument.

f151 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 22 Jan 1868 not to be discouraged, 2/3 of her work is done, the rest will soon follow, enemy gives annoyance because conscious of defeat, re Leith report, cannot lose by discussion. Don't be discouraged, dear Miss Nightingale, two thirds of your work is done, the rest will soon follow. The enemy would not be so much disposed to give annoyance if he were not conscious of defeat. You have not seen this his answer -- probably it has been replied to in great part in the comments on Dr Leith. Besides, we cannot lose by discussion. Any way, the practical work may go on while the controversy is pending? My idea of the matter is that the Indian authorities only want time to set things a little in order -- that they are willing to mend, but not inclined to give us the credit of having put them in the right way. That is nature.

Recollect Sir J.L. is entirely with you.

Don't think me as bad as the W.O. if I beg to unengage myself for Wednesday. Some little affairs will keep me here a day longer than I expected. May I say Friday instead of Wednesday -- or Saturday, whichever suits you best--and any hour you please? 3 p.m. wd do very well for me. Very truly yours

f153 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 12 Jan 1865 Don't be afraid of trusting me with "confidential" letters. They are quite safe; I can give you no satisfactory hero. Sir C answered briefly (at the end of a note on other matters) the purport of his answer I do not fully understand, but he seems to object to direct communications between the san commissions in India and that est here. He appears to wish that all shd pass through him -- that is, through his office. I may misinterpret his meaning, for he writes concisely and not very clearly, but this is what I think he intends to convey. Cd not you not act on Sir J.L. who is certainly with you and get him to suggest the thing that you want done?

I am here for ten days more -- then in town, where if convenient to you we can discuss these matters verbally.

I believe it is time that a good deal of the apparent diminution in mortality is due to invaliding. People tell me that the same rule holds as to the |English part of the force, nor are discharged illeg may not die in the army. You will know he thinks more certainly illeg

f155 Stanley letter to FN on Ho of Co embossed. I have just seen Sir C.W. He argues as to the expediency of sending home a yearly report of the san state of stations in each presidency -- will see about sending the Bengal and Madras san officially to the commission, was not illeg they are in England. As to pledging

himself to send all reports to the commssion. Is afraid of a controversial corr. But has no wish in general to withhold papers -- regards the commissioners his advisors -- only fears disputes arising between sanitarians here and in India.

The remarks on Dr Leith are to be sent out. He will look at our suggestions (p 22) and consider the pressing of them. Does not quite understand the proposal to have a san engineer or medical officer to report on each station and send home plans. Argue that the plans shd come to England for revision but is not illeg pressing of illeg . So he asked and I had no answer ready.

This I think is the substance I am not very busy and could call some afternoon if you wish a fuller consultation. Excuse a hasty note.

f157 Stanley letter to FN from Ho of Co embossed 20 Feb 1865 Sir C Wood's answer tonight was exactly in the sense of your note. Therefore there was nothing to be said to him on the subject. I thought disinfectants were really of use -- that they made a bad smell and obliged you to open the windows!

f158 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 13 March 1865. Many thanks for your note. Lawrence's opinion of himself is characteristic. I sometimes fear in him excess of energy, never neglect.

As to Gen Peel, I don't know what answer to make. I know him long and well, but on military matters he has right to his own opinion and is not likely to illeg it in deference to mine. Shd we need and I have an opportunity before he speaks, we will try but possibly he speaks tonight and in that case I can be of no use, being myself in hospital with a bad cold.

f159 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 24 March 1865. If you have not recd the Parl paper containing the Indian govt's reply, I will send it.

A reply may be expedient: I think it will be so. But it shd be short and clear, not going into detail, and putting only the pleasing points -- the sending home of sickly men is very important. It makes all statistics illusory!

f160 Stanley letter to FN 25 March 1865 from St J Sq. I will send the paper today. It has come out under the authority of Sir J.L. therefore it ought not to illeg kick his feelings. I will ask Sir C.W. if he will publish the reply to Dr Leith. "By whom shall the reply be signed?" The Commission is dead: we cannot revive it. But members of it have a right to defend their official opinion, thoroughly, and do so officially.

I would sign a letter to Sir C. Wood if Dr Farr and Dr Sutherland signed it with me. We might fairly assume to represent the sense of the Commissioners generally . But this is offered only as a suggestion.

f162 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq on Ho of Co embossed. I have got from Dr Farr a statement of the returns he wants, and shall move for them today or tomorrow. A fair statement of the case is required for our vindication and comment now, by provoking opposition, injure the cause; which was the reason why I did not wish to fight last year or the year before. I am sorry to hear of a new obstacle in the shape of deficit; the Indian income tax cannot be taken off and even with it revenue will fall short by £800,000 A short illeg is one cause; war in Bhaster another.

f163 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley, Prescott 22 Apr 1865. "Quarter sessions prevented an earlier reply to your note of the 19th [Der 15/71]. I will speak to Sir C.W. on the gaol question and also on that of the state of Calcutta. I shall be in town again on Monday and the matter is better discussed verbally.

f164 Stanley letter to FN on Ho of C embossed, from St J Sq 15 May 1865, has reports, will return to her, re unhealthiness of Calcutta, will write again to CW re that matter and about gaols, has gone over Farr's draft, likes, will sign with Sutherland. I have read the two reports which shall be returned to you in a day or two: the state of things relating to Calcutta describes is quite enough to account for the unhealthiness of the place. I will write again to Sir C.W. about that matter and also about the gaols.

There can be no objection to the War Office Commission advising, by consent of all parties, not in illeg, are questions not relating to military affairs within your area of reference?

I have gone over Dr Farr's draft and with a few verbal alterations like it very well. He and I ought to sign it and I think Dr Sutherland also, unless he objects, as we three had much to do with the original document of which this is a defence. Pray never speak of being troublesome; it is a real pleasure to me to help you a little in the great work; I know no other way in which my time can be made equally useful. I fear there are grave difficulties ahead in the way of finance; that of India is less prosperous than it looked two or three years ago and our suggested reforms are very costly.

f166 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq on Ho of Co embossed 18 May 1865. I send back the papers. What you say of Sir John is quite intelligible to me. I send back the papers which you say of Sir J. L's despondency is quite intelligible to me. The talk is, India could find money for half of what ought to be done. She can just go on on interest loans, and with the present outlay. But that is all. Loans in time of peace are very objectionable. Civil expenses cannot be set down to army. The only question is, can we do with fewer troops there? It is a risk, yet possibly it may be better to incur it, keeping the troops which we do maintain in

better health. Then the moral obstacles are great, Europeans, as Sir J. says, are birds of passage. They have no interest in the country. Natives are not accustomed to deal with affairs on a large scale nor is the power in their hands. The only comfort I can suggest is to recollect how very short a time has passed since sanitary matters began to be looked into, and how much has been accomplished. We must trust to time, throw away no chances, be active and be patient. What is Bombay doing? They are rolling in wealth of solid silver -- as a ryot lately was seen with the tires of his cartwheels made of that material.

f167 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 9 June 1865. Want of money, as well as of energy, is at the bottom of the difficulty. Delays are not likely to be illeg when illeg would entail an expense which the authorities hardly know how to illeg. I will see Sir C. Wood and do what I can. Moving in the House is of little use, unless it were in order to get papers. Parliament doe snot really care about the subject and least of all this much, when the elections are filling all practical heads.

f168 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq on H of C embossed, Many thanks for the paper. We seem to be going on in a very satisfactory way. I have not been able to see Sir C.W. lately. He has been ill with the gout. But I have a note what you wish me to tell him.

f169 Stanley letter to FN on H of C embossed from St J Sq 19 June 1865 cannot see Mr Willis, winding up session, will speak to CW today or tomorrow. I fear I cannot see Mr Ellis. We are writing up the report and my hands are rather full. But I will speak to Sir C. Wood today or tomorrow. [reply to Der 15/82?]

f170 Stanley note with returned paper 20 June [1865]

f171 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq June 23 1865. Writing to you, I may write frankly. It is very hot weather -- we are at the end of the session -- I am going out of town -- and having nothing particular to do till the illeg I feel tis lazy to undertake the meeting. This is the talk -- if they come to me officially I must make some better excuse. But I shall never (I hope) be too lazy to help on the Indian sanitary work. I am waiting till after the budget to have a good discussion on that matter with Sir C.W. He has been ill -- is so still apparently -- and wont have his head full of figures. But before the end of next week I hope to have it out with him.

f173 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 27 July 1865 has been reading her report. CW gone to Hamburg; not aware of any real work being accomplished at Madras while Sir W.D. remains there and re assistance of Mr Mills. I have been reading your reports

with some disappointment. Sir C. Wood is (I believe) gone to Homburg to get his gout cured, if not gone, he is on the point of going. Therefore nothing can be done for a mail or so. I am not sanguine of any real work being accomplished at Madras while Sir W.D. remains there. He has nearly served out his time, much will depend on his successor.

Mr Mill's assistance is well worth securing; it remains to be seen what he will do in Parlt, but his name alone will be of importance, if you can in any way publicly identify him with the sanitary cause.

What your informants say of Sir W.D. is no news to me; he has been the same in everything. He had once a considerable reputation and I believe earned it. But his energy is exhausted and his self-will (always strong) continues. PS I am ere for a illeg

f175 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 17 Aug 1865. Thanks for the papers; you shall have them back in a day or two. I never thought Sir C.W. hostile, only a little more indifferent than one could wish. He seems mending in that respect.

Col Durco?? has succeeded as military member of Council (at Calcutta) -- I have some influence with him and have written strongly, though in general terms to press him to act. Sir J.L. is zealous, but sorely perplexed between zeal and economy. We are advancing steadily if not very fast. Publicity will in the long run do much we want. People withstand being illeg when once they know it.

f177 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 21 Oct 1865. You will have grasped by my silence that I was not in England. Your note of the 4th has just reached me. I hasten to send ack Dr Leith's paper. There is nothing in it to complain of. If Sir C. Wood means to publish it we cannot complain. We have had our say.\ I shall be here or at Knowlsely for some time to come and quite ready for any communication.

f178 Stanley letter to FN from Hatfield. 25 Oct 1865 thanks for letters [920 Der 15/88 and /89], will return papers tomorrow, Mr Ellis can call on Saturday but he doesn't have his address. Thanks for two letters. I will return the printed papers tomorrow. If Mr Ellis likes to call in St James's Square at 11 (eleven) on Saturday morning I will see him with pleasure. Not having his address, I am compelled to tousele you with this message. I have no other day available. I have on one or two occasions scolded Sir C.W. as to giving more power to the san commissions; he seems hostile. I do not know why. Wd it not be well for Mr E. To see him? I cd manage that. On second thoughts, I will keep Mr E's memo till after I have seen him. It may be of use.

f179 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq/ I return Dr angus Smith's pamphlet. He understand his subject. Thanks for sending it. Pray pardon me for putting you to the trouble of altering an engagement. If ear I may not be in town on Sat as early as 11 (eleven), which time I named for seeing Mr Ellis. If he could make it at 1 (one) or 2 (two) there wd be no risk of my missing him. If he cannot come on that day I shall be in London again prob within a fortnight.

f180 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 29 Oct 1865 re figures she sent on gaol mortality in India, "really startling" didn't know how bad, saw Ellis yesterday. The figures you send me in reference to India gaol morality are really startling. I know generally that the state of things was bad, but I did not know how bad it was. I will move for any papers which may be wanted. I have taken no note of the figures in this case, as you may have fresh and more certain information before Parl wants (we shall not be called together until January) and when the time comes I will ask you for a brief résumé of the allegations. We ought by all means to have an enquiry. Rely on any help I can give.

I saw Mr Ellis yesterday. He is sensible and energetic. I gave him a recommendatory letter to Sir C. Wood. But to me it appears that Sir J/L. who has to work the sanitary scheme ought to take the initiative in recommending any change which he desires. I can see no reason against his doing so. At any rate it might be done in a private or semiofficial letter if for personal reasons he does not wish to send a dispatch on the subject. I fear the impending renewal of political agitation will not be favourable to depts work. Still we must do our best... Papers are returned herewith.

f182 Stanley letter to FN from St Jas Sq on House of Lords struck out stationery 15 Nov 1865. Thanks for your letter [Der 15/91]. I am not the least surprised at your friends being indignant. Sir W.D. has been in every respect inefficient. He has never shown energy at Madras except in opposing everyone who was disposed to be energetic. But pray tell them to be patient. His time is up and we have the comfort of knowing that we can't change for the worse.

A more permanent evil is that Sir C.W. --for what reason I know not--is evidently jealous of the san commissions having power. That I cannot wholly remedy. I shall be in illeg and always at your orders if wanted.

f184 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 3 Jan 1866. I scarcely know want to say in answer to your letter of the 28th [Der 15/92]. My confidence in Lawrence is so great (except on one or two question in no way connected with sanitary matters) and my belief in his sincere desire to advance the sanitary cause so strong, that I shd be disposed to accept without criticism his

judgment on a change with the practical effect of which he must be more conversant than we can be at this distance. And there is this to consider -- that a plan of his will probably be adopted, while if we pick hole sin it the end may be that nothing will be done.

I really do not think there is any use in my writing again to Sir C.W. on the subject. He has evidently his advisors and some prejudices of his ow. It is easier to act directly on the G.G. If so wish e to do anything say so, and I will gladly help in working out your views. I shall not be in London (probably) till the end of the month, but remain here, with plenty of leisure to read any papers you may send.

f186 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 29 Jan 1866. If there is any sanitary question to be settled -- or unsettled-- I am in town now permanently and can call upon you any day. So pray tell me if I am wanted.

f187 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 1 Feb 1866. Your note of this morning is the only one I have ever recd of yours which I read without pleasure -- since it announces your illness. May the next bring better news!

I don't wonder at the I.G. being idle. Sir C.W.'s broken head has been (I am told) a serious shock to his constitution and he came up to town prepared and ready to resign. But some of his colleagues scenting the vacancy began to fight for his place and Ld R was obliged to ask him to stay on. In this provisional state of things no wonder there shd be some confusion.

We shall not, I think be very busy until after Easter. The reform scheme is delayed till then and the secret is admirably kept for the best of reasons hat ministers don't themselves know which they never to do. I hear we are to have a splendid budge and the financial success is expected to cover possible failure elsewhere. Now for Lord Napier. Your instructions are a law to me and if I can get hold of him I shall be glad to stick our doctrines into his head. But I don't know Ld N personally and can hardly ask him to come here to receive a sanitary lecture. All I can say therefor is that I will bear it in mind and take any opportunity that may offer. There is a work to spare which I hear of Ld N is that he is a man of talent, quick and judicious, but not likely to err on the side of over-zeal, possibly too much disposed to take things easy. Such is the usual tendency of a diplomatic being. I think his bargain for the illeg of the G.G. ship likely enough. It is an incredible will which difficulty nor of illeg to banish themselves for a term of years when Bombay has ... Sir C had to my knowledge 4 or 5 refusals --yet it is a post of great power and £12,000 a year. We are too fond of our clubs and too indifferent to fame! I live in hope of being told you are recovered.

f190 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq on Travellers. I have done all in my power as to Lord Napier. I met him last week at dinner, but had no good opportunity of talking over sanitary matters. I have offered to see him if he wishes it before his departure, as he has only three or four days in England and my acquaintance with him is limited to a single interview. I cannot press him farther. Be quite sure, always, that what you write to me is safe. I never show, lend, or quote any letter of yours.

f191 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 11 April 1866. One line only to acknowledge your letter of the 8th [Der 15/95]. I found it yesterday on returning to London. My hands are rather full and I will put off answering it till next week.

f192 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 15 April 1866. I return your papers with apologies for having kept them so long (the press will have told you that this has been a busy week among politicians). I have so few opportunities of seeing Lord de Grey as we did sit in the same House that any influence I might have had over India in the time of his predecessor is greatly diminished. There is no reason why he should consult me and he does not do so. If I can help you and Sir J.L. you know that I will gladly do it, but at present I do not see any step to take. Nor could the attention of the H of C be called to India matters just now. We shall have no change of ministry, so make up your mind to go on dealing with the same officials. You speak of Sir J.L.'s despondency: from his letters to me in 1858, I think that with all his energy he is inclined to see the black side of things. All that teaches me is favourable to his reputation and popularity in India. He has nothing in that way to complain of.

If you ever wish to see me, I am always at your orders -- given only a day or two's notice.

f194 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 24 May 1866. I return the papers recd and considered. My hands are rather full just now and I can only say I agree in thinking that prison inspectors are not illeg wanted for the plans in which Sir J.L. proposes to put them. Your require a higher class of administrator. In the main I go with your letter. Only are you into extending the positions of sanitary administrators rather widely when you make it include country drainage and irrigation? Town drainage is a smaller matter. I will try and be at your disposal whenever you wish to see me. I am not now likely to leave town for some time.

f195 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 4 July 1866, will assist sanitary cause to best of his power, real difficulty is delicacy about intruding into a colleague's dept; Ld ?not obstructive, will stir him up on sanitary issue, asks to put him in direct communication with her. Want of time will never prevent me from assisting the sanitary cause to the best of my power. The more

real difficulty is the delicacy which one feels about intruding into a colleague's department. I do not think you will find Ld Cranborne obstructive and he is a good man of business. When I see him next, which will be very soon, I will stir him up on the sanitary question. It could be necessary that he shd begin from the beginning; he may fairly accept conclusions which we of various parties and in different positions have all agreed in.

May I put you in direct communication with him? I assume that you are not at present acquainted. Pray write to me if I can be of any use.

f197 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 6 July 1866. I shall see Ld Cranborne today (we go down to be sworn in) and will tell him the whole sanitary story and also say that I have advised you to write to him as you always have to me. To my great advantage. You will find him shrewd, industrious, and a good man of business.

ff198-201 NOTES TO LORD STANLEY ON DOORS & WINDOWS FOR INDIA
PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED JULY 10 or 11, 1867

f198

Lord Stanley

[9:576-77]

{in hand other than FN's} [Doors & Windows]

{in FN's hand} The enclosed papers India P.W.D 1st Ap No 61
1867 {not in FN's hand:} [Doors & Windows]

{in FN's hand} was sent to me by Capt. G. from the W.O.

for my opinion on the questions

regarding Ventilation raised in it.

But, on going over it it was easy to see that
questions were raised by this paper not
only of the greatest importance regarding the
future health of soldiers in Barracks & of sick
in Hospitals but involving the whole
question of Sanitary administrations in India
to such a degree that I have felt compelled
to send it to you as the Pres. of the India
S.C. in order that we may consider
what had best be done to save the cause
in India from administrative ruin.

The origin of the paper you will find
in the accompanying printed observations
of the Army San Com at the W.O. dated
May 11 1866.

You will see that notwithstanding the
opinion of the R.C. & of the Army San. Com

f198v

expressed in their suggestions
the P.W.D. had tacitly given the go by to
both & had adopted doors alike for
B. rooms & Hospl irrespective of local
position & climate. thereby exposing
both healthy & sick men to a large class
of diseases well known to have been
the result of this Door ventilation previously
carried out by this same Dep't.

The Army San Com thereupon prepared
these observations re=stating & re=
enforcing the case. And they were
sent out to the Ind Gov't?

~~In the first place,~~ you will see that the
facts speak for themselves & leave
absolutely no escape from the conclusions
of the R.C. about doors & windows.
Nevertheless the Gov't of Ind. with the
case open before them, instead of
proceeding at once to administration
send the decision of the R.C. together
with the remarks of the Army San Comm
all over India to the following authorities
for their opinion.

f199

Local Gov'ts and administrations

Local San Comm.

Med auth

Military "

Public Wks officers

Committees

& having obtained the replies of these various authorities & no authorities they put the whole into ~~the~~ somebody hands of whom

~~a Colonel of R.A.~~

~~a Captain of R.E.~~

~~And if you will compare even their imperfect analysis~~

for the purpose of being analysed.

Apparently the Secretary & ~~India~~ assistant

Sect. one a Colonel of R.A.,

the other a Capt. of R.E.

And the result is that an analysis of the various opinions is given in the Ind. letter which if you will compare with the decision of the Ind Gov't itself, not only bears out the opinions expressed by the R.C. & by the Army San Comm. but directly condemns the

f199v

conclusion at which the Gov't of India arrives which is, as you will see, to trust, the doors as the means of ventilation at all Stations & seasons irrespective of climate.

I need scarcely point out that with such a method of doing business which amounts simply to administration by universal suffrage, anything like progress in Sanitary reform is impossible. We have come to a dead lock thro' a vicious system of administration. In dealing with all Health questions, we require an active - zealous Executive, having sufficient knowledge, enlightenment & funds. Up to the present time, we have made no progress. The San. Comm'ns have been so ill arranged & so altered that you will see, by these documents, instead of being the Sanitary advisors of the Gov't, they are merely another

f200

element of discord & disunion thrown into the system.

And the question now for us is: -- what should be done?

All the best men are either out of the Sanitary Comm'ns or they are dead. And now appears to be the time for re organizing, the whole Sanitary administration.

Would you be so good as to take the whole matter into your consideration & let me know whether anything & what can be done?

The Sanitary part of the question comes before the Army San Comm. at its next meeting -- which will be on an early day.

In the mean time I am informed that the Sub=Comm, to which the matter had been referred had decided unanimously

f200v

against the Gov't of India, and in accordance {continued on f201}
As I must return the papers as
soon as possible for the meeting,
would you be so good as to ~~return~~
send ~~it~~ them to me when you have read them?

I wish I could give you more information as
to what has been *done* in India during
the last 18 months. But all we know is
that there has been nothing.

So far as we know, the work appears to
have been limited to reporting without
results & the changes in the Constitution
of the San Commission to save cost.
That really is all.

There are no Gov't Officers of Health
There is no Sanitary organization
properly so called
[There are one or two officers of Health Connected
with the Municipalities of Calcutta & Bombay. But that is a
different thing]

f201 [JS hand]

with the views of the Royal Commission, as well
as the Medical officers in India to whom
among others the question was referred
Namely to ventilate irrespective of either
Doors or windows and to use doors & or
windows & or both according to local
requirements of climate.

[end 9:477]

On exec

f202 Stanley letter to FN from FO 12 July 1867 I return the
papers sent with your letter of yesterday (missing). It shall be
as you wish., absolutely confidential. I cannot do much. My
present work, complicated with illeg and social ceremonies which
involve endless and useless waste of time -- and added to the
obligation of sitting night and day in the House -- is as much as
I can manage. To master the details of any question out of my own
line is impossible. I will speak to Sir S. Northcote in a general
way; but I do not think my interference will produce much result.
I am truly sorry that you can give no better report of the
sanitary question.

f204 Stanley letter to FN from Balmoral 5 Sept 1867. To convince
a Spaniard Italian or Portuguese of the uselessness of quarantine
--if it be useless, which I suppose is how the recd opinion is--
about as hopeless an undertaking as to convert the Pope to

Protestantism. To persuade them that dirt is unhealthy may be possible in the long run, but it will take half a century to do much.

f205 letter to J. Pattison Walker, Surg to Army, to FN from 50 Torrington Sq 30 Dec 1863, has had 18 years in Indian Army, returning from furlough with info to enable to reduce sickness and mortality of Army

f208v NOTES ON SANITARY LITERATURE VERY LIGHT PENCIL; UNDATED, I think by JS

unfortunately there is not much Sanitary literature applicable to warm climates The best digest of principles for Indian Commission is that contained in the Indian Commission report. The W.O. is having a reprint of its {illeg} with such {illeg admitted?} information or ~~{illeg}~~ {illeg} obtained and a {illeg passage} every thing {illeg} will {illeg} {illeg Me?} New Medical Regulations will inform your {illeg} Sanitary {illeg} {illeg line} {illeg officer?} & {illeg} you could no doubt {illeg expand?} from Your own knowledge

f209 letter of Pattison Walker to FN from Calcutta 28 April 1864, thanks for her letter of 10th ultimo, congratulating him on appt as Secy to Sany Comm for Bengal

ff215-16v NOTES ON THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS PEN; not by FN and date wrong

f215

My dear Walker,

I have read your manual with much satisfaction. I have long thought that the treatment of *accused* but *unconvicted* prisoners is apparent equally unwise & unjust. They are thrust in upon the other prisoners in too many cases -- so as to endanger their health as well as their own by {illeg} They should be well cared for & kept entirely separate from convicted prisoners.

f215v

until the time of trial -- often a period
of months, or all {illeg know?} -- {illeg arrive?}

I think variety of diet very important
but a thoroughly good garden would
supply almost all the variety {illeg needed?}
And till they is {illeg} -- you will not
have proper gardens -- for many {illeg magistrates?}
do not acknowledge their necessity & the
{illeg food?}, will not pay for -- or *forego payment*
pr -- the {illeg fruit?} that is requested.

Probably as many {illeg kinds?} of Citron trees as {illeg
is?} proper
would not be always necessary -- but
unless you plant a *leaf* you will work
actually at night for the wants for
the prisoners.

one of the {illeg prevalent?} concerns

f216

the {illeg} for is that "racing
economy" to which you allude.
for in at that. That is part one {illeg man?}
Why I would *insist* upon our {illeg}
Inspector General. Who are not interested
in the amount of net profits {illeg},
continuing to instruct & report. Officer
an {illeg interest?} in showing small expenditures
& large profits -- Inspector Gen'l of {illeg}
that month -- & the {illeg Gov't?} clutches every
price it can & drains or finds fault
a good deal according to the financial
{illeg units?}. -- Give *lots of air & room* in barrack.
make the men sleep off the {illeg floor?} & have
your {illeg} for {illeg invalids?} to work in. & the
blankets should be {illeg} lay {illeg} the

f216v

{illeg raisins?} end. your views will cause a slight {illeg domination?} in the net proceed to put & a large {illeg} in the {illeg water?} of {illeg}

I agree most heartily with almost every line in your {illeg means?} & don't see that I have added or have to add anything to what you have written.

[illeg]

21 March 1864

f217 NOTES ON DISPOSING OF DEAD BODIES IN INDIA PEN; HANDWRITTEN
I think by JS; UNDATED

The Commission appears to be proceeding urgently with its work.

The establishment of a chair of Hygiene is of the greatest importance for the future progress of the cause & the same should be done for ~~Ca~~ Bombay and Madras.

While introducing European or the laws of health you should not forget the natives. Could not the question of Public health be brought before any institutes or native localities for ~~discu~~ discussion? A well written little book or tract in the native language addressed to natives ~~and~~ explaining the laws ~~the~~ of health & how it is that their present habits lead to cholera & fever would do much good. & once such course of

f217v

proceeding appears the most likely to inform the Sanitary Commission of ~~these~~ those destitutes around Calcutta ~~upon~~ where the ~~re~~ remittent plague at present prevails.

For the government to shew a kindly intent in this way would be of most service to the cause & would remove prejudice.

The plans ~~& suggestions~~ asked for by Mr. Strachey are nearly completed & the cable will be sent out with general suggestions founded on ~~how~~ experience as soon as possible.

{in pencil:}

In regard to the very important question of dispensing of the dead. It would be worth while to confer with the different castes and ascertain

f218

what really constitutes religious burial. Then the whole question would resolve itself into the best practicable & most wholesome method of doing the work If cremation were adapted You could get excellent plans of application from this country where the proven has been applied to every purpose almost except burning dead bodies.

ff219-21 typed copy of LETTER TO DR. WALKER ON DISPOSING OF THE DEAD, AND TEACHING PUBLIC HEALTH TO LOCALS IN INDIA

f219

32 South Street
London W.
June 3/64

My dear Sir,

I thank you much for your kind letter of April 23 & its most interesting account of the proceedings of the Commission. It is doing its work vigorously & will be a blessing to India.

The establishment of a Chair or Hygiene is of the greatest importance for the future progress of the cause and the same

should be done for Bombay & Madras. While teaching Europeans the laws of health, do not forget the natives. Could not the question of public health be brought before any Institutes or Native Societies for discussion? A well-written little book or paper addressed to natives in their own language, explaining the very simplest laws of health -- how it is that their present habits lead to fever & cholera (if the causes of these two diseases

are made head against, all the rest will follow) could not this be compiled & circulated among the natives? I have already felt ~~tht~~ that, if you could take the heads of castes into your counsels,

disarm their prejudices -- how much might be done? -- I do not pretend to say how. But you have now, at the head of the Government,

the man of all others, who *can* do this & who *will*. Never had a Governor General before such knowledge & such power. I mean particularly with regard to the native races.

It is urgent that some enlightenment should be brought to

those districts round Calcutta where the remittent plague prevails -- in order to lead them to improve their own sanitary state & to allow it to be improved.

Could not hints, shewing a kindly interest in them by the Government, be put forth by the Government?

With regard to the very important question of disposing of the dead, would not the best plan be to confer with the different castes and ascertain what really constitutes religious burial. [This is what even the old Indians at the India Office here seem not exactly to know] Then the whole question would resolve itself into the best practicable & most wholesome method of doing the work.

If cremation were adopted, suppose your Commission were to send a Minute home, desiring that the War & India Office Commission here (Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission) should send them out the best plans of apparatus from this country, where

the process has been applied to almost every purpose, except burning dead bodies. [And even that has been considered.]

I was delighted to see Mr. Strachey's Minute (April 5) which was sent by the India Office to the "Barrack & Hospital Commission" in a letter of May 20, desiring them to send out plans

etc. of sanitary construction to you -- because we are so slow (they

talk of Hindoos being slow -- but War Offices & India Offices in England are slower) These plans are however nearly ready. And they will be sent out almost immediately with general suggestions.

I wish you God speed with all my heart. You will have

f221

-3-

much opposition to encounter. But great works do not prosper without opposition.

[Do you remember what, (by a curious coincidence Pope Paul III said to a predecessor of yours in the Missionary work in India St. Francis Xavier, viz. that God would always find means to carry

out a work which was really God's -- that indeed he, Xavier, would

find much to suffer -- but that the "affairs of God" succeed only by the way of crosses & difficulties.

I did not think Pope Paul could have said so good a thing. And I suppose Xavier was half a madman. But, for all that, I think it is true, is it not? for every work engaged in for the good of men.]

Believe me

Your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

J. Pattison Walker, Esq. M.D.

I need hardly say that any papers or letters from you will always be most welcome to me.

F.N.

f222 NOTES ON THE PREVALENCE OF "BOILS" AMONG THE TROOPS IN DELHI
TYPED COPY; UNDATED

I have just had a communication from Delhi (& my brother-in-law, Sir Harry Verney, has seen an officer in London, just arrived from Delhi from his son's Regiment there, who speaks to the same effect) viz. that a disease called "Boils" is very prevalent among the troops there, & causes much inefficiency. One officer had no less than 80 Boils on his body. The people there attribute the disease to bad water & a bad site -- and say that there is good water tho' at a considerable distance, & a good site for a small Barrack in Delhi. This is just one of the cases with which your Commission could effectually deal. The cause of "Boils" is very little understood. If you could contrive a careful enquiry to be made to find out the cause at Delhi, & remedy the evils, much good might arise to the Service.

(Of course we do not take implicitly every word we hear from Military Officers, unacquainted with sanitary things.)

F.N.

ff223-24v NOTES ON FILTERS and ARRIVING AT MORTALITY STATISTICS, PEN;
HANDWRITTEN BY JS I think; UNDATED, JS and FN

f223

The filter in the ~~barracks~~ Mediterranean report will answer your purpose. It will be specially recommended for India in his furthering suggestions of the home Commission so that you may proceed with it. It is ~~unde~~ intended specifically for filtering water *before* being touched for use. If for instance you had good tanks for fort William & if you collected all the rain water from the roofs for drinking & culinary purposes you would have the whole of it through such a filter before allowing it to enter your tanks.

In regard to the proceedings what occurred to me is that it would be advisable to make them very short unless for special reasons. If you make a habit of putting in everything at length you may have to record errors in principle, backed by high names. You have an example of this in your present minutes where large rooms without great numbers of men for barracks are recommended by a general officer & medical officer, contrary to all sound principle This is a very great

mistake & even the record of it might lead other ~~foo~~ persons to think similarly.

{inserted in along the side of the page}

Mr. {illeg Maitland's?} theory of Barrack building is wrong throughout & shews great lack of sanitary knowledge on such subjects all forget that large rooms are very obvious causes of disease in India. It would be better to limit the record of matter of instruction either to the enunciation of sound principles & sound practice by the Commission itself or to such principles as it adopted, although stated in the words of other persons. It may ~~be~~ help you to prepare your barrack notes if I tell you that the plans & apparatus ~~a~~ in plans IV, VIII, IX, X, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX of the Mediterranean report will be recommended for your consideration by the {illeg Home?} Commission. Their suggestions contain a great deal

f223v

restating ~~±~~ general principles of drainage, water supply, Barrack & Hospital plans, Sanitary Rules & Registration of deaths not included in the Mediterranean report, which may form the bases of great changes in India. Everything including the plans is now in place & will be hurried through as fast as possible.

f224

Your account of the report of the report of the Military Dept. on the mentality of the Indian army exactly talking with what we have thought they would say. The whole question at issue is simply ~~that~~ this "what is a fair ~~its~~ formula of mortality"? The Register General's department & the R.C. say that the longer the term of years you take within limits the safer you are. simply because the law by which men die everywhere is not ruled by days, months, or years ~~but~~ but by "epochs". If any one says that the epoch should coincide with one, two, three, five years, he simply shews that he has not sufficiently studied the subject to give an opinion

The Reg. Gen. ~~is in~~ office & the R. C. in making up the table 10 page Ixxxviii for report Vol I used all the annual tables at their disposal. They had none subsequent to 1856. They applied for them in India but got not even the civility of an answer. It is no reply to the Commission tables to add the years subsequent to 1856. They should shew that the returns ~~quick~~ used for table 10 are either ~~un~~ incorrect or improperly used. Again it is simply absurd to throw out specific diseases such as Cholera, and ages ~~above~~ above 60, -- as your own critics used to do. Their principle of {illeg} carried out is simply to throw out all ages & all diseases & then there could be no mortality whatsoever. It is clear that all ages &

f224v

all diseases must be included in every set of mortality tables, & then by comparing the whole population at each age with the deaths at each age you get an estimate of the mortality.

[FN hand, pencil] Mr. Strachey's ~~report~~ minutes on to Calcutta fails

~~is~~ explores a picture of horrors altogether {illeg incurable?} here. There could be a great outcry if it were taken up in this country I would have a fully detailed report with plans draining, Having what it is: the length width & height of its {illeg corner?} The number of ~~number~~ minutes in each. The cubic space & superficial area per {illeg primers?} The state of the fittings, bedding, drainages, latrines urinals etc. with proposals for abolishing utterly the present state of things & introducing another better calculator to meet the requirements of the present day. If you would send any plans here we should be only too glad to get for you every information and practical ~~assistant~~ assistance possible in comprehending them.

There is much experience in England about cholera which would be very useful to you in India. D. {illeg Budder?} paper is of no practical value & does not represent our experience here. It is purely theoretical & by a man who has seen little of the disease. I think we could have improved the practical instructions in some important particular

ff225-26 LETTER TO DR. WALKER ON FILTERING WATER; TYPED COPY
original LMA1 H1/ST/NC1/64/8

f225

32 South Street,
London W.
June 18/64

PRIVATE

My dear Sir,

I thank you heartily for your letter of
May 7 and for its enclosure of your Minutes.

The filter in the Mediterranean Report will answer
your purpose. It is intended specially for filtering water
before being tanked for use. If e.g. you had good tanks
for Fort William, & if you collected all rain water from roofs
for drinking & cooking, you would pass the whole of it through
such a filter before allowing it to enter your tanks. (The
War Office Commission will recommend it specially for India in
the "Suggestions" called for by your President)

What occurred to me, with regard to your proceedings,
is that it would be advisable to make them very short, unless
for special reasons. If everything is put in at length,
errors in principle, backed by ~~my~~ high names, may have to be
recorded. There is an example of this in your present
Minutes where Barrack rooms for larger numbers are recommended
by a General Officer & Medical Officer contrary to all sound
principle. This is a very great mistake, & even the record
of it might lead to mischief. All forget that these over-
grown Barrack-rooms are very obvious causes of disease in
India. (Dr. McCelland's theory of Barrack building shews
throughout great lack of sanitary knowledge on such subjects.)

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It would be better to limit the record of matter of instruction to either the enunciation of sound principles & sound practice by the Commission itself or to such principles as it adopted (stated in other's words)

Plans & apparatus IV, VIII, IX, X, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII? XIX, of the Mediterranean Report, will be recommended for your consideration by the War Office Commission. I hope you will think that their forthcoming suggestions (which never would have been forthcoming but for Mr. Strachey's Minute) contain a good deal relating to general principles of drainage, water-supply, barrack & hospital plans, sanitary police & registration of deaths, not included in the Mediterranean Report, which may form the bases of great changes in India. Every thing, including the plans, is now in ~~progress~~ {illeg} & will be hurried through as fast as possible .

I am, dear Sir,

Yours ever sincerely

F. Nightingale

Dr. Pattison Walker

f233 LETTER TO DR. WALKER ABOUT SENDING HIM "SUGGESTIONS"; TYPED COPY, original is LMA1 H1/ST/NC1/64/11

32 South Street
London W.
Aug. 10/54

PRIVATE

My dear Sir,

[9:300]

I sent to you and to Mr. Strachey copies of the "Suggestions" (by Book Post a fortnight ago) drawn up in compliance with Mr. Strachey's Minute of April 5.

These "Suggestions" have now received the Sanction of the Military Committee, of the Council, & of the S. of S. of the India Office here.

And they are about to be forwarded to you officially by the India Office.

But our people are so slow that, if I were not afraid of being profane, I should say that Sir John Lawrence is always a great deal more ready to hear than we are to pray. Therefore I forward to you (by Book post today) 4 more copies of the "Suggestions", in case you may wish to apply them at once.

Yours very faithfully,

Florence Nightingale.

[end 9:300]

Jas. Pattison Walker, Esq. M.D.

f234 letter of Walker from Calcutta 31 Aug 1864 to FN re her sending copy of Suggestions in regard to Sanitary Works

f236 Walker letter to FN from Calcutta 9 Sept 1864 re other copy

ff238-40 LETTER TO DR. WALKER, REGARDING REMARKS ABOUT HIS "PROCEEDINGS"; TYPED COPY original LMA1 H1/ST/NC1/64/17

f238

32 South Street
London W.
Oct. 3/64

PRIVATE

My dear Sir,

It is rather for the pleasure of conversing with you about your "Proceedings" than for the sake of being of use that I add a few Remarks to those "for June".

106. Resolution

Yes: and the refuse discharged through a pipe below low water mark in the river.

107. President's Remarks

Yes: in new barracks we propose proper fire grates to dry the air in damp weather when required.

Page 52. Tatties.

Tatties etc. are touched upon in the "Suggestions".

Page 52 last line.

Yes: yes.

109. 110

Plans for Lunatic Asylums & Jails must be sent out to you.

Page 53. last line but two.

"minimum allowance"

80 would be little enough.

Page 54. top line but one

125 is the utmost number

f239

-2-

Page 54. Third Para.

"Inspector General N.W.P."

"cubic feet & square feet"

750 and 80 if the prison be small & every thing right.
but 1000 would be better.

The Agra Jail & others shew that Jail accommodation wants
entire renewal

Page 54 -- Last Para.

Could you have a reference made to the War Office (Sanitary)
Commission here?

114. "As regards the manure"

Yes.

Wherever manure is laid down near cities, it should be at
once dug in and covered.

Last Para of Page.

This would depend entirely on the extent of land, the distance
from Barracks, the direction of winds, manuring, draining,
crops, etc.

Page 58 -- lines 6,7,8,9 from top.

Yes -- yes -- yes.

Page 65 22.

Col. Crommelin is right however.

Page 67. 36

very good.

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Page 75 II

This question ~~raised~~ treated in the "Suggestions.
Plan of Bangalore Hospital bad.

Page 77 II

remarks very good.

Page 79 129. I.

The best deodorizer is a drain pipe or a Scavenger.

Page 84. II.

Let them try their disinfectants.

Page 93 Meean Meer Water supply

"1. quite true

I will not weary you any more with marks of admiration
& remarks of affirmation, but only wish you Godspeed -- & am ever

Your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

Dr. Pattison Walker

ff241-43 LETTER TO DR. WALKER ON HIS "DRAFT RULES FOR MILITARY CANTONMENTS" AND THE W.O.'s "SUGGESTIONS"; TYPED COPY original LMA1 H1/ST/NC1/64/19,

f241

32 South Street, London W.
Oct.10/64

PRIVATE

My dear Sir,

I write in haste to thank you for your important "Draft Rules for Military Cantonments", just received.

I have only had time to glance through it. As a proposed sanitary code for Indian Stations, it shews that it has been most carefully considered with an earnest desire to make its provisions efficient -- (and with what a masterly hand it is done!)

There is so close a conformity in its provisions with the ~~op~~ points in the "Suggestions" of the War Office Commission, which have been sent you, that there will be no difficulty in arriving at an agreement.

In the W.O. "Suggestions" there are some points which might be introduced with advantage into your code. With this view, might I venture to suggest that you should compare your clauses with theirs, so as to introduce into your code any additional clauses you may, on consideration, judge to be useful & practicable?

Two or three points have especially struck me in my hasty perusal --

1 as to Inspectors of Nuisances.

These are officers whose duty it is to *see the thing done* with their own eyes. This is indispensable with us here.

It may interest you to know that one of the most active

f242

-2-

"Inspectors" in England has offered to the W.O. Commission to give up his appointment & come out to you. He says there are many others in England who would gladly lend their aid to the great work in India (not for the sake of large salaries, but simply to help forward the sanitary cause). We have referred him to the India Office.

If you should want any such Inspectors, you would have to apply to the India Office. And the W.O. Commission would try to find them for you.

2. A very important power suggested by the W.O. Commission is the making of Bye-laws under sanction.

Could you adopt this?

3. Could not something more be said about permanent works -- granting to the local authorities certain powers of moving the Government as to putting Stations or towns in a complete sanitary condition (as to works of a permanent character)?

4. Could you not include the sanitary police of native towns, & make some provision for introducing works into these?

These are the chief points which have struck me -- not knowing the bearing of local powers in India. You may have perhaps already provided some of these powers, altho' I (ignorant) do not see it.

You intend, as I gladly see, to send copies to the W.O. Commission. They will joyfully give you every hint that occurs to them.

I trust that Mr. John Strachey is better -- his is a master-

f243

hand -- & that your own health improves. We cannot spare you.

I can only wish you God speed on your noble work, & beg you to believe me ever your faithful & ready servant.

Florence Nightingale

Dr. Pattison Walker.

f244 NOTES DR. WALKER'S TEACHINGS IN INDIA; NOTES TO DR. HATHAWAY
PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY JS; faint, DATED SEPT. 1864

end of Sept 1864

Dr. Walker,

The suggestions are intended as a
kind of guide to executive authorities
in India, in European experience
in Sanitary working rather than
as a guide to teaching on which
they are deficient

~~M. C. Intending notaries~~

I suppose that ~~in~~ your course
of lectures ~~you~~ will be attending
by Eurasians & Natives
entering the Medical
profession. You will have
a glorious opportunity not
only to teaching civilization
& health but also in teaching
then practice by bringing
the pupils into practical
contact with Sanitary
problems in Calcutta

f244v

a good text book will be
a great help to them, & also
a few tracts in the vernacular
Get the natives to give all
the information they can as to
domestic habits & try to
teach them how their habits
can be followed with least
injury to health

Dr. Hathaway

There must be some {illeg veritable?}
about the {illeg Mission?} in {illeg}
{illeg ausby?} to the {illeg Mad Dog?} all the
new officer can do is to
give his opinion to the C.O.
The authority & {illeg reassembled?}
of the C.O. as positing intent
They are the same as ever
they were.

f245

In regard to the question of
the filter in Calcutta.
It is evident that any
movement must begin there.
Every step taken here has only
proved the inadequacy of the
moment dead with the
evil, and any energetic
agent taken from India
would lessen the influence
here while he or she might
not be suited for India.

If The native cart
question would interfere
also when vice is followed
as an recognized profession.
You could do most good
{illeg humbly?} with European women
who have been {illeg connected?}
with the army.

f245v

You have now got from
us the practical suggestions
for Indian Sanitary works
& we shall look forward
with great interest
& anxiety for the first
signs of practical works,
& measures they carried out. About enough
has been written. The
great thing is now to get
the thing done. This is
the work of the government executive
authorities & if taken is how
it could under any publication
of minutes less necessary.
Some of the early minutes contained
some things that might have given
{illeg outrage?}, but the {illeg Cart?} {illeg Tune?} batch
which is simply a {illeg send?} of proceedings
Contains nothing that anybody
need feel offended with.

ff246-47 LETTER TO DR. WALKER REGARDING ON HIS TEACHING IN INDIA,
MAKING SANITARY RULES A FANATICISM AMONG THE NATIVES; TYPED COPY,
original LMA1 H1/ST/NC2/V13/64

f246

PRIVATE.

32 South Street
London W.
October 18/64

My dear Sir,

I am very much indebted to you for your last letter
(of August 31) -- also for the copy of "Rules & Regulations"
which I received & acknowledged by last mail.

You have now had time to look over the "Suggestions"
which you are kind enough to acknowledge -- & which are intended
as a kind of guide to executive authorities in India, in
European experience of Sanitary work, rather than as a guide
to teaching in which they are deficient.

I suppose that your ~~course~~ course of Lectures will be
attended
by Eurasians & natives entering the Medical profession. You
will have a glorious opportunity, not only of teaching
civilization & health, but also of teaching them practice by
bringing the pupils into practical contact with sanitary
problems in Calcutta.

A good text-book would be a great help to them -- & also
a few tracts in the vernacular.

If the natives would give you all the information they
can as to domestic habits, you might teach them how those
habits can be followed with least injury to health.

[I wish Sanitary rules could be made a religion, a
fanaticism with the ignorant of the natives. I suppose it is
not by intelligence, at least at first (by explaining reasons)]

f247

-2-

that these natives can be led. But we hear of fanaticism
about cleanliness in *some* points among Brahmins -- & we know
that Moses made sanitary things a part of his code for the
people. Could not observing certain laws of health be made
a religion with the ignorant of the *Hindoos*?

I trust that your health is better & that of Mr. Strachey.
Believe me

Most faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale

Jas. Pattison Walker, Esq. M.D.

f248 letter of Walker to FN from Calcutta 2 Nov 1864 re her
letter of 26 Sept

f250v NOTES ON DEATHS OF THE EUROPEAN ARMY, JAN-JUNE 1864 (f250)
PENCIL; not by FN; UNDATED, on back of printed stats

These figures have not
been yet published. The
statement is therefore Con
fidential
{illeg}

f252 printed report 11 pages Sanitary Commission for Bengal,
minute No. 151 Hospital Nursing by Females, report of J.
Strachey, extract by Walker, with FN comments on some pages

ff254, 255, 256v, 257 NOTES MADE IN MARGIN OF J. STRACHEY'S
"EXTRACT FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SANITARY COMMISSION FOR
BENGAL" OF THE 7th JULY 1864 -- MINUTE No. 151, "HOSPITAL NURSING
BY FEMALES" PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED

f254 {p. 5 in the article}
{on there being 17.5 Nurses employed in one month}
{illeg Qy?} is the
Nurse turned
off in the
other half
month?

f255 {p. 7}
{on the administering of care requiring particular attention}
Of course
it ought
to be in
all cases.

f256v {p. 10}
{on having a Matron for every six nurses, according to H.M.'s
Hospital Regulations}
wherever
there are two
nurses
{on the scale of pay in H.M.'s Regulations being applicable in
India}
Would not the immense wages which a good Nurse can
command in Calcutta (I have heard 21/ per day) make
this impossible? Besides our Sup'r Gen'l says £30 instead of
{illeg

£20?}
{illeg same?} for the first years.

f257 {p. 11}

{on the Committee of the Hospital Female Nurse Institution}
ask about
this Committee
who they are
& what their
qualifications
are

ff258-59 LETTER TO DR. WALKER REGARDING CALCUTTA CYCLONE, MR.
STRACHEY TYPED COPY; original LMA1 H1/ST/NC1/64/23

f258

PRIVATE

32 South Street
Park Lane
London W.
Dec. 19/64

My dear Sir,

I will only today thank you for your beautiful
(& distressing) photographs of the Calcutta damage from the
Cyclone, which arrived in perfect condition - also for
Col. Crommelin's Mem. on Hospital Construction - his principles
appear admirable & his application of them ingenious, - also
for the Minute on Vaccination.

On Friday night Mr. John Strachey called at my house
on his way to Bristol & left with me your Proceedings for
August & September. I was exceedingly obliged for your
thought of me - but regretted the cause, I fear ill health,
which brought Mr. Strachey to me. I did not see him, but he
promised me to write from Bristol. If his health permits,
& his stay is long enough in England, he might obtain
important information here. In the mean time, he leaves the
cause in Bengal in the best hands, which are yours.

I am about to write to you, with your permission, at
some length.

Sir C. Wood (but this is *strictly in confidence*) referred
the Report of Dr. Leith on the Sanitary Condition of the Bombay
Army, to our "Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission" for
reply.

X I am not now at South St. but close by (for a time). All
letters

reach me as before addressed to South St.

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-2-

We have replied to it. I shall send you a copy of the reply (you ~~hav~~ have of course seen Dr. Leith's Report) as soon as it is through the press.

In the mean time

Believe me

Yours most sincerely

Florence Nightingale

Dr. Pattison Walker

Mr. Strachey has found us in a thick London fog, & with snow & frost on the ground (it is freezing now) & with a bitter N. Easter.

F.N.

ff260-62 LETTER TO DR. WALKER REGARDING FN's INABILITY TO VISIT INDIA TYPED COPY, original LMA1 H1/ST/NC1/65/1

f260

32 South Street

Park Lane,

PRIVATE

London, W.

January 3/65.

My dear Sir,

I will not let a mail pass without telling you how deeply touched I am by yours and Mrs. Walker's most kind (and pressing) invitation to me, a complete stranger to you. Would that I could avail myself of yours and her great kindness! There is nothing, really nothing, - on this side the grave which I long for so much as a visit to India - nothing which would interest me so much. While others try to run away from India, I would desire more than anything else which I do desire (I "desire with desire", as the Hebrew says) to go to India. I have studied the country so much, I seem to know so well what I want to do there, that it appears to me as if I would be going home, not going to a strange country. But alas for me, it is quite impossible. I shall never leave London, except for the grave. Even the move to the next street brings me to death's door. And I am assured that I have no prospect except of getting worse - tho' it appears that I must have a (family) constitution like iron, for, for nearly 7 years I have never been expected to live 6 months. If there were even any hope of my reaching India alive, & of my being able to go on working when there, as I do here, I believe I should be tempted to go. For my term of life cannot be much longer, wherever I am.

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-2-

But it is quite impossible. It is absurd for me to think of it, though I shall never forget the kindness which dictated the thought - in you and Mrs. Walker - to be willing to take charge of such an invalid, an utter stranger to you. Even if it were possible, I really could not impose such a charge upon you.

But it is not possible.

I may tell you in confidence, that, in 1857, that dreadful year for India, I offered to go out to India in the same way as to the Crimea. But Sidney Herbert, with whom I worked for five years, all but a week, in the War Office till his lamentable death, put a stop to it. He said that I had undertaken this work, caused him to undertake it, and that I must stay and help him (meaning the sanitary army reforms). Since his death, it has been all the more necessary because all the more difficult. There is but one Sidney Herbert - there is but one Sir John Lawrence - they have no successors - you will know what I mean - what is to be done must be done in their time, or not at all. Our work is mere child's play now compared to yours.

I admire your Lecture - particularly your famous story of the coolie (at 4 rupees a month) dealing destruction round the land. It is a most suggestive and appropriate illustration. I assure you, the information you are so good as to give me is the greatest interest I have.

I had not intended to write this mail, because the papers are not ready about which I meant to write to you, and which alone would have given my letter worth. But I

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could not forbear writing to thank you and Mrs. Walker (to whom I intend to have the pleasure of writing myself) for your unspeakable kindness - and to beg that you will believe me ever most faithfully and gratefully yours and hers

(Signature excised)

ff263-66 NOTE TO DR. WALKER REGARDING FEMALE NURSING PEN; DATED
DECEMBER 23, 1864, includes material on stopping

f263

No. 774

To. J.P. Walker Esq're M.D.

Secretary Sanitary Commission for Bengal

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 734 dated
21st Instt I have the honor, by desire of the Offic=
=icating Principal Inspector General Medical
Department, to convey to you, for submission to
the Sanitary Commission, his views respecting
Female Nursing for General Military Hospitals.

I am directed to state that he attaches the
highest importance to the introduction of such
a scheme, and feels confident that the very
greatest benefit to the sick will be seen to result
from its adaption, if it be properly carried out.
He desires me however to observe that in his
opinion, any arrangements for continuous &
efficient nursing must be conducted by a
trained Department such as exists in the British
Hospitals, but that in India we are met on
the very threshold of the subject with the following
questions.

1st {illeg}

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1st Have we the material in sufficient quantity to be trained into good nurses: --
2nd If we have not, can trained & efficient Nurses be procured from England to organize and keep up such a Department here.

The experience at the General Hospital in Calcutta would seem to raise a serious doubt on the first point already the reports shew a falling off in the qualities required for good Nurses as compared to what they were at the commencement, and the Principal Inspector General has been led to understand that the Calcutta Nurses' Association experience considerable difficulty in procuring even such as are not supplied. If then in Calcutta, the best field in India for procuring them, these difficulties already exist, from whence can we hope to procure them for all the Military Hospitals in the Country.

It has been supposed by some that each European Regiment may be trusted to, if sufficient inducement is given, to supply nurses

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for its own Hospitals, but apart from the fact of European women with Regiments being for the most part married with families, they have often impracticable husbands to deal with, men who will interfere and object to their absence after limited periods. This gives rise to constant changes, and these changes are a death blow to the useful working of the Establishment, for the women never remain long enough to be thoroughly trained and useful. It is impossible, moreover, to make the wives of soldiers part for general Establishment who may be ordered away to other Hospitals where they may be required.

In England Institutions exist for the training of Nurses and Dr. Bruce believes that India must be dependent on such Institutions for the Nurses we may require. Intelligent women of middle age, of cheerful disposition, sober habits, good temper, and neat and orderly habits are wanted; they must be able to read & write and to regulate the amount of air, warmth, etc. required by their charge. They must moreover
be

f264v

be bound to remain for a certain period of years at their duty here, and no plea but ill health should be valid to break such an agreement.

The Rules contained in the Medical Regulations for Her Majesty's service will, as a general rule, be applicable to them in India, but some modification of them will be required, such as improved pay with length of service, the period for pension being made shorter, and the latter increased.

A Superintendent General for the Establishment and a Superintendent in each Hospital will, he believes be necessary as at home, and more authority over the Nurses ought to be given to Medical Officers in charge of Hospitals than is contemplated in the British Regulations, for it is doubtful if we can always command a Superintendent Nurse for a Hospital, who will have sufficient influence and control over the ordinary Nurses to be able to inflict even minor punishments without remonstrance. In the General Hospital at Allahabad, where the system was first introduced, and where it has
been

f265

been brought to a high state of efficiency, the power of punishment, such as stopping the Nurses beer etc. for negligence, has been vested in the Medical Officer in charge of the Institution, and he reports that no dissatisfaction is ever shewn with the decisions. He is however, strongly of opinion, that Superintendents from among the other Nurses cannot, as a general rule, and with our present material, be selected with success, and that they should be brought from home. The power of punishment, therefore, ought in Dr. Bruce's opinion, to be vested with the Medical Officer.

The Superintendent General of Nurses at home might be directed to increase her Establishment to the extent required to meet the wants of India permanently, and she would be indented or at stated periods from this country for the numbers likely to be required.

The duties of these Nurses will extend to doing everything for the sick men under their care which would not demoralize them. In

the

f265v

the women's ward they will of course do every thing

The discipline ought to be exact, and no slackness allowed.

they will administer medicines and comforts of all kinds, see baths prepared, and every order of the Medical Officer regularly & punctually carried out. They ought to be thoroughly acquainted with the preparation of the food for the sick, and be made to exercise a strict supervision over everything connected with the clothing, changes of Linen etc, under the directions of the Superintendent. The hours for sleep and relaxation are laid down in the Medical Regulations of British Hospitals, but Medical Officers who have had most experience of the system in this Country have found that the harassing duties are apt to undermine the health of these women, and they strongly recommend that one month in every year ought to be allowed them on privilege leave.

They ought to have stated hours and places for seeing their friends, or families if they have any, and any extra indulgence on this point /ought

f266

ought to rest with the Superintendent Nurse, as the reward of good conduct and attention to their duties.

An allowance of Beer or wine will Dr. Bruce believes, be necessary, to preserve them in health; but it ought to be as an extra, liable to reduction or stoppage, not as a part of the ration.

Fort William	I have the
{illeg} Insp't Gen'ls Office	1st of H. Macpherson S {illeg
things?}	
23 Decr/64	Secy {illeg} Inspe'r Gen'l
	Med'l Department

ff267-69 LETTER TO DR. WALKER REGARDING DISINFECTANTS; TYPED COPY, original LMA1 H1/ST/NC1/65/6

f267

32 South Street
Park Lane
London W.
February 26/65.

My dear Sir,

I have to thank you, which I do most heartily, for two letters, and for two printed papers, one on the construction of Barracks for Europeans, Circular No. 89, and one on Carbolic Acid.

I am sure you are perfectly right as to taking the conservancy collections out to sea. Proper dung-boats with a small steamer to remove the filth of Calcutta down the river to the sea, is the only plan. This is what we used to do at Balaclava, in the Crimea, and *till* we did it, Balaclava was on a small scale, what Calcutta is on, alas! too large an one, the hot bed of Cholera and Typhus, even during the short time we infested it. If under a very fine climate, a small place, like Balaclava, became in nine months, i.e. *till* the dung-boats were used, what was very nearly the graveyard of a whole British Expedition, what must Calcutta have become in a hundred years under a very trying climate?

About the disinfectants:- we have had this question referred to us over and over again from the Bombay Government and have consulted the Local Government Act Office. I send you an opinion of theirs, though it does not apply precisely to your case:-

"It is the old, old story over again - disinfectants

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-2-

in place of removal - and a wish to have things 'far sent and dear bought'. Wood-charcoal dust will do all which the fluids and powders are said to have done. But cleansing and reforming the latrines and drains with subsequent flushing, washing and regular removal of refuse, at short intervals will be better. These Disinfectants are the right-hand power of ignorance and nothing more. We do not repudiate disinfectants - they have an use - but that use is not to palliate refuse heaps, which ought never to have been allowed to accumulate. A temporary use of disinfectants may be allowed, to enable a safe removal of refuse, now existing, to be made - the store of poison, heaped up by ignorance in past times. But a continuance of poison-storing and disinfecting should not be allowed. McDougall's Powder may prevent the heaps of foul refuse killing the men ordered to remove it, or wood-charcoal powder - but on the condition that any such heaps and deposits are not to accumulate in future."

I wish such papers as this of the Health Officers of the Municipality of Calcutta could be remitted home for the "Barrack and Hospital Improvement Commission" (consisting of members of the War and India Offices and Local Government Act Office) to make their suggestions upon. It appears not impossible. At this moment the Bombay engineer is in England - consulting with our engineers of the Local Government Act Office, on the drainage of Bombay.

f269

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I have to thank you very much for a very able letter, No. 774, upon the Nurse question from Dr. Macpherson, Secretary to the 1st Inspector General.

I was in hopes to have sent you my answer to your official letter on the Nursing question by this mail. But it is only this moment come from the Printers!

(Signature excised)

Dr. Walker

ff270-71 LETTER TO DR. WALKER ON OBTAINING DATA ON SOLDIERS'
ILLNESS TYPED COPY, original LMA1 H1/ST/NC1/65/7

32 South Street
Park Lane
London W.
March 3/65

My dear Sir,

I have to acknowledge the Proceedings of your
Commission for November, which you have been so good as to
send me.

In reading 273 on the "Influence of Temperate &
Intemperate Habits", it struck me whether the data could not
be obtained in the following way:-

1. that a Regimental list be printed containing the names
of every man.

2. that a copy of this List be filled up at the Canteen
every day from the peg. board shewing the quantity of spirits & of
beer each man has had in the 24 hours.

Make it a current Regimental Return to be supplied to
the Commanding Officer

3. have a Medical return printed with the men's names on a
similar form to be filled up on the last day of every year,
shewing the diseases each man has suffered from for the 12
months preceding.

The Returns you propose would then become of great use
for comparison. Any person with Statistical knowledge might
extract from such Tables most valuable information, and a
very clear view of the state of the whole case.

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-2-

If our Commander-in-Chief (In England) were not a "snob" (which is a very disrespectful form of speech on my part) he would do all these things & get all these Returns for us. But he does nothing.

PRIVATE

The India Office has submitted to the (home) Sanitary Commission ("Barrack & Hospital Improvement") the Govt. papers on the principles for designing Barracks in India, containing Col. Crommelin's paper, that by the Govt. of India (which you were so good as to send to me), the papers by your Commission &c. &c.

They are up here now, being considered. On the whole, they are admirable.

In haste,

Pray believe me

Yours very sincerely

Florence Nightingale

Dr. Pattison Walker

f272 NOTE TO DR. WALKER REGARDING FEMALE NURSING IN INDIAN HOSPITALS PEN & PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED 10 MARCH 1865

[archivist: Draft Reply to Dr Pattison Walker]

a "Suggestions" in print attached

[10 Mar 1865]

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of Nov 21/64 in which you request me to send any suggestions that might occur to me regarding the organization of a system of Female Nursing for Indian Hospitals.

[9:950]

I have much pleasure in complying with your request & beg to enclose a few copies of a paper which I have drawn up on the subject. I have thought it better to have it printed for greater facility of reference

In preparing this paper, I have laboured under the disadvantage of personal unacquaintance with many facts & circumstances essential for

f272v

me to know in order to give your that
precise advice & information which
I should otherwise have considered
desirable.

It has been my endeavour as far
as possible to attempt to realize
the conditions under which you have
to introduce this great improvement.
And having done the best I could
I must leave the case in your hands
& in the hands of the Government
of India, in the hope that the
experience I have described may
enable you to draw up an
independent scheme suitable
{in pencil} to the country. When you have done this
I would like it as a favour if you
would send it to me, in order that I
might have the opportunity of going very

f273 [pencil]

carefully over it in the hope that in
this way we might among us be able to
do the best possible in assisting the
Indian Government in carrying out this
great & benevolent scheme.

[end 9:950]

f274 Letter to FN from Walker, Calcutta 22 March 1865, encloses
copy of memo by Dr Beatson on nursing by females in Indian genl
hospitals and re Strachey's health

f276 printed memo, 16th March 1865 Office of Insp gen of Hosps of
Br Troops, Calcutta

f280 LETTER TO DR. WALKER? REGARDING STATISTICAL TABLES AND WATER ANALYSIS; TYPED COPY, original LMA1 H1/ST/NC1/65/8

32 South Street
Park Lane
London W.
April 10/65

My dear Sir,

I cannot sufficiently thank you for most kind letters by several mails ~~separated~~ repeated - for four most valuable & encouraging Statistical Tables, which we shall make great use of - for a number of printed papers, all more interesting one than the other.

I have consulted several scientific men both in London & Manchester & at the Army Medical School at Netley about the water-supply analysis question, as to which you did me the honor to write to me.

And I hope to send what may prove useful by next mail - as well as to write about the Statistical tables & the printed papers which you have been so good, so very good as to send me.

This is merely an acknowledgement for the great pleasures you have given me.

Pray believe me
ever yours most truly & gratefully
Florence Nightingale.

Do you know that your water-analysis letter was fished up from the sea?

F.N.

f281 official letter or copy from Walker to FN as Secy Sanitary Commission of Bengal 11 April 1865 Calcutta, re receiving her printed memo on nursing in India

ff282-86 LETTER TO DR. WALKER REGARDING INDIAN PRISON EPIDEMICS; TYPED COPY, original LMA1 H1/ST/NC1/65/9

f282

32 South Street
Park Lane
London W.
April 26/65

PRIVATE

My dear Sir,

I was in hopes to have sent you your (Water supply) analysis questions, answered, by this mail. But my learned men are so dilatory.

However, I will not delay to thank you for all the rich store of information which touches me so deeply, that you have been kind enough to send me.

I feel so much what you say about your Insp. Genl. of Prisons, Mr. Woodcock, whom you call the first of Indian sanitary reformers, so justly. What a great work he did & at how great an expense to his own peace of mind. Indeed we ought to be very grateful to him.

It is hard enough, God knows, for public men to do their duty anywhere. But I do think it is harder in India than anywhere else. So much the greater honour to their memories, be they living or dead.

In regard to Jails - the diminution of over-crowding, with the increase of superficial area, has been the result of progressive experience. Every climate has its limit. Thus, for Turkey, the Inspector, who is at present in England, informs me that 72 sq. ft. are allowed, both in cells and in common rooms.

This Turkish experience is probably the nearest to yours.

One would think the occurrence of epidemic disease in Indian Jails a sufficient reason for increasing the space. If you have any prison in which epidemics prevail, your area is too small. If you have any exempt, your area is sufficient. Increase your area and cubic space until Cholera, Dysentery & Fever disappear *epidemicallly*. Of course ventilation and cleanliness are inferred.

Prison epidemics in England have been taken as the test of sanitary condition. Formerly they killed prisoners, jury & judges. Now they have ceased to exist in prisons. This is your Indian test.

[You have the Reports on Prison Construction & Prison Regulations by Sir Joshua Jebb (he was the great Prison Sanitary reformer in England, of whom I should speak, as you of Mr. Woodcock, both as to his sacrifices & as to the unworthy return made ~~to~~ him)

The best plan for a tropical prison I ever saw was for Malta (for a new Prison there) by a Mr. Inglott, of Malta - a man who has a perfect genius for that kind of thing.]

The Colonial Office (of course this is entirely in confidence) is now girding up its loins to clean out *its* house too, with regard to its Prisons. It has instituted an enquiry. And India must not be left behind.

If these kinds of questions in India could be referred for an opinion to the home Sanitary Commission, we might back you up with our experience. It is a wonder that men do not learn both from these dreadful epidemics, & from their absence, when

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conditions are improved. [Lord Stanley is at this hour (again, this is in perfect ~~secre~~ confidence) applying to Sir Charles Wood to refer to the home Sanitary Commission for an opinion both on the Jail question, & on the question of Mr. Strachey's most able

Calcutta paper, - which, as you are aware, has been made a Parliamentary paper of & presented to the House of Commons on February 22.

I must again thank you for your invaluable Statistics (& Forms). I am quite touched by your having taken Dr. Bryden's duty which, I think, is very magnanimous. And I only hope that you will do your very best to keep your health and Mr. Strachey too. For, as I shall tell him, it ~~is~~ will not do for Sanitarians to die. Martyrs used to do good by dying. But, in these days, martyrs *must live* to do good.

The Statistics are very good indeed - very cheering - & give a great deal of invaluable information. Let the absence of epidemics become a permanent condition - you will succeed in this at last. A large part of your diminution of Death-rate is due to absence of epidemics, specially of Cholera. No higher reward can be wished you than that you may become able to depend upon, in future, this absence of epidemics.

[We must not boast in London - Typhus has become more prevalent the last two years - and is always trying to raise its head & burst out *epidemically*. So much the more shame for us in a temperate climate.]

I cannot close my letter without recurring again to

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the honour, which must be paid to you, for undertaken Dr. Bryden's work.

I do trust it will please God to preserve Sir John Lawrence's health. I conceive there has scarcely ever been a time in history when so much depends *for good* (often it has depended for evil) upon one man as the head.

Sir C. Trevelyan's breakdown in health is a great misfortune.

Mr. Massey, however, comes out with the highest possible desires (& ability) of seconding Sir John Lawrence & doing India good service.

Pray believe me

My dear Sir

With most grateful regards to Mrs. Walker

Yours most sincerely & thankfully

Florence Nightingale.

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N.B. I am quite aware that one of Sir John Lawrence's first Acts was to appoint a Commission to report on the whole question of Indian Jails within a month, on which Commission you were - that the several Governors were desired to send in their requirements & their "bill" for their own provinces, in obedience to the recommendations you then made - that Madras & (I suppose) the other governments have sent in theirs - which, I suppose, have been approved.

(Was it in reference to these that you complained so justly that so small an allowance of superficial feet had been asked for?)

How very glad I should be, if we could help you about these things.

Could you send us a copy of your Report (viz of the Commission on Jails above mentioned) & of any administrative papers appertaining to it?

In haste

F.N.

f287 from pres of Sany Commission for Bengal 26 June 1865
official written letter to Sir re travel by bodies of men in health, invalids, women and ch by railway, and arrangements

ff294-95 LETTER TO DR. WALKER? REGARDING MORTALITY RATES, AND
FINDING THE AMOUNT OF DIRT IN WATER; TYPED COPY

32 South Street
Park Lane
London W.
Sept. 25/65

My dear Sir,

I write in haste merely la line to thank you for your welcome letters of July 15 and 31 - welcome in every thing but the tidings of your own health, which I am very sorry to hear is so bad, but which I hope you will take timely measures to improve. It is so valuable.

I have received all your enclosures, I believe, including one on the present defective method of calculating prison death-rates. And as you are so very kind in wishing every thing to be submitted to you - which is worked out on your subjects in England - for your consideration, I venture to send you a Memo. by Dr. Farr of the General Register Office, with whom I have always been greatly associated in work.

The object is not to obtain the *absolute* mortality, which is scarcely possible, but to obtain a result which will be comparable with other results similarly obtained.

You will think that I am never going to send the method for finding out the amount of "dirt" in water. All I can say for myself is that I have myself revised it six times thro' the press - that my learned men are always making fresh additions, which worry the printers very much and me still more, but which are quite worth while, for the paper is quite

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-2-

different thing in worth, since it was begun more than 6 months ago. I do hope this is the very last Revise, and to send it you now very soon.

I hope to write you a longer letter soon, in return for yours of the 15th July. But I trust that you will not let my letters or enclosures impose upon you additional work. They can all lie by for a time.

I received the Prison Forms, &c, with much gratitude.

I am going to take the liberty of sending you tracings of plans of a small prison, about to be erected in one of our (hot-country) colonies, which we think a sanitary model of its kind for warm climates.

But this will not be [rest of the letter missing]

ff296-99 LETTER TO DR. WALKER REGARDING CLIMATE; TYPED COPY

f296

Oct. 18/65
34 South Street
Park Lane
London, W.

PRIVATE

My dear Sir,

I am very sorry to hear you are so far from well. But I hope that you have taken holiday in time.

John Bull is a conceited ass, & thinks the climate ought to take care of him, instead of him taking care of the climate. The French fare much better.

Anglo India has made its capital of a place where the Moguls used to send their state prisoners to die. And people fall ill in Calcutta, and then say it's the climate.

The R. Commission never told you all to live in Calcutta. But you abuse them for not having laid sufficient stress on "climatic influences".

We are spending just five millions sterling to empty that small gutter, the Thames, of sewage. And this in a temperate climate.

What are you doing?

It is not that Calcutta might not be made much more healthy than it is, if you were willing to spend several millions.

The main question is:- to keep the sub-soil moisture at a certain distance below the ground varying with latitude & local circumstances. This costs money. If it *costs too much* (as perhaps in a place like Calcutta) then the place ought to be abandoned, or never to have been chosen. This is the only real determination

of localities, as far as healthy surface of ground is concerned. But people in India, tho' they are always raving against the "climate", actually tolerate a state of things in their palaces which we have ceased to tolerate in the poorest village in this healthy climate. And yet we have always Typhus & sometimes Cholera - and at this moment the Poor Law Board is mediating a sweeping Bill (for London) for next Session, because the Vestries are not doing their duty. And the Poor Law Board is quite right. (I tell you this but it is a secret).

There are 120 ways of boiling eggs (this anent "climatic influences") Climate is good everywhere. But man and his habits & his manner of selecting places to live in & to build on are as bad as possible - (as I say, John Bull's a conceited ass, & his conceit is that climates are made to obey him). And hence he confounds climate with his own want of care. He ought to boil his eggs better.

Batavia was the most deadly place in the world. And now, people go there for their health. Can anything be stronger than this?

In the Table of Mortality for 1859 - 64, shewn in its distribution by months, which you have been good enough to send me, are appended notes as to the climatic elements, which are assumed as causing the increasing death rates during certain months. I think this is a pity. They belong to a method of determining causation which in this country we venture to think we have improved upon. High temperature & moisture are nothing per se. As influencing other causes, they are a great deal - they

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have immense power. To place them as *causes* is much the same thing logically as it would be to make the perfection or imperfection of roast beef depend on the quantity of coals raised at Newcastle - as if you said, the more fuel the sun puts into his grate, the more unhealthy India becomes.

I have to thank you for your most kind notes of Aug. 16, & for its enclosure from Dr. Bryden.

There is a growing conviction in Europe that, when Cholera seizes a population living in bad sanitary conditions, its influence may extend hundreds of miles atmospherically from the centre where it began. And there is a diplomatic proposition to suppress or regulate the Mecca pilgrimage, in order to prevent its becoming the epidemic centre for the West, which it has always been hitherto.

The moral is: that unless you improve the sanitary condition of the Civil populations, you cannot insure immunity for the soldiers from epidemics.

I have to thank you, which I do most cordially, for the valuable Draft No. 262 about railway travelling by troops - also for the extract of a letter No. 247 about the Jails in the Lower Provinces. How curious and instructive that is - & how terrible! It shews that some one must again set hard to work to reform the management & laws of these Jails, like a Howard, & never leave off till he has done. The contrast between the men's and women's health, & between the cubic space for each, startles even me.

But my mind is full of Lord Palmerston's illness.

f299

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He may be passing away even at this moment. He will be a great loss to us. He made a joke about every thing. But, tho' he made a joke - when asked to do the right thing, he always did it. No one else will be able to carry the things thro' the Cabinet he did. I shall lose in him a powerful protector. Especially in Poor Law & wide sanitary views, he was so much more in earnest than he appeared. He did not do himself justice.

His *presumed* successor is so queer tempered that he cannot manage the Cabinet.

I most sincerely hope that his note will find you quite restored in health. I will write again by next mail.

Pray believe me

ever yours most truly

Florence Nightingale.

Dr. Pattison Walker.

ff300-03 LETTER TO DR. WALKER ON STATISTICS AND CATEGORIZING
AFFLICTIONS; TYPED COPY

f300

34 South Street
Park Lane
London W.
Oct. 26/65

My dear Sir,

I write in haste because I do not like to miss a mail
in acknowledging your most kind & interesting letter of Sept. 20.
But we are all in confusion because of Lord Palmerston's death.

I sincerely hope you are better, if not quite well.
We cannot afford to lose an hour of you.

If it sad what you say about the hurry of Indians to
come home. May it not be the result of the state of health
which Indians suffer from the bad sanitary state of Calcutta.
Bombay & Madras are not in such a hurry, I believe, are they?

As for yourself, I am afraid that cardiac & lung
affections always suffer from the great altitude of Simla (do
not they?) & that, tho' Calcutta is worst, Simla is bad for you.

I have failed to acknowledge your "No. I.

"Return shewing the Sickness & Mortality

"&c Military & Civil Population &c - Bengal

"during month of --- "

i.e. the Form which you were so kind as to send me.

It has excited a good deal of attention at the War Office
& Army Medical Department here. And I send you their Remarks
tho' fearing that you may think them impertinent.

Presuming that the Return is intended for the information
of the Military & Civil authorities & not for professional
purposes - they suggest the following points for your

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consideration:-

1. Instead of Intermittent & Remittent fevers being stated separately, these might be given under the head of

"Paroxysmal"

or Fever (Intermittent)
(Remittent)

2. Sun-stroke should be stated separately - or there will be a

large proportion of the cases of ~~case~~ it returned under "apoplexy".

a separate column for "Sun-stroke" might precede "Apoplexy".

3. Instead of the two columns "Respiratory Diseases" & "Phthisis Pulm.", they would suggest to put "Phthisis Pulm." first, & then "Other diseases of the lungs."

or to put it thus:-

Diseases of the Lungs	

Phthisis Pulmonalis	Other Pulmonary Diseases

4. For "Wounds & Accidents", they would suggest "Wounds & Injuries."

5. To insert a column "Diseases of Heart & large Vessels" they suggest as important.

6. The column "Deaths out of Hospital" vitiates the Return, because it excludes the causes of Death.

These causes should in every instance, be stated - either

in a separate return or by subdividing each column into

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{typed vertically}

In Hospital

Out of Hospital

Percentage of
Total of Strength

{typed normally}

(instead of the 5th Column under each disease "Percentage of Deaths to admission."

As the Admissions & Deaths are both given, the Ratio of D. to A.

can be easily calculated, if required.)

Of course if this suggestions be adopted, you must alter the heading of the 3 last sections to "all other causes".

7. It is most desirable to have a column for "suicide", if by the

adoption of these alterations you gain a space.

8. Would it not be well to substitute "Disease of the Liver" for

"Hepatitis", as some men might otherwise omit Hepatic Abscess -

which, altho' a consequence of inflamm'n, may possibly be, & sometimes is, returned as a distinct affection.

9. Is not some instruction necessary as to the cases to be included under "Spleen Disease"?

N.B.

It was impossible for me to finish even this short letter

last mail. I was too ill and too busy. And I doubt whether you will think it worth sending at all.

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I am very sorry you are deprived of Mrs. Walker's care & society for your sake & hers.

Ever sincerely yours

3/11/65

Florence Nightingale

Jas. Pattison Walker, Esq. M.D.

ff304-05 LETTER TO DR. WALKER? REGARDING MORTALITY STATISTICS AND
POLITICAL AGITATION; TYPED COPY, original LMA1 H1/ST/NC1/65/21

f304

PRIVATE

34 South Street
Park Lane
London, W.
3/11/65

My dear Sir,

I have seldom been so struck by anything as by the
"Extracts from a letter No. 247 dated the 8th May 1862 from
the Inspector General of Jails, Lower Provinces to &c"
which you were so kind as to send me. [I am aware I have
acknowledged it before.]

I believe I could give you a help towards furthering
the object you have so much at heart, viz. providing a remedy.

Could you send me any later information in such a form
that we could use it here?

Every thing relating to this subject is of immense
importance to the future of India & also of our Colonies.

Should you be so kind as to grant my request - would you,
in sending figures, be so good as to state the precise manner in
which the Statistical results are obtained? - in other words
how you get the percentages of mortality?

We should also have the chief groups of diseases.

I may mention to you, quite privately, that we have a
powerful protector in Lord Stanley (who was President of the
R. Commission). He will do all he can in this matter.

I fear the impending renewal of political agitation
will not be favorable to departmental work.

Still, as Lord Stanley says himself, "We must do our best."

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Parliament will not be called together till January, he
tells me.

It may be that, if these Ministers under Lord Russell
break down - (Lord Palmerston's loss is incalculable - it was
he who dragged every too liberal measure thro' the Cabinet) this
next Session may see Lord Stanley Minister for India.

Yours Sincerely

F.N.

f306 LETTER TO DR. WALKER? REGARDING INDIAN HOSPITAL-STEWARD;
TYPED COPY, original LMA1 H1/ST/NC1/65/22

34 South Street
Park Lane, W.
3/11/65

My dear Sir,

I have never acknowledged the "Memorandum on Hospitals" by Dr. C.A. Gordon ("our" Dr. Gordon) which you were so good as to send me. It is an admirable paper, a very good solution of the problem how far & in what manner the Hospital regulations in use here are adapted for India.

The only real difference between us is that Dr. Gordon thinks the Indian Hospital-Steward, if he be empowered to answer all requisitions of the Medical Officer, will have done his duty, while we require him to supply *according to a scale*, and, besides this, to comply with all requisitions of the Medical Officer. We think our plan the better and safer, for we give a distinct responsibility. But, in this matter, you in India can alone form a practical opinion. You know your local habits best.

The whole.....

(Rest of letter missing)

f307 LETTER TO DR. WALKER? REGARDING SMITH's WATER ANALYSIS;
TYPED COPY, original LMA1 H1/ST/NC1/65/23

26/11/65
34 South Street
Park Lane
London W.

PRIVATE

My dear Sir,

[9:879-80]

At last I send you the final Revise, which I have just received from the Printers, of Dr. Angus Smith's paper on Water Analysis, asked for by you I am afraid to say how many months ago. But I can truly say I have not lost a moment. First I applied to our Army Medical School Professors - to some of our great Government Chemists. None were able to satisfy the want. Dr. Angus Smith is the only man in Europe who could do it. And this paper is well worth all the trouble. But what that trouble has been no one who does not know Dr. Angus Smith can know. [I think he is more difficult to manage than all the Government of India] The enclosed paper has been thro' his hands & mine some 15 times. And we have had nine Revises of it from the Printers. The rough proof which I send you, tho' merely a rough proof, is the final one. It has been seen & approved by the great War Office Sanitary Authorities. And on Wednesday when they have a meeting, they mean I believe, to vote the sending it "by authority" to Army Medical Officers abroad & to the School at home, as their text book. But I make haste to send you this copy. And I will send you others, when I have had it printed off.

In great haste, Yours most gratefully for your many kindnesses

Florence Nightingale.

[end 9:880]

I do trust that your health is better.

ff308-13 LETTER TO DR. WALKER? REGARDING DR. FARR AND MAJOR GRAHAM TYPED COPY

f308

26/11/65.

My dear Sir

I have to thank you most sincerely for sending me a copy of your "First Annual Report", which contains most gratifying evidence of the administrative energy, intelligence and earnestness of its authors and of Sir John Lawrence.

The more we reflect on it, the more important does this question of the health of our Army in India become. To say much, it is worthy of all your life that has been given to it.

I shewed your Report quite privately to (General Register Office) Dr. Farr. And I send you his remarks (on the other side). I know you like to hear every opinion of any importance.

When all that you have recommended has been carried out, we shall see the results in still more greatly diminished mortality.

You have again raised the discussion regarding the estimated death-rate. We consider that your points can be easily answered, especially where you have run parallels between certain home rates and yours, which do not resemble each other in the circumstances.

But what is really wanted now is onward progress in the great work of civilizing and saving life.

And this you are doing.

Ever yours sincerely,
F. NIGHTINGALE.

ff309-11 {Dr. W. Farr's remarks, as referred to above} Nov 22/1865

f312

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PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

In going over your "First Report" it is most gratifying to see, e.g. at p. 73, that the Indian Government is prepared to spend in one year half a million in their endeavours to wean the soldiers from drinking ardent spirits and to induce him to drink wholesome beer.

And, p. 48, the Government spends 10 millions for the better accommodation of the Army.

You know, I dare say, that our Registrar General, Major Graham, was in India Private Secretary to Malcolm [illeg] and Elphinstone - ~~hm~~ he takes the deepest interest in our Army there.

[His son, Captain Graham, is at Jubbulpoor]

when the E.I. Company was abolished and the amalgamation of the two armies took place, Major Graham regretted that Local European Corps, amounting in strength perhaps altogether to 15 or 20 thousand, were not continued in each Presidency, like West India Regiments, Cape Corps, Malta Fencibles, etc. etc.. thus reducing the number of the regular British Army necessarily quartered in India. But it was otherwise arranged and consequently between 70 and 80 thousand of the British Army are to be kept constantly in India, in his (Major Graham's) opinion, to the great detriment of that Army. For the best of Regiments, without exception (he thinks) in India become demoralized. And he laments that so many officers are in

f313

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peace times brought up in such a school. He maintains that an officer who in *peace times* has passed ten or twelve years in India is good for little.

Therefore "seeing that it is fated that 70,000 or 80,000 of our countrymen brought up in this temperate climate are to spend their lives in that tropical region" (this is still Major Graham) he greatly rejoices to see the provident care of them which you and the Indian Government are taking.

f314 letter to FN from Simla 6 Dec 1866 with note by FN in orange pencil: To be returned to FN, no signature

ff320-22 LETTER TO DR. WALKER REGARDING HIS RESIGNATION; TYPED
COPY, original LMA1 H1/ST/NC1/65/27

f320

Dec. 18/65
35 South Street
Park Lane
London W.

PRIVATE

My dear Sir,

[9:881]

I really cannot tell you the grief I felt at your two last letters, which arrived together - both for the account of your health & for the inestimable & irreparable loss which the great sanitary cause in India will sustain from your resignation. I cannot write about it. For I should only intensify my regrets. And that would be of no use. I can only hope that the step you have taken will perfectly & entirely relieve yourself & Mrs. Walker of all anxiety about your valuable life.

[end 9:881]

I send you, by this, a plan of the Malta (female) prison which we consider the best for hot climates we have yet done.

Perhaps you will like to shew it to your friend Mr. Stewart Clark, the Inspector Gen'l of the N.W.P. Prisons. It may not be quite suited to India. But your acumen would see at a glance how it might be adapted.

The facility of supervision, the opportunity it gives to the prisoners of sleeping in the open air, the facility of ventilation, the power of multiplying the units to any extent, (if a larger prison is desired) are what we prize.

[I sent a copy direct to Sir John Lawrence]

f321

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By last mail but one, I sent to you, directed [9:881-82] to Calcutta (I had not then had your fatal news) the first Proof of the final Revise of Dr. Angus Smith's water analysis paper, written at your instigation. By last mail I sent three copies to you at Simla. (I had not strength to write.)

I think I told you the ordeal this paper has gone through, in order to excuse its delay. It has been 15 times thro' our hands - & has gone thro' 9 Revises. It is considered now to represent the last & most perfect knowledge on this subject in Europe.

I have presented it at the War & India Offices and they were so ~~p~~ much pleased with it that the War Office has asked for 600 copies to distribute "by authority" among its Officers, Medical & Engineering - & at its Medical School. The India Office has asked for copies too. But it takes at least a year for them to do the sum in addition of how many copies it will want. And, as it will be at least another year before it sends them out, I shall send 100 copies (privately) to India for distribution. Could you kindly tell me how this object will be best attained?

I send you three more copies by this mail.

I give Dr. Angus Smith 200 copies. [He is a most curious man. Do you know him? Nothing by the pressure put upon him would have made him bring this paper to its present point. And yet he is the only man in Europe who

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could do it. So you see what good you have done. The present paper will circulate thro' Europe & other parts of the world. And practical scientific men will improve upon it & bring to a farther & still farther progress what Angus Smith has brought to this point only at present.]

I have to thank you for the (Croquet & Archery) Photograph, containing yourself & Mrs. Walker, which interested me extremely. I wish I could send you some which would interest you as much.

I will not enlarge upon the immense loss to myself of your retirement from the Sanitary Commission. For indeed I cannot. It is irreparable. But I hope we shall never quite lose sight of each other while I remain in this world.

I cannot thank you for all the kindness you have shewn me. But pray believe me ever yours & Mrs. Walker's gratefully & sincerely

Florence Nightingale.

[end 9:882]

ff323-25 LETTER TO DR. WALKER? REGARDING ACCURATE TABULATION AND
REDUCTION OF FACTS, DR. ANGUS SMITH'S PAMPHLET; TYPED COPY,
original LMA1 H1/ST/NC1/66/3

f323

London March 26 1866
35 South Street
Park Lane, W.

My dear Sir,

I should have been quite unpardonable for not having
written to you before, if my silence had been from neglect, for
I cannot look at your beautiful photographs of Simla, at your
many most interesting letters, & at all the extracts from
Dr. Bryden, which you have been at the trouble to make - also
at your Jail Report, & your many other kindnesses, without
feeling
overflowing gratitude.

But I have been so ill the whole winter - always a
prisoner to my bed - often in one position for days together -
that I have had the greatest difficulty in carrying on even
the most important current business. **[10:33]**

I have had letters from Sir. J. Lawrence & Mr. Strachey.
As you are aware, the position of the Sanitary Commission will
be modified in important particulars. I do not pretend to
send you Indian news from England. I am at this moment engaged
with
the Indian Sec'y of State here about this. In one respect,
Lord de Grey is a better Indian Sec: of State for us than Sir C.
Wood - for Lord de Grey is entirely penetrated with the
importance
of the Sanitary subject. As signifying improvement in
civilization
more than anything else. **[end**

10:33]

As to vital statistics - there are two things:

1. an accurate tabulation of facts.
2. a reduction of facts, so as to obtain conclusions.

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The first is by far the most important. And for this purpose the present Army Medical Department forms should be used. The reductions made are of little value, except meteorologically. But there are other reductions which would be of the greatest value for the health of the Army. These require special knowledge for performing them, & could be best made at the Army Medical Department at home. As to Dr. Angus Smith's pamphlet - I cannot remember whether I mentioned to you that after I had finished compiling it, & presented it to the Army Sanitary Commission here, which has Indian members - the Government was so penetrated with the importance of it that the War Office & India Office each took 600 copies, & have distributed these with a printed circular among their medical & some of their engineering officers abroad by authority. So you see what good you have done.

I will not write more at present because I scarcely know whether this will reach you. But I hope, when I have your new address, to write about many things more fully.

Your letter containing an extract from the Engineer's report about the drainage of Calcutta was of the greatest importance to us. Had you been at Calcutta, I should have asked you to ascertain a point for us accurately which arises out of it. But now I know not to whom to apply. I feel as if we had lost our chief friend.

Pray give my most grateful & affectional regards to Mrs. Walker, if she will accept them. And accept the same

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yourself from

Yours ever truly

Florence Nightingale.

My birth day, as you are so good as to ask, was on May 12, 1820.

ff326-27 LETTER TO DR. WALKER REGARDING GERMAN PATHOLOGISTS,
FACTS VS. DOCTRINES; TYPED COPY

f326

April 10/66
35 South Street
Park Lane,
London W.

My dear Sir,

I will only now thank you for your most kind and valuable letter of February 21 from Simla - for the "Proceedings" which I have not yet received, & concerning which I will exactly observe your behests - for the Jail Report, which I have received

-
& for your numberless valuable M.S. Extracts - particularly "Habits in relation to Heat Influence" - Return showing cub. ft. & superf. area per man for Bengal Corps - April 1864.

All these facts are invaluable to refer to.

I am afraid you will think I am going beyond my province - but then you know you need not listen to what I say - if I say: Facts are everything - doctrines are nothing.

See what harm the German pathologists have done us. There are no specific diseases - there are specific disease conditions.

It is that which is bringing the Medical profession to grief, & will, in time, work a great reform - to wit, to make them make the public care for its own health, & not rely on doctrines

It is a grand thing for weak minds - the doctrine of contagion.

It is a grand thing for
.....
it is not a one-sided one.

f327

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The specific-disease-doctrine is the grand refuge of weak, uncultured, unable minds - such as now rule the Medical profession from Dr. Watson downwards - Watson who has the biggest practice in London.

Pardon me these unprofessional words. I will not trouble you again till I farther know of your whereabouts - & pray believe me, my dear Sir,

ever yours truly & gratefully
[Signature excised]

ff328-29 LETTER TO DR. WALKER? REGARDING LORD de GREY's
COMMISSION INTO ALGERIA, DR. MACNAMARA's PAPER ON WATER ANALYSIS;
TYPED COPY

f328

35 South Street
Park Lane
London W.
May 18/66

My dear Sir,

I know not how to thank you for all your kindness
to me.

I forget whether I told you that I have received your
Proceedings. They are most valuable. I will send them back
as you desire, without making any farther use of them than for
myself. They are full of interest - full of the energy of you
most energetic men - who have been doing your work in your own
way.

We here could not agree with all your methods. But we
cannot but agree & rejoice that you are doing all than can be
done - & that, as you advance, you will improve as we hope even
on our procedures in the old country.

I forget whether I mentioned to you that Lord de Grey
at the beginning of this year sent a Commission into Algeria,
which has many problems similar to those of India [deep ploughing
& draining has made many of their pestilential stations healthy
& they can now rear children as well as in any country in Europe]
The object of the Commission was to enquire into the causes of
this decreased mortality. They have already reported in a first
rough Proof. The first complete Proof to be had shall be for
me to send to you.

I have received your last kind letter of April 4 - with

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Dr. Macnamara's paper on Water Analysis - which I have duly
forwarded to Dr. Angus Smith with your message. By this mail
I send you by book post (16) sixteen photographs, of which I
beg your kind acceptance and Mrs. Walker's. I selected them
particularly with a view to what she might feel interested in
and to adorning her new house, if she will be so kind. /

[I am disappointed to see how much less well they look
without their mounts. But if you take the trouble of mounting
them, it of course makes them look much better.]

Nos. 501, 521, 519 are all from pictures by Turner
in our National Gallery - specimens of his different manners.

ff330-31 LETTER TO DR. WALKER REGARDING RESULTS OF ALGERIAN
REPORT, EFFECT OF CULTIVATION and DRAINAGE ON HEALTH; TYPED COPY

f330

Sept 3/66
35 South Street
Park Lane,
London W.

My dear Sir,

I am extremely obliged to you for your kind letter
& for your valuable Report on Ventilation. This first report
is admirable - and we now eagerly await the results of your
trials.

I hasten to send you the first copy of our Algerian
report. The French in Algeria appear to have been going in
the right direction. The important - *most important* - result
has been that they have proved in Algeria the effect on health
of cultivation *per se*, & of cultivation & drainage together.

Could not the Indian authorities try the effect of
completely improving the drainage, water-supply & sanitary
condition of two or three stations in the manner recommended
by the "Suggestions" of the War Office Sanitary Commission?
These are quite in conformity, so far as drainage and water-
supply
are concerned, with what the French have done - of course,
independently.

I would just mention, casually, that it will be seen
from the account given of the sanitary administration in Algeria,
that they have found necessary an organization much more complete
than the simple inspectorial service contemplated in India.
At the same time I doubt not that a better & more efficient
system might be framed for India than the French have framed
for Algeria. What do you think?

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Pray believe me

My dear Sir

Yours ever faithfully & gratefully

Florence Nightingale

Jas. Pattison Walker, Esq. M.D.

ff332-33 LETTER TO DR. WALKER REGARDING the THOMASON COLLEGE
REPORT, ROORKEE WORKS; TYPED COPY, original LMA1 H1/ST/NC1/68/6

f332

35 South Street
Park Lane
London W.
April 3/68

My dear Sir,

It is long, very long, since I heard from you -
And I was almost afraid that your health was worse. But
I received some few mails ago a tin cylinder which could not
have come but from you, I think, & which gave me a very great
deal of pleasure - containing a wonderful photograph of the
Ganges Canal, with that exquisite bridge, of which the
construction with its 3 beautiful arches is worthy of the
Ponte della Trinita at Florence - & its two magnificent lions.
It is a most characteristic picture - and the executing of such
a work with such very grand architectural art is worthy of
India.

I was much interested to in the Foundry List of Tools
&c - in the 1866 papers of Examination of the Thomason College,
& its Report (which you were so kind as to send with the
photograph). They are among the most important works of
the age - the Roorkee works.

I delayed thanking you hoping to receive a letter
from you. But, as none such as come & as one feels a little
uneasy about the health of one's friends in India, when one does
not hear from them, I will not delay any longer.

You know that I have still some Commission "Proceedings"
of yours, which I ought to return to you.

I will not enter now upon the immense subject of how Indian sanitary subjects are progressing (or *not* progressing) at our end, till I hear from you.

In December I had the pleasure of seeing Dr. Norman Chevers for a few minutes, just before he started for Calcutta, ~~that I was able~~ tho' I was obliged to receive him on my couch. He gave me some news of you. I have always regretted so very much that your health prevented your remaining at Calcutta. It seems to me that to give the native professional young man some idea of Sanitary Science, as you were so ably doing - & which it appears they are not at all slow to take in - is the only way really to civilize India in physical things.

Pray remember me most kindly to Mrs. Walker.

I have had a very bad winter as to over-work & ill health - & do not find myself able to do the work I used. Believe me

ever sincerely & gratefully yours

Florence Nightingale.

ff334-37 LETTER TO DR. WALKER REGARDING DEATHS OF FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES; TYPED COPY, original LMA1 H1/ST/NC1/68/10

f334

35 South Street
Park Lane
London W.

PRIVATE

August 10/68 [10:44-45]

My dear Sir,

I cannot tell you (tho' I should be very ungrateful of I did not try) how much pleased and touched by your most kind, ~~filleg~~ interesting and entertaining letter of May 10 I felt.

In the first place, as Napoleon said of the 'etats de situation' of his troops, I read even now in my old age all details of sanitary matters and even "Memoranda" "On accommodation required" with as much eagerness as a girl reads her first novel.

In the next place, we had had some questions with very insufficient data referred to us at the India Office - and your details, especially on the Meteorology and temperature, day by day, of Chukrara, just filled up the missing link. The details of your 'dinner-parties' also - don't laugh - were most important.

When people can feed themselves well, that is the best proof of our military power to hold the country. There was no Crimean bungling here. And I shall always believe that we have a firm tenure there where we can give a dinner under difficulties. Add to this, your letter was as amusing to me as White of Selbourne - as touching as Sterne. And you are as zealous as Mr. Chadwick himself on sanitary matters, with a poetry and humour quite beyond Mr. Chadwick.

And now I am afraid I shall make but a very poor return for your most kind letter. I am so overworked and so constantly ill. I feel now how much the enormous pressure of work, and often of disappointing, always of harassing work, for the last 18 months has told upon me. And when the Parliamentary session was over, I 'disappeared' & would not give my address. [I told the War Office I was going to Ephesus, because I much preferred fighting with the wild beasts of Ephesus to fighting with the War Office wild beasts.]

I dwell gratefully upon the encouragement which your kindness gives me at a time I will not say of despondency but a solemn time to me (every life has its solemn times if people would but mark them) for this week in August saw, 15 years ago, my first undertaking of the Matronship of a Public Institution. 12 years ago, my return from the Crimea home, since which time I have not revisited this home, & have never had 10 minutes leisure.

7 years ago, the death of the best friend and fellow-worker, man or woman ever had, Sidney Herbert, the War Minister, whose labours in the administration were the highest good as his too early death was the deepest loss the army - I had almost said the country - ever had.

5 years ago, we finished the Report of the R. India Sanitary Commission which has, praise be to God, and thanks to your labours and those of Sir John Lawrence and many others, borne good fruit, both for natives and Europeans in India, -

f336

-3-

altho' we must all of us feel, as people do whose idea is higher than human power of performance, that the work in India might have progressed more rapidly. [I will return to this.]

it is also 11 years this very day since I was taken ill with the illness from which I have never risen again. You see how much I have to thank God for who has indeed led me by a way which I have not known. At the same time He has seen fit to send me troubles & trials, like waters which one could not cross, were one to look down into them.

I am almost the last survivor of my fellow workers in England, men, some of them but little older than I. And this very year has seen the death of the best and dearest of my pupils, my "Una", who was many years younger than I.

I enclose a little sketch of her which was published in "Good Words" for June, which may possibly give ~~then~~ ten minutes' interest to you & Mrs. Walker who have given me so much. Now

[end 10:46]

my "Una" is gone, I cannot think how I could ever be unhappy, when

she was doing God's work so gallantly at Liverpool Workhouse. Life, under this discipline, *loses* - shall I say? or *gains* - all its value. It becomes but as a part of eternity. And past & future would seem almost more a reality & a presence than the present - were it not for pressing duty.

I don't know what I ever wrote so much about my own things before. But your kindness encourages me.

But I must leave off now for indeed I am driven by business.

I thank you again and again for all your kindness which

f337

-4-

Believe me my dear Sir makes me truly & always
your & Mrs. Walker's

faithful & grateful

Florence Nightingale

Dr. Pattison Walker.

Add Mss 45782, microfilm, Indian material, 265 folios, 98 pages,
Adam Matthew reel 22; much filled in
ff1-63 Hewlett;
ff64-110 Ellis;
ff111-64 Hathaway;
ff165-211 Plowden;
ff212-65 Malleson

ff1-1v, undated notes, probably Dr. Sutherland re the duties of
medical Officers to point out causes of disease in India and to
let engineers solve the problem

ff2-5v, Bombay, July 9, 1967 from Dr Hewlett, to FN, re problems
of water drainage at Bombay

ff6-7v, August 25, 1867, thanking FN for books received,
expressing the need for Parliamentary Blue Books etc, and telling
of an outbreak of cholera in India

ff8-11v, September 28, 1867, thanking FN for forwarding Dr. S's
reports on cholera, and telling of problems with sewage in Bombay

unsigned notes, ff12-12v, pencil

f12

Village Vatel: Village Police Acts confound

Municipalities: capital error making Health

Officers their opponents if the Macer himself
disagreeable can be dismissed without appeal
to Govt

India not ripe for Mutinies

natives so frightened of seeing themselves in
the papers won't do what they think right

English press only thing of influence in India

have a great man up before law

fine him 200 rupees

conserve the water - keep it from pollution

ventilation: dig a trench, when low caste men

not to be had

Cholera never touches you

50 miles in Cholera as soon as a case march

them out 2 or 3 miles

often without food - only 3 hours' sleep

hard time - highly enjoyable - day never long

enough - no tents

f12v

One Civil Surgeon gets all the operations
Another does nothing
British Medical Service gets only the
leavings of Netley
Indian Medl Serve best men
Bombay dirtier than ever
When I began 28 per 1000
then 14 or 16
now 34
people cant sleep on their roofs
I went up the gullies myself 3 3 in morning
Pedder now collector of Colaba
25 years' service - to be dep Surgeon Genl
my boys
Collectors - they *shall* be
Sir R. Temple Govt as good
to raise the people to save them
to educate them

initialled notes, ff13-15, pen & pencil, probably from a meeting with

f13

Dr. Hewlett [notes on him] Feb 25/78

[10:141-43]

2 years doing duty as Bombay

Presy's Sanitary Commnr

2nd year in Famine

By the Village Police Act it has
been found that the Village Vatelers
or Headmen can be made use of
to enforce various Sanitary measures
- to conserve the water - keeping it
from pollution

[even in Bombay cess pools are
allowed to defile the drinking water
by percolation - so near]

to enforce ventilation

to keep up surface cleansing

where low caste men are not to be

had to remove ordure, have a

trench dug for soil:

By the Village Police Act Cholera never touches you fines
can

be inflicted for neglect

If thing not done, write to Collector

they *shall* do it -

if Collector does not do his duty -

report him to Governmt

Govts are good - make him do

his duty -

"And they must do it then?"

- they shall do it.

f13v

Sir Richard Temple

very good Governor

looks into things himself

examines & annotates Reports

himself

best Governor since Sir B Frere -

very keen in Sanitary things

Pedder - good man now like

Crawford, gone back to a

Collectorship

Pedder collector of Colaba now

Engineers have not Army

Sanitary Commn's books:

nor Notes on Hospls

very ignorant

build Barracks on the ground

against a hill: water bursting

up under floors -

build Hospitals with wells

all fouled by neighbourng cesspools

f14

One Civil Surgeon gets all the
Operations, stone, tumours &c
into his Hospital
Another lazy - does nothing - gets
none -
British Medl Service gets only
the leavings of Netley
the rejected of Netley
Indian Medl Service = the best
men
Sanitary Commrs must report
to Civil Authority
20 yrs service to be a Deputy Surgeon
Genl

To raise the people - to save life
- to educate the people -
to create them - that is the
business of a Sanitary Commr
came home for Fever contracted in Famine Govt inspections
wife: too ill to stay out & must
be with our 5 children: too young to go out

f14v

Municipalities - don't do their duty
natives so frightened of seeing
themselves in the papers -
won't do what they think right

I used to have a great man up
before the Court = if he broke
the Sanitary rules - fine him
200 rupees
that is the only way:
would offer me 1000 rupees to
let him off
have him up before the Court
he will do right for ever after

English Press - only press of
real influence for good in India

Cholera

I & my boys: Deputy Sanitary Commrs

6:	2 died of Fever
	Abcess Liver
	1 invalided for life
	1 dismissed
	because he was too slow on

I never gave myself more than
3 hours' sleep at night
often without food
always without tents
hard time of it - highly enjoyable
day never long enough
always like to have a little
more to do than I can
Meat to do the will & to finish the
work F.N.

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{f16 is blank}
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unsigned notes, ff16v-17v, pen & pencil

f16v

Municipalities

India not ripe for Municipalities
capital error making Health Officials

Municipal apptments
as long as H. O. neglects his duty
& calls for no expence - retained
if he makes himself disagreeable, he
can be dismissed without appeal
to Govt.

these appointments should be at
least so far Govt ones - as that they
cannot be dismissed without Govt
sanction

Bombay is dirtier than ever

When I began, Mortality 28 per 1000 -
we brought it down to 14 or 16 "
now it is up

People can't sleep on their roofs
for the smell

But I used to go up the gullies
myself - never later than 3. 30 a.m.

Now here is a Dr. Weir who is
a Captain of Volunteers!!!

A Missionary
Health Officer

f17

the

Cholera real Cholera
in Bombay
with such constant European
supervision - prevented
speculation

Engineer

notion of

Hospitals

Fever

malarial type
not famine

fever

English

least

enough Deaths on their Registers
all the Lord Sahibs said show us

Deaths on your register.
had a death or two too many
village accountants the Registrars
Saunders incompetent (Mysore

then Elliot, Wingate &
Prevention of famine instead of
an arithmetical dispute about
the numbers dead of famine

Bombay dirty a
good
mason
&
Military
ary

but no

wrote my Reports under a tree,
with sand

blowing in my eyes

Collector of

~~Abemniatore~~/Kaladji - removed

relief did not reach

recipients

Poona to Pundipore

relief work carried out

Assistant Collrs worked like

a pat on the back from
Govt

f17v

Joyner - Engineer - Irrigation Relief Work

paid all the people himself

Relief: first special treatment

then pay with only nominal work

then real work

Englishmen over how many

millions

behaved like English Bombay fam

roads like

marshes no carts

travelled on elephants I

swam two rivers

Nolan

children under 7 one of my boys

seventh day wage invalided

special treatment in Egypt

sent him to

investigate type of Fever

small pox in Madras fruit of

relief camps in Bombay worst in

Khaladgi & elsewhere where

famine

unsigned notes, ff18-19v, pencil

f18

Patels p. 4 end 1876

I meant to have

Kaladji Govt orders not carried out

Sholapore no wasting

but some had private stores of their
own

& others were put on special treatment

p.251

children under 7

Dr Cornish shd have said 1 lb rice was

not sufficient but 1 lb. jovari was

f18v

we work twice armed
Govt cannot know
perfect system of Famine relief in Bombay
perfectly organized & supervised
Never works
{upside down, on a slant}
It would be
as reasonable x to say
in this Famine Year
there was a very high death
rate - but we must eliminate
all Deaths from Famine
 See p. 143 x as to say all
 160 Deaths from Cholera
 & Fever are to be
 eliminated

Also all increase of pop
x to be eliminated

Cholera = Famine diarrhea in Madras
 = real Cholera Bengal

f19

We shall have another Mutiny some day
there's mutiny now in
if the Mahratta peasantry join against us

~~As I.O.~~ S. of S. should order local
Govts shd make them responsible for
high rural Death rate: domestic cleanliness
Sanitation -puts the Collector up
elephant: 20 hours Sardines & potted meat
no biscuit: no grain I liked it
shd have been glad of jowarri (a millet & pea)
Spence Assistant Coll taluq in Belgaum -
not seen a European for 4 months
young Civilian: worked night & day
& so modest afraid he had not done his
best.

 I enjoyed it so much
Peile coming home in March - one of the
ablest men they have - Comms in Sind
Famine Commn
You're a power

f19v

1 lb rice not equal to 1 lb jowari
 Parrish shd have told Sir R. Temple that
 fine Peasantry the Mahratta South
 Deccan fine race of men
 special treatment for
 Sholapore
 Kaladji
 no corruption every money put
 Ahmedabad water relief work: filthy water
 famine in Bombay over in Nov/77
 150000 famine Deaths
 outside

Salteraancestral men dispossessed
 6 heads of Registration by Govt
 Cholera Smallpox Fevers Bowel Complts Other Causes
 Patels so frightened: they thought the Govt
 wanted the people to die. So frightened lest
 they shd not have enough.

The men worked with
 a will in Bombay
 Got more out of them
 than in Maglai
 where was that
 rebellion against
 the Govt of India

unsigned note, f20, pencil

f20

Poor Rate
 no poor rate desirable
 Mahometan & Hindoos keep their own
 poor manage it much better
 than we could possibly do
 & at no expence to us -

Col Merriman is passing a Bill for
 an Irrigation Rate (to embrace
 all the people below the Irrigation
 work whether they take the water
 or not) thro' the Bombay Council

I think it disastrous
 {the following notes are scattered over the rest of the f}
 substitute for
 to reduce it
 to an arithmetical
 dispute however important

instead of Proportion of Famine
Famine Statistics

Ahmedabad
water supply

Moglai destitutes
Canarese Jungle
emigrants with their cattle
p. 152

unsigned notes, ff21-34v, pen & pencil

f21

Mr. Hewlett

Feb 3/79

Patels so frightened: they thought the Govt wanted
the people to die = so frightened lest they should not have
Deaths enough on the Register

Deaths were not *under* registered
during Famine in Bombay Presy

on the contrary the Village
Headmen thought they could not
have Deaths enough on their

Registers: (Village accountants are ~~keep~~
the Registers/rars) The wretches
thought the Sirkar wanted the
people to die - "All the Sahibs
said the first thing directly they ~~came~~/arrived: 'Show us
the Deaths: show us your Registers'".

They were more likely to have
a death or two too many than
not to register all there were:
except those who died in the
jungles

roads like marshes after the rains came
no carts possible could only travel on elephants
swam rivers - no bridges
wrote my reports under a tree
on an elephant, sand blowing in
my eyes -
travelled on elephant for 20 hours x went from
10.30 p.m. to 6 p. m. next day
(x swam two rivers) then made
my camp at 6 p.m., at 10.30 p.m.

f21v

called the camp people: & off
we went: mahouts used to
say: elephants can't do this:
I enjoyed it highly =
often no biscuit - no grain of any kind: I liked
it. officers gave me biscuits: all
mouldy - nothing but sardines
& potted meats - should have
been glad, I know, of this famine
diet jowarri - (a millet = a pea)
I travelled about inspecting, encouraging
helping District officers
District Officers worked like
Englishmen behaved
Englishmen: all they wanted
was a pat on the back from
Govt. young Spence
(& he was only one out of many) -
Assistant Collector = had a
famine taluq on Belgaum:
had not seen a European for 4
months, when I came: a young
Civilian - worked night & day
& so modest: afraid he hadn't
done the best (he wanted a pat on the
back)
a spectre met me at the Station:
he had been a fine young man: this
was young Spence - a spectre but unflagging

f22

Kaladgi: Govt orders not carried out

Collector of Kaladgi removed:

relief did not reach recipients
but he was removed for it.

There may be as much corruption
among the petty native officials

in Bombay as in Madras (I know

I would not trust them tho' there

are some whom you might trust

with gold untold) but they

could not be corrupt: there

was too much supervision: x

there was too good an organization x

- an European (the people were

placed in rows) saw the money

or rations given into their

hands: no corruption possible: every

money paid - before/in European presence.

[Madras set themselves against

the Govt of India: spirit of

rebellion: & so the people did

not work well: did not work

their best do their utmost.] The men

worked with a will in Bombay: got more out of them

than in Madras, where there was that rebellion agst the Govt of
India

x Such constant European supervision

made native speculation impossible

x natives not good at organizn: cannot

even execute an order to the spirit

& not to the letter: not elastic = must give them the letter

f22v

Relief works: (Irrigation)

Poona to Indapore

Pundipore to Sholapore

Joyner: Engineer (Irrigation Relief
Works) paid all the people himself

Neera works:

tried for 7th day wage [Col Fife]: but got

special treatment: [Kaladgi worst - Sholapore

very bad: special treatment
in both

Relief first, when they were very low special treatment

gave them any food the Doctors

ordered that could be got

then pay with only nominal

work

then pay with real work

Got the allowance for all children

under 7 years. they had nothing before

~~did to~~

The allowance was enough to

prevent wasting for all those

who had reserve stores of their

own - go ~~see~~ on to p.2 (3)

1 lb rice not at all equal (in nutriment

to 1 lb. jowarri. [This Cornish shd have told

Sir. R. Temple] Cornish calculated the ration

too much by an European standard - but a tall large man

wants more food than a small man.

f23

-1 a -

England doesn't know
we work twice as much in
India as they do in England
or in any other part of the world.

perfect system of Famine
relief in Bombay
perfectly organized & supervised

Irrigation Relief Works:
is there a list of Irrigation
Relief Works performed?
[To Sir L. Mallet - List always ready
for Bombay]
[Col Fife: Relief labourers do about
a third of the work of able-bodied]

f24

-2-

We made mistakes: but we
learnt from them - & we
corrected them as soon as
we could.

had famine well in hand at the
beginning
it never came to the point of starvation

impossible to have European
supervision over the daily
pay but the higher
native officials are gentlemen:
would as soon take a bribe
as I should
to these we could always entrust
the supervision
they cannot organize but they
can be trusted to obey orders

we always employed the men
by villages wherever possible:
so that those should be together
who knew one another
grass 2nd for babies to every village

f24v

Famine Relief Works
Moota Canal
Poona Canal
Malooba Tank

f25

Affected Populn 8 millions
(5 millions worst)

Takavi was given to enable
them to "home" themselves
again

see Sir R. Temple's Famine
Minute

Marwari money=lenders
did they suffer?
I am afraid they did not:
bloodsuckers
curse of our Deccan

f26

-2-

Madras: small pox fruit of relief
camps

Bombay: worst in Khandeish &
elsewhere where least Famine
= famine Diarrhea in Madras
Cholera = real Cholera in
Bombay carried off in
a few hours (doubtless
more fatal from previous
reduction of strength by Famine)

Madras: Cholera often Bowel
Complaint the direct result
of Famine - tho' sometimes
the result of crowding
together in unsanitarized
Relief Camps, Relief Works &
Relief Houses -
Fever: Famine Fever

Bombay Fever malarial type
after the rains x

Then what were the Famine
Deaths put down to in
Bombay? e.g. in Kaladgi
Death rate quadrupled

x I sent Nolan, one of my boys, now
invalided in Egypt) to investigate
types of Fever: generally malarial

f26v

Bombay: x famine over in Nov/77

[Madras: not over in March/78

Mysore: Jan/78 still very bad]

x 150 000 Famine Deaths the

outside: obtained as

the excess over registered Deaths in ordinary years

But the increase of pop. forbidden

(ignored) by Govt. xx

xx 6 heads only of Death Registration

~~only~~, allowed by Govt.

Cholera: Small pox: Fevers: Bowel Compts, Injuries

Other causes -

xx Then what are Famine Deaths

registered under ? Anemia: "other causes"

xx And does Govt allow no

increase of popn?

Qy irrigation

And did not Village Patels

& Registrars share the

distress & migrate or die?

Was not relief to enable them/Ryots

to 'home' themselves again Takavi

desirable? or necessary?

f27

-2(3)-

Sholapore: no washing
but some had private stores of
their own
& others were put on special treatment
p.251

Cornish shd have said - 1 lb. rice was
not sufficient but 1 lb. jowarri was

*Over how many millions did the
Bombay Famine extend?*

Did Marwaris money lenders suffer from
famine? I am
afraid
the
bloodsuckers did
not

Are Marwaris honest?

see St. G Tucker: can't trade again till all
bankruptcy debts paid

*Did Ryots become more indebted
from Famine? or to re-home
themselves after Famine?*

f27v

From the Moglai, & Native States destitute people came in
beyond rescuing

Canarese Jungle
emigrants with their cattle
in search of fodder
died there of fever

p. 135

p.152

Many especially of the lower caste Mhars or Mangs
would sooner live on carrion
devour a dead dog
than go upon relief works or
be fed in relief houses.

f28

-3-

Bombay City dirty, dirtier than ever.

Weir incompetent: insulted us:
made to apologize: Death rate
risen
Engineers good masons & builders
but not a notion of sanitary
requirements either of Barracks
& Hospitals of building on
basements or of anything of the
laws of health

grass huts
3 or 400 {illeg yds?}
along dams

*The S. of S. for India should
order local Govts to see after
the sanitation of the country -
the domestic cleanliness -
should make them responsible
for the high rural Death rate -*

should pull the Collectors, District
Officers, up - they can do it if
they will

I meant, had I remained Sanitary
Commr, to go round to selected
Collectors, they to have select

f28v

Patels (headmen): & to try
the experiment with these
select Patels how they
could be responsible for the
domestic sanitation of their
villages: there is a law,
enforcing by penalties, by which
they could be made so -

We were to have tried the
experiment

p. 4 end 1876

f29

Ahmedabad water ? ~~relief work~~
filthy water thro' jute: & urine
if flowers watered with it, died -
excellent water a few 100 yds off -
(v. Inspection Report)

f30

-4-

Mysore; Saunders quite
incompetent - then Elliott,
Wingate (a capital man) &
sent

Peile coming home in March
one of the ablest men - They
have Actg Commr in Sind -
now on the Famine Commn

f31

-5-

We shall have another Mutiny
some day: then God help us
if the Mahratta peasantry join
against us: (a fine peasantry
Southern Deccan a fine race of men - I like them
very much. but they are profoundly
dissatisfied: all that is true
about the indebtedness: they did
however, ask me to thank the Govt
for what had been done for them
during the Famine)
there's Mutiny now in
 & in

Sallara - ancestral men all
dispossessed by the sowkars -

{f32 is blank}

f32v

Sir R. Temple's
Minute for Famine
Dec 24/77

Mostu Canal
Poona
Saltara
Nair &
well in hand
not to the point of starvation
8 millions pop
(5 mill worst)

f33

-6-

Poor Rate
no poor rate desirable
~~except~~ but there must be Famine
relief
Except in Famine, Mahomedans
& Hindoos keep their own poor:
manage it much better than
we could possibly do
& at no expence to us -
But they don't keep them out of
the Sowkar's hands?
And do they fall into the
Sowkar's hands themselves
to supply their own poor?

Irrigation Rate
Col Merriman has a Bill
before Bombay Govt for an
Irrign rate - It is to take in all
the people below the Irrign work
whether they take the water or not,
I think it desirable
[Col Fife: No: it will bring in
so little in proportion to the discontent it will make. And it
will
make the people discontented]

{f34 is blank}

f34v

the S. of S. orders increased pop

not to be

the Govt of India orders it *to be*

(1 p. c. per annum)

p. 133

causes of disease

in {illeg} impure water supply as well as {illeg scanty}

food eaten raw ~~food~~ for want of fuel

{ff35-37v appear to be pencil notes, on envs, for ff38-47v

Hindoo Mahometans Xtians all others

Collector at Sholapore got such

a wiggling & he deserved it

when Relief Works suspended, but no

Relief houses ready, dysentery & cholera

Sir P. Wodman [?] Chapman had the courage

to take it out of Civilians' hands

& put it into Sir M. Kennedy's, then

Genl Kennedy. Head of P.W. Dept

~~Genl~~ Burke following the water

Matthew helped me at Sholapore with

matted huts, roof ventn, shifting but

had famine work in hand at

beginning.

European boy supported by low castes

teaching them English

35v

impossible to have European supervising

daily pay

but upper native officials are

gentlemen ^ an be trusted to take

no bribes.

These always supervised.

Men employed by villages wherever possible

Grass hut for babies mothers

pan in, wrong village, or every 2 or 30

yds at a illeg 2 miles long

an old boy to look after them

engineer had a trader to sell chapatties

that they might not have to cook things on P.W.s

P.W. oversees (not Irrigation)

Gentleman educated man

afraid of the pitt [?] native official

taking a bribe from people going on works

f36

large works. Lytton gave in [?]

[omitted]

Sir R. Temple only Governor who
ever travelled in Tonga [?]
Sir M. Kennedy went into his Office
& thought out everything how this
order wd be executed, how the
Ex. En wd carry it out
we made mistakes but we learnt
by them & we corrected them as soon
as possible.

unsigned notes, ff38-44, pen & pencil

f38

Mr. Hewlett Feb 10/79

It was Sir P. Wodehouse's policy
- Chapman, Chief Secy, first bought
up grain - Sir P.W. said it would raise the price
Sir P.W. had the courage to take it the Famine
out of Civilians' (Chapman's) hands &
put it into Sir M. Kennedy's, then Genl
Kennedy head of P.W. Dept.

Genl (Sir M.) Kennedy, head of
P.W. Dept, taken from there
to be put at the head of the
Famine: a great man: a
grand organizer: he would go into
his Office & think out everything
how will this order be executed? how
will the Ex. En. carry it out?
Lord Lytton will confess himself
wrong in this matter of great
Relief works v. little ones
large works: Ld Lytton gave in
If anything went wrong,
We flew at the place & worked
with a will: Sir R. Temple heard
a complaint (Sholapore) - I made
it. relief houses all wrong - he
came down - without warning -

f38v

It was in Krishna that I swam
the rivers on an elephant.
obliged to travel on elephant after
the rains set in: impossible
then - the tracks one marsh
to travel by tonga
Collector in Sholapore got such a wiggling
& he deserved it - when Relief Works
suspended on account of rains, he had no
relief houses ready - dysentery & ulcers all heaped
up it was in Sholapore that I got fever in
the jungles
I went there & Mathew helped me at Sholapore with
matted huts roof ventilation - soon shifted the sick

first of all set out crossing Beema
by ford: tonga with ponies
first thing in the ford was to stick
in a stone: we had to push tonga
thro': my servant said he was
touched up by the sun: couldn't
do anything. I had to cook my
own food & make my own bed
- thought it great fun -
this was first of all: travelled by tonga
from 12 till 6 a.m. - thro' the river
Beema - then till 9 or 10 p.m. cooked
my own dinner - slept for an hour or two
- off at 12

f39

The Hindoos are either

[10:812-13]

high Caste or vegetarians

middle " - flesh eaters

low " - carrion eaters

[no Hindoo will eat beef]

low caste, not outcastes -

The Govt makes us divide them

into

4

2

1

3

All

Mahomedans

Hindoos

Xtians

Others

I want them to let us divide
the Hindoos at least into

High Caste & Low Caste -

The low Castes are a fine race

live outside in suburbs -

not allowed to come within

towns: death rate very high

indeed from the horrible

conditions under which they

live, bad water &c &c -

Now this ought to be shown: let

us have the Death- rate of the

low Castes separately: & then

amend their conditions -

They have a perfect thirst for

f39v

knowledge: ~~they~~/ these low castes supported
a European boy of 16 who
was lost in return for his
teaching them English.

outside suburb inhabited by
low caste must not enter
the village fine intelligent
fellows but drink
very high rate of mortality
should be separate in Registers

I asked Govt of Bombay
what could be done for them
educate them, they said
& so we did, but not in Schools

Christian converts - all drink
very unsatisfactory converted
to get into Govt employmt
Knew one, a grand old man, who
was satisfactory & had good
influence over natives: he was a
devout low caste: went on pilgrimage to Himalayas
& a Parsee boy who became a
clergyman
fell in with Padre Wilson: became a sincere
Xtian: influenced others:

f41v

Ahmednuggur: water supply
Mahometan
form of a Cross

Byapore: Kaladji
Mahometan aqueduct
relief work to repair it
finest remains in Bombay
larger dome than St. Paul's
Sir R. Temple came:
no tea for me
went to see the antiquities
Sir R.'s only Governor who ever
travelled in a Tonga

Burke following the water
he taught me that

f42

-2-

Famine
you were obliged to have the
children eat not only out of
reach but out of sight of the
parents.
When we fed children & adults
together the parents would
snatch the food from the
children
The children had that self
control: if the parents
held their eyes fixed upon the
children, the children would
not eat under the eye of the
parents, no not even if they
were starving.
love of children died out
with the famine:
man murdered his
like wild beasts always wanting
to wander home to die

f42v

Joyner: Engineer = Moota works
rode up & down his 5 or 6 miles
of works: if a breach of his Sanitary
rules allowed by his native
subordinates/~~illeg~~, down upon them
directly, & punished the neglect or
found it out at once: & singled
out the offending subordinate.

Sanitary rules splendidly
enforced. natives better off
sanitarily than in their own huts
without ventilation, good water
or drainage

f43

opium eating among natives
~~ad~~ almost general
terrible sights the Opium houses
in Bombay the D. of Sutherland
whom I took there spoke to a
man & he was only anxious
tho' with mental politeness
to resume his opium.

deteriorate man & race
opium pilules given by the
mothers to their infants
(qy Manchester)

f43v

Famine

Christian

Deserted villages ? only seen
1 or 2 deserted villages during
the whole time of the Famine
(villages not deserted)
Patels (headmen) remained in villages
registering not suspended.
Corpses? only saw 5 during
the whole time of the Famine
Inquest on every one
one old man had left Relief
house the day before wandering
home to die like a wild beast
Nearly all those who came to for
Relief, had money in their pockets -
All Hindoos hoard one can
hardly say what for? all
are saving
some had 500 rupees:
20 " was common
could not tell what saving for
women & men had their
ornaments on Relief works
men their earrings

f44

-4-

chupatties sold to people on works
European Engineer official appointed
had a trader to ~~do this~~ sell them
that the exhausted people
might not have to cook
their own food
Grass huts for babies erected every 200 or 300
~~or 400~~ yds on dam 2 miles long
mothers at work with infants
left them there with ~~under~~ an
old crone /hag to look after them & popped in for
a minute to see them
or grass hut to every village

unsigned letter draft, ff45-48v, pen & pencil

[10:147]

f45

Health & prosperity to you &
to your life-giving ~~operations~~ 12/2/79
work {printed address:} 10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir

As you are aware, I am ~~so~~/deeply
much interested (as all
England would be, if she
only knew) not only in
your Sanitary work/~~Commissioner~~,
[tho' these are enough to fill a life time with interest
~~operations~~, but in the whole
cruel story of the Famine & in the
great deeds of the heroes
thereof heroes indeed - ~~that~~
- I want not 'to make you
fight your battles o'er again'
but that England should
have some small idea of what
battles have been fought
& victories won against
awful Famine in Bombay - what has been
undergone & what achieved.
T.G. Hewlett Esq
&c &c

f45v

I read all over again your
14th & 13th Annual Reports
 & your Inspection
Reports: all are ~~to me~~/to me intensely
interesting: but they contain
~~but very~~ little about the Famine
& very little intelligible to ~~the common herd~~/the general run of
English at home people

England has/does not in the least
idea/know of what has been done
& what has been overcome
by the Hercules labours of such ~~illeg~~/great Englishmen ~~Hercules~~
dealing with this fearful
monster

When I asked for your 'occasional'
or Monthly Famine Reports
mentioned in your too brief
summary of ~~your~~ Famine tours
in the 14th Annual Reports, I was
told that these were not published

I am sure that these Reports
ought to be popularized, & a

f46v

to write a sensational account
of the Famine: God forbid & much less
to animadvert on any
arrangement or persons
where so much has been so
nobly done to save life
& re create ~~a~~/as it were starving ~~masses~~/millions
of our own Indian children
 & those even who are not our own
but rather

~~It is simply~~ to give England
which does not read Reports
some ~~idea~~/simple account of what has been/~~so much that~~
successfully done - so nobly ventured & so nobly done
 to save life & recrate starvation

 We have nothing in our own
English distress, tho' ~~alas!~~ bad
enough, - there was nothing
even in the Irish famine - at
all to give to any power of
imagination we have in England a
conception of what an Indian
famine is: of what are the
labours so cheerfully undergone necessary to cope with
this/it - but which alas! often jeopardized
the ~~lives~~/health of the deliverers
God speed you & your work always
If you could obtain for me any of
these papers or monthly reports, you wd

necessary to cope with this colossal calamity, compared with which the greatest war is nothing:

God speed the soldiers & the Generals on this brave Famine War, & in the other brave & continual War against sanitary evils: Health & prosperity to you & to your life giving work

is the constant prayer of

Perhaps I need scarcely add that if

I may be honoured by any of these 'occasional' Famine reports or papers, there is no time to lose.

Already the Famine is forgotten here that far deeper & wider tragedy is lost in the Affghan War & now in the Zulu War.

Parlt meets today & tho' I hope that there are many members who will bring up these burning Indian questions, & that India will thus force her way to the front, yet our very best must be exerted to interest the people of England even in some small degree in the people of India - & that with the smallest delay possible

If any papers could be sent me showing good work in the Famine by native gentlemen, native officials - that would be good.

f48v

The enclosed is but a poor/faint shadow of the earnestness with which I think of your past Famine & Sanitary labours & of your Sanitary labours to come - the earnestness with which I press my request.

Perhaps you might be able even before you leave England to tell me what you said about the possibility of Mutiny in the Deccan, I think you said & where in the Deccan - & the danger of the Mahratta peasantry joining

This I need not say would be for myself alone

Perhaps you could also tell me even before you leave England of the way in which the native Mamlutdars I think you said native (officials) gentlemen worked so well under Europeans in the Famine Relief -

Tho' much has been done of late years to bring Englishmen to think

f48

a little of their Asiatic countrymen, yet it is astonishing what large masses there still are among us who think of Indians as 'niggers' or tigers or as ~~rice~~ at best purchasers of Manchester cottons.

And you are aware that a 'House' can never be made to listen to any Indian subject - - that Indian questions are systematically shirked by the Cabinet, & by a hardly less important body, the "Times"

I would try to make the best use of any facts you could give me with or without names about native gentlemen officials who have done well in the Famine or in Sanitary works

[end 10:147]

unsigned notes, ff49-49v, pencil

f49

Mr. Hewlett - Kurrachee - Sind 2/5/79
asked him whether he approves of Bombay drainage
harbour scheme? Sir R. Temple's Minute
asked him about Kurrachee & e.g. about the effects of the Sind
[9:840-41]

Irrigation

told him what Sir R.T. has sent me:
Sir R. T. does not understand - & few of the high officials
in India do - either that none of this gives informn such
as the mass of the Eng. reading public will care about -
nor how important it is to interest the mass of the Eng.
reading public *aright* in India, altho' he says himself
(so truly) "acqd with details" -
Why are people so much interested in War matters,
so little in these far greater interests & disasters of
Peace?

Because the authorities publish the minutest
details of a battle, Isunda R. Dt.
The feats of the heroes recommendd for V.C. are described
even to the hourly doings of Prte J. J. who held a
Hospl Ward with the bayonet agst so many hundred Zulus
And why will the Civil authores not describe the far
greater feats of the far higher heroes who held not for a
night but for a whole year Famine at bay, & saved
not hundreds but millions from death?

They wd so soon find out their account in it by seeing how
the interest of the people of Engd wd be raised in India
- the people who sway the Parlt wh. sways the Cabinet
wh sways our mighty Empire

Possibly the effect in making Eng capital too flow
into India might be momentous

But we know nothing really about India here

Sir R. Temple's views - efficient Sany Dept - satisfactory
regret your not being San. Commr: But what you have done

f49v

in Bombay you will do in Sind God be with you -

Reason why newspaper correspondts mislead on one side by giving only *one side* & partial facts is that the Govt gives hardly any on the other - at least not with any details that common readers will read

I do not think people say - Govt gives 'inaccurate' 'records'

I think they say: Govt gives *none at all* that we care to read [end 9:841]

Sir R. T. says to Medl students miserably defective Regn of Deaths [So it is acknowledged to be in Madras] But I thought he had ascertained in the Famine that the Deaths were registered *not* considerably under the actual Deaths

signed letter, ff50-55, pen & pencil

f50

Confidential Claydon Ho: Winslow: Bucks

Sept. 24/88

My dear Sir

I am compelled to trouble you for your invaluable advice in order to be able to answer Mr. Runchorelal Chotalal's letter I have made the enquiries he asks for.

He "proposes to send the "Water-works & drainage "(Ahmedabad) plans to England "for the opinion of the competent "Sanitary authorities before "executing the work"

To whom are they sending the plans? If the plans are

f50v

sent to the I. O., or to Col:
Ducat, they will be returned
with advice from *them*.

[Mr. R. C. asks for advice]

Or will they be sent to
the Army Sanitary Commission,
that is, to the Engineers upon
it?

2. Mr. R. C. asks me to
"let him know what will
"be the terms of a competent
"Sanitary Engineer to induce
"him to come out to Ahmedabad
"& carry on both the water
"works & Drainage work
"satisfactorily'

f51

On enquiring I am told that
"in all probability a
competent Sanitary Engineer
could be found who would
be willing to undertake
the supervision at from
500 to 600 per ann.

" It would very much
depend on the magnitude
of the work"

But a higher authority
whom I consulted says:

"There is much difficulty
in advising as to a young
Engineer who would be
fresh to the ways of the
country & to the materials

f51v

"to be used" He says if I
get the plans & let him
see them, he could advise
better.

[But I do not expect
they will be sent to me
& hope they will not]

"The best plan would be,
I am told, if the plans
are not sent to the I.O.
or to Col. Ducat, "to ask
"some Engineer of standing
"to take up the matter
"and to send out a
"man to act under him
"in supervising the
"work". There are two

f52

-2-

well know Civil "Drainage
"Engineers" mentioned by
name who "would be
"good & possibly not
"extravagant, tho' the
"former has lately largely
"increased his appetite
"for fees".

Two others are also
mentioned.

Also: a young man
who has had experience
in other climates than
ours who "might do very
"well & go out himself".

But it is obviously
impossible for my authority

f52v

to speak to them "without
"being able more
"definitely to say what
"the extent & class of
"work is; so as to judge
"of time occupied -
"nor without knowing
"what sort of information
"the plans mentioned
"will afford.
"nor without some
"fair certainty that they
(the Engineers) would be
"employed
"For it is most
"probable that before
"any one could safely

f53

"commit his reputation
"to a scheme of drainage
"he would have to
"re-survey the town &
"ground adjacent for
"himself"

==
"The plans MAY however
"be all that is wanted" ==
Could you kindly tell me
whether this last is likely
to be the case?
I ought to write to Mr.
Runchorelal Chotalall
on *Thursday* .
If I ask these questions
of *him*, it will be two

f53v

months before a reply
could be received by me
Besides, is it not the case
that, in writing to an
Oriental, one should
be as definite as possible,
not giving alternatives?

& that an Oriental
always suspects a "job",
which is I suppose the
reason why he writes
to a woman?

[I need not say that
I have only consulted
Government men who
could not have the
smallest interested motive.]

f54

-3-

To me the most
satisfactory thing would
be to hear from you
that Mr. R. C. has consulted
Col. Ducat & send the
plans to him; & that
the plans are all that is wanted; &
Col. Ducat has advised
upon them; or will advise.

If you could answer
at your earliest convenience,
returning me this letter
(to save yourself & me
trouble) I should be
truly grateful -

f54v

Excuse the trouble of many
kinds -

& believe me

ever yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

T.G. Hewlett Esq

&c &c

f55

I need not say that it would
be an immense help to me
if you would kindly tell me,
you who know him,
how to answer Mr. Runchorelal,
if you cannot give me the
information I want,
bearing in mind, of course,
that I cannot receive the
reply for 2 months.
But I hope you F.N.
will have heard
from Col. Ducat.

unsigned draft letter, ff56-58v, pencil, original in OIOC Mss Eur
B.278 is a little different

f56

Mr. Hewlett April 30/89

Private

My dear Sir How long it is since I have heard or
written. How many questions I have to ask you!

1 ~~I had~~ It was understood some weeks/little time ago that
~~Ca~~ the S. of S. for India would be disposed to
appoint a Commission at the I.O., if the War Office
did not re-appoint theirs (the Army Sant Commn)

Might I ask if you have heard from Sir
J. Peile or otherwise anything about it?

I repent that I have not written to you earlier
but I have been ill & overworked - we have had

f57

serious illness & death in our family - And I have been
always waiting to know something definite

2 I have had more time & strength to be anxious about
all these things than to write

about them. What

I am very anxious to know whether you have heard
if anything from the Bombay Govt in answer to
your remonstrance = Whether you have or not, I
am told that it is very well you have written -
Governments do not usually make an amende -
But in these cases if you wish to write or have written
to the S. of S., he can then interfere officially, if
he chooses, which he could not do without

3 I am very anxious to hear/What can you tell me about your
health

which I trust gives you now no uneasiness

4 & also want to know/What do you hear whether from the Local
Govt Board you have heard anything about
employment - I am told that it is quite
possible that in time you might get something
under the Co. Councils - You could always throw
it up again.

5 I have not written again to/What have you heard from our
friend Mr.

Runchorelal Chotalal of Ahmedabad? It was

f57v

impossible to get anything done then from home, as there
was no plan for official interference. ~~if~~

Did you ask or advise me to ask Mr. R.C. whether he
could induce his Municipality to ~~employ an~~ /call in a good
Engineer

from England? Would such an one take 5 p.c.?

Because if he would upon a work of which the

expenche would be ? 30 000 or 40 000, it

would be hardly worth while to save 2 ½ p. c.

by employing the incompetent Bombay Govt Engineer

I have not written again to Mr. R.C. because
you did not tell me what to say - And I do not
know the present exact state of things which I

f58

Hewlett -2- 30/4/89

should be very glad to hear from you -

6. If the Bombay Sany Dept were put under the Collectors instead of the Judicial Dept, they wd take a pride in making it efficient instead of its being attacked from outside? The Collectors are under the Revenue Dept?

But this is a matter in which Viceroys cannot interfere

7. Has anything been done about reducing the so many questions

f58v

Bombay existing Dy Sny Commrs by two - when they are two few already?

This has been mentioned in the proper quarter & Ld Dufferin's promise cited

unsigned notes, ff59-59v, pencil

f59 {bottom}

Dr. Murdoch June 27/89

Health

Village Sanitation Dr. Hewlett
[Sanitary Reform]
my letter to Mr. Murdoch
7 Adam St

Fever (Ague)

better clothed
in the cold
season
less fever

Cholera Dr. Farnell
Vaccination

calf
vaccination
natives
prefer it

native _____ Dr. Harvey
colporteurs Calcutta offended deity
thro' India

f59 {top}

To Mr. Hewlett June 29/89 **[10:223]**

write pamphlet on Village Sanitation
- absolute necessity of Sanitary
Missionarizing in the country in
India, without which any
Govt Bill of no effect.

A Madras man (Murdoch)
publishes small cheap tracts
for natives, culled from best sources,
remarkable sale for India

Mahratti }

Hindi

Bengalee translated

Tamil

Telugu e.g.

"Sanitary Reform" - object being
to turn them away from their superstitions
thinking disease the doing of an
offended deity - to be cured by
propitiating her by sacrifices
- to seeing cause of disease in Sanitary

f59v

-2-

neglects & teaching how to avoid
these

Xtian Vernacular Socy - native
colporteurs all over India -

wishes to write simple Tract
on Village Sanitation - What but
this pamphlet for authority?

Do you recommend *Calf* Vaccination

How practised?

Natives prefer it so much. They
think it then a sacred rite.

Subjects for Tracts for Village
people?

[end 10:223]

unsigned notes, ff60-61v, pencil

f60

He was the first Health Officer of Bombay for upwards of 7 years

-

He was a Sanitarily - engineered city in himself - up at 2 or 3
in the morning himself leading his army of scavenger

Death rate fell in consequence from 35 to 23

He was the Sanitary Missionary of the Famine of 1876-8

while acting as Sany Commr

travelling for 20 hours out of the 24, without tents, often

without food - organizing, testing/arranging,

advising/supervising, giving health to

the relief camps & centres - truly a great work -

He was the Sanitary Missionary of the Presidency - as

Sanitary Commissioner for the last 5 years & for several years
previously from p. to

instructing, teaching, the people/native gentlemen,

Presidents of Munies the causes of death &

disease

& how to remove them

Without this, without the engaging the

people on your side, without convincing them of what is their

f61

own interest, you may pass all ~~your/our all~~ Sanitary Acts ~~are~~ but they remain but a dead X

letter - you/we may have the most exact knowledge of what is wanted, but you cannot carry it out - experience

He has the most remarkable influence over the people

- from his knowledge of their customs & habits of the villagers: his sympathy

with them - his great experience & insight - his

how to draft a Sanitary Bill for Villages

his practical knowledge not only of the cities of Bombay & B. Presy

but of the villages when the greater part of ~~the p~~ an Indian pop. resides as it well known -

water supply, conservancy, sewerage & drainage buildings
ventilation

his practical knowledge is unequalled

I give the Govt joy which enlists his writings

his services whether for home or for & reports

India

I have been asked to give my testimony to the work

of

T.G.H. C.I.S. D.S.G. - late Sany Commr of Bombay

-Presy

I have known him for many years - have known his

work well whether as H. O of Bombay city

in the Famine

as Sanitary Comm

have been in the constant habit of consulting him

on all Sanitary subjects

to which his life has been devoted body, head & heart

His work among the soldiers/our troops, European & native is well known To the former we can speak

" " " " native popn should be no less so

f61v

No man is better, no man is perhaps so *practically* well versed in all

problems & details & how to *deal with* them - His is no mere

~~too~~ theoretical knowledge - & to a certain extent he has

the requisite Sanitary Engineering knowledge

X E.g. When he began work in Bombay Presy the people

might die of Cholera at the rate of 200 or 300

a day, & none would take any notice except to

scold the Goddess of Cholera or Small pox -

Now they cry out: if there are 2 or 3 deaths by

Cholera: Bestir yourselves, gentlemen - Don't you see we're

all dead? This is a great step - And that of

bestirring *themselves* is a greater. And he has begun it

unsigned notes, ff62-63v, pencil

f62

Hewlett Oct 15/89

Hewlett has entered into the glory of the/his Lord
In him India has lost the man who cannot be replaced x
But before your loss, all other thoughts stand still - all words
fail What must/can we say of your loss? Runchorelal
O insuppe

he was one whose knowledge of Sanitary principles & details
& works for India was so far ahead

of
all

x his compeers that he could be consulted with absolute
confidence on every point
- his knowledge of the natives & of the way to influence them
for the good was alike unequalled
I will not say he was the most or one of the most disinterested,
self-devoted
man I ever knew. For he was absolutely disinterested & self-
devoted - making the sacrifice which to him was no sacrifice of
himself for man to God - to X

I knew what his love for his family was. That
is too sacred to touch upon/speak of except in our hearts &
deepest

f63

sympathy & prayers for heavenly comfort for
you all

f63v

In him we have lost the last ~~first~~ & perhaps the first man in
India
on whose practical knowledge & information
we could absolutely depend.

India has lost in him the man who of all others
could wield her life & death problems with an unerring
hand & by his practical knowledge of the natives
bring them to consent & to cooperate in/& to consent to their own
health salvation
from X He has won for himself a crown of righteousness
which was what St. Paul desired for himself as the
~~greatest reward~~/crown of his labours. And like Our Great Master
in
His death, the crown of appreciation & of glory will come
afterwards

ff64-67v, Madras, October 18, 1864 from R.S. Ellis, thanking FN
for sending him the paper 'Suggestions for Improving Indian

Stations' and including details for improving conditions in cantonments, including the coercive system' for dealing with prostitutes and asking FN to use her influence to gain expenditure for Public Health in India

ff68-71v, printed memorandum on the Sanitary State of India with handwritten notes by FN {not transcribed, photocopied}

f72, unsigned notes perhaps in Dr. Sutherland's hand, addressed to Mr. Ellis, about reform in Calcutta and enclosing a paper on this subject

ff73-78v, Madras, January 5, 1867, from Mr. Ellis to FN about the organization of a Public Health system and about his report on bad conditions in the distressed districts of Madras Presidency

ff79-80v, Madras, April 27, 1867 re Dr. Cornish & his work in India

ff81-91, June 5, 1867, re a visit by Lady Napier to England and her desire to see FN because of her interest in providing trained nurses for hospitals in India, as well as Mr. Ellis's hope he will be able to get a Public Health Service established, and expressing his frustration with the quality of Engineering currently available and including the successful measures taken in 1864 to prevent cholera among pilgrims. The principal object of this letter is to tell you that Lady Napier is going to England for a few months and is very anxious to be allowed to call upon you. Both Lady and Lord Napier have since their arrival here given the best example to all officials out here, by showing the greatest *personal interest* in everything connected with the san admin. Lady Napier is very anxious to see illeg trained nurses at all our great hospitals, civil and military. She has herself constantly visited them wherever he has been and has been much struck with the discomfort arising from the want of properly trained hosp attendants. We have in our East Indian women and in a few Europeans and Native women very fair raw materials for nurses, and there would be a great demand in the town of Madras for well trained nurses for private houses when visited as is so often the case out here by sickness. But we can do nothing without competent instructors and a small number of trained nurses to begin upon.

It would perhaps be best to begin on a small scale and have out a lady who herself has been thoroughly taught the science of nursing and two or three taught nurses (not ladies) who wd form a kind of normal school and make illeg of our raw material. I am of course very anxious that Lady Napier shd receive every en for the real interest taken by both her and Lord Napier has really got a deal accomplished during the last year I am of granting for a satisfactory settlement of the question of a Public Health dept. It must really be taken up as a great question of admin. I shall I believe soon be transferred to the appt of chief sec in govt and must illeg the san com. I shall be in a position ...large number of my projects carried into effect and I hope to get Lord Napier to go at the question of a Public Health service and get

the sec of state to take the matter up seriously and to decide how the objects can best be secured.

I am quite satisfied that Sir J. Lawrence's scheme will not do and I am also quite certain that without a distinct service we cannot attempt to make even a beginning of the work over our vast provinces in India.

Pray don't have war that will be as disastrous for our work as a Reform Bill which I hope will have got itself passed by this time as it didn't seem that anyone wishes to pass it.

Next to a Public Health service I want to catch a few engineers who can build and learn how to drain. I am in perfect and unalterable despair about our royal engineers who know absolutely nothing about drainage or about building and half of the success of our san reforms is in their clumsy hands. It wd make yo laugh to see some of their work but it has often made me nearly cry with vexation at the dreadful waste of money.

Illeg asked me what wd illeg had done to prevent attacks of epidemic cholera at places of pilgrimage. The place where the experiment was first tried was at a great Hindu shrine called Conjeveram, about 40 miles from Madras and now accessible by railway. There in the month of May vast numbers of pilgrims from all parts of India assemble and prior to 1864 the assemblage of the pilgrims was always attended by an outbreak of cholera, which they carried into Madras and along their various lines of march. In 1864 I got attention directed to the necessity of san precautions. I had just been made pres of the San Com and was the newest of brooms. The measures I advised were small enough, a regiment of scavengers was enlisted during the time of the feast. The streets were thoroughly watered and cleaned twice a day. The wells used for drinking purposes were carefully guarded and the greatest care was taken to prevent any contamination of the water. All carts and animals brought by the pilgrims were picketed in proper places assigned to them and were not allowed to remain in the streets.

Public latrines in sufficient numbers and made of bamboos and staves were erected and nuisances in the streets and highways were entirely prevented. The latrines were constantly cleaned, and all sweepings and dirt of the town were buried in pits to illeg of the town and covered with earth. These precautions were observed during the whole period of the festival from 10 to 15 days.

The result was most successful. The festival of 1864 passed without any outbreak of cholera. The same arrs have been made during the last three years and with entire success. This has been done without grumbling, through the influence of the local officers. The residents who benefit by the pilgrimage and the managers of the temples have borne a large share of the expense. What has been done so successfully at Conferam..in the Madras district has also been done with about equal success for the great Hamphy festival in the Ballary district, all that is

necessary is to make these san precautions obligatory b law. Am preparing an act for this purpose and there is a similar law being manufactured at Bombay. I am finishing my current report which I shall do myself the honor of sending you when finished. I give you a short abstract which as regards invaliding is very unsatisfactory and as regards death rate is still very high, but we have had a very bad year as regards seasons and failure of rain.

f92, addressed to Mr. Ellis, probably in Dr Sutherland's hand, about obtaining a competent Sanitary Engineer & Surveyor

unsigned copy of a letter, ff93-99, pencil

f93

Copy

The Honble
R.S. Ellis CB

August 1867

Madras

[9:961-64]

My dear Sir

I have thought over your proposition about the Nurses & Lady Supt in every possible way.

I have had a long interview with Mr. Porteous, at Lady Napier's desire, in order to collect local particulars -

And, as you are aware, the Nursing subject, even as regards India is not new to me - for I was applied to officially more than two years ago from the G.G. in Council about sending out or training Nurses for India - since which time there has been much written & little done -

I fully hope that we shall be able to answer your call, not at once, not without frequent references backwards & forwards, of course, but still that we shall be able to do what you wish ultimately -

But I must ask you to let me explain a little of the nature of the case & our difficulties in order that you may not think our scruples & our conditions extravagant

When in December 1864 the Govt of India first consulted me on this subject of sending out Matrons & Nurses - I, of course, consulted men conversant both with India & Hospital organizations. We all came to the same conclusions,

f93v

1. there ought to be a continuous stream of Trained Nurses coming out from England to India

You cannot depend on recruiting *in* the country, tho' you must do all in your power to promote it.

You ought, therefore, as you have your Civil School, as you have your Military School, expressly for India in England - so you ought to have your Nurse School.

the India office ought to do this (in concert of course, with the G. G.) finding the funds - And we, if they please, will find the organization.

our Training School cannot give a sufficient supply -

our Matrons & Nurses are taken up for at least a year beforehand.

and we have been called upon to supply one of our Colonies

Besides this, the home market will probably be ~~always~~ more attractive to good Englishwomen (i.e. to Englishwomen who don't go out to "get married") for a long time to come than the Indian market - they are now well paid at home, they are near their own friends, & they have not the dreaded India climate before them.

Therefore, all our experience tells us that, if India is to have good Nursing from England, it must be done as a special service - by contract - by women who engage expressly for India & are trained with that view.

2. people rarely look at the enormous difference there is between organizing a woman=service & a man=service for India

If we send you out an Engineer, you have not to look after his private life. If he drinks, or goes to the bad, so long as it does not interfere with his public service, the Public need not make it their business to keep him in order -

But, it is quite different, I need hardly say, with women. If they drink or go to the bad, their usefulness is over - the thing is a failure - you *must* have a woman as high in character as in efficiency for her to do any good -

3. And this, of course, includes the important question of discipline -

And the consideration of discipline includes the fact that it can only be exercised over women by a woman

[Hitherto, in India, the discipline of a Hospital has been exclusively in the hands of a Doctor]

f94v

A peccadillo which a Lady Supt. would & ought to dismiss a woman for, a Commanding Officer, will think nothing of - a *Medical Officer still less.*

It is vain to think of sending out women to be under men.

If Nursing is to be ever efficiently introduced into India, there ought to be four Superintendents one for Madras, one for Bombay, one for Calcutta, one for the Upper Provinces, trained, of high character & position - in direct communication with the local Government who, in connection with that Govt, should manage all Nursing affairs, dismiss, appoint, remove &c &c - & take charge of the continuous stream of Nurses coming out from England, but coming out on the Superintendence's requisition, only, at the desire of the local Govt.

[The complete failure of the Calcutta scheme, made in memory of poor Lady Canning has but confirmed these views]

4. Had we plenty of women, *on whom we could entirely depend*, ready to our hands, there would be no need of all this 'embarras'. We could send out what India wants (for already we have a similar request from another part of India) as soon as an agreement could be made.

But we have not (~~illeg illeg illeg~~)
Also if one or two Nurses were sent out to India who, either from not being selected & trained with due care, or from not being put under a discipline out in India such as to ensure due care were unhappily to prove a failure - - - - then the whole thing would be ruined for a generation to come - You know what the vulgar mind is all over the world - The one individual instance under the eye tells - the experience of a dozen countries does not tell - The one individual instances becomes the law -
Therefore we must ask India to take into consideration the conditions which alone can give a fair chance of success to the experiment, which she herself has proposed to make -
[If I could go out myself, as I fain would do, that would be different. Then we should not have to worry you.]

f95v

Now: to come to the particular question
put by you & Lady Napier: -

(1) If Lady Napier ~~would~~/will take the thing under
her own special protection, I think that
what you propose might be done, viz. that a
Lady Supt & "two or three Head Nurses might be found
& trained & sent out to you {~~illeg illeg illeg illeg~~}

[But would "two or three" be enough to make the
nucleus of a Training School?]

(2) of what Hospital do you propose to put
the Supt in nursing charge?

to train Nurses you must have a Hospital
(with both sexes, Medical & Surgical cases) to
train in.

It is always better to take the whole Nursing
charge of any one Hospital at once -

but if this cannot be done, then to limit the
Nurses from England to a part of the Hospital,
while putting the Supt in nursing charge of
the whole -

[You see, in India the thing must be begun
from the beginning - Because there is nothing
that we call Nursing in India now at all.
And, in some respects, this is an advantage.]

I have gone over on paper all the Madras
Hospitals with Mr. Porteous - The General Hospital
would be, of course, the least bad for the purpose

f96

I had hoped that the "Passed Hospital Nurses" of the Military Female Asylum might have afforded us material. But the number & character of cases (principally scabies & sore eyes) is much too limited to give the Nurses any right to their name.

(3) To the Supt must be given a complete & well-defined position - as one who has undisputed charge of the Nursing of the Hospital, the ~~care-seeing~~/responsibility of having the orders of the Medical Officers carried out, undisputed charge of the discipline of her Nurses & Training School -

(4) Now about the pay of Supt & Nurses -
[It is the interest of the Govt, if it has out Nurses at all, at such an expence, to do what will secure & retain the best women]
After much enquiry, I should advise the salary of such a Trained Supt as you want to be not under

300 rupees (30) a month

rising to (say)

350 rupees in 4 years

400 " in 4 years more

& a house or good healthy quarters immediately adjoining her duties - to contain the Nurses also - that is to say, if it is the custom in Madras for a woman to board herself - (we prefer giving board) -

f96v

plus provision in the event of sickness -
and provision on ultimate retirement
either by grant or pension -
free first class passage out & home
if she returns home sick on Medical
certificate - to return to India on recovery,
then some maintenance while at home

For the Head Nurses
a rising scale
similar provisions for sickness & retirement

It would not be desirable for these women to
board themselves. They ought of course to
live with the Supt in her quarters immediately
attached to the Hospital.
And she ought to be allowed a sum to board
them & herself - (in which case some small
deduction might be made on her pay)

What the rising scale for the Nurses ought
to be I think I must leave to your
consideration

As a guide, the Nurses whom we are sending out to N. S.
Wales
are for a 3 years' engagement to have
50 the first year, 60 the second, 70 the
third, *and* board & lodging.

f97 {not in FN's hand}

p. 3 same as red. p. 3

There is also a condition that the cost of the passage out shall be repaid e.g. in case of breach of engagement. This however cannot be considered as regards the Nurses as likely to be ~~illeg~~ of much practical effect -

f98

The chances of ill-health & also of marriage are, of course, far greater in India than in the Colonies - But I must leave the calculations of these to your ~~better~~/greater knowledge

The Supt who is going out to Sydney is to have
150 the first year, 175 the second,
200 the third, on a 3 years' engagement,
with board & lodging

In all cases, salary to begin from the day
of leaving England - [ref pencil:] and passages out -
In all cases, of course, the rise to depend on
approval.

[red pencil next 3 lines] There is also a conviction that the
cost of
the passages out should be repaid in case of leaving an
engagement

[last line too faint]

[Even in England, we give to the Supt of a
Military Hospital, *under the Supt Genl*,
£150 ~~the first~~ rising to £175 in 5 years,
to £200 in 5 years more -

plus board & lodging,
plus a maid of all work, at £35 a year]
plus pension -

x as a guide to the Supt's salary

Mr. Porteous desired me to ~~remin~~ ask you x
what was the monthly salary of teachers of
Colleges - of Medical College & High School?
of government teachers of normal schools?

And he said that sufficient pay and a
supreme position as Matron were indispensable

f98v

for a Superintendent

I should hope that a Branch Training= School for Nurses might ultimately be founded at Bangalore -

When it comes to the point of making agreements, Hy Bonham Carte Esq
91 Gloucester Terrace
Hyde Park
London W
the Secretary to our Committee, of which
Sir Harry Verney, whom I think you know,
is the Chairman
would be the person to address -
I am the more anxious to put this ~~in~~/on
a right footing, because permanency in
India & life in me are so precarious
You might leave Madras, leaving no
sufficient minute behind you -
Then, where are our poor women to go? -
The agreements ought to be made between
some permanent body in Madras on the
one hand & our Committee on the other

f99

Ultimately, I should trust that the India Office will be your *agent* in London - But, to make it so now, would be simply to shelve the whole thing -

— It must be borne in mind that to find suitable [red pencil] women & to train them will require time - Our period of training is a year - we cannot hold out any prospect of finding a suitable Matron among those who have already been trained nor that she could be N.B. prepared in less than a year - x **[end 9:964]**

Something ought to be said about forfeiture somewhere, if Nurse breaks her contract - see p. 3

x There is the greatest difficulty in finding [red pencil] suitable Candidates ~~illeg~~ to train for Superintendents even for Home purposes while the responsibility of the ~~chairman~~ office is less than it would be in India -
x Success would much depend on the choice of chief

ff100-01, {archivist:[?Aug 1867]} unsigned notes addressed to Mr. Ellis, not in FN's hand, possibly Dr Sutherland's, re the futility of quarantine in cases of Cholera, proper treatment of Cholera and difficulty in establishing a nursing school in Madras

f101v, undated, addressed to Sir J. Lawrence, not in FN's hand, possibly Dr. Sutherland's, re the futility of quarantine in cases of Cholera due to faulty "germ theory"

f102, {archivist: [Sept 18 1867]}, not in FN's hand, possibly Dr. Sutherland's, re permission to try a plan of Sanitary Administration in Madras

ff103-04v, September 26, 1867, from Mr. Ellis, to FN, thanking FN for her Nursing advice, asking for information on quarantine, and stressing the need for Sanitary administration

ff105-10v, January 26, 1868, re Lord Napier's acceptance of Mr. Ellis' plan for a Public Health scheme, establishment of a Nursing School, and control of pilgrimages, and speculation about the successor to Sir J. Lawrence as well as reporting progress in sanitary matters and the need for engineering expertise. Mr. Ellis also asks for FN's help in procuring a commission for the son of "poor MacPherson"

ff111-22, August 26, 1861 to November 13, 1862, typed copies of correspondence regarding the proposed appointment of Dr. Hathaway as Special Sanitary Commissioner

typed copy of signed letter, f123, original FN Museum

f123 {archivist: (original owed by Rev. J. Hensley)}

COPY

32 South Street
Grosvenor Square, W.
Dec. 9/63

Dear Sir,

I venture to send for your acceptance a copy of my "Notes on Hospitals", now in the press, & of which the publishers have put up this one copy on purpose for your start. Perhaps you may have time to glance at it on the voyage.

I enclose a few words on the foreign "Sanitary Services." No hurry about either.

God bless you & prosper you on your way. To use your own word, I look upon you as going forth as "Missionaries" - the greatest

Missionaries God can employ upon His earth -

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

(To Dr. Charles Hathaway)

typed copy of signed letter, ff124-26

f124

32 South Street

Grosvenor Square, W.

{archivist: (to Dr. C. Hathaway)} Jan. 11/64

Dear Sir,

I am annoyed more than I can say - that, in consequence of the inexplicable delays of the Lithographers, the Report on the Mediterranean Stations, which has been quite & completely finished some time, is not ready - so that I cannot get even a single copy, which I should otherwise have so gladly put into your hands before you start. Because it is a really useful work, full of wood-cuts & descriptions of Barrack conveniences, sewerage & drainage plans, hitherto thought impossible in dry seasons of hot climates, but which have now been successfully applied at hot-climate stations with drier seasons than India has,

I shall send you a copy to India as soon as I can lay my hands on one - I think I have your address there.

[9:273]

As you are so kind as to offer it, I send a copy of the last Edition of my "Notes on Hospitals", just out, for Sir C. Trevelyan, the Finance Member of Council at Calcutta. If it will amuse you to cut it open on the voyage, pray do. But, (except the recommendations at the end of the section on Indian Hospitals) its principles of construction are adapted only for ~~temep~~ temperate climates.

I send you half a dozen of my India paper read at Edinburgh, if you can make any use of them in India. But pray

f125

-2-

remember not to take them unless convenient - nor the book for Sir C. Trevelyan, which can be sent by post if returned to me.

I wish you God Speed on your voyage to India. I look upon the sanitary work there now, as the true missionary work, as you see. **[end 9:273]**

Yours most faithfully,

Florence Nightingale.

f126

PRIVATE

I think you must not look at the Sanitary Commission as "at an end". You are doubtless aware that Sir J. Lawrence wrote a very full Minute, dated January 9, to the Secretary of State here, proposing an organisation for the Public Health Service in India. Some modifications will probably be proposed. But I think this is only a beginning of a great development of the Service. In the mean time, let me again say how deeply grateful I feel to you for all the invaluable information, the records of proceedings & letters I have received from you. And I cannot but still regret that you have not been able to continue in the Sanitary Commission under its new form - sanitary work I am sure you will do wherever you are.

F.N.

ff127-29, Government House, Calcutta, February 6, 1864, Private

I have not forgotten the kind promise you gave me when I saw you on the 8th of December that I might write to you as circumstances might arise in which you take an interest, or because you of all persons ought to have the final intelligence of any sanitary reforms being adopted for the British Troops serving in this country. You will see by the enclosed extract from the Gazette of India that we have lost no time since our arrival in setting to work. Sir John Lawrence reached Calcutta on the 10th of January and in less than a month the members of the first Board of health in this country have been nominated and will commence sitting at once. Had the Appendices to the royal sanitary Commission Report been sent out we shd have begun even sooner.

One of the first & most important duties of the Commission will be to compile a sanitary code for the guidance of the several local boards and the officer commanding regiments and stations, as well as for the information of govt. If you know of any Manual I shd be very glad if you would send it out to us through the India Office. When I was engaged in my special duties in the Punjab I made a similar enquiry of my publisher as to whether there was any recognized sanitary manual adopted either in the army or medical dept generally, and the answer was in the negative.

F128 The work they sent me out viz "illeg Hygiene" I thought very insufficient. It does not convey practice instructions & fundamental laws for observance but goes too much into the theory and natural causes of disease. This we do not want. It is a code not a commentary that is required. Hitherto it has been the case & still is for every Brigadier or medical officer to have his own ideas of hygiene & to act according to those ideas. The one man pulling up or cutting down what his predecessor has planted rejecting river water for wells, &c or "vice versa." Govt are helpless, they order the adoption of the last scheme; money is

frittered away and no real progress is made.

Nothing can exceed the horrors of the native part of Calcutta as against drains & filth. The Municipal Commissioners appointed lately a medical officer of health on a salary of £2000 a year and the candidate selected is the one *homeopathic* doctor of the metropolis a Frenchman so that he naturally does not carry the sympathies or approbation of the medical profession with him. We have also a Civil Engineer who came out with us from England a Mr Clarke, on whom the great task of improving the drainage revolves. It is an Augean evil, but a commencement is everything.

Sir John Lawrence inspected the Barracks in the Fort a few days ago & went minutely through every part including lock rooms & hospitals &c. There are smaller errors in the construction of the illeg which now be altered, the worst defect being the close proximity of the latrines to the cook room. He has just written a minute on the Indian Army Commissariat Commission of which I will send you a copy. As it has not yet been sent home, nor even published, it must of course be considered "confidential." I feel safe in sending you any paper of this kind, that it will not be sent by anyone else. I am taking up the destitute condition of f129 the *merchant sailors* at Calcutta who are very badly off here & who die at the rate of 6 or 7 percent. We hope to influence the mercantile and shipping interest at home. Our Greens and Smiths & Wigrams - & get them to assist us liberally in providing a good institution or Sailors home & thus keep these poor fellows from the grogshops & dangers of the bazaar.

My excuse my having this trespasses so long on your valuable time but I know that your heart is in the good cause & that you will forgive me. Yours very truly C. Hathaway

ff130-31, February 23, Govt House Calcutta

I venture to send to you a little pamphlet, the duties of the officers of health at Calcutta. This office is quite independent of the Sanitary Commission just appointed by Govt and is only recently made, being at the disposal of the Justice or municipal commissioner. The successful candidate is a French man and homeopathist Dr Tonnerre!

I also send you a little pamphlet describing the state of our Calcutta bazaars. None of the statements are overdrawn. In today's paper there is a letter from a ship master complaining of the number of dead bodies floating up and down the river, while cholera has appeared with much virulence in the heart of the city.

I may tell you that the price of wood is so high that the poor Hindoos can no longer burn the bodies of their deceased relatives, so they content themselves with putting a whisp of straw into the mouth of the corpse, and then setting fire to it, they throw it into the stream, f131 where you see it floating over a groundiee on the bank with crows and vultures battenning on their foul repast!

The streets are little better. It is the custom to throw out the *whole* refuse of the house on to the pavement, and *once* a day this is removed by carts, but in no other city in the world could such an abominable practice be permitted, and this too is not in the lanes and back places but in the large streets and squares corresponding to our Pall Mall and Haymarket at home.

I was very glad to hear from my friend Dr James Pattison Walker that you have kindly written to him to send him copies of your works. I think so highly of his energy and zealous determination to overcome difficulties and the "*vis inertiae*" which we specially labour under at Calcutta, that I obtained his nomination as sec to the Calcutta San Com just appointed, and believe that he will do all that can be done.

The *orders* for improved illeg rroms and sundry other matters connected with the soldiers food and messing &c have been issued by Govt. I will send for a copy as soon as published.

ff132-33, March 5/64 Government House Calcutta March 5 1864

I am not going to inflict a long letter on you, but as I have heard several criticisms passed on your notes on the Royal San Commissioners' Report and know that there is an attempt made in some quarters to show that things were not so bad as the commission stated them to be, I think it only fair to give you an idea of what I find Calcutta to be, and can fearlessly declare that nothing I have witnessed elsewhere (and I have visited a great many very bad stations) approaches Calcutta for filth, & also apathy on the part of the inhabitants, Europeans as well as natives.

I sent an article to the "*Friends of India*," our best journal here, which has caused a *little movement* of "the dry bones" and which I enclose for your perusal. But it is like driving a very big nail into a very hard wall; a great number of blows are required before the work is done and the nail sent fairly home!

On Saturday last, I accompanied the gov gen to his country palace at Barrackpore, a distance of 16 miles. We went by water and in that short space I counted upwards of 50 corpses in every possible state of decomposition, some nearly fresh, with crows and vultures feeding on the flesh and floating down the stream, others swollen and distorted by the formation of gas within until they appear like hideous Giants. A native rajah from the Upper Perunees who was on board the royal yacht was horrified at the sight, and said "We never see such things in the Punjab." And yet use and custom have so habituated the European inhabitants of Calcutta to such fearful scenes that they take no action in the matter, and merely shrug their shoulders with a faint protest against "interfering with the religious rights and prejudices of the natives"! And this too when the river has at present 3000 European sailors living and sleeping in the vessels moored there who all drink and wash in the water.

I understand that the medical returns for the European Indian Army have been just made up for the past year and that tho' mortality is only 3 percent and at Gwalior and Moreer where the previous year it was 12 percent it was in 1863 only one percent. This is a very gratifying result and shows what may be done by judicious san measures and energetic action on the part of our authorities. I only hope that it will not be quoted as a proof that *no further pressure* is required or that san commissions and Boards of health are not needed.

I was very glad to hear that you have sent your book to my friend Dr Walker. I have had him appointed sec to the Calcutta Com and he is working energetically with the president Mr Strachey.

PS Pray do not think that I expect you to reply to my notes. I know how much you have to do.

f134, March 10, Govt House Calcutta. Confidential.

As a codicil to my last letter I send you the first minute issued by the Presidency Com. It is considered very severe and has caused much excitement amongst those who think that they are indirectly censured. But it will do good, and was certainly required. It has not yet transferred beyond official circles.

typed copy of signed letter, ff135-38, original at FN Museum

f135 {archivist: (Original lent by Rev. J. Hensley)}

COPY

Private

32 South St. Park Lane,
London, W.
March 10/64

My dear Sir,

I have seldom had so great a pleasure than from your letter &
Sir John Lawrence's.

It was very very kind of you & him to take the time to write to me -

[9:488]

The appointments are excellent & shew the Governor General's wisdom - at least to three of them I can speak from my knowledge of the men's works.

There is no Manual in existence such as you desire. But the moment I received your welcome letter, I wrote to the "Local Govern-
ment Act Office" & to the War Office to send out (for your Commissions) copies of all their sanitary reports.

The barrack & hospital plans we are preparing for you are nearly complete, - & also a printed paper of suggestions on all the

subjects which have arisen out of the Indian enquiry - & which I hope will meet what Sir John Lawrence wants. This is in the press - and as soon as a complete copy is printed, it will be laid before the Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission, which has been re-constituted here with two India members, as you are aware. **[end**

9:488]

We want to make it as complete as possible with wood cuts & lithographs, And then it will be left to you to apply the principles, as you best can.

The difficulty on this side is not in framing a code, but in

framing a practicable code for India. In the suggestions, we have laid down the heads. And you should codify them. We may err, if we codify. And you may err, if you leave out duties. But, if you send your Draft Code to the Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission, they would see whether it included everything, leaving you entirely responsible for the procedure. By a little giving & taking in this way, a good code will eventually be framed. You will find a good basis to proceed upon in the new Medical Regulations for the Queen's Service, at least so far as duties of Army Sanitary Officers go - (a copy of which you took out with you.) Dy. Insp. Genl. Longmore stated in evidence that these Regulations worked well in India.

In the paper we are preparing, there will be many hints for duties of Civil Officers of Health & for Officers over Bazaars.

(I sent, through the I.O., addressed "private" to Sir John Lawrence, a copy of the Mediterranean Stations Report, the Moment it was out, which you wished to see - If you have time, in the midst of your multitudinous (but not hard) duties to look at it, you will find the gist of the defects & remedies in the first 22 pages. These, with a glance at the "pictures", give a good idea of the India problem, with the exception that all the improvements for India need to be on a more extensive scale, with more water, larger cubic space in Barracks & Hospitals, more complete ventilating arrangements, more constant attention to sanitary police. The plans for Barracks will not of course, do for India. There they should be raised much more above the ground - & have but one sleeping floor.

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-3-

Copies are being sent out by the I.O. to India - But you might not notice them, in the press of business.

I will not call your duties hard, because for your great man & mine, nothing is hard.)

[9:488-89]

I am very sorry that our part of the work was not ready, as soon as your Presidency Commission was ready. But the fact is, we should never have got a start at all, if Sir John Lawrence had not given us one before he left England. Even since that, we have been hopelessly floundering between the vague & confused jurisdictions of War Office, India Office, Horse Guards at home, Commander-in-Chief in India; - now about such a matter as this, the victualling of troops on board ship going out to India, it seems for the first time to have struck them that it might be better, if each Office knew what it had to do. Sir John Lawrence acts & does not wait. But these people wait & do not act.

But as I can say, Sir John Lawrence himself can hardly tell what an impulse his appointment has given us - the first we have had since my dear master, Sidney Herbert, died. And I could not explain it, without a much longer letter than I can write or you would read.

Of course you will consider this, & any letter I may in future trouble you with, as strictly between yourself & me, & him, if you choose it.

You cannot tell what his appointment, his work, his & your news are to me. This is worth living for.

I envy you your work - **[end 9:489]**

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-4-

God bless & prosper it - I hope you are keeping his health all right -

Your faithful servt

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

C. Hathaway Esq.

Whether this is true or not I have scrupulously kept private
whatever you have been so good as to send me - But I would ask
you
for the future, might I shew what you send me to Lord Stanley,
the
Chairman of our R. India Army Sanitary Commissn.

ever yours truly
(Sgd.) F. Nightingale

Dr. Hathaway

ff141-41v, undated, maybe in Dr. Sutherland's hand, appears to be a rough draft for ff142-43, original FN Museum, black-edged paper typed copy of signed letter, ff142-43

f142 {archivist: (Original lent by Rev. J. Hensley)}

COPY Private 32 South Street,
Park Lane, W.

April 11/64

My dear Sir,

You have now to fight the battle in India which has been fought in England. And your newspaper Articles & letters shew that you are quite up to the work.

The great point, as far as Calcutta is concerned, is to make the Municipal authority do its duty. The Officer of Health must also be kept up to his work. There should be some Officer to whom complaints are to be made. The Officer of Health should only report to this authority, which authority should be charged with executing works & abating nuisances. Every municipal authority in England has its Engineers & Surveyor, its Inspector of Nuisances with his cleansing staff, & its Officer of Health.

And over all is placed a Health Committee selected from the Town Council. The proceedings are governed by bye-laws.

It is quite evident from the papers you have so kindly sent that greater precision in the working of the machinery is required at Calcutta. What they want is system; and the relationship & duties of the different Officers should be duly laid down.

Under a proper system very few complaints should be necessary.

As regards the dead of Calcutta: - they should either be
[9:287]
disposed of below the city at high-tide or in another branch of the

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-2-

river, as suggested. There must be plenty of wood in the Sunderbunds for cremation. And if you have to supply it to the poor. it would be nothing more than is done in England, where parishes bury the dead poor at public expense.

Could you not contrive some machinery for stopping the dead descending from the Ganges, & either burning or burying them above Calcutta? Under a general system whereby the State found wood for the poor, the evils might be perhaps best remedied. **[end]**

9:287]

ever yours most truly

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

Dr. Hathaway

ff144-45, appear to be a draft for ff146-47, original FN Museum, black-edged paper

typed copy of signed letter, ff146-47

f146 {archivist: (Original owned by Rev. J. Hensley)}

COPY Private 32 South Street, W.
April 18/64

My dear Sir,

Many thanks for Mr. Strachey's first Minute, x which is excellent, & lays a good foundation for a great work.

It is well that the Bengal Commission of Health should take account of how Municipalities do their work; uniformity of system will in this way be introduced, and the authorities will have the certainty always before their eyes of any neglects being made public.

There is a question of great importance raised in the Minute, viz. the relation which should exist between the Police & the Sanitary administration.

Our experience here is as follows: -

In the city of London, Police & Sanitary powers are virtually lodged in the same body -

In the Metropolitan parishes, Sanitary powers are exercised by the vestries, & the Police is under the Home Office.

But in neither case is there any relation between the Police & the Sanitary authority. Every thing relating to the Public Health is done by separate organization, which is found to be essentially necessary for success.

The Sanitary authority has its own separate staff of Inspectors for cleansing, nuisances, markets, building, paving, sanitary state of houses &c. And these Officers are held responsible for the perfection of sanitary arrangements within their jurisdictions.

x

of March 5/64

These are all *in addition* to the executive Officers engaged in sewerage & draining. (London is supplied with water by private companies - otherwise there would be also Inspectors of water supply.)

Every parish outside the city has its own staff, so that the work over 2½ millions of people is done by subdivision. All infor-

mations are laid before magistrates, & all orders, for "abatement" (of nuisances) proceed from the magistrates. And yet the Police is never called in. Its functions are quite different & relate to public protection simply.

Before you legislate anew for Calcutta, you might wish to consider this matter - to make your Municipality work by Committees

on a somewhat similar plan to that here. (i.e. provided you can have

proper men) - to make your laws & bye-laws define distinctly the nature of the Inspectorial & of the executive duties, in order to prevent incompetent Committees (if such must be) from fettering the

hands of efficient Inspectors.

There would, of course, be no objection to having the police & sanitary work all under one administration - but the important practical point is that there is no necessary connection in their respective duties and that the sanitary administration should be complete & efficient in itself.

In haste

ever yours most faithfully

(Sgd.) F. Nightingale.

Dr. Hathaway.

ff148-51v, Peterhoff, Simlah, N.W.P. India, May 5, {archivist: [1864]}, Private.

Many thanks for your two letters of April 2 recd yesterday. The viceroy's health I am glad to say quite restored. He had a slight attack at Calcutta but it only lasted a day and was the result of excessive hard work.

I send you confidentially a paper of the San Com which from the straightforward, fearless language used by the president will prove that he is the right man to be at the head of the com, and at the same time will show you that nothing you have ever written or conceived of the horrible state of practices pursued at Calcutta comes up to the reality.

I have no objection to what I send for being *shown* to Lord Stanley, if they are not copied or taken away. You understand that these documents not only have never seen daylight but are not even addressed to the Govt of *India* or the gov general, or

any public dept. I obtained them *privately*. At the same time, if any benefit can be derived from the facts being made known *in a general way* I see no objection to a brief description clothed in different language and omitting all names of the party to whom addressed being published in the Times or in any other journal. This is left entirely to your own discretion. There is a great difference believe me publishing a letter "literatim and verbatim" to giving the mere facts or outline of whatever requires notice and condemnation. It is indeed strange how such revolting, cruel and barbarous practices as here described cd have been pursued for years in the metropolis of India *by govt officials* under the very eyes of different viceroys, living on the spot.

2. I forget whether I told you in my last letter that a "counter blast" or reply to the report of the Royal San Com on the India Br Army has been prepared by the Mil Dept and submitted. Without actually denying that 6 percent is the reg mortality when taken on the average of past years, they contend that it is not a *fair* way of selecting the present mortality, or rather that the recent mortality (which was as low as 2 percent for 1863) shd only have been given.

I find the same difficulty with reference to my late Dept, of Jails. The Supt and officers in charge and even inspectors in some provinces such as Bengal and the NWP argue that death from *cholera* shd be excluded -often go further and say that every case of death above 60 or of worn out and feeble men shd be excluded as well as all accidents proving fatal. My reply is "we wish to know how many deaths *really* occur. You may give any amount of expl or details in a footnote you like, but the fact remains the same that 46,000 prisoners have died within the walls of our Indian jails, within the last decade!" This in many instances is really converting a sentence of '*brief imprisonment* into one of *capital punishment* if any portion of the mortality was preventible as I maintain it is. The mortality in the Punjab jail under my mgt from 1853 to 1863 gives an average of 4 percent, while in Bengal it is 10 percent. Why shd there be this difference? The classes being in each case precisely the same.

I will send you a copy of our report, the new Prison Committee, by an early mail. It is being now printed.

ff152-52v appear to be a draft of ff153-53v

typed copy of signed letter, ff153-55, original FN Museum, black-edged paper

f153 {archivist: (Original owned by the Rev. J. Hensley)}

COPY 32 South Street,
 Private London, W.

June 18/64.

My dear Sir,

I am extremely obliged to you for your letter of May 3 - & for its enclosure (Minutes on Calcutta Jail) - & especially for your good news of Sir John Lawrence's health.

[9:295]

Your account of the Military Department reply to the Indian Army Sanitary Report is much what we thought it would turn out to be.

The whole question at issue is simply this: "what is a fair formula of mortality?" The Registrar General's Department & the Royal Commission say that, the longer the term of years you take (within limits), the safer you are - simply because the law by which men die everywhere is not ruled by days, months or years, but by "epochs".

If any one says that the epoch should coincide with one, two, three, five years, he simply shews that he has not sufficiently studied the subject to give an opinion.

The Registrar General's Office & the Royal Commission in making up the Table 10. page lxxxviii for their Report, Vol. I, used all the Annual Tables at their disposal. (It is rather hard to be blamed for not using what they could not get. Altho' they applied to India for tables subsequent to 1856 & suspended their proceedings for a whole year to wait for these, none were sent subsequent to 1856.)

It is no reply to the Commission's Tables to adduce years subsequent to 1856. They should shew that the Returns used for Table 10 are either incorrect or improperly used.

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COPY

I could not help laughing at your critics who "exclude" specific diseases, such as "Cholera" accidents "proving fatal" &c.

(It is very convenient indeed to leave out all deaths that *ought not* to have happened, as *not having* happened. And it is certainly a new way of *preventing preventible* Mortality to omit it

altogether from any statement of Mortality.)

Then they would "exclude" "deaths above 60". Their principle, if logically carried out, is simply to throw out all ages & all diseases; & then there would be no mortality whatever.

It is clear that all ages & all diseases must be included in every set of Mortality tables; & then, by comparing the whole population at each age with the Deaths at each age, an estimate of the Mortality will be gained.

I wait with impatience the copy of your Report, (the new Prison Committee) which you kindly promise me.

Mr. Strachey's Minute on the Calcutta Jails exposes a state of horrors altogether inconceivable - & which, if known, would make

a great outcry. You should have a fully detailed Report drawn up, with plans shewing what the Jail is - the length, width & height of

its rooms - the number of inmates in each - the cubic space & super-

ficial area per prisoner - the state of the fittings, bedding! drain-

age, latrines &c. - with proposals for abolishing utterly the present state of things, & introducing a better one to meet our day's

requirements. If you like to send us any plans, we shall be only too glad to get for you every information & practical assistance possible in improving them.

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-3-

Since I began to write, I have to thank you for the Third Section of Mr. Strachey's Cholera Report. I have only had time to glance at it. There is much experience in England about cholera which might be useful in India. (Dr. Budd's paper is of no practical value, & does not represent the present amount of experience. It is purely theoretical, & by a man who has seen little of the disease.) I think we could have improved the practical Instructions in some important particulars. [end 9:295]

With all good wishes, believe me yours very truly

(Sgd.)

FLORENCE
NIGHTINGALE.

(To Dr. Charles Hathaway.)

Typed copy of signed letter, ff156-57
typed copy of signed letter, ff158-61, original FN Museum, black-
edged paper

f158

COPY

32, South Street,
London, W.

Private

Dec. 26/64

[9:214]

My dear Sir John Lawrence,

Thank you a thousand times for your great kindness in
writing to me - you, whose
hands and head are fuller than those of anyone on earth.

I rejoice to think that, by this time, Lady Lawrence and
your
daughters are with you, to take care of you - And I do not at all
agree with you (nor, I am sure, do they) that it will be "a sad
sacrifice to them." It is anything but a "sacrifice" to be with
you. It must have been a great sacrifice to keep away.

There is only just time to write by this mail, to ask you a
question - And, if it is an impertinent one, you must lay the
impertinence entirely on me - I believe Lord Stanley is at this
moment asking the same question of Sir Charles Wood -

Would you not think it well that papers, which involve sani-
tary principles of permanent importance (and which involve also
expenditure of money) - such as, e.g. Col Crommelin's paper on
the Construction of Hospitals, dated Simlah, August 15, 1864, -
his former paper or similar things as to Barracks - many, perhaps
all of the papers emanating from the most able and energetic
Bengal Sanitary Commission - and still more, the papers of the
less-
skilled other Presidency Sanitary Commissions - should be sent
home
officially through Sir Charles Wood, to the home ("Barrack and
Hospital Improvement") Commission?

I should not like any request of this sort to be made by Lord Stanley to Sir C. Wood, (especially at my instigation) without your having cognisance of it.

My reasons are as follows for this request: -

Every body here who knows anything about the matter - knows that what is to be done (in Sanitary matters, as in many others) must be done in your time - that, but for you, but for your strong

personal view of the importance of Sanitary measures, - the Sanitary Commissions would be - - - - nowhere - that Mr. Strachey,

e.g. in spite of his great abilities, knowledge, and energy in these things, depends upon you for his support. - [end

9:214]

((I have just now had a very kind note from Sir C. Wood, (not on this matter). His statesman-like experience no one can doubt. But his knowledge in our things is *nil*. He is continually blindfolded by the most superficial statements, because ignorant himself

(in *these* matters). Yet his good-will is with us, entirely.))

For such things as the bond of connection between the Presidency and Home Sanitary Commissions - it does not do to depend upon

[9:214]

the life of one person, the goodwill of another, upon etc., etc., They should be done, if at all, regularly, officially.

No undue control (by us upon you) *could* be entailed by a regular official, sending home of all such papers as I have described, before being sanctioned, to the home Sanitary Commission for revisal.

On the contrary, I believe, as so much of the control, in

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money matters, is vested in the home India Govt., we might materially assist you in obtaining authority for expenditure in these matters. -

Still more will this be the case, when present authorities and influence have changed hands. [end 9:214]

I will not prolong this unreasonably long letter, because you, more than any man on earth, will know whether this proposition is feasible or desirable. I will not therefore waste your time in urging it.

I thankfully acknowledge the great progress, due entirely to you, made in sanitary matters for our soldiers in India. I acknowledge it publicly with all my (small) might. I deplore their own excesses which, in may climate, would bring their evil results.

But even these you have materially diminished, by giving them manly employments and amusements -

But much remains to be done - especially all the draining and water supply works which are, in the want of them, as they were. All depends upon you -

Altho' there is no doubt that mortality has diminished, as it ought to have done, (thanks to you!) - yet I do not lay the same stress, as some do, on temporary and local diminutions of Death rates. Numerical records, made for short periods, are usually in excess or in deficiency, as to sickness and mortality. so that no general law can be educed from them. From such a method Sierra Leone and all the stations on the West Coast of Africa, might be

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shewn to be amongst the healthiest place in our foreign possessions. And this kind of reasoning pervades the whole of Dr.

Leith's

Report, (which, I may mention by the way, has been submitted by Sir

C. Wood to the Home (Sanitary) Commission.)

With my warmest Christmas greetings, and prayers that the invaluable life spent in "goodwill towards men" - may we not say, like, in it sown measure, to our Almighty Father's "good will"? - may be strengthened and long spared for a blessing to men, believe

me, dear Sir John Lawrence, (in some trepidation at my audacity in

writing to you) yours ever most respectfully and gratefully

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

f49

COPY

32, South Street,
Park Lane, London, W.

Private

Sept. 26/64

[9:212]

My dear Sir John Lawrence,

- I always feel it a kind of presumption in me to write to you

- and a kind of wonder at your permitting it. I always feel that you

are the greatest figure in history, and yours the greatest work in

history, in modern times. But that is my very reason. We have but one Sir John Lawrence.

- Your Bengal Sanitary Commission is doing its work, like men,

- like martyrs, in fact. And what a work it is! All we have in Europe is mere child's play to it - Health is the produce of civil-

ization - i.e. of real civilization. In Europe we have a kind of civilization to proceed upon. In India your work represents not only diminished Mortality, as with us, but increase of energy, increase of power, of the populations. I always feel as if God had

said: mankind is to create mankind. In this sense, you are the

greatest creator of mankind in modern history.

Your Bengal Commission must be the model of the other Presid-

ency Sanitary Commissions. **[end 9:212]** I see that, on the Bombay one, is no

Civil member. And so far as I know of its proceedings, it seems to direct its attention not so much to sanitary works as to matters

of ordinary police. Now the main business of your Sanitary Commissions should be: construction, not police. Improvement in India mainly depends on works (police regulations are, of course,

necessary).

2. Would there be any impropriety in your Sanitary Commissions sending copies of their printed Minutes to the Barrack and Hospital

Improvement Commission here, through the India Office - merely for

information? As far as your Bengal Commission goes: these men don't

want urging; they have not now to be taught. Anything which might even appear to interfere with the responsibilities of your Commis-

sions, unless at their own request, is not only undesirable, but, as far as the Bengal Commn. is concerned, useless. But if you saw no objection to sending the Minutes for information to the War

Office Commission here, I am sure they would very much like it

...

or, if that would be too formal and official, (as regards the India

Office here) if they, the Minutes, might be sent to me, with permission to shew them to one or two, such as Lord Stanley, (our late

Chairman of the Royal Commission), Dr. Sutherland, Capt. Galton, of the War Office, etc.) it would answer the same purpose.

The India Office here does not shew now the least jealousy of the Barrack and Hospital (War Office) Commission. On the contrary. One can scarcely help smiling at the small things it is glad to throw off its responsibility for upon said Commission.

3. There are three glaring (though lesser) evils in Calcutta about which I know you have been employed - lesser tho' they are -

and your attention and Dr. Hathaway's have been aroused by them.

These are:

- (1) the Police Hospitals (or state of Hospital accommodation)

for sick poor at Calcutta. The police establishments seem about as bad as possible. Indeed the poor wretches are brought in mostly to die.

The Parisian system of relief is very good: every Police Station at Paris has means of temporary help in cases of emergency

until the sufferers can be removed to hospital. Some such arrangement,

with a thorough reform of the Hospitals, and such additional accommo-

dation as may be wanted, might meet Calcutta's case.

(2) the condition of Jails and Lunatic Asylums in India. Certainly it is not for me to draw your attention or Dr.

Hathaway's

to this. Probably he knows more about them than any man living.

The reports and recommendations of one or two of the Jail

Inspectors

shew that they want experience: as I am sure Dr Hathaway will agree

with me.

Perhaps we might help you by sending out such Reports on the subject as may be useful.

(3) the seamen at the Great Ports.

You have already done so much. But Rome can't be built in a day.

Bad water, bad food bought in Bazaars, and bad drinks, cause a vast amount of disease and death.

Self-supporting Institutions, such as our Sailors' Homes, (of which indeed I believe you have already founded more than one)

would give the men wholesome food and drink - and lodgings and day rooms at little cost.

So many men perish for want of this kind of accommodation at Calcutta, where the evil seems greatest.

[9:212]

It seems to me so base to be writing while you are doing. Oh that I could come out to Calcutta and organise at least the Hospital accommodation for the poor wretches in the streets. There is nothing I should like as much. But it is nonsense to wish for what is an impossibility.

I am sure that you will be glad to hear that one of my life-long wishes, viz., the nursing of Workhouse Infirmeries by proper Nurses, is about to be fulfilled. By the munificence of a Liverpool man, (who actually gives £1200 a year for the object, but desires not to be named) we undertake next month the Liverpool Workhouse Infirmary (of 1000 beds) - the first Workhouse that ever

has been nursed - with 15 Head Nurses, trained by ourselves, and a

lady (Volunteer) Matron, who underwent a most serious course of training at our Nurses School at St. Thomas' Hospital, 15 Assistants,

and 52 ex-pauper women whom we are to train as Nurses.

I am sure it is not for us to talk of civilization. For I have seen, in our English Workhouse Infirmeries, neglect, cruelty,

and malversation such as can scarcely be surpassed in semi-barbarous countries. And it was there that I felt I must found a school for Nurses for Workhouses, etc. The opportunity has come too late for me to do the Workhouse Nursing myself - But, so it is well done, we care not how.

I think with the greatest satisfaction upon your re-union with

Lady Lawrence and (some of) your children.

God bless you.

I am yours devotedly

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

P. S. The Calcutta Municipality does not seem yet to have {it says seen}

wakened up to a sense of its existence. It does not know that it exists: Much less, what it exists for.

Still, you are conquering Indai {it is so misspelled} anew by civilization, taking possession of the Empire for the first time by knowledge instead of

by the sword.

[end 9:212]

F.N. , original FN Museum, black-edged

paper

f156 {archivist: Original lent by the Rev. J. Hensley}

COPY

32 South Street,
Private London, W.
Monday - June 27/64.

My dear Sir,

I hoped to have told you by this mail of the completion of the standard plans &c. required by Sir John Lawrence. But the lithographs only came for the lithographers on Saturday night last.

I scarcely know whether it is worth while to trouble you with the following little incident: -

I hear from the Horse Guards that they "were perfectly aware of Sir J. Lawrence's application (for these plans &c.) & of the delay - but that is it Sir J. Lawrence's only interest (sic) while

the War Office is pressed by a thousand." (sic)

To which I responded: -
that it is not, because the overworked War Office has not time to attend to the underworked Viceroy that the delay has arisen - it is because the India Office has used, not once but every week for 6 months, the pretexted jealousy of the India Govt. in India, supposed to be entertained of the India Govt. at home, as an excuse for not sending out what the head of that very Govt. in India asked for - that all might have been settled (but was not) by a verbal understanding between the War Secretary & India Secretary in two minutes- **[9:299]**
but that nothing was done, nor would ever have been done, had it not been for (Mr. Strachey's) a printed Minute from India (April 5)

[end 9:299]

that the greatest living administrator, who rules one tenth the

f157

-2-

human race, in whose hands are the destinies of 120 millions -
terri-
torial, judicial, legislative, international, communication- al -
in endeavouring to bestow upon his 120 millions, for the first
time,
civilization & health, has been foiled by the torpor & self-
suffic-
iency of a petty War Office, which rules over at most half a
million, -
& with the case with which soldiers are ruled over, compared with
races - & that then he is to be told that the War Office has no
time
to attend to him! & his "one only interest"!!

You will use your own judgment as to telling this little
story to Sir J. Lawrence. Great men smile at what is "
aggravating"
to little ones. Otherwise it is no use giving him one moment's
useless irritation.

Did it ever occur to you - what would Christ have done, if
Christ had had to work through Pilate!

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

(To Dr. Charles Hathaway)

ff158-61v, Simlah, August 31, 1864 FN note: To be returned to
F.N.

I beg to acknowledge with many thanks your letter of June 27
and which I ought to have acknowledged before but I find it hard
to et a leisure hour from one week to another. The viceroy has
received the Suggestions for Sanitary Work in Indian Returns and
would have written to you by this mail but for the sad loss he
has just experienced in the death of his nephew Sir Alexander,
the eldest son of good Sir Henry Lawrence. His death was a
fearful one. He was on an expedition into the interior with his
uncle travelling in horseback along a mountain road leading to
Thibet and Chinese Tartary. The path is only wide enough for
mules and at places it is built out from the side of the mountain
or under galleries supported on wooden beams or stanchions set
into the solid rock.

On Saturday morning last they started from one of the little
travellers' outhouses, Sir Alex leading & out of sight of his
uncle Col Lawrence as the road turns a twist very abruptly. The
latter heard a crash as of falling timber & thought it was a tree
being cut down, but on proceeding a few yards further he saw Sir
Alex dog looking down a chasm in the middle of the road & whining
piteously. He then knew what had happened. His nephew had f159
ridden onto one of those wooden galleries. The tunnel in the
centre gave way & man & horse went down as though a trap door 200

feet. Death was instantaneous, no cry or moan was uttered. The place was so difficult of access & the precipice so steep that 3½ hours elapsed before they brought up the body. One fearful gash into the brain on the forehead showed how he had fallen. The horse was dashed in pieces - singular to say. Two gentlemen had crossed the same spot a few hours before & all their hill porters with baggage had passed also over the gallery in safety. The fractured portion of the timber showed that the wood was rotten and the concussion caused by the quick trot of the horse had caused it to give way. They buried the poor fellow that evening in the Simlah graveyard, every one of the community being present including the viceroy & Commander-in-chief with all their staff. Our one consolation is that he was prepared to meet his God His last act was to put his bible and prayerbook into his saddle bags before mounting. He had been reading praying up to the very moment of mounting his horse. But the blow to his poor illeg & young girl with a little baby not 6 months old was as you may suppose crushing. He was universally beloved & had intended retiring from the Civil Service & entering the Church at the end of this year. That there was mercy, great mercy, shown by our Heavenly Father, had his wife been riding with him as she intended both must have perished and of the two he was the one fittest "to depart" & be at rest.

F160 FN note: To be returned to F.N.

I see that both the Calcutta jail & the Hooghly Fever Home have been noticed in the House of Commons, that poor India gets scarcely her fair share of notice at home and Indian questions seem to be noted a bore and when discussed in Parliament act as provocative to hunger & drive the honourable members to the dinner room. Mr Strachey is knocked up and the whole sanitary commission have suffered more or less during the present season in the city of Palaces and - Sir John Lawrence has quietly asked him to come in here to recruit his health.

I am afraid that medical men are looked upon generally both in the Army and out of it as very officious Reformers and hence there is a wide gulf between them and the combatant branch of the Service. Generals commanding division or colonels of regiments do not like the "imperium in imperio" or to be told that the opinion of a doctor is to be taken before a hospital can be built or a new cantonment marked out. Otherwise it is difficult to account for the opposition evinced to sanitary commission or officers of health. I believe that no man but John Strachey could have kept the Calcutta Commission up to its work as he has done. If a medical man had sent out the graphic nervous reports he has done he would have been illeg down or F161 forced to resign. But I see an attitude of antagonism assumed by all the military authorities who are watching for an opportunity to catch him - tripping and going beyond his powers that have been given him. They especially dislike the commission publishing their "Minutes" whereas without public notice being taken of what is faulting no reforms can be

expected.

But oh bad as the physical condition of Calcutta is her moral state is ten times worse. I venture to enclose an article from the "Bengal illeg" in a Calcutta daily paper of August 2 written by the editor on the spot & one who I know would not colour the facts in the slightest. If you thought that the great "Thunderer" would notice the hopes that the London society for reclaiming these poor fallen sisters would organize a branch House of Refuge by sending out an agent I could promise them ample encouragement from the Samaritans of our metropolis.

I scarcely like that your eyes shd read the extract but you are truly the soldier's friend & here is a British soldier illegs

...

The worst part of the case is that the deceased soldier after illegs

typed copy of signed letter, ff162-64, original FN Museum, black-edged paper

f162 {archivist: (Original lent by the Rev. J. Hensley)}

COPY 32 South Street,
Private London, W.
Oct. 18/64.

My dear Sir,

I have to thank you for your letter of Aug. 31. It was melancholy news indeed about young Sir Alick Lawrence. One expects so much from every human being, born a Lawrence, that it seems as if a career of public usefulness had been cut short - But how much sadder it is when there can be no regrets for this world's loss, no hopes for another world's future -

I forwarded your terrible newspaper extracts (about the fallen in Calcutta) to the editor of the "Times." (He was away on his holiday; but his substitute promises to make use of them, without any mention of your name.) But any movement must begin at Calcutta.

Every step taken here has only proved the inadequacy of the means to deal with the evil. And any energetic agent taken from London might not be suited for India. The native caste question would interfere also, where vice is followed as a recognised profession.

You could do most good probably with European women who have been connected with the Army.

You will be shocked when I tell you that, in this Christian country, Portsmouth & other garrison towns could match, in some (not of course all) of its most repulsive features - the horrible instance you have given from Calcutta.

I have my own convictions about this dreadful evil. I do not believe that any "Contagious Diseases Prevention" Acts, any Lock Hospitals, Medical Police Regulation, or special agencies for

f163

-2-

reclaiming fallen women will do much good - though all means should be tried, except those which are immoral, as I believe Medical Police Regulation to be.

To put down brothels & brothel-keepers & all public prostitution, with the utmost rigour of the law (which is far from being done in England) - to raise the moral state & tone, by degrees - of the nation - & in the Army to give every facility for employment, recreation & *respectable* marriage, to the soldier - these I believe to be the only real means against the evil.

I was glad to hear that Sir John Lawrence had received the Practical "Suggestions" for Indian sanitary works. And we shall look forward with great interest & anxiety for the first signs of practical works & measures being carried out. About enough has been written. The time is now, to get the thing done. This is the work of the Government executive authorities: and, if taken in hand, it would render any publication of Minutes less necessary. Some of the early Minutes contained things which might have given umbrage. But the last batch, which is simply a record of proceedings, contains nothing that anybody need feel offended with.

As to the "Imperium in Imperio" - there must be some mistake. According to the Army Medical Regulations, all the Medical Officer can do is to give his opinion to the Commanding Officer. The authority & responsibility of the Commandg. Officer are positively intact. They are the same as they ever were.

f164

Believe me ever

Your faithful servt

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

I quite agree with you about Mr. Strachey. I only hope his health will be preserved. He would be irreplaceable. Dr. Hathaway.

ff165-66v, embossed India Office, July 22, 1868, from Charles Plowden, re forwarding the Proofs of Sanitary Abstracts of Bengal

ff167-68v, August 25, 1868 embossed India Office re forwarding the Proofs of Sanitary Abstracts (Madras)

ff169-70v, embossed January 19, 1870, re forwarding a copy of Dr. Bryden's Report on Cholera and other Reports

Thank you very much indeed for you kind recollection of me. I am going down my my Mother's this afternoon where the game will be very highly appreciated.

Dr Bryden's report on cholera is at last on its way to this office, I will forward you a copy directly it arrives. The sanitary reor tI sent yesterday only arrived last week, & till Madras & Bombay rperots for 1868 are not yet here. I have commended an Abstract of the India Sany report and before long shd be at illegs

ff171-72, March 28, 1870, re forwarding copies of various reports

ff173-76v, April 4, 1870, thanking FN for suggestions about alterations to be made in the Abstracts, and asking for advice about matters

ff177-80 embossed India Office, April 12, 1870

Thank you very much for your kind letter of illeg. Dr Sutherland has written a second time to Sir H. Baker entirely sympathizing in my difficulties about cholera reports and suggesting, like yourself, that valuable facts might be extracted from the monthly reports and other special ones. I have spoken to Sir Bartle Frere and Sir H. Baker

ff181-82v, June 4, 1870, Plowden sending copies of various reports

ff183-88 embossed India Office June 10, 1870

I enclose you the proofs of the Abstract of the Madras San Report for 1868 and take the opportunity of telling you how my work stands as regards the Sany blue book of 1870. The continuation of the preceding vols I have made ab

ff189-91v embossed India Office July 4, 1870

My dear Madam, I enclose now the proof of the "Abstract of the Madras Sany Report or 1868 and take the opportunity of telling you how my work stands as regards the Sany Blue Book for 1870. The continuation of the preceeding vols I have made abstracts of the annual S Reports for 1868, from India, Madras and Bombay. Also of the Municipal & Health officers reports from the three presidencies for 1868. These I have all in progress and including the

ff192-95 embossed India Office July 14, 1870, enclosing the Proof of FN's Memorandum for the Blue Book and asking where it should appear in that Book and asking permission to print another of FN's papers

ff196-99v, July 26, 1870, sending more reports and reporting on progress

200-01v, August 1, 1870, sending a Proof of FN's Sanitary Paper

ff202-03, August 5, 1870, sending FN the Proof of her letter to the Social Service Association for correction

ff204-05, August 13, 1870, discussing further revision of the paper

ff206-07, August 25, 1870, discussing the papers to be contained in the Sanitary Report

ff208-09, October 5, 1870, forwarding a copy of the Sanitary Blue Book for 1870 and asking how many copies FN would like

ff210-11v, October 12, 1870, Craigflower, Dumferline, N.B.

informing FN that her request for copies of the Blue Book would be forwarded to the India Office

ff212-18v, Simla, June 2, 1866, from Major Malleson, Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal, answering questions put to His Excellency by FN regarding sanitary questions in Bengal. Stylized printing

{f219 is blank}

f219v, Title page for Memorandum ff212-18

f220, June 3, 1866, rough draft for a letter to Major Malleson, not in FN's hand, probably Dr. Sutherland's, re the question of nurses in India

f221, about louvres for some windows

ff222-28, Delville, Simla, July 18, 1867, from Major Malleson to FN, thanking FN for her letter of June 3, and discussing the employment of nurses in military hospitals

ff229-30, Simla, July 6, 1867, a memorandum discussing the sanitary administration in India

ff231-51, Fort William, June 10, 1867, printed extract of the Proceedings of the Governor General in Council with notes by FN, photocopied

f250

[at bottom next to printed 20 Nurses.]

No Assistant Nurses

None but Head Nurses.

F.N.

[next to und head nurses, and nurses]

Never. I

Never said

that there

should be any

but *Head* Nurses

in military Hospitals

or that there should be Nurses

at all except in General Hospitals.

F.N.

has FN note on f251 re ests of # of sick, and that depots occupied only 6 or 7 months a year:

"Certainly. This is a reason for not putting nurses in Convalescent Depots at all. FN.

"I would not put Nurses in Convalescent Depots at all. FN

and re regimental hospitals:

We never put nurses in Regimental Hospls, not in Crimea. F.N.

I have expressly stated that, neither in England nor in India,
are Female Nurses desirable for *Regimental* Hospitals.

In none have I ever places Nurses.

F.N.

At end, at "In Calcutta alone can the scheme of nursing now proposed be carried out in Bengal." and this is [illeg] contradicted at p 35
Para 15
and the C in C
prefers Allahbad. FN

What is wanted is to send [red pencil]
Superintendents & 4 Head Nurses
After this let them propose the method in India.
All these discussions beforehand are waste of time & paper. And every one of them contradicts the other.
There are not two who agree.
F.N.

ff252-53v, rough draft of letter to Major Malleeson, in JS hand
Major Malleeson

Sir, I have read over the papers you sent me about the introduction of trained Nurses for Indian Hospitals, and also the decision of the Government of India negating your proposal. If you will refer to my reply made at the request of the Secretary of the Bengal Sanitary Commission of illeg 21st 1864 requesting me to send out suggestions for the organization of trained nurses in India, you will find that while doing the best I could at a distance, and without local knowledge to illeg the desired information, I at the same time advised that a small tentative experiment should in the first instance be made and I offered to help on this. The cost would not have been very great and after reading over the proposal I still adhere to my opinion.

I never intended to rear up in the first instance an extensive superstructure of nursing, for all the military Hospitals. You have not half

F253 another pencil draft JS

I have received your letter with the printed enclosures about nursing in Indian Military Hospitals. I have received a letter from Sir John Lawrence on this same subject and as I have replied to him it is unnecessary that I should write anything further on the subject except to say that I never contemplated the introduction of a cut and dry system and that I strongly urged the necessity of beginning with a supt and a few nurses on trial. You have asked me for hints in improving your existing system of nursing, but from all I can learn from the papers sent to me, I shd say that you have no basis for improvement, and that I shall retain the opinion that you want trained nurses in India and that you shd begin on a small scale. This is the course taken

elsewhere and by the time you get this I hope that a small band of trained nurses (which you might have had) will have arrived at Sydney to begin the good work there at the cost of the Colonial Govt. The papers contain some odd mistakes on the whole subject.

In instance they appear to advocate trained female nurses in Regimental hospitals and in convalescent hospitals, and they advocate different grades of female nurses, e.g. assistant nurses. The fact is that I have always opposed the introduction of female nurses into any except general military hospitals and the only nurses of any use in these hospitals are head nurses and a supt. Excuse my pointing out these mistakes, although the illeg has decided against improvement in nursing at least for the present.

signed letter, ff255-57, pen

f255

Private

London September 26 1867

Dear Sir

[9:973-75]

Since I received your letter of with its printed enclosures, I have received a letter from Sir John Lawrence on the same subject (the rejection by the Govt of India of Female Nursing in the Military Hospitals) And I have ~~therefore~~ replied to him - It is unnecessary therefore that I should trouble you with any farther reply - And it is only in acknowledgment of your courtesy that I hazard the following remarks in obedience to your desire.

(1) I do not read the Resolution of the Govr Genl in Council Par. 2, as holding out any prospect of the employment of any other description of Nurses than those who have hitherto been employed; it only contemplates putting "existing establishments" on a better footing - I do not therefore see how I can follow Major Malleson

f255v

the suggestion in your kind letter, & aid you
in this - as I would so gladly do -

(2)

the extensive & (as I venture to believe)
impracticable scheme drawn up at
the request of & rejected by the Govt of
India, is not mine. In fact, the
experience of my whole life would
lead me to reject it; even more
positively than the Govt of India has
done. I will mention a few of the
propositions, to which, as I have never
consented, so I never ~~w~~could consent to,
in any Establishments for which I
was responsible:

E.g. 1. the employment of Female Nurses
in *Regimental* Hospitals

or 2. in *Convalescent* Depots

or 3. the employment of *Assistant* Nurses
or of any below the class of *Head* Nurses
in *Military* Hospitals

Also, 4. women of such a class could never
be found who would submit to such a
degrading rule as being deprived of
their "beer" as a "punishment". And it
would be useless to attempt the
governing them except under a Lady
Superintendent of their own - Of course if

f256

women are to be treated as Female convicts
none but women of the class of female
Convicts would be found to come -
But it is useless for me to trouble you
with any more than these few examples
- since the scheme is not now in hand.

N. B. It is implied in one of the printed
papers that I successfully employed Female Nurses
in *Regimental* Hospitals in the Crimean
War. Never. I never employed Nurses
in any but *General* (Military) Hospitals
either in War or in peace.

(3) The chief objection urged in two papers
is that the scheme might interfere with
the "Ladies' Committee at Calcutta".

Again, in one of two papers by the
same hand, the unfitness of the "raw material"
to be procured in India is insisted upon
as an insuperable objection to the introduction
of female trained Nursing in Military
Hospitals in that country - unless at the
inadmissible cost of importing a whole
establishment of such nurses from England
- and it is urged that, even if that great
expenditure were incurred, the attempt must
fail because the services of such Nurses
could not be retained - that therefore

f256v

the attempt to introduce female trained
Nursing must inevitably fail, in whatever
way it might be tried, & therefore ought
not to be made.

But in the second paper, we are assured,
with equal confidence, that the nurses
procured & trained in India "do
sufficiently well" that they are not only
spoken of "with almost uniform
"approbation by the Medical men, for the
"way in which the work is done in the
"Hospital" but are largely employed in
remunerative private nursing - that "they
"combine with Hospital work the nursing
"of Sick Officers" and that " it may
"well be conceived how welcome to the
"sick a well-trained Nurse must be
"who understands what is said & can
"help them in their helplessness". This
in justification of a Resolution - not to
employ - not even to entertain the idea
of employing female trained Nurses, of
any class or description, in any Military
Hospital.

- (4) I have never dissembled the difficulties
(on the contrary, I have always urged even
to pertinacity that a small, well-
considered beginning should alone be made

f257

-2-

- tentative to be treated merely as an experiment at first -)
but a re-statement of difficulties with which every one has long been familiar & which it is certainly much easier to succumb to than to combat & overcome - is hardly "the way to win".

I should not have troubled you even with these few remarks, were it not that your (private) letter seemed to desire it - & to ask for suggestions - But the only one which my life's experience can justify me in making is what I have made before - viz. a small tentative beginning with Trained Nurses from England. [end 9:975]

Pray believe me

dear Sir

Yours most faithfully

Florence Nightingale

ff258-65, Delville, Simla, November 5, 1867 Private. from Major Malleson re his order to the printer to send a copy of his report for 1866 to FN and drawing her attention to the proposal to have a Sanitary Officer for each province, also thanking her for her remarks about Nursing and remarking about the difficulty of effecting change in the Governmental attitude in Sanitary matters
Dear Madam

I must apologize for allowing your letter of the 3rd September to remain so long unanswered (received it but did not want was starting an expedition into the interior and since my return have been very busy rearranging for my cold weather tour. My illegs///

f260 Sir John Lawrence left Simla last week up to the date of his departure he had I believe only heard that the proposed measure was under construction. I cannot doubt however but that it will be sanctioned and, in that case many of the evils more complained of must disappear. I ask your attention especially to the description of a Bengalle village by Dr Bose, himself a native of Bengal. He beautifully describes the inertia and want of energy of his countrymen. I feel confident notwithstanding that they may be made to change their nature in this respect. During my visits to the various towns throughout f261 India nothing has struck me more than the eagerness with which the natives when once convinced of the value of sanitary measures, will adopt sanitary precautions. For a long time they continue obdurate to all illeg but when once the benefit of the proposed measure s has been placed convincingly before them, either by their being used by the European population or by neighbouring

towns of their own brethren, they give in at once and become enthusiastic. This is the case at Agra, also in many towns in the Punjab, in which Mr Thornton told me the inhabitants themselves proposed that a rate shd be levied for sanitary purposes. In this respect, as in all others, Bengal, though our oldest possession is far behind the rest of the presidency.

With respect to your letter under acknowledgement lleges express my obligations to you for entering so fully into the subject and say how entirely I f262 agree with you on the general question of nurses. It is difficult however to see how much progress can be made in the cause at present in such matters, as indeed in all involving encroachment on the duties of others. Have obliged to act with great caution. A sanitary commissioner is, by some departments, still regarded as an intruder and you know how difficult it is to make way where departments offer even a passive resistance. In a time of war it is possible to ride over such opposition, but in peace I have observed the departments almost invariably reserve their powers. To make any way at all, then it is absolutely necessary that I should feel my way carefully, and especially refrain from proposing measures touching on the functions of other departments, unless I am confident of my ability to carry them. F263 It is one thing to expose abuses, that I would never shrink from, another to bring forward schemes of reform, the soundness of which might be disputed. Never will I shrink from responsibility, but I think the cause of sanitation would be injured, were the sanitary commissioner to bring forward schemes for which the official mind in India is not ripe. No one is better disposed to aid that cause than Sir J Lawrence, but there are others in council besides himself and his seat there is far from being a bed of roses.

I have ventured, in the same spirit of illeg with which you have addressed me, to point out the great difficulty which dogs the course of a sanitary commissioner in India. Nevertheless, notwithstanding this and others we are advancing slowing indeed, but still advancing. For my part, I entertain not the smallest doubt as to the future of f264 sanitation in India. If you can get the natives all over India to take it up in some parts, it will be safe forever. At present Sir John Lawrence is our bulwark and he will, as you know stay but one year longer in this country. I must look to you to endeavour to instill similar sentiments into his successor, whoever he may be.

I leave the next week for Calcutta stay there till February to be near the Gov general in February to proceed to the Punjab and inspect all the stations, esp those on the frontier in that province. I shall do myself the pleasure to send you a copy of my report of that inspection.

Meanwhile, in case you may be kind enough to communicate with me, I may task you to address your letters to the care of ... Calcutta as for some time I shall be
[fin]

Add Mss 45783, microfilm, correspondence with Benjamin Jowett, 275 folios, 272 pages, Adam Matthew reel 23

f1 arch note: Jowett's letters to F.N. withheld from Balliol Library.

(I think it would be a pity to destroy them as some might be illeg interesting. E.T.C.

ff2-13 LETTER ON THE LUSHINGTON JUDGMENT, TYPEWRITTEN DATED JULY 1862 {SEE PHOTOCOPIES} f3 part in **[3:617-18]**

The Lushington Judgment

I don't at all see how people can say, "Why don't the "essayists"¹ leave the church." They might as well say, "Why don't the bishops leave the church." Surely Dr Williams might equitably just as well prosecute the Bishop of Salisbury as the Bishop of Salisbury prosecute Dr Williams. No one can believe *all* the articles according to the letter, the because the letter is contradictory. An essayist may as well say to a bishop, "I interpret them this way" as a bishop to an essayist, "I interpret them that way."

What seemed to me deplorable in Dr Lushington's "judgment" was its *tendency*. I mean that it seemed to say (1) Think what you please, provided you don't speak or preach it--as if I were to say, have the most distinct and correct idea you can upon the nature of cholera, but do nothing to cure or prevent cholera. (2) Its tendency seemed to be (of course I am not criticizing its law) to say "truth is nothing at all to the point; the character of God is not the question--that is not a religious question at all and does not signify here." **[end 3:618]**

No one **[3:618]** it seems to me (as far as I can judge from the very little opportunity I have) that the few enquirers abroad and at home are just as much in the old story as ever, that the character of God is a mystery, one we are not intended to pry into, one which He has placed "beyond the reach of our finite faculties." Perhaps they mistake "character" for "nature." Yet I suppose for one enquirer into the character of God there have been a hundred into the "nature" of God. **[end 3:618] [11:40-43]**

You are so good as to enquire after the "stuff." There has been nothing done to it (or about it) since you heard of it last, but my War Office life is drawing to a close and then, if I have any life left, I shall turn to the "stuff," and if I do anything with it, it will be owing to your encouragement.

(It is a year today since Sidney Herbert's resignation of

¹ The writers of *Essays and Reviews*, including Jowett.

office a fortnight before his death) and in one short year Sir G. Lewis has dragged down the War Office to the position of contempt, out of which Sidney Herbert was five long years in dragging it up, and through simply by letting the agencies work uncontrolled, against which Sidney Herbert's official life was a continual struggle. It is a strange religion which makes it the greatest sin for Lord Palmerston to see a minister on business at 11:00 on *Sunday* morning, and which sees no harm at all in Sir G. Lewis correcting the proofs of the astronomy etc. or writing learned Latin squibs on *Saturday* with S. in the War Office, where the lives, moral and physical, of half a million of men depend upon him--and this in spite of Lord de Grey's efforts. The War Office has never been at so low an ebb of intelligence, the Horse Guards at so high a flow of folly and insolence as now, at least not since the eight years time I have worked in the War Office. [Prince] Albert's death was a very great loss to us. He exercised a moral influence over the Commander-in-Chief, keeping him in order, as Sidney Herbert exercised an administrative influence, and now that is all gone.)

I have a few months more work to finish the Indian [royal] commission, which was to do for the Army in India what had been done for the Army at home--not that it will bear any fruit, for it will end in nothing but writing--the head and the heart are gone, which made that first five years' work all active and nothing left than writing. After that I can, *if I can*, do anything about "the stuff," I don't mean *literally*, for I don't believe I could. But I think I could teach it *viva voce* to a few working men. What I am so afraid of is that even if anybody would listen to it, it would lead to nothing but a philosophical school, not a religion. I should like to say to them, now it does not signify in the least whether you believe this or the reverse, unless you put it into practical truth in your lives, and I don't know how to show them how.

If I were what I was eight years ago, I would have a Working Men's Children's School, like Mr Ellis's, but, unlike his, to teach them all the laws of nature (known) *upon this principle*, that it is a religious act to clean out a gutter and to prevent cholera, and that it is not a religious act to pray (in the sense of asking). I have such a strong feeling that he who founds a soldiers' club (to keep them out of vice) is doing more than he who teaches abstract *religious truth*, that I would not teach "the stuff" if I could do anything else practical, but I can't now.

Why I think of the working man is that I would not try to call anybody out of any church or sect. Because I do not believe that any organization entailing any practical duty on men is better than none. This is not to say that I consider the Stuff a *pis aller*. In as far as it lays a grain of truth about the character of God that surely has immeasurably more importance than anything else.

I speak for myself: if it were not for the character of God

I should shirk work. I could not go on for the sake of mankind doing the immeasurably little I can for them, if I did not believe myself part of a plan by which God is doing immeasurably much for them. If I did not believe that God's plan intended the ultimate perfection of every human being, that, if one of his laws were different from what it is, every individual on whom these laws seem to bear so hardly now would be less happy in eternity than he will be, I could not work. For otherwise it would seem as if I had been trying to work for God and He to thwart my work (I have often told Him so). He brought about the most extraordinary combination, one which could hardly ever happen again, by which a woman obtains all the practical knowledge of Army organization, and a Secretary of State is willing not only to listen to her, but to devote every instant of five years to it--and He breaks this up.

It is not on the temporary grief of separation, even supposing this to rise to any dreadful consequence you may imagine, that I wish to dwell, it is upon the physical and moral welfare of half a million of men put back by this event. Now nothing but a study of the character of God could make one think that still one's little work was part of the infinite plan to bring everyone to perfect happiness, and that His is the only plan by which it can be effected. Therefore I think the study of his character must always be of the first importance to all. I hope you will be able to understand me if you get so far. I lose my own thread because I cannot now hold my pen for more than a few minutes at a time, but I always am, believe me

yours most gratefully and ever lovingly

F.N.

I would not be supposed to mean that the cleaning out the gutters is to be all our religious acts. [missing words] might be some manifestation of our feelings towards our Creator, some religious "service," in short whether a *form* of religious service I know not. I am sure I do not want any dissenting minister I ever heard to express out of his own head my feeling towards my Creator.

I am sure that it is a dangerous mistake the taking merely the negative, as my dear Clough did (though it was not dangerous to him) namely, not going to church, because you don't like to hear that said to God without settling what should be said to God. I don't want the "Stuff" to enter anyone's mind without its having for a result to settle what to say to God, and I am sure I cannot do this, at least not for others. I don't want the "Stuff" to enter anyone's mind without improving his life. I always recur to the *working* religious orders as being the only people who have said: that is what we think God says to us; we are going to *do it*.

Now the only satisfactory result of this (or of any) "Stuff" would be to do something like that. The most religious mind I ever knew was that of a Roman Catholic reverend mother [Mary Clare Moore], who was so good as to go out with me to the Crimea.

After we came home I found her one day cleaning out a gutter with her own hands. I know she did it on no theory. I think she had much better have employed a man to do it, but that is what I mean by a true idea of religious life, and she the only Roman Catholic, too, I have ever known who never tried to correct me. But this [forming a religious organization] is just what I am not able to do, and therefore I have so little heart about the "Stuff."

I do not understand the words freedom of thought (1) because I don't see how anyone can prevent my thought being free (they can prevent my speaking or acting); (2) because I don't know what good they could do me when they have "granted" freedom of thought, if freedom is the power of me over me, my thought is a very small portion of me; (3) I dislike the phrase freedom of thought altogether--freedom to think what is untrue I don't want, freedom to seek of truth is the thing, and all the phrases, liberty, private judgment etc., encourage a fatal mistake, viz. that there is no absolute truth to be sought with all our might, to be found not by the efforts of one, but of all. I don't want freedom to think my thoughts but freedom (or rather power) to find God's thought. [end 11:43]

One thing more: Dr Lankester, a medical man, has lately won the Coronership for Middlesex, a matter of great interest to me as a principle. I offer it is an illustration of what you say as to lawyers not being our best theological guides.

N.

F14 Jowett letter to FN Nov 9 [1862]

f16 Jowett letter to FN Dec 3 [1862]

f19 Jowett letter to FN

ff21-26 LETTER ON OXFORD UNIVERSITY PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED MARCH 1865, black-edged

f21

[2]

"been the starting-point & main propelling agency of modern cultivation".

Now, I think you are a 'Prophet.' (in Spinoza's sense & J.S. Mill's & Ewald's) of the 53rd of Isaiah.)

My heart bleeds to see the sacrifice you have to make to 'prophecy' to Oxford -- how she takes out x all she can, out of her 'Prophet' & gives ~~in~~ nothing back, or as little as she can. I am afraid you feel as

if she were wearing you out, & as if

x I know so many women like that: who take all they can get
out of this poor earth
& give nothing back.

f21v

you ~~could~~ might perhaps do *more* good elsewhere, with
a less amount of martyrdom.

But whom has Oxford but you? --
and what would she do without you? --

It is very shocking to see a great
Institution like that, -- the trainer of the
best brains in England, -- actually behind
the current ideas of those brains --
And, were she left to herself, what
would become of her?

f22

I am sure, (if I were a `Prophet', instead
 of being a sweep,) I should `prophecy'
 about her, exactly as the Prophets of
 old, & Jesus Christ himself, did about
 Jerusalem -- "Behold, thou art become
 a laughing stock among nations" -- and
 "O Oxford, thou that killest the prophets
 & stonest them which are sent unto
 thee, how often he would have gathered
 thy children together x and ye would not" --
 [And I am sure I do not mean to be
 profane in using those words.]

f22v

N.B. In putting a mark into Spinoza's
 18th Chapter, I don't at all specify
 that you should not make yourself
 "intolerable" to "kings" -- nor that you
 should not "irritate," instead of
 "correcting" under-graduates, -- of which
 latter I do not anticipate immediate
 danger -- & to the former I should see
 no objection. But indeed our own
 royal family, while Albert lived, was
 perhaps before any family in the kingdom.
 So there was no object in making oneself "intolerable."
 [partially cut off at bottom:
 MEAN TO OTHER "kings" EVEN "pious ones"]

f23 arch: To Mr. Jowett {REPEATS **f21** WITH SOME MINOR CHANGES
 [printed address sideways]
 [2]

"been the starting-point & main propelling
 agency of modern cultivation".

Now, I think, you are a `Prophet.' (in
 Spinoza's sense & that of the 53rd of Isaiah)

My soul is vexed to see the
 sacrifice you have to make to
 `prophecy' to Oxford -- to see how
 she takes x all she can, out of her `Prophet'
 & gives nothing back, or as little as she
 x I know so many women like that: who take
 all they can get out of this poor earth & give her
 nothing back.

f23v {REPEATS **f21v** WITH SOME MINOR CHANGES}

can. I am afraid you feel as if she were
wearing you out, & as if you might perhaps
do more good elsewhere, with a less amount
of martyrdom.

But whom has Oxford but you? --
and what would she do without you? --x

It is very shocking to see a great Institution
like that -- trainer of the best brains in England --
actually behind the current ideas of those brains --

And, were she left to herself, what would
become of her?

x Even had Dr. Stanley staid at Oxford, he is not
fitted to be a leader. He has always subordinated his
convictions to his affections {"I could not love thee, dear, so much
{"Loved I not honour more" {is not for him to say

f24 {REPEATS **f22** WITH SOME MINOR CHANGES}

I am sure, (were I a `Prophet', instead of
being a sweep) I would prophecy against
her, as the Prophets of old, & Christ himself,
against Jerusalem -- and not profanely --
"Thou art become a [laughing-/gazing-stock among nations".
And `O Oxford, thou that killest the prophets
& stonest them which are sent unto thee, how
often he would have gathered thy children
together x and ye would not" --

f24v {REPEATS **f22v** WITH SOME MINOR CHANGES}

N.B. In putting my mark into Spinoza's 18th Chapter, it is not meant at all as a warning that you should not, as a 'Prophet', make yourself 'intolerable' to 'kings' -- or that you should not 'irritate' under-graduates, instead of 'correcting' them. Of the latter I do not anticipate the remotest danger. To the former I should see no objection.

[But indeed our own royal family, while Albert lived, was perhaps before any family in the kingdom. So there was no object in making oneself 'intolerable'.] I mean: to other 'kings' -- 'even pious ones'. You should

f25

[3]

make yourself 'intolerable'.

I do assure you that, if I had not made **[9:383]** myself 'intolerable' to the 'kings' of the India Council, I never should have got my 7 millions. One of the 'kings' told a friend of mine that, since I had put him on the R. Commission & he had had to stand by its principles, he had not had a moment's peace of his life.

Next time I want 7 millions, I shall give notice, as Ld Panmure does in the Ho: of Lords, that I mean to make myself

f25v 'intolerable' to 'kings', 'even pious ones', till I get it.

I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word.

[Ld Panmure's motion tomorrow night is against Sidney Herbert's measures. And he told a man privately (who told me) that he ~~did not~~ means "not to spare S. Herbert's memory". And we have no one but Ld de Grey to answer him!] **[end 9:383]**

The "irritator" of ye Under-graduates -- do you know I think that title quite Homeric? I wonder, if I were to direct to you by that title, whether

f26

it would reach you -- [I have had letters from China & from native Hindoos in the interior of India, directed to me, the Queen of the Nurses, England]. I think I shall try. I don't mean it now in Spinoza's sense -- but rather, as he would call it, the "Corrector".

F27 Jowett letter to FN May 65

ff29-30v LETTER ON HILARY BONHAM CARTER PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, pale blue paper, black-edged
f29 {archivist: Hillary died Sept./65} **[3:524]**

This letter was written 34 South Street, [printed address]
after Mr. Jowett's visit to give Park Lane,
her the sacraments London. W.

{FN'S HANDWRITING BEGINS:}

May 24/65
Dear Mr. Jowett
God bless you for
what you have done
for Hilary Carter.
It is the greatest
comfort to her.
She was so pleased
with your letter.

f29v

It does make a
great difference to
my life to know
that you are in
the world.
St. Paul would be
ashamed of me as
a follower -- to say
nothing of our Lord.
I am ashamed of

f30

myself --

But you *do* do me good.

I wish I did you credit.

I hope no one, except
a Judas, will ever
be so near despair
as I have been --

I have not spoken
to a hero of your
calibre since Sidney
Herbert's death
& Mr. Clough's & Albert's
except Sir John

f30v

Lawrence --

And it is that
which does me good
-- to know that
you are in the world.

Ever yours gratefully

F. Nightingale

Are you going to turn
out Mr. Gladstone, by
way of doing him good?

ff31-32v LETTER ON BOSANQUET, BISHOP OF NATAL, MOHL PEN HANDWRITTEN
BY NIGHTINGALE

f31

June 1/65

34 South Street, {PRINTED address}
Park Lane,
London. W.

Dear Mr. Jowett

I thank you very
much for your books.

Is "G.W. Bosanquet",
now a subaltern in
the 85TH, a pupil of
yours? He talks to
his men about Plato
& tells them they
don't do what Plato

f31v

would have them do,
 & don't realize
 Plato's ideal of what
 soldiers ought to be.

I realize what you
 say of "being in such
 good company always".
I am in such bad
company always --
 specially my own
 always fighting &

f32

kicking these 4 years.
 It makes all the
 difference in life.
I should like, if you
 would let me, to send
 a little money towards
 the Bp of Natal's fund
 -- but should not like
 my name to be given.
This is *not* out of
cowardice. I will
tell you the reason
 some time, if I may.

f32v

I wish I could send
you something which
would give you half
as much pleasure
as what you send me.
M. Mohl sends me
sheet by sheet the
Proofs out of certain
works by the Atelier
Oriented printing-press,
which he is going
to desert after 26
years, because he is
thoroughly weary of it.

ff35-37v LETTER ON NURSING & W.O. WORK PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN, blue paper, black-edged, arch: Very private but autobiographical

f35

July 12/65

[3:525-26]

34 South street, {PRINTED address}
Park Lane,
London. W.

Dear Mr. Jowett

My deepest reverence,
my warmest sympathy
are yours.

If you were happy, I
could part good friends
with life, after all -- tho'
that this world is hell;
that is, the lowest place
in God's universe, I do
assure you -- [on the best
authority.]

I thank you very much

f35v

for the books -- & especially
for the Sermons. I will
keep Spinoza for a(n
unreasonable) time -- as
you are so good as to
wish it. But what is
the use of making it
mine? My heirs are
the War Office clerks -- Not
even my "pupils" would
take anything from me,
if they knew I read
Spinoza. One of them
wrote to me 12 pages,
beginning: "How is it
that while no one
denies your philanthropy,

f36

every one doubts your
Christianity?" -- to which
I answered, with the
utmost sincerity, that
she was quite right in
thinking me a very
poor follower of Christ.
And we have been the
best of friends -- & she
made me dispose of her
life -- and she is now
Matron of one of the
largest & poorest &
hardest Nursing
Establishments in
the Kingdom.

[Do your pupils write to
you in that way? Or is

f36v

this exclusively feminine?
Perhaps we have found
out the "difference"
between men & women.]

You are quite right in what
you say of me. I mar the
work of God by my
impatience & discontent.
I will try to take your
advice. I have tried.
But I am afraid it is
too late. I lost my
serenity some years ago --
then I lost clearness of
perception, so that
sometimes I did not
know whether I was
doing right or wrong

f37

[2]

for two minutes together --
the horrible loneliness --
but I don't mean to waste
your time. Only I would
say that my life having
been a fever, not even
a fitful one, is not my
own fault. Neck or
nothing, has been all
my public life. It has
never been in my power
to arrange my work.
No more than I could
help having to receive
& provide for 4000
Patients in 17 days
(in the Crimean War)
and how easy that was
compared with what has

f37v

happened since! Could I
help -- in the two R. Commissions
I have served, in the 9
years I have served
the W.O. exclusive of the
Crimean War, my whole life
being a hurry: if the thing
were not done to the day,
it would not be done at
all. Nursing was a
good apprenticeship.
Patients won't wait to die,
or better, to be made to
live, and operations won't
wait till I am less in
a hurry. And my whole
W.O. work has been of
the same kind.

ff38-39v LETTER ON NURSING, WAR OFFICE WORK & FRIENDSHIP PEN, PART
HANDWRITTEN BY FN & PART IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S

f38 [arch: from second Draft]
As in receiving & providing for
4000 patients in 17 days
(and that was easy!), so in
both the R. Commissions, in
all my 9 years in the W.O.,
the work, and not of my own
arranging -- must always be
done to the day or not at all.
Then what with the intolerable
sleeplessness -- But I don't
mean to excuse myself.
I wish I could do better. But
instead of that I think I do
worse every day.
I do think God "descending into
hell" -- whatever that word may
mean in the Creed -- is perfectly
true in two senses: -- that God

f38v {IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S:}

making his world *is* God descending
into hell -- & that to do his work
does entail upon some people
descending into hell. They
deteriorate under it. Still it is their
fault
Mine has been such horrible
loneliness. But many women,
maids of all work and poor
governesses, have been more
lonely than I -- and have done
much better than I. I think if
I had had one friend -- such a
friend as you have been to me
for the last

f39 {HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

6 months -- I should not have been so wrong.
But I am afraid it is too late now.
Let us hope however that I should have been
much worse without you.

The sermon which struck me so much was that
one upon: God is loving -- God is just -- God is
true -- & upon what a man might expect
from God's friendship, if he did God's work,
& lived in harmony with His laws.
I think, if I had felt God loved me, I could
have borne any thing. But I never could
feel it.
I am even more broken in mind than in body,
tho' I don't think my mind ever was a strong
one.
Yet I believe I am willing now to do God's work anyhow

f39v {HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

& leave all the rest to Him.

ff41-44 LETTER ON ELECTIONS PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE [5:336-37]

f41 {DATE: PENCIL, [end July 1865]
[3]}

I think the Elections
are pleasing -- specially
Mr. J.S. Mill's -- & Mr.
Goschen's being at the
head of the poll -- &
Sir J. Acton's -- & Mr.
Hughes', tho' I think he
is a goose.
I don't think anything
of you at Oxford -- because
you vote "genteel", like
those wretched Lords.
Unless, you have to fight
your way up to the
Polling=booth, & go in
for the drinking &
pelting & hooting,
like a Briton, I think

f41v

nothing of you --

Same for women: If
your pupil, Mr. Williams,
gives us the suffrage,
tell him we must
have the drinking & the
hooting. Or we shall
think nothing of it.

How I wish *I* had the
combative faculty. It *is*
such a power to carry
one through life. Some one
said of Roebuck: he was
qualified by his fight
with the wild beasts of
Sheffield to become
member for Ephesus.

How I wish I could qualify
to be member for Ephesus.

f42

You can't think how
pleased I was with
poor Lord Westbury's letter.

They have been very
hard to him -- a man
with such an immense
weight of responsibility, besides
his Courts, & who has done
so much good. He made a
great mistake. But it was
not what Hunt said it
was. It was not what
Bouverie said it was.
And now the Ho: of C.
pass a vote of want of
confidence in him. It
was not for his vices but
for his virtues they
have "no confidence" in
him. The religious question

f42v [printed address]

is at the bottom of their
want of confidence -- &
the electioneering question
at the top. The opposition
wanted to shew with
what pure hands they
went to the poll. And
then the Liberals had to
bid against them for
high-mindedness. Only
Ld Palmerston stuck
firm. You say truly:
Ld Westbury is but
half-sincere. But how
many of the majority
against him were even
"half=sincere", do you
suppose? Do you
think they were
really in a flame against

f43

[4]

"corruption"? One of them,
a Liberal: & one of the
most high minded, was
telegraphed up to London
by a Q.C., his brother,
who had returned Lord
Westbury for Aylesbury
& was angry because
the Chancellor had done
nothing for him. [He told
me this himself.]

In 6 or 8 months, I
prophesy, the Ho. of C.
will be ashamed &
sorry for what it has
done. And I don't
believe but that nearly
every Chancellor has
been worse than Lord

f43v

Westbury. And none of
them but believe it too
in their hearts. Is that
being "sincere"?
The only comfort is that

that good weak man/Lord Cranworth [archivist]
is now our Pope. If he
had not been, in a few
days it would have been
"penal" to "hope" that
every body would be saved.
And to what "penal"
settlement would you
have gone?
But I shall not go.
If I am asked, I shall
say, it is my "hope" that
they will all be -- the
reverse of saved -- specially

f44

your Hebrew Conservative/Pusey & {Pusey NOT IN FN'S HAND}
the Attorney General (Sir Roundell
Palmer) {Sir R. Palmer NOT IN FN'S HAND}
What is the reverse of "penal"?
pension?
Then it is my "hope" that I
shall have a good pension.
But I am really miserable
that I have lost my Pope.

ff45-49v LETTER ON DEAN'S POSITION AT CH. CH., "WELL-MEANING"
PEOPLE, PLATO PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, arch: To Mr. Jowett
[Aug 1865.]

f45 {THE FOLLOWING IN PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

[2]

Don't make a joke about
your being "Dean of
Ch.Ch." If I could
have lived to see you
Dean of Ch. Ch. (tho'
Deans are a thing I
can't abide) I should
have thought life worth
having -- Whereas now
?
I think Dante ought to
have been whipped
for complaining
 "come sa di sale
 lo scendere 'l salir ... per
 l'altrui scale"
I have to have my head

f45v

knocked against one
 stair. My legs broken
 against another -- &
 sometimes to be thrown
 from the top to the
 bottom & all
 down, `other people's'
 stairs.
"It is all very well to
 dissemble your lode,
But why should you
 kick me down stairs?
And this brings me to **[3:527-28]**
 what you say:
that it is all custom
 & routine & eating &
 drinking like other
 people which does

f46

the mischief in the world more than
moral corruption.

And so it is. But that
is just what I complain
of {It is the routine which brings
{about the moral corruption.

It was because Sir R.
Airey ate & drank "like
other people" that
the Crimean Army
was destroyed.

It is because Mr. Villiers
eats & drinks "like
other people" that
the Workhouses are
not reformed.

It is because Lord
Westminster & the
other great London
proprietors eat &

f46v

drink & don't look
after their London
properties, "like
other people", (tho'
they do look after
their country properties)
that London dwellings
are what they are.

"*Well-meaning*" people
are, of all others,
the people I detest.
If you could but
exchange them for
ill-meaning people,
who will do the world's
work, the world
would be such a gainer.

f47

[3]

Only that I am afraid
you will think me
an immoral woman
(which I assure you
I am not) I should
say that with all
my nun's education,
I think very little
of the sin commonly
called immorality,
compared with the
brutal indifference,
the stupid selfishness,
the inexorable vanity
(for really there is
nothing *inexorable*
but vanity) which

f47v

make the world what
it is.
All of which may be
combined with
"good intentions" --
may be found in
"well-meaning" people.
[There is a man in
the W.O. who (&
especially his wife)
is always saying to me
that he did not
"mean" to wound,
worry, disappoint
or 'kick me down-
stairs.' And I always
answer (only I am

f48

obliged to be civil)
N.B. ~~and~~ he always says
this most particularly
when he ~~does not~~
"means" to do ~~any~~nothing.

Oh do "*mean*" to
kick me down-stairs,
do wound me &
break my bones --
only *do the work* --
do the thing.]

I MUST hate "well
meaning" people.
Pray let me.

[end 3:528]

f48v

I was very much
interested in what you
told me about Plato.
I always read Mr.
Grote's books with the
greatest respect but
in perfect ignorance.
I no more know whether
I am reading fiction or
history than if I were
reading Lamartine's
Girondins. [Only ~~rather~~
I do know Lamartine
is fiction.]
I am rather glad to know
that we need not read
Plato by the light of
Mr. J.S. Mill's philosophy
tho' I am Mr. Mill's

f49

[4]
profoundest admirer.
If ever I open his Logic,
the 2nd Vol., I ~~can~~ read
straight through to the
end or as long as I can.
It is so amusing.
Believe me
ever gratefully yours
F. Nightingale

I thank you very much [3:527]
for your note just
received. You know what
I think about your
preaching. [I won't
deliver you up to the
Bp. of London who says,
in his Charge, that as

f49v

God made you, & such
as you, tho' God had
~~better~~ much better
not have done it, we
must put up with
you.]
But I can't bear to
hear of your writing
letters after your day's
work. Pray don't do it
for me. Don't burn
the candle at both ends.
You don't know what
it is to come to a life
where almost every
minute is an effort
merely to live.

F51 Jowett letter to FN Hilary's death Sept 7/65

f53 Jowett letter to FN Sept 8/65

ff55-56 LETTER ON YOUNG MEN PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f55 [To Mr. Jowett Sep. [1865.]

{THE FOLLOWING IN PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}
Mme Mohl says of the

educated young men of the present day (but she is speaking particularly of her German nephews)
"these young men are like little fish -- the least thing kills the good in them -- and they are neither good to eat nor to salt" "It's us old folk that feed the young on our vitals".
Do you say that of your `young men'?
As for me, I never saw one, at least not for the last 8 years -- nor never heard of one, at least not for the last 4 years -- So I am a bad judge. And before that I ~~consorted with~~ saw 50,000 `young men'. But if any

f55v

one calls them of the Army -- Officers or Privates -- `educated young men', he knows nothing about it.

F.N.

With regard to "young women" -- tho' you despise your *pupil's* Atalanta in Calydon, allow me to observe that ~~tho'~~ Atalanta herself, tho' she is only a sort of a Ginn & not a woman at all -- yet there is more of reality, of character, of individuality (which is a stupid word) in her than in all the `young women' of all the Men Novelists I ever read --

f56

with scarcely any exception.
But then she, Atalanta, is not a sound incarnation of any `social or economic

principle' -- is she?

No more am I -- am I?

{WRITTEN IN PENCIL, arch: Repeats almost verbatim a letter to
Mme Mohl -- 8 Sept. 1865

Swinburne's Atalanta pubd 1865.

Also Mme Mohl had this year a German nephew
Ottmar Mohl with her.

F57 Jowett letter to FN Nov 1865

f60 Jowett letter to FN illeg date

ff61-61v NOTES ON UPPER & LOWER CLASS WOMEN PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY
NIGHTINGALE

f61

arch: c. 1865

It is nothing but 'bourgeois' the way in which
women of the upper classes are sacrificed to
the merest colifichet.

I do think the best & the cleverest women
~~I know are~~ especially if Evangelical -- ~~And they~~ can
literally see nothing in life, nothing in the world,
altho' they profess the contrary, but to leave
the world just as it is -- & to be what is
called good -- tempered & forbearing -- That
is their only virtue.

Novels & Sermons have immensely
contributed to all this --

You are disdainful to your pupil's
Atalanta in Calydon -- But I do assure you
Atalanta herself, tho' she is only a sort
of a Ginn & not a woman at all, has
more reality, more character, more individuality,
(tho' that is a stupid word) than all the
women (heroines) in all the men's novels
that ever were written.

But then she is not a sound incarnation
of any 'social or economic principle' -- is
she? -- No more am I -- am I?

f61v

that only rolls its Juggernaut's car one
day in the week.- the other, every day in/the week.
One of these victims, a wife -- another, a
daughter -- actually told me, quite simply
& seriously, that she was quite aware
her husband in one instance -- her family
in the other, -- was much better without
her -- deteriorated, with her -- And yet she
went on just the same.

{IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S}	x For James Clark
{IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S}	see letters
{IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S}	early

A very successful, & justly successful physician
once seriously told a sister, who had been

x

one of the Devoured, that she must leave
home, in order that the Devourers might
recover health & balance, which had
been lost in the process of devouring.
No one can devour with impunity.

x This person was myself.

It is only in the lives of the upper class {CUT OFF}

that we see this. And I think

upper classes far more "bourgeois" {CUT OFF}

the lower ~~& that~~ this is one reason. There is nothing

"bourgeois" {CUT OFF}

one ~~member~~ woman of a family earning the bread
of the others, -- or in being sacrificed for it.

But

ff62-64 NOTES ON THE WORTH OF CREATING THE WORLD PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY FN

[3:185-87]

f62 [archivist: To Mr. Jowett]

I think this world is the lowest of God's places, therefore hell, for reasons which it would be too long to write & not worth reading if they were written -- probably only fancies.

You once said to me, that, if I could look out on the sea at Torquay, I should not think so.

But you mistake me.

We cannot conceive any earth more perfect or beautiful than this earth.

We cannot conceive any world worse or lower than this world (I think).

There are a multitude of writers who try to prove that there is on the whole more happiness than misery in this world. Lately, Froude, Stephen & others have tried again to vindicate the goodness of the Creator on this ground.

I conceive that this is the view of utter inexperience.

I think the Evangelical view of utter corruption & the election of a few is more in accordance with this fact.

Can we really say that this world would be worth creating if this were all?

Must we not rather say that, if it is, the wish of a good God, it is a dreadful mistake & that it bears on the contrary the marks of being the work of a Devil?

f62v

[I think it might even be proved that it is, the utter misery of this world, as it is, in combination with other evidence, that there *is* a good God, which makes the evidence of there being a continued existence?]

I appeal to the experience of

~~To~~ one who has really seen the world as it is, London, Paris, not with the eyes of a girl of 17 in the upper classes, as they are called. Can a lower state of existence be conceived?

It is not the suffering that strikes me so much --

Indeed, I who have lived in Hospitals, should be far from saying that *these* impress me with the strongest idea of the misery of the world. On the contrary, I have seen more happiness in these than among people who drive in parks.

It is not the inequality of conditions which strikes me so much. If you look at the faces of ladies who drive in Parks or at those of the young men which you see thro' the windows in the Clubs of St. James' Street, I think they convey to you a very

f63

opposite impression from that of happiness.

It is not that this world seems to me other than the perfection of beauty: I desire no other. I can imagine no place more beautiful in heaven or earth than Scutari. And yet, what a hell it was!

It is that, if you come really to live in the world as I have, in London, in Paris, in the Army, among the Fellahs of Egypt among the peasants of Prussia, among the Ragged Schools of Old Pye, as it was among the struggling bread winning women of England, among the brutal beggars of Rome, educated & uneducated, it always strikes you -- was this world worth creating, after all?

It is not the suffering, as I say. It is the low indifference & worthlessness of all. A Hero ~~es~~ suffers most of all. But ~~their~~ his life ~~as~~ is worth having. But can any one say that a prostitute's life ~~be said to be~~ is worth having, ~~in any sense?~~ even though she does not suffer; which the rich ones do not always -- People always seem to think that it is the -- after punishment which decides this point. But supposing this world is all can any one say that such a life,

without suffering
& without punishment is worth having, in any sense?

I return to my conviction: we can imagine no lower stage of existence than this, we

f64

It seems to me that people on this subject are divided into two parties 1. philosophers who say that there is, *on the whole*, more happiness than misery in this world -- & therefore "we", who are generally the happy ones, ought to think it a good world -- What a thing to say of a good God who is Almighty! -- Surely it requires a very different view of His worlds than this to justify His goodness "A bruised reed shall he not break"

{Who allowed the reed to be bruised?

And he

does break the bruised reed over & over again. There must be
a large view & a whole view.

2. philanthropists who are so pleased with the little bit of good they do that they think the world is all right e.g. Lady D. G. because she nurses a Dragoman thinks the Egyptians have on the whole a happy life & that harems are all right. [I know a little too much of harems myself for that]

He descended into Hell (whatever that word may mean in the creed.)

[end 3:187]

ff65-67v NOTES ON GOD AS TEACHER VS. JUDGE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY
FN

f65

Perhaps it is not true to speak of God as a **[3:177-80]**
judge at all -- or of His judgements. There does
not seem to be really any evidence that His
worlds are places of trial but rather schools,
places of training -- or that He is a judge
but rather a Teacher, a Trainer -- not in the
imperfect sense in which men are Teachers,
but in the sense of *His* contriving & adapting
His whole universe for the one purpose of
training every intelligent being to be perfect.

I think that the present mania for
judging, for criticism, among men, as shewn &
at the same time, cherished by the flood of
Reviews, leading Articles, Magazines, in which
are actually now reviews of reviews, is a
symptom of the way in which men conceive of
God. They see one another do nothing but judge,
& they think of God as doing nothing but judging.

The whole immense fabric of God "making allowances",
Christ "making intercession" is built on this.

God had better not exist at all: Christ had
better not exist at all than do this.

And it seems such a silly occupation for Him
who *creates* our circumstances, who holds them
in the hollow of His hand, so as to direct them
for our infinite good, in whom we live & move

f65v

& have our being, to be always weighing & discussing merits & offences.

In the sense in which a good human teacher judges of the progress of his pupils, no doubt the ~~Great~~ Infinitely wise Teacher "judges" -- But in no other sense.

Nay, to compare infinitely small things with, great, exactly in proportion as men hold, in their own hands the circumstances of their fellow-creatures, do they cease to judge.

Our business is, I think, to understand; not to judge. What He does is, as far as we know, to rule by law down to the most infinitesimally small portion/minute of His universe, not to judge

Is it quite correct to say, in any/this sense, that God 'knowing all our circumstances', (He *made* them) 'His judgement is relative to the very condition of our bodily frame', when we know that this very condition of our 'bodily frame' is, down to its very x I held in my hands to an infinitely small degree the circumstances of our soldiers. If instead of modifying & remodelling those circumstances to the utmost of my power, & in as far as the laws of God put it in my power, I had been occupied with judging the exact demerit of or "allowances" to be made for, Sir R. Airey, who

f66

as Q.M.G. certainly influenced if he did not bring about the destruction of the Army should I ~~not~~ have been distinctly/fulfilling deserting my charge, & should I not have been acting in the most childish & anti-divine manner?

I think God would not be the Almighty, the All-wise, the All-good if He were the Judge, in the sense in which both Evangelical & Roman Catholic Christians impute judgment to him. X

f66

minutest particular, the result of His laws?

[I know what people will say, that the danger of this kind of ~~teac~~ doctrine is that it ~~makes~~ throws all the work on God & not on us -- makes it seem as if all the work of our improvement was His & not ours.

I don't think there is this danger -- since the very essence of all God's government, as He teaches us practically every day Himself, is to make us do the work. We cannot do without Him. But He cannot do without us. Or rather He will not do without us. This is the divine self-denial.

There is danger certainly ~~is~~ in not presenting the thing as a whole (which I am sure I can't do)

f66v

x But it is so ingrained in men now, this kind of thing, that you cannot speak, you cannot make a remark about a man, even with the most definite practical purpose before you, without people -- & who are none so very amiable either -- bringing all kinds of counter 'judgments', 'allowances' & such kinds of things to meet you -- Bless their souls! I don't care a half-penny whether Sir R. Airey was to blame or not, whether Lord de Grey is to blame or not; *I want the thing done.*

If in words which I am perfectly incapable of finding, proportioned in some slight degree, to the majesty of the subject, we could describe God's purpose, would it not be -- to bring all men to *perfection*, NOT to bring all men to 'judgment'? Would He not say, -- *not* I want the thing done, but *I am* doing the thing -- *I am* training this world of mine to perfection. I do not need to judge. *I am* teaching mankind to create mankind -- by my laws I do not need to judge.

f67

Is there any 'preparation' 'for that other state' other than that which is necessary to live in this?

Have we any reason to believe that there is any heaven anywhere, unless we make it? 'I go to prepare a place for you.'

Is it not a rather unfortunate & almost universal mistake that there is no call to us to 'prepare' a place here? but that the 'preparation' for that 'other place' is something quite different & independent? something quite other than our work in this world?

There is a fragment of autobiography by Lord Althorp, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, one of the most disinterested statesmen that ever was -- indeed you cannot say, the most disinterested, for he had no self-interest -- in which he tells us, ~~at 49~~ ‡ he has long had it as a purpose to retire from public life, at 49. I think, to do what? -- to leave all the good he was doing -- and to betake himself to prayer & 'preparation' for another life.

Everybody in their own small experience could tell a similar tale.

I am sure I could thatch a house or build a hay stack with the reams of letters I have had from both Evangelical & Roman Catholic friends, imploring

f67v

me to obey God's voice which clearly pointed out to me that it was time for me to throw aside all work, & betake myself to prayer & preparation for death.

I doubt also exceedingly that the motive is a powerful one in these days, altho' the general opinion is obviously that it *is*.

I don't think either fear of death, love of life, desire for a continued existence, are at all the prominent motives they used to be. In a high state of civilization, people are so weary.

Perhaps I am not a fair specimen. But I am afraid if I were to hear that the end of this life is the end of all, I should be rather glad. I am so very tired. But then there is no good God. And, if there is no good God to complete one's work, in whose work, one's/my own little work is but a little wheel, then I should not work at all. Because it would not be worth while.

[end 3:180]

ff68-73 NOTES ON RELIGION PEN & PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
f68 [archivist: [?1863-65] {WRITTEN IN PEN:}]

superior the Abbess is to the Abbot.

But let that difference alone.

It is perhaps not much to the purpose.

And it can be accounted for in other ways.

There is something else this writer [3:526-27]
knows nothing about: --

Probably there is not a word of truth
in the story of the Virgin Mary.

But the deepest truth lies in the
idea of the Virgin Mother.

[The Dresden Raphael gives it in
all its power.]

The real mothers & fathers of
the human race are *not* the
mothers & fathers, according
to the flesh.

There is scarcely an instance in
history to the contrary.

Who have been the fathers of
humanity? & who, the mothers?
(though, alas how few have been
mothers of mankind at all)

f68v {WRITTEN IN PEN:}

I don't know why it should be so

It did not "ought to" be so.

But it is so --

This is not for your "clever & singular youth"
obviously.

Perhaps it had better not be said
at all.

But an old woman, with 9 toes in the
grave, may say many things.

{WRITTEN IN PENCIL:}

My good old Pastor Fliedner, at least,
18 or 19 years ago, used to address me,
with all gravity, as a "mother in Israel
I think I have some right to the
appellation now. For I have had
nineteen thousand children.

[end 3:527]

f69 [archivist: [?1863-65] {WRITTEN IN PEN:} [3:234-35]
[2]

This is by the same Spanish nun as
above.

And St. Bernard says somewhere: --

"Comment se peut-il faire qu'ayant tant de
connaissance de Dieu, nous ayons si peu
d'amour de Dieu?

Ayant l'esprit si éclairé, ils n'avaient
pas le coeur également enflammé."

I think this is so *eminently* characteristic of this age. [M. Mohl reminded me with **[3:235]** shouts of laughter that I had said, I knew *no one* ~~illeg~~ man or woman now who could give his or her attention thro' 5 words so as to reach the Accusative, as thus, *Tom has made a mess* -- It is past the human power now to hear the accusative "mess". It is so remarkable this, that now *every one* forestalls the end of your sentence, interrupts you, says aloud the supposed end of your sentence, which, in my case, is always the exact reverse of what I intended to say. And this, even though the speaker is a great deal quicker than the interrupter.

f69v {WRITTEN IN PEN:}

[3:235 resumes]

Now I think the main reason of the vague ideas of intellectual men about God in this age, (*where* they are unfettered by custom) as in J. Stuart Mill, yourself, &c &c &c &c, is "*parceque*", *l'entendement*, "*c'est un inquiet*." You are "*un inquiet*" -- you never give yourself time to *fixer* une idée. *No one does.* **[end 3:235]**

f70 [archvisit: [?1863-1865] {WRITTEN IN PEN:}

[3]

considering him not a man. If he is
to be Almighty God, all this becomes meaning=
less -- his example is nothing to us. And [3:180
the horrible inconsistency of every Christian
sect lies in this; they tell us to make
Christ an example in everything. And
if we do, if e.g. I try to apply this prayer
of his to myself, they are shocked, you
are shocked, nay, I am shocked myself.
In the sense in which there is the Divine
in every man, I do indeed believe that
Christ is the highest example of the
ideal struggling in the Actual, -- of how,
that is, the Divine in man would act
the best possible under the circumstances
which every reformer must encounter
"in the world". I echo entirely those
expressions about "the world". But mark
how he always recurs to the thought that
they are to work in "the world", that he
was to work in "the world" -- that to wish
to be taken out of "the world" is a cowardly's
wish. To grapple hand to hand with "the
world" to make the whole of life action --
never to retire in contemplative ease -- if there

f70v {WRITTEN IN PEN:}

is one thing he recurs to again & again,
this is it. **[end 3:181]**

K {K IN PENCIL} Also, how he dwells upon, not this
or that theological system but upon
God's words, His laws, being "truth".

Newman's Apologia tells us that
(I copy) "Justin, Athenagoras, Irenaeus,
"Clement, Tertullian, Oregin, Lactantius,
"Sulpicius, Ambrose, Nazianzen" are
truth. Elsewhere, that "St. Leo" "shews"
him truth.

J.S. Mill implies that Zoroaster is **[3:181 resumes]**
"truth".

Plato is frequently quoted as "truth".
Or at least what Plato
says is always
being quoted.

But no one but Christ ever asks
what *God* says -- ever tells us to listen
to what *God* says -- because what *GOD*
says is "truth" -- [And if he does, people
immediately think that he means, by
what God says, the Bible -- tho' the Bible
certainly did not exist at all in his
time -- & what did exist of it he frequently

f71 {WRITTEN IN PEN:}

tells us not to mind, because it is incomplete]

I cannot go on expounding all this beautiful dying prayer. I dislike some few expressions in it, which may very likely not be his at all. e.g. it would seem that the object is -- not for them "to believe on him" -- but as he says himself in other passages, for them to "know God", to feel "God's love" "in themselves", to "be one" in God, as God is -- in him -- But I am too tired. Many Greek annotators say that "and so" is a more correct meaning than "that they might" E.g. "and so the world will believe" &c, instead of "that the world may believe" &c

I think you would like

Sermons par T. Colani

Premier Recueil 3eme Edition.

Strasbourg 1860

He says, p.16, "Il (Christ) ne nous révèle donc pas Dieu sous tous les aspects."

And ~~what else~~ does Christ not say so himself? F.N. [**end 3:181**]

f72 [archivist: [?1863-1865]

{WRITTEN IN PEN:}

I send you a few more sentences
from Marcus Aurelius.

πο τους φιλει λλ' ληθιν ς
Love men, but truly.

Ο πω π καρδ ας φιλε α το ς ανθρωπους
Not yet lovest thou men from thy heart.

Be like the vine which gives its fruit & asks
no more. Pass on to another good action as
the vine preparing its grapes for next time.
Must we be like these which know not what
they do? -- Yes.

Chase away the thirst of books. It is no
time to discuss.

(He desires always *to know what he is
thinking of*, & never to be unable to
answer this question) --

"what is the use I make to=day of
my soul?"

(Chasing away uncertain reverie, he
says: --

"What dost thou here, imagination?
Away, in the name of God. I am not
angry with thee. But away!"

(*Manfred* has imitated these words

f72v {WRITTEN IN PEN:}

exactly. F.N.)

He quotes from Antisthenes: --

"It is a royal thing, when one has done well, to hear evil said of one".

[St. Teresa, who never could have read M. Aurelius, reminds me continually of him by her turn of thought: -- she says, We ought to have "a truly royal magnanimity", when we are unjustly blamed, (by thinking that we are "the children of God".)

Marcus Aurelius says: -- in the tenderness of his conscience: --

"Come quickly, death, lest I forget myself at the end". And

"Cover thyself with shame, oh my soul, cover thyself with shame! thou wilt then have no more time to glorify thyself."

This, in connection with the ~~really~~ following ~~deep saying~~: -- is truly remarkable.

"Understand there is something

f73 {WRITTEN IN PEN:}

excellent & divine in thyself; & live in familiar converse *with Him who has within us his temple*"

[What is this but the kernel of the good of all subsequent mystical (or as you call them, "ecstatic") writers?]

He entreats himself *to give himself* as soon as possible, "simplicity, indifference to all that is neither vice nor virtue".

St. Teresa says: -- "Méprisons tout ce qui ne subsiste point par soi-même".

In answer to a passage in your letter, she says: --

"En verité, c'est une belle imagination à ceux qui se laissent, abuser ainsi, de croire que, *pour s'exempter du mal, il faut éviter de faire le bien.*"

ff74-77 SUGGESTIONS FOR A SERMON FOR MR JOWETT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN
BY FN

f74 [archivist: For Mr. Jowett]

F.N. [March 30 1866] Good Friday 1866
suggestions for
a sermon --

{IN PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

I would write a Sermon drawing -- *not*
a contrast but, a parallel -- between
the doctrine of Socrates that this is life,
to "know thyself" -- & the doctrine of the
Evangelist, that this is life, to "know God."

The earliest Christians (by whom I
mean the writers of the N. Testament)
made an immense beginning by
declaring this -- that "this is life eternal,"
to "know God" -- And they made
farther an immense step by
declaring that this God whom we
are to know "is love"

But I don't think they ever went
much farther. No one has ever
shewn *what* a God of love is -- what
He would *do* -- *how* God is a God of
love -- how His being so is consistent
with His having His world in such a
state

George Fox, the Martyr & Quaker,
explains it by saying God did not
create the Devil -- Goethe says He did
[And we ought to be very much obliged
to Goethe, who certainly did not
trouble himself much about God,
for having, by the force of his

f74v

surpassing genius, insisted so much upon this.]

Except in one or two instances, we have certainly not gone farther than the early Christians (who wrote the New Testament) in shewing how God is a God of love --

We have rather retrograded.

[For certainly Christ would not have murdered John Huss -- would not have excommunicated Bishop Colenso -- would not have burnt Servetus --]

I think it so natural of Christ to say -- what some think so offensive -- that he would shew them in his own acts what God was -- that he was the way to the Father -- he could not teach them in any other manner that the Father was love -- or to "know God." ["For this is eternal life, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou has sent."]

But no one has ever even tried to show how God being love is an explanation of the horrible state of

f75

His world.

[George Fox, tho' he was persecuted himself, seems ready to have persecuted a "ranting woman" -- see his Journal -- for having drawn away his followers on this point.]

There was certainly as wide a gap between Job (& his follower Goethe who understood that God did *not* hate the Devil & that mankind were particularly in want of him, to stir them up) and the whole Evangelical, Roman Catholic & High Church twaddle upon this subject, as there is between ~~heaven & earth~~ knowing God & not knowing God. When Mephistopheles says that he is a part of that force which always wills the evil & always does the good, he seems to have hit the "mystery" exactly. But then you

must acknowledge that God made
the Devil. [I would even go
farther & acknowledge that God
made the "Times": tho' that may be
going too far.]

f75v

God is love, *because* there is evil --
is the "mystery" we have to find out --
And, "until you have first made
out this mystery," don't puzzle
yourselves about beginnings &
ends. "That is a knowledge
which is the condition of all other
knowledge & which can never be
exhausted or come to an end."

"He is pious who knows how to please
the Gods" --

Then you must *`know* God' in order
to know how to please Him.

If God is a perfect God, then the
right is in pleasing Him

But not at all, if He is not.

Now certainly Christians have never
gone about finding out *what* a
perfect God is -- tho' the New Testament
did do so much for the knowing of
God. But as certainly they were
only the founders of the knowledge of
God as Socrates was "the founder of

[2]

moral philosophy." And as certainly we are just as much in the infancy of the knowledge of God as Socrates was in the infancy of moral philosophy, altho' the father of it.

If, e.g., I believed in Calvin's God -- whose "*good* pleasure" it was to "predestine" many "to eternal damnation," I surely would not love Him or try to "know how to please Him" --- ~~Therefore~~ It would be no use recalling to me that the New Testament says: God is love I should try partly to defy Him, like Prometheus, partly to think of something else -- But I would never try to conciliate Him

Evangelical Christianity, so far from making out how "God is love," has oftener made out that He is worse than the worst of human tyrants & murderers.

f76v

If God is a perfect God, then the only true "religion" is "morality" --

And the only true morality is religion.

But I would shew how morality, religion, moral philosophy & politics are all, if not one & the same, at least different forms of the same.

"Morality" is bringing down heaven to earth (or bringing down God's will from heaven to earth).

Religion is bringing earth up to heaven.

Moral philosophy is the knowledge of the government of God over His worlds --

Politics are the knowledge of His administration of this world (or bringing down God's government from heaven to earth).

f77

[Goethe, I think it is who says somewhere, that it is very easy to get up to heaven but very difficult to get down again. I think that is strictly true. It is very easy to be religious, if religion is only the getting up to God (mysticism). It is very difficult to be religious -- in the sense of incarnating Him upon earth -- *either in "morality" or in politics* -- or in any other practical embodiment of His will.]

"God: manifest in the/made flesh." I am sure I feel the depth of the 'mystery' of those words more than any theologian --
Good Friday 1866

ff78 and **79** are repetitions of the above, in pen

f82

Mr. Jowett

The true idea of God
as of a being who cannot *make men* good --
the very idea of goodness involving free-will
in the person subject to the moral training
===

Danger in all parties from the absence of
criticism -- The faults of the party become
necessarily consecrated.
===

How far greatness attainable?

Not in the sense of great genius -- but of
strength of will -- calmness -- peace --
-- higher objects -- independence of the
opinion of others & of external events.

The defect of the Stoical character -- too abstract --
wanting in energy to act upon the world --
A Stoic in the ghost of a human being
===

E.g.

Bishop Colenso {Wherever there is abuse, interest, absence of
 {fair argument, there at least among educated
 {men, there is infidelity.

"No case -- abuse plaintiff's attorney"
===

This calmness is not only the right weapon against your
opponents -- but the right weapon for the improvement
of your own character. They are driven much more to
live in personalities. You are led more & more to live
in *true ideas* -- with God & his laws.

f82v

Mill's Hist. of India Ch IV. beginning

"In the law books of the Hindus, the details of jurisprudence & judicature occupy comparatively a very moderate space. The doctrines & ceremonies of religion; the rules & practice of education; the institutions, duties & customs of domestic life; the maxims of private morality & even of domestic economy; the rules of government, of war & of negotiation; all form essential parts of the Hindu code of law, & are treated in the same style, & laid down with the same authority, as the rules for the distribution of justice."

Then why not do this now as to Sanitary subjects --
which indeed embrace the whole of the Home Department
except justice & hanging?

Inspiration of Error

It was said of Plato "If he had not erred, he would have done less"

It may be said of every great man, "If he had not erred, he would have done nothing".

The fallacies of a great writer serve, not the less effectually, because indirectly, to the advancement of truth, by stimulating the energies of the writers who oppose the fallacies.

Thus David Hume * -- To Hume we owe the philosophy of Kant
Had some mistaken benevolence suppressed the publication
of Hume's sceptical theories, Kant would have continued in
'dogmatic slumber'; Reid would have remained in quiet
adhesion to Locke: the materialism of Condillac would
still be reigning over the schools of France --

`the man who gave the whole philosophy of Europe a new inspiration
& direction

ff83-83v NOTES ON RELIGION AND JUSTICE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN
[3:528]

f83

April 25/66

I thank you very sincerely for your most kind letter.
In 1860, *the consolations of the future never failed me*
for a moment; and I find them now an equally
secure resource. Believe me sincerely yours

f83v

F.N.

"Private judgment"

Nor do we say: -- you will not be blown up on a rail road, if you will but `conscientiously' believe in your `salvation' on that line of Railway.

It is *only* in religion that such things are said.

B.J.

Has a man that union of strength & weakness
which will enable him to use his own weakness
for good?

Every man's weakest is also his strongest point

Apollonius of Tyana

Ste Thérèse et Fénelon (n'ont pas) poussé plus loin
l'abnégation et la spiritualité (dans la prière)
Je demande aux Dieux que la justice règne sur la terre
(Thy kingdom come)

Pour moi, je leur dis=donnez moi, o Dieux, ce qui me
convient.

O muses, faites que nous nous aimions les uns les autres.
[Love one another]

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

~~Mr. Jowett~~

~~I don't think that I think public
opinion is higher & more honourable than
private opinion -- as a rule -- not than any
private opinion of course.~~

ff84-87v NOTES ON MORALITY PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE,
pale blue, black-edge paper

f84 [To Mr. Jowett 1866? Aug?]

{WRITTEN BY FN:}

Socrates says -- in the lesser Hippias that it is better to do so or say what is bad & know it to be bad -- than to do or say what is bad, not knowing it to be so --

And this which seems so obvious that it is almost a truism, & which one sees under one's eyes every day of one's life, ~~Socrates~~ Plato has been most unjustly blamed for as sophistry. And M Cousin shews he did not understand it in the least.

I don't care -- If Plato had been writing, the state of England in 1866, he could not have been more exact.

It is the sin against the Holy Ghost.

f84v

Every body now, it seems to me, has a moral reason for doing what they like.

When I was a child, it did not use to be so among my grand=parents & the people of the last century. They did violent & wrong things -- much more wrong things than are done now. But they never said they were right. On the contrary. They were very sorry afterwards & asked for forgiveness from God & man.

I see just the same thing in Governments. I won't quote L. Napoléon or Bismarck, or Prussia thanking Providence for having enabled her to commit the blackest crime in history --

f85

or Lord John Russell saying in his place in the
Ho: of Commons, in favour of L. Napoléon,
what he (Ld John) knew that we knew that
he knew to be a lie.

But I will only quote what cannot be gainsaid
-- the way in which administration is carried
on in Government Offices. It is perfectly
well understood, perfectly well known by all &
every one of the actors, that the "Reports" &
the "Enquiries" & the "Minutes" & the "Correspond
=ence" are not ~~for~~ in order that anything ~~to~~ may be done, but
that anything may not be done.

It is like resolutions. People make resolutions
to do what

f85v

~~to be~~ is good, instead of doing the thing which is
good, in order to satisfy their own
selves not to do what is good.

[One of the best people I ever knew told me
that I did not know what it was to break
Resolutions. No, because I never made resolutions]

So -- nobody supposes that the Privy Council is
going to enforce any sanitary measures on the
local authorities -- or that the local authorities
are going to carry any, without their being
enforced.

And so they wilfully allow, permit & even
commit the most horrible things, knowingly

f86

-- 67000 murders in 13 weeks -- And every body
thinks -- or at least they think -- it is all right
All these Boards & Offices are nothing but a
mechanism (~~as Plato says in his Gorgias~~) for
enabling the persons responsible to do nothing.
Now certainly the poor man who ~~robs~~ embezzles his employers'
money, knowing it to be wrong, & goes & commits
suicide, is much better, in a much more
hopeful state -- than these most respectable
people -- who are wilfully stupid -- who cannot
be saved -- who commit the sin against the
Holy Ghost every day -- who commit & permit all
kinds of atrocities, (& report & write & write & report)
not knowing them to be so.

f86v

It seems to me to be so obvious that it is scarcely
worth the trouble of explaining.

The Duke of Wellington told Filder, his Commissary
in Spain, that he should be hanged, if he did
not get the bullocks.

And the Army was saved.

[That was doing wrong wilfully -- a very good
thing.]

Lord Raglan told Filder, his Commissary in
the Crimea, that he was a very good man, tho'
he got no bullocks.

And the Army was lost.

[That was doing wrong unintentionally -- a very
bad thing.]

f87

Of all the ~~horrible~~ pernicious doctrines, the destructive doctrines that ever were broached, the Evangelical doctrine that God looks only at the "intention", is the worst.

I entirely agree with Socrates that he who does evil & knows it is a much better man than he who does evil & does not know it. For who is the more hopeless of the two? -- Certainly the latter.

"Tis better to have fought & lost
Than never to have fought at all" -- A.H.C.

I have not a shadow of doubt -- have you? -- that
I had rather die in the Workhouse Infirmary
than live as I see those people do who drive
in carriages in parks -- with their dogs' heads

f87v

out of window -- taking everything they can out of
this poor earth & giving nothing
back -- [If I kept a dog instead of a
cat, I should have to keep a Brougham
for it to drive out in & a man=servant
to take it out -- whereas my cats are satisfied
with a walk on the leads. But the cats of
the next century will not be.]

{LEFT COLUMN:}

Nobody thinks for one hour --
What do I say? for one minute
what is the truth. They want to find an
argument for themselves
in what you say
example [?] of cross=examination
of lawyers
Gladstone & Lowe
Joanna likes it
Ann does not

{MIDDLE COLUMN:}

Vagueness

Bossuet

exhorts Madame --

on death bed

Female Sovereigns

cutting off somebody's head

{BOTTOM LINE IS CUT OFF}

{RIGHT COLUMN:}

want of clearness

every body wants to have "*both*"

like the child {influence

wants to have the {authority

which acting only for right & wrong

alone gives & the having done always what they want

Clearness --Mother says she wishes her child to be

& prevents it

Hilary

did not believe me.

ff88-95 LETTER ON WAR OFFICE PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, pale blue paper

f88

PRIVATE Dec 267/66
35 South Street {PRINTED address}
Park Lane,
London. W.

Dear Mr. Jowett

I sent down to the War Off:., [15:420-24]
yesterday to know, (as for
myself,) if they had made any
the slightest progress in
literature in the last 6 years,
& to send it me immediately.
But they have not -- not the
least. So I am obliged to
send you only the List of
what I mentioned to you.

I think I told you
that there has been sitting
for the last few months a
W.O. Commission, with
Ld Strathnairn (Sir Hugh Rose)
GenL Cameron, Mr. Power
(the Commissary GenL) & others

f88v

upon it, with a view to
consolidation -- to abolishing
the Commissariat, Purveying
& Store Departments -- (the
Army Medical Department
they let alone) & to introducing
the Intendance system, or
something like it, of France
They have not agreed
upon their Report -- & may
not do so for some weeks.
The Permanent Under S. of S.
& the Assistant Under S. of S.,
are, (as I think justly),
strongly against it -- tho'
anything almost would be
better than going on in the

f89 {THIS FOLIO IS CROSSED OUT:}

hugger-mugger way we are

at present.

Now the way I think I might
be of a little use to your friend

(through you) is by letting

him know these kinds of

things, as they go on.

You know what Govt officials

are. [And your own Sir

Roundell Palmer was just

the worst of them] If Mr.

Roundell makes the slightest

mistake as to the *exact*

present state of things,

everything that he says

that is right will be lost.

And they will get some one

to put in the "Times", -- `this

gentleman is speaking of the

year before the Flood --

nous avons change `tout cela'.

I could probably get him

f89v

the first copy of this Report
if ever it becomes an
agreed-upon Report. {IN PENCIL:} [It is *not*, I
believe to be presented to Parlt, & will be a kind of *private*
official affair.]

{IN PEN:}

Our plan, under Sidney Herbert
was to make each Department
complete in itself, & to bring
them all under the immediate
control & in direct communication
with the Secretary of State -- {IN PENCIL:} who
has the Parliamentary responsibility --

{IN PEN:}

so as to ensure unity, efficiency,
economy & promptitude.

[The execution of this plan
which had been already
approved by the Cabinet,
was, as I think I mentioned
interrupted by his illness
& death.]

The plan, now proposed, is
to merge the Commissariat,
Store & Purveying Dept
in one head, who will be

[2]

something like the Intendant=
Général in France.

The misery of our present=system
is that neither Secretary
of State nor Permanent
Under S. of S. (which latter
Officer answers otherwise
now to the Intendant GenAL)
have any direct communication
with any of their agents
abroad or at home -- They
can only communicate thro'
the heads of the various Departments.
In the most urgent affairs,
as in time of war, weeks
may be lost, costing lives
by the thousand. In less
urgent affairs, years are
lost.
The misery of the French
Intendance system is: that

f90v

it can actually defy both
Minister of War -- &
Commander in Chief of an
Expeditionary force, as has
sometimes been seen -- (tho'
it is supposed that the Emperor
was at the back of that --
as, e.g. in starving the French
Army in the Crimea in the
second year) {PENCIL BEGINS:} That French armies are
not more often starved
is due to the fact that they sometimes *support themselves*.
This they could not in the Crimea.

{PEN BEGINS:}

With us, there is nothing now
to prevent the same thing
happening which happened
in the Crimea -- viz. that
e.g. "Medical comforts" ~~was~~ for
Scutari came out under
shot & shell for Balaclava
-- consequently, could not be
got out till the ships came
back from the Crimea, &
perhaps did not come back
at all.

f91

Or perhaps parts of the beds
for the sick came out in
one ship & other parts in
another ship. {PENCIL BEGINS:} So that no one had beds --
And, meanwhile, thousands of
sick men lay in the same
shirt or in none at all {PENCIL BEGINS:} on
mats & straw bags {PEN BEGINS:} for a month -- or would
have done, if it had not
been for private effort.

All this might happen again;
because of the way in which
things are managed. The
Army Medical Dept, e.g.
makes a requisition, (instructed
by the S. of S.) for the sick of
an Expeditionary Force of
10,000 men -- Part of this
requisition is on the Store
Department (for Hospital
equipments). Part is on
the Purveying Dept (for

f91v

"Medical comforts." All these lie upon the quay -- & are shipped by the Transport Service in any way they think proper -- the Transport people themselves not knowing where they are going nor what they are for. In the commonest routine of the War Office, the same thing may happen. The Secretary of State has no communication with any of his agents, except indirectly thro' the various Departments. If anything goes wrong (e.g. about carrying out his orders at Gibraltar) no information of it can be sent, -- no rectification of the evil can be made in

f92

[3]
return -- except thro' the
various channels I have
mentioned, which may
take months of time.
It is not thus: --

{PHOTOCOPY OF DIAGRAM}
It is thus: --

{PLEASE SEE PHOTOCOPY OF DIAGRAM}

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE}
As the rays coming out
of the pink sun do not
obey any known laws,
I am unable to
describe them.

f92v

With the French on the other hand,
the Emperor tells his Minister
of War who tells (his? -- no,
the Emperor's) Intendant GenL,
--you are required to provide
for such & such a force, say
in Algeria. At the same time
the carte de route is given to
the Intendr GenL. The I.G.
writes to his agent, say at
Brest, -- such & such things
are to be on the quay at
such & such an hour, to
be shipped in such & such
a way, on such & such
transport, for such & such
places.
All promotion goes in the
Intendance Générale by
the ability of the Agents
& their success in carrying

f93

out these orders.

But then, on the other hand,
the Intendance utterly defies
all Medical & Military
remonstrance. The way
in which it does this is
curious, (for an administrative
nation like the French).
It acts by *Instructions* &
not by *Regulations*.

[Since the Crimean War, in
order to prevent the recurrence
of the horrible calamities
endured there, we have, in
all the Supply Departments
which we have to do with,
constructed scales of
Equipments, Diets, &c &c &c &c
which are to be supplied
according to *Regulation* -- not
left to the Intendance *Instruction*]
I have therefore put
down two x books of *these*
Regulations for your friend's
x Medical & Purveyor's

f93v

information]

The mischief, (or one mischief)
of introducing the Intendance
system here is that we
really have not the men

Of course any organization
depends upon the men for
its successful working.

But the power placed in
the hands of an Intendance is
so enormous that they could
at any time starve an Army.

{IN PENCIL:} And without any Parliamentary responsibility.

{IN PEN:}

Now Sir E. [?] Lugard, who would
be the Intendant Genl, (if the
Commission's system were
carried out), is wholly unfit.
He would break down in
the smallest war. And we
have no men for
Agents, as the
French have, whose Intendance
is the pick of the whole Army.

f94

[4]

is the pick of the whole Army
[However, the Commission
say that what they are
going to recommend is not
exactly like the Intendance.
But then, they can't agree as
to what they are "going
to recommend".]

The kind of talent wanted (for an English intendance) is
one that was much more
developed in old Indian
days than it is in
England now or even in
India now --

I am sure this subject must
be very tiresome to you --
I have written all this in
order to shew you what
the changes impending at

f94v

the W.O. are likely to be -- &
to shew how any one writing
on the W.O. must be
perpetually on his guard
to be informed of any
organic changes, going on,
however small.

As for me, I keep ~~entirely~~ as much as I can
out of them. Because it is
only wearing myself to
death for things I can't
help -- tho', if they ask me
my opinion on a question
of detail, of course I give
it. I am quite aware
that Sidney Herbert's plan
could not be carried out now
[Lord de Grey, who actually
drew up the details (as
Parly Under S. of S.), for
the Cabinet, & who was

f95

actually appointed by Lord
Palmerston as S. of S., *on*
the ground that he would
be the best person therefore to carry
it out, did not even
attempt it. I have not
so much as looked at
the papers since Sidney
Herbert's illness.]

But I don't think this (the
Commission's) plan will
answer -- altho' almost
anything is better than
going on as we are now.

If you think it worth while,
& if you will return me
this letter, (so that I may
see what I am going upon,)
I will take care to keep
you *au fait* as to any
changes proposed at the W.O.
(for your friend's information)

ever yours gratefully

F. Nightingale

ff96-97 NOTES ON WAR OFFICE & HORSE GUARDS PEN HANDWRITTEN BY
NIGHTINGALE

f96

List of Books necessary to
produce the "mental confusion"
required to understand the
War Office & Horse Guards.

-
1. Report Military Organization
H.C. 9 July 1860. 441. (Blue)
(Book)
[The Report, which was
written by Sir James Graham,
when his powers were
already failing, is valueless.
But the *Evidence* contains
nearly all that can be
known as to the relations
between War Office & Horse
Guards, which are nearly
the same now as then]
 2. Administration & Organization
of British Army
by E.B. de Fonblanque
Longmans. 1858 (a Treatise)
 3. War Office Regulations
Last Edition
Addenda to War Office Regulations
Last Edition
(Clowes, Charing Cross)

f96v

4. Queen's Regulations
Last Edition

(red)

5. Army Medical Regulations
1859

(green)

6. Purveyor's Regulations
1861

(blue)

[All these are to be had at
H.M.'s Stationery Office --
and, I take for granted,
at Clowes, Charing Cross.]

7. Report of W.O. Commission
on the *Recruiting* of the
Army.

(just out)

f97

N.B.

Everybody at the War Office
is, of course, eating now --
except indeed the pauper
sick who are dying --
[Mr Villiers is coming to see me
tomorrow -- oh pity me & beat me]

But when they have
ceased to eat, I may be
able to get more information
out of them (for your friend)

F.N.

[end 15:424]

ff98-107v LETTER ON SUGGESTIONS FOR A SERMON FOR MR. JOWETT
PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, pale blue paper, black-edged

f98 [archivist: 1866?]

Ideas for a sermon on
what has religion to do
with politics?]

35 South Street, {PRINTED address}
Park Lane,
London. W.

{IN PENCIL, IN FN'S HAND:}

Dear Mr Jowett

I am very glad you are
going to have "a preaching".
But it is not a bit of use `giving
a subject' to men of genius --
not because they are antipathetic
but because they must have
their own way -- "A' wull do
wot a' wull do".

Besides, if you ~~choose~~ like to be
persecuted for righteousness'
sake, that is all very well -- I
mean, very bad -- But I am
not sure that I like to point
out the place where the
enemy may lay hands upon
you by night. I don't know
that the early Jesuit
Missionaries, who were so

f98v

fond of martyrdom for self &
friend, ever gave/supplied that great
proof of friendship of
giving up the friend to martyrdom

But I would refer you to the
M.S. book which I was so
good as to send you back.

[I think tho' it is presumptuous
of me to think, for I must
be Robinson Crusoe come to
life again as a female, --
I think that, in London, out
of a few special coteries, no
one cares about "the great
truths of religion", which
generally means the very
little truths or even the
non-truths of religion. E.g.--
salvation. After hearing a

f99

sermon about salvation, people
look ~~about~~, & they see that
Christ has *not* saved the
world. And they suppose that
all the other words mean as
little.

But I would preach about
things which come into the
every-day life & interests of
every body. E.g. in London,
every man, woman & child
cares about Politics. Therefore]

I would preach your sermon
-- what has religion to do with
Politics? --

I would take as my text
"I and my Father are one" or
"The bread that I will give is
my flesh, which I will give
for the life of the world --
he that eateth of this bread
shall live for ever"

f99v

Now the Father has certainly
very strong ideas/views on
politics & administration.
For they are inexorable --
And therefore I suppose the
sons, if they are to put the
Father's ideas into flesh &
blood, can do hardly any
thing more effectual than
learn what is the Father's
government of the world &
carry it out "This is the bread
which cometh down from
heaven, that a man may
eat thereof & not die".
It embraces every-thing -- the
best way of doing charity --
education -- all health ad=
ministration & improving
(or preventing the deterioration

f100

[2]

of) races [Manchester is, it
is feared, entirely deteriorating
in race] administration of
Poor=law &c &c &c &c
James Mill, in his History of India,
(and I saw it quoted in
a note in Grote's Plato)
says: "In the law books of the
Hindus, the details of
jurisprudence & judicature
occupy comparatively a very
moderate space. The doctrines
& ceremonies of religion; the
rules & practice of education;
the institutions, duties &
customs of domestic life;
the maxims of private morality
& even of domestic economy;
the rules of government, of
war & of negotiation; all

f100v

form essential parts of the
Hindu code of law, & are
treated in the same style,
& laid down with the same
authority, as the rules for
the distribution of justice".

[When one has to form new
administrative systems, as
in India at present, that
strikes one very much -- how
small a part justice &
hanging from in the
administration of a new
country, which does not
govern itself.

In India, the entire home
government & civilization of
the country -- or in other
words, God's politics -- fall
under the heads of: --
public drainage works to remove

f101

malaria -- applying irrigation
so as not to be injurious --
improving agriculture --
cleansing, draining, water-supply,
police regulations of all kinds,
apportionment of rates,
regulating trades & manufactures
injurious to health, management
of epidemics -- management of
great emergencies, e.g. inundations
pilgrimages, -- state of prisons,
census, registration of births,
deaths, marriages --
selection of sites
Public works & buildings
(Justice & hanging occupy a
very small part)]

It is quoted in Grote's Plato,
too that, (I think,) Maine, in
his Ancient Law, says: it does
not do to mix up all these
things with religion, because

f101v

religion, as J.S. Mill puts it,
(I think a great deal better
than Maine (but I can't
remember his words) has
hitherto only been a
consecration of stationariness.

I think that too. But
it does seem to me the
oddest thing -- of all the
odd things that ever have
happened in this very
ridiculous world of God's,
the oddest -- that religion
should have been a *worship*,
(in which word I can see
no truth whatever) a
performance of certain
ceremonials ~~actions~~, a
praising & glorification,
(which a good man,
exactly in
proportion as he is good,

f102

[3]

ceases to care for) & that
religion does not suppose
God to ~~does not~~ care at all for the
things which make up
the whole good of ~~the~~ his
~~human race~~ -- mankind --
Therefore I would write a
Sermon on: --
"what has religion to do with
Politics?"
ending with: --
what has religion to do with
public worship? --
The Sermon on Politics should
embrace all the things -- the
history of nations -- the
inspiration in history --
including the inspiration
of error (over [some one says, I
think it is Castoriana, the
no great authority, that "It
may be said of every great
man". If he had not erred,

f102v

he would have done nothing" --
 & quotes the sentence on
 Plato -- "if he had not erred,
 he would have done less" --
 & the sentence (of Sir W.
 Hamilton, I think,) on
 Hume -- that Hume was
 the man who gave the
 whole philosophy of Europe
 a new direction]
I mean the sermon on
Politics should ~~embrace~~ shew all
back {back WRITTEN IN THE LEFT MARGIN}
these things which shew
God's politics -- God's
government of His World.
I am afraid you will think I
am writing nonsense,
therefore I will stop.
But there are other subjects
in the M.S. book you might
take e.g.

f103

2. *Prayer*

I would shew that as the ~~false~~
idea of Prayer now is: a ~~`desire'~~
that God should will what we
will --
~~that~~ so the true ~~notion~~/object/idea of prayer
is: that we should will what
God wills -- nevertheless not as I will
but as thou wilt

[There have been a good
many would-be enlightened articles in Magazines
lately --
~~Articles~~ -- which strike one
as so unimaginably curious --
something like Sir Jas. Stephen
-- but without any of his
eloquence -- to prove that it
would be very foolish of God
to work miracles in answer
to prayer -- only He does do it --
sometimes.]

~~I think I would quote~~
~~some~~ passages out of S. Teresa,
might be quoted

f103v

S. John of the Cross, & the
early Jesuits -- who were
~~so~~ much more enlightened
than we are -- [And people
would be so surprised
when they heard whose
they were --] to shew the true idea of prayer
At the same time, it ought
not to be a negative sermon
at all -- it ought to be a
very positive shewing of what
prayer is, not of what it is
not --
I would apply it to every
circumstance in life --
Every body, has had a tooth
out
Every body, has to get up in the
morning --
Prayer is not: to ask that the
tooth-drawing should not
hurt -- but it is when
the instrument is in
the mouth, to feel
entirely at one with God's will

f104

[4]

[As St Catherine of Genoa says: not about truth-drawing -- the feeling of conformity to God's will should be ~~of the same~~ as strength as that of the suffering.]

[I always fortify myself with quotations (as the ~~monk~~ friar did "with a dainty piece of a

warden's pie")

~~whether~~ both from S. Catherines ~~or~~ & from J.S. Mills -- because you said that my "stuff" did not *rattacher* itself to any ~~thing~~ ideas in the world, which I deny.

As to getting up in the morning, the true prayer is: to get up to do God's service -- Most people, even of those who do "say their prayers", get up because it is unusual not, or because they will be too late for breakfast, or for some appointment &c -- or because

f104v

they will lose their situations, if
they do not &c --

You quote (in the M.S. book) --
who says that the prayers of
the Liturgy are all "slush &
sludge" but ~~that~~ when, at
times, -- submits to the Creator's
will entirely -- feels it too awful
a thing to do often

Any "~~revisions of the~~ Liturgy" to be
effectual must be true -- And
there is scarcely a word of the
Liturgy true from one end to the
other -- except the Blessing ("The
peace of God which passeth all
understanding") but no one ever
tries to attain it -- & the "Glory
be to the Father & the Son" --
but no one, tho' they talk a
vast deal about the Trinity,
ever really tries to make

f105

the Father & the son one --

The Absolution is blasphemous,
if people mean to say the
Confession over again at 3
o'clock -- For they can't
intend to lead a new "pure & holy" life, if
they mean to say again in
two hours, that they have
done everything that is wrong.

The Litany would be
blasphemous, if it were not
absurd.

The language of many of the Collects is
so beautiful that people
lose sight of the absurdity of
the character we give to God
in the beauty of the wording.

In the Creeds there is hardly
a word of truth except "I
believe in God the Father
Almighty" & ~~people don't even~~
~~understand the meaning~~
~~of the words~~ —

in which besides there are
many words which convey
no meaning at all to people

f105v

[I except the service of the Communion, because I do think that, altho' the words are sometimes untrue, there is a truth of meaning & of feeling, (the words that it speaks they are spirit & they are life) which there is not in any other part of the Prayer-book.]

But any `revision of the Liturgy' does appear to me to be impossible --

[I am not wanting this to be put into the Sermon.]

As to what -- says: that the submission to God is "too awful a thing to do often" -- I think that is a mistake -- Unless it is done *always*, I doubt whether it can really be done -- at all

f106 {THIS FOLIO IS CROSSED OUT:}

[5]

If we believe that God's
"providence" really pre-destines
every thing, even to the sparrow
falling to the ground -- (*I* like
that word pre-destination) "il
faut entrer dans les grandes idées
de Dieu" -- but little things
make up his great ideas --
the destination (predestination)
of everything by God seems to
me the essential idea of all --
if then we believe that he
predestines every thing,
surely it is not "frittering
away", but the reverse, to
bring our will into conformity
with His, to unite ourselves
with Him from the least
thing even to the greatest
from the getting up in the
morning to the death or the
marriage which sometimes destroys
or makes the whole life

f106v

3. Immortality
 (in the M.S. book)
would make a very
interesting Sermon -- if it
could be ~~deduced~~ shewn solely
from the ~~nature of~~ starting point of a *moral God* -- who
would not create a world
for Him to go to the play --
(leaving the miracles alone
entirely).

 I can't abide miracles -- either to be disproved
or to be proved -- But I think it is more
 lowering to make a long argument
 to disprove the miracles, on the
 whole -- of the two.

I think a ~~very interesting~~
Sermon of absorbing interest might be made
out of what you say that
God cannot *make* man
good -- the very gist of
God's whole creation ~~is~~ being

f107

that mankind must make
 mankind --
 he must have time to do it
 in -- or rather eternity -- Any
scheme of this kind if it is God's scheme necessarily
includes ~~a scheme~~ one of
Immortality ~~on the part of~~
God.

f107v {THIS FOLIO IS CROSSED OUT:}

4. *Evil*

I never can help feeling
that the way to prove the
'love of God' is to be duly
impressed with the horrible
state of His world --

Till people have some
rudimentary idea of the
great question, I don't think
it is a bit of use preaching
about little things.

Like your friend to me
all religious books now are
"slush & sludge & nonsense" --
because they don't apprehend
the elementary question of
all -- viz. did God make
the Devil or did He not? --

f108 Jowett letter to FN embossed Jan 30 1867

f110 Jowett letter to FN embossed [Feb 1867]

ff112-13v NOTES ON GOD'S WILL PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f112 [archivist: June 1. even 1867 assurance B.J.'s health]
{IN PEN, IN FN'S HAND:}

Behold the handmaid of the Lord:

be it unto me according as thou wilt

1. What a wonderful favour to be chosen
before so many thousands to be the handmaid
of the Lord --
2. What return does God expect from me, --
with what purity of heart & intention should
I make an offering of myself to Him
-- and when that offering ~~was~~ made, what a
life ought I to lead?
3. I give myself up entirely to Him that
He may do with me *whatever* it pleases Him,
-- and I earnestly desire that He will
never think of sparing me *and let no
occasion pass of mortifying my pride &
trying my temper*
4. "God forbid that I should glory save
in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ."
I offer myself to God that I may
never seek anything but Him crucified --
but to keep my soul united to Him and
to do my utmost to qualify myself for
His service.

I do not think there is a mortification in
human life which I could not suffer with peace of heart by
considering that it proceeded from the Will of God.

f112v

Don't you feel within yourself what treasures are contained in these two words "the *will* of God"? [But it is not only to hear the will of God but to do the will of God. And many will be the cruel mistakes we must make (& bear in finding out what *is* the will of God]

You are sure that by bearing sickness you perform the will of God, which is more than I am when I perform any other action on my own account.

We really love God if we desire to do His will. x

I make it my earnest prayer, & that daily, that I may live so as to have fulfilled the will of God in every thing.

If I did but know it to be Thy Divine Will that I should do this or that (I would fulfil Thy Will) whatever it was, I have never refused Him any thing.

x An actual union with God, by which the mind always enjoys Him, is a happiness not for this life -- but there is a kind of union which we may enjoy in this life. When you do anything out of conformity to His will, to second Him, because you are consecrated to Him, it is certain that in so doing your soul remains united to God.

f113

Were I to say that I find God more sensibly in the most distracting business than at prayer, I should speak the truth.

Be sorry at night, & look on that day as lost, in which you have not suffered some mortification for the love of God.

A soul that would trouble herself about what is not the will of God must surely have very little esteem for the *alliance* she has *contracted* with God.

Her memory was to remember nothing but the favours she received from Him.

Her will was to desire nothing but the accomplishment of His divine will.

f113v

N.B.

Purity of heart -- to taste with pleasure
the accomplishment of the will of God -- to
care for nothing but seeing the holy will of God accomplished

Purity of intention -- to intend nothing but
to do the will of God

God's will -- the treasures ~~of~~/in those two words.
God the Unchangeable whose will never
changes, while ~~that~~/those of all men changes --
the will of Perfect Goodness, Perfect Wisdom
{IN PENCIL:}

& Power

Luther At Augsburg

Yes -- in the name of God -- in the name of God, forward.
Nor attachment it is not less than love but greater
It is friendship [illeg & illeg illeg, too
faint]
you say well

f114 Jowett letter to FN 22 June/67

f117 Jowett letter to FN Aug 14 [1867]

f119 Jowett letter to FN [Aug 1867]

f121 Jowett letter to FN Sept 1867

ff123-24v LETTER ON MR SIMON, PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN, black-edged

f123

arch: [1867]

Dear Mr. Jowett

You take the bread out of my mouth.

I was to be appointed Professor of Sanitary
Science to your disciples, the Medical Marquises.

And now you have gone over to Mr.
Simon.

I would not have gone over to Dr.
Pusey, not for a wilderness of Miss Sellons,
tho' I am very much attached to her. I am
always hating *your* enemies.

But you have been & "made friends"
with Mr. Simon, because you like Mr. Lowe.

I have no objection to your liking Mr. Lowe. But this
~~It~~ is a treacherous act. And I, not there
to defend myself.

[I do believe it was you who gave up

f123v

Mayence to the Prussians.]

However, Plato thought just as I do about Mr. Simon.

If you look in the Gorgias, you will see what Plato says of Mr. Simon.

Mr. Simon, he says, is an arrangement of the Privy Council for making the bigger body, which is an ~~ignorant~~ big quack, appear to the lesser bodies x who are ~~ignorant~~ lesser quacks, ~~lets~~, to know. x Boards of Guardians & of Works

How were you to know that! Ought not such a Socrates as you are ~~ought~~ to have

f124

known ~~Callicles~~ (I mean Mr. Simon) by the first words he spoke?

It is different, for ~~Gorgias [illeg] (Callicles)~~ Mr. Lowe (~~Gorgias~~) who is

himself

a Sophist/Gorgias, tho' a very distinguished one.

He is not bound to know.

{PENCIL BEGINS:}

There are a good many other passages in the Gorgias, in which Plato speaks of

Mr. Simon.

But, as you have just been translating the Gorgias, it is not necessary to repeat them.

{PEN BEGINS:}

Mr. Simon, ~~I will~~ not ~~say~~ perhaps more than, but in common with, Doctors in general, ~~has~~ (with some splendid exceptions, Mr. Paget, to wit -- & a lesser stars, like Mr. Bowman ~~to wit~~) has, during the last 10 years, brought down Medicine, including Sanitary Science, from a profession to a trade -- a trade,

f124v

that is, by which he sells an article called
a prescription (or an operation) to the
Public sick individual said to be for ~~their~~ his health & also a
much more critical ~~including a~~ prescription equally
an article of trade, to the sick nation represented by the Privy
Council,
(for £1500 a year) ~~on a much more extended~~
~~{illeg} & which does much more extensive harm -- viz.~~
~~important matter, viz. the prevention of~~
~~disease & said to be for the healthiness of illeg the nations~~

I come under the

Nuisances Removed Act = He will gladly pat it in force
against me. But I shall have been the only nuisance
Mr. Simon will ever have removed.

f125 NOTES ON "REAL PRESENCE" PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN [3:241-42]

The materialism of defining or of rejecting the Real
Presence, of pretending to say what it is, as
these Ritualists, then R. Catholics, these Reformers
do, on one side or the other -- is frightful.
In an old play ~~of~~, a woman who believes herself a widow
receives suddenly a ring which she had given her
husband. She cries -- It *is* my husband.

Now, if this woman, instead of fainting away, as
she is supposed to do in the Play had set herself
to discuss with the company in what sense the
"Real Presence" of her dead husband was in that
ring -- whether he was there in the body or only
in the Spirit, transubstantiate or consubstantiate
in a Sacrifice or only in a Remembrance
the play would have been rejected as too broad
a farce -- too stupid & grotesque.

And yet what *is* the importance of the dead
husband compared with the dead & living
Christ?

Before people can discuss all this, about the
Eucharist & the Eucharistic vestments, all the meaning must have
gone out of
it. And it can be nothing more than going to
the Levee at St. James'.

This *is* "shocking", if you like it. [end 3:242]
Death of Lord Hardinge
September 24 1856

ff125v-26v NOTES ON RITUALIST COMMISSION, DR. PUSEY & COLENZO
PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE DATED 1867

f125v

Verdict of Ritualist Commission [3:623]

We (the Parishioners) are to judge how you (our Pastors) are to be dressed. If we don't like the "cut of your jib", we, the Parishioners, are to sue you at the law.

If we think the fashion a pretty one, you, our Pastors, are to be allowed to wear it.

I think myself quite capable of deciding on the fashions

But this is not the usual idea of a Church!

Is the Church come to be a shop to suit its customers' tastes?

Dr. Pusey & Colenso

Dr. Pusey -- says: --

no one who does not believe in the miracles & prophecy ~~can have~~ has the true belief as to Almighty God
no one who has not ~~can have~~ the true belief as to Almighty God has the true belief as to miracles & prophecy.
no proofs can be brought as to miracle & prophecy because there are none, ~~but~~ you must holding first the true belief as to

Almighty God.

such enquiries as Colenso's as to the truth of miracles or prophecy are of no value, because you ~~must~~ will believe them, ~~first~~ if you have the true belief as to Almighty God & if you have not no proofs can be brought, because there are none

f126v

Ritualist Commission

1867 --

Our theoretic idea of Bishops & Deans is of men who are straining every faculty of their minds & souls to find out & to teach what the most important of all our relations in life should be -- viz. our relation with Him who, whatever else we may think of Him, we believe to be the master of our destinies.

But these people are thinking how they are to be dressed!

People talk of the "materialism" of certain great German philosophers.

But surely this is the greatest materialism of all.

This is the Materialism of idiots! & dress-makers
What would you have thought of me, if I, with my Nurses, had sat for "19 sittings" in the Crimean War to determine how we were to be dressed?

Yet -- what great consequence is there in saving the bodies of a few thousand men, compared with the importance of saving the souls of millions which even in our sense of salvation, in *any* sense of salvation -- must be the result of what our relation with God is?

I had much better be a Milliner than a Bishop according to this

f128 Jowett letter to FN marked FN pencil Very Private. March 6 [1867]

f132 Jowett large envelope to FN, stamped, written on back:
[archivist:] quotations from Mr. Jowett's letter 1868?

IN FN HAND

I am quite happy here, for I feel that this is what I ought to be doing,
there is nothing better in life than that. &

finite perfection

I wish to look upon my life as only beginning for I am ill-satisfied
with the past

to know that this is a physical allusion & to keep your mind above it & *have absolute confidence in the final result.*

preventive measures `which are most successful when they are never discovered to be necessary' --
(true of philosophies F.N.)

I should consider it the highest compliment I
could receive if next generation people said of
my books &c &c F.N.

they fall blindly before Comte's generalizations

f133 NOTES ON WORKHOUSES DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

The

Republic

Book IX

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE:}

Workhouses

Are the accounts of Workhouses audited & published?--The latter
might
do some good.

f134

"Who will show us *how* to explain the "Love of God" [3:529-32]
"in a world where his creatures commit such
"abominations, & are in such a state? --"

I do not say "where a Devil is necessary to stir
us up to the good" -- ~~because~~ in proof of the
"abominable" state of the world -- because, on
the contrary the "Devil (so-called)" is a most
valuable part of the economy of God, a most
valuable member of the household of God. As
the author of Job most profoundly shews him,
he, the Devil, is a *servant* of God, without whom
there would be no virtue, no courage among men
How could men fight if there were no enemy? --
How could men have strength, endurance, firmness,
patience, if there were no evil? Can you
point out a single virtue which could exist,
if there were not the contrary evil to try it
to prove it? -- Nay more, I turn the tables
against yourselves -- And I say that it is the
absence of evil in the lives of country gentlemen
of fortune & their families, which makes their
lives so bad -- i.e. -- so little of a *heroic*
struggle. And when you hit at the "Roman
Catholics", I answer: -- they are the only
Christian sect who have consecrated the
word "*heroic*" as an essential of virtue. The
"Evangelical" appears to be entirely unconscious

f134v

of this necessity of "heroism" in his daily life
and while he abuses (justly) the R. Catholic
"Saints" & the absurd process of *canonization*
by a Pope, he does not appear to know
that it is necessary to prove that a
"Saint" has carried his "virtues" to a
"*heroic* degree" before he *can* be canonized

f135

[2]

"if Life eternal is to know God, & if none of
"us are occupied in learning *how*, we
"may well then" -- what? -- *not* "despair
of Eternity" but -- set to work (to "learn
how")

Surely the whole of the next Paragraph is
not only unphilosophical but untrue --
should it not read thus:?

"The New Testament writers" "have helped
"us" more than any authors we know of --
-- tho' largely supplemented by "Plato", by
Marcus Antoninus, by Confucius, by Bouddha
(for the last, from his system of pure morality,
even tho' he appears to ignore a Supreme
Being, has tended to put those notions of
morality into man, without which they
cannot even conceive of a moral God)

But in the time of the New Testament writers,
there was no knowledge of law -- It was
impossible at that time for men to
conceive of other than miracle, as the mode
of government of God.

"The best men of Science" "have helped us"
"very" *much* by opening to us the vista,
ever increasing in clearness more & more,

f135v

that not *only* the physical world but
even the moral world, the world of history,
is Governed by God by immutable laws --
But even "the best men of Science" have not
gone farther, & shewn that the laws of
Astronomy are not a mere juggler's tricks
-- that God is not a mere clever juggler --
but that all the laws of Nature as well as
the laws of Mind are framed expressly to
bring every man to perfection -- are framed,
that is, not merely by a clever God but by *the*
'God of Love' --
As to the "Calvinists", I give them up to you --
I really cannot call Calvin's God a God at
all for God=good.
As to the "Hindoos", ditto --
I do not believe that Brahminism has
produced anything at all -- of good.
As to the "Romanists", I don't agree with you
at all. On the contrary -- I believe,
as said above, that the only conception
of *Heroic* virtue is theirs -- And as it is

f136

impossible to conceive of a moral God without morality -- so without a capacity for *heroism*, I believe it to be impossible to conceive of a Perfect God -- of Him who "sacrifices" not alone "His own Son" but many, many sons for us -- to work out the perfection of mankind.

Instead of saying: --

"there is none to help us -- no, not one" -- Surely the true thing to say is: --
-- after all the "help" that we have had from the "New Testament writers", from the "early Christians", (including the greatest of them all, Origen) -- from "the best men of Science", who have taught us the possibility of perfect Law -- from the great Roman Catholic & especially the Mystic writers -- from the gallant fervour of the Puritans & later of John Wesley --

is it not wonderful, may we not say more, is it not shameful that we should sit down & waste all these noble materials ~~ins~~ ready to our hands, instead of building them up into the edifice, all

f136v

but prepared for us -- which contains
the conception of the Perfect God? --
how long shall we utter the helpless, lazy
"cry", -- fit only for children, for idle truants
from school: -- "there is none to help us,
"no not one"? --

Shall we not rather build up a
Temple to the "Perfect God"? --

And let me say that "*Prometheus*" was
actually doing this -- He "rebelled
"against the Jove of his day" -- just as
I should "rebel" against Calvin's God.

But he was a "Saviour" -- "bringing gifts
"to men" -- at his own bitter cost.

Æschylus uses almost the same words
about him which are used in the
Epistles of the New Testament about
Christ -- (and in some of the Egyptian
hieroglyphical inscriptions about Osiris)

As to "Job", if you mean by "Job" the author
of Job, his is probably one of the finest
& most enlightened conceptions of the
Deity, making Evil (Satan) His servant,
which exists. And "Job" is obviously a

f137

[3]

3 purely fictitious character, used by the author for the object of his tale/poem -- But if you mean that the impression, the moral, conveyed by the Book of Job is "reproach against the Deity", I think just the contrary.

f

[As for the reference to the "good Catholics", I do not quite know to what it refers. I thought the fault of "good Catholics" was -- not that they "reproached their God" but that they showed him a too abject submission -- to what they call a good God but is in effect a bad God --

Still, there remains this everlasting superiority in the R. Catholic theory over the Evangelical theory. The Evangelical ~~sets~~ sets man down as "desperately wicked" & tells him he *can't* be good. [Now, what are we to say of the conception of a God who *made* man "desperately" wicked?] -- The R. Catholic theory, on the contrary, especially preaches "Counsels of Perfection", tells man to be "*perfect*", & expressly lays down the "Way to Perfection" --

f137v

4. I don't *in the least* admit that "we
"get no help even from a *Savonarola*" --
 On the contrary --
I believe Savonarola to have been the very
first preacher of Christianity who
preached the inseparable tie between
religion & politics -- between religion &
liberty -- who shewed that religion
was nothing, unless it embodied itself
in politics -- who created in fact
the science of political religion
5. With regard to p.5, I should read
it thus: --
 "Plato" was the only founder of a religion
or even of a philosophy, which has ever
approached the conception of a *Perfect*
God -- which has ever embodied the idea
of a world (i.e. of man) ~~app~~ on the road
to perfection, working out their own salvation.
 Surely then "a Jowett" does the world a
service by rendering "Plato" accessible to
them? --

f138

[I say nothing of "a Jowett" reforming a whole College, not to say two -- nay, almost a whole University.]

[A.H. Clough used to point out how almost all our names for virtue, nay the very word `virtue' itself, had its origin not in Christianity but in -- Plato]
But -- I will not stop in the Historical -- -- --
But -- it remains to say: --

Let none of us stop here --

let us not stop at a historical God --
but go on to a true "character of God" --
let us not mistake history for truth.

If we do, are not we a *great deal lower* than the "New Testament writers" -- than "the early Christians" -- than "the best men of science" -- than the "Romanists" -- than the "Evangelical=Anglicans" -- nay, than "Prometheus" -- than "Job" -- than the "good Catholics" -- than "Savonarola" -- far, far worse than "Plato" -- nay, worse than Henry VIII himself?

If we can make nothing of all these magnificent materials, lying ready to our

f138v

hand -- if we have nothing to say but what A. thought of God or what B. thought of God -- what the first century thought of God -- or what the eighteenth century thought of God -- if we really can find nothing out of the "character of God" -- of the wherefore of evil -- so as to prevent "all this suffering humanity from suffering without knowing why" -- then indeed it would be vain for any to "listen to our cry" -- for we are of those who have ears but do not hear -- It would be vain for any "to help us" -- for we are past "help" -- **[end 3:532]**

Aug. 24/68

ff139-40 NOTES ON SERMONS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN, black-edged

f139 {THIS FOLIO IS CROSSED OUT:} [archvisit: Apparently Notes prepared for Mr. Jowett. About Sept. 1868]

{IN PENCIL, IN FN'S HAND:} **[6:537-40]** **[5:155-57]**

 Could not you (no one but you
 could do it) give a Lecture
(you who command the attention of
 thinking men) as to the elemental
 moral faculties or elements of the
 moral nature of man -- the
 motives which guide him.

 It seems that people approach
this immense Pauperism question
without the most elementary
notion of these
Home Missionary: "It's all very well
-- but I never knew a man with
the grace of God in his heart
without a good coat on his back".
His train of thought was:

 religious element

 x

 moral feeling

 = moral action

Or, given the religious principle,
cultivated into moral feeling,
the practical action follows.

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This is just what we *don't*
cultivate or accomplish in pauper
education.
My Missionary imitated exactly the
line of thought in the Sermon on
the Mount. That Sermon
takes for granted a religious
conviction/foundation in the hearers -- it
goes on to give or build up
the moral conviction consequent
-- & then it points out the
moral actions which will be
the result.
This is just what most, nay
almost all Sermons do *not*.
They begin about some religious
doctrine which (among their
hearers at least) no one thinks
of disputing.
And they go no farther.
As some Edinburgh preachers said

f140

"what would you think of an
architect who was always
laying foundations & never
building his house?"
That is just what Sermons do.
They never *build up*
This makes them so inexpressibly
wearisome to the public.
What a Sermon might not be
preached on this very question.
And is it not most extraordinary
that, in this question of Pauperism,
even thinking minds do not
appear to have the most
elementary idea of what are
the principles which form
the motives of man?
Why I find fault with Education is
that Education does NOT include
the training of these -- not that it
does include the 3 Rs -- but that
the 3 Rs are called "Education" --

ff141-42 NOTES ON FACTS SHOWING A MORAL, PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

f141 {THIS FOLIO IS CROSSED OUT:} arch: [Mr. Jowett?]

[1]

St. Paul says, (in opposition to that
most selfish of all maxims: Do unto
others as you would be done by --)
Look not only on your own things but
also on the things of others.
Indeed he is always saying things
to that effect.

That is the difference between the
R. Catholic & you.

The R. Cath. says -- "That beggar has no
dinner. I should not like to be
hungry. If I were hungry, I should
like somebody to give me part of
his dinner. And so I will do to
that beggar at my Convent Gate"

He never thinks, as you would do:

"But the man would like much
better to be put in the way of
earning his own dinner -- or at
least it would be much better for
him".

And do you not think it frightful
how, in the minds of our greatest
administrators, Poor Law &c, these
elemental notions find no place?

While the most vulgar Communism is
gaining ground in England

[1]

f141v

[2]

Trades' Unions endeavouring to raise wages by the means which ultimately destroy all wages.

===

My doctrine about Education has no "bad moral".

It is the mistake of calling the 3 Rs "Education", tho' Education should of course, include the 3 Rs.

If the teaching of the 3 Rs does not prevent pauperism & crime, as sad experience clearly shows it does *not*, surely the *good* "moral" is to shew that the training of the moral faculties which leads to practical action (and let your friends the 3 Rs come in too) is the sole Education which does prevent pauperism & crime.

Also: about "Contagion" -- **[9:888-89]**
surely the "bad moral" is that of Simon Magus & Co. which teaches `there is "Contagion" (no one is ever able to tell you what it is, where it is, how it is -- & for a very good reason -- because -- *it is NOT*) there is "Contagion" & all you can do is to cut it off, to stamp it out, to kill or to segregate

[2]

f142

[3]

Ld R. Montague was strictly logical.

And the price of meat is to be doubled for the people, because -- for why? -- for a fancy which has absolutely as little foundation in fact as witchcraft has --

Surely the good "Moral" is ours (besides having the small advantage that it is founded in fact) "there is no such thing as 'contagion' -- there is 'Infection', but from perfectly well known causes -- Remove the causes, & you remove the 'Infection'. There is no such thing as inevitable 'Infection' -- quarantine, segregating Fever &c, above all concentrating them in Hospitals, there are all means expressly constructed to manufacture the best "Infection" --

Killing the cows is exactly the same as killing the witches

O my Professor -- are you a Dr in Plato & not know these things!

Depend upon it, if you can find out the facts in Science,

Educational

Physical or Sanitary, those *facts* ~~are~~ will show a "moral" -- the best "moral" --

i.e. show best the Perfect God, leading man to perfection. "Contagion" would shew God a Devil "Infection" (facts & doctrine) leads man on to social improvement. So with Educational facts.

[end 9:889]

f143 {THIS FOLIO IS CROSSED OUT:} arch: [Mr. Jowett?]

No one in their senses would think of
putting out London pauper children in London
They must be put out in the country
And there would be no more
difficuly really in putting out
150,000 London children in all
England than in doing the same
for a country which has about
the same population as London
viz. Scotland.

But of course you would not begin
by 150000. You would begin by
a dozen --

Say that you advertised for
persons to take children at (say)
£12 a year -- these children to go
to the Nat. School with the
non pauper children -- boys to be
brought up to farm labour --
-- persons who answer the
Advertisement to give proof of
respectability -- to submit to
selection, registration & inspection -- possibly

f143v {THIS FOLIO IS CROSSED OUT:}

the children to come up once a
year to their respective
parishes to be looked at.
Clergy to be induced to make the
advertisement known from the
pulpit & to take some part
in the local inspection of the
little paupers, so farmed out.
Of course Mr. Goschen will answer
-- that London Guardians wouldn't
hear of it.

The only answer to that is, I am
afraid, that they must be
made to hear of it. It has
been necessary for them to be
made to hear of a great many
things that they never dreamt
of.

f144 {THIS FOLIO IS CROSSED OUT:}

It is easier to degrade man
than to raise him.

Central idea -- in dealing with
Pauperism -- should be to educate
man upwards.

Workhouse idea -- to educate him
downwards.

I want to train the faculty
which the Workhouse is made to
subordinate (in the pauper)

Sir J. Coxe says (illogically)
Train the faculty but use the
Workhouse Test.

f144v NOTES ON BENTHAM PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

Bentham has defined Political
Economy to be: the greatest
happiness of the greatest number.

ff145-46v NOTES ON IMMORTALITY PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN [3:190-91]

f145 arch: For Jowett, Immortality F.N. 1868 Oct
{IN PENCIL, IN FN'S HAND:}

I should agree in the main with what Goethe
says about Immortality, if it were not that he
is angry ~~about~~ at not being God himself, & does
not at all take into his account the only
important point of the argument, viz. whether
there is a moral God or not.

Tho' I dislike the word "claim" or "covenant"
altogether, as having nothing to do with the
matter -- ["covenant" always seems to imply
that God is so very bad a landlord that, if
we, his poor tenants, did not bind Him down
with all sorts of leases, agreements, signed
& witnessed, He would behave as cruelly to us,
rob & murder us as much as ~~as~~ He possibly
could -- indeed even Lord Westminster is not
half as bad a ground -- landlord as God is
supposed to be] -- tho' I think the whole question
rests upon this -- is God a robber & a murderer
or is He a perfect God? -- still what Goethe
says has some kind of truth in it, if put
thus: -- does God ever waste anything? -- would
it not be wasting our individuality, for which
He seems to have such a respect as really

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to sink Himself behind the individuality He has given us -- if He did not give it an eternal life? -- And this seems to me to apply even more to the worthless than to those of whom Goethe says, they have worked for an immortality.

[When I mentioned my own personal indifference to an immortality it was really not because I thought that was any kind of element in the question, but merely because I believe continuously & firmly in an immortality *in spite* of my own wishes -- & not, as people always say, *because* one wishes it, *because* one feels convinced one cannot die, one ought not to die -- because one has a "personal inspiration", in fact. I feel just the contrary -- And, if I have any "personal inspiration", it is of just the contrary.

Nay: what is more, I do not in the least care for even those, for whom I would have given my life, to be remembered ~~even~~ in this world --

"Where are the great, whom thou wouldst wish to praise thee?"]

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There is nothing I believe in so strongly as Immortality. It is never out of my thoughts. I believe in it much more than I do in any thing in this world. Just as I believe in God much more than I do in any body else --

But I think the *ONLY* argument for & reason for believing in immortality is in the moral nature of God. But if you say this, that this is the one only reason, people look at it as if it were nothing. They think that *is* a very poor dependence indeed.

But if I *cannot* bear to hear you say that you have sacrificed your life & you are not sure whether it was worth-while -- I think that gave me more pain than any one of the great misfortunes of my unfortunate life -- -- and I such a poor, ~~stupid~~ limited creature -- how CAN people think that *God* the *Almighty* would let millions of people sacrifice their lives & all for nothing? Because it would be for nothing. ~~Just for a play.~~ It would be for Him to sit in the Theatre.

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to see/go to the play.

The Roman Emperor who sate in the amphitheatre to see the people slaughtered would be nothing to God in that case.

I think that God is disappointed (humanly speaking) to see me making so little use of my misfortunes & my fortunes -- And I cannot bear to disappoint Him

And yet people really can believe that He has invented all this great theatre of struggles & fightings & sufferings merely for Him to go to the play.

Of all the lunacies, for people who believe in a moral God to believe this -- this does seem to me the most extravagant & unaccountable. It is like putting God into a pinafore --

f147 Jowett undated note

ff148-49v NOTES ON RETRENCHMENT IN GOVERNMENT, PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

f148 arch: [early 1869]

35 South Street, {PRINTED address}
Park Lane,
W.

To any one who really knows & knowing feels what [5:301-03]
a great organization like a Govt Office is (the enormous stakes for weal or woe which a great Public Office like the W.O. -- the I.O. -- the P.L Bd. holds in its hands, working for eternity) the unutterable narrowmindedness of this cry for Retrenchment -- Retrenchment, pur & simple -- is just as painfully striking as any cry for the Papacy among ultramontanes -- as any cry against Xtians among Mahometans -- or for the celibacy of the priesthood -- or -- any other of those extraordinary specifics for religion.

Imagine if you were to found your Balliol reform simply with a view to 'retrenchment' -- or the reform of any great Educational machinery.

Imagine if Sir J. Lawrence had conducted the Govt of India, solely with the one principle of economy -- altho' he has consulted economy, (too much, many think)

Do you believe that Messrs. Gladstone & Cardwell bring any other idea to the W.O. -- than that of economy.

Yet -- the W.O. is really the most gigantic Educational institution known in this world. Here are some hundred thousands of human beings absolutely in their hands, body, soul & mind. A soldier can't better his own condition. If he tries, he is shot for a

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deserter.

It is otherwise with the P.L. Because private influences can step in & take populations out of the hands of the P.L., whereas the soldier is the only human being whose *duty* it is to be absolutely the servant of the circumstance over him.

At the P.L. reform of 1834, then economy was rightly the soul & principle of that movement. Because England was rapidly going to destruction from pauperism. But very few men, except Mr. Villiers, have advanced in the least beyond the principle of 1834. [end 5:302]

A French Administrateur once said to me: --
'we cannot understand your English laws --
you have a P.L. -- you pay for the pauper children to be educated -- the pauper sick to be housed & doctored in places called Workhouses &c &c
And then you pay for private charities to take your paupers out of the power of the P.L. Why do you do both? We cannot understand this kind of administration.

Do you know I have sometimes told this story to Englishmen -- they recognised no more meaning in it than if I had said 'Abracadabra'.

I told you of those 3 poor ladies who brought [5:302-03]
together 25 imbecile, drinking or unsteady women,

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& enabled them to earn £900 a year. The P.L. says this is impossible. *They* put such people to pick oakum. *That* was taking 25 people out of the hands of the P.L.

But -- is it impossible for the P.L. to do these things for itself? --

Agnes Jones, with Mr. Rathbone's help at Lpool Workh:, took numbers of sick out of the provisions of the P.L., nursed, cured, & sent them out to work again.

Has then the P.L. nothing to do but to economize?

It has to economize certainly -- but only as a means to a higher economy -- [The 3 poor ladies were far truer economists than your greatest Pol: Ecots]

There are many, men in high offices too, to whom, one could not say the first word of any of this. They stop you at once with 'All Charity is pauperizing' -- I should rather say -- if it is pauperizing, it is not Charity.

Has Mr. Lowe, with his surpassing powers, done -- or has he any idea of doing -- anything for his country in the same sense that Mr. Cobden has, that Mr. Villiers has, & I suppose that Mr. Bright has? -- Or is it to be only a this stupid brutal cry for economy?

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Imagine if, in the Crimea War, the only idea on which to retrieve our great Sanitary disaster had been, Retrenchment.

It is true there was a reckless expenditure in retrieving the disaster.

But many think that disaster was due to the Treasury having pulled its strings too tightly at the beginning -- or as I should say to the colossal idol of economy having hidden or driven out every idea of organization, of administration which might otherwise have raised its head.

These are some of the impressions which make me sad who once was merry over the Reformed Parliament & the Reformed Ministry.

F150 Jowett letter to FN July 25/69 arch

ff153-54 NOTES ON PLEASANT SOCIETY PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY
NIGHTINGALE

f153 {DATE: arch: 1869

Somebody says (D'Israeli) that tact can only exist in the absence of deep feeling -- & that a family agree together much better, if they will only wish to please each other & be pleased, than if there is any deep affection among them.

That I am sure is true. And I am sure that people, even not common-place people, especially men, very much prefer, especially among their females, that there should be *only* that desire of pleasing & being pleased -- & no deeper feeling or purpose in life.

Sometimes a book & not even a clever book, is like a revelation (to one) of the whole of one's past life, I have lived 49 years in this world -- And I never ~~understood before things in this world --~~ And I never understood before things which this Life of Miss Edgeworth makes me see quite plain.

[He says exactly the proper thing -- exactly what ought to be said (at the death of each wife) -- And you see that he felt: nothing at all]

Upon my honour I think this is the best way of doing things -- try to please all & care for nobody.

Type & explanation of the want of higher interest --

[She says that, in/at his father's case/death, her own private loss put

every idea of public benefit lost out of her head.

I have endured the bitterest loss that ever woman had, except the Queen's -- And I can truly say that now as

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then -- for I feel its intensity more & more every week I live --
my own loss is nothing, is gladly borne, compared
with my ever-increasing feeling of the irreparable
loss to the country -- ~~I know~~ how irreparable I know
now far more deeply even than I did at the time
She sums up her brother's perfect wife --
`good sense, good manners, *good conversation*, good principles'.
That is like a new light to me
What a fool I have been
Now I see that that is really all that fathers want
in their daughters, all that the world wants in his wife
- good sense (meaning of course sense to think like him)
good manners, *good conversation* (how enormous is
the importance attached to that now-a-days -- one
would think the world was moved by talk!)
good principles (for they don't want their women to
run away & get into the Divorce Court)
And with the four gs, even the better sort of people are
satisfied -- they *don't want* any deep feeling, any
higher purpose in life, any deeper hold on things
It is rather in their way --
It breaks up the family -- & does not contribute to
`good conversation' -- to pleasant society.
Christ's whole life a war upon the family
I see now how it could not be otherwise.

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People must almost always please their own
families -- not by the best which is in them
but by that which is not best.
The higher sort always have to give way to the lower --
not the lower to the higher.
In the Edgeworth family, there does not seem to have
been anything higher in them than what came out
to please & amuse one another.
This was their really amiable peculiarity.
But, in their lives as in their books, there was
wholly wanting -- the Ideal.
And it is, I should think, almost wholly wanting
in the World now -- but more especially in the Family,
in Marriage & in the Novel -- and in
Government Administrations.
But there is more of the Ideal in *Indian*
Governors than at home.
I am the ever grateful fellow servant of one who
has taught me again to believe in the Ideal.

f155 {DATE: arch: 1869

Life is short & Art is long
To make an Art of *life* -- that is the finest of all the 'fine
Arts'. And few there be that find it.
'What does it pruv'? -- said the old Scotchwoman of Paradise
Lost -- & was abused for saying it.

I say the same thing.
Paradise Lost 'pruvs' nothing --
Samson Agonistes 'pruvs' a great deal.

Tennyson never 'pruvs' anything.
Browning's Paracelsus 'pruvs' something.
Shakspeare, in whatever he writes: -- whether in the
[Shakspeare]
deepest, highest tragedies, as, e.g. King Lear or
Hamlet, 'pruvs' every thing -- & does most explain
the ordinary life of every one of us --

If I were a Greek, I should feel the same of
Æschylus.

I have sat by & heard in so many families the
opening scene of Lear -- extracting expressions of
affection from his daughters --
-- mothers who have been entirely managed by the
flattery of their daughters -- and vice ver a --
-- to the fatal exclusion of far worthier members of
the family --
-- brothers who have been utterly misled by a
sister who has caressed them -- to the destruction
of all truth of mind -- (so far more important than
truth of mouth/word)
-- families where the only tie, the only mode of
government was flattery, reciprocal flattery.
Many coteries, of artistic & scientific, live only, are
kept together solely, by flattery -- by one member
flattering the other

In the coterie or in the family, poor Cordelia comes
 & says: 'Nothing'. And *she* is turned out
 & outlawed. Or, what is much worse, kept
 at home under that cold shadow of disapprobation
 which not one mind in a million can bear.

[This does not refer to people flattering for
 fortunes -- of such -- I know none -- nor to
 people who kill themselves, like poor Hy, to do
 no good to any living soul, but only harm.]

I feel sure that a great deal of what is called
 lovers' love is nothing but: love of mutual flattery
 [Hence its sudden disappearance so often]

I am not blaspheming against real lovers' love --
 which, no doubt, when it *is* real, is the highest of all.
 Socrates -- in the Phaedrus -- speaking of the untrue love
 'the lover is always employed in reducing the
 beloved to inferiority.' [This is not specially
 meant, of course, of the love between man & woman.]

That phrase has stuck by me, because it is so exactly
 true. What scores come to my mind who were
 constantly 'employed' in 'reducing' some one 'to
 inferiority'! [This has nothing to do with
 jealousy -- & is often the reverse of it.]

Nay, I think I could mention one at least, who
 was 'always employed in reducing' me 'to inferiority'
 -- tho' she professed & I believe felt the greatest love
 for me.

Poor Hy -- her whole family's constant occupation
 was, I think you may say, to 'reduce' her 'to' _ _ _
 nothingness.

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[2]

even to my poor ignorant
disciples I cried -- "and
greater things than these
ye shall do" my whole
life's teaching was this.

[3:182]

Good luck! (this is I
who speak) nothing
surprises me so much
as people striving after
impossible questions,
as this, "what were
Christ's exact words",
when questions that
we can answer, as
e.g. God's character,

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which Christ himself
would tell you you now
can understand much
better than he did then,
are left unanswered.

Ever since I was a
girl, I divided questions
into 3 sorts --

1. those which never can
be answered in this life,
& which therefore had
better not be asked,
e.g. in what manner
has God an existence,
when we can't understand
even the problem of how

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man lives in his body.

2. the questions to which
we *can* be *always*
searching for answers,
more & more approximate,
e.g. what is God's
character? -- & which
I would be *always*
asking myself & *always*
answering

3. the questions which
± have been answered,
& which I would never
ask myself again.
e.g. all your four
questions.
As to Christ's humanity

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if he were not a man,
(which I never doubt &
which I did not know
you doubted) his
example can be of no
use to us, & therefore
we may as well let it
alone.

As for his words, we
know about them all
we ever shall know,
and he himself was, &
is always telling us,
to *go on*, to do "greater
things" than he did.

[But I never would go
on asking myself questions
& never answering.] **[end 3:182]**

ff158-58v NOTES ON Gertz METTERNICH & BUNSEN PENCIL DATED 1868-69
[arch]

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I am reading a very long correspondence of Gertz, containing the very essence of the views & axioms of the great powers from 1816-1830 -- the secret history of all the Congresses which have afflicted Europe in that time, & showing *the vanity of all the wisdom* of Metternich & the ruling men of that time, *when one reads it by the light which history has since thrown* on the events of that epoch. They did work like moles underground, have done great harm, *kept back the sound development of Europe* & have prepared all that has happened since

It is not quite easy to give an opinion on Bunsen. He has written at least 30 big volumes on very various subjects -- he was rather coxcomby & vain than a humbug. He was learned & painstaking, but second rate in his learning, because he wrote on too many subjects & was obliged to lean on other people's labours, on which he liked to build grand theories, but gradually the foundations give way & the whole crumbles away, as is the case with his very voluminous & ambitious book

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on Egypt. I have read his books only partially = life is short & they are very long. I suppose the best is his description of Rome.

f159v NOTES ON KATE [?] PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

Kate -- le même désintéressement, la même
absence de toute vanité personnelle,
le même sérieux dans ses intérêts,
mais aussi *le même manque de*
savoir faire pratique.

Cela me fait enrager plus que je ne
puis dire

ff160-62 NOTES ON HAVING AN IDEAL, PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN, pale
blue paper, black-edged

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There is nothing so fatiguing as a companion who is always
"effleurant" the deepest subjects -- never going below the
surface

-- as a person who is always inquiring & never coming to any
solution or decision -- as one who is always in a state of
excitement about some argument or other -- & never settling down
to any course or resolution.

I don't know whether Hamlet was mad. But certainly
he would have driven me mad.

This temperament (want of all muscular power in their minds)
leads

to all sorts of injustice & even of vice -- For want of power
of mental grasping is the most fruitful source of both --

excellent men quite as unjust as Hamlet
violence & harshness in *them* always come from it.
grasping the ideal -- how rare

(In them/Socrates) the ideal of the man was his character --
St Paul

"Have a rule of thought" -- an ideal -- Harding -- Dr. Johnson
ideal usually not a rule of thought or of action at all --

nothing to do with the
character

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raising mankind out of this misery & worthlessness
which has given me this intense & ever present
feeling of an eternal life leading to perfection
for each & for every one of us -- by God's laws --

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If you have not a strong feeling & knowledge of the worthless existence of millions, as it is now, you cannot realize --

What *must* we think of God, if this is all?

I do think it is nonsense to suppose that the Workhouses in some future planet will be the better, because the Workhouses have been so bad as this.

Surely He has given us such proofs of His goodness that He might justly "claim" from us not to deny His existence.

And it *is* denying His existence to suppose that He does not provide for all His creatures an eternity of perfection ments.

Perhaps it is what I have seen of the misery & worthlessness of human life (few have seen more) together with the extraordinary power which God has put into the hands of quite ordinary people -- if they would but use it -- for

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But no: the philosopher says, God sacrifices me to the Universe.

And the Christian=God sacrifices the Universe to me.

It is a comfort to me every time I hear from/of you -- And it would be another to write to you, if work allowed

You can only impress a thought on the mind of any ordinary person by "repeating it at him with all your strength, continually, till you have produced a sort of physical indentation".

that irritating chuckle of wisdom & knowingness

[archivist] ? copied from letters of Jowett to her.

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[late 1860s] arch.

IV. They that worship him must worship him in
spirit & in truth

V. Millennium

VI. The revelation of God in history & in nature

VII. Miracles & xx

VIII. Character of Christ

IX Limits of change of character

X Influence

XI When the Son of man cometh shall he find faith w t e

XII Family life

XIII The relation of parents & children -- Servants

{LINE DRAWN FROM THE WORD parents (ABOVE) TO And (BELOW)}

And you knew this -- And you

let me do it.

124 But Christ did not leave his work when

his mother & brethren interrupted him.

That makes all the difference.

Now women do or if they do not it

is with such a struggle as makes their

lives miserable if they don't deteriorate

or bad if they do under it

XIV The worship of God Prayer

XV Varieties of character in the world

5 114

Men of ability vain

No

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Hegel

[in left column]

Die gegenwärtige Gleichgültigkeit
der bestimmten Dogmen

Die unmittelbare Religion

Die Zauberei

Der Cultus

1. Die Religion des Maßes

2. Die Religion der Phantasie

3. Die Religion des Insichseins

Der Cultus

Die Naturreligion im Uebergang zur
Religion der Freiheit

1. Die Religion des Guten oder
des Lichts

Der Cultus

2. Die Religion des Schmerzes

3. Die Religion des Rätsels

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[in right column]
Die Religion der geistigen Individualität
 Die Notwendigkeit
 Zweckmäßigkeit
Die Religion der Erhabenheit
 Der Zweck Gottes mit der Welt
Die Religion der Schönheit
 Die Art und Weise des Gottes
 Der Cultus als Dienst
 Der Gottesdienst der Versöhnung
Die Religion der Zweckmäßigkeit
 oder des *Verstandes*
Die absolute Religion
 Die geoffenbarte, positive Religion
 Die Religion der Wahrheit und Freiheit
Der metaphysische Begriff der Idee Gottes
Gott in seiner ewigen Idee an und für sich
 Das Reich des Vaters
Die ewige Idee Gottes im Elemente des
 Bewußtseins und Vorstellens, oder die
 Differenz:
 Das Reich des Sohnes
 Die Welt
 Bestimmung des Menschen
Die Idee im Elemente der Gemeinde
 oder das Reich des Geistes
 Die Realisierung des Geistigen zur allgemeinen
 Wirklichkeit

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XVI
 My kingdom is not of this world.
 What *has* religion to do with Politics?
{LEFT COLUMN WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:}
I see men as trees walking
I see men & women too as
 babies walking
{RIGHT COLUMN WRITTEN NORMALLY:}
Everything. It is true
the kingdom of heaven is
within -- but it must
create a kingdom of heaven
without.
The whole business of
religion is to do thus
And except education
statesmanship, adminis=

tration (politics) is the
straightest road to it.

XVII

Freedom & authority regarded as elements of
human character

XVIII

How a clergyman may have a limited freedom

XIX

Convocation

XX Miracles

I disbelieve in miracles -- not
from the historical but from
the moral point of view -- I mean,
that of the character of God. *If*

I dislike Strauss because
not

I believed in Xt's miracles, I should

&c &c

believe in Xt
There is nothing very inspiring in
dissecting the passion of Christ.
But it would be very inspiring, if we
were to find that God's is one long
Passion in His world.

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- [(105) Assumption of Virgin
Of course I don't believe in either.
But people would answer you
that the Resurrection is in the
Bible & the Assumption not.
- XXII Greater works than these shall ye do.
- XXIII Manners (Consideration for others
A.H.C.'s definition of a
gentleman
- XXIV The Sacraments
- XXV Purity
XXV "Parish clergyman" -- I agree &
I don't agree.
yet quote Taunton & Cameron
- XXVI Idea of public worship
- XXVII *Perfecting* through suffering

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- XXVIII
Dulness of sermons (& religion)
True ideal of "
(Fliedner & Arnold)
- XXIX
Contrast of Romanism & Protestantism
- XXX
He that endureth to the end shall be saved
- XXXI Immortality
The Clergy & the Bishops
Ambiguities in Ch. of E.
Ordination Service

f167 NOTES ON RELIGION PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

	[late 1860s] arch	
I. Essay on the present state of religion		
The future of the Ch. of England		(9
Scepticism of the clergy		(17
The loss by antagonism		
(20		
Miracles		(27
The future of the Ch. of Scotland		(31
"Peddling reforms"		
our own Liturgy		
I not a good judge * I may be read like the Lord's		
Prayer * backwards		
Impossibility of any good being founded on untruth		(33
Errors of Theology		(43
Idea of national Church		(45
Missions		(53
Way of attacking the orthodox without polemics		(59

ff168-72v NOTES ON RELIGION, LIBERALS, "PRIVATE JUDGMENT" &
"TOLERATION" PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE [3:162-66]

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Private Judgment F.N. top Para. 13

I do dread all those words "toleration" "private judgment" &c as being utterly without meaning here -- And I think the R. Catholics are right in what they say deriding them.

No state of mind could arise like that here depicted, if there did not exist such absolute confusion of mind with regard to the place "private judgment" holds in religion --

And I think the "Liberals" have ~~justly~~ brought upon themselves the castigation they have justly received by their mis-use of these words --

Nay, the very word "Liberals" is a word without meaning in this, the religious, question --

I would do away with all these words as soon as I could.

"You may think as you like", say the "Liberals" -- at least this is the popular understanding of what they say -- of what a "private judgment" means one person may judge one way and another another, according as it "suits their own minds".

But is it not the *truth* which "judges" for us -- not "private judgment".

There is but *one* truth -- and we have to find it.

[The R. Catholics say -- & justly -- there is but one
[1]

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truth. But then they say -- there is but one,
truth & they have to teach it -- *not* we
have to find it.]

And "private judgment" ought to mean that
we have to find it or rather to search for
it with all our mights.

There cannot be two truths any more than
two Gods.

There can be but one truth; it cannot vary to
"suit the minds of each".

"Private judgment" is not the question. It is
God's "judgment". It is *not* as our "private
judgment" judges best. God judges for us. And
it is His truth which we have to find out.

It is the oddest thing that religion is the only
matter which is of so little importance that
any body would dream of saying this sort of
thing about it.

No possible advance could ever have been made
in any science, any art, any invention or discovery
if people had said this about it -- viz: that
it did not signify what you believed -- if you

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were only conscientious in what you believed
and if it did but suit the nature of your own
mind.

Do I want to ask my own mind, my "private judgment"?

No, indeed. I want to ask God.

But God tells different people different things,
it is said & truly said.

And at different times too, I would add.

But there is not the less for that a truth and
an untruth, and not at all dependent on the
nature of people's minds.

He did not tell people about rail-roads
till 30 years ago --

He has not told people all about astronomy
(or anything like all) yet --

You do not on that account say: there are as
many truths in astronomy as there are private
judgments & individual minds; take which
suits you best.

Nor do you say: you will not be blown up on
a rail-road, if you will but conscientiously
believe in your salvation on that line of Railway.

It is only in religion that such things are said.

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Surely the R. Catholic is as near the truth
when he says "there *is* a truth", and "you
will be damned if you don't believe it" --
as the "Liberal" when *he* says: "any religion
will do which you yourself think a good thing"
Is truth merely an exercise of the intellect? or
is a thing of the most extreme importance
which we must buy with our heart's blood
The R. Catholics say: there must be unity and
infallibility.

Certainly,

And (13 Para 2 says: that every man cannot
be religious philosopher but other
people must think for him.

Certainly,

And it does not much signify, if every man
does not know the truths of Astronomy.

But it does signify very much that every
man should know the truths of religion.

Tho' every man however cannot be a spiritual
philosopher, yet every man's mind must
be cultivated up to the point of being able to

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apprehend the first truths of religion -- & not
suppose that religion consists in going to
mass or to church --

Here it seems to me that enormous confusion
prevails.

What is the use of a man understanding
the religion of his Church, if it is not true?

Yet it is said: people can understand that,
but they can't understand your philosophical
religion.

Or they say: "there must be unity". And they
are right -- but want of unity is the result
of some minds not being yet able to
receive the truth -- not from their being no
God's truth.

Each, by exerting his own faculties, will learn
of God, who is infallible, the truth -- [And then
we shall have infallibility] of God who is one
the truth. [And then we shall have unity.]

And still there will always be discoverers
& discoveries concerning God's truth. Every
man is not a discoverer -- But every man's
mind must be cultivated up to understanding
other men's discoveries.

Every man could not have invented the Steam Engine -- nor every man discovered America.

The one question in every thing is not what "I think", but what God "thinks". But nobody asks what God "thinks" in religion What God "thinks" must determine what we think. But all mankind must think to find out what God thinks.

And if it is said that all mankind cannot think, it may be answered: (1) that more perhaps has been done by men, who could only *feel* what God *feels*, to make known the nature of God than by any (2) that we cannot know God's nature till we know mankind's -- nor till we know His (or nature's) laws better -- and that men perfectly incapable of philosophizing have, in village schools, in material inventions, contributed immensely to our knowledge of mankind's nature, to the cultivation of mankind's nature, so that we [?] will be able to understand. But then we must have the Religious Discoverers who will apply all this to the understanding of God's nature. This has not been done.

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Christ is the only one who ever asked what *God* "thinks" -- It seems to me that this is the great difference between him & any other teacher the world ever saw -- he is always enquiring after *God's* "truth" -- after what *God* says -- "His word is truth".x But no one else does.

Newman tells us that "Justin, Athenagoras, Irenæus, Clement, Tertullian, Origen, Lactantius, Sulpicius, Ambrose, Nazianzen are "truth" -- (?) also that "St. Leo" "shews" him the "truth" --

A great many people tell us that the first four General Councils tell us the "truth"

J.S. Mill implies that Zoroaster's theory is truth.

No one but Christ ever asks what God tells us is "truth". And if he says "God's word is truth", people immediately think he means, by God's "word" the Bible -- tho' the most important part of the "Bible" was certainly not written then -- & tho' he is always telling us that what he said himself was incomplete.

x It is so obvious that much of what is said in the Gospels as Christ's word was not said by him -- & that much that he did say is not said in the Gospels. It is so obvious that much of what is there is a

complete misunderstanding by his hearers of what he really did say, that I don't pretend to quote the XVIIth chap. of S. John, but all that we can gather from the Gospels, to shew that Christ was continually referring us to what God thinks -- to what God says -- to God's truth.

You ask (in another Sermon) what was Christ's character? -- If there is any one thing which more than another distinguishes it, in my mind, from that of any other religious teacher that ever lived, it is this: -- this never referring us to authority, not even his own, nor to "private judgment" -- but always to God's "judgment", God's "truth", "God's word" -- What a pity that expression has been so misused!

I think Christ was farther than any character we have ever heard of (or can conceive) from wishing to found a theology -- least of all, a final creed -- "God's" words are "truth" --

farther too from wishing God to declare

f172

him the Messiah by a "*coup d'état*" he could not apparently be.

XXII (164

J.S. Mill says that religion has always been "a consecration of all that was once established & a barrier against further improvement".

If the "Liberals" mean by their words "private judgment" & "toleration" the reverse of this certainly the words or rather the things are very good things.

But I would rather have Christ's words, as ~~being~~ having the *real* meaning. *God's* truth -- God's word is truth -- what God says is truth -- not what my "private judgment" says --

Then, we should not have people taxing us with setting up "Yourself" instead of "The Bible".

I would not ever admit that it is "the truth as known to yourself." It is the truth so much of God's truth as this generation is capable of receiving -- as is known to the strenuous efforts of this generation after God's truth.

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As is so beautifully said at (63
"Christianity is not an ingenious plan or scheme
or device or invention of God -- a game at
which we play with our own abstract ideas --
but truth" --
I would not wish for a better definition than
that.

ff173-74v NOTES ON CLAUDE BERNARD, RELIGION & "CONSCIENTIOUSNESS"
PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f173

Claude Bernard says (in his Introduction à la
Médecine Expérimentale 1865)
"Il faut avoir une foi robuste et ne pas croire;
je m'explique en disant qu'il faut en science
croire fermement aux principes et douter des
formules; en effet, d'un côté nous sommes sûrs
que le déterminisme existe, mais nous ne
sommes jamais certains de le tenir".
["Déterminisme" is his word for "principes
de la science expérimentale".]

That is just what I think about religion --
only I can't put it into C. Bernard's
strong plain words --

There *is* a truth. And we must find
it. We must never believe but that
there is an absolute truth -- But we
must always believe that we do not know
it yet. Nor shall we know it except
thro' the efforts of all mankind in eternity
Inspiration of error --
v. Cl. Bernard

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because people immediately think, you
are damning somebody to eternal hell]
But if there is anything that is exactly
true, it is that people's minds never
recover thro' life that vagueness, that
stupidity of mind, which makes them
never precisely sure whether it signifies
to know the truth or not, whether there
is a truth to be known -- which makes
them try (in conversation or otherwise) not
to find the truth but to ~~take~~ find something
~~from~~ in what you say, or in the fact they
are reading or in the observation they
are making (in Physical Science or Medicine)
to support their view, altho' they are not
at all intensely convinced of their own
view, but do it only for the sake of argument,
& because it is their own view.

In this sense, it is truly putting "Yourself"
in the place of God.

But I call it the sin against the Holy
Ghost.

P.S. It would be impossible to conceive a man more
disinterested
~~more~~ (indeed he had no self-interest) than Lord Raglan. Yet his
defective administration ~~work~~ destroyed the Army in the Crimea
for all that. And God did not interfere to wave it because Lord
Raglan was 'conscientious'.

[end 3:193]

he is so kind & attentive, but he has half killed me. Or of Nurse --: she is the most conscientious woman, but I shall never believe but that my poor wife might have been alive now, if it had not been for her blundering. Or: look at that poor child, he is a cripple for life in consequence of that kind creature, his Nurse, & her mistakes --

People are perfectly aware that God is inexorable on these points (they do not complain of it) They don't in the least expect that God will work a miracle to save their wives & husbands from the blundering of "*well-meaning*" Nurses & Doctors.

Only in the most momentous thing of all, religion, any thing will do. There is no occasion for us to find the truth -- For God will not 'punish' us for the want of it.

There are no words that occur oftener to my mind than Christ's words about the "sin against the Holy Ghost" -- (or whoever's words they are) [Yet one dares not quote them

N.B. It is I believe quite endless the confusion of ideas, the mischief, caused by that superstition about eternal punishment -- which, after all, people do not believe in. But it confuses all their forms of speech. It stupefies & distorts all the conclusions of their mind.

[3:191-93]

E.g. I believe the whole confusion in the "Liberal" mind about "any religion will do, if you do but believe it conscientiously" arises from the vague remains of belief, which yet they do not believe, as to punishment -- something which is held arbitrarily in God's hand, to pounce down upon you, & *perhaps* to be eternal -- or at least to last a long time. They therefore hesitate to attach such tremendous consequences to a state of mind, such a belief, in whom there is no moral error.

But nobody does this, with regard to their precious bodies: -- On the contrary, you hear daily, (at least *I* do) & alas! too truly: -- speaking of a Medical man: Dr --

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(14

I don't think it is the want of thought so much
as the want of feeling

Pastor Fliedner's preaching was as different
from any other preaching ~~as~~ I ever heard
as Countess Confalonieri's throwing herself at
the feet of the Empress of Austria &
imploing her to go to the Emperor in the
middle of the night -- else her husband,
Confalonieri, would be executed --

is different from a parson putting together
a number of words enough to last 20
minutes

In some little Novelette I have read an
account of provincial society, in which the
aunt tells her niece, who is going to pay
visits, not to engage in any too interesting
conversation which shall prevent her from
looking at the clock on the mantel piece & timing her visit to
15 minutes. And I can remember exactly
that kind of thing about my dear
grandmother's neighbourhood --

Now that is Sermons all over --

The difference between a visit of that

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kind & the visit of C^{ss} Confalonieri to the
Empress of Austria is just the difference
between Fliedner's Sermons and all
English Sermons that I have ever heard.
Fliedner did really believe that it was a
matter of life or death whether we did
what he asked us or not.

The great fault of the "Liberals" has been that
they have said x: it does not matter what
you believe, provided you believe conscientiously.
They ought to have said: it is a matter
of life or death for you, for us all, to
go to God, as Teresa Confalonieri went
to the Emp: of Austria, & find out what
He thinks, what His word will be.

x at least this is what they have been
understood to have said.

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But there is another cause of the "deadness
of Sermons". They have nothing to invite us to.
If we say: what can I do to be saved? --
they must answer: we don't exactly know.
Though they are always talking about our
leading a "new life", they have no "new life"
to offer us.

Fliedner had --

If he *could* convince us, he said: Come
& be, Deacons & Deaconesses. He said,
'Come', not 'Go'. There is a great deal in
that

I am sure it is not at all known, &
would hardly be believed how children &
very young people, if they *have* happened
to be "awakened" by a Sermon, feel the
going back to the ordinary life -- quite
incapable of creating for themselves the
"new life" of which the ideal has been for
a moment awakened in them --

Fliedner had none, not the least advantage of
manner, oratory or even command of his own language
and I think was, without exception, the most ungainly creature
I ever saw

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(19

If I were a Liberal, I never would say the "*liberal* cause" I would say: the cause of *truth*.

18.

And very difficult for any body in any position to help believing what "all the world" says about them, especially if they are in close proximity to that world.

And the power of resistance does not seem in the least to depend upon the mental superiority of the person or the mental inferiority of those about him.

Nothing is so difficult as not to take oneself at the estimate of those about one.

If they think ill of one, even for what one has not done, one thinks ill of oneself.

[It is like the youth who was condemned to imprisonment for a murder he had not done, & who, altho' not in the least mad, occasionally believed, as he stated after his release, that he had done it.]

It is quite impossible for men to estimate

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the amount of tyranny exercised in this way in families by the women of the family.

Because it is quite impossible for men to estimate (they who come under plenty of other influences) the smallness, the closeness the constant contact, which makes this tyranny possible & efficient.

There is nothing at all like it in Convent.

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(27

I really never can tell what "miracles" have to do with the question. Proof as coming from a "miracle" seems to me simply a confusion of the idea of power with the idea of truth --

If people believe in a devil, why may not a miracle come from a devil as well as from God?

[Sir Jas. Stephen has this idea somewhere -- but then, with the greatest unreason, or rather with no reason at all, he crops off suddenly & says: Yes, but Christ's miracles are always an exception]

If miracles are evidence merely from the idea of power, as the prominent idea of an Eastern God in the minds of the Easterns was power, then: what do they prove?

A God has had the power to make such & such laws -- Now he has the power to break them -- But how does that tell me that He is the one True Perfect God? -- Rather, it tells me just the contrary. It tells me

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that he is a capricious stupid God.

To say that a "miracle" proves anything seems to me much like saying that the word "Abracadabra" proves anything. **[end 3:180]**

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY ON THE LEFT SIDE OF PAGE:}

Like an
advertisement
headed "The Loss of the
London" to recommend
"Parr's Life Pills" (sic)

ff179-80v NOTES ON THE INSPIRATION OF ERROR & CLAUDE BERNARD,
PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f179 (63

"The true idea of Christ as expressing the
true relation of men to God."

I like that

Colani says: "Il (le Christ) ne nous montre
donc pas Dieu sans tous les aspects."

And is not that what Christ says
himself?

"The true idea of Inspiration as progress in
truth through the working of God in the
minds of individuals" --

Yes: but give Error its share. There is an
inspiration in Error too. If I could, I
would write a historical sketch, called
the Inspiration of Error.

When Vincent said: Le genre humain est
inspiré -- I think this is included.

Cl. Bernard, the only philosophical man in
Medicine now, says: --

"En résumé, les hypothèses et les théories, même mauvaises, sont
utiles pour conduire à des découvertes. Cette remarque est
vraie pour toutes les sciences. Les alchimistes ont fondé la
chimie en poursuivant des problèmes chimériques et des
théories fausses aujourd'hui. Dans les sciences physiques, qui
sont plus avancées que la biologie, on pourrait citer encore
maintenant des savants qui font de grandes découvertes en
s'appuyant sur des théories fausses. Cela paraît être en effet
une

nécessité de la faiblesse de notre esprit que de ne pouvoir
arriver

à la

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE:}

vérité qu'en passant par une multitude d'erreurs et d'écueils

I don't think any ~~thing strikes~~ words have had a fuller possession of my mind through life than Christ's putting himself in the place of the sick, the infirm, the prisoner -- & the extension which the R. Catholic Church ~~ga~~ (especially) gave to these words, as it were God putting Himself in the place of the leper, the cripple &c, & telling us that we see Him in them.

Because it is so true.

There is the Error of the body as well as the Error of the Intellect.

There is the Inspiration of Error for us in the physical as well as in the intellectual history.

Only the R.C. Ch. makes the bodily infirmities final. It has no idea of teaching us to recognise God as law in these, teaching us not only to relieve the individual suffering, but to learn by degrees how to remove by law the universal suffering.

I think if it had been a ingenious "scheme", instead of the real truth, it was so clever of God, to say the least of it, to ask for our help, as well as our service, and to receive it as if He wanted it.

He shews Himself in the persons of our suffering fellow-creatures -- not, as in those legends, where Christ appears as a beggar & then flies away -- but because He is really there. It is really Himself, "descending into hell" -- For all those prisoners, those criminals, those sick, those infirm are there by His laws. It is Himself we see -- His word -- His work -- in them.

I call this a part of the Inspiration of Error -- ~~It is~~ Those people would not be there, if mistakes had not been made in observing His laws -- but not the less -- rather the more -- are they Himself, His inspiration.

I don't the least suppose this was what Christ meant when he said, *he* was hungry, *he* & was thirsty, *he* & was sick, *he* & was in prison -- & when we visited *them*, ~~we did~~ it was as much as doing it for *him*.

But he was the greatest genius in spiritual

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things, that ever was -- And I think this was a master-stroke of genius -- a kind of divination by feeling of what would be found to be the exact truth in law 2000 years after.

If there is anything we should think unlike God, it is these powerless, foolish, bad creatures. And yet He says -- and it is the exact truth -- that they are the result of/we may see in them in His, Almightyness, All Wisdom, All Goodness --

I entirely think that "Christ expressed the true relation of men to God." (63

It is God making my particular good *His* own good -- my neighbour's interest *His* own interest

ff181-82v NOTES ON A TRUE ESTIMATE OF CHARACTER PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE [5:237-39]

f181 {DATE arch: 1867? 85

Men & especially women "should never suffer themselves to be diverted from forming a real estimate of a man's character by what is termed respect for his office."

[This which is said of the Clergy & their Bishop I say of every body, especially every body stationed in families (I really was not aware that any body still did this above Bishops.)

It certainly requires great strength of mind for a woman to "form a real estimate of" her husband's "character" & to behave the better, instead of the worse for it. Most women prefer to remain in an ~~perfect~~ amiable fog, thro' which they can see what they like about their husband's character.

But I believe half the misery in families would be done away with, if women could really rise to "forming a true estimate" of their husband's or their father's & mother's characters, as the case may be.

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Because there is none of the reverence left
of the Patriarchal times -- & which certainly
existed in the last century in England.
On the contrary, there is scarcely a person in
the world so much criticized as a husband
by his wife, a father by his son, a mother
by her daughter. And yet there is a constant
effort to act a lie, if not to say one, about them.
It is all a "muz" and a maze -- the
eternal vagueness of the present day.
It is just like Review-writing & reading.
People make no effort to "form a real
estimate of" the book -- But they criticize
it all the more severely & admire it
all the more indiscreetly because they
know nothing of it but the review.
Now, it is not *criticism* that is here
recommended of the husband's &
parents' character. It *is* a *true estimate*.
Nothing else will ever make the life of
families endurable. Nothing else will
ever prevent that willing martyrdom

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which does no good to the person who
accepts it but only harm --

The martyr sacrifices *herself* (~~for I can only~~ *himself* in a
~~remember~~ few instances ~~at this moment~~
~~of its being a "he"~~) entirely in vain. Or
rather not in vain for she or he makes the
selfish more selfish, the lazy more lazy,
the narrow narrower --

Now all this would be saved if the martyrs
could but see that it was right, it
was a duty, to form a "real estimate" of
the characters of those they live with.

The martyrs are often paralysed by those
they sacrifice to. Almost always they
deteriorate & are deteriorated. Often
their martyrdom is only "acting a lie".
They have a kind of dim conviction some
where that the others would be much
better without them. [I should be sorry
to say in how many instances this has
been ~~only~~ openly expressed to me.] Now this
always deteriorates -- Because nothing
ennobles martyrdom but a strong

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conviction that it is for some noble purpose.

The other is only like the poor little weak fag who allows the big boys to run {illeg. first?} into him because he can't help himself.

No less would the Devourers be saved than the Devoured, if they did but form a "real estimate" of character. For it was often not thro' selfishness, it is from a lack of knowledge of the true value of a human being that they accept the sacrifice, which "*profiteth them nothing*".

To how many of these martyrs will the persecutor say, in the next world "And you knew it -- and you let me do this."

It is really a wrong done to the persecutor. I see no improvement or reform likely to arise in this matter at all. Calas' death opened the eyes of thousands. His death was worth dying. But death, in this matter, shuts people's eyes -- If they had some small inkling of the truth before, after death it is all to be hushed up, every body is to be perfect, not the slightest remorse is to be felt. And so men's eyes are to be blinded for ever & ever.

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1. I think the main difference between the character of Christ & any other teacher is that he is always referring us to God -- to what God says -- (His "word") -- to what God "thinks." [You probably call this the "mystical" side (?)]

the entire absence of any system of theology, of doctrine, in him is the more remarkable, ~~the m~~ because the systems, the doctrines, which have been founded on him, are, I suppose, more "final", definite & numerous than those which have been founded on Bouddha or any other teacher whatever.

2. I think the "ironical" side of Christ has never been dwelt upon at all. (Christ was so witty.) If it had, how many stumbling blocks which his sayings, evidently only ironical, have created, would have been taken away. Suppose we were to take *au pied de la lettre* as we have done Christ's ironical sayings, those of any other great intellect -- What chance would there be of our understanding them? Suppose Shakspeare who had the very great advantage of writing in a dramatic form

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had, instead of putting some of those very deep things he says into the mouths of his personages, which has saved our stupidity from falling foul of him, written them straight on as coming from himself, & that we had interpreted them all as being verbally inspired (I suppose there was something of this kind in the Greek tragedies) how we should have missed the truth of Shakspeare!

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3. I think many of the things which have been said of Christ in Scripture, which have so shocked the "Liberals", & which the Orthodox so strongly insist upon, so far from being either "shocking" or "orthodox," may be said of many a good man, altho' less strongly appropriate than in the case of Christ.

`Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world.'

I am sure I have known one or two men of whom I could say that, if I were to see them "passing by" -- only for "the world" substituting the name of the place of their work --

~~{And again~~

ff185-85v NOTES ON SOCRATES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN [late 1860s]
R.N. 292

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[Socrates] F.N.

[3:176]

{WRITTEN BY FN:}

And his life is one of sorrow not for himself; but the whole of human suffering & evil seems to weigh upon him -- unlike Socrates retaining his youth into age, the sorrows of age seem to press him down in youth.

For instead of dying the happiest & calmest of deaths surrounded by his friends in peaceful conversation he dies alone after a great & terrible internal struggle & by a protracted & lingering death.

he seemed always to be in immediate union with God, doing his will, living his life

For Socrates too is alone in the world, & he has all the world against him, & he has a deep & profound sense of the feebleness of man sunk not in vice & evil so much as in ignorance x x x he too forsakes all earthly interests they hardly seem to exist for him in comparison of the work

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which the God has assigned to him x x he alone,
in the Greek or Roman world had the Christian
idea of a divine mission for the good of other men [end 3:176]

f186v NOTES ON GOD PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

(2)

God is love, because there is evil, would not be
far from the truth.

"until you have first made out this mystery"

ff187-95v NOTES ON COMTE, SOCRATES, GOETHE & KANT PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f187 R.N. 292 {WRITTEN BY FN:}

II. 7.

Comte says that the "construction of the world"
is "altogether" *imperfect* -- & that he (Comte)
could have made the world much better
than God. I don't think it at all follows
because the construction of the world may not
be perfect that God has failed in "adapting
means to ends". It does not at all follow
that His "end" was to make a perfect world.
As far as we know, His "end" was to make
a world which should make mankind
"perfect" -- And this certainly could not
have been done except by making
mankind work hard -- tho', as Mr.
Milnes says, that is "a bore".

Certainly, as Ld Macaulay said, mankind
is lowest where the fruits of the earth
grow with least trouble.

But are you not too kind to the Moderns, again? For they
do now just what Socrates deprecates.

I think, again, you are unfair to the
ancients & too kind to the moderns.
For they do now just what Socrates
deprecates.

The modern theories about finding out
the beginning & the end are just the same

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as what Socrates warns us against

No one thinks about finding out the character of God -- which "is entirely within the sphere of human", not "consciousness" perhaps but "human" enquiry, investigation, discovery, experience.

====

If I were you, I would write a Sermon drawing; *not* a contrast but a parallel between the idea of Socrates that this is ~~foundation of~~ life, to "Know thyself" -- & the idea of the Evangelist -- that this is eternal life, to "know God" (in which I agree with him, more than any Church can)

The earliest Christians (by whom I mean the writers of the N.T.) made an immense ~~step~~ beginning by declaring this -- that "this was eternal life, to know God". And they made

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an immense step by declaring farther that God is love.

But I don't think they ever went much farther -- And we have not gone farther at all -- We have rather retrograded. [For certainly Christ would not have killed John Huss -- would not have excommunicated Bishop Colenso -- would not have burnt Servetus --]

No one has ever shewn what a God of love is -- what He would do -- ~~is~~ -- how God is a God of love -- how this is consistent with the state of the world as it is -- with His having His world in such a state.

I think it so natural of Christ to say, (what Strauss thinks so offensive,) that he would shew them in his own acts what God was -- that he was the way -- he could not teach them in any other way that God was a God of love -- in any other way to know God ---

But no one has ever even tried to show how the ~~love of~~ God being love is an explanation of the horrible state of the world -- as it is George Fox ~~he~~ explains it by saying God did

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not create the Devil -- [And tho' he was persecuted himself, he seems ready to have persecuted the "ranting woman" who drew away his followers on this point.]

Goethe says He did -- that God did create the Devil. And we ought to be very much obliged to Goethe, who certainly did not trouble himself much about God, for having, by the force of his surpassing genius, insisted so much upon this. There was certainly as wide a gap between Job (& his follower Goethe who understood that God did *not* hate the Devil & that mankind was very much in want of him to stir them up --) & the whole Evangelical, R. Catholic & High Church twaddle upon this subject as there is between "Aristotle & a little boy". When Mephistopheles says that he is a part of that force which always wills evil & always does good -- he seems ~~to me~~ to have hit the "mystery" exactly. But then you must acknowledge that God made the Devil. [I would even go farther & acknowledge that God made the "Times":] tho' that may be going too far.

God is love, because there is evil -- is the "mystery" we ought to find out. And "until you have first made out this mystery", don't puzzle yourselves about beginnings & ends -- "That is a knowledge which is the condition of all other knowledge & which can never be exhausted or come to an end."

"He is pious who knows how to please the Gods". Then you must `know God' in order to know how to please Him.

If God is a perfect God, it is quite true that Right is in pleasing Him ~~is religion right~~ -- But not at all,

~~But if He is not, then it cannot be right to please Him~~

Now certainly Christians have never gone about finding out *what* a perfect God is, tho' the N.T. did do so much for the knowing of God -- But as certainly they were only the founders of the knowledge of God as you say Socrates was of moral philosophy. And as certainly we are just as much in the infancy of the knowledge of God as you say Socrates was in the infancy of Moral philosophy, altho' the father of it.

If, e.g. I believed in Calvin's God, by whose "good pleasure" so many are "predestined to eternal damnation", I certainly would not love Him or try to please Him. Therefore it would be no use recalling to me that the N.T, says: God is love.

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I would try, partly to defy Him & partly to think of something else -- But I would never try to conciliate him.

Evangelical Christianity, so far from making out ~~that~~ how God is love, has oftener made *Him* out to be worse than the worst of human ~~ruffians~~ -- tyrants & murderers --

{WRITTEN BY FN:} II. 9.

I think Kant is a sophist -- a prince among
sophists -- but still a sophist

"Man is the measure" may be found in Kant
And it is not true what he says about our
making God after our own image.

Certainly we can only judge of what God is by
our own faculties & efforts --

So, we can best judge of the moon, only by what we
see thro' the telescope --

But he might just as well say that we
make the moon after our own telescope --

We do no such thing We know very well
that there is a great deal to see in the moon
which we don't see -- that what we do see
we see only imperfectly -- & that the
existence of the moon does not depend at
all upon what we see (spite of Berkeley)

{WRITTEN BY FN:}

II 11

Socrates the founder of moral philosophy
as ~~the Hind~~ India of metaphysics

7.(4) "the life which is unproven is not to be endured by man --
Try & see what thine own mind acknowledges to be right &
then see whether thy actions conform to this rule?"

Do you act up to what you know.

11.(3)

"the human mind" is still "all but a slave" in medicine

"awake to the light of fact & experience" just as
necessary in this as it ever was in Bacon's time

wise as unwise to try

to see the colours of flowers when there is no light
or when the light is in the wrong direction

as to force virtue without knowledge
in the way people do now --

The earliest

Xtians (by whom I mean the writers of the N.T.)
certainly did more than any ~~one~~ have done for the knowing
God. But as certainly they were only the founders of the
knowledge of God as you say Socrates was of moral philosophy

f191v

And as certain we are just as much in the infancy
of the knowledge of God as you say Socrates was in
the infancy altho the father of moral philosophy

If eg. I believe in Calvin's God, I certainly
would not love Him -- therefore it would be no
use recalling to me that the N.T. says God is
love. I would try partly to think of something
else & partly to defy Him. I would not
try to conciliate Him

Tho' If there is a God at all, "moral philosophy"
is knowledge of His government.

The "forms of *religion*"

I would not say "religion" -- I would
use some other word --

If God is a perfect God, then the only
true "religion" is morality.
And the only true "morality"
is religion.

f192 R.N. 292

{WRITTEN BY FN:} II. 12

Would not you put in here

"He had taught the lesson not of the D. oracle "Know
thyself" but "know God" and "come unto me" &c

f193 R.N. 292b {WRITTEN BY FN:}

I. 5(3)

But did he teach that the Gods "*would*" *certainly*
"give us that which was best for us" --

That is what I want to know --

A great many people do pray "that a throw of the dice
should turn up in their favour"

5(4)

I don't think that (no Gods)
different ideas of God.

6(2)

"Conscience" does not "reveal any truth to us:
it only says: don't do wrong.
It never tells us anything or to do anything
Conscience such a coward.

Socrates' young politician

7(3)

"And I will tell you just what comes into my head"

Doctoring

"I will do my best to learn by trying an experiment on you."

8(2)

"to whom God has given a diviner & *lowlier* destiny"

10(4)

& there he holds "the little wretch shaking over a precipice"
while he endeavours to make him understand the philosophy of law

f193v

Zamolxis the divine physician said [Zamolcis?]
that you could not cure the body without first
curing the mind.
attempt to give a serious meaning to the tales of ancient
poets
a charming occupation if life were only long enough

II 10(4)

"utility: appeal to an external standard independent of
feeling & instinct & also independent of authority" --
Socrates' utility simply "means towards ends" --
"virtue is knowledge" -- a great deal sounder than
those who make resolutions as if thereby they could
become virtuous.

If you look at the ordinary method of reclaiming
(say) a drunkard by rousing in him strong emotions
the same in Penitentiaries -- wisdom is the thing -- not
this.

xx

"He is pious who knows how to please the Gods" --
Then you must know God in order to please Him

f194

II 1

Medical just as bad
diseases like dogs & cats

7 (2)

Comte

theories about finding out beginning & end just the same.

No one thinks finding out about the character of God.
which is entirely "within the sphere of human consciousness"
& the most important thing of all, one would
think for us to know.

"Know thyself" -- "what art thou? what is man?
what is the rule of thy life? Do not seek for wisdom
in water & fire & winds & vapours, until you have
first made out the mystery of human nature" --

I should say & just as much as the Evangelist
says in --

Know God -- (for this is eternal life) ~~& tell~~ he
(John) made an immense beginning -- he said "He is
love" -- But no one, no one has shewn what a God of
love is -- how God is a God of love -- how this is
consistent with the state of the world as it is --
G. Fox explains it by saying God did not create the

f194v

devil -- Goethe says He did -- & we ought to be very
much obliged to Goethe who certainly did not
trouble himself much about God for having
by the force of his surpassing genius discovered
this

This is the "mystery" we ought to find out
And "~~till~~ until you have first made out this mystery"
don't puzzle yourself about beginnings & ends.
"That is a knowledge which is the condition of all
other knowledge & which can never be exhausted
or come to an end".

x x

Xtianity made an immense step in declaring God
to be love -- but has never shewn how He can
be love -- On the contrary, Xtianity has often
made Him out to be worse than the worst
tyrant & murderer --

9(4) I think Kant is a sophist "Man is the measure".
the prince of sophists but still a sophist

8 "Modern induction: process which discovers
truth by means of experiment & observation"
"extending our knowledge of the laws of nature
by the examination & combination of facts"

7(2) Comte says that he could have made the world
much better than God. But I don't think it ~~is~~ at all follows
that God's ~~world~~ construction is not perfect because He failed in

adapting means
to ends. What was His end? Not to make a perfect world

II. 14.

"forms of *religion*"

I would not say "religion". I would use some other word.

If God is a perfect God, then the only true

"religion" is "morality", as you call it.

And the only true "morality" is religion.

But I think I should like, if I were a philosopher, to shew how "morality", "religion", moral philosophy & politics are all, if not one & the same, at least ~~branches~~ different forms of the same "Morality" is bringing down heaven to earth or "bringing down" God's will "from heaven to earth." Religion is bringing earth up to heaven. Moral philosophy is the government of God over His worlds --

Politics are His administration of this world

or "bringing down" God's government "from heaven to earth"

[Goethe, I think it is who says somewhere, that

it is very easy to get up to heaven but very

difficult to get down again. I think that

is quite true. It is very easy to be religious,

if religion is only the getting up to God (mysticism). But it

f195v

is very difficult to ~~get down again~~ be religious in the sense of incarnating Him upon earth -- either in "morality" or in politics or in any other practical embodiment of His ~~laws~~ will.

God [made manifest in the] flesh. I feel as great a "mystery" as any Theologian does.

ff196-99v NOTES ON IMMORTALITY & RESURRECTION PENCIL HANDWRITTEN
by FN

f196

That's not quite fair.

What "F.N." said or meant to say was
that the strongest argument for an immortality is
the worthlessness of life here to so many
myriads of God's creatures -- that is supposing
that you believe in a perfect God --
Now the worthless life is the bad life
~~that~~ therefore the world's wickedness is the
strongest argument for its immortality.

"F.N." believes that there is no argument but
a moral one, the existence of a moral God,
for a continued existence.

It is often said that the wish is the father
to the thought.

"F.N." replies that she is quite sure *she*
does not wish it (for herself) -- & she believes
there are many more in this age who do not wish it
for themselves. She wishes it only to
prove there is a good God.

People say this is arguing in a circle -- And
so it is. You cannot prove the existence
of a good God without an immortality --
And your only proof for an immortality

f196v

is that there is a good God.

But there are numberless transactions in
the world's business in which you practically
act on this kind of reasoning -- in Commerce,
politics, nearly every ~~species~~ Expedition of ~~undertaking~~

Discovery

&c &c in fact in every Discovery that is not made by
accident

Then I admit that there is no *proof* of
either: either immortality or a perfect God.

But there is strong & ever increasing
evidence: from the almost apparently unlimited *improvability*
of mankind. If to this you add an immortality, you
have a perfect God. If to it you add a perfect God, you have
immortality.

If there *is* an eternity for improvement, then
we cannot conceive of any other scheme
which a perfect God would have made.

If there *is* a perfect God, then He must have
made an eternity to improve us in.

And He never could have called into this
world a multitude of beings whose lives
are entirely worthless (i.e. the bad) & let
their lives end here.

[It is not the "suffering poor" but *the bad*
which seems to me to constitute the only
argument for an Immortality.

And it is not ~~that~~ because I "want" an Immortality

(for these) but ~~that~~ because God "wants" it -- i.e. if He is perfect, ~~which is what I meant to say]~~

F. Newman says somewhere: -- what right have we to *claim* an Immortality from God?

It is not we who "claim" it -- it is, as it were, His own perfection which "claims" it from Himself.

But I do believe that there is no human being who was ever so insulted, despised, maligned, calumniated, as God. We sometimes hear it said of some wretched creature who has bit his mother to death, or who has starved and ill-treated a child, before the Police Magistrate: he did not appear to have common feeling -- or he scarcely seemed to have the attribute of humanity. I am sure we might say this of God. For while every body *calls* him *good*, we always speak of Him as if He had not "common feeling". No savage ~~tribe~~ ever committed the acts of cruelty we attribute to God

N.B. It appears to me that Channing's argument for immortality is quite worthless.

With regard to the Resurrection: --
I don't think any body believes it.
And, if they did, I think it would be an
argument *against* our Immortality.

If they really believed it, can you conceive any
thing like the intensity of expectation with
which we should watch to see whether *our*
Beloved became alive again on the Monday
who had died on the Saturday -- the agony
of hope?

And when he did *not*, we should say:
Christ may have risen again on the third
day -- But we are not good enough to do so.
If we don't rise again on the third day as He
did, how can His resurrection be a proof of
ours?

Some one says that the Resurrection is the
Semitic way of putting immortality --
But that is only putting words into other
words.

But do you think any body really believes the
Resurrection?

I can't so much as conceive of my meeting
Sidney Herbert again & taking him for the
Gardener -- or of my going a walk with
him of many miles & not knowing him till
after he was gone -- [It is such a poor tale
so evidently put together afterwards

f198v

I know there is scarcely a Christian in all Christendom who would not be shocked if he were told he did not believe in the Resurrection of Christ.

And I believe that there is really scarcely a Christian in all Christendom who really believes it -- so as in any measure to rest his belief in an Immortality upon it -- if he does believe in an immortality.

But very few, I dare say, do.

As for me, tho' I do not wish for it, for myself I can truly say that I think of little else. It occupies a far larger portion of my thoughts than any thing in this world. I mean, nothing that I *do* do, I should do, if I did not believe in ~~an immortality~~ continued existence, not for myself but for all the world -- It would not be worth while
{INSERTED FROM **f199:**}

And this not ~~because~~ on account of any expectation of rewards or punishments, either for myself or others -- nor because I am too lazy to secure a small material good for any body -- but from a conviction which underlies every thing I do that unless there is a good God (which is impossible if there is no continued existence) it is no use to try to do any thing.

{BACK TO **f198v:**}

~~not because I should be too lazy, but because, if there is no continued existence, there is no good God -- and therefore it would be no use doing any thing.~~

That is all "F.N." meant

f199

I am sure I should not take the trouble to keep myself alive -- which is a very great trouble to *me* -- if I did not believe there was a perfect God. I should just let myself starve -- And then I should get dead.

f199v

But there is nothing very inspiring in denying the Resurrection or any other "miracle". That is, I think, the mistake of all the "Liberals" -- The inspiring thing is to shew what the character of God is: in giving us immortality & in all His plans [end 3:190]

ff200-02v NOTES ON LEIBNITZ & ETERNAL PUNISHMENTS LIGHT PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f200

Leibnitz on Eternal punishments

Far from feeling ~~about~~ of Leibnitz as of the G. Councils
'I don't want to hear what they say, I want very much
to hear what Leibnitz says' -- Perhaps Leibnitz &
Spinoza & Ld Bacon & Plato are among the greatest
benefactors of the human race, even to millions
who have never heard their names, don't know
who they were & would not care if they did. But
I entirely differ with Lessing: Why should we want to
be sharper/cleverer than Leibnitz & more philanthropic than
Socrates? -- It is just because we don't want that half
the mischief of this world is done. It is just because
every body looks upon religion from the historical or the
critical side, & never from the practical or the
constructive side, that there is no religion at all or
hardly any. Exactly in proportion as there was
greatness in Leibnitz & in Socrates would ~~they~~/Leibnitz &
Socrates have
urged us to do greater things than they.

The ~~greatest~~ highest of all said And greater things than
these shall ye do -- But this the whole world always
forgets. If people would leave the things that are behind
(except as a scaffolding) & press on to the things that are
before, they would find the meaning of this. Not however
as Swedenborg did who seems to draw upon his imagination
only for his heaven & hell. We can reason about either
only from analogy & from what evidence there is of the

f200v

Moral character of God. As for heaven, there will be no heaven till we make it; that is certain. And we have no reason for thinking that the way of making it differs materially from the way God has appointed for making it here. As for hell, this world is hell.

I. There is no objection, if people will have their "eternal hell", to look upon it in this way: -- ~~that~~, for in any sense in which we can conceive eternity, ~~then~~ there may be an eternal hell. Every body may have to pass thro' hell. But nobody will have to stay in it. As the succession of human beings may be eternal (in the only sense in which the word has any meaning to us) so you may have an eternal hell, if you like it.

I would try most carefully to distinguish ideas which we never can define, while we are human -- such as 'beginning', 'end', 'eternity', 'infinity'. E.g. there can be no 'eternal hell' in any sense, if every body is to become perfect.

Buddhists lose themselves in perplexity because they don't know what to do with their human beings when they are perfect. Are they 'absorbed'? Or do they come back again to imperfection?

Leibnitz does the same about 'beginnings'. The same reasoning which makes us suppose, we have no end, will do to prove we have no beginning. But

f201

when we have proved it, what do we understand a bit the more for that?

Neither 'beginning' nor 'eternity' do/can we understand. For practical purposes, I would distinguish the difficulties of religion under 3 heads

1. such questions as: what is eternity? beginning? the nature of God? how does God act? what is He about now?

& set them aside at least till we have solved the more practical ones, such as

2. the character of God -- of His moral government upon these hardly anything is known -- & upon these mankind must labour incessantly, at least till something is known.

f201v

But mankind has written creeds upon creeds,
about the nature & person of God, -- when we don't
know even our own nature or principle of life.
Mankind has attempted to define, pantheistically
& anti-pantheistically, the relation of God to the
external world, whether He is "*immanent*" or
creative -- when we don't even know how our
own lives (souls) are put into our own bodies
while the greatest & most vital of all questions,
one would think, viz God's character, what His plans
are for us -- is left almost untouched. Yet if we
believe in a God at all, it must be more important to
know what He is like than to enquire the character
of any human being, even of a husband or wife.

It is as if saying to a wife: "be very careful to study
in your husband, the relation of his soul to his body, how
the principle of life resides in the brain. It is
indifferent to study his character, his plans, how you
can be his fellow worker.

3. I would settle & have done for ever with such
questions as the pretended difficulty of not being
able to reconcile Foreknowledge with Free-will --
~~of~~ (confounding Free-will with Power) of the existence
of evil with the existence of a Perfect God -- which are
perfectly easy to understand, if people were not too
lazy. I would leave off quoting Milton -- & would teach
people these things like grammar -- e.g. not to call

f202

III. Certainly much of God's scheme could be demonstrated like a mathematical proposition e.g. that God cannot be God without his creating other beings for perfection (happiness)

but, if he created them Gods at once, then there would be more Gods than one, which is a contradiction

and, if he were to create beings *not* to work out their own perfection, these would be animals

he must therefore create other beings to work out their own perfection

and how can perfection be worked out by the human being's own will, without evil & without sin?

So it could be shewn, as that a triangle cannot be without angles, so God's perfection cannot be without evil

& thus that the existence of Evil is not only not inconsistent with but necessarily co-existent with the existence of a perfect God.

(by '~~necessarily~~' meaning 'must without a contradiction')

But whom would one convert by such propositions?

One had much better be cleaning out the drain.

But I see no sense at all in illustrating perfection by the "rectangle" or the "triangle".

things good in God, which would be bad in man --
also what are the elements of a perfect God
according to our human powers of finding out
Kant surely did immense harm in saying we could
not find out.

Education does not do so little
Few people would have found out for themselves that
the earth moves round the sun. But having been
taught it, they accept it.

But if Cop. & Gal. had spent their lives in
commentating what Ptolemy said, they never would
have found out. Tho' if Ptolemy had never been,
Cop. & Gal. would never have been.

II. I think it quite true to say that the
world now, as in the future (as in the beginning,
so now & ever shall be) as God's scheme, is *perfect*
even tho' every individual in it is as yet, as
imperfect as possible. Just as it might be quite
exact to say that a Professor's school is perfect,
even while not one of the scholars, as yet, could
state an element correctly.

I would apply this to the proof that the existence
of Evil is not only not inconsistent with but
the necessary concomitant of, the existence of a
perfect God.

arch: For Mr. Jowett {WRITTEN BY FN:} [5:297-300]

f203

Politics

Should not you go a little farther in answering "Noodle" & say what Politics are?

Some one says that politics are ephemeral only for the moment -- temporary. Then I would alter the word.

But take "politics" as the realizing the eternal idea of God's administration of His world in the particular time & place of a nation ____

then there can be nothing with which a clergyman has *so much* "to do" as with politics. *Nothing*, except education -- and the education of statesmen is the highest of all -- because statesmen have the education of the world -- (to educate the nation)

Goethe says that nature s God realized -- [it was certainly an immense step to have discovered that]

But politics (which by the way Goethe entirely declined) are certainly God realized in a much higher sense --

f203v

And this is true, notwithstanding all the
cruel falls, disappointments, mistakes
involving evil apparently interminable,
which any earnest man must make
in politics.

That is God descending into hell. x

A "Saint" can't become a "politician" without being degraded--You
can't inform the earthly with the divine
-- without the earthly dirtying the divine.

And yet what is the good of the "Saint"
unless he is a "politician"?

I say -- go down into hell bravely, as
Christ did. ~~You~~ We must often sacrifice
heaven to hell -- All practical men
must. And if they are not practical,
they might just as well have staid
in heaven, for any good they will do.

The politician, who accomplishes the least
little practical good, is much more
of God really than the greatest Saint,
who never would sacrifice the "superior"
to the "inferior" -- or heaven to hell.

x "It is easy to raise oneself up to God but very
difficult to come down again".

f204

Politics are an attempt to inform with
the spirit of God the administration of
His world.

===

Of course people will say that, if in any sense
politics are God realized, it is in a very
different sense from nature being God
realized -- just as they put in opposition
the two philosophies -- that of the (wrongly
called) Pantheistic (Spinoza's) religion -- & that
of the (wrongly called) responsible (free-will)
religion.

There is no real opposition between these
two religions.

And there is no real difference between
the two senses of God realized in nature &
in politics. But people are beginning to
find out that the laws of nature are the

f204v

laws of God -- But they still shut Him out
from the Houses of Parliament. He has no
business there, except while the Chaplain
reads prayers -- The ~~Sovereign~~ Crown is God the
rest of the time.

However, people will say, there *is* one great
difference -- the laws of Nature are inalterable
-- in government man can do according to
his own free will.

It is true we cannot make the sun rise a
minute earlier -- But we can alter the face
of the world, even the very climate, almost
as we will, by observing the laws of God.
And we can do no more in government.

f205

But to return --
The only real evidence, that I can see,
which we have of your No 1 -- a "moral
God" -- i.e a righteous Ruler -- is your
No 3 -- provided you will let me
"draw upon another life" -- & "assume"
the "endlessness" -- endless progress --
And, on the other hand, the only real
evidence we have that there will
be an eternity of progress for each
is: -- that there is a "moral God."
The capability of unlimited progress --
progress perfectly realized *in none* --
-- not at all in *some*, who deteriorate --
~~while all are~~ cut short *in all* when only
a very few steps have been made
whether forwards or backwards --
[must we not say of most people that
it would be better if they had never
been at all?] ~~considering~~ these things,
~~I should call~~ would make this world a *nonsense*,
instead of a proof of "Design", *if*
~~±~~ we may not "draw upon another life" --
if this life is all --
Either there is *no* will or purpose in
{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE:}
a "moral God" at all -- Or -- [but there does appear purpose of
Education
(unlimited Education) in the Laws which we *can* see -- in the
things which
we do see -- And] the only thing consistent with these which we
can infer is
that there ~~re~~ purpose of a "moral God" is unlimited progress --
for Eternity.

f205v

And surely the only "Design" worthy
of a "moral God" is the education of
Mankind to improve in his *reading*.
Now, he scarcely ~~even~~ knows even three
of his letters -- much less his Alphabet.

I do not think -- do you? -- that there [5:386]
is the least interest in going into
proofs of "Design"x which are only
evidence of *Power* in God --

Comte says too that the ~~Astronomica~~
~~organization~~ Planetary system is very badly made --
& he could have made a much
better one himself.

I don't think there is any ~~evidence~~ reason to think
~~at all~~ that God meant to make a
perfect world -- but one in which he
meant to educate Mankind to
perfection.

[I am continually terrified, lest you
should say: "assuming knowledge you do
not possess".

But may we not ask: -- of what *can*
the human mind be absolutely certain?
what *can* it produce proof for?
can we prove anything? --]

x Mill says: Design is the best argument for a

God & uses the example of the Eye -- exactly as if

God were no better than an optician making a Telescope

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON LEFT SIDE OF PAGE:}

People dwell on the proof of "Design" in the structure of the

eye. But I am
sure, if there is nothing to be seen better than [than] there is
in this

world, my eye
does not tell me of a "moral God" but of a very *immoral* one --

i.e. unless
this world is for our "endless" Education -- that makes all the
difference

ff206-07 NOTES ON REASONING & THE ETERNAL IDEA PENCIL,
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f206

Now I will make two observations -- (both
beside the mark) --:

1. Expediency, when it is incarnating the
eternal idea into the earthly form, is a very
fine thing, altho' of course the eternal idea
suffers from the narrowness of its body --

But I think there is a kind of expediency
(which particularly distinguishes the
present generation) which is a very
dangerous thing. It is that fatal
facility, either 1. of finding a moral reason
for doing what you like, the *female* type of
this kind of thing -- or 2. of finding arguments
not to discover the truth but to support some
fore-gone conclusion, which *will* be carried
out, whether any one be convinced of its
reasonableness or not -- & whatever the
adversary, even if it be strictly his own business,
may advance, all that he can advance is
listened to merely to find reasons *for* the
other side *by* the other side --
or (thirdly) of which Mr. Gladstone is the

f206v

type, is, as has often been said of him,
an inexhaustible readiness in reasons x
for his fancy of ~~the moment~~ to-day &
for his opposite fancy of to-morrow
2. there has been ~~an immensity~~ so much writing
about the "Eternal" idea -- But no one ever
seems to have thought even of realizing it ~~so~~ in
politics, which is the finest field of all --
at least not since the Christian era --

"the main central principle, that of
considering not the visible but the invisible ~~but~~
as the truly Existent, not this life but the
future" (why does he not say the eternal,
instead of the future? -- ~~making~~ surely "this life"
is part of the eternal) "as the true Life"
x he will "always find reasons for any line of action which
"it may suit him to adopt with regard to any public
"question whatever"

"this inventiveness of reasons" "so terrible"
"they do not know what he may be able to persuade himself
"of at any given moment of his life.

f207

"has so much connection with Xtianity" "that
we cannot but recognize (in this principle) a
preparation for it, or of mankind for it, on the
part of the Greeks"

But "Xtianity" has *not* recognized this
"principle" as far as politics go -- And
Plato did, did he not?

And Spinoza did, did he not?
There seems to me a very deep meaning in
~~what~~ Schleiermacher ~~said~~, speaking of
Spinoza, making the "Holy Spirit" (Holy
Ghost) & the "Spirit of the World" the same
~~thing~~. Surely they are -- And surely this
is the truth.

And surely this world is as much a part
of the "Eternal World" as any "future"
world

[end 5:300]

f208

On Influence [3:602-03]

1. There is the difference between
real & apparent influence --
between the influence which
tells only on the present &
the influence which tells most on the future
like Christ's, St. Paul's, both
of whom thought their
work destroyed in the present --
& Aristotle, Confucius -- both
of whom were misunderstood.
2. There is the deepest meaning
in the legend ~~about~~ of God
made man -- Only so can
real lasting influence
for good be obtained --
There is a story of the Middle
Ages belonging to Cologne
where the Devil comes to
confess in the Cathedral --
The priest is appalled
when he finds out the name
of the Penitent. But the
Penitent is willing to
undergo a punishment of
60000 years, if only he can
be pardoned at last. The
priest desires him instead
to kiss the feet of the Child

(2) Virgin Mother

f208v

in an image of Virgin & Child
hanging near -- `Who, I? --
exclaims Satan -- what,
adore a God who degraded
himself to be man, while
I aspired to be God! Never --
And he vanishes.
Now the only way of acquiring
real influence to leave its
impress on the world,
acknowledged or
unacknowledged is for
the God to make himself
Man -- to do as you are
doing at Oxford -- not
to do as D'Israeli is doing --
or as the First Napoleon
did.

Perhaps the most perfect 3.
influence is that whose
external traces least remain
as certainly the most
perfect teaching is.
Because the pupil is so
~~influenced~~ transformed
that he mounts upon the

f209

shoulders of his teaching
which disappears while
he creates a new science,
a new policy, a new
organization.

4. ~~But it is a great mistake~~
~~for~~ persons with the
qualities for influence
~~to remain~~ may be in a milieu
which cannot be influenced.

Suppose Luther had
remained ~~in his Order~~ a monk --
would he have reformed
~~that Order?~~ his monastery? --
~~And every day how often~~
~~you see~~ Suppose Christ had
remained at Nazareth,
would he have converted
Nazareth? -- A man's
foes are they of his own
household. You
sometimes see one
exerting an almost
unlimited influence,
colouring the spirit of
his age -- yet absolutely
without influence in his
own family, College, Office or Society.

f209v

this not because of anything in himself but because of the nature
Quidquid recipitur &c -- of the recipients --
In estimating comparative influence & means of
influence, you must take
into account the recipient.

A man may be among
recipients who have
positively no power of
receiving.

Do you expect to influence
your Senior Tutor? --

Do you think Mill influenced
the India Office much? --

Yet would you say,
therefore, that Mill has no
influence?

Moses always seems
the most extraordinary
instance in history of
a man founding a polity
among slaves who appeared
to be actually without
power of being recipients.

If the making one's life
is an Art, let not a man
beat the air by remaining/trying to influence
among those over/among whom he
can have no influence.

{WRITTEN TO THE RIGHT OF THE ABOVE:}

Essayists can never
have much influence
if they remain Essayists
Better make a trial
of something real &
make a mistake
& fail than remain
an Essayist --

Miss Garrett -- Cobbe

Stephen

Oh let us

Pray -- not to beat the air.

[end 3:603]

ff210-17 LETTER, FARADAY & TRUTH PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN **[3:480-86]**

f210 {PEN

1870
To Mr. Jowett --

[1870. July.
Life & Letters of Faraday
by Bence Jones.]
of B.J. to F.N. July 12 1870

{PENCIL, WRITTEN BY FN:}

Dear Master

May it be given me to say what I
want to say! [how often I put up that
prayer!]

I have only read the Life of Faraday
in Extracts. I have now sent for it & will
read it thoroughly --

What I am going to say is therefore
quite general -- on your letter & not on the
Life.

Do not you think that it was the
truth in Sandemanianism which "exerted"
the "influence" over Faraday -- & not the
part which is, as you say, "absolutely
irreconcilable with his philosophy"?

Do not you think that it is the
truth -- & not the untruth -- in "Methodism

f210v

"Evangelicalism &c" which has the
"elevation & idealism" which, as you
well say, "we cannot afford to dispense
with for the common people", or for any
people? --
[I will come back to this]
Do not you think that it is the "truth" --
& not the untruth -- in R. Catholic doctrine
which, as you once told me, enabled
your sister to bear the blow of her
Mother's death?

vide large sheet 35 {THIS LINE IN PEN}

[I have often seen that myself in
R. Catholics]

We are such martinets about the truth
of words. We think so little, as it
appears to me, of the truth of feeling
or of ideas.

f211

Some know God much better than
they love Him.

Of course there is a want of truth
of *feeling* there.

Some love God much better than
they know Him.

Yet, altho' they *have* the truth of feeling,
yet, because they have not the Liberal
phraseology of the present day, the
rejecting Genesis,xx the disbelieving in the
Resurrection &c &c, we cannot conceive
that they have any truth in religion
at all.

Some call the goodness of God by
some other name -- as, e.g. Evangelicalism
calls it the Saviour, R. Catholicism the
Virgin &c &c

xx There is perhaps a greater and therefore truer
conception of the whole scheme of God's creation &
redemption in Michael Angelo's frescoes of the Sistine
Chapel than exists anywhere up to now. Yet the whole

{ftnote CONTINUED ON **f211v**}

of these are taken from much-reviled Genesis & from the prophecies of the Messiah & the belief in the Last Judgment.

[I am quite unversed in metaphysical words. But I really do not see that there is anything more true or more untrue in the dividing the attributes of God into the Trinity; as we do in the Gloria Patri, or as the Germans do into the Absolute passing into the Finite, or as the Egyptians did into the various attributes=in=active or in=passive=operation represented under symbols -- or, as the R. Catholics do, under the images of the Virgin & various Saints -- or in the thousand and one other religious philosophies.]

The truth is: to believe in the goodness of God -- That is the truth of feeling -- of infinitely more consequence than the truth of words. Tho' it is probable that the Virgin never lived at all, at least

f212

[2]

or certainly not as she is represented
at the beginning of two Gospels --
Yet there is a deeper truth in those to
whom she stands as the goodness of
God & who find their best
assurance of God being more than father,
more than mother to us in that
than there is in those who call her
by I know not what disagreeable words
as Kingsley does.

[Also: there can be no doubt for all
history all society shews it us that
there is a profound truth in the
idea of the Virgin Mother -- since
it is *not* people's own fathers & mothers
who influence them --

But that is beside the mark.]

One of the best & ablest & not only
that but the most enlightened woman
I ever knew who exercised a great

f212v

influence over me once, a nun of the
Sacré Coeur at Rome, -- she was
"maitresse des pauvres" -- a French lady --
& her lessons to her poor classes
were the best I ever heard --
believed in the Virgin as we believe
(or don't believe) in the goodness of God,
& it was the inspiring comfort of her
life. She was not orthodox -- &
would have been "brûlée vive", if her
opinions had been known, as she said
herself.]

I do not at all agree with you that
Faraday &c "rob one of the belief"
that *truth is one*.

Is it not rather that what there is of
true in Faraday's beliefs, in the

f213

Methodist's, the Evangelical's, the
R. Catholics's, the ancient Greek's, the
ancient Indian's, is one --
that *truth is one* in all these
& that where these religions do
elevate & idealize, it is not from
the mixture of error but from the
infusion of the One Truth in them.

I have often thought when I lived in Greece
that there was more truth in the ancient Greek's
religion of the River God, the fountain Nymph
spreading plenty wherever he or she goes, &
being thankful to him or to her than
in the Calvinist's idea of God.

f214

[3]

I think, tho' this is a point of minor importance
(the point of real importance being --
what should be the mental education
to fit men's minds to enquire into the
character of God & our relations to Him
with the success with which we
enquire into His material works --)

I think that there is quite enough in
Faraday's own character to account for
his being so wrong in matters of fact
in religion.

He was absolutely without imagination.
Bence Jones says he was remarkable for
imagination -- but he means by
imagination that insight of genius
into the scientific thing to be discovered
which he sought to establish by his
experiments -- just as Newton imagined
or guessed at the law of gravitation &
then instituted experiments & calculations
which decided his guess to be right.

f214v

But in the imagination or conception which assimilates the higher spiritual or art impressions, Faraday was absolutely deficient. In Rome he finds nothing better to tell you of than the Horse=race in the Corso. His journals from Switzerland would disgrace a boy of 12 years old -- He was quite deficient in the power of conceiving or assimilating the impressions of other Religions, other times, other arts, other natures, other methods of expressing the highest feelings. His preaching (as a Sandemanian elder) was, it is said, as different from, as inferior to his eloquent lecturing as --
- - - - - one would expect --
It was little more than a string of texts out of the Bible --
This being the case, I think it explains all -- just as it does in the other extreme,

f215

that of the R. Catholic -- [M. Mohl, who is truly a learned man, says that the Jesuits are truly learned men. Why are their conclusions then "fossil", not living, conclusions? -- Because ~~they~~ their first principle is that all we have to do is to learn what passes thro' the mind of the Church. All is said, all is done, when we have said this: -- if the mind of the Church is God's mind, & nothing else is God's mind, of course we have nothing to do but to study this mind we have no business to have any other mind -- there *is* no other mind, in fact.]

So with Faraday. The Bible & the Bible alone was God's mind to *him*.- of course he had nothing else to do but to quote, to study the Bible. On his system, he says truly that it is 'impious', 'blasphemous', to bring any methods of human inquiry into this.

f215v

It all returns to the same thing: --
is not study of the most important
thing -- viz. Religion -- the only study
for which our Education is entirely
neglected -- the only study for which
no training of mental processes is
considered in the least necessary --
It would truly seem as if we took
literally the beautiful words about
'the spirit of a child' -- & thought that
the education & the mental powers of
a child of 4 years old were all that
was necessary to comprehend the Highest,
the most difficult, the most important,
the most universal, the most unexplored
branch of knowledge that exists.
You say that Faraday's mistake was, that
he made all this to be of the domain
of faith -- the rest to be of the domain
of knowledge --
That is true

f216

[4]

But 'faith' is a word so prostituted.
What I want to find out is whether there is
a good God -- if so, He will have a plan
for bringing every one to perfection --
what are the details of this plan that
we may second them?
You, I think, do not feel very certain that
there is any such thing -- yet think it
a pity that we should be without
such influences of Religion as we can
get.
You wrote to me, about 4 years ago, (I
dare say it was in answer to one of my
interminable letters on this subject) that
our 'attitude' (towards God) ought to be
one of 'faith & hope' --
I think so too --
But Faraday means by faith thinking
that right which would be wrong if we

f216v

looked at it with our well-cultivated
human powers -- I mean in God --
theoretically -- For practically ~~he~~ Christ's teaching was
perfect -- And if every one really did
act without question on the practice &
maxims of Christ, probably we might
do without Moral Philosophy or Theodikè
altogether --

But it all comes back to the same thing
Are we not to have a Mental Education
for the highest of all inquiries, Religion, --
if we had & if we made it a subject
of enquiry, i.e. how to make man
perfect in accordance with the plan
of God to make him perfect, should
we not make as great discoveries -- in
abolishing pauperism, in reforming
criminals, in *creating* mankind as
we have made in the last 30 years in

f217

Mechanical philosophy?
You say -- we can't make these
discoveries -- discoveries ~~in~~ as to the evidence for God's
character,
for man's perfecting -- by the same
methods as we ~~make~~ find evidence for mechanical
discoveries --

No --
and faith, in the meaning of ~~the~~
evidence for things unseen, : is a very
good word to use here --

As for hope, if it means *trust*, it
will do. But hope is a foolish virtue.

f218

[†]

You say -- how extraordinary it is that Faraday
should have been so right in his Science,
so wrong in his Religion --

That is true.

But is it not ~~still~~ much more extraordinary
that men of the present day, Liberals,
who make it a principle to be
"free-thinkers" on all subjects should
not think out a Religion?

To me it is the most extraordinary &
at the same time despairing phenomenon
of the present day.

And that is what makes me say --
we have scarcely made the first step
in Religion -- instead of there being
nothing to say, there is every thing to say.
We have to begin at the beginning --
to think out the Perfect God -- & what
our relation to Him (our religion) is --

f218v

If I were an Educator like you, I would
begin at the beginning, & teach my boys
from the first what Religion is --

There is nothing I should like better than
to preach -- but then it must be a *Course*
of Sermons.

You say, but I should shock them --

I would leave all about Miracles
alone. I would leave all about Resurrection
alone -- [I want neither to shock nor
to unshock them.] There is nothing very
inspiring in denying the Miracles -- there
is nothing very inspiring in denying the
Resurrection. Let all that settle itself
afterwards. Let us teach first the
Perfect God -- & all these things will be
added unto us -- i.e. (will drop off
or) will be made plain of themselves.

f219

I think that that is so true which Faraday says, when he finds out the utter folly of minds about Table=turning -- only I should say it about Religion -- It was applicable to Faraday himself.

What people can believe (in RELIGION) is so extraordinary -- the 'uneducated judgment' comes to such utterly false & foolish conclusions (in RELIGION) that the very first thing to be desired or done (at BALLIOL) is to educate the *judgment* (in Religion). For at present a well-disposed dog is superior in his instincts of reverence & affection (in that which he reveres & loves) to man.

The 'system of education' (I am still following Faraday) which can leave, the mental condition of man generally in

f219v

the beliefs & non-beliefs (as to *Religion*)

~~(Faraday is still speaking of table-turning)~~
must be utterly deficient in some very important principle --

But is there any principle at all? --

Have we not to find out & to teach the first principle in Religion?

I cannot say that it seems to me in the least extraordinary that Faraday did not apply his unequalled powers in Experimental Philosophy to Religion --

He had been brought up to look upon it as a subject into which we were *not* to enquire -- *quite* as much as the R. Catholic, the Jesuit (whom he abuses) are --

If he had been brought up to consider it 'impious', 'blasphemous' (I think he uses these words somewhere) to look into

f220

[2]

the nature of matter, or inertia, or the
magnetization of light -- would he ever
have enquired into these? --

I doubt --

I think it is impossible to over-rate
the gigantic effort of mind which it
takes to make a Luther -- who enquires
into that which he has been brought up
to think it 'blasphemous', 'impious' to
enquire into --

Faraday would never have made a
Luther --

I do not however quite see that it is
fair to Faraday to say that Hume might
have turned the tables upon him about
the Resurrection as he did upon Hume
about Table turning --

Probably, if the Resurrection had
happened in Faraday's day, he would have
looked into it & rejected the evidence

f220v

the evidence just as he does about

Table-turning

But is it not now the first business of
an Educator not to apply himself to
this ~~detail~~ Interpretation or that ~~Miracle~~ Translation but to
try to educate the mind so as that
it shall not be deficient in the very
first most important principle of
Religion: -- is there a God whom we can
love? [I am sure that I should hate,
not love, the Evangelical, the Calvinistic
God, if I believed in him] If so,
what is His plan towards us? what
is our service, or our relation, towards
Him?

Is it not most extraordinary that, whereas
the forces of England, the forces of Germany
are almost arrayed on two sides with
regard to questions of interpretation,

f221

& questions of translation & questions
of history & questions of Church,
this one would think all important,
vital, essential question, is never
thought out at all --

You *do* say & teach, the Bible must
be interpreted like any other book --
Will you not say & teach the mind must be
educated to look into Religion (I
will not say like but) before any
other subject --
Or there will be no Religion.

f222

I think too that Faraday's idea of friendship
is very high: "one who will serve his
companion next to his God" -- And when
one thinks that most, nay almost all
people have no idea of friendship at
all except pleasant juxtaposition, it
strikes one with admiration --
Yet is Faraday's idea not mine.
My idea of a friend is: one who will
& can join with you in work the sole purpose
of which is to serve God.
Two in one, and one in God -- It almost
exactly answers Jesus Christ's words --
And so extraordinarily blessed have I
been that I have had 3 such friends.
I can truly say that, during the 5
years that I worked with Sidney
Herbert every day & nearly all day,
from the moment he came into the

f222v

room, no other idea came in but that
of doing the work, with the best of our
powers, in the service of God --

[And this though he was a man of
the most varied & brilliant conversational
genius I have ever known -- (far beyond
Macaulay, whom I also knew)]

This is heaven!

& ~~This~~ is what makes me say: I have
had my heaven.

My other friend you knew: A.H.C.

All these 3 were taken away in less
than 3 months -- 2 by death --

The third who was a woman (20 years older
than myself) whom I had looked upon
almost as God ever since I was 6 years old,
-- then when, as it were, God Himself turned (in her)
into a passionate unjust old woman --
there are things worse than death.

[end 3:486]

f223

{PEN 1870 [Nov: 4.1870]

To Mr. Jowett
just became Master of Balliol --
{PENCIL, WRITTEN BY FN:}

Serene Highness

Is it your Archbishop or your cook that
you are looking after now?

Ah Revd Sir it's the poor old fogey, me,
who's thrown overboard now by the Master
who consorts with Archbishops in purple
& fine linen, & Dukes, & teaches the sheep
to laugh at Socrates, & goes to church on
week-days --

Nevertheless, you asked me to write --
And I, obedient, write -- tho' I've small
stomach for it.

On this day, 16 years ago, I landed at
Scutari -- God be thanked! --

Who would have thought that I should
have lived to see the horrors of a war
compared with which those were mere
child's play?

[end 3:532]

f224

[2]

But it is not the actual sufferings,
frightful, ghastly as they are -- as who
can know like me? -- of this War which
so possess one's mind as it is: -- what
will come of it? -- what but a tyranny,
a Chaos, more frightful still? --
The Almighty created, it is written, the
world, the light, & man out of darkness
& Chaos --
Ah but that was only a Chaos of
warring elements, of earth quakes,
hurricanes, fire & storm --
mild & tame compared with the
Chaos of *men's* warring passions --
their passion for tyranny & cruelty --
for fighting a barbarous conflict, even
as wild beasts fight.
Can the Almighty Himself make a world,
create man out of this Chaos? --

f224v

La Prusse les a le lendemain de ses victoires
trouvées à ses pieds (les grandes puissances
de l'Europe)
ou elles ne prévoyent rien -- ou bien elles
n'ont pas le courage de leur prévoyance

f225

[3]

He has not as yet made *one* man
 (to be called a man) out of it.
 What one man has been created, out of
 all this Chaos, compared with whom
 a blind hurricane, an earth quake, a
 fire, is not a beneficent Institution?
Is it not quite unknown in history
 that a philosophical, a deep-thinking,
 the most highly & widely educated
 nation of Europe, these Germans,
 should plunge, head foremost,
 into this gulf & abyss, called
 Military despotism --
that they should not see that
 "German Unity" means now only
 Prussia's aggrandizement --
that Prussia, under Bismark, is a
 trampling on all civil freedom, on

f226

[4]

all constitutional rights, on all political
 progress -- every bit as much as
 Russia is --
that the real Devil, the true Mephistopheles,
 is: Bismark -- who has besotted not
 one stupid Faust -- not one drinking,
 half=savage population, like the Russian &
 Tartar peasantry = "plunging them into hell" --
 but a whole Central Continent of the
 most philosophical & civilized
 peoples of the earth.
Is any ruin like this? --
 is the ruin of poor, torn & trampled
 France herself -- is it anything like this?

ff227-31 NOTES ON MISCONCEPTIONS OF GOD'S CHARACTER AS "JUDGE" & HUMAN INTENTIONS, PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN, black-edged, ca. 1870? arch

f227

[4]

Whether Spain is to be "excused" the [8:843-44]
consequences of the Queen's
misgovernment.

In what manner God `judges' the
Queen may be a curious question
of *Moral Physiology* -- to what
degree her immorality & her
unprincipled falsehood in
government is to be attributed
to her Mother's ditto ditto --
[I heard ~~illeg~~ Olozaga say to Lord
Palmerston -- `the Mother &
the daughter never once told me
the same story of any one
single act of their common lives]

may be a curious question of
Moral Physiology --
[and mark too how practically
true is the dogma of
"Original Sin" & how practically
inconsistent with the other
dogma:† "God is ~~the~~ a Judge" --
as religionists put the two
dogmas --

~~What I mean is: -- while such~~
then, is God's `judging' to let the

[5]

criminal go scot free, because her
mother was bad & her "intentions"
were good -- & to visit her
deeds upon the country she has
misgoverned --

That is the "rummest" method
of "judging" I ever heard of --
It is as if a man had beaten
his wife -- and the Police
Magistrate were to say to the
man: 'I have nothing to say
to you, because your "intentions"
were not bad -- your father
was drunk before you, &
taught you, to drink -- and
when you're drunk you
beat your wife -- but *she*
is to be beaten every day
for the rest of her life, & her
children & her grand-children
after her.'

That is really "notwithstanding *all*
"appearances to the contrary" the theory of the
government of God held by
religionists. And what I

f229

[6]

mean is, while such absolute
ignorance of the character of
God exists [I believe there is
absolutely no foundation for
supposing that He exists in
the character of "a Judge" -- at all --
If in the matter of this poor
Spain, God's business is to
"judge" how much this poor
Queen is to be "made allowances
for" -- if Christ's business is
to "intercede for" her -- why,
God had better not exist at
all -- Christ had better not
exist at all -- Is *that*
God's only idea of ~~the~~
exercising ~~any~~ His moral
government over the affairs
of Spain?]
while such absolute misconception
of the character of God exists,
notwithstanding all "appearances to the contrary"
notwithstanding all the
facts of history staring us in
the face -- [do people believe

f230

[7]

that God leaves Spain to govern
itself at random, while *He*
is weighing the Queen's
adulteries?]

while such daily misconception
of God exists, I don't think
the thing to say is: -- that
it is difficult to find out
the character of God but
that Mankind had better
begin *to day, this afternoon*
to find out whether they
can't find out anything
about it not "amid appearances to the
"contrary" -- but amid appearances to reveal it --
"To-day if ye will hear my voice",
[I think scarcely any words in
the Liturgy more impressive
than these] and *this* is "Revelation".

And 2. on the character of God
& what it is I admit
rests the whole argument for
a future state --

f231

[8]

I don't think the arguments
derived from the "nature
of the thinking faculty" (in man)
--the "aspirations in the soul
of man after a future state"
convinced any body --

ff232-36 Jowett letter to FN Oxford Feb 28/71, on theology,
notion of divine perfection, pol ec, tracts for the poor

ff237-50 LETTER ON RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD (PERFECT GOD & TRUTH)
PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN, pale blue paper, black-edged [3:532-
336]

f237

Aug 7/71

Dear Mr. Jowett

{LINE: arch cf B.J. to F.N. Aug 5 1871

I am overjoyed that you are
going to write an Essay on the
"religions of the world", & "then
"make applications of them to
"ourselves" --

You ask me what I have to
"say about it" -- And as I am
naturally a patient & obedient
beast, (I do not look into your
face for fear of seeing that you
don't agree on this point), this
is what I have to say: --

1. Let what comes out of them all
be: the search after a *Perfect* God.
i.e. how far the search after Him comes out of each.
2. Let what comes out of them all
be: the search after Truth -- that
is, that there *is* a truth, & we

f237v

are to find it -- not that we are
"speculating" or "criticizing" or
exercising our "private judgment"
or being "liberal" or illiberal --
or "Pantheistic" or "Deistic" --
but that, if there is a God at all,
He is an existence outside of us,
(perhaps the only real existence
there is) -- & we have to find Him
out -- an absolute Truth, not
depending upon 'Church' or
'private judgment' either --
upon what 'I think', or upon
what 'you think' -- But there He
~~is~~ is, if He *is* there, & we have to find Him out.
How far does the search after *Truth* come out of
each religion? --
[You know we established a system
of Sanitary reporting throughout India
-- a great many of these reports
come to me. I have often to say:

f238

`these Reports have nothing in them
that they ought to have -- & every
thing that they ought not to have' --
In reading almost all Theological
Essays of the present day, I feel
constantly inclined to say: -- there
is everything in this Theology,
except God -- there is every thing
except the belief that there *is*
a Truth, & we have to find it out.
As to a search after a *Perfect* God,
there is nothing.
[Your man, M. Pattison, actually
defines Theology to be: "a speculative
habit" ... And you lie quiet in the
same book with him! Theology
is, I suppose, the knowledge of God.
If it is, I can't conceive any infidelity,
not that of the lowest blasphemy,
like that of defining Theology to be
a "speculative habit"!

f238v

[Really, my dear soul, when
you want to praise Pattison
the Dean of Ch: Ch:, or Lord
Overstone, you must go &
whisper it in a corn field.]

Mind, it is not Ld Overstone's metal Political Economy
that I object to, but his *living* Political Economy --
Then, that poor man who is just dead,
Mansel: his Bampton Lectures
seemed to me to have nothing in
them that they ought to have -- &
every thing in them that they ought
not to have -- And the "Times"
calls him: `one of the most
successful leaders of original
thought.']

But to return: --

1. the search after the *Perfect* God.

If He is perfect, He has a plan
for bringing us all to perfection.

[I would not look upon Him so
much as the Creator, but also
as the *Law-giver* --]

If there is a plan for bringing us

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all to perfection, surely the most
momentous study of Theology is,
to discover what this is -- & of
Religion, to second it.

But of this study: 'keine Spur' -- (no
trace) in Theology --

'Der Johanniter -- keine Spur' was
the German War Doctors' cry
when at Pont à Mousson &c they
had 9000 Wounded on their hands]
& no stores or anything essential.]

In short, the one thing which your
Theologians have to study is: the
character & plan of God --
The materials for study they
have always before them: in
this Earth & ourselves --
What we are, God has made us --
Was it worth making us?
For any thing the world has done
yet, would it not have been much

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better *not* to have made us? --
what *can* have been God's plan
in making such a miserable world? --
Yet these materials, always before
us, are the only ones the
Theologians don't use --

Yet this study, the main study of Theology, the
character & plan of God, is the
only study the Theologians
never make. The metaphysical nature of
God which they never can fathom, they prose
about -- the moral character of God which
we *can* know & *must* know, they
never enquire about.

[By the way, you never answered my
3 questions -- I shall send them
to you again.

Here they are: --

~~I will presume that~~

1. is the condition, present, past & future
 (as far as we can make it out)
 of mankind, consistent with any idea
 of Right in its Creator's mind -- if it had
 a Creator --
 i.e. is the history, the state, the end
 & aim or destination of the moral
 & intelligent world (of human beings)
 satisfactory to our moral sense --
 taking all we can learn, by exerting
 all our powers to the utmost,
 of what has been, what is, what
 is to be -- *is* it such as we can
 reconcile with a high conception
 of Right -- of Right in the mind
 of a Perfect Being?
2. (the moral or practical question)
 what is it possible for man to do
 towards making human existence
right, towards making the state
 of the moral world satisfactory to
 any moral sense -- any idea of the
 Perfect?
 what can he do to co-operate
 with the plan of a *Perfect* Creator,
 supposing it is discovered that
 there *is* a Perfect plan? --
 [Qy -- if *Mankind* were to set itself to regenerate
 Mankind?]

3. is there evidence that there is a
Perfect Being who, thro' those
conditions which it is *not* possible
for man to change, as thro' those
conditions which it *is* possible for
man to change, is working out
a moral world that *shall* be
satisfactory to a moral sense? --
that, if this world is imperfect,
a Perfect Being has created
the Imperfect to become Perfect?
Surely these three are the fundamental
questions of a real Theology (or
Theodikè).
But at this moment they are not put
here except ~~that~~ for this reason: --
if I were writing an account of the
religions of the world, I would
keep steadily in view these, or
something like these, or whatever
are the fundamental questions
of Theology, & see how far the
religions of the world have
answered or even entertained them.
[Dean Stanley says, quoting somebody,
that the geography of Palestine
is a fifth Gospel --

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[3]

(I read ~~his~~ Dean Stanley's speech at the Centenary--
& like him much better on Walter
Scott than on Jesus Christ --)

Is it possible that a man, the
ecclesiastical head of the greatest
religious establishment in the
most important Metropolis of the
world, who has, within 1/4 hour
of his establishment, a population
to be numbered by hundreds of
thousands, ground down by vice
& sin & pauperism & misery &
physical deterioration -- so that, to
use the words of one pauper, 'we
have nothing but misery in this
world & those -- clergy tell us
we have nothing to look to but
misery in the next' --

Is it possible that this ecclesiastical
head looks to the historical &
geographical criticism of Palestine
as being the 'Gospel' which is to
bring 'good news' to this wretched
mass who, if they are not seething
in hell already - - - *where are they?*
-- what is this but hell? --

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I know you will throw a stone
at me for quoting Dean Stanley in
this way--

But I duck my head & do it all
the same for this reason: --

if people do not carry constantly
in their heads some great landmark,
ideal or principle of what Religion
is, they get led aside & drawn away
on all sides till literally the
best of men come to consider it
merely a matter of historical or
geographical criticism -- & not
a thing at all which is to rouse
the world -- which we are to
live & die for

Of the "regeneration of Mankind"
no trace.

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There is of course the Moral Philosophy
view of Question 2 --

one which always presses upon me
because when I write Sermons
(yes Serene Highness scoffing, I write Sermons)
I always feel: -- `but any one can
answer me that, according to my
own view (which is that the
Moral Laws of Nature are as
unchangeable as the Material Laws,)
~~--that~~ nothing can be other than it is
~~--that~~ no one can be worse or better
than he is --'

but then comes in the `Eternity' part
of the Question.

And I would bear in mind
something of the following in
studying religions, (i.e. whether it is to
be found in them): - -

[but how little Moral Philosophy
there is in Religions!]

e.g.

1. the existence of successive communities
of human beings, each one of whom
has capability under certain
conditions to attain the progress
which the Laws of nature tend
to induce Man to desire -- those

conditions being attainable by man
if he has the knowledge & will
whereby to attain them

2. The Laws of Nature induce &
afford means to a portion of
Mankind to attain this will &
knowledge.

But -- the Laws of Nature,
being what they are -- to another
portion the attainment of such
will & knowledge is impossible

3. In those who do attain such
progress, its attainment in
human existence is closed by
death

4. the means & inducement
by which such progress is
brought about are: the sins
& sufferings as well as the
virtues & enjoyments of human
beings.

[I must say I owe a grudge
to that man who invented the story
of Eve & the Apple -- for, if he had
had the least Moral Philosophy
about him -- or even the least

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moral experience, he would have
known that the consequence
of Eve's apple was: not
'damnation' of the greater part of
the human race, & expulsion
from Paradise -- but just the
reverse -- its consequence was salvation: -- ~~its~~ was the only
way

(viz. labour, struggle, mistakes) by which could be secured
Paradise -- i.e. real progress
towards real perfection
to man

It is *true* that, owing to Eve's sin,
Shoreditch & Westminster
& St. James' Street and the
East End of London and -- the
greater part of the human race
are, at this moment, in a
state of 'damnation', for what
hell can be worse than their
condition? --

But then Eve's historian xx was a
goose -- for he made the hell
future -- whereas it is just the
reverse: the hell is present,
the progress towards perfection
future.]

xx or rather Commentator, whose name is Legion

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I do not think my four heads
unpractical for enquiry.
And It would not be difficult to
show, I think, that a frame of
mind which should be in
accordance with such ~~a~~ convictions
would be the highest state of
morality possible to human
nature -- higher even than
could result from a logical
certainty (which never *can* be)
of conditions which we *can* only
infer from such facts as are
within our ken or experience. [end 3:536]

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really attach no meaning --
while questions so easy to answer,
so essential to answer as the
character of Him upon whom
we all & absolutely depend
are left untouched.

And even you throw stones [3:536-37]
at me --

We have as yet no correct
notion, indeed no notion at all
of God's character -- His plan --
His work -- what He is about --
what He thinks about us all --
tho' here He is working under
our very eyes -- & we will neither
judge Him by the work He does
nor even trouble ourselves to
observe what it is -- If we
would condescend to look carefully
at His work, we should know
a great deal more about Him
than we do now -- And when
we do, it will surely be time
enough to "speculate" (and *here*
"speculation" is a word which
your M. Pattison *may* use)
about God's nature, origins,
beginnings & ends &c properties of
matter &c of mind &c

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time enough to make out that
God is not what He is --
or is what He is not --
to speculate about Trinitys,
Incarnations, substances, persons, &c &c -- ~~which~~
~~we can words~~ phrases about
which we can know nothing,
& do not ~~even~~ understand
the words we use even when applied
to human beings we see -- much less
when applied to God we don't
see.

But -- to return.

The Laws of Mind, of the Moral
World are words now in every
one's mouth -- especially in
Positivists' mouths.

These we do acknowledge we
can discover --

What have we done to discover
them? --

Have we discovered one
more than in Aristotle's time?

Do we know more than
that "habit makes things easy"
& some few laws, half moral, half

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metaphysical, material, such as
that we must not marry our sisters,
or our blood relations (& even this
that extraordinary animal, the Briton,
has parodied into: we must not
marry our sisters=in=law --) **[end 3:537]**

Of course, had we investigated
& did we know these Metaphysical
or Moral Laws, we should (for
each of these ~~have~~ discovered)
have discovered a characteristic,
an essential quality of the
character of God.

Not we --

That would be too sensible --

We prefer to chatter about what
can never be anything but a form
of words to us ("substances" &
"persons" & the "inscrutable"
fact of the presence of "evil".
Take the evil away -- & it will
cease to be "inscrutable".)

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II. Your second Question

"Whence do we get our knowledge
"of God? -- 1st answer -- from Nature
"& this leads to the recognition
"of fixed laws -- & tends to Sanitary
"improvement".

Certainly -- but to a great
many other "improvements" too.
The laws which are half moral,
half material, must be endless.
But, except by stumbling upon
them by accident, we have
scarcely discovered one -- Such
are the laws which govern
(I mean which represent,
which give a formula to)
every thing which has to do
with the progress or deterioration
of races, with de=pauperization,
education, legislation, criminal
reformation.

We now know that suicides,
street accidents, the number of
letters that are put into the
Post Office without directions,

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&c &c &c &c are so far
the subject of Law that we
can calculate even the most
incalculable, Man's carelessness
People have left off being so
absurd as to say: -- then God
has ordained that so many
men shall cut their throats in
a year -- so many not address
their letters &c
But I don't see that people have
in the least gone on to discover
& apply the laws by which there
shall be no more e.g. Suicides,
idiots, lunatics -- tho' we
have discovered (but not applied)
the laws by which there
shall be no more Cholera --
[We do not say *now*: -- what a
mystery it is that God should
permit that dreadful plague,
Cholera.]

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Here should come in, if I had time to write a proper Essay: -- what would contribute an essential characteristic of the character of God --

5. viz. there have been enough, tho' alas! how few, examples of complete success at e.g. de=pauperization, made by individuals stumbling almost upon the plan by accident, to enable us to say with distinct certainty, -- *there is* a plan of God's, & we are to find it out, by which such & such evil may completely disappear.

While Poor Law Boards have been pauperizing with their Workhouse Tests & their Unproductive-Labour Tests & their Union Schools, & have contentedly or discontentedly sate down with the truism: -- the same names will always appear in successive generations on the same Workhouse books,

there are a few, but enough, examples
in colonizing, in boarding-out
pauper children to warrant us
in saying -- these ~~will~~ names
will never appear again in
Workhouse or Poor Law Books.

There have been similar successful
experiments in curing idiots,
lunatics, criminals, drunkards &c.

Would it not be more logical,
as well as ~~p~~ more practical,
if we followed up the laws, which
make these failures & the successes,
if we said: -- it is a plan of God,
(the character of God) to do away
with pauperism, lunacy &c &c --
& there *shall* be no more pauperism,
crime &c &c
than to do as we do & wonder
over the "origin of Evil" & how
a good God can make such a
bad world --

[But let me just put in here that
all Churches with their doctrines
of "forgiveness", "desperately wicked"
&c are directly against any such
discovery or plan.]

[Note. [~~illeg~~ De Pressensé?] says that all [3:537-38]
Churches springing from the
Reformation (why does he not
add Döllinger's Church?) are
now engaged in a "serious crisis".
And he or somebody adds that the
English Church is now passing through
such a Crisis --

But what Crisis?

I ask myself: -- do they really call
all this contemptible shallow Theology
all this Magazine=y criticism a
"crisis"?

What *is* a Crisis?
I have seen a Crisis in a campaign --
when 30000 men were dying like
flies for want of necessaries of life
And it was not known whether
to-morrow this exhausted host
would not be like the Assyrians
all "dead men" -- & not from the
stroke of the enemy.

We saw a "Crisis" last year in the
Siege of Paris -- & again in the
reign of the Commune --

In illness we call it a "Crisis"
when all the powers of life array

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themselves in a life=&=death struggle
 to drive out the powers of death --
 And you sit & watch breathless,
 knowing that to-morrow the
 sick man will be dead, if not
 recovering.

But what is *this* "Crisis"?

Where God only is concerned, no
 one seems to care --

A "Crisis" means a judgment, I
 suppose -- a decision -- a turning --
 point of awful import --

Is God a Perfect Ruler, bringing
 each one of his miserable children
 to perfection?

Or is he an old woman?

Or is there *no* God?

Here is a Crisis indeed.

One would think that all
 educated mankind would join
 in the search "with groanings
 that cannot be uttered".

For surely no inquiry that *can*
 occupy us is so tremendous, of
 such transcendent importance.

[An old Spanish writer says that
 communion with God was, in his
 times, only "a play -- a game". People

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go over in their `memory', he says,
`2 or 3 points', & then think they
have `prayed well' -- whereas, in
other times, the Spirit of God
himself seemed to plead in them with
"groanings that cannot be uttered" --

What would he say of *our* times if
he lived now?

[end 3:538]

It is a "Crisis", we are told.
i.e. God Himself is coming to judge us.

We are going to judge Him --

He is going to determine, we are
going to determine *what He is*.

What do we find?

I take up the Programme of the
"Church Congress of 1871" -- a Congress
summoned no doubt for this awful
Crisis. The List of subjects is as
follows: --

- Christian Evidences
- Free & open Churches
- Church & State
- Foreign Missions
- Coast of Africa: slave=trade
- Parochial Councils
- Promotion of unity among Christians

Dissolution of Concordats: dogma of Infallibility
Clerical Education
Origin of Church Endowments
Hymnology
Duty of Church to Moral State of}
 Society }
 (an odd expression ~~where~~ if
 Religion is Morality)
Deepening of the Spiritual Life
 "and" (I do not invent the "and")
Church Patronage
And is this all?
 Can Anglicanism do no more for us
in this rough sea, this "Crisis"?
 Yes: there is one more subject
"Education" a most important one.
But how we are to educate -- in
what knowledge of God & His laws
whether what we say to God
in our "Churches" is the right
things to say to God -- of that
no trace.
Surely there are quite other questions
to be asked in these times of "Crisis"
than these -- questions which can
neither be answered by enquiring

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into what there is of true or false
in Roman Catholicism, nor in
Protestantism, nor in Calvinism,
nor in the Fathers, nor in
the Reformation, nor in any
other professed form of belief
which has arisen since the
publication of the writings
contained in the New Testament.

Nearly 800 years ago, St. Anselm
told us that he was "faith in
search of understanding".

That expression is worthy of a
Crisis -- Yet even that fine
expression is scarcely worthy
of the present Crisis -- which
is: man in search of God --
man with all his faculties of
'faith' & of understanding
enquiring: what is the
character of God? --

[We say: the present Crisis is man
in search of God --

Alas! *what* man is in search of God?]

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[6b]

We refer to human `experience'. [3:538]

But what human experience is
there now on this subject? --

I ought rather to say `what
will become human experience'.

Who now feels human experience
of God's world & of God grievous & repugnant, if
estimated only according to what
we see here?

Who asks with any earnestness,
is there evidence of *that* we
cannot prove which may
help us to live? --

Why does not man seek it
now? --

If he does not seek it now,
why should he in time to come?

Whether he will or not seems
to me to depend very much upon
{illeg. what y?} Master of Balliol does now
as far as England is concerned.
Döllinger will come to nothing. M. Mohl
who is at Munich now, says: `It
will yet make a noise but an
empty one'. [end 3:538]

ff251-54v LETTER ON FREEDOM, PUBLIC OPINION, UNIVERSAL TOLERATION
& UNIVERSAL CRITICISM PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN, pale blue paper,
black-edged

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Lea Hurst -- Matlock

[3:538-41]

Aug. 8/71

Dear (tho' Perfidious) Professor,

I only write a word to say that
I am glad you are going to make
a speech, tho' I dare say it is "not
pleasant" to you.

[As it is just half a week's post
from Pitlochry here, I have only
just had your letter -- therefore
this will reach Glasgow a day
after the fair. But this is all
the better, as I have not the vaguest
idea what to say "about Bursaries".]

What I feel about all these things,
family life, social life, University life,
political life, -- but quite *generally*
(I am like Ministers ~~now~~ who thrust
the great Government Offices into the
power of one man after another who
knows nothing at all about it --
I know nothing at all about *this*.)
is that: --

1. Sermons, speeches, articles, ~~religious women~~

seem always made for happy people,
at least for tolerably successful
people who have not to construct
or alter their lives -- sometimes to
begin again life "right from the bottom"
-- but only to make themselves & others
as happy as possible in their lives.
It is taken for granted that life is
to be as it is -- in families, in Institutions,
in Schools, Colleges & Universities, among
the "masses"; as they are called.

[Edward Denison excepted -- I
would quote him.]

We are never ~~preached to or~~ lectured
about the study of anything else in
the weak, wishy-washy, womanish
terms that we are preached to
about *life*. [And this is thought Christian: as
if Christ had not been the boldest preacher of all, about
re-forming or re-constituting life.]

2. You say very truly: freedom is
self-control.

Freedom is indeed not doing as we like.
It is self-control *plus* a control or
command of your subject, which gives
"freedom" -- But a person who has no
control over any subject or free use of

any faculties, cannot have freedom --

It all comes to the same thing --
viz. the necessity of doing what we
do *well*, of what we do being *what*
is well to do, if we are to attain
what is commonly called 'humility' --
i.e. disregard of self -- useful care
for others -- efficient service of God
& of our brethren.

3. There is no public opinion -- it
has to be created -- as to not
committing blunders for want of
knowledge -- Good intentions are
enough, it seems to be thought.
Yet blunders, organized blunders,
do more mischief than crimes.
Carelessness, indifference, want of
thought, when it is organized
indifference, as in a family, as in a
College or University, as in an
Institution, as in a great Govt
office, -- organized carelessness is
far more hurtful than even actual
sin, as we may have occasion
every day to find out.

To study how to do *good work*

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as a matter of life & death, to
"agonize" so as to obtain
practical wisdom to do it, -- there
is little or no public opinion
enforcing this -- condemning the
want of it.

Until you can create such a
public opinion, little good will
be done, except by accidents or
accidental individuals.

But when we have such a
public opinion, we shall not
be far from a kingdom of heaven
"externally in this world."

A kingdom of heaven within
& not without is: the good
intention without the wisdom,
the labour, the "agonizing" to
create it *without*.

4. "Myself is so different from
myself" under different
circumstances -- we must *make*
these circumstances, for others & for
ourselves.

It is no use preaching about 'the kingdom of heaven
within', while your College, like Ch. Ch:, is a seat
of carelessness, idleness, conviviality, practical jokes,
even if nothing worse. So of homes. So of Parliament.

[2]

5. I think there is great danger that we may run altogether into (a). universal toleration (b.) universal criticism -- And tho' this seems a paradox, I don't think it is one.

For (a) in ~~the wish for charity~~ Eclecticism, people lose discrimination -- discrimination of truth, of character, discrimination between the merits of various ways of life, discrimination between what is mere criticism & what is creation.

There are some who see no difference between Sidney Herbert & Mr. Cardwell.

There are some who see no difference between St. Paul and a Saturday Reviewer.

There are some who see no difference between Ch: Ch: & Balliol -- Or, if they do, they think indifference & carelessness better than what they are pleased to call a "hot-bed of rationalism & infidelity".

There are some who see no difference between the mutual flattery of clever men of a College -- & real honest sympathy & co-operation in the real, honest search after truth.

[Such is the want of discrimination now
that people scarcely can speak of others
except by speaking evil of them -- so that
those who are rightly disgusted by
this are obliged not to let others
be spoken of at all in their presence.
There is scarcely anything between
stupid praise or speaking evil --
there is no discrimination as to the
ideal of each man's character.
Yet there must be an ideal in
God's mind for each man]

(b.) Create & don't criticize. Goethe's
idea of a Devil -- 'der Geist der
stets verneint' -- was: the spirit of
Criticism without earnestness --
which is always negative, never
creates -- which neither hates what
is bad nor loves what is good.
Criticism without results.

And Hofmann in the German tale would seem to
indicate the same, when ~~he~~ it shows
the Student rising by earnest effort
to a certain height -- then -- what
comes to kill the enthusiasm which
bore him up --? Criticism without
depth. He becomes a ~~stupid~~ clever

common place critic of ~~the conception~~ that
towards which he had struggled
upwards so earnestly

6. Perfection = Eternity -- That is,
the idea of perfection, of progress
towards perfection includes the
idea of eternity -- is the same, in
fact. We cannot think God would
let us make a little progress, just
to cut us short. As St. Anselm & Descartes
made a formula for the existence of God, so there might
almost be a formula for Eternity out of the fact of Progress.
7. Do not think, when you have
stripped or cured Astronomy,
Science, History, above all Religion,
of its superstitions, errors, vain
traditions, excrescences that
that is all. Criticism is not
Creation. Sometimes, it had
almost been better, if you could
not go on to the discovery of truth,
that you had let feeling, tho'
mixed with error, alone -- True
Truth must always inspire a higher
feeling than error. But then
truth must be found.

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8. On August 11, 1999, at 2 p.m.,
the next total Solar Eclipse is to
occur, we are told.

What will this world be on
August 11, 1999?

What we have made it.
Will Crime, will Pauperism, will
the Established Churches, will
the views of Religion, of God's
moral government be the
same then as now?

What shall we then wish to have
been doing now? --

is it reading or writing in Magazines
& daily papers -- is it criticism, the most
trifling criticism of the most
important of all subjects, religion,
God --?--

Or is it working, solving by real
personal work the great questions
or rather problems which, as
they are solved or unsolved,
will make 1999 what it will
be? -- such as de-pauperization, colonization,
education, reformation, legislation, making
religion & God a real personal presence
among us -- not a belief in a Creed -- a going to a Church
for "what we call our prayers."

ff255-61 LETTER ON THE CHARACTER OF GOD PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN,
pale blue paper, black-edged

f255

Lea Hurst
Matlock

Aug 17/71

O Perfidious and Serene

As I shall show, you are
always throwing stones at me.
But I duck my head -- indeed
my two xx heads - - - and persevere.

[You ought to be practising
poenitential performances in dust
& ashes for your conduct to me
& the treaty -- & instead of that,
you are - - perfidious & serene --
But I shall treat of this farther on]

I don't at all plead guilty
to your accusation that I "speak
"of the character of God, without
"coming to the point".

In one sense of course I *can*
never "come to the point" -- because
xx There is a rival of mine now in London -- the "two=
headed Nightingale" -- who opens my letters.

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to ask me alone to write a view
of the present character of every point
of the inhabited Globe would
be nothing compared to asking
me alone to answer your question
'what is the character of God?'

-- when nobody else is studying it --
For, to know the character of God,
we must know the history, past,
present & future of the Universe.
All mankind must contribute to
it -- And what part of
mankind *is* contributing to it?

We are told by the Publishers that
more religious & theological
publications appear than any
other -- i.e. that religion is
more published about than any
other subject --

That sounds encouraging.
And, amid all this paper & print,

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about religion, I expect to find
something about God.

Not at all.

There are: --

in Germany volumes upon volumes
of profound & admirable criticism,
philological, historical & comparative,
upon the documents we call
'Scriptural' -- upon the documents
~~of~~ other religions, not 'Christian',
call 'Scriptural' --

there are, all over Europe, but
especially in England, enormous
masses of superficial controversy
between Roman Catholicism,
Protestantism & even the minor
sects of Protestantism -- but
without the most remote
approach even to a question
concerning who God is --

then there is all the ecclesiastical
controversy --

all the Pope=Infallibility controversy --
-- the 'geography of Palestine' = the
 'fifth Gospel'

-- then there is an extraordinary mass,
even in matter-of-fact Scotland &
England, but what it is in
Roman Catholic countries you
can have scarcely an idea --
published of mere emotions &
fancies, so to speak, 'Passing
Thoughts' on Religion, (as if *any*
thing were good enough for God)
things which do not profess even
to have the least thought in them
& which are far more baseless
fabrics, entire fictions than
Walter Scott's, for he did study
his historical characters.
But why trouble myself to enumerate?
You know this much better than
I do --
And in this sense it is quite true
that any one person thinking
& speaking alone, of the
'character of God' must think
& speak "without coming
to the point", (as H.S.H. the
Master of Balliol so well observes.)

[2]

But in another sense it is
 "extremely not so". [A.H.C.'s phrase.]

I think one can come extremely
 "to the point" about the character
 of God". One can say most
 distinctly & definitely:

He is *not* so --

He *is* so

[But then you stop me & say:

`all you can say about this is
 that it is an impression --
 you cannot prove it' --

And there is enough truth in
 the assertion for me to say:
 No, there is no proof, but there
 is increasing evidence -- evidence
 already much greater than
 what Positivists ~~reckon~~ found their doctrines upon,
 (who expressly decline founding
 anything except upon absolute
 proof, --) greater than what all
 Mankind act upon in determining what
 they call `the Laws of Nature' --
 but whether it will be *increasing*
 evidence depends upon whether
 Mankind will increase it -- contribute to it --
 Whether it ever will be logical

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certainty. I think is doubtful --
But *what* logical certainty have
we outside Mathematical Science?
But when I say this then you say you
don't understand what I mean
by '*Mankind*' -- '*Mankind* must study
God' -- '*Mankind* must increase the evidence &c' --
And as I have been so good as to
admit that I can't do it by
myself, I feel, not like M.
Thiers, who can sit on two stools,
but as if you had knocked me
off both my stools, -- & then
you say: I go on "without coming
to the point" -- After this apology,
let us then "come to the point", &
without professing logical certainty,
or proof, or anything but
increasing evidence, -- evidence
which it is for Mankind to
increase, -- say what seem
to be a few of the characteristics
of God, taught perhaps by no
ecclesiastic organization, tho' to
be traced in every thing --
And first our only evidence for Eternity

that is, for individual Eternity, for
 a future life for each & all of us,
 is: moral evidence, the character of
 God.

`What is the character of God'? you say

1. Not to create a world in order
 to forgive it --
 or to damn it --
 or to save it by a Church
 or by the Sacraments theory
 or by the Atonement theory
 or by prayer
 or &c &c &c
 or to be indifferent about it
 (the 'happiness enough' theory)
 the Magazine-y theory of the present day

but to create a world according to
 a certain, definite plan by which
 each & every one of us is on the
 way to progress towards perfection,
 i.e. happiness

[What the end is, the end to the "Way" to "Perfection", we
 know so little that the Buddhists have actually
 invented a Word "Nirvana" for it. But, if you
 translate that word "Nirvana" to mean "annihilation" or the
 like, I really must "annihilate" you.]

~~{{illeg}} {illeg}} that this is an exceedingly
 {illeg} proposition indeed & one
 exceedingly {illeg}. For, if true, it is
 in more or less direct contradiction to every
 {illeg} {illeg}}~~

2. But it is a matter of fact &
not of theory that
(a.) a very large portion of mankind
are not on their way to progress at
all & cannot be -- the laws of Nature
i.e. of God, being what they are --
(b) the few that *are* are cut
short by death.

`What is the character of God'?

[This state of things is shocking to
the moral sense -- so shocking that,
if we did really recognise & feel
the vice, sin & misery of one
square mile in London or Peking,
we *could* think of nothing else.

Yet all Ecclesiastical organizations --
& what is extraordinary all the
'liberal' thinkers of the present day
say: we should sit down satisfied
with this conception of God --
'there is happiness enough', they say --
or -- they say -- 'it is mankind's
own fault -- & God is just' -- or
"Eve's fault" -- & the Devil's or &c

[Edward Denison, who did go into the
East End of London to see, not to feel for himself,
uses the phrase you find fault with
me for using ('Mankind must create

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mankind') in this sense: he says
 "The people create their destitution &
 their disease" --

[He did not stop short there,
 as F. Newman & Saturday Reviewers do,
 (I need not say,) but goes on to show
 very clearly how good legislation,
 compulsory education, & "gratuitous
 individual exertion", will mend, &
how far only it will mend, this state of
 things.

But religious ~~and~~ and religions & Magazine=writers say: --
 'it's the people's own fault -- it's not
 God's' -- an odd apology for God.]

But -- what *is* the character of God?

I recapitulate: --

- (a) a very large portion of mankind
 are "creating" not only "their
 destitution & their disease"
 but their vice, their own
 "complete indifference" to every
 thing "beyond the daily bread &
 beer".
- (b) the few that are not are
 cut short by death.

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God's character is

Not to create an Eternity of
which he alone is to be the
spectator -- merely for his own amuse=
ment, as it were --

but an Eternity in which each
one will be on the way thro' his
Laws to progress towards perfection

the means & inducements by
which such progress is brought
about being the sins & sufferings
as well as the virtues & enjoyments
of human beings -- the sinners and
sufferers being also (it is
needless to put in) on their
way to perfection -- being,
in fact, the pioneers.

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE LEFT SIDE OF PAGE:}

~~De-pauperization~~

~~attempts &c~~

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3. What is the character of God?

3. Not to look to good intentions
without requiring practical
wisdom --
to allow blunders their full
consequences in evil, as well
as sins --

to require, that is, the same
search, study, earnest & wise
endeavour, patient investiga=
tion of laws in discovering
& reforming in the moral
world as in the material

[All that ~~cant~~ jargon about "forgiveness",
salvation -- & the reverse -- is as
much ~~cant~~ jargon in the moral &
spiritual world as it would
be in the Material, where
people now have too much
experience to use it.

But, tho' 'experiences' is a word
or rather was a word always
on the lips of Methodist Christians,
yet no one has the least idea
of gaining experience by observation

(The 'kingdom of God' cometh by observation)

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in moral & spiritual things, as in
material --

And the consequence is that we
still believe (or believe that we
believe) things in the moral &
spiritual world in direct
contradiction to universal,
every-day experience --

We are 'saved', when we are
'saved' -- not by belief in this
or that, -- in this Church or
Sacrament or in that Atonement
-- but by the same patient
investigation -- & successful
discovery of the laws which
'save' us -- as is made when a ship is 'saved'
~~or lost by recognition or ignorance~~
of her 'ultimate stability' laws &c

In neither case do 'good intentions'
receive, or blunders escape,
success or failure, according to
the law of consequences.

But this is a thing so altogether
overlooked -- there is so absolutely
no public opinion about it --
that, even if you could get people
to examine the question at all of

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what *is* the character of God, they
would tell you: it is the very
reverse of this: 'God looks to
the heart', God makes 'allowances'
&c &c &c -- all which is
perfectly true in one sense,
but the reverse of true in our
sense --

Men ~~who~~ would shudder at giving
their opinion as to the strength
of a beam, or the quality of a Medicine
without years of professional
experience -- saying very truly
that hundreds of lives may
depend on what they say -- But
they will give you their opinion about
the 'Origin of Evil', God's plans
of moral government if He has any
(what I should call, His 'character')
without ~~an hour's~~, a week's,
a day's, an hour's earnest
reflection, and in direct
contradiction to universal,
every day ~~reflection~~ experience,
-- if it were but gathered up.

ff262-64v NOTES ON THE CHARACTER OF GOD PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN,
black-edged

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"What is the character of God?"

Aug 17/71

I continue from your letter: --

"2nd Answer -- from the human reason &
"conscience. But what do we definitely
"learn of him from these -- & on what
"grounds do we believe their anticipations?
"And how is the God revealed in nature
"to be reconciled with the god in
"reason & conscience?"

I do not admit the word "reconcile", if
it means that truth, that His plan
is not one.

But if it means that while "nature"
shews us a world which can in no
sense *as it is* be "reconciled" with
any sense of right in the Creator,
while "reason & conscience" (I have
a little to say about Madam

Conscience by & bye) make us
xx "anticipate" a Perfect God, then
that is exactly what I try to ask
in a different form in my,
Three Questions -- (the Questions
I have proposed to you.)

Also: I would not limit at all to
xx "anticipate" -- I like the word.

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"Reason" & "Conscience" the office of
searching out God. [I don't like
the words "intuition", "inward witness",
"aspiration", "intellect" &c &c at all.] Because
all, all our faculties must be
employed, exerted to their utmost
in searching out God.

[But this I have often deaved
you about before.]
& will not now repeat.]

Some one very truly says: -- the true source
of ("high Literary excellence" -- I want
to alter the word) is a full emotional
experience -- The secret of ("good
writing" -- again I want to alter the
word) is true knowing -- The cause
of true knowing is hearty feeling.

Mutatis mutandis, I say with all my
might, one of the essential sources
of any true understanding of the
character of God is a full
experience of human feelings &
affections -- Without this there
can be no true knowledge of God.

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I conceive that the great cause of the enormous mistakes into which Hume, the Stephens, the F. Newmans, the Gregs (& other Magazine-y writers of the present day) have fallen as to the plan of God, -- that we must not "claim" from Him a future state, (such a word!), -- as to there being "happiness enough" in this world for us to believe in a good God -- is -- not a defect of intellect -- but a total defect of all the real experience of feeling -- of any idea of what 'happiness' really is -- of any sympathy with or insight into the awful sufferings, the low miserable mean or standard, the dull uniform viciousness of the mass of mankind.

[But I am sure I have often worried you about this before.]
I must therefore have a great many more faculties besides "Reason" & "Conscience" in play to "reconcile" me with God -- or to enable me, rather, to understand God.

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These the faculties I want ~~in play~~ for the enquiry,
~~is~~ are quite different according as the
object of the enquiry is: Science
or Moral Science -- Intellect is
enough to help us to enquire into
Science (tho' I do think
Darwinianism would never have
been betrayed into its enormous
mistakes, if it had the smallest
inkling or insight into the
difference between the happiness
of man & the happiness of brutes
-- tho' *at present* I am quite
inclined to think that brutes
are generally higher than man --
& agree with a friend of mine
who said of her groom & horses "The
animals which men would slander by
calling them brutes" --)
Intellect may be enough for the
pursuit of Science the "God revealed in Nature" -- But for the
pursuit of Moral Science, as, e.g.
the knowledge of the character
of God -- *all, all* our faculties,
intellectual, moral, emotional,
(or affectional) & spiritual are
wanting -- are essential.

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Art thou a master in Israel &
knowest not these things? --
If I had leisure & strength, there
are many more characteristics
or essentials of the character of
God which could be enumerated
even with our present knowledge.
And please observe, these are all
~~distinct~~ "definite" characteristics -- I mean
it is a matter of absolute truth
whether it is this way or that way
-- whether God is so or whether
He is as the Churches teach --
I should think no greater harm
(in confusing thought which was
just being born) was ever done
than by Kant in saying that we
create God after our own image.
We *have* done so, no doubt. But
Kant implies that we must always do so -- that there are no
other means of knowing God --
I can't see the philosophy of that
at all. We can only *discover* God

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or apprehend God

by the intense use of our own
faculties, moral & intellectual --
But we may say that just the same
of any other recognition of
character -- (A bad man or a
stupid man or a rich & idle man
can hardly *recognize* the excellence
or the intellect or the struggles
of others) But that is quite
a different thing from Kant's
proposition, as usually understood

Milton's proposition that we may
reason & that the Devil does reason about "fate, foreknowledge"
&c "& find no end in wandering
mazes lost" is one which has
done almost equal harm.

These "mazes" are in fact not
mazes at all -- but very plain
& indispensable questions, very
easy to solve, if we would
but solve them.

"Solvitur ambulando"

And meanwhile there are "mazes" in
which we lose ourselves every day,
such as the nature of God, the
origin or beginning of Creation,
the beginning & end of Eternity
or Perfection, to which we can

ff265-75 LETTER ON THE CHARACTER OF GOD PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN,
black-edged

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"What is the character of God?"

Aug 17/71

Dear Mr. Jowett

My letter of Aug 17
was to have gone on with
4. ("What is the character of God?")

4. Not to create man in order
to protect him from the
consequences of his own Acts --
(as man so often desires)
but to order such a Moral
plan (Welt-Ordnung -- Moral
Laws of Nature) as that there
shall be inducement & means
to bring man in eternity to think
right, to will right, to act right
-- there being no such thing as
eternal consequences for *evil* to
anything poor, weak, ignorant 'we'
can do -- which would be a vengeance
unworthy of, impossible to, a Perfect God.

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but every consequence ~~being~~ is
exactly calculated in His
order or plan to bring man
at last to good.

But I have not time to ~~sh~~
work this out -- or even to
state this properly --
So I go on: --

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It is no more possible for a man to apprehend the character of God who thinks that there is "*happiness enough*" in this world, than it would be for a man who had never seen anything but butterflies, gin-drinkers & pigs -- & did not know that anything higher could be created.

Sir Jas: Stephen himself (who ought to have known better) "reasons" somewhere in this way that we must not ~~put~~ suppose our feelings & wants to be those of the poor old Workhouse pauper -- or of the man & his wife who occupy the 8th part of a cellar in St. Giles' -- *We are happy & they are happy "in their way"*.

If it were not for the absurd, the idiotic want of insight that this shows in a very good man but who knew nothing but Clapham, the Colonial Office & his books, one would call this: simple brutality.

Hume, you will remember, falls
into a similar nonsense
about -- 'happiness'

It is impossible that such a man
could ever make the least enquiry
into the plan of God, the character
of God, what *is* a *Perfect* God, &c

And I do think & repeat,
however paradoxical it may seem,
that one must be deeply (&
personally) impressed with the
misery & evil of this world to
entertain the idea of a *Perfect*
God at all -- to enquire at all
into what a *Perfect* God would
do.

And therefore I say that it
requires a great deal, besides
"Reason", (or "Reason & Conscience")
to learn the character of God.

[But I am sure I have said all
this before -- so will not bore
you with it now.]

"But what do we definitely learn
of him from these?"

Very little, at present. Because
hardly any body is trying to "learn"
about him at all; "definitely" or
indefinitely.

Still there are some things which we
do learn with ~~extraordinary~~ tremendous
definite=ness. "Conscience" (and
here I would say that Conscience's
dictates have told Mankind
such very different things at
different times that experience,
experience of God's work, would
be a truer word). "Conscience", e.g.
told the Ptolemies to marry
their sisters -- Now it is a crime
we must not ever speak of.

We have "definitely" learnt, with
the most emphatic distinctness that
human experience is capable of,
that it is part of the plan of God,
of the character of God that we
shall not marry our sisters --
And thereby hangs a good deal
more.

[Of this we may perhaps say that we

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could only learn it from experience.

It does not appear to be an
intuitive matter (for remorse).

Or do we also only learn that
~~truth~~ it is part of the plan of God
for us to speak the truth from experience
of the effects of false=speaking?

Does God love Right, because
it is Right? Or is it Right,
because God loves it? --
Does God *make* Right? --
Or *is* God Right? --

Or are there different sorts of
Right? by which a healthy,
sinless child would know e.g. that
he must not kill or hurt another
~~child~~ his sister, but would not know
e.g. that he must not marry his
sister or speak falsely?)

Of course what we *ought* "definitely
"to learn" "of Him", of His character
& plans "from these", i.e. from
"Reason" & "Conscience" & all our faculties,
is: -- *all* the laws of the Moral Government
of the world, which are: so many traits
of the character of God.

[N.B. I think that what you call "Reason & Conscience" is what I call the "sense of Right" when I ask my 3 questions -- e.g. when I say that the present state of the world is repugnant to any "sense of right" -- And in that way I don't object! to "Reason & Conscience" -- only I think that the cultivated, mature "sense of right" is compounded of a good many other faculties, as we have said, besides "Reason & Conscience".

You see with such men as the Stephens & Gregs, the state of the world is *not* repugnant to *their* "sense of right" -- But then their "sense of right" is tremendously imperfect -- & quite destitute of any true or hearty feeling.

So nearly all the 'schemes' of Christian Churches are quite repugnant to any cultivated "sense of right".]

Still there are things that we

"definitely learn of Him" -- I say that

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my first three propositions as
to "what is the character of God"
are quite "definite".

Mr. Martineau teaches that it is
"Conscience" which reveals to us God.
Why should Mr. Martineau or Mr.
Newman, or the German School,
or the intellectual school, ~~expect~~
~~to~~ or the Reason & Conscience School,
expect to find religion revealed
by one faculty, or by two faculties,
independent of others?

If I wish to understand you rightly,
I do not say: my Conscience
reveals to me Mr. Jowett -- or my
reason & conscience --

All my faculties are wanted.

How much more must this be the
case with God? -- when we wish
to understand God -- to be really
having intercourse with God?

Besides this, Conscience is a singularly
blind guide by itself. It does not
tell us what is right & what is
wrong? Or rather it has told
different nations & different ages

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entirely different things.

Without all the faculties which
go to make up, to gather what
we call experience, Conscience is
nothing --

It tells us now to consider
crimes what it told other periods
to consider duties.

Conscience told the old Romans
to kill themselves.

Conscience let the patriarchs
have many wives & many concubines.

Conscience told Calvin to
burn Servetus --

Conscience told Luther to
marry a nun -- a pretty nun --

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"And on what grounds do we
believe their anticipations?"
How do we act with the impressions
of our senses?
We test their conclusions by comparing
them with those of mankind.
But do we act thus with regard
to the conclusions of faith, with
regard to the "anticipations" (I
like the word) the "anticipations"
of ~~the~~ "reason & conscience"? --
On the contrary --
We, i.e. one portion of us, compare
them with those of two or three
who lived 2000 years ago nearly,
at a time when printing, science,
& in that part of the world
Philosophy were unknown --
when men had but little
knowledge of each other or of
~~(in other ages & in~~ or other nations)
& scarcely any of the laws of God --
Another portion of us compare their
conclusions with those of a Church --
an ecclesiastical organization -- a sect --
(go on, please, to page 11)

It seems to me
that there are three essentials
for assuring ourselves that our
reason, feeling, conscience, all
our moral nature, tells us true --
-- is tending to unity in truth --

1. comparing their conclusions with
those of Mankind -- of experience,
or what *will become* human
experience. For what
I refer to human experience
is not in any large sense
human experience *now*.

Scarcely any body is gaining
experience of this kind now.

Peradventure he is pursing,
that is the grouse, or the
House of Commons, or money --
Or much more likely he is
criticizing, Magazine=ing --
Or peradventure he is asleep.

2. taking care to keep our ~~moral~~
means of belief, our moral
sources of information in a
healthy, active state.

We do this ~~with~~ as to our eyes & ears.
We invent all kinds of instruments

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[11]

What is unity? --

Men have the strangest longings
after unity -- the strangest ideas
as to what unity is. Men have
the strangest longings after
what they call the right of
"private judgment" or individual
opinion -- the strangest ideas as
to what "private judgment" is for.
There can be no unity unless
there is something in us higher
than the craving for the mere right
of exercising "private judgment"
which every body does exercise
after all, whether in submitting
to authority, which is only
somebody else's "private judgment"
or in isolating himself in his
own "private judgment". [I will
only observe that the greatest,
most earnest & daring seekers
after Truth have never used
~~the~~ any words like "private judgment"
at all. They have rather
thought of themselves if at all as
inspired by Truth, inspired by

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God.] And "private judgment"
as to truth is a rather absurd
expression. *There is Truth,*
-- and we have to find it out.
Men have had recourse to the
strangest shifts to get out of
the difficulty -- they have gone to
authority to secure unity.
One of these shifts we see now --
the imposing the authority of a
"private judgment" on "private
judgment". The reasoning seems
to be no better than this: --
the Pope is infallible, because he
says so --
And we are to believe it, because
he is infallible who says so --
[Other Popes have not said so --
& Popes will come again, if Popes
there be at all, who will not say so.]

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But there must be a greater
authority among us than "private
judgment" or individual opinion
-- men are right in saying this --xx
And that greater authority
must be God -- the search after
Truth with all our faculties --
comparing what we thereby gain
ourselves with what is gained
by all the faculties of all mankind.
And "private judgment" (a
very bad phrase!) or individual
effort in searching after Truth,
must only be limited or rather
xx I know how vague all this must appear.
But action (in thought) wd render it clear.
In no other science except Religion -- not
even in Moral Science -- have men this
confusion about "private judgment" & Truth.
Men do not say, We shall exercise our "private
judgments" about the motion of the Earth --
or -- about the morality of marriage --
They try to find out: -- how it is.

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enlarged (or rather strengthened
or confirmed) in its exercise
by this higher unity or bond
of union or authority -- which
is; -- Truth, God, the search after
Truth with all by all.

Servile bowing down to authority
(even could it be sincere) is only
a false unity -- a dead Unity.

And unity in ignorance is
not Unity.

There can be no living Unity but
in *Truth*.

How can unity be living, not
dead -- progressive, not stationary
or retrograde -- that is the question.

How can "private judgment"
be really used in search of
Truth without being a mere mass

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[15]

of crude & conflicting opinion or criticism
-- destroying not only Unity
but progress towards Truth -- that
is the question -- xx

For Unity, unless it is Unity
in Truth, is, of course absurd.

It seems that there are
three essentials (go on to p. 16)

xx Note. Unity is not Unity which is merely
that Men don't like to be alone in
the dark -- Or -- if they don't care
to be in the dark, ~~if only~~ provided they
may exercise "private judgment".
-- that is not progress towards Truth

to assist & strengthen their powers.

We know that if eye or ear is diseased, we shall not see or hear correctly.

So is it with our moral eye.

"If thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light".

But who thinks of this? -- xx

3. testing our conclusions by practice --

"If any man shall do His will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God" or not.

If you will carry your belief into you practice you will soon find out whether it is true ----8

~~With regard to these 3 ways --~~

xx A.H.C. did. And he did not, like Bishop Blougram, believe only when incidental circumstances heightened religious sentiment. Latterly he had arrived at a state of mind in which he uniformly "*felt* it true".

I have heard it said of him that
{CONTINUED ON **f274v**}

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by him "reasoning was not felt to be necessary" -- I doubt this -- But I think he laid unusual but *not* undue stress on being in the state ~~of mind~~ when we can *feel* a Perfect God.

[Alas! for the last 2 or 3 years I believe he felt & even exaggerated to himself his inability from illness for severe thought.]

I need scarcely add that of course if I want my intellect in conversing with A.H.C. or with you -- I want it a great deal more in conversing with God.

But we must converse with *all* our faculties if we would converse aright -- whether with God or with man.

We must have *sympathy* with God, if we would understand Him -- just as we cannot understand a man rightly, if we cannot sympathize with him.

And we must be in a *condition* to have *sympathy* with God.

The mystics are right about this.

The R.C.s say we must have sympathy with Christ's passion.

What is Christ's to God's Passion?

====

[19]

P.P.S. [I must again just revert to the matter that the ~~above 3 ways~~, first of the above 3 ways, viz. testing our conclusions by those of mankind -- [for which purpose, I beg leave to say, Mankind *must have* conclusions -- "the Spanish fleet thou canst not see -- Because -- it is not yet in sight"]

is all I mean by the expression you have so often snubbed me for. -- viz. *Mankind* must discover the character of God -- *Mankind* must find out God -- I cannot by myself find out God -- Mankind must create Mankind --

You said to me last year -- 'I don't know what you mean by Mankind &c' -- This is all I mean: -- viz. that human (Mankind's) experience must come to be the "grounds on which we believe the "anticipations" of our "Reason & Conscience" --

And mighty little we have as yet of *that* experience! -- with all our Criticism.

Add Mss 45784

Add Mss 45784, microfilm, correspondence with BENJAMIN JOWETT 1871-73, 234 folios, 186 pages, Adam Matthew reel 23

ff1-2 LETTER ON SMALLPOX AT OXFORD, CHILDREN'S BIBLE, PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE **[3:542]**

f1

Lea Hurst

Matlock Oct 3/71

Dear Mr. Jowett

Epidemic Small-pox is at Oxford, notwithstanding vaccination. You have done all you can at present; but take good care that all the College rooms are thoroughly aired by open windows as much as the weather will permit. This epidemic is a new warning to the University to press forwards their Sanitary works.

There is no reason for "keeping down the Colleges."

I was due in London to-day -- but have been kept here for the last 6 weeks & shall be for a few days more by doing some most harassing & painful business (looking into things which had gone very wrong)

f1v

for my father & mother -- (which
has taken more out of me
than 2 years of real Crimean
work.) Do not mention this,
please.

Nor is there any chance of
any one being here on "Oct 25."

I only mention this, because
you are good enough to say
that you will "look in" here on
your way to Manchester.

I will look over gladly the
Children's Bible as soon as I
can as well as I can -- But it
is so difficult to "curtail" Genesis.
I should cut out half the nasty
worldly stories -- But if I were
to 'even' such a thing, you would
say that I was spoiling 'Scripture
History' -- However I will do
my best, if there is no hurry.

I *must* answer the charges
& objections in your letters. I

f2

would have begun to write an
answer like the gravest Essay.
But at this moment it is
absolutely impossible to me to write. And if
I delay you will be gone
back to Oxford -- and it will
be absolutely impossible for
you to read. I therefore
take the mean course (Peel's)
of sending you my jotting down,
day by day -- done in the hour a day
to which you condemn me & which
I religiously observe. **[end 3:542]**

{LINE DRAWN FROM Please send it me back PARAGRAPH (BELOW) TO **[3:542-43]**
I will look over gladly PARAGRAPH (IN **f1v**):}

Please send it me back, read
or unread, for I do mean to
write a grave Essay upon it --
as I think your objections
answerable, and indeed I *think*
that *you* think some of them
hardly serious -- You do it to try
me.

For return I enclose 6d in stamps (2d for
postage drink) -- Because I am sure
my 'works' are not worth even
a four penny stamp to you.

Adieu, O maker of 'resolutions'! **[end 3:543]**
ever yours gratefully
F. Nightingale

ff3-20 LETTER ON MARRIAGE, HEREDITY AND MORAL RIGHT PEN & PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f3 {PEN:} 1871
Nightingale, Florence

*Notes by F.N. on "Marriage &
heredity", addressed to
"My dear child" -- ?†
= Jowett
in answer to his
letter of Sept 29*

Add Mss 45784

f4 {PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

Please return to F.N. Oct 3/71

[1a]

{PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

My dear child, I am quite scandalized at you,
at your Materialism & Sensualism --
Is it for an old maid, like me, to be preaching on
this subject of Love & "Children", to you a Master
in Israel? -- [You an Idealist?, ~~like you?~~ I'm quite ashamed of
you --

[I shall shut up you & Plato for a hundred
years in punishment in another world, not
in a spiked barrel but in a Turkish bath,
till you have both obtained clearer views on the
subject of Materialism & Idealism --]

It's quite indecent.

What's this? (quoting from a celebrated author)
"For we cannot deny that physical good is sometimes
at variance with moral -- e.g. in marriage
the sole or chief principle &c &c &c
My dear child, am I to preach to you about this? --
don't you know that even "on physical principles",
there are essential points in marriage (to `turn
out' the best order of children,) which, being
absent, the perfection of "health & strength" in
both parents is of no avail even for the
physical part of the children? And might
I just ask ~~wd~~ one small question: Whether you
consider man has a little soul? -- If he has,
ever such a little one, you can scarcely consider
him as a simple body, an animal, or even as a twin,
the soul being one twin & the body the other --
but as all one, the soul & the body -- making one

f5v {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

being, (altho' only in *this* sense).

If you do, ~~not~~, at all events *God* does not -- And consequently He makes a great many more things enter into the "*physical*" constitution even (of the children) than the mere "health & strength" of the parents.

[My son, really Plato talked nonsense about this]

One of these is: love on both sides --

God is so improper, do you know?, that illegitimate children, where there is love in the parents, are of a higher stamp than the children of marriage, where there is little or no love even with "health" on both sides.

Then there are so many other conditions besides "health & strength" in the parents for producing a fine race. Marrying blood relations, marrying *in* & *in*, even with the finest physical specimens to begin with, invariably produces a degenerate race -- especially degenerate in *passionate* immorality while intermarrying between different races, even with much inferior specimens to begin with, produces the finest descendants we know of --

Besides, we must know what you mean by "the laws of physical improvement" -- "Physical improvement" does not consist only in unbroken health, great physical strength &c -- but there is harmony of character, harmony of faculties &c &c in the child to be considered and these not-to-be-despised ingredients depend, we know, on quite other "laws" in the parents than

f6 {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

[2a]

mere "health & strength" --

But we know so very little of these laws at present that all we can say is in producing a human being which is a moral as well as a physical animal quite other laws are concerned than or besides merely physical laws --

And these we have to find out.

Take a much more material thing than the producing of a bad or degenerate family or race -- Take a Rail-way accident: -- what are the "laws" therein concerned? you have by no means only to consider the "physical" laws, the strength of iron, the speed of steam, the smoothness of rails, the friction &c &c -- But you have to consider the state of mind of Directors, whether they care only for their dividends, so that the 'plant' is allowed to go bad, the Rail way servants to be over worked or under paid &c &c

Now, take again the child-man -- a much more intricate piece of mechanism than any engine -- It is well known that a mother's state of *mind* before her child's birth exercises a much more direct influence upon its constitution, even to producing idiotcy -- than the Directors' state of mind exercises over the constitution of the 'plant' -- [tho' I am sure I know some people, Directors & others, & especially in the Govt Offices & in some families -- who would soon ~~make me an idiot~~ produce idiotcy in *me* if I consorted much with them.]

f7v {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

There are myriads of laws of this kind -- some which we do know -- & many, many more which we don't know -- but *may* know --

[Plato, for once in thy life, thou wast a fool]

Add Mss 45784

You quote Huxley.

Now Huxley, tho' a man of Science (& even *that* he is only ~~is~~ when keeping *within* Science -- (when he begins to write upon `protoplasms', germs & Darwinianism, he is the very reverse of a man of Science) is the very last man who could teach us anything in this -- Huxley is undoubtedly one of the prime educators of the age -- but he makes a profound mistake when he says to Mankind: objects of sense are more worthy of your attention than your inferences & imaginations -- You can't see the battle of Thermopylae take place -- what you can see is more worth your attention.

On the contrary.

The finest powers Man is gifted with are those which enable him to infer from what he sees what he *can't* see. They lift him into truth of far higher import than that which he learns from the senses alone --

Insert {IN PENCIL}

Please, I will say something more about this by & bye [I will only say now why I introduce it here.]

It is because it seems to me that it is *character* which the Laws of Nature tend, or are established

f8 {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

[3a]

to "improve" --

I have not an idea what the Idealists mean,
(for even the Idealists talk of "the laws of physical
improvement,") as if they could separate the
character of man from his physical *constitution* -- as
if these were two distinct entities, like two
parallel rivers -- to be ~~improved by~~ created ~~filled~~ from, to flow from
different sources.

1. For one thing, I believe it is just as absurd
as if you were to talk about "improving" the
race in all its *physical* organs, *except* one:
the brain And I believe it to be just
as impossible to separate (in your objects of
"improvement" for the "Laws") the character or
mental & moral constitution from the physical
constitution as to separate the head from
the trunk -- when you make a man.

2. For another thing, I believe that the Laws
of Nature all tend to improve the *whole*, moral
& physical -- that you must consider man, as
a whole that *that* is no real improvement
in the physical which does not affect the moral
-- that one of these Laws cannot be neglected
without influencing that which you would class
under another -- in short, that it is a *reductio
ad absurdum* to consider Man either as a body
to be "improved" or as a soul to be "improved"
separately.

====

As to the "laws of physical improvement
"requiring that we should get rid of sickly &
"deformed infants &c" -- the "laws of physical
improvement" require that we should *prevent* them

f9v {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

or improve them --
not that we should *kill* them --

That would be to get rid of some of the finest intellectual & moral specimens of our human nature that have ever existed.

And, even were this not the case, the heroism, the patience, the wisdom of our race have been more called forth by dealing with these & the like forms of evil than by almost anything else.

Also: we know that some of the finest *physical* specimens of the human race have been some of the weakest & wickedest of *men*, but more especially of *women*.

It all comes to this: -- God has created man a composite animal, moral, intellectual & physical. And he won't let you separate these, if you would. The object of His Laws, which ~~you~~ Laws we can't alter, tho' ~~you~~ we can find out, is *not* to turn out solely a fine physical animal in man -- a Frankenstein. None of his Laws are directed solely to this -- but to turn out the complete animal, moral, intellectual & physical --

I find much truth in what the Positivists say, tho' strongly differing from their conclusions: -- A man at the Brit: Ass: ~~says:~~ "Treating man as the head of the Zoological series argues that his dominion over animals is now a moral dominion & concludes that only in so far as nature is used by Man for moral ends is it rightly used -- & that the intellect finds its true work in directing his *affective* nature to moral purposes & relationships".

f10 {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

[4a]

I only quote this here, because it seems to me to state strongly what I wish to say -- about man being *essentially* a moral, not a physical animal -- & because if marriage is not a *moral* "relationship" "with a moral purpose" -- [I don't mean by this: standing before a man in a white tie performing a ceremony] it is found to affect the whole constitution of the offspring, especially in its harmony -- in a way which all Plato's selection of parents "for health & strength" would not remedy --

[Like the "modern Prometheus", who created Frankenstein, you & Plato seem to have left out the soul]

The 'positivist' language generally is dull & repulsive -- But they have grasped some of the greatest truths more firmly than most thinkers. They so distinctly recognize that what we call *Moral Right* is our Ruler -- *the good of man in its most enlarged sense* our right object -- & systematically they would set about finding out *how most we can bring it about*.

Now -- the good of man in its highest sense *can't* be attained by neglecting one set of Laws or one aspect of man's nature & cultivating another -- Each set of Laws is directed to man's *whole* nature. One part of it can't be done justice to, while another is stunted -- ~~The~~ One part of it can't be injured without injuring all -- The "laws of *physical* improvement" in fact mean nothing when dealing

Add Mss 45784

f11v {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

with a composite creature, like man -- *by themselves*.
As in sanitary things, dirt breeds disease, -- disease
destitution & drunkenness -- destitution vice, --
physical & *moral* deterioration go together --
And so on -- And *vice versa*.

{PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

So is it with the "laws of physical improvement" --
You can't attain the good of man in its highest
sense, nor even the good of "physical
improvement" by the "laws of physical
improvement" alone -- Indeed, are there any such?
You can't breed a man as you would a horse [blue]
or cat -- Morality in its highest sense, *must* have a part
in even his physical improvement.

If you did "kill off" the "sickly & deformed infants",
that would lower the moral standard, or shew so low a
standard, of *moral* improvement, that it would check
even the *physical* improvement.

It cuts both ways.

[It is like the 400 heroes who stood firm 'as on parade'
when the "Birkenhead" went down, in order to save
the lives of a few wretched women --

People said: -- what a waste! the heroes ought to
have been saved.

Yes, but if the heroes had thought of saving their
own lives & let the women be drowned, they would
not have been heroes -- & would have not been worth
saving --] {PENCIL, IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S:} Suppose those

heroes calculating that the women had *better* be "killed off"!

{PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

So is it, if you seek only the "laws of physical
improvement", you will not make heroes -- And
"physical improvement" itself will suffer.

f12

Please return to FN [blue] Oct 7/71 [blue]

{PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

[5a]

Does not all we learn of the Laws of Nature shew God's thought to be: one man to one woman, two in one, for all time? the bond between them to be that *those two* can do the *work of God* better together than they each could do it alone?

And if this be ~~the case~~ so, is it not nonsense to talk about coupling the man & the woman together as you do the bull & the cow -- *for* the mere purpose of breeding? If it be so, is it not nonsense to expect a man with a brain & heart & moral nature to be bred out of such an union like a calf -- & to expect ~~that~~ in such a complex creature as a child ~~should come~~ the highest results from such 'breeding' as you do in your calves, when you have chosen a first-rate bull for your 'Duchess' herd?

I entirely therefore agree -- quoting from the same author: -- that "you must take man as a whole".

But this seems at variance with his very next sentence: --

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f13 {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

[6a]

"& make morality & the mind the limit of physical improvement -- But it is not easy to see what this limit is" --

I never can understand the word "limit" used in this sense --

For if I were writing, I should use a word signifying the exact reverse: "expansion" "enlargement" "multiplication" "master" or the like "whole", instead of "limit" -- "informing spirit" instead of

"limit".

[My dear child you are quite corrupted by Plato's 'idealism'--a pervert of Plato's [blue]--We must really pray for your conversion.] {IN PENCIL:} As Plato says: the mind informs the body: owns the body: the *body* is the servant of the mind. How can the owner & the Master be the "limit"?

{IN PEN:}

The man is not "limited" by his "mind" or soul or whatever you call it -- he is 'informed' or enlarged (over the beast). His 'whole' is greater than the beast's 'whole'. Human "morality" does not limit -- it expands & multiplies -- the laws of necessary for [blue] "physical improvement" -- In other words, it takes a great deal more, ~~brings in~~ many other laws occur [blue] which we have to consider, to produce the highest results in a man than in a beast.

(I *must* express this better when I can) [blue]

f14v {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

I continue: --

"and, altho' we may form ideals, we have to
descend from them in practice" --

Certainly -- And it is just that which forms
in each man's life his teaching, his experience
-- viz. to find out [blue] what is *right* relative to his
own time, his own being, his own knowledge of
truth &c.

What is right in regard to one consideration
is not always right in regard to another.
It is right to attend to the laws of physical
health, it is right to attend to the laws of
moral health -- yet right in some cases to
go to a physical or moral Cayenne.

The exercise of all our powers -- not all
which every man *has* but all which tend
to the improvement of mankind -- is right in
one sense -- But it may be *the* right for
the time being -- indeed one can do nothing
without so doing -- to leave some unexercised --
to over-exercise some as relates to others
temporarily even to crush ourselves, to crush
? *others*.

This is what we call making the Ideal
become Actual. This of course it is which
constitutes the lesson we have to learn in all
time. [When Christ said that he was our 'meat',
did he not mean that he was giving a body to
the Ideal, flesh to the spirit?]

Add Mss 45784

f15 {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

[7a]

~~Here comes in the word "ought"~~. This is the whole question, in fact, of "ought": -- how ought we to proceed, how may the *relative* "best" be in harmony with the *absolute*, be carrying out as far as in us lies the "absolute" -- how may the Spirit of God in man be the same as far as is possible *with* the Spirit of God -- in the march of time as a part of eternity? Or in other words *how may parts be in relation to the whole?*

E.g. *what* is benevolent? Here come in large modifications with regard to all time, all being, all knowledge of truth. Benevolent is: *willing* the "well" to others. Our knowledge of what *is* the "well" to others, must of course be limited -- must of course 'vary' with (or rather progress with) [blue] experience -- only God knows absolutely what *is* this "well" -- Only in His mind can it ~~exist~~ be known with perfect *definiteness*. We have to find out how to partake His consciousness --

All this we may describe as the Ideal becoming Actual -- the Spirit made flesh -- the 'Word' made flesh --

f16v {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

I continue quoting: --
"men's conceptions of morality vary" [I would
rather say: progress with knowledge]
"if you reconstruct the world on a physical basis,
you have to go to war with received principles
of morality". [This I doubt -- I believe on the
contrary, as said before, that the highest
"principles of morality" are necessary to
"reconstruct" even physically mankind.

E.g.

That the race deteriorates & dies out under polygamy is
now so well known that in nations where it is
extensively practised, children have to be
adopted, absolutely imported, & wives
imported from Monogamist nations.

This & many other facts tend to show what
was above said about the 'one man' & the
'one woman' & what should be their bond of
'union'.]

Then you say: -- "how do you distinguish between the
true & false witness of nature?" --

It is a "moral sense" which is to show us this -- or a
"religious sense" -- or conscience? Is it not rather
educated or experienced Feeling: made up from/compounded of
the various *rights*, so to speak. {IN PENCIL:} Thus does not
'Law' become 'Feeling'? till 'Law' is no more wanted. Must not all
{IN PEN:}

our faculties unite to settle what *is* the *moral* (right)
witness/how they all must be
modified into *the* right? -- Whatever is, properly speaking
natural to us is right. "Follow nature" would be right,
but for these *compounds* of what is 'natural' to us

f17 {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

[8a]

It is natural to eat when we are hungry -- therefore right, unless there is another right which *modifies* -- in other words something to say: 'don't eat, tho' you are hungry' -- And conscience or the 'moral sense' or 'intuition' is this struggling perplexed perception or consciousness of the various rights making *the* right. "Follow nature", if the time comes when all men are following *human* nature, will probably be a simple straight forward road. But *now*, to those of true & large views, who must mainly be struggling alone & against the stream, to "follow nature" in the highest sense must be a battle -- and, ignorant as we are, a battle in the dark.

All words recognizing actual or possible goodness in human nature shew a true feeling of it. e.g. "follow nature", "humane", "humanity". ? [It was necessary to create a Devil wherever we gave up this recognition.]

"Moral sense" I should like to define or describe as his endeavour to recognize what we can of *the* right, by reference to God's character, to what our character is to become, to various beings, various truth, in all times as parts of eternity.

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f18 {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

[9a] 1x {1x IN PENCIL}

What is moral right, then? --

Is Right *Right* because God wills it so?

Might, e.g. this Supreme Being, this Power have made it right to take pleasure in the pain of others? No, not *this* Power, not power of *this nature* character. "Right expresses what the Gods are".

With regard to *WHAT* is absolutely right & what is wrong it is true that large modifications must come in with regard to all time, all being, all *knowledge of truth*. This is not to say that Truth is not *One*, that Right is not *One* -- as some people think -- It is only to say, that, as we learn more & more of truth, as we learn more & more of what is right, we come to the knowledge of truth -- NOT that it "varies" -- [It is the farthest possible thing from saying, as some do, that one person or one race may think one thing, another another -- that each may take what suits his own mind -- the "private judgment" theory, in opposition to the "truth theory" -- which is that truth is one, & we have to find it -- but we can only act, think or feel right *for the time being* according to the measure of truth we have obtained]

~~This is the whole question in fact of 'ought' remains in this: how ought we to proceed, how may the relative "best" be in harmony with the absolute, in the march of time as~~

f19v {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

2x {2x IN PENCIL}

~~a part of eternity, of parts in relation to the whole? This is what we call the Ideal becoming Actual.~~
Truth, Right can therefore be absolutely ~~only~~
the consciousness only of One, the source of all
being, the source of the history of all being through time,
through eternity -- whose consciousness is what
we call truth, or rather *what we call Truth*
is His consciousness.

Righteousness is our God, if we can but find Him.
Shew us ever so many undeniable miracles, we will
||have no other God. Shew us the wonders of
||science, of the stars, we will have no God that
||does not include with these 'moral right'. Shew
us a God who grants heaven & gives hell, we
will have no selfish or intellectual questions on
religious subjects, except pursued in connection
with moral right, answered as they regard
truth & righteousness.

But then what *is* right? -- how are we to
know it when we see it? --

When we say righteousness is our God, we
find reason to believe that this {~~Perfect Being~~ Power feels,
thinks, purposes, destines -- not sometimes this, sometimes
that, but -- *something definite* -- something -- what? [orange] -- and this
we call or
name right. We describe right, then, as the
consciousness of a being we call God, who, as
? *revealed by Law*, we ~~have~~ find reason to think a Perfect
Being. What Law? What Law? What Law? *What "definite"?* [orange]
There is so much that we cannot *define*, we can

Add Mss 45784

ff21-31v NOTES ON THE CHARACTER OF GOD PEN & PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN [3:96-102]

f21 {PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

Please return to FN|

|
[1b]

Oct 4/71

{PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

You "doubt the expression": "character of God" --
I am not wedded to the expression -- & would gladly
find another ~~to the~~ which you would like.

But I ~~entirely~~, object to the expression: *nature* of
God which ~~expresses the reverse of~~ is not what I mean.

We never have formed -- we never can ~~at~~ form the least
conception of the *nature*, of the mode of existence
of an Infinite, ~~Perfect Being~~ Spirit, without a body --
We never have gained, it is true, but we *always* can be
gaining some idea of His *character*.

Dogmas which threaten us with eternal damnation
if we do not believe that which we cannot
possibly conceive of strike me as so absurd
that, e.g. in the Athanasian Creed it is not the
cruelty which revolts me, it is the folly, which
remains if all the damnatory clauses were
struck out.

The *dogmatic* form of the Trinity ~~which~~ Churches force upon
us -- its *moral* form, (viz. the Father, the Son (man)
& the Spirit of God in man) is neglected --

Nay, if I were to say that I believe in the Incarnation
of God in *all* men, I should be told that that
is blasphemy -- tho' I must believe in *the* Incarnation
| that is, of God in *one* man -- the one being just
| as impossible to conceive in a dogmatic form as
| the other.

But I do not agree that "the plan of God for improving

Add Mss 45784

f22v {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

man would do as a substitute for: "the character
of God" --

Dogmas have been so forced upon us by Churches,
let us not say by Scriptures -- for there is scarcely
a dogma in our Scriptures from beginning to end --
dogmas about 'persons' -- 'substances' -- & phrases
which we do not understand:/can attach no meaning to: even when applied
to men whom we do see --
that it seems to me thinkers of the present day,
even those who believe in a Law-Giver ~~God~~ deny to Him ~~the~~
existence as an Intelligence, an intelligent
consciousness, a Conscious Intelligence --

Now this seems to me quite as unreasonable
as the other.

The 'plan' is not the 'character' -- any more
than the plan of a campaign is the General who
conceives it--or than Balliol College is Mr. Jowett's mind/character.
It is the result of Mr. Jowett's: mind/: character -- But it is not
his: mind/: character itself -- [see note on page 4b -- 2ND side]

Thinkers of the present day are so afraid of
dogmatizing on the existence of God that they will
not even assert it.

Yet ~~we~~ I have a great deal more evidence of the
existence of God than I have of yours --

I do not see you, ~~that is~~, your Mind, that is your
feeling, your thought, your Will -- any more than
I see God's --

I see only at the most & that only occasionally (&
when you don't write to me which constitutes the greater

f23 {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

[2b]

portion indeed of the cycle of time, I see nothing
at all) at most I see only the *results* of you --
of your mind --

And this is exactly what I see of God -- only that
I see this, *these* results, every where & always --
But I could not call the 'plan of God' His 'character'
-- any more than I could call the plan of Balliol
College your character.

The result of a mind *is* not the mind itself --
in any sense in which we accurately use language --

[You might as well say that Wyld's Map *is*
Wyld.]

While carefully ~~refraining from~~ 'declining to
dogmatize where we cannot demonstrate', that
is, about the mode of existence, the *nature* of
the Infinite Spirit, if He exists,

I think we may assert (by the same evidence
or induction that we assert in human ~~things~~ Government where we see
Laws that they are the result of Feeling, Thought,
Will, or what we vaguely call Mind, in a Law-giver
whom we call a man) that the Laws of
Nature are the result of Thought, Will, Feeling,
Intention, of the same kind tho' not of the same
degree, in a Law-giver, a Conscious Intelligence,
who does that which it is obviously impossible
for man to do, which it is certainly impossible
for man to alter --

This is what I call/all that I mean by the "character" of God -(observe, I
assert nothing about His 'nature', essence, 'person') -

f23v {PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

-- preferring the word 'character' to 'Mind', because Mind is vaguely taken sometimes to mean only *intellectual* Mind -- whereas, if we had to choose between the two phrases, I am sure that it would be more correct or comprehensive to say: the *Heart* of God than the Mind of God -- For Mind scarcely includes in common parlance the great characteristic: Love (a word I should substitute for 'Feeling' -- if I dared.)

{PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

I will most gladly accept any other word for 'character', if you will give me one --

Or, if you leave me the word: I will put a note at the bottom (as I have saved the word 'Creation' by a similar note) explaining what I mean to be (as above)

that the Laws of Nature, including those of *Moral Nature*, indicate, are in fact the expression xx of a Will, induced by Feeling (Love) to realize its Thought -- the Thought of a Conscious Intelligence -- [and this I call, for want of a better word, the 'character' of God.]

{PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

xx If these Laws are not operating in consequence of a Conscious Intelligence willing them to be so, it is in direct contradiction to all our other experience -- this the greatest experience we have -- they would be the exception to everything else in human knowledge -- the only facts without a *fact-maker* -- for Law is not a power, it is only a *formula*, *registering facts*.

Indeed, to state a Law is stating the existence of a Law-Giver -- (instead of, as some think, accounting for the absence of a Law-Giver) --

What are the Laws of Moral Nature? [orange]

f24 {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

[3b]

Of the existence of such a Will we have, ~~it can~~
~~scarcely be denied,~~ the most comprehensive
human experience which is within our reach
for any:thing/:existence, ~~even~~ if only we would ~~only~~ gather it up
~~Those who hold that~~ This is, I believe, not denied,
even by those who hold that if a God exists we
have no faculties whereby to recognise Him -- [This error,
~~This opinion~~ I think, does but proceeds from the very confusion
of ideas I have been referring to, viz. about His
-nature -- it is quite true that we have no faculties
| whereby to recognise ~~this~~ His nature -- but in recognizing
| His laws, are we not recognising Himself, His `character'?)
-

You would not say that, because a wife could
not recognize her husband's mode of being,
the beginning of man, the way in which
man's soul is put into his body, therefore
she could not recognise her husband, his
character.]

what facts? [orange]

The most comprehensive human experience is within
our reach as to *what facts, what laws* are
produced by the Thought, Feeling, Will of a
Supreme Power -- The most comprehensive
human experience is within our reach as to
what is the Thought, Feeling, Will of the Supreme
Power which produces *those facts*.

This is all I mean by studying the `character'
of God -- I assert nothing at all about His
nature, His mode of being -- which I know I have
no faculties to recognize.

f25v {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

The most comprehensive {evidence/indications now within
our reach of what facts are produced by such a
Will, of what is the Will which produces those facts
-- what is it? --

- The experience of every human being or of
|every community of human beings, *cannot be*
|*taken as a test*. The most comprehensive
|experience within our reach is: *such experience*
|as we can now gain from *past & present human*
|*experience*, & from what we may infer will become
|human experience, in accordance with the Laws of
|Nature, some few of which (we must learn them
|all -- including those of Moral Nature) we
|have learnt from past experience
|state what is this experience [orange]

One word more about character: --
we say of a human person that he has character,
when he thinks, feels, speaks & acts all the same way --
i.e. when his actions do not belie his words nor
his words his thoughts, nor his feelings his thoughts, but they are
all consistent, one
and of a piece.

Prince Albert said that thinking on how
he should conduct himself when married to the
Queen of England, he had determined to aim
at a *character* which should lead him through
a right course of life, rather than to think much
about how to conduct himself in particular instances
[I understand this to mean: the state of mind
at each instant which determines not only what
will be his state under the actual circumstances

Add Mss 45784

f26 {PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

| Oct 4/71 [4b] <Insert |
|_____|

That is just what you are doing at
Balliol -- i.e. what God is doing by the
Laws of Nature -- viz. the improvement
of *character* by wise Laws -- the
enabling a man to have such a character
that he can depend upon himself
that the next instant shall rightly
affect that which follows --
so that he shall never be surprised
or betrayed into anything unworthy by
any instant, ~~or~~ any change of circumstances,
any hour or event --

This is what it seems to me that
Christ meant when he said:
Shall I say, Father, save me from this hour?
And immediately as it were recollecting
himself: But for this cause came
I unto this hour --
I am sure I have so often felt aghast at

f27v {PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

~~the newness of the~~ horror of the 'hour' I
had come to -- tho' acknowledging
immediately after -- But for this cause
came I unto this hour --

To say this aright, however, one must
be sure of oneself, of one's character,
that it will *stand any* 'hour' --
Christ was sure of himself --
I am not

And you are in process of making
Balliol sheep sure --

I never think of 'this great University
the Universe' without thinking that
Balliol is the most important College
in it.

f28 {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

[4b]

a man is in at the next instant, but what
would be his state of mind at the next
instant under any circumstances under which
he could exist ~~The p-th~~ in other
words a unity or consistency or steadiness between
what he feels, thinks, wills, speaks & does --
The knowledge of this determinate & inevitable
effect of the present on the successive <Insert
instant will induce a man to try that
the next instant shall rightly affect that
which follows.] This is what you are trying to do with
the sheep at Balliol -- and succeeding. <Insert

This is what we mean by human
"character" --

{THIS LINE IN PENCIL:} *What* "facts as they are" indicate this?

And we can scarcely explain *facts as*
they are -- otherwise than by conceiving that each
learner in "that great University the Universe"
moves from chamber to chamber at the
appointed time for the improvement of his
character (of which Balliol is a most important ~~chamber~~ college)

This however we must discuss elsewhere --
We are now only describing the word 'character'
which is objected to --

If there is a Supreme B Power, we know
that His 'character' must be invariable &
without a shadow of turning -- It is not only our
own Scriptures which tell us this but other, e.g.
the Egyptian Scriptures -- & indeed the very essential
nature of things -- His word (Logos existence is closed by) or Thought,
His Will or Action, His feeling or Love, must be
ever the same, ever in unity with each other -- How are we to
express or define this in one word? -- It is not His 'mind', or His
'plan'. It is: His *character*.

Add Mss 45784

f29v {PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN: WRITTEN DIAGONALLY AT LEFT}

Myself
not my plan.
Shall I say God's self
not His character? [orange pencil]

{PENCIL, WRITTEN NORMALLY:}

[A propos to 'Scriptures', I read with great
interest in Fra Egidio, one of St. Francis of Assisi's
companions in the 13TH century -- how much better
their religious writings are than ours! -- this phrase: --
"The Scriptures, when speaking of God, are like a mother
who stammers" [I don't know how to translate this word
'stammers' -- It means the pretty little noises with which a
mother caresses, encourages, controls, warns her infant]
"are like a mother who stammers with her little child
& who would be no more understood, if she expressed
herself otherwise". How unlike this to our dogmatizing
which we pretend to take out of the Scriptures!]

Note ~~from Mill~~ -- from page 2b 2nd side

I should say "Myself" -- not my plan -- if speaking e.g. in
your name -- Myself not my plan, made Balliol College.
May I say: God's self, if you do not like the expression,
His 'character'?

Mill says very truly: -- "Of the inmost nature of the thinking
"principle or *Mind* xx we are & with our present
faculties must always remain entirely in the dark --
All which we are aware of, even in our own minds,
is a certain thread of consciousness -- a series of feelings,
that is, of sensations, thoughts, emotions & volitions, more
or less numerous xx

xx There is something I call *myself*,
or by another form of expression my *mind* which I
consider as distinct from these sensations, thoughts &c.
a something which I conceive to be not the thoughts but

f30 {PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

[5b]

"the being that has the thoughts. But what that *being* is *although it is myself* I have no knowledge other than the series of its states of consciousness." And elsewhere

"Mind is the mysterious something which feels & thinks" xxxx no more we have of God [orange pencil]

This is almost *exactly what I am always trying to* say about God, & the expression 'nature of God'.

If we "know nothing" of the *nature* of our own 'Mind', how *can* we know anything of the *nature* of God's, in any way in which we can correctly use the term? All that we can know of Him is: His Thought, Feeling, Will (I do not use the plural, thoughts, feelings &c because in Him all is one -- there is no 'series') But of His Thought, Feeling, Will I believe we can know more than of any human being's --

In speaking of a human being, we say, variously: 'His mind', his 'character', 'himself' --

I want an expression for God, the Supreme "Being that has the thought", the Supreme Being "which feels & thinks" --

I don't like the expression God's Mind -- for the reason given -- viz. it is too intellectual -- You don't like the expression His character --

May I say Himself?

f31v {PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

Any how, this is what I want to ~~express by~~ say about the study of 'God's character': --

E.g. Man is ignorant of the future known to the Mind inferred, since we infer that He determines the future by His Will, -- while Man can only progressively learn to predict the future, in proportion as he learns *how the so-called Laws of Nature operate*, & the *character* of the Mind producing their operation

~~E.g.~~ we have really no evidence, no reason for expecting that the Sun will rise to-morrow, excepting the *character* of the Being who makes it rise.

~~Mill~~ A Saturday Reviewer, (I *think* it is), says somewhere -- tho' he does not draw the inference -- that, because a phenomenon or series of phenomena has been ever since the world began, *that* is no logical or philosophical reason for concluding that it will be to-morrow.

If a farmer were asked: why he supposes the Sun will rise to-morrow -- he would say, Because it has risen every day --

But *that* is not the ground of our certainty -- The only real ground of our certainty is: the *character* of the Being who causes the sun to rise -- The only real ground man has for predicting *any* thing is: the *character* of the Being who: makes/: gives the Laws of Nature.

[Let me say something farther about 'predicting' by & bye]

Add Mss 45784

ff32-40 NOTES ON THEOLOGY PEN & PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f32 {PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

Please return to FN| [note on theology] {note on theology IN A
HAND OTHER THAN FN'S}

[1c]

Oct 6/71

From a celebrated author: -- Jowett

"does not what we mean to say amount to this

"1) that we should by the exertion of all our
faculties form the highest ideal that we can
of the *nature* of God

qy -- not '*nature*' -- *character*?)

"having a faith that this *is* & that this
falls short of the truth.

"2) that we should use all the means of which
we can think towards realizing this idea --

"And to this end both in *speculation*,

(not '*speculation*' -- that is like M. Pattison --

"theology is a speculative habit" --

which drives me mad --

qy. *enquiry* into or *study* or *discovery* of
the character of God)

"& practice -- we shall require all the *knowledge*
we can attain (would not indications or evidence be a
better word than '*knowledge*'?)

in physics & morals & in history

to fill up the *abstraction*

(the word '*abstraction*', tho' it may be
philosophically correct, will certainly
in common parlance, -- even the common
parlance of modern metaphysics, --
convey, the idea too much of a mere
creation of one's own mind. Now

f34v {PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

[3:541-42]

Anthropomorphism 2 N.B.

To say ~~The shrewd objection~~ that
~~love & anger & all~~ the affections
attributed to God ~~in Scripture~~
are human emotions, implying
agitation & passiveness, is a
mere confusion of spiritual
principles with things that
accompany their working
in our lower nature.

With love *in us* there is
passive emotion, with
indignation *there* is
passive emotion: but the
love, the indignation, are
not themselves the emotion,
but states of that *higher*
nature in which we
approach to God.

This, mutatis mutandis, is exactly what I
think with regard to J.S. Mill's "Emotional
Feeling" phrase -- I would not apply the
word to the "states" of "higher natures"
among ourselves for *their* "affections"
"are not themselves the emotion

f35 {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE:}

11 Cor XI 297

IV 8,9

VI 5

{PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE:}

Only ~~in~~ Bishop Blougram's
"affections" were in themselves
"emotions" -- Applied to God,
whom we are supposed to be
enquiring about as the Spirit of
Perfection, it is repulsive not
as being profane but as being
so exceedingly inappropriate --

Even as a philosophical
expression it is as incorrect
as if we were to call a Mother's
love to her babe: a Mother's
giving the breast.

[end 3:542]

f36 {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:} [2c] {PAGE NUMBER IN PENCIL}

{THIS SECTION CROSSED OUT:}

Dear Mr. Jowett I should so very much like
to think this out seriously (that you may not
suppose your pains wasted upon me)

But I have not now time --

And I therefore send my rough thought
asking you to be so good as to return this to
me, that I may work it out.

{END OF CROSSED OUT SECTION}

I believe we mean substantially the same
thing -- But I am unused to philosophical
terms, such as "abstraction" -- And I am
also sure that they betray common thinkers
who look upon e.g. these very terms ('abstraction')
(`speculation') as the `ne plus ultra' of intangible
thought, imagination -- (the phrase `mere abstraction'
is become almost a word to express a visionary thought)
- whereas ~~what I want to press~~ the thing most needed now is that we
should find out God by evidence/*indications, facts, research,*
discovery -- [Please don't make me use
the word `abstraction' -- even if it is, as I
dare say it is, philosophically correct]

Then please let me put 2.) *before* 1).

May I not have it thus --

|| 1. that we should by the exertion of all
|| our faculties *search out evidence/indications, facts in*
|| *physics, in morals, & in history* as to the
|| ? character (the Thought, Feeling, Will) of the

Add Mss 45784

f37v {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

Being from whom all the Laws of Nature,
|| (physics) & Morals emanate -- *whose Will is*
|| *history* --

(this of course might be put in various
ways)

2. that we should, by the exertion of all our
faculties -- & using all the means we can
think of -- conceive the highest ideal that we
can conceive of what a Perfect Supreme
Being would be, would do, would create --
always bearing in mind that this ideal
MUST fall short of the truth

3. that we should by comparing the *facts*
which the Thought, Feeling, Will (character) of the Supreme
Being does produce & the experience of *what*
Thought, Feeling, Will *would* produce those facts
-- with our highest ideal of *what* the
Moral & Physical Government of a Perfect
Being *would* be --

Come, as far as we can, to realize the {evidence/indications
that there *is* a Perfect God (if there is one) --
-- to realize the ideal of a Perfect God in
matters beyond our ken --

that is, to infer (*from what we see*) what
we don't see -- & ~~what we~~ *can* have no evidence
for -- e.g. that man will have successive
educations in successive, lives `of this great
University, the Universe' --

without which successive education there *can* be no Perfect God
-- yet for which we never *can* have any evidence,

{WRITTEN IN PENCIL, DIAGONALLY TO THE LEFT OF that is, to infer (ABOVE):}
what do we
see?

Add Mss 45784

f38 {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

[3c]

-- other, I mean, than *moral* evidence or indications from
the *character of God* -- i.e. such part of His
character as we can find out -- ~~& which~~
This induces us to say, if there are successive
lives of *education* for each & every human
being, there is a Perfect God -- if not,
there can be no *Perfect God* x -- But then
we cannot explain the *Moral Laws* (~~&~~ or
traces of Laws) we do see here, all tending to make
us believe that there is a plan, an education
for conducting us all to progress towards
perfection -- we cannot explain these traces unless we infer an
education proceeding
further 'beyond the grave' -- what traces? [orange]

{WRITTEN IN PENCIL, DIAGONALLY TO THE LEFT OF we cannot explain (ABOVE):}

What are these

Moral Laws? [orange]

{END OF COLUMN COMMENT}

4. that for *practice* we should obtain all
the knowledge & search out all the experience
we can attain & find in physics & morals
& in history to supply ourselves with
means of action for carrying out the plans
of this omnipotent Being -- *plainly visible*
in part -- for educating ignorance, forming
character, reforming character &c &c &c
-- to supply ourselves with means of action
for being in fact fellow-workers with the
Perfect Being (if there ~~is~~ be one) --
x [And I am glad I am not to live on under him]
say *what* plans are plainly visible?

Add Mss 45784

f39v {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

This is in the rudest form & written
in the greatest hurry (& amid interruptions
even at 7.30 a.m.)

What I think that "we mean to say" --
But I should like to think this out most
carefully -- to put it, if I can, into better words --
And I am deeply grateful to you for helping
me.

~~Please return this~~

[N.B. I would just add that I should have no objection
to the phrase: *character of the 'intelligent principle
'of Law & Order in the Universe, embracing equally
'man & nature'* -- Only you see, it is rather long.

{IN PENCIL:}

(Also, it is rather long to say: -- what *facts* 'Emotional
Feeling, Thought & Will &c
(will produce', instead of: what a Perfect God would create.

{IN PEN:}

[It is rather like changing the name of 'Avenue
de l'Impératrice' (at Paris) to 'Avenue de la
Femme du Chef du Pouvoir Exécutif' --]

Also: if the first "principles" are: "1. that God
"is true -- 2. that God is good." [I am still borrowing
from a celebrated author) *which they ARE* --
this does not tally, in common parlance &
with common thinkers with phrases like
'God = an abstraction' -- 'Theology = a speculation' --

And *practically* this is a matter of the very
highest importance, because, as the same
author goes on to say: 'could religious education
be bound up with truth & virtue' ---IF "God is true",
(or rather *is truth*) -- if "God is good" (or rather *is*
goodness) then *is* it not 'truth & virtue'? -- *is*
not religion 'truth & virtue'? (not 'bound up with truth & virtue'
but Truth & Virtue themselves? --

This has been the awful mistake of all Churches, separating 'truth &

Add Mss 45784

f40 {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

[4c]

virtue' from religion & `religious education'.

May I repeat that, could M.S. put
down on these few rough pages *where*
she differs -- WHERE *it says* what she does not "mean to say" -- how
it is *not* what she means
to say -- then something might be put
together in the vulgar tongue ~~of~~ to say what
we do "mean to say" & to common thinkers.

[If this is said in terms which we are wholly
unused to, it is like thinking in a language
we scarcely know or in a dead language --
As real comprehension is impossible to
uneducated persons spelling it out with
difficulty, so real thought is impossible
in a language we know imperfectly.

M. Mohl says that the best Latinists
now never write a Latin Essay with thoughts
worth having -- because modern thought
does not admit of expression in ye cumbrous
pedantic, tho' beautiful forms of old Latin]

ff41-42 on bronzes FN gave to BJ for Balliol

Add Mss 45784

ff43-44v NOTES ON EDINBURGH LECTURES ON JOHNSON PEN & PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f43 [F.N.'s criticism on Mr. Jowett's Edinburgh lectures on Johnson]
{PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

[Dec 1871]

These Lectures on Boswell seem to me like the
`tour de force' of a great man -- as if St. Paul
had delivered a lecture on Tents, or St. John
written a General Epistle on fishing.

While so many vital philosophical questions remain
unsolved, while almost all vital religious
questions remain untouched, I can hardly
understand this interest in Boswell, except
as the historical relaxation of ~~an~~ overstrained thought.

[Also: England is running to seed not only in Reviews
but in Reviews of Reviews, & Between ourselves
Macaulay's Review of Boswell is not worth
reviewing]

Surely, if Goethe in one direction put
chains on Germany's legs, Johnson's Dictionary
did more than any thing else for half a
century prevent England's development in
religious & philosophical thought.

Take his definition of Religion:

Religion is virtue founded on a fear of future
punishment & hope of future reward --

(I have not a copy of his Dictionary by me
And he quotes Milton, South & somebody else (I
forget whom) in support of his opinion.

Add Mss 45784

f43v {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

Is not this absolutely misleading people?
Might I not just as well say:
 under 'Philosophy' --
Philosophy is Study of Aristotle & Herbert Spencer
 founded on emulation to be in the First
 Class at Final Examinations.
Nay: I think my definition of Philosophy is
 (or would have been without a certain
 Master of Balliol)
Much more correct than Johnson's of Religion
 -- which might do just as well for Irreligion --
You, I suppose, reply that Johnson's Dictionary
 is not a work of enquiry but of definition --
 He gives simply the meaning of words in the
 English language up to his time --
But, supposing that you & I were engaged on an
 English 'Scott & Liddell', (which God forbid --
 there are two things which would be indeed the
 'fear of future punishment': one is to be a Dean,
 the other, to write a Dictionary)
 do you not think that we should have hit

f44 {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

upon a very different definition of 'Religion'
 and do not you think we should have found
 plenty of authors (& previous to Johnson's time)
 to quote from in our support.
[If I am not mistaken there is a well known
 collection of Letters & Biographies, not of
 Essays & Reviews, called the New Testament,
 which bears me out.
 But the whole body of Mystical Theology
 & even of other Theology of the 16TH century
 is far ahead of Johnson.]
Must we not admit that there is scarcely
any, if any work which has so arrested the progress
of all higher philosophical thought, of all
'comprehensive enquiry after truth' (I quote the
M. of B.) including the highest of all
philosophies, religion: the enquiry after who God
is -- as Johnson's Dictionary?
You speak of his common sense -- But in the
higher things, the higher kinds of truth: Philosophy
& Religion, had he any 'sense' at all?
Plato, I think, gives quite a different definition

Add Mss 45784

of common sense.

Add Mss 45784

f44v {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

What I can understand is this: --
in the follies & unphilosophical, -- *unthoughtful*
you may say -- absurdities of Ritualism, in the
almost as great absurdities of Liberalism -- among the
~~in the~~ nameless confusions of Church theories &
Creed controversies -- & the idiotcies of pinning
one's faith upon a historical point, upon
what an Athanasius or a Paulinus said -- or a parcel of
rascals like the Church Councils thought --
there is something healthy in Johnson's
manly, robust independence & hatred of
cant & humbug which is like a good
breeze from the sea blowing away Oxford
fogs.

But I should be very sorry to have no other
food than that breeze --

{PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

philosophy = comprehensive enquiry after truth

logical = enquiring into premises as well as correctly drawing inferences
from them

(always within the conditions of his own mind) {Johnson's dinner with
Wilkes (Dill's [?])
{ " 1st meeting " Boswell
Boswell's {death of Catherine Chambers
Johnson {Johnson's last illness
{penance at Ultocater

{IN PEN:}

N.B. -- or rather: don't N.B. --

You quote two lines from 'Vanity of Human Wishes', as if the
~~they~~ poem were not generally known -- In my youth we all learnt it by
heart -- & I dare say I could say it now -- & great part
of Rasselas -- Also: the Rambler -- But we none of us
read Boswell. [I used to read the *Dictionary* for my amusement]

I suppose it is just the contrary now. People read
only Boswell.

Add Mss 45784

ff45-47v NOTES ON STUDENTS (OXFORD, CAMBRIDGE & ETON), BREAD-FRUIT TREES & ANTIPODES PEN & PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE PEN

F.N. 1872 Florence Nightingale
In February 1872 Jowett returned with
criticisms F.N.'s paper on "What
is the Evidence that there is a Perfect
God?" This seems to be F.N.'s
criticisms on *his* criticisms.

f46 {LINE: PEN, R.N. 154 {PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}}

On Feb 25 2

Oxford Student

Is this fact? --

There are scarcely any human beings in the world
who use such "physical exertion" as Oxford,
Cambridge, Eton. They are the best rowers, athletics
&c in the world -- & could earn their bread in navigation,
&c &c requiring much bodily strength.

Also many & an increasing number actually do
"maintain" themselves by winning scholarships &c --

And these & not the 'Lords' are the 'first class'
men.

'Bread-fruit tree'

It has never been said that I know of that hot
climates prevent "workers" --

On the contrary -- Egypt & India have always been
~~pr~~ evidence of the hypothesis named -- viz. that exertion
in procuring food, shelter, clothing, the necessaries of life, is
requisite to raise the race -- but not only physical
but mental exertion -- ingenuity -- for in Egypt & India
no food can be had without irrigation, public works
&c &c. ~~This is a~~ What has been asserted & justly

Add Mss 45784

f47v {PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

I believe is that in countries where food grows
without the necessity even of cooking it like
the bread fruit tree, the race is always low
& *not only* "early" but *late* "civilization" is never
found.

Antipodes

"This island does not carry civilization to its Antipodes".

O but it does -- what nation more so? America -- Austra.

N. Zealand

And at this very moment there is a quarrel between

Ld Kimberley & the N.S.W. Govt

about annexing Fijis -- who shall annex it --

because it is quite certain it must be brought

under English laws & "civilization"

to save it from itself.

ff48-49v NOTES ON LAWS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE [3:543]

f48

March 2

I entirely concur as you know ~~that~~ in the conviction
that we know enough of the Law Giver to "infer" the
never-ending progress of each & all of us from
the "consistency" of His Laws --

But to others the flaw in our reasoning I take
it would be this: --

we admit in every line
that the "lessons" of our "school-master" have
reached but "few" --

that while a few are rising, others are falling --
that whole masses seem quite incapable of
helping themselves --

(altho' relative numbers do *not* seem to me to
affect the question --

let us say half & half --

Or indeed if *one* is not on the road to never --

ending progress, it affects the character of the
Law=Giver who made him so --)

But the failure in our Logic will seem (to others)
to be this: --

we state that (say) half are raised by these Laws

i.e. that *good* is produced in (say) half

that *evil* is produced in (say) half by these Laws

Add Mss 45784

f49v

we then immediately `infer'
from the `path which is seen' to that
which is `unseen'
that the Laws must be *in process of*
`producing good' for the other `half', the
bad half.

Here is the flaw --

People will answer: -- the `inference', if
any is this

that the bad go on getting bad
the good " " good

[Indeed in a sort of vulgar, hap-hazard way
this *has* been the `inference' of all Xtian,
(not Oriental) Churches --
religions

a future heaven for the good
" hell " " bad]

ff50-51 NOTES ON CHARACTER PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f50 {PENCIL] Notes for Mr. Jowett 1872? {HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

March 4 [1]

"The mistakes we make concerning other characters"

Yes & because (*most* of all because) we are hindered by fancying
a casual word, forgotten the next moment, to be
the result of a settled conviction -- And we
take equally their bad & their good too much
au serieux -- instead of disregarding their bad
& working out their good -- if possible --

"Insect's wing" (little [?] cat) [orange] mistake of my whole life
Now "we have not this hindrance" as regards God.

Because we do know *each* "word" of his to be
the true (settled) manifestation of His character,
if we can but interpret it -- being the (settled)
manifestation of Law

f51

March 4 [2]

? But the Devil might have one uniformity of
Thought -- and God another

With regard to the "band", it is very certain we have
not found them yet --

Would it not be a more profitable speculation
for us to write about what we can find out
than to write about a "band" which does not
exist? which is neither an "imagination" nor
a "fact"?

Our writing about things may cause it to exist
but not our writing about "bands" -- while
we have as yet nothing for them to do --

~~Agon~~ I have got together something of a "band"
for Nursing -- But I should not have done this by
talking about "Stuff" nor indeed about "Nursing",
if I had not had something to ~~give~~ teach them to do --

"Agnes Jones" was not in the least of our way of
thinking -- She did her work without "Stuff"

ff52-57 NOTES ON SAVIOURS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f52

Saviours

March 7

Yes in *that* sense -- I have no objection --
For in that sense every good School-mistress,
Tutor, Head of an Institution, of a Government,
of a Board of Guardians, is a Saviour --
But I would put down *how the Saviour works* --

In many cases, in most cases, this is not difficult
[And this is what I presume we mean by "paths"]

1. "The Ways of the Line" -- In this case a
single *lady* (I believe a young one) reformed,
'saved', half the navvies on a Welsh line on whom
'Mission Clergy' worked in vain --

She spoke to them in a language they could
understand -- She taught them in their own
way -- She made them pay for their books,
work for their learning -- She always spoke the
truth to them -- She ran in & stopped their fights.
While with them she was *of* them

'peg your head to wa' --

She respected something even in the worst

f53v

2. *Miss Octavia Hill*

[8:825]

Why does she raise these people while other ~~peo~~

Lady Visitors only pauperize them?

She does not remove them out of their surroundings.

She requires their rents to be paid regularly --
goes round & collects them herself -- helps them
to work thro' other ladies -- gives Tea=Meetings

Decayed coachman = undertaker

She never, I believe, gives a penny --
She herself has to work for her own bread.

They see she does not come among them as
a lazy Lady Bountiful giving odd moments
from her own luxuries

[end 8:825]

[My luxuries -- Cannes ladyies]

35

3. *Miss Torrance*

(like Dr Arnold at Rugby educating
his Preceptors)

She tries to develop each of our Nurses into a
Ward *Mistress* -- to give her the whole responsibility
of the Ward -- to act only thro' her -- to make each

Add Mss 45784

of them a little Matron -- make her responsible
for the moral as well as physical progress of the
Patients -- & for this purpose She educates each
to her utmost capability both in feeling & power --

f54

4. *Prussian system of War*
educates every Officer to individual
responsibility & power down to the
Corporal -- takes the detail work off the
head
5. *Wesley*
It was just because he did not wait for
"Saviours" that he was so successful --
He took the people as they were -- taking
a 'class-leader' out of themselves, a little
better than they -- & educated them to
religious *feeling* (I don't know that we
can say to more)
[Wesley one of the main causes of the
resurrection of the Church -- part of the
resurrection of England from corruption
at the end of the last century] M. Mohl
6. *Miss Rye*
another sort of education
takes the little paupers out of Liverpool where
nobody wants them & places them in Canadian
families (not in Institutions) where people
snatch at them -- one in each family

f55v

- In all these cases, it was not writing,
not criticism
but personal work which did
any good --
Saviours work, it appears to me, by taking people
who are not Saviours & setting them
to work -- by multiplying themselves in
'ordinary' persons --
7. *St. Francis of Assisi's*
Tertiary Order
 8. *Mr. Jowett*
Balliol College

f56

Wesley

he *said*: to "believe" in Christ
but he did not know what he meant --
what he meant was much higher
it was to *feel* Christ
to feel love & gratitude for Christ
to *FEEL* horror for one's own sin
at the same time with love for a
Perfect Being.

Excitements

The young lady who has been at the Ball all night
as the man who has been drinking all night
how can you speak to either of God or work for man
you can call out no feeling -- for it has all
been used up in something else.

f57

Wesley

Do not you think that *is* what a *Perfect Being*
would do -- die on the Cross to save sinners.
It seems to me the Evangelical has hit the
right nail on the head? --
And the Perfect Father giving up His only son for this

Add Mss 45784

ff58-60 NOTES ON THE NEW THEODIKÈ & SCEPTICISM PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f58

March 13 1

But are men "in their agony surveying the sins & sufferings of men"? They seem to me to be doing just the reverse [There is only one Edward Denison in 30 millions --] What men are saying is either mere superficial Criticism or it is saying: there is happiness enough --
A.H.C. Angels & devils in one world
Greg & Co. All men are alike -- Free Trade
Accumulation of Wealth --
Evangelical "Need of a Saviour" -- No need now --
Commerce is our Saviour -- Gladstone
Lowe --[orange]

I would be very careful while always keeping in view the Eternal Possible never to work for it alone but keep the *Immediate* Possible rigorously in the fore-ground -- not prophesying that "wants" will come unless we can in some measure supply the present wants --

I above all dread being like Mazzini who yet has had an enormous share in revolutionizing Europe or like Garibaldi
[-- Mr. Jowett --]

If we do not, as Italy was made without Mazzini or in spite of him, so the new Theodikè will be made without us or in spite of us
prophecy instead of demonstration a poor thing

Add Mss 45784

ff61-62v NOTES ON LAWS, LANGUAGES & THE SEEN VS. UNSEEN PATHS PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f61

March 14 [1]

But this is not shewing how Law brings us
to have good "attractions"?
Was not that the question?

But you have not said *what* "all experience
of what facts proceed from what Will" is
How can you say *what* is "*a contradiction*"
to - - - blank?

I am afraid as said before that the [5:224]
whole "Habitual Criminals" Act entirely
contradicts this assumption that men
"would rather not be dishonest" &c
-- & the whole Poor Law besides contradicts
that "those on the wrong road" &c
I thought we had admitted this.

f62v

March 14 [2]

"flogging" -- very much gone out
for boys

But surely English & German & French
can "put into language many more thoughts
than" Latin, Greek & Sanscrit -- with
their ponderous grammatical forms &
pedantic unbending flow --
I thought that was the very reason of these
new languages --
M. Mohl -- Latin for Essays -- impossible
to put modern thought into that armour

2nd half

I am afraid all this is open & tenfold to the same
answer:

we have not shown that the "seen path" is good --
almost the reverse --

& then by a most startling corollary we say
but if we are granted an "unseen path" the "seen
path" becomes better directly -- nay "perfect"!!!!

Many will say: it becomes worse -- it makes it worse
{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE:}
as 2 bad lives (paths) are worse than one

Add Mss 45784

f64v

March 17 1

Well then *don't* let us "hope" but say WHAT
the "religion" is which "increasing knowledge
cannot overthrow"?
Of all virtues, "hoping" is the stupidest
Who dragged whom round the walls of what? [orange]
What information does that give to any one? --
Our questions are like *this* -- I would not have 3 *unknown*
quantities in one question, at all events

=====
"To try to think, feel right --
tell us WHAT is "right" to "think" --
Quetelet gives two most remarkable charges
in "right"-thinking
====

The fact about the *French* seems to be [7:764]
they have never been able to reconcile ~~polite~~ authority
& liberty in politics or religion,
but their industry, frugality, economy, arts, social life
are far beyond ours --
And there is no workman in artistic things who
approaches the French workman --
nor is there any centre of literature in England or
Germany like Paris -- [end 7:764]

f65 NOTES ON BELIEF IN A FUTURE LIFE BY JEWS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN [3:191]

March 18/72

M. de Kuenen
says that the belief in a future life
came into Jew-dom
when the Jew began to think not only on his
national relation with God but on his
individual, personal relation also with God
ie. in the 2nd Captivity --
Persian also becoming infused into Jewish belief.
I think this is suggestive --
While you think most of your *national* existence
you think only of the progress of *races* -- *generations*
[Positivists]
But when you get further it is impossible that any one thinking of
his individual relation with God
will think that God cares only for the race
& not for the individual

Add Mss 45784

ff66-67v NOTES ON MAZZINI & CAVOUR PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f66

March 19

An argument is no use unless *both* sides wish
to find out the truth, the facts --
not to argue but to find out from
the lights of both sides.

FN

who has been so great a Benefactress to
(may we not say?) ~~to~~ the whole world
in these matters

[7:338-39]

Mazzini

whatever influence was left to him he was certain to exert in a way
unfavourable to the true interests of his country
purposeless

if purpose = implies a *due relation between means & end*

Vatican 3000 persons

12000 rooms

14 Courts

C'est le seul Italian qui a bon coeur = malgré lui

Pius IX of V. Emmanuel

Add Mss 45784

f67v

his school girl inanities
rendered more inane by his assumption of
intellectual power & originality

Mazzini

nothing has come out of his movements for 20 years
his best work his Essays in English & Italian
He made Italian success & unity impossible in
1848-9

Practical bearings lost in ideal forms of
perfect social organization

like a Dr angry with his Patient for getting
well without his medicines

was Mazzini with Italy
Cavour the real maker of Italy into a kingdom of 26 million
No sooner had Austrian supremacy withdrawn in 1859 xx
than all the petty despotic Govts of Italy fell before the
indignation of their own subjects.

Cavour made Piedmont the model & standard

of Italian political progress -- the strong hold of
political liberty

[end 7:339]

xx Cavour having invited L. Napoleon III in against them

ff68-68v NOTES ON PROGRESS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f68

March 20/72

I think what I wanted to say was this:

we agree that it is ~~saying~~ nothing, ~~to~~ (not even
correctly a formula,) to say: 'if life is *continuous*,
all is harmony' --

But you propose to substitute or add: --

if there is progress (for each of us thro'
Eternity) 'then all contradictions & confusions
are unravelled', 'then all is harmony'

But is not this merely saying:

IF THERE IS PROGRESS, THEN THERE IS PROGRESS

It appears to me that it is not even a formula,
it is only a *truism* --

No one will doubt that, if there is progress

(for each of us thro' Eternity), then all is right
But this is the very 'begging the question', is

it not? It is merely *assertion* that there *is*.

T.O.

Add Mss 45784

f68v

You say: *with this 'if' "undisproved",* you are all right.

But is not that merely saying: --
if there is a righteous Governor, ("undisproved")
then this world is righteously governed.

I am not sure:
should like (as always)
to hear what you say.

f69 ARTICLE ON CHARITY & POOR LAWS PRINTED {PLEASE SEE PHOTOCOPY}

f69v ARTICLE ON MAZZINI & ITALY PRINTED {PLEASE SEE PHOTOCOPY}

ff70-72v NOTES ON CHARITY, LAWS LEADING TO PROGRESS, FACTS & FORMULA PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, R.N. 285

f70 {PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:} [5:260-61]

March 26/72

Do not you think it curious that this
about the "organization" of Charity
should be so cleverly put --
& yet the writer not go one step further
& say
but the "actual contact of giver & receiver"
is the only true Charity --
only it must be exercised wisely
i.e. not money must be "given" but the
influence & training to enable even
drunkards & imbeciles to help themselves
And this *can* only be done by personal
"contact", influence, feeling wise feeling
acting upon the "receiver" from the "giver" --
No "Society", no "organized Charity" *can* do this
Without this, however, "charity" is nothing
Miss T.
the Home for drinking laundresses
to go farther, to do something
more than *not* "giving"

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY ON THE BOTTOM RIGHT OF PAGE:}
Society has
given Vagrants
the habit of
not working

f71

shapeless formless formula
unintelligible -- unintelligent
I cannot but think it is waste of time to enquire
after a formula which as you say yourself
men will not accept unless they believed it
already -- & which makes no impression either
on those who do or don't accept it --
The formula you are seeking after appears to be:
-- Law ~~is~~ leading every individual to never ending
progress -- Hence infer character of Law-Giver --
Well then leave searching for the formula for the
present -- which is at present quite formless
-- & shew the "*facts*" that Law is leading &c -- or
the "*paths*" by which Law will lead &c
Give details -- the smallest most unimportant
(apparently) detail is better than the perpetual
re-iteration of a Question.
Leave searching for the formula for the present
A formula is utterly valueless except as a
registration of *facts*, *facts* previously made known to &
acknowledged by those who are to accept the *formula*.

f72v

Where all the *facts* are acknowledged,
formula may be then made & is useful.
But to make a *formula* before your facts,
is really putting the cart before the horse --
It is exactly what all dogmatic Religionists have
done --
It is what Darwinianism has done --
It is like putting down figures which
represent no quantity -- nothing
at least nothing known to the reader --
The "*path*" of the moon is represented by an
equation which fills half an 8vo page --
But if you were to put that down before a
person who knows nothing of the path of the moon,
it would tell him nothing.
So with the "*paths*" of Law. Unless you give some
of the "*paths*" of Law, the formula (even if true
as the Equation is true) tells nothing

Add Mss 45784

ff73-79v NOTES ON PROPHECIES & RELIGION PENCIL & PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f73 {PENCIL:}

[3:605-07]

Mr. Jowett

April 7/72

Prophecies both O. & N.T. to be taken not as predictions of facts wh: may or may not have been verified at a particular time but *as visions of nations appearing in the presence of God*, as the revelation of the words & works of man *in the light of a higher world*; as a *history of the world which is a judgment of the world*

xx to express an eternal truth & not a particular fact

xx a future which is already present & anticipated in all ages by the consciences of men *passing judgement on themselves & their own times*

("all they that are in the graves shall hear my voice")

Religion = communion with the *justice & truth & goodness of God*

= *seeking to enter into His mind & to do His work*

The hour is coming when *neither as Protestants nor as Catholics* neither as *Churchmen nor Dissenters* shall men worship the Father

{PEN:}

supplanted as the *belief in God* always is *by men's belief in themselves*, their Church or their race.

{PENCIL:}

That which was once a *shadow* of good things to come is not even a shadow of them now, but a veil, a mist, an impenetrable *cloud*, *coming between us & God*.

{PEN:}

A form of government or society or belief to which *we were not consenting parties has been settled for us --* & we feel that the individual mind is powerless to alter them. In vain we desire something better & truer & more adapted to our *wants*.

Consciousness of man *passing judgement on themselves & their own times* ("all they that are in the graves shall hear my voice".)

Religion = communion with the *justice & truth & goodness of God*

= *searching to enter His mind & to do His work*.

The hour is coming when *neither as Protestants nore as Catholics* neither as *Churchmen nor Dissenters* shall men worship the Father.

f74v {PENCIL:}

We cannot trust the opinions of men; *they come & go & are*
phases only -- shadows of the past which revive
from time to time, & are followed by reaction
to catch the epidemic of religion which happens to be
in the air

Aye & so are no good divinity
if I were on a desert island, could I not worship
him still, & perhaps more truly, for then he would
be my only hope

F.N.

ecclesiastical (& critical) disputes so infinitely small in
comparison with the greater interests of religion xx
& we wonder how the human mind can have been absorbed
by them.

we must provide for the religion of the next generation as well
as of the present, for our whole lives & not merely for the
phase of opinion which prevails at the present moment

Difficulties may surround our path But if there is no difficulty
in ourselves they may generally be overcome by common prudence.

We may create that which we seek after.

xx [The "greater interests of R" are I suppose what is God's
character -- what He is doing with us -- by what paths He is
leading us -- including the unseen paths beyond the grave what
are our relations to Him & His to us -- what light is thrown upon these
by discrepancies in the Acts. It is mistaking *criticism* for *religion*]

f75 {PENCIL:}

[3]

A great work it is for a man to build up his own life
with all the helps of companionship & common worship
under the guidance & authority of the past.

But there may also be a more difficult work reserved
to some of us that we should build up our lives
looking not to the past but to the future
thinking of the world which will be 20 or 30 years
hence when many opinions which are now new
will have become old --

as did the Jewish prophets

[But we may be]

propounding to ourselves some distant ends & never
thinking of the means

The way to the future *lies along the present*
& we can only act upon another generation *by thoroughly*
understanding our own. What we can do for others
depends upon *what we are or make ourselves.*

xx Dreams of Xtian or *social improvement* are easy
but if we do not *try to realize them* they will be positive
hindrances in the way (of our own improvement)

20 or 30 years hence: -- what would he have *wished to be doing*
now if his life is extended into the next generation? x x x

The calm résumé of one's present life *in the light of 25 years hence*
would have a *sobering & strengthening influence* on one.

He wd make a plan for many years instead of *living from year to year.*

He wd think more of its permanent & *less of its transient* element.

He cd not be very

[3]

f76 {PENCIL:}

[4]

He cd not be very much the slave of party or prejudices
for he wd acknowledge *that the same parties or prejudices*
wd hardly exist 25 years hence.

(he wd) carefully consider what *one year might add to another*
There is no higher faith in this world than to live for posterity.
the hope to promise of the *future* not only in the life wh: is to
come but also IN THAT WH: NOW IS.

(when) we & *our actions* & our worldly or religious interests
will have passed out of the memory of man *into the*
presence of God -- let us try to think of men & things as
they will then be regarded by us ** -- let us try to think
of our own lives as they will appear before Him
when the fashions & *opinions of this world* are *nothing*
to us & we *measure ourselves not by the opinions*
of men but by the just judgement of God. For the *opinions*
of men are changing (the grass withereth &c) but the
truth of God shall stand for ever. [**end 3:607**]

xx when theological controversies have no longer any meaning
to us

£77 {PENCIL:}

Mr. Jowett

in a half civilized state of society men might {PAGE TORN}
in a larger mould with less of self-deception & {PAGE TORN}
of rude passion, & greater vices & greater virtues
might coexist or alternate with each other
in the same individual

ordinary life led in an extraordinary manner [3:607]

_____ ordinary good men

In former ages men have spoken of the blessing & example
of religious poverty; perhaps in our own day a higher
lesson & example might be gathered from the true
use of riches x x

'Men of the highest honour & character' implying that
they had a different standard of right & wrong
of truth & falsehood from other men:

x x

We cannot suppose that God is pleased at the
inefficiency or at the stupidity of mankind, or that {PAGE TORN}
will save us from the consequences of our own folly
(but all 'folly' & all 'consequences' are the effect of Law FN)
or that he is tolerant ('merciful', 'indulgent' FN) of a man
teaching what he does not know or practising a profession
which he does not attempt to master -- The greatest injusts {PAGE TORN}
& miseries flow from these neglects of ours. [end 3:607] And therefore {PAGE
TORN}

f78v {PENCIL:}

[4]

{PAGE TORN} consider that the greatest part
{PAGE TORN} to God & man must consist in the right
{PAGE TORN} of that which is ~~their~~ main business
{PAGE TORN} their daily occupation
{PAGE TORN} delights to see them doing the works which He has
{PAGE TORN} assigned to them, with an intelligent devotion, with
{PAGE TORN} *a religious accuracy* as unto the Lord & not unto men

x + x p.5 afflicted

extraordinary good men [3:607]

to show what has hardly ever been shown in the history
of the world -- how the greatest zeal may be combined
with perfect good sense. There is no strength
like that which is given by a faith that God is working
with us & that we are doing His work.xx Learn
to know clearly what you are aiming at & whether you
are equal to such an effort, *& then take the means*
& find your only happiness in doing the will of God
carrying out His work on earth.

extraordinary good men

{PAGE TORN} hearts cannot be satisfied with any earthly affection
or any ordinary calling & are *wholly filled with the love*
of God & man

xx They show us *how the will of man*
may be simplified into the will of God.

f79v {PENCIL:}

[5]

Do not suppose that law & medicine require {PAGE TORN}
regular education but that any body may be
schoolmaster or a clergyman. He may call himself
so, but he will never really be anything unless {PAGE TORN}
has a knowledge of business & of human nature
& has fixed in his mind some lessons or truths
which he is able to impart to others.

who prayed `that he might not die through the
`chillness of age, but be burnt up with the fire
`of divine love'

O for a spirit like his -- (Bishop Pattison's)
perhaps to work nearer home
to shed a light on some dark spot in our peopled
cities -- to take up some cause of the helpless or
afflicted -- x + x p 4 to show

[end 3:607]

{PEN:}

[3:607-08]

it is very easy to *drown oneself in bustle* & throw
ourselves increasingly upon the secular duties to which
we are also called -- but for the right discharge of which

Keble College master {PAGE TORN}

{PENCIL:}

a diligent care of our own spiritual condition
is the only guarantee

[end 3:608]

Add Mss 45784

ff80-82 NOTES ON LAWS OF NATURE, FUTURE STATE, CHARACTER OF GOD PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f80

Do you know I want to have done with the word
`evidence'? Shall we say the enquiry is:

WHAT ARE THE THINGS, THE INDICATIONS which shew
that there are Laws (path) of Nature (God)
leading each of us to perfection?

You see the Positivists have the advantage of us there --
they can say (we know enough of history to say) here
is generation after generation who may improve --
We can't say (we never can have `evidence' to say)
here is future state after future state leading
each of us to Perfection --

[~~It is~~ Have you ever thought what is to become of all
these people if all are to live for ever? --
It is cutting up Infinity into such little shares --
It is like the perpetual subdivision of land in
France]

But then: are there such indications of Laws
leading each of us to perfection as ultimately to preclude the
possibility that the key stone of the arch (successive
lives of education for each) is wanting?
This is the enquiry -- must not be too abstract --
what are the *facts*, the things? --

Add Mss 45784

ff83-84v NOTES ON A NEW MORAL WORLD PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f83

Mr. Jowett

fill up & illustrate your thoughts
too abstract -- turns too much upon the
use of *certain words which have a*
meaning to yourself but not equally
to others

We want to form an idea of a Millennium
(not like the Millennium of interpreters
of prophecy) which shall represent to us
the working out of the will of God upon earth
& THE PATHS which lead thither (v. "Feb 20")

To realize this we must take the better
mind of man, the highest conceptions which
we can form of righteousness & holiness &
the like -- & see *how far in the past history*
of the world we can find recognitions of
them *or tendencies towards them* -- In some
(M.S.)

f84v

"respects this new moral world must be
different from the highest morality
which men have at present, especially
in the *religious importance* attached to
"the *consequences* of actions.
(FN God's character *not* to "look at good intentions",
"and in the *positive* as well as negative
goodness which *morality* will require
e.g. whether *not doing good* is *not*
"equivalent to *doing evil* --
(M.S. If we don't progress, we deteriorate --
F.N. Evangelical: to be forbearing at home --)
"Neither is it synonymous with care of health
or with Sanitary improvement (that's a hit at me)
"A new system of morality should begin by
clearing away those figments of Necessity,
the origin of evil & the like, which throw
one powerless into the hands of the priests."

Add Mss 45784

f85 NOTES ON SCRIPTURES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

April 8/72

the superficial criticism of discrepancies
in facts in the Scriptures is no
contribution to RELIGIOUS enquiry nor even to the
way to Religious enquiry.

I cannot see how the D. of Somerset's
criticisms on the Acts give us the least
more insight into the character of God,
the wisdom, goodness, truth of God,
communion with which is: "Religion",

And I am quite sure that nobody will
take God or the D. of Somerset's word [on the Duke?]
wh: word is nevertheless all the D. gives
us for Him.

Nor do I see that the D.'s word is better
than what is usually called "God's word"
You say: No, but it is the way to something
better go to p. 2. x x

====
D. of Somerset says all at once that "faith in
God" (*what* God? -- if not the God of the Acts,
what God?) is an "impregnable fortress"
without giving us any thing but his own `word'
for it.

Add Mss 45784

ff86-89v NOTES ON DECLINE OF BRITISH GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION PEN & PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE **[5:303-08]**

f86 {PENCIL} [To Mr. Jowett] [June 1872] Mr. Jowett's reply June 25

35 South Street, {PRINTED address}
Park Lane,
W.

I think that, in/seeing the present decline of administrative power in British Govt Offices -- which is, I believe, acknowledged by very many ~~besides me~~ -- & also ~~in the present state of things~~ seeing that the large majority of statesmen & of Parly men come out of Oxford & chiefly I suppose thro' your hands -- the subject is one of such enormous, ~~such stupendous~~, such intolerable importance & so totally disregarded that I venture once more to recall it -- not that anything I can say is worth any other consideration than ~~that~~ because I have real experience in the matter but that you may consider it for yourself --

If what I say has any truth in it at all, you must think that the subject -- not what I say -- is of vital importance/consequence to the nation, whose destiny you have so much in your own hands -- you yourself laughed at Mr. Gladstone's sole words on the Army Bill to the man he had made a Peer to carry it: 'Glad we've got Storks into Parliament' -- Yet you said the same to me: -- 'Glad we've got Ld Lansdowne into the W.O.' -- & {PENCIL:} also that the death of Mazzini "affected" you more than Ld Mayo's

Yet it is upon this very ~~thing~~ mode of thinking as one of several causes that I believe the decline of administration to depend. It does not signify what men like Mr. Gladstone & Mr. Lowe say--But it signifies very much what a man like you says: And this at a time

Add Mss 45784

f86v {PENCIL:}

when there are questions looming--questions such as this that the first step in social reform must be to break up conte que conte the whole land monopoly & to enable every man to vest his savings in land if he likes--questions such

as
are indicated by International Working Men's Leagues & Strikes--compared with
which

another type
of the
same thing is:

{PEN:}

The dentist's talk about the 'Indirect
Claims' business both in the newspapers
& in conversation ~~has been beyond any thing~~
~~I ever remember~~-- I mean, talk such as any
one can ~~say~~ make -- talk which you know your
dentist has said to the 10 persons before you
& will say to the 20 persons after you --

Whereas all that can be truly said is that our
Govt were (not 'drunk & incapable' but)
honest & incapable -- And if the American Govt
had been equally honest & incapable, all
would have sung the praise of where now
~~they talk dentist's talk against~~ all sing dentist's blame of Ministers.

But no one says anything about the stupendous,
the increasing blunders & blank incapacity
of British Govt administration -- except just
when a Megaera is lost.

And men like you who ~~really hold~~ have the great
say in the future ~~action of our youth in your hands~~
suggest as a panacea against unwise "promotion" that all Govt Office Heads
shall be paid alike. If there is really no
other way of escape from the promotion of men to posts of which they
know nothing but this, -- by all means --

It is much like saying that all Oxford Professors
should be paid alike, because otherwise the
temptation will be irresistible of promoting the

Add Mss 45784

f87 {PENCIL:}

even if our whole Army comes to grief under Mr. Cardwell, & Prussia were to conquer England, ~~all~~ this would be as nothing

{PEN:}

Geometry Professor at £300 to the Greek Professorship at £500. [I don't know respective pays & Professorships] Nay, it is much more absurd than this: for all Oxford Professors, I suppose, do know Latin & Greek -- but a minister who has been at paupers does not know ships. If what you say is correct, viz. that the Queen had something to do with it, does not that make ~~my~~ the case only the stronger? "Promotion" (to £5000) & a ~~women's~~ sovereign's caprice make a First Lord of the Admiralty now-a-days.

What I said on Sunday was really not prompted in the least by any desire for your "sympathy" as to my position -- which I know that no one can understand -- & which I myself care not for at all, apart from the disorganization of the W.O. [I have for 18 years made it my prayer, that I might have all the bitterness, provided the W.O. went well. But I have had the first, without the last.]

It was prompted solely & entirely by 1. interest in the Govt offices, 2. interest in Ld Lansdowne, (in whom I can see the interest Sidney Herbert would have taken, the pains he would have given to train him in every branch, had this been 11 years ago). 3. an absolute terror at ~~seeing~~ the decline of administrative power in Govt & at ~~seeing~~ men like you who almost hold the future of our youth in their hands joining in the reckless talk of men like Mr. Lowe & others. When I compare it

f87v {PEN:}

with the intense seriousness of men like Sir Robert
Peel, & Sidney Herbert, Lord Lawrence, even Lord Palmerston (who yet was
~~by far~~

the most witty converser ~~I have ever known~~ of his day)
I am really appalled, if you will pardon me
the word because it seems to me to make
so plain the causes of our decadence in
administration.

You say: that I think ~~all~~ your interest in the
matter is because Ld L. is your pupil. It is
just because he is your pupil that I am the
more astonished. Either you do not believe a
word of the state of the W.O. [And please
understand that I have led too much of a *man's*
life to be in the least annoyed at people differing
from me -- I am quite an Englishman in that --
you know it is said that a Frenchman can't bear
any one to live in the world who does not agree
with him] As you think it a matter of no
consequence what state an Office or a College
is in, provided a young man gets "promotion"
in it. [I will not repeat my comparison of
Dr. Scott, Mr. Woolcombe & a promising young
Paravicini as Senior Tutor -- *minus* you --
because that makes you think that it is the
W.O. being *minus* me which afflicts me.

I assure you that it is "extremely not so"]
But all this is only personal & a Preface -- unworthy
of your reading. The ~~thing is~~ only thing that signifies is: --

f88 {PEN:}

[2]

-- what are the causes of this administrative decline?
-- and are they dependent upon the weather or the
movements of the planets -- or are they such as
men who like you lead public opinion can
control?

1. The first cause no doubt is the governing by majorities.
Now majorities are more or less fools -- At least No majority ever initiated
reforms. No real Reformer ever began but with a
minority, perhaps a minority of one, & worked
it up to a majority. No Reformer could be
a Reformer if he acted on the judgment of others,
in obedience to a Parlt, a press, to what is
called public criticism. {PENCIL:} No man but a man who can be of his
own opinion ~~can do anything~~ real work ~~DENTISTS'~~ *majorities*
the most vain & empty headed fool I suppose
that ever was invented.

{PEN:}

Will you think what Balliol College would have
been, if you had acted on the judgment of the
majority in the College, or in obedience to ~~what is~~
~~called~~ *public criticism* in Oxford -- instead of
creating first your minority, then working it
up into a majority?

Could you do *any* kind of good work, if you
minded what the majority, i.e. what fools say?
[This is quite a different thing from ~~educating~~ qualifying fools
or educating young people from being fools to help you]

It is the difference between leading & ~~submitting~~ cringing --
between gathering up & scattering abroad -- between
causing your generation to make progress & allowing
your generation to prevent your progress & its
own.

Could you do *any* kind of work worth doing without

Add Mss 45784

f88v {PEN:}

a plan of your own quite independent of any majority's notions?

Is this not all the difference between ~~Reformers~~ statesmen
& men who take Office for Office sake?

But as there appears not the slightest prospect
that the present state of things will do anything
but increase, as it appears that Parlt & the
Cabinet are literally to be governed by leading
articles, by Magazines, & ~~as~~ by every one who talks
leading articles & magazines, & that this is ~~to go~~ the material
~~to make up~~ upon which our minds & the minds of our
Legislative & Executive are to be made up & ~~as there appears~~
-- the next thing is, what are we, the public,
whose mind is so important that the greatest
men of the day are to have no ~~opinion~~ mind but ours,
to do?

As Quetelet says: "the nation participates in & is
responsible for the acts of its individual members"/(statesmen FN)
--every body is a sharer in the acts (of the Cabinet FN) "necessarily
resulting from the state of society which he is
influential in shaping" -- "acts are products
not merely of the individual who does them
but of the society in which they take place" -- *passim*
i.e. the Statesman's Acts are our products {LINE: IN PENCIL}

Probably Quetelet himself did not know how exactly,
how literally this has come to ~~pass~~ be the political case in England
so that the acts of Ministers have come to be
not their own but ours -- not even the Acts of Parliament^{ts}
as a representative body -- but of us, ours, us the vulgar
public's -- us, the men, women, girls & boys, running
about without ever having given a day's, an hour's,

Add Mss 45784

f89 {PEN:}

ten minutes' thought on the subject. {PENCIL:} *dentists'* majorities
{PEN:}

It certainly does behove every woman, girl, boy
& man to have a considered opinion therefore -- since
women, girls & boys as well as men have so
large a share in making up this Public Opinion
which is to be our Legislative & Executive {PENCIL:} since the
man who has thought much is to yield his opinion to the man or boy who
has thought nothing or
little
{PEN:}

And this is the only reason, & not *my* fate at
all, why I appeal to you who form so many
minds -- {PENCIL:} to form the opinion which is to form the Govt &
not to give in to Lowe=~~and=~~water or Gladstone=~~=~~~~water~~ milk
{PEN:}

2 }

and} The other two causes for the great

3 }

deterioration in public men are
that every body gets up his Office policy as he
would 'get up' his article for a Magazine --
the writing, not the business of Administration is his ~~end & aim~~ policy
one would think our statesmen were clerks instead of from clerks becoming
statesmen

Imagine Sir John Lawrence governing the Punjaub as he would 'get up' a
Magazine Article
or saving India in this way.

It is not at all the serious business that it
used to be -- when a man was chosen ~~for~~ as
~~the~~ Head of an Office for his particular capacity,
experience or training in that Office.

How can it be? -- It is ludicrous to suppose
that Mr. Goschen was selected for the Admiralty
or Mr. Cardwell for the W.O. or &c &c
on any of these grounds. And therefore they are *obliged* to 'get up' their
administration like an article ~~officer~~

~~And~~ the third is: the "Promotion" or place
~~question~~ theory or practice -- that the Office is made for the man
not the man for the Office --

the 'Glad we've got Ld L. into the W.O.'

the 'Glad we've got Storks into Parlt' ~~question~~ practice

But is it possible that any firm could go on on such

f89v {PEN:}

principles? And is it likely that the greatest
`firm' of all, the firm of the nation,
should do anything but deteriorate &
come to grief on such principles?

{PENCIL:}

Can there be any better plan for precipitating ~~our~~ the
mediocrity? of our Govt? of any Govt?

You are good enough to say something about what I have done

And I am far from feeling any thing but grateful for the
approval of a man like you -- tho' more ever than usual
it is your goodness & not my own at all which makes the spirit of it good
But if you knew as I do how naked I stand before God, in that
nakedness which will probably soon be complete, the *nakedness* of
the other world -- how weak I have been where I seemed
most strong, -- the mistakes from wh: I have been saved by God's
providence alone & not by anything of my own at all how
anything I have done I have been led to, nay forced into
by God alone (I ahve worked hard & that is all).
you wd see as I do that I can care for no praise other
than as making me love the goodness of those who give it
& that as if they were praising another person.

Were it not that such a life as mine -- a sort of adventurer's life,
save in its hard work -- makes one *feel* rather than know that
one is only a little spring or wheel in the immense silent
system of Goodness & Wisdom which we call God & that He
is making all things right in his Eternity -- I think I should die
of the feeling of failure & despair in myself. **[end 5:308]**

Add Mss 45784

ff90-92 NOTES ON SIDNEY HERBERT, MRS. BRACEBRIDGE & GOD'S WORK PEN & PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE **[8:543-44]**

f90 [blue & orange pencil]

He & she have been the creators of my life
and when I think of him at Scutari, the only
man in all Eng: who wd have lived with
willingness such a 'prying' life [blue]
without the interest & responsibility which it had to me [orange]
- I think that

we ne'er shall look upon his like again
we could have better spared a better man.

He had genius. And when I think of

Atherstone, of Athens, of all the places I
have been in with them, of the
immense influence they had in shaping
my own life -- more than earthly father &
mother to me -- I cannot doubt that they
leave behind them having shaped many
very many lives as they did mine.
their mark on the century -- this century
wh: has so little Ideal, at least in Eng:

As if a God [blue] the century of good sense -- i.e. having
& left his impresss [?] the sense of the common public --
good manners, good conversation, good
principles -- i.e. keeping out of the Divorce Court -- getting into
Parlt & not into the

Bankruptcy Commissioners

They were so immeasurably above any English
country gentry" I have ever known --
No more of the same race than a man is
of the same race as the Gorilla
-- Darwin be blow'd.

Add Mss 45784

f91 {PEN:}

{PAGE TORN} sometimes I think that God takes away from
{PAGE TORN} so alone so without a Counsellor.
{PAGE TORN} to Him the only true Counsellor. The path is {PAGE TORN}
{PENCIL:}

Sometimes I think that I am glad that when
I go there will be no such heart-rending grief
felt for me, as when two are parted who had
lived for nearly half a century with each other,
& for each other -- or as I felt when no one to feel for my work as I
did for Sidney

Herbert's when he died -- & feel every day more & more --
On Friday he will have been dead 11 years --

And I think ~~I feel~~ this anniversary the saddest there (more
than any one that) has been yet -- not alone on
account of Mrs. Bracebridge's loss.

For there are things worse than death --
And the change in the Govt of India & in
that of the W.O. have annihilated ~~his~~ Sidney Herbert's work
more than did his death -- more than anything
that has gone before.

But let us not ~~think~~ dwell ~~of~~ on these things: -- we know
that, in the Eternal plan of Love, all is right

{PAGE TORN} Whatever is, is right" -- says Pope

{PAGE TORN} Whatever is, is wrong" -- says Chadwick

And both these things are true.

Because we cannot conceive of Perfection
except as worked out thro' Imperfection.

Add Mss 45784

f92 {PENCIL:}

"made perfect thro' suffering, evil & imperfection

We can sooner conceive of the Perfect One being Himself worked thro', "it is finished" ie. being "finished" by evil & imperfection -- than we can conceive of God "working out" the "salvation" of His creatures without evil. In fact, the problem of the "Origin of Evil" in the good God's good kingdom, might be stated the other way -- viz. how could God make us "perfect as He is perfect" *without* Evil?

In the Apocrypha it says:

"The just man if he be prevented with death".
May be at rest -- because God will take care that his works or rather God's works shall be worked out -- or that he himself shall work out his works in some other "mansion" of our Father's house.

And in an old German=Latin book of the 13th century it says: that in the *undecaying spring* of God's eternity ("in immarcessibili aeternitatis meae vernantia"

if ever there is truth in words, it is in these:)
good work will be continued & increase & grow & **[end 8:545]**

f93 NOTES ON CONVERSATION PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE {PAGE TORN}

"wd take the opportunity to *talk* of the general question & *all sorts of* questions -- & there wd be even less chance of a distinct impression"

"there wd be a great deal of talk -- *however much we tried to say nothing* -- & no impression made in the end".

Alas how true --

Only it has been true for 30 years.

I have spent years with them in "trying to say NOTHING" in order to get SOMETHING done]

Such value was laid upon good conversation that everything absolutely ran to conversation -- So that any thing but bad conversation of course became impossible.

It seems as if he thought *the world & God* were made for *talk*!

Add Mss 45784

f94 NOTES ON BUSINESS & ILLNESS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

kindly believe
simply impossible to me overwhelmed as I am with
anxious business & with exhausting illness to write one line
in London. And it seems to me when away from London the more
anxious is the business the more exhausting is the illness
so stifled in dirty anxious cares & sordid *defensive*
business like the maid of all work who has
to wipe her dirty hands on her dirtier apron
before she can touch clean people --

ff95-99 NOTES ON FN FORGETTING HER PAST PEN & PENCIL

f95 {PEN]

copy of F.N.
Draft of letter possibly to Mr. Jowett
Aug 1872

f96 {PENCIL] copy of pencil M.S. indistinct & damaged
{PEN]

Aug.
{SINCE THE DEATH OF S. HERBERT} (11 years)

I write as soon as it is possible. **[3:543-44]**

You tell me to look back on the good that has been done.
I cannot.

It is not in me.

I am just as much stripped of my past life
"stand naked there" on the brink of the grave
as if it had really been done in another life.

I have not the least idea what Addison
meant by "a good conscience".

I cannot remember, still less "think of"
my life in the Crimea or
my 5 years' incessant work with S.H. or
my 9 years' Indian work -- more
than if it had been really the life of others --
indeed much less -- for I am sure that I think
much more of what Mr. Jowett had done than
of what I have done -- Rather it is absurd to say
so. For I think every day of what he has done.

f97 {PEN}

And I can't even remember at all my past.
I never think of it.

I don't say whether this is right or wrong --
but it is simply impossible.

I *am* so --

God has made me so -- that when I try to
force myself to look back & remember (as they
say) the good that has been done, it is as if I
were forcing my head to look over my heels.

It is like looking at the life of another
person of whom I had never known anything.

It seems as if I had given away my deeds
& could not get them back again -- or remember
to whom I had given them.

But I can remember quite & very well my evil deeds.

If I am forgotten it is no more than I have
forgotten myself. If I am like a dead man, out of
mind, it is not more than a dead man is out of
his own mind.

And F.N. is not less stripped out of anyone else's
mind than she is out of her own.

f98 {PEN}

I do not say that it would not be better otherwise.
Our past years are a scroll of prophecy
(prophecy for the future). Like the prophet --
["] we must eat it" --

Only I cannot

I cannot find it.

I have *now* but *many* friends -- And I feel
inclined to say And is this all? Can Friendship do
[no] more -- but ask me to write another letter?
which won't be read either?

Such utter waste of time to finish this letter.
[Man]y things which are real become *unreal* by
[b]eing told.
["] hope" -- to hope is for me like brandy -- One feels
all the weaker afterwards.
I cannot & do not wish "to hope" for what I know
will not come.

Add Mss 45784

f99 {PEN]

"Pray for time to finish your work".
You are at the pinnacle of your power thank God
[You] only want time to *finish* --
[I] with an utterly shattered body have to begin all over
again.
Now to be turned back into this petty stifling stagnant
life -- ~~which~~ wh. has done to death so many of the best
of those with whom I began life
I should hate myself (I do hate myself but) I
shd loathe myself & my God if I could *like* it,
find "rest" in it. Fortunately there is no rest in it
but ever increasing anxieties.
Il faut que la victime soit mise en pièces.
[O] my God. Aug 9/72
Had I no better hope than the one I have lost, I
should become like -- Sh's: Antony --
But I do trust in God --
tho' not as I should. **[end 3:544]**

ff100-101v NOTES ON AN IDEAL, THE MYSTIC STATE & THE ECSTATIC STATE PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE **[3:232-34]**

f100

3 [1]
Erasmus, I think, said of St. Augustine & all his tribe: --
They were people who did nothing -- writing for
people who had nothing to do.
That is the real reason, I think, why St. Teresa & Co.
did so little for their own generation -- so much, or
might do so much -- for ours.
If ~~we are to have~~ these feelings ~~at all~~ are true, must we
not have them *always*, inspiring *all* our work?
An "Ideal" is a poor thing -- unless it is the Ideal
of every minute -- it breeds only discontent.
I mean, I can as soon understand the Greek working
at his Statue sometimes *with* this "Ideal" in his head,
sometimes *without*, or the Architect at his Cathedral, or

f100v

[4]

The mystical state by which I understand the drawing near to God by means of (not Ch: or ceremony but) the state in which one keeps thro' God's laws one's own soul is real & shd be 'permanent', should it not? -- The ecstatic state is unreal & shd not be at all.

It appears to me that the mystical state is the essence of common sense if it is real i.e. if God is a reality -- We can only act & speak & think thro' Him -- & the thing is to discover such laws of His as will enable us to be always acting & thinking in (conscious) concert or co-operation with Him

Grace is a mistake -- because we cannot conceive that this, the very best gift we can have, can be the gift of arbitrary caprice on the part of our almighty F. But if we find out that He gives us grace i.e. the mystical state in accordance with certain laws we can discover & use -- is not that a truth & common sense?

f101

[2]

the Statesmen at his Legislation (the reason why Messrs.

Gladstone, Lowe, Goschen & Cardwell fail so completely in my experience at their ~~by~~ Administration is that they have no "Ideal" in their heads but the Ho: of C.

(a very queer 'Ideal' indeed) -- which is the Cabinet -- And the Ho. of C. as a body has no 'Ideal' but how to keep in -- generally --] & people who have not the courage of their convictions end by having no convictions at all --

I can as soon understand Von Moltke working at his campaigning ~~will~~ sometimes without, sometimes with his 'Ideal' in his head, as this "mystic" Ideal doing ~~us~~ any thing for us unless it is 'permanent' as you who have & I ~~& me~~ who have (or rather alas! I should say ~~of me~~ I who *had*) to work on men & women working without some purpose always present as a mother i.e. a real mother bringing up her child -- not having the feeling & affection for her child always present

f101v

[3]

I need scarcely say that in thinking that the mystic state shd be permanent if at all I do not mean the ecstatic state

One sees so plainly how those ecstasies were bred in people half starved by long fastings & long watchings.

So far from wondering that these half starved people cd believe in their Visions (I wonder they had not more --

Writers, both R.C. & Pr. have latterly written volumes to acct for or to deny or to sift how men & women who really were Saints cd honestly put forwards as true their miracles Stigmata Revelations &c &c But -- the Saints honestly give their evidence. And what does this evidence include? -- A man fasts & prays for 8 years that God will reveal to him about St. F. of A.'s Stigmata. And a vision assures him of them. Wd it not be a 'miracle' if he had not? These 'evidences' are carefully recorded in the Act of Canonization.

ff102-104 NOTES ON THE MYSTIC STATE & THE ECSTATIC STATE PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f102

[2]

I cd not write a Preface wh: wd make people read what they wd not read for themselves -- No Preface wd have made Thomas à Kempis read as he has been.

I do not agree ~~with you~~ (tho' perhaps I do not understand ~~you~~) that "this mystic state ought to be an occasional & not a permanent feeling" --

On the contrary. I think, unless it is a "permanent" feeling it is/becomes nothing or worse than nothing I mean, that people will get/come to have "occasional" ecstasies or "feelings, like Bishop Blougram -- or like people who go to hear Bach's Passion Music at W. Ay & think their enjoyment devotional feeling & do all their work quite independently of any religious feeling i.e. live their lives apart from the "spiritual Ideal" & keep the spiritual Ideal for Sundays or prayer time, if they do pray.

Was it not Wesley who said:

Add Mss 45784

f102v

"I am convinced that preaching like an Apostle without
joining together those that are awakened & training them up
in the ways of God is only begetting children for the Murderer"
& ~~(elsewhere) something about à propos of "making provision for the~~
~~permanence" of the states produced religious feelings~~
In this I quite agree

f103

The fact is: Mystical books are for hard-working
people to inspire their daily work like you & me
not for mystical people, contemplative people,
religious people, people in contemplative orders,
idle people, excitable young ladies --

{INSERTED FROM **f102v**:}

If I wrote a Preface, I think I wd put at the top of it --
this Book is *not for any one who has time to*
read it -- especially not for fashionable young ladies
-- *they will find it poison*

{**f103** AGAIN:}

I think it is Theo: Parker who says: Fashionable
young ladies only read & really enjoy & taste &
shed tears over Thomas à Kempis, St. Francis of Sales,
&c &c (I suppose he would not have dared so much
as to mention St. Teresa) & not be a bit the better
for it but the worse. They will be just as idle
as frivolous flirty & useless as ever -- & yet think themselves
religious (meaning -- they will have their feelings apart, & their life
apart -- not inspiring one another. In this I quite agree -- ~~why~~, do not you?

f103v

I once gave copies of all the Spanish Mystical
books -- to a friend of mine -- (I will tell you who -- Miss
Sellon) making some foolish remark that it was
strange the disciples of St. Teresa, St. John of the Cross,
& Spain were not the better for these --

I was struck with her answer. She said: --
It is not for Spain but for all the world that St. John of the +
wrote. It is for you & me he wrote --

Add Mss 45784

f104

[4]

I think perhaps without writing a Preface I might
write Notes one at the beginning of each Division

e.g., I am going to put in some prayers St. T's Fr of Assisi St J. of the
+

I shall head these with John of the +

Prayer not to ask --

These old Mystics wh we call superstitious

far before us in their ideas of God & prayer i.e. of
our communion with God -- who God is -- His character in short.

Where they failed was in thinking this world was not
what God has given us to work upon

There will be no heaven unless we make it.

And it is a very poor Theodikè wh teaches that we are

not to 'prepare' this world

but only to 'prepare for' another

ff105-106 NOTES ON THE CLERGY & THE FAMILY PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f105

Oct 2/72

The clergy especially of Institutions so
infinitely low. One would think they might

say a good word in season to help
the Nurses & Patients thro' life --

-- to help them to the first elements of
love to God & man

Not a bit of it -- They are thinking of
their Services & whether they are high &
low -- And so are the Nurses.

I wd not put an Instn *under* a Chaplain
as in Germany -- but oh the help they might
give in religious sympathy -- As it is,
we were obliged to make a woman a
Chaplain -- Miss T. -- And Miss T.
wd have been saved by the religious sympathy
of a clergyman --

Your ideal of all you have not is so low.
Your ideal of all you have so high.

Family

You think of as a *necessary evil*
(A.H.C.) B. having the Scarlet Fever -- in love]
I think of it as something infinitely

f105v

high & holy -- the highest influence of life --

& regret to see it so debased, so
prostituted with so little ideal at all

You talk of it as of a Hospital
& that it has -- what do you call them?

"Medical influences" -- no Therapeutic infry

Clergy

If I were a 'Liberal' Revd ~~or~~ even more than if I were an illiberal

Revd, an Archbp or a Revd Master,
the one thing I wd try for, instead of
refining & refining -- as 'Liberals' do
even more than Illiberals -- till plain
sensible ordinary good men & *gentlemen*
cannot enter the Church --
wd be to open wide its doctrinal gates,
to take in the men who make good

{INSERTED FROM **f106:**}

conscientious men of business -- or who make
Doctors -- with knowledge of character
not these wretched refiners about
'high' & 'low'

f106

Miss T. marrying him as she
wd marry a Nurse.

Miss Horsford

{INSERTED FROM **f105v:**}

You talk of the confessional & its dangers
when I talk of the religious help of
sympathy they might give -- if they
wd but take the least trouble to
understand the characters of Nurses
&c -- with whom they pretend to have
to do --

{**f106** AGAIN:}

Father -- Father to Christ in an especial manner
Father to me [son?] faithless child
St Ts -- pa [or So I or So Jo-pa]

Add Mss 45784

ff107-08 NOTES ON GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION & MR. LOWE PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE **[5:519]**

f107

I think that your views of political good
are becoming debased.

I do not think that Mr. Lowe's views
of political good ever were high --
but when I knew him he had
"administrative indignation" --

Now he has neither --

And I think intercourse with his
is pulling yours down --

It may be that those are only
"chance words" which you have
said to me. And if they were said
to Bess v. Rothschild, they would not
signify -- they are only the small
change of conversation.

But they signify very much -- i.e.
they have a great signification as
addressed to me -- who have ruined
my life in Govt administration &
what is of much more consequence
have destroyed lives far dearer
to me than my own -- in the
attempt to reform it

Add Mss 45784

f107v

It is as if you forgot entirely my
18 years of intense, nay of desperate
seriousness & hard work in Govt
Offices.

It is far worse than it would be
to repeat to me a vulgar gibe
against S. Herbert personally.

For I hope S.H. always stood
first in my mind for political good
& only second for private friendship.

It is saying nothing that I
would gladly sacrifice the poor
remains of my life if I could
in any way prevent your political
convictions from becoming debased
or flippant.

Mr. Lowe's are sometimes vulgar --
tho' he is never vulgar -- often flippant
-- & becoming more so every year --

When I knew him, they were never
flippant

Add Mss 45784

f108

His & Ld Derby's are becoming
smug -- vulgar --
O Bread fruit Tree of happiness --
how often man is debased thereby --

f109 NOTES ON LORD WESTBURY, RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES & SANITARY LAWS PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE **[3:618]**

Lord Westbury

All (doctrine) may be taught historically
as forms of religious thought that
exist in the world -- none are to
be inculcated ex cathedrâ as the
true subject of religious belief.

B.J. & A.P.S.

brought them to regard all religious
principles alike & to have a
preference for none in particular
*'Let each man believe what is right
in his own eyes.'* **[end 3:618]**

How very dark & mysterious is the Government
of the world. We are born subject to
certain Sanitary Laws. They have not
been revealed -- & the wisest of men
have failed to discover them, yet if
we unwittingly offend against them,
the consequence is disease & death.
Our idea of justice cannot, reconcile itself {PAGE TORN}

Add Mss 45784

f110 NOTES ON LORD MAYO PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

Ld Mayo
he was not only *willing* but *wanting* to {PAGE TORN}
could, to *do* all he could.
Telegraph wh: can neither reason nor go down {PAGE TORN}
knees -- neither convince nor be convinced
the outcry of folly, always the loudest
If India was not to be a pauper, she must {PAGE TORN}
up her Estimates in this way without crossing the
t s or dotting the i s
more sense than reason: not far seeing & a little [page torn]
has to choose his counsellors among a few who {PAGE TORN}
at their fingers' ends all the subjects of which {PAGE TORN}
most ignorant -- so that *they* can take *him* in --
he can't 'floor' *them* --
natives -- a press of their own -- with all the {PAGE TORN}
& Delane impudence of the "Times" -- & a
deal more in earnest.
Now I have given you my head, my hand, my heart
away from my duties.
And what can ~~& I say~~ a man do more?

ff111-112v NOTES ON MR. F. NEWMAN & GOD PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN [3:176-77]

f111

I hardly think that there is anything more demoralizing, more erroneous, more entirely ~~void~~ destitute of any true Ideal of ~~about~~ God or man or of the ~~high~~ destination of man in the creed of the Dominican Inquisitor, or of the Calvinist or of the ancient Jew than Mr. F. Newman's view that we cannot "claim" from God more happiness than we have -- & that it is quite "illogical" to think of a Future State --

~~If~~ Mr. Newman's idea of the relation between God & man is that of driving a hard bargain, of a kind of debtor & creditor account, & he ~~conceives~~ declares it to be "illogical" to have any other.

Are these our "Liberal" teachers?

We are not only to doubt that God has goodness enough to love & to care for us the creatures whom He has made without our consent. But we are "illogical" if we are not certain that any ~~all~~ such expectation would be an ill-founded & impertinent "claim".

f111v

It seems that there cannot be a baser idea
of God than this

And it is really debasing God after the image
of man --

God is Love -- God is Infinite -- God is Perfect.
Therefore His Love is Perfect -- His goodness
infinite. If ~~God~~ there is a Perfect God, it would
be much more wonderful, indeed it would
be impossible that there should *not* be a
plan for bringing every one of us to perfection,
therefore to perfect happiness --

If there is a Perfect Love & a Perfect
Goodness, it surely is "logic" to suppose that
their actions will be the effects/actions of love &
goodness.

And if there is any "claim", it is the
"claim", so to speak, of God upon us that we
will not believe of *Him*, of Perfect Goodness,
what we would not believe of any
respectable earthly parent.

f112

We might certainly put Mr. Newman's
argument the other ~~da~~ way & reason
that, as there is so little happiness in
the world that is worthy the name of
happiness, there cannot be a Perfect
God, a God of Love -- For if there were
there certainly would be happiness
among His creatures -- And that the
very shabby & imperfect attempt at
a world ~~that~~ this is is a mark
that it cannot come from God.

But to argue that we ought to think
our happiness enough & still be satisfied
with God seems to me to be a very contradiction
in terms.

May not God "claim" from us that
we should not think this botch of a
world the completion of His thought? --

Did we see a Perfect World, & perfect
happiness, ~~should we~~ would it not be true "logic" to

Add Mss 45784

f112v

say: this comes from a Perfect Creator?

And how can it be true "logic" to say
that a world so imperfect is all we can
expect or "claim" from a Perfect God?
that happiness so meagre is all that we
can "claim" from the God of Love? --

Should we not rather say -- let us put
ourselves into the hands of this Perfect
God, who ~~has deserved of~~ can "claim" from us that we may
feel secure that He will lead us through
the paths of trial & work to perfection
in eternity -- if He is Omnipotence & Love --
& be anxious for nothing either in this
world or any other? --

And have we not more certainty of
this than we have of any our best earthly
friend behaving justly to us? -- **[end 3:177]**

ff113-14v NOTES ON LAWS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f113

Recognition of Law a great thing ?
At the beginning of my work in India
Indian magnate writing to me
 recognition of Sanitary law by Govt a great step
Sir B. Frere as well may they say
 recognition of Gravitation by Govt a great step
Must find out *what* the laws are doing --
==== *Uniformities not uniformities*
Male & female child
 sex difference = difference of idiosyncrasies
but sex=difference is essential to the world's continuance
 you would be very much surprised if it were not so
there is man & woman in the parents
there will be man & woman in the children
 why *should* a man & woman produce all females
 or all males?
but *why* should e.g. one child be produced who could
 be taught nothing but Sanscrit & another who cd only
 be taught English when the parents never heard
 of Sanscrit.
Yet that is a trifling difference compared with P. & me
 who have not for 20 years spoken anything each
 other cd understand.
====
How Law is the Schoolmaster not recognition
of Law must be our step

Add Mss 45784

f114v

Recognition of Law not the feast --
For it may be: recognition of *bad* Law --

====

Positivists -- family -- so much feeling
why not for the God of the Laws
of which they talk so much?

====

Favourable circum
Paupers children -- not ye best School -- but poor family --
S. Sed [?] Ld Pembrath [?]
Prison --
Not to have your way shown you {Bible & many Bibles
but for you to find it out

f115 NOTES ON MR. JOWETT'S SERMONS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

For Mr. Jowett
His sermons always written for happy people
successful people who have not to construct or alter their lives
but only to make themselves & others as happy as
possible therein {taken for granted that life is
{to be as it is
But we *must* "think of ourselves" if we cannot
do anything well or the thing well that we are
doing. It is not *all* "vanity" or "egotism" --
~~No~~ A person who does what he is doing well
does not need to "think of himself" --
But no allowance is here made for those who
don't.
Nor for this: -- sympathy in work is an essential of
well being. I have none -- I used
to batter myself about because, having none, I
longed for it. It is much better to
acknowledge a legitimate want & that you
suffer from it. But then this is so, that
you can't help thinking of yourself --
Nor for this: -- conversation is not only for "vanity" or
amusement -- but for persuasion -- for teaching --
sometimes in most important things -- a person
must "think of himself", of his success or failure --
such can & not at all on the score of "vanity" or "sensitiveness" --
Sometimes indeed he may have sacrificed his "vanity"
or "sensitiveness" or "opinion of the world" to do or say the thing --
for "right & duty" --
Archbp of Paris -- shoot me but don't take me to be examined]

Add Mss 45784

f115v NOTES ON DISCRIMINATION IN A PERSON'S CHARACTER PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY
FN

Do not lose discrimination of character
in your wish for charity.
There are some who see no difference
between S. Herbert & Mr. Cardwell
Such is the want of discrimination now that
people can scarcely speak of others
except by speaking evil of them
Either stupid praise or speaking evil.
No discrimination as to the ideal of each
man's character
The k. of heaven is within v. p. 4.
But we must also make it without.
Hily -- finest natures trampled out -- have
existed uselessly.
{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:}
too much
the doctrine of
R. Cath:
Mysticism --
who never propose
any kingdom of heaven
without -- except
that there shd be
more prayers
organized
Edward Denison

Add Mss 45784

f116 NOTES ON PUBLIC OPINION & KINGDOM OF HEAVEN PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

Friends to see again
 (we "have asked for something
 which had no meaning in another
 state of being")

At Mai's letter

 I do not long for S.H. or A.H.C. v.p.5.
no public opinion (it has to be created)
 as to not committing blunders for want of knowledge
 good intentions are enough
 not to study things as a matter of life or death
 organized blunders do more mischief than crimes
until you can create a public opinion about this,
 about practical wisdom, little good will be
 done --

But this is: -- creating a kingdom of heaven
 without --

A kingdom of h -- within is the good intentions
 without the labour & wisdom & "agonizing" to create
 it without.

To create a public opinion *is*: to create a kingdom
 of heaven without.

ff116v-121v NOTES ON GOOD MANNERS, FREEDOM, SIMPLICITY, KINGDOM OF GOD WITHIN
US PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f116v

Mr. Jowett St. Paul
his manner of rebuking those who had erred transferring
their faults in a figure to Apollos & to himself
No one knew how to speak the truth in love like him

Christ -- (alone in the wilderness) -- **[3:608]**

He has that power which draws men, like children, to
his side by natural instinct -- *the power of loving
them & feeling with them*
"preferring one another in honour"=showing the way to one
another = *going before them to show them their way* --
"condescend to men of low estate" = have your conversation with
= ~~or~~ sometimes make acquaintance with those a little
below you.

"like-minded one towards another" = going out of ourselves &
entering into the thoughts of others

Good manners (Society is almost governed by them)

a few to whom instinctively the weakest & feeblest person in
the company will turn *sure of a response* --
we admit them to our confidence because we are sure that
they will not *misrepresent or improperly repeat* what we
say to them

"vanity" or "sensitiveness" or "love of approbation" --

*Age & experience make us understand that we are very
foolish in all this. [end 3:608]* If the busy restless image of self were

f117

[2]

(vide p.1) were not always interposing -- if we thought of others more -- if we were more anxious about right & duty (vide p.1) & following the example of Christ than about the opinion of the world; if we lived *HABITUALLY above ourselves*, we might hope *to attain that self-control, which is the source of freedom*, & might have the true use & enjoyment both of Society & of the world --

[3: 608-10]

[Freedom = not to do as you/everybody doing as they like but
= self=control -- F.N.]

"self-control" *plus* a command/control of your subject --
gives "freedom" -- but a person who has no
control over any subject or free use of any faculties cannot have freedom]
F.N.

from some innate nobility of nature have never allowed
themselves to speak against others
seeming to bear the image of Christ until his coming
again More than any others in this *modern world*

The first principle of good manners
not to think of ourselves -- v. p. 1 & the second
to have a care & consideration of others
(to enter into their characters & observe what they feel &
think)

f118v

Simplicity -- to do what we have to do
without regard to the opinion of others,
without a thought of how we look or how we
speak or what is said of us
but for the work's sake only -- (but then we must know
how to do the work
p. 1. FN)

(but not to make a failure we must study p.1).
& not at the censures or criticisms of others --
-- to have got rid of the little petty ghost
of self-conceit

this is *simplicity* -- indeed *magnanimity*

x x x

His care of (others) will not minister to his own self-importance
or interfere with their independence -- not their patron or
director or benefactor. He may perhaps have an eye to
doing them good, but he will hardly suffer them to
discover this, partly because he shrinks from placing
himself above them, conscious as he is of his own defects,
& also because he knows that

influence must find a way to the hearts of men
unperceived

(the readiness to listen as well as to speak)
the absence of levity or personality)

f119

[3]

If a man has any advantages of rank or wealth xx
he will feel that they are trifles or accidents he is
ready to cast off any day as he must cast them off
at death. This seems to be the *true nobility* xx
xx But few persons have *the power of disengaging*
themselves even in thought *from the society* which
surrounds them. *They cannot judge of matters*
by general principles; they take the view of their
own set. xx

We should sometimes pass the different classes of
society *in review as they appear in the sight of God.*

f120v

[4]

We are the world which we often place before
ourselves as an abstraction which includes every
body but us.

And *the kingdom of God is within* us too & is that
perfect form of society which cannot be
carried out externally in this world *in any*
Church or polity but may be carried out by us
in our heart & life. And to this image or form
of Society tho' unlike anything on earth we
sometimes lift up our eyes as embodying in a
figure *the principles according to which Christ*
wd have us live -- (we must carry ~~it~~ the kingdom out *without* F.N.)

[vertically at left]:

creating

v. public opinion

p.1.

{NEXT PARAGRAPH CONTINUES:}

For in that Society xx the very basis of human life
wd be different -- *not the will of man but the*
will of God. Men wd see & be seen by one
another *as they are in the sight of God*. xx
xx their energies wd be concentrated in the
service of God & of their brethren. *The peace of*
God wd keep them -- the love of God wd shine upon
them -- *the truth of God wd establish them* --
There wd be interests xx about their own natures
& *the Divine nature* x among them. And we may
imagine them fathoming more & more the mystery
of the Universe, & *going onward to perfection* in the
course of ages. xx & *friendships not liable to*
misapprehension or interruption like those on earth.

f121

[5]

They wd see God nearer to them & *understand*
better His way of governing them xx
they have now got that better thing of which they
were desirous in the days when the world
seemed unsatisfactory to them & *earthly affection*
was wanting to them

dreams -- for they cannot be realized in this world
xx but not dreams if we take them for the spirit
of our lives & the rule of our conduct.
To practise them, to feel them, to make them
our own -- (but also to make them not only our own
but others' own. F.N.) this is not far from the *kingdom of*
heaven upon earth.

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:}

The k. of h is within
but no one laboured
more than Xt to make it
without. He actually recommended
people to *leave* their own families
to do this -- (with his tender nature)
so much was he penetrated by the conviction
that we *must alter* the 'state of life
to which' &c in order to bring about
a k. of h. *His* was not R.C. mysticism
at all.

Myself is so different from myself
(under different
circumstances --
we must *make* these
circumstances for
others & for
ourselves)

Add Mss 45784

f121v

All religious women
teach this doctrine.
This is exactly the doctrine,
of religious women.
They wd never create a
kingdom of heaven without
wd never "contribute to the
re-constitution of Society".
In some sense, your doctrine
& that of women is an
obstacle to "progress" --
v. newspaper
by making the present state
of things beautiful [end 3:610]

f122 NOTES ON MYSTICAL BOOKS & RELIGION PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN [3:235]

Mystical books afford the best mustard, the best "illustrations"
of religion. But I never can forget that the meat is not there --
the God is wasting. There is no God -- but a Devil.

====

"Dishonesty" is: not turning every one out of the Church but
yourself.

Don't talk "Toleration" to me. But if you won't prosecute,
Let who will cry "dishonesty" like any costermonger's donkey--stick to the
Church till
you are turned out [end 3:235]

[3:241]

There is so extraordinarily little thought among English people
about religion that they think all thought upon it
exhausted -- all forms consolidated
i.e. that you *must* belong to some existing organized
form or dogmatic system --
if you are not an Anglican, you must be a R.C. or Dissenter
or Unitarian or Infidel.

Yet the most perfect truth of religion, Divine truth &
justice, is equally distant from all these Beliefs.

And your only objection to them that they mistake
the character of God.

[end 3:241]

The weak point of Lecky's book: -- the absurd argument
to support his "Spiritualism" -- the want of comprehension
or definition of the meaning of "happiness", to support
his "Spiritualist" view, of his anti-"utilitarianism" as to
duty & virtue, which is, in itself, very fine.

How curious that the most intellectual -- in Theology -- in
Medicine -- in Administration -- go astray for want of
stopping one moment to consider the definition of
some fundamental word.

Add Mss 45784

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON THE BOTTOM OF THE PAGE:}
in memory of days when she was in our house as a
daughter & a most affectionate daughter in a time of
peculiar sorrow & of sickness At Jane

f123 COPY OF BENJAMIN JOWETT'S AGREEMENT TO STICK TO A WORK/REST SCHEDULE PEN
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE {SIGNED BY JOWETT} **[3:544-45]**

I, B. Jowett, January 1873
I agree to take an entire holiday *doing nothing*
for 3 weeks at the present time -- for not less
than 3 weeks at Easter -- & for not less than six
(6) weeks in the Long Vacation --
I agree to take 2 days in every week during Term
Time (Sunday & one other day) of entire holiday doing
nothing except when I have a Sermon to write
I agree to give not more than two Lectures a week
during the present year --
& to register all this in an Almanac
 {IN PENCIL BY FN:} {SIGNED BY JOWETT IN PEN:}
 Signature B. Jowett
 Mr. Jowett X his Cross + [end 3:545]

ff124-125 NOTES ON SELF-KNOWLEDGE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE **[3:597-98]**

f124

15/4/73 Mr. Jowett
to seek for things holy & pure & true
& recognize in them the voice of
God speaking to us.

self knowledge
the knowledge *by which we see ourselves*
in God
we shd not always live under the guidance
or advice of others like children
when we ought to be men --
xx the constant appeal for sympathy
tends to weaken us.
xx a man should learn to be awake
to the temptations whether of solitude
or of society, remembering that the
greatest trust wh: is committed to
him is himself, & that he is living
in the presence of God as well as
of his fellow men
in wh: being unknown does not lower his character

f124v

Let us suppose our own worst
actions done by another person:
with what aversion & contempt
should we regard them?
`Thou art the man' -- (to himself)

{INSERTED FROM **f125:**}

be on your guard against the *silent*
growth of bad habit, such as
inaccuracy, or *dilettantism*, or want
of *punctuality* or *procrastination*
form a plan of life for a year, & *not*
allow the first week, the second week,
the third week to pass *unheeded* by.

{BACK TO **f124v:**}

But few persons seriously think of
their own mind or character:
they do not calculate the future by their
experience of the past: they do not
allow for the changes wh: circumstances
or times of life make believing that
they will always have the same powers
of acquiring knowledge wh: they now have
Their youth *slips away in this unim=*
proving manner, & when a man begins
to see how many things might have
been better in his life he is too old to change
too late, too late
["how all (her) life (s)he had been in the wrong"] [end 3:597]

f125

There are few higher intellectual
qualities than to know exactly
what we are capable of.
To know whether we know a thing
or not is a great result of
education. There are some
who never put *their own attainments*
to the test & are *unwilling to be*
tested by others until at last
they are found out.
Minds *like a pulp or a sieve* &
cannot receive or retain lasting
impressions

Add Mss 45784

f125v-30v NOTES ON EVILS (REAL VS. IMAGINED), MYSTICISM, SENSE OF DUTY, GOOD MANNERS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f125v

"*Unreal evils* are often said to be [3:610]
greater than *real* ones, because they
are ever present with us: we
cannot walk away from them"

"& they are not like real calamities
diminished by time & distance"

xx one day we fancy that we are
able to do almost anything, another
day our *faculties* are almost paralysed
xx there is no natural or peaceful
growth of a mind living in a state
of excitement any more than of a
feverish body. [end 3:610]

x the '*thorn in the flesh*' -- [end 3:610]

x '*My grace &c my strength perfected in weakness*'

xx *not our true selves but only a sort of mist*

wh: takes possession OF OUR BRAIN & our mind [end 3:610]

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

April 15/73

Show me *Thy way*

O Father I have followed my own way too long.

f126

[3:578-80]

[2] Mr. Jowett 17/4/73

Our minds would become *stronger*

supported by a power unseen

And our motives free from vanity &

littleness, not with eye service as

men-pleasers but as *seeing the Lord*

His will becomes their will & *in Him* is

the foundation of their lives

When we ask ourselves ONLY '*what is*

right' or '*what is THE WILL OF GOD*'

(the same question) then we may be
truly said TO LIVE IN HIS LIGHT.

we are no longer grovelling among the

opinions of men: we see God in all things

& all things in God -- *the Eternal shining*

thro' the accidents of space & time

mysticism: to dwell on the unseen, to withdraw

ourselves from the things of sense into

communion with God -- to endeavour to

partake of the Divine nature, i.e. of holiness,

f126v

justice & truth.

Christ the greatest mystic
Our faith in God & in another world
proportioned to the degree in which
we have disengaged ourselves from this

f127v

When he/one devotes *himself & his work*
unreservedly to God, whether
at the Sacrament or at any other time,
then he has the *indwelling presence*
of God xx
whenever he is touched by the *love of*
his suffering fellow-creatures, then he
knows another aspect of the Divine nature
in *whatever things are pure & holy & disinterested*
he sees *the light of God*.

We are all of us as we believe passing into an
unknown world, *of which this is only a part* --
You have been here a year: -----

| *For my*
| *address*

What are we making of our own
lives? -- Are we *where we were*
a year ago? -- Or are we fitter for
the work of after life -- better
prepared & equipped for the
service of God & man? Do we
feel in ourselves that we are gradually
becoming more fitted to run the race that
is set before us? Do our faults &
weaknesses & vanities tend to diminish
or are we still idle, listless, ineffectual?

f128

[3]

Do we keep before our minds
constantly the sense of duty -- of our
duty to others as well as ourselves
& *to the whole Society of wh: we*
are members? Do we ever do
things because they are right
without regard to appearances?
he who lives in the sense of truth
& duty & love lives also in the
light of God's presence

f129

[4c]

[Friendship] above all perhaps in
Paul's manner of rebuking those who
had erred *transferring their fault*
in a figure to Apollos & to himself.
No one knew how to speak the truth
in love like him.

Christ -- we may be sure did not lose
the authority or dignity & refinement
even in the company of publicans & harlots
(wards) just as we may observe in
modern times that there are a very
few persons whose dignity & refinement
is inherent in them & cannot be altered
under any circumstances. And in his
trial before Pilate we seem to see the
sufferer rising above the indignities
wh: are offered to him. And yet with
this dignity on wh: no man can intrude
is combined the greatest gentleness &
simplicity of life. He journeys on foot

f129v

from Galilee to Jerusalem, talking with
those whom he meets by the way,
whether Samaritans or Jews. He has
that *power* wh: draws men *like children*
to his side by natural instinct the
power of loving them & feeling with them.
He is alone from time to time in the
wilderness or on mountains

(be alone in your rooms --
you have bustle enough during
the day)

(but to have Christ's authority
we must be like Christ
see my last)

1 10

Romans XII ought to regulate our behaviour to
each other

eg

"He that giveth, let him do it with simplicity
ie. let us do our acts of mercy as if we did
not make much of them, as unto the Lord
& not to men.

What rule of manners can be better than
this (chap)?

& based upon a true general principle

"like minded one towards another"

i.e. that we shd have the same thoughts &

f130

feelings with others, rejoicing with them
that rejoice & weeping with them that
weep, going out of ourselves & entering
into the thoughts of others.

Paul's extraordinary regard for the feelings
of others

"If meat make my brother to offend, I will
eat no more meat while the world
standeth" x

If the spirit of these words could find
a way to the/our hearts of men, we might
be able to say "See how these Christians
(Probrs) love one another"

The happiness & the good of life is not
* disputes about meats offered to idols

we know

Paul in all matters of external observance
freest of the free -- well knew such
scruples were really superstitions. Still from
a regard to the feelings of those who held
them, he says "If meat
these are noble types & forms of behaviour
courtesy we owe one to another --
The happiness & the good of life is not

f130v

simply made up of great duties & virtues
nor the evil of life of the opposite.
But both seem to consist also in a
number of *minute particulars* to which
unless we take them in the aggregate
the terms good & evil hardly seem to apply.
And yet small as they are they have
a great effect on the tone & character
of life, introducing light or darkness
into the "Home", infusing sweetness
or bitterness into our social relations. [end 3:580]

Good manners

To say instinctively the right thing at the
right time
to have a courteous & not merely formal
word for every body
to preserve *calmness* & self-respect &
the *modest sense of equality* in the
presence of every one
to feel that *the society of others* is a source
of enjoyment & *not of restraint*
to be like ourselves everywhere
x there might be a great deal more social
(happiness than there is at present --
(these are gifts which all ought to have

ff131-31v NOTES ON KINGDOM OF HEAVEN/GOD PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f131

[7c]

We are the world wh: we often
seem to think *includes every body*
but us. Kingdom of Heaven
And the Kingdom of God is within
us too -- & may be carried out by us.

In that Society (or *Kingdom*) there
would be no thought of self more
than of others. The very basis of
human life would be different --
-- not the will of man *but the will*
of God -- Men would see & be seen
by one another as they are in the
sight of God without reference to
the accidents of birth or wealth --
no personal aim or struggles of ambition
-- their energies wd be concentrated in
the service of God & of their brethren.

The peace of God wd keep them
-- friendships not liable to misapprehension
or interruption like those on earth (w be
among them). They wd see God nearer to
them & understand better his way of governing
them

f131v

They have now got that better thing
of wh: they were desirous in the days
when the *world seemed unsatisfactory*
to them -- & *earthly affection was*
wanting to them

& in His will they will rest

These words may seem *in a Hospital* life like (are in one sense) dreams.

But they are not dreams if we
take them for the spirit of our
lives & the rule of our conduct.
To practise them, to feel them,
to make them our own,
this is not far from the *kingdom*
of heaven upon earth

27/4/73

Add Mss 45784

ff132-90 NOTES ON THE PHAEDRUS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

£132 {PEN]

F.N's Notes on Phaedrus {Prof: Jowett's
 {Introduction
and Translation found in
Plato's Dialogues vol I.
 one dated 1873 Jan 30
 another April 1873
 & all apparently of same
 date
 also draft of letter to Jowett
 -- some likely for sermons
 some on Mysticism

£133

To live a life merely to save oneself from
death is the poorest life.
I want to find out what is true
more than to account for what is untrue. [blue pencil]
(Jowett)

£134

[7]

p. 552 "*subjects of γE Phaedrus*"

Surely the subjects of the
Phaedrus are: --

1. love noble & ignoble
 i.e. with friendship
 & without
2. rhetoric --
 neither art of persuasion
 nor knowledge of the truth
 alone
 but art of persuading men
 of the truth -- (the truth to be
 found out first) --
 by knowledge of characters
 & of what arguments
 persuade what characters
 i.e. art of persuasion
 founded on knowledge
 of truth & on knowledge
 of character

f135

There are other touches of
inimitable grace, & art & deepest
wisdom in the Phaedrus,
such as:

the prayer at the end:
(what Collect in your Service
equals those words:
'give me beauty in the inward soul

{INSERTED FROM **f134v**:}
is not this an echo of what he
had just said that what is
written in the soul is the only
'true way of writing'?

{**f135**:}
& may the outward & inward man
be at one'.)

{INSERTED FROM **f134v**:}
the whole or at least half)
St. John of the Cross's doctrine)
in 10 words.)

{**f135**:}
such as:
the 'great name' 'which belongs
to God only' [for 'only' read *alone*
such as:
the whole passage, equal to St.
Paul, about being acceptable to God
& not to man -- pleasing one's
Master & not one's 'fellow-servants'

f135v

It wd be hard to say what the
'continuous thread' of the Sermon
on the Mount is. It is Morality,
but founded on the only real source
of the highest morality -- i.e. perfect
union with the Perfect Being --
in contrast to the Morality of
Law & Ceremony.
Without this it is not a complete
description of the Sermon on the

Add Mss 45784

Mount wh: too has many episodes

Add Mss 45784

f136

[8]

such as:

the touches of mysticism

&c &c &c &c &c &c

but surely the main topics of

discourse are these two

1. love 2. rhetoric

I do not follow quite what you

say that the "continuous thread"

is "rhetoric" --

{INSERTED FROM **f135v**:}

any more than if you were

to say that the `continuous thread'

of the Sermon on the Mount is Morality

(& very much taken aback the Jews

must have been to hear it when

they were doubtless expecting the `Messiah'

to preach his *Messiah-ship*)

{**f136**:}

nor that the "first speech" of

Socrates is merely an example

of the "false Rhetoric" --

nor that the "art of rhetoric in

the lower sense" &c &c &c

Will you not `dele' the words

"*in the lower sense*" -- & put

something to the effect that

"the Art of Rhetoric" is founded

on a knowledge of the characters

f137

of men *by which to*
persuade them of the truth
(something of this kind)
Is not that Para: p. 552
"The subjects" to "peculiar study"
somewhat patchy?
[I think it was written at 5 a.m.]
p. 553 *top lines*
No: No: No: No:
100 time No.
My dear child, I will not let
you so blaspheme against
your Master Socrates.
(you are much worse than the
present G.G. of India -- who has
atoned)
-- take out that about the

f138

[9]
'tour de force' -- an' you love me.
It is not only "the most beautiful"
-- it is the *best & wisest* of
all the "Platonic dialogues" --
And take out that vile Latin
phrase in the *third* line.
Plato is weeping over your
apostasy. And so am I.
[N.B. Plato is anxious to be gentle
with you (considering that he
owes you much,) & to give you
'room for repentance' -- & above all
not to get up a Public Meeting
against you -- or a 'Saturday Review'.
But, if you do not retract these
expressions -- he waives his right to
an apology -- he will proceed against
you for contempt of Court. [Amen]

f139

These things, my Son, are
about all that the God
gives me to say.

[It is true I had many
more things to comment upon
in the 'Introduction'.

But fortunately for you
-- for which thank the Gods! --

I have not time or strength]
But was there ever a time when these
things more wanted, more cried
out to be said?

And who but you can say them?

Jan 30/73

f140

Phaedrus 24

It wo

I think (I am going to be very impertinent)

that in the first Int. to the *Phaedo*

(the *Revise* is quite new matter)

you did not say enough what

you thought yourself

But I think that in this

Intro to the *Phaedrus*,

you have not said enough

what Plato thought himself

f141

Phaedrus: Introduction

I cannot do "the same" as in
the *Phaedo*, can I? -- because
you have not entered at all
into the Argument in your
Introduction to the *Phaedrus*
in the same way as you did
in your Introduction to the *Phaedo*
-- have you? --

Also: have you not 'scamped'
the Analysis of the *Phaedrus*
very much? -- The *Phaedrus*
is much the most popular of
the Dialogues with the
vulgar, like me -- (always
excepting parts of the *Crito*,
Phaedo &c which relate

f142

immediately to the death of
Socrates). Yet there is no
Dialogue of which your Analysis
is so meagre, is there?
{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY AND CROSSED OUT:}
looking for places to suit people
rather than for people to suit places
More prevalent than formerly
people only talk of Patronage as they will
Ld Lansdowne
Mr. Barnett E.E.
Socrates on Rhetoric

f143

[2]

The following, ~~therefore~~, will
hardly be more than
verbal criticisms: --

P 543. "Symposium looking forward"
Is this quite consistent with
p. 487, or with the fact?
I thought the Symposium was only
"concerned with "this world" --
& that p. 487 says so.
I don't think that the Symposium
"looks forward" at all
And I think it is singularly
'scamping', as Engineers say,
both the Phaedrus & the Phaedo
to represent them as solely, or
even mainly concerned with
a 'former' state. Surely the

f144

Phaedrus & Phaedo look
"backwards & forwards", to
the "past & *the future*" not
only more than any other work
of Plato's but more than
almost any work in the world.
Also at p. 487 you indicate this.

Is the Symposium to be put on
a level with the Phaedrus & Phaedo
any more than Swinburne is
to be put in the same category
as Æschylus?

Phaedrus Int: looks now like as if
it were by a different hand from
Int to Phaedo worked up.
I hate a Vol: by different authors.

It is like a Magazine --
as if a man did not like to be
"alone in the dark".

f145

[3]

p. 543,5.

pass "the day" ____ ? *morning*
it is *before* "the heat of noon".

pp. 545-6

In the "Fioretti di S. Francesco
d' Assisi", a work of the 13th century,
there is a vision singularly like
this -- And most certainly
St. F. never heard of Plato.

Only the unhappy person has
but 150, instead of 10000, years
to wait before his "wings grow"
-- but during that time he is or
seems to himself waiting on a
broken bridge over a torrent
of monsters. He has however
other ordeals to go thro' -- a desert,
a fire, before he "beholds" wisdom
& goodness "in their essence"

f146

p. 546 -- 9th line from top

Why is it put: "*in the place of*"
true knowledge?

This expression will be mistaken --
will it not ? -- Do you not mean "*in*"
the *form of* " -- p. 581 -- *bottom* --

p. 546 9th line from bottom

"*deteriorates his lot*"

Is this grammar?

-- his lot *is deteriorated* -- is it not?

p. 547 New Paragraph

How immeasurably superior is
this conception of "heaven" to that
of the Revelations! [1:547] in margin cp. this heaven with that of
Revelations]

p. 547 & elsewhere -- descriptions of

"true mystic" -- how singularly
alike are these in the Buddhist, the
Greek, & the Christians of the 16th century
as: "Father & Mother & goods &
laws are nothing to him -- &c &c"

also p. 556 "*pleasing the fellow --*
servants".

Add Mss 45784

f147

[4]

p. 548 -- 8th line from top
charioteer "*dropping*" -- is there no
better word?

From p. 551 to end
it is so much of a criticism
of which I know nothing --
[I mean: not a following out
of Argument]
that I have no suggestions to
make

p. 554 the "white horse"
it is not "p. 253" (misprint)
it is 253, p. 587

p. 555 6 lines from bottom
All that, about "sense" & "desires"
(always mixed up in Xtian mystics)
& 'saving' knowledge of ideas
occurs, almost word for word -- in early
mystical works of France & Spain

f148

p. 557 2nd line from bottom
Quetelet makes the remark
that we carelessly ignore the
difference between "certain" &
"probable" --
p. 560 3rd line from top
there is something awkward
about this -- is there not? --
After "comparing" should you not
insert the words: -- *what is said about*
"the divisions of the soul &c"
or something to that effect?
You can't "compare" "the soul"
with the "character of the style" --
[If you will not think me very
impertinent, I shd say that *this*
is the confusion apparent in many
of your letters to me -- & especially
in your last? --]

f149

[5]

p. 550

p.p. 594-5 602-3 604-7 608

particularly p. 603 p. 605 p. 608

rhetoric art like medicine

but now not an art -- only a

dilettante amusement

men care nothing about *truth*

e.g. in law

Have you not scamped this?

It is just as true now as then.

At least I can answer for

medicine -- as also for Parly legislation.

The account Socrates gives of

Medicine p. 603 is absolutely

true now -- more shame for us!

And p. 605 Hippocrates is

wanted just as much now

~~as then~~ 2000 years after he lived -- the more's the pity!

Should not you bring all this out

f150

much more prominently than

you have done at p. 550?

Phaedrus is the most pregnant

(in texts) of all the Dialogues

for the modern unlearned

reader --

And you have scamped it the

most --

There is not a page from

which you could not take

3 or 4 texts for Essays or

Lectures -- "to help me to

speak & think" --

especially from p. 594 to p. 608

or from p. 600 to end

"Come out, children of my soul"

you shd say to them --

And "panting" modern Truth "toils

after them in vain" --

[Instead of that, you say to them: Go in]

f151

[6]

p. 552

Would you put *that* about
the "first speech of Socrates"
being "false rhetoric" -- or class
it at all with the "speech of Lysias"
wh: is "false rhetoric"?

Is not the "speech of Socrates
on the contrary true "Rhetoric"
in the ironical form -- & meant
to lead to -- not to be in contrast
with his "second speech"?

Tho' Socrates himself says
the contrary, yet you know what
~~this is~~ he says is not true

[I wish I had written when
first I read the Phaedrus. Now
I have neither time nor strength
to write anything to be of the least

f152

use.

I shd like just to write an
"Introduction" to ye Phaedrus
my fashion -- & send it to you
to be put into sense]

p. 552

true knowledge of things
based upon ENTHUSIASM or
love of the ideas --

That is capital.
My son, bring that out.
Even in Nursing, there is now no
"enthusiasm" or love of the idea.
Or, for aught I see, is there
any 'enthusiasm' or 'love of the
Ideal' about anything. Yet

f152v

'true knowledge' is founded on
feeling as well as on Intellect
--rather all 'true knowledge' pertaining
to higher human things
founded upon feeling & Intellect together
--cannot be founded upon either apart

f153

[7]

p. 554

p.p. 580, 1-3. p.p. 589-90

to realize true *nature* of soul
impossible

figure of winged horses --

I have nothing to suggest --

You have said all I wanted -- &
infinitely better than I cd have
said it in the Revise of the Phaedo
x Certainly: we know nothing
about the 'nature', only about the
'character' --

I am so sick of the discussion
about 'nature' & 'character' -- because
it seems to me merely verbal.

f153v

And now it seems as if you
were argufying merely to
make me argufy -- for which
I have not the slightest power
-- & less than the slightest inclination.

It seems a mere talk for talk's sake

But then you begin again (in your
last letter) that neither 'nature',
'being', 'substance', 'character', are
admissible -- when the very
argument was that whether of God,
or of the 'soul',
'being', 'substance', 'nature', are
what we *can* know nothing about --
character, characteristics, qualities --
whether of 'God or of the soul' --

Are what we can find out all
about, if we search --

Does not Socrates himself say this?
Does he not also say that we are to
find out all we can about the differing
characters of different persons, in order

f154

to know how to deal with them?

And how much more important
to find out all we can about
God's ways of going on in
order to deal with Him.

Have you not yourself said
that if God uses successive
generations -- without giving an
individual future of eternal progress
for each human being -- merely to
carry out some plan of His --

then to drop off into non entity --
He cannot be Goodness, Wisdom, Justice!

Is not that describing His `character',
not His `substance'?

The absurdity of Athanasian Creed
is: describing what can't be described --
what we *can* know nothing about --
`substance' -- `persons' -- & learning
characteristics -- Goodness, Wisdom, Justice (over 34
as things we have nothing to do with --
-- the only things we have anything to do with --

f154v

But for that matter so
does the Apostles' Creed -- except
in the first Clause.

34) His plans for our moral
regeneration -- the `ways of
Perfection' --

Add Mss 45784

f155

[1a]

Are not the following some of
the points in which,
so striking in the Phaedrus,
the Analysis is somewhat deficient?

p. 544 & p. 564

man more wonderful than Typho
p. 545 - p.p. 574-5

"as wolves love lambs, so lovers
love their loves" --

&c &c &c &c

It appears to me that the
whole secret of the question
wh: has received an *immeasurable*
development & entirely in
the wrong direction by the
Modern Novel Literature.

--a Literature far more prolific
than any other literature in existence
--lies in this -- in what Plato

f156

has here so tersely put.

In spite of all that is said & written to the contrary, my experience asserts that the really good woman sinks in marriage -- Why? because "as wolves love lambs" &c -- so she is loved.

Yet -- two together ought to be able to serve God better than those two apart. Why do you scarcely ever see an example of this -- why but because "as wolves love lambs" &c?

[I once heard a person of the greatest ability say as a general proposition: "oh if *he* could marry *her*, without *her* marrying *him*" --

In this I entirely concur: '*She*'

f157

[2a]

may raise '*him*' -- but oh how rarely '*he*' raises '*her*' -- And yet when '*he*' is ~~generally~~ higher than '*she*' -- still it is, generally, the same thing Why, then, but because 'as wolves' &c, even the best men love 'their loves'?

There are some glaring instances of the ~~contrary~~ converse -- where the woman loves 'like the wolf' -- but, as a rule, not (in England at least).

I have just had the most severe blow of my severe life -- to which the death of Agnes Jones was as nothing -- a woman of the highest moral nature I have ever known left us in a manner

f158

wh: my Committee characterizes
as 'sharp practice', in a
manner of wh: I have never seen
anything like the want of feeling
-- she being or having been my
closest -- my only friend --
because the man to whom she is
to be married -- confessedly unworthy
-- loved her "as wolves" &c]

{INSERTED FROM **f157v**:}

N.B.

p.p. 572-3-4 cp p. 590 (bottom)
"breeding meanness"

p. 572 (239)

"always employed in reducing
him" -- her -- each other -- "to inferiority" --

p. 573

"in everything dependent on himself --
"the delight of the lover's heart
& a curse to himself"

"Verily, a profitable guardian &
associate" --

p. 574 -- "*mischievous to his love*" --

Is there anything more weighty than
what lies in these? weighty to the world
since the world marries --
Any thing more applicable to every
day's experience now?

Please bring this out better.

This is not "false rhetoric" --
It is Socrates in his weightiest mood,
tho' in his most ironical style.

{BACK TO **f158**:}

A whole section of the 'Introduction'
might well be made out of this:
for it makes no difference whether
the friendship (love) described
is that of man or of man & woman
(Put immorality out of the game
in either case) [Plato took
man because women *then* were
:unworthy:/:incapable: of friendship]

Add Mss 45784

f158v

N.B.

Observe the use of the word
"friendship"

p. 590 last Para.

& the "heavenly blessings" wh:
it "confers" --

Also: observe that Socrates
contradicts himself in
attributing to the "*non-lover*"
the "breeding of meanness"

p. 590 bottom

& to the "lover" the same thing

p. 572 (239) & p.p. 573-4

This is of course intentional.

But have you mentioned
this in your 'Introduction'?
[This is not "false Rhetoric" --]

f159

[3a]

'Friendship is not less than love but
greater'

says a little Novel recommended
by J.S. Mill.

It is because all modern fiction
has lost sight of this truth
that it is such unutterable trash.

It is because modern love=
=making has lost sight of this
truth that it is ~~such~~ unutterably
"mischievous to its love" --
~~trash~~ -- is it not? --

It is because Plato knew it,
that out of this some of his highest creations
(as also some of his more horrid
faults) have sprung ~~up~~ -- is it not?
[~~Put Immorality apart for the moment~~]

May we not fearlessly assert,
even from the little distorted

Add Mss 45784

f160

experience we have now
that `friendship is not less than love
but greater'
that because there is so little friend=
ship in marriage, therefore it
is so frequently unhappy
farther: that one of the highest relations
in life possible is friendship
(not love) between a *man* &
a *woman* -- *not* husband & wife
that where marriage is *good*
its goodness is enhanced, enlarged,
by the husband having *friend*=
ship with other women, married
or not -- & also, I suppose,
by the wife having friends
among other men.

{WRITTEN TO THE LEFT OF THE ABOVE PARAGRAPH, FROM **f159v**:}

This is not theory --
I have seen the most remarkable
instance of this.

{BACK TO **f160**:}

Surely marriage should enlarge &
strengthen all other ties, instead
of cutting them off, as in England.

f161

[4a]

I think it is *really* the most
immoral thing: the tacit
assumption in England
that it is 'dangerous' (the stock
word) for a woman to have
any conversation but the
merest 'persiflage' with
any *man* but her husband
i.e. -- not to recognize that the
reverse mode of going on would strengthen, not
loosen the central tie -- *if* it
is *good*.
But how can it be otherwise in
our state of things where
marriage is contracted at play
& not at work -- & where there
can be no real friendship except
by *accident afterwards*, between man & wife? -- [There
indeed it is 'dangerous' to have
other 'friendships' --]

f162

Do not you think that, while
Plato, in the actual society he
saw around him (setting aside
some ~~monsters~~ prodigies, like Diotima)
found it impossible to describe
man's *friendship* for *woman* --
he, in his Ideal 'Republic',
therefore fell foul of a
conception about women
wh:, tho' monstrous in itself,
shews the strength of his ideal
(distorted as it is) on this
matter?
Any how, would you pass over
with such a very slight recognition
a subject so enormous, & so
pregnant a hint as that of
'As wolves love lambs' &c?

Add Mss 45784

f163

[5a]

You can scarcely dismiss, can you? --
with such bare notice a subject
wh: evidently occupied so large
a place in Plato's mind -- see
his Phaedrus, Symposium, a hint
of it in his Charmides, & his
Republic --

If I might, I would venture to
describe Plato's state of mind
thus: --

He sees a state of society & of
education in which it is
impossible for woman to be
the mental help=mate or
intellectual 'love' of man or
friend of man

He sees this place taken, even
as to personal beauty, by
young Mankind instead of Woman=

f164

kind

[I omit Immorality, Ancient &
Modern -- it has nothing to
do with the main idea]

In the Phaedrus, he gives with
his usual irony & half in joke
but with the deepest meaning --
-- so much is he impressed with
the mischief of 'love' -- a sketch
to shew that the non-lover's
love is actually better than the
lover's love.

[I am not far from agreeing with
him -- I have seen such mischief
from 'Lover's love' -- I mean
even where the most perfect
morality is observed according
to *man* tho' not according to God -- & also, alas', from
'unloving love' -- (a sentence once

Add Mss 45784

f165

[6a]
quoted to me by Sidney Herbert --
-- Euripides, is it not? --)
for *both* 'lovers' love' & 'unloving
love' are devoid of friendship,
of any high Ideal -- And this,
I take it, is Plato's meaning,
is it not? --
A person of no little experience in
life once gave as its fruit,
this: 'It is much better in
marriage for the *woman* to
begin with much & the man
with little love -- For whether
he begins or not with much
love, it is all gone in a year --
And then the woman's love
endures' --
This of course means love without
friendship -- & is much the same

f166

as what Plato says, is it not? --]
After the jesting tirade in favour
of the 'non-lover', Plato
recollects himself to himself --
& gives the magnificent Atonement
of the true uses, the true Ideal
of Love -- the earthly Love as
reflecting the heavenly Love --
& leading up to it --
than which there is nothing finer
in all poetry -- or Art -- is there? --
{INSERTED FROM **f165v**:}
There is a beautiful illustration
of this in the Symposium
-- fellow-workers in love -- [FN's expression]
"working together for their improvement" [Jowett's]
p. 473 -- bottom --

Add Mss 45784

[in book 1:477 intro to Symposium FN underlined: This is why parents love *their* CHILDREN for the sake of immortality/**but not their wives**/ [in margin] and underlined point re "noblest creations of all are those of legislators." *Who would not sooner have these children of the* MIND THAN THE ORDINARY HUMAN ONES?

[there are many underlined passages of Symposium intro, but few comments

{BACK TO **f166**:}

What Plato says in the Republic
on the subject of man & woman
is nothing, is it?, but his
glorious Ideal struggling out
its way among the immoralities
& debasements wh: are all he
knows in social real life

f167

[7a]

He has seen so much immorality
in the relations not only of
man & woman but of man
& man that he actually
conceives an *Ideal of Immorality*
-- he makes ~~the~~ marriage itself
an Immorality -- that is, the
physical connection between
man & woman is to be nothing
but a physical connection -- wh: by itself in the
human being is the meaning of ~~but an~~ immorality -- is it not?
[he is utterly ignorant of the
fact, for it is a *fact*, that
you cannot breed ~~the~~ human
beings as you can calves --
& that in the nearest approaches
to his plan that are known,
the human being degenerates
miserably, even in body. It

f168

seems very odd that Plato
shd not with his immense
Idealism have anticipated
or suspected this --
However he didn't]

Plato then goes on to educate
woman, as the friend of man,
to employ her as his equal.
It is the finest conception
possible -- that is, possible to
him -- But it is the Ideal
run mad.

He separates the body entirely,
gives that up to legitimized
immorality -- as if it were
possible to breed the human
being (consisting of a body &
a soul) in that way -- And

f169

[8a]

He then *takes out* the souls & minds
~~bodies~~ & puts them in a separate
world to themselves.

As if men & women whom
he has raised to that high Ideal
would consort with each other
as to the body like bulls & cows --

Surely it is the most
curious instance of a Metaphysical
idea being pursued not only
with an utter disregard but
in total defiance of the ~~Ideal~~ Practical
or Practicable -- (for in this
at least Plato was serious --)
that is known in Philosophy --
(tho', for the matter of that, I have
a friend much nearer at hand
who does not seem to see it so)

Add Mss 45784

f170

I do not at all allude to the
uprooting of the first tie of human society that
it would be --

I mean that, as far as we know
from all historical experience,
the intention of the Creator is:
that the highest state of things,
even for the physical breeding of
the human race, shd be that one
man shd keep in marriage
to one woman -- in love --

{INSERTED FROM **f169v**:}
that in proportion as this is
diverged from, the race
degenerates even to extinction
[the fact that some of the
higher specimens of the human
race have been illegitimate
children -- but born in love
tho' not in marriage
& that marriage *without* the
ideal love does *not* breed
the finest even physical specimens
being not an exception to
but a confirmation of this law
or Order of things

{BACK TO **f170**:}
& that Plato's plan wd
end in there being no children
at all -- let alone *fine* children
Races do come to an end in
that way -- do not they? --
[Plato seems to have gone in this directly
against his own maxim -- *Phaedrus p. 607*
(just *before* 272) "he must have a
theoretical notion first & then see them
(conceive of them) in action & follow them with
all his senses about him" &c

Add Mss 45784

f171

[5ab]

I am incapable -- but you are so
capable -- I would not, if I
were you, leave this rich mine
unworked.

Take politics: Government
measures : Public Administration
Parliamentary legislation --
The language of the Cabinet is
so different from what it was
in my day -- 10-15 years ago.
It is exactly what Socrates says:
"an art of enchanting" 1. the
Cabinet 2. the House "by
arguments" -- It is *not*: this is
the truth -- or, as Plato wd put
it: this is philosophy -- or as
we shd put it: this is the right
thing (for the country) to do --
& we must put it before the

f171v

Ho: of C in a manner that will
persuade them to give us the
money. Or as Socrates
would say: we must "learn
the differences of human souls"
& "what persons are persuaded
by what arguments".

Sidney Herbert used to say: ~~why~~
the Ho: of C. never refused
money to any one who knew
that a thing was right --
& cd put it before them.

Is not this Plato's whole 'Art
of Rhetoric' put into modern
Parliamentary language?

And what is more, what Sidney
Herbert said was true The
Ho: of C. never refused him any

Add Mss 45784

f172

thing -- [I have been told this by Cabinets
who did not like him]
But there is nothing of that
now in Cabinet men --
There is a little of it in Forster --
-- & a good deal of it in Stansfeld
But look at the rest!
And look at Indian
Administration now compared
to what it has been, in the
days of the 2 Lawrences, the
Freres, & a host of others who
have settled & civilized our
Empire there --
And look at yourself --
Had you anything to say to me
when Lord Mayo was killed
but that you regretted
Mazzini more?
Lord Palmerston was worth all

f172v

these modern Cabinets ('rhetoricians')
put together --
It seems to me that the world is
divided -- i.e. the capable world --
1. into people who have a *real*
Ideal [is that Irish?] -- that is,
who have arrived at the knowledge
of some truth -- & who do not
know how to set it forth -- how to
give it body & substance -- or how
to persuade others of it -- that is,
who have not learnt "the art of
persuasion" -- or any knowledge
of the differing characters
[characters: *not* 'natures' --
Properly speaking: there is no
plural to 'nature']
of human beings -- or "what
persons are persuaded by

Add Mss 45784

f173

[6ab]
what arguments" --
2. into people who have got
hold of the knowledge of no
truth -- but only of what "is
*"likely to be approved by the many
"who sit in judgment"* [Saturday
Reviews: Pall Mall Gazettes:]
-- only of what is "public opinion"
about the "truly good" --
[Bravo Plato! was he
pre-figuring the "Times"?]
who do not "know the truth of
what they are going to say" --
but only *how* to say it --
who put "good for evil" --
in which Socrates & Isaiah
seem agreed
themselves "ignorant of the true
nature" of each -- [*'nature'* is the right
word there]

f173v

but "studying the notions of
the multitude"
[is not that what Mr. Gladstone
openly professes to do?]
Now, as it is impossible for all
this to be set forth better than
it is by Plato in the Phaedrus
--*p.p. 594 to 609* & almost to *end*
& as it is equally impossible for
this to be so applicable to any
time as the present --
would you not show in your
'Introduction' how this is? --
If Plato is to do good, in the
way of Philosophy (besides in
the way of Classical learning,)
there can be no more practical
lesson, no lesson more wanted

f174

in any day -- but particularly in
the present day -- than this --
[When you call Mr. Lowe a "first-
rate man", I do not deny it --
but he is a "first-rate man"
in the way of Lysias --
And you cannot conceive how
Mr. Lowe's work is deteriorated
since I knew him & it 16 years ago]
Then the whole of the Review &
periodical literature of this day,
is it not almost all a "studying the
notions of the multitude"?
And, even in those who do not,
Mat: Arnold, Stephen -- can
any body pretend that in
those pages of the 'Cornhill',
'Fraser' &c, they are trying to
"arrive at the good first", &
then to "persuade" us of it?

f174v

And could you do any
greater good than by
setting this forth before the
rising generation, as you
only can?
People take texts out of Isaiah
-- there is nothing more perfect
in Isaiah than some texts in
Plato -- & they are often very
similar -- & very similar to John
-- And, as it is not proper to
preach in the pulpit from
texts out of Plato, I would
preach in the 'Introductions'
from texts out of ye Phaedrus
as you have done out of the
Phaedo --

Add Mss 45784

f175

[7ab]

I will not go on with this -- for
I really have not strength.
But it would not require a tithe
of your genius & experience
to show how
Parliamentary Life
the Law
Medicine
the Church (especially the
Church)
are all in the most urgent need
of Plato's lesson --
how they are actually in more
need of it now than 20
years ago
how matters are deteriorating in
these things -- while (almost
because) they are improving in
other things

f175v

The Professional is deteriorating
while the layman is improving --
And all for want of the lesson
that we must "arrive at the truth
first" before we "persuade"
others of it.
Does the Church ever think of
"arriving" at any "truth"?
Does it not consider preaching
& Creeds as an "art of speaking which
is unconnected with the truth"?

{INSERTED FROM **f176:**}

Liberal side same -- both to tell lies
& in which "both parties should tell lies"?
Does not the Law do so even more?

{BACK TO **f175v:**}

Does not the "Law" consider
"pleading" "an art of speaking
which is unconnected with the
truth" -- in which "men literally
care nothing about truth" but only
about "conviction"?

As to Medicine, men must

Add Mss 45784

be connected with it as I am
to know ~~that~~ how much the "Materia Medica"

Add Mss 45784

f176

is an "art" of doctoring
"unconnected with the truth"
of experience, or of observation of

God's physical Laws --

Doctors, ~~tho'~~ they call themselves,

Physicians, ~~have nothing to do~~ altho' with the smallest possible
pretention

~~with~~ to knowing or discovering these physical Laws.

Just as Ecclesiastics call themselves Divines
or Professors of Divinity or Theology with no
pretention or intention at all to study the ~~Laws~~
~~or~~ Order of God's Moral Laws --

Liberal state[smen?] same-both to tell lies

& in which "both parties should tell lies?

Does not the Law do so even more?

Theology: speculative habit, Patteson
what can the man mean?

Ecclesiastics say: it is to be the Athanasian
Creed. Neither that it is to be the *Logy* of God
wh: we have to find out

Religious or irreligious state of England --
very like that of Rome -- laity making such
giant strides in material, mechanical progress
in independence in Education in material things.
Ecclesiastical organizations & laity under their paw [?]

(over 34

And, finally, might we not, to

Add Mss 45784

f176v

make an (unspeakably) long
story short, give the
converse of what Socrates
says: & truly say that if we
"care so much about the
opinions of men", we cannot
think much about having
"the truth ourselves"?
& also that if we think so much
more of "the speaker", we shall care
"not ~~of~~ for the truth but ~~of~~ for the speaker
& ~~of~~ for the country from which
the truth comes" 39

34) making tumultuous demonstrations in one
in favour of Pope's temporal power -- in other
of Athanasian Creed's temporal power in both
as far from any real religion as ever but in
England restrained by political freedom
39) wh: is just what we seem to do here --
whether that "country" means Rome or Convocation or
'party' or the Reviewer or Mr. Gladstone or Ld Derby
(how a party man -- Ld Stanley was not)

f177

[8ab]

Lastly,
People may say what they
please about the corruption of
past times -- and I suppose
the times of Horace Walpole
were unutterably corrupt --
They may talk of 'Patronage'
as they will --
But, Has there ever been a time
when there was such looking
for places to suit people
instead of for people to suit
places -- i.e to do good in
places? --
I wish I could think I were
mistaken in this --
But, even as late as 18643 (?)
when Lord Elgin was dying,
the Cabinet (Lord Palmerston's)

Add Mss 45784

f177v

called in the help of Ld Stanley
(Ld Derby) -- [I was consulted
in the Cabinet then & knew --]
who immediately came to me
& asked me to see Sir John
Lawrence --

And thus only was the
appointment of Sir J Lawrence
to the G.G.ship determined.

~~Now~~ I am quite sure that
nothing of the kind takes
place *now* about any
appointment.

[Nay, did you not yourself
congratulate me on the
appointmt of Ld Lansdowne,
merely because you were pleased
for *him*?

f178

About Mr. Lowe in the same
way? --

Did you not wish to give
Mr. Barnett who was honestly
seeking for preferment in the
E-end, & the I-end only,
a provincial living? --]

I could mention cases of this
kind *ad infinitum* in the
highest posts of India
& also in the posts at home --

Does not all this come
under this present head
in the Phaedrus? and
would it not be well to
show it up in your 'Introduction'?

Add Mss 45784

f178v

Qy ~~it is~~
You think of whether *my* 'Art of Rhetoric'
is done 'like a lady'. But the 2
R.C.'s -- the Indian Sany Admn founding
'Art of Rhetoric' employed was
simply to find out what "the truth"
(the right thing) was
& then to "persuade" people of it.
This does not comport with writing
or not writing "like a lady"
& when I began writing 'like a lady'
it was because I had done with it
or it had done with me --
did not intend to make any more leaps
-- merely wrote 'by special desire'
a sort of 'Article', quite beneath the work

f179

p. 557: line 3 from bottom
"first, as expecting &c" to "truth"
I do not follow -- quite --
Is it not rather
"first, as desiring to persuade
without arriving at a knowledge
of whether it is the truth
of which we (~~rhetoricians~~)
desire to persuade" -- ? --
Is not this what Socrates
says?

f179v

That allusion to sailor's gin=shops
"where good manners are
unknown" -- does he not mean
by it that such a selfish
love is fit only for such
"haunts"?

Add Mss 45784

f180

p. 557 -- bottom line to

p. 558 -- end of first Paragraph

It is most importantertinent & conceited
of any one -- especially me -- to
differ with you in this.

But has not Plato, besides the
one you have given, -- a deeper
meaning in these 3 speeches?

For the first, of course, he means

~~to condemn~~ an unqualifiedly condemnation --

But for the second -- I think Plato

told me that in this, tho' still in his
ironical fashion, he meant

to tell those deep & universal

truths ~~in~~ about interested

self-absorbing selfish love being

such a curse that `non=

f181

[2]

=`lover's love' is even better --

Then, in the third, he rises
as it were out of all this banter
& bluster to the sublimity of
his subject & says:

But did I call *this* love?

O forgive me, God, for my
blasphemy! *This* is not love

Or rather it is the love of

this world -- But there is

another kingdom of love --

a kingdom not of this world

-- a divine, Eternal kingdom.

And *this* is *what it is*: --

(& he then goes on with his
third speech) Do you know

Add Mss 45784

f182

that I have been wont to think
there was nothing finer than
this "serious" transition -- except
when -- Pilate coming in from
the furious raving of the Jews
outside, & telling Jesus that
they accuse him of trying to
make himself a King,
Jesus answers, apparently
quite calmly -- but, like all
great Deliverers, with a touch
of irony too: --

 `I *am* a King -- But my
Kingdom is not of this world --
My Kingdom is that of truth' --
[When I read that, I do not
wonder that they called Jesus
Divine]

f183

[3]

Divine]

 I think Plato had a far
diviner meaning in those 3
speeches than a mere point
of "literature", or "dialectical
principles" --

 No more "dialectical" than
Jesus *xx* was when he used
those words: -- `My kingdom is not of
this world" --

 Indeed Plato told me so --

^{xx} or whoever used them --

 One always wonders -- if they were
uttered to Pilate in his judgment hall
where the Jews cd not go at Passover-time
-- who reported them -- But this is
thinking "not of the truth" but of the "*country*

{CONTINUED ON **f183v**:}

whence the truth comes" --
sinning as Socrates said I should

Add Mss 45784

f184

p. 558

Para: beginning with "*Dialectic*"
down to end "*written law*" --
Do not you omit something here?
E.g. -- Plato's "paradox that speech
is superior to writing" - - - is this
not rather meant -- *Plato=fashion* --
to introduce the noble
passage that what is written
in the soul (after having
been spoken to the soul) is
the only way of writing?
It seems to me one of Plato's
most characteristic bits --
He has got weary & impatient --
oh so weary -- (as I do -- especially

f185

[4]
with the Governmr -- with the
India Governmr more especially)
-- of seeing people thinking that they
have done *something* when
they have *written* down something
instead of *DOING* it -- [in
administrative matters, especially
in a country like India,
writing down something is
generally equivalent to *not*
doing it -- is in the place of
doing it -- nay, actually
prevents its being done] --
he is so weary of this (the little he knew how the Briton wd
improve upon
the practice he condemns) that he
exclaims: `oh don't write
~~it~~ at all -- *speak* & then *do* it

Add Mss 45784

f186

-- put it into action -- let there be
only the *Word* & the Bread
-- that is, the Ideal made real' --
Christ seems to have had
exactly the same feeling: --
when he exclaims so often
that he is the 'Bread' --
that we are to 'eat' him --
-- Does he not mean that
we are to make his words --
our life? {INSERTED FROM **f185v**:}
not to write about them
but to *live* them --
to make them {BACK TO **f186**:} part of our body,
our being=in=action, (as
bread gives life & strength to
us who eat it)? -- to make the
Ideal of his words real, &
i.e. an actual living existence in
ourselves?

f187

[5]

[I think you *do* that with Balliol]
I do so sympathize with Christ
& Socrates about writing --
When I see all that mass, all
that stifling, choking, dust=heap
of Government Minutes, of Reviews, Magazines, Essays,
Newspapers, Reviews of Reviews,
Novels, Fiction, Verses, without *one*
gleam of the Ideal in them,
without *one* ghost of an honest aspiration,
nay, stifling all aspiration, --

[-- and people are not even satisfied
with that but they must publish
'Extracts', 'Selections', 'Excerpta',
'Compendia', Abstracts, 'Gems',
'Treasures' --] ~~when I see these things~~

Add Mss 45784

f187v

Note --
but I think Middlemarch beats
all in this line that ever was
penned -- because it states
(totidem verbis) that its object
is to pronounce aspiration impossible
-- & that *because* women now can't
be Antigones & St Teresas
therefore they must marry 2 men an
uncle & nephew, one an imposter, the
other a Cluricaune -- within a year --
And the woman can look abroad
over this wilderness of London --
where we are crying, imploring,
stretching out our hands, advertising
for women to come & help us!
 & write that!!!
And her husband's son married
 Octavia Hill's sister!
And she can coolly sit down & write
that!! If we could prosecute her --
but there is no legal punishment hard enough.

f188

I feel inclined to cry out with
Socrates: oh no more writing: --
 what is written in the SOUL is
 the only writing worth ~~anything~~
 having
Is not this the main point of
 the present passage in the
 Phaedrus -- At least, would
 you not go on to say, p. 558,
 as he does, that neither
 that which is spoken or written
 is of any great value, unless
 it is implanted or sown in
 the soul -- & grows up into
 a mustard-tree, (as Christ says)
~~with~~ so that the birds are able to build their nests in
 the branches -- or like a harvest

Add Mss 45784

f189

[6]

Christ is full of these metaphors --
(he is the "WORD" -- the ideal of God
made into the body of man --
& so more or less, are all -- *he* is not the *only* Son
This seems to me Plato's true
meaning --
p. 558

"mind" of King "preferred to the *written* law"

[Politics]

why? because he the King is (supposed to be)
the "Law" *incorporate* -- the living "Law" -- the Ideal made life
As in Egypt: Phra: Rameses: the King --
-- son of Ra the Sun *he* is the "Law" EMBODIED
-- not "written" --
cp. p. 550 -- bottom lines --
Is this not scamped?
Is not what Plato says much
finer than this? viz. that,
the principles of justice & truth

f190

(delivered by word of mouth)
are to be *written* in the SOUL --
-- the 'only true way of writing' --
-- the 'only right sort of man' --

cp. p. 614 -- (278)
one of the grandest passages
in the grandest of Plato's poems --
-- the Phaedrus

Add Mss 45784

ff191-195 NOTES ON WRITING VS. ACTION, HUMAN CHARACTER, PLAN, MORAL ORDER/WORLD/GOVERNMENT, CHURCH OF ENGLAND PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f191

[2]

I do not see one step made towards it {THIS LINE IN PENCIL}
Now, *is* there?

It seems to me on the contrary that
what is written becomes more vague,
more little amenable to correct observation
or experience, more getting hold of the
"wrong end" of every thing (as A.H.C. used
to say of the 'Saturday Review') every year.

And there seems to me nobody in
the wide world but you to do it.

[I sometimes read -- merely out of curiosity
the -- pretended -- 'philosophical' Magazines --
They seem to me more utterly astray -- more
writing for argument -- & not for truth's sake
-- every year -- To say something -- not to
find out what *is* -- their object --
the Herbert Spencers -- the Stephens -- the Gregs --
&c &c &c --]

What seems to be wanted -- (& what is
least of all being done) -- is: --
(first catch your hare --)
-- to find out & to express in intelligible language

f191v

what are the facts of daily experience
in human moral history
e.g. what circumstances make what
human characters -- make what
developments of mankind -- including
of course under 'circumstances' the
individual identity (or organization) (or character)
with which each human being comes
into the world.
[This is a field almost entirely untouched.
It has only just been found out, e.g.
that 'Charity' (indiscriminate) makes Poverty
-- that Prisons make Criminals --
-- that bad Dwellings make Vice --
As to any definite unravelling of these
helter-skelter propositions into individual
& more manageable practical problems,
we have scarcely an idea of it.]
Then, it is obvious that the 'laws', or 'plan'
which register or which *lay out* these
experiences are entirely beyond
our ~~own~~ making -- tho' not beyond our ken.

f192

Then I would find out *what* that Order,
plan, or Moral Government is which
we can't live a moment of our lives
without running our heads against
or without making use of to our own
salvation.
That we can't modify this 'Plan' in the least
degree is obvious --
That we must live by & through ~~it~~ this Order, make
use of it, in every thing, if we would
do any thing, is equally obvious.
Then, if that Being is a good God
who makes all this Order of things,
under which & by which we live, &
have our power (or Free-Will),
we would love Him.

f192v

This is a cut-&-dry definition (which you can't abide)
of what I call "the Kingdom".
But people will write columns upon columns
about the Coronation of the "King" of Sweden
Nay, in all countries but this heretical one,
pages upon pages are written daily
about the Pope (as if *he* were the author
of the Moral Order of this World), his
Rescripts, his Canon Law, the "ecclesiastical
Status" of his Priests & Officers, as if they
were the exponents to us of the order of
this Moral World.
But not a line, not a word, not a thought
is given to what *is* the real Order, of what
is the real Moral "Kingdom" of this World.
Nay, there is a whole imaginary World
(which, if it does exist, can only be a
part & a continuation of the Moral Order
of this)
laid down with its Angels & Archangels & Saints
& the way one can get into it by certain
ceremonies & imploring certain rascals, canonized

f193

[3]
by ~~the~~ certain Popes to pull us in -- and a whole
hierarchy & most expensive ceremonial
organization organized on this purely fictitious
basis.
It does seem to me the most amazing thing,
unless Mankind is an Asylum of Lunatics
for the rest of the Universe, that all
this play-acting can go on -- & not a thought
be bestowed on what *is* the real Moral
Government of God -- of this World -- for our
children whom we care for so much --
It is as if men & women were to eat on
the stage where we know the food is sham
-- & to prepare no other meals -- no real
dinners & breakfasts.
It is the only thing in which Mankind
acts in this way.
But, long as this stage play has lasted,
there are plenty of indications every day
that it is now falling to pieces -- that the

f193v

stage costumes are all worn out --
that there is a collapse -- & nothing
to take its place.
One can't open a newspaper -- even with
all the Coronations of Kings of Sweden
in it -- without seeing this -- &
seeing it even in the more sober &
reasonable Church to which you belong.
When even poor Lord Shaftesbury says that
Church of England people are living in a
"fool's Paradise -- & that "unless something be
done", the days of "our glorious old Church"
are "numbered & nearly over" -- And when
the "Times", which is essentially *the times*,
comments on this by saying that the Church
is "in that desperate condition" in which it
"can't even endure remedies" --
so far from thinking as you do that the
time is past for you to preach a more
reasonable religion, I think the time is
just come -- but very urgently come now indeed.

f194

Few, I should suppose, would agree with
Ld Shaftesbury that there are "masses" with
"enthusiasm" for the Ch: of E., if only their
services were accepted in her.
Rather they are casting off all Churches,
all religion whatever.
Is not this a frightful state of things?
Yet there are none that consider it.
And Bp Temple runs up his
"uncommonly tall tree" and Bps of
London have their "Funds" -- and
Convocations meet & have their discussions
-- and "Authorized Versions" and "Lectionaries"
of the Prayer book are published --
just as if the foundation had not
already crumbled at their feet.

"Up", my son, "And at 'em"

Add Mss 45784

f194v

3. Apropos to your writing & preaching Religion
to the God of Moral Philosophy,
you began:
"If I had known you", (meaning me! poor me!)
"at the time of my troubles", -- --
And I stopped you, because I can't --
bear your talking in that way, as if
you wanted my help!
But whatever it was that you were going
to say -- whatever it is,
let us do it now.
I will give up every thing now, except
my Nurses, to do anything for you,
in this way.
And I am sure God is calling you.

f195

[4]

Don't answer.
I won't have you answer --
But next time I see you
(tho' I am perfectly sure that you will have
forgotten everything you said)
I shall begin

Add Mss 45784

ff196-96v NOTES ON AN ALCOHOLIC FRIEND PEN HANDWRITTEN BY B JOWETT

f196 {DATE: PENCIL]

[July-Aug 1873] End of 15 1873

I am led into these reflections partly for having had one of my drunken friends (I do not take on about them so much as you do poor soul) staying with me who is an admirable musician. This poor drunkard is a young man of great ability: his father is out of his mind & he has to support his mother, but at present he is utterly demoralized. He has no character & I cannot give him one. I suppose that he must try & gain a character & meanwhile write for the press. He deceives himself & me & his father & mother have always deceived me about his habits of intoxication. He had better be w[ith] Miss Jones than live on as he has been doing for 2 or 3 years longer. This & [illeg] case & young Teniers [?]

Add Mss 45784

f196v

case do pain me, though not so
much as they would you. In that,
I think you are like Christ.

I should sometimes like to have
a word from you saying that you
are at rest & in peace: I have
given up the idea of seeing you
happy in this world, but I want
you to have some intervals of cessas [?],
for there may be a fever even of
doing good. The life of Christ was
not wholly one of sorrow & sadness.
You have had great success, but
you never allow your mind to dwell
except on the failure which in this
world of obstructions, necessarily accompany
every considerable work.

I send you a little votive of Ld
Westbury which appeared in a country paper
-- interesting to those who cared about him.
Will you send it us back?

ever yours
B Jowett

f197 BENJAMIN JOWETT'S AGREEMENT TO STICK TO A WORK/REST SCHEDULE PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE & BENJAMIN JOWETT **[3:545]**

{HANDWRITTEN BY FN: August 13 1873

30

I, B. Jowett, do hereby solemnly agree
during the next twelve months
to take five months' complete holiday
& for the other seven months
to work but ~~two~~ three hours a day
{HANDWRITTEN BY JOWETT:}
& not more than an hour at a time

B Jowett

Add Mss 45784

f198 NOTES ON NURSING PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

Autumn 1873?
have taken for 6 or 8 mo:
to seeing our Matrons & Nurses
having those from a distance
to stay in the house --
Not only compels me to give up
a great deal of my India & W.O.
work but takes out of me
I think more than any thing
did before. I have never been
used to lead, except by leading
in work -- I am not good at
talking & preaching & examining
except on spot
clear call of God: cd not
refuse it.
of course a thing once embarked
in wh: increases, crowds upon
& absorbs one more every day

ff199-200v NOTES ON NIGHTINGALE'S TRIALS PEN HANDWRITTEN BY BENJAMIN JOWETT

f199

23
Oxford Oct. 27. 1873 {1873}
Dear Miss Nightingale
I am very sorry to hear
that you are in such trouble
& distraction -- shall I tell you a
truth or a truism that these
sort of trials, if well managed,
begin to clear up in a few
weeks or months; & new
helpers appear from unexpected
quarters. You have got into one
of the difficult places of life
& courage & ability were given
you just to meet such
difficulties

f199v

The only thing that occurs to me to say to you is that you must get rid of the physician quietly -- I should treat him with the greatest kindness not for his sake, but for your own & to prevent an expose which will do harm to the institution. He is probably not a bad man, but some change has come over him -- I have known other examples of this at 60 or 65. Nor do I think that you can make out the degree of fault in him & in the probationers -- the only thing is to watch them

f200

When you have made up your mind to a course of action about him or in the other matters to which you refer cast them all from your mind on God, if you will, & quietly go on with your work.

The 'Jupiter {illeg}' is {illeg} & is I think certainly a reason for your going to less near the hospital. But unless you gain greater peace & calmness, you will risk your life -- The highest height of religion is perfect peace, especially as you get on in life. I suppose that J.T. [?] is not going to Edinburgh.

Add Mss 45784

f200v

I heard about Mrs [?] Nightingale's nurse at Embley -- I do not think that there was anything else to trouble you seriously.

I do not see why the 'young person' whom you call the pearl should not {illeg} with her {illeg. mother?} & help you too. As to the other 'young person' I should not head [?] off the {illeg} but should not object to apply very strong dissuasives -- I would not write to her but see her, for she will probably shew your letter to her lover.

Fare you well: I am glad that I have heard the {illeg. cause?} of your truth Ever yours

B. Jowett

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE LEFT SIDE OF PAGE:}

The Diag's left this morning -- very happy & well suited -- she seemed to be a rare clever person.

ff201-21 NOTES ON SUN RISING (PROVIDENTIAL ARRANGEMENT), PROBABILITIES, LAWS, FACTS, THE INITIAL & SUBSEQUENT CAUSES, EXISTENCE OF GOD & MIND
PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE **[5:69-74]**

f201

Sun rises

Causes=God

Herschel p. 414-5

Quetelet p. 45

Providential arrangement *is* &c

Quetelet p. 46

tendencies working thro' opportunities p. 50

Quetelet

family does not give opportunities
human race

Add Mss 45784

f202

[2]

It has been said that the reason
(for reason we shd rather
say: probability)

~~we expect~~

why the Sun rises again tomorrow
is that its rising has been
always recurrent, never interrupted

And it has been more truly
said that the reason why
we expect the Sun to rise
tomorrow is: the character of God.

That there is an efficient
cause for the rising of the Sun
is: we have seen: an overwhelming
Probability.

f203

If it be said that the Sun
rising is an arrangement ~~of~~
or Law working by or through ~~a~~
(secondary) causes & contingencies.
nem: con:

But if it is said that this
is all we can know about it,
this appears nonsense.

"Providential arrangement"
as it is sometimes called by the
opposite party is the
arrangement of secondary causes
& contingencies -- by Providence.

And the probability that
this arrangement is by a Mind
(commonly called Providence)
would seem to be by a number,

Add Mss 45784

f204

inconceivable in general
to 1
That events *do* happen according
to their calculated chances
leads or applies to the discovery
of The Great First Cause --
For, why do facts conform to
probabilities? --
The answer is the same as that
to the common Error of supposing
that Laws *govern*.
Laws don't govern:
they only register.
The *record* of facts is not the
compelling power.
Laws are only the *record* of facts.
So with "probabilities".

f205

The doctrine of probabilities
is in fact the discovery of Laws,
of an Order.

f206

Wisdom, Goodness & All Mightiness
wh: makes the Laws for how
can a Law make itself? --
Or they say we can know
nothing about the Supreme Power.
But, says Hooker, "the wise,
"amongst the very heathens themselves
"have all acknowledged some
"first cause, whereupon originally
"the being of all things dependeth;
"neither have they otherwise
"spoken of that cause than
" as an agent, wh:, *knowing*
"what & why it *worketh*, observeth,
"in working, a *most exact*
"order or Law" (the "order of the
best.)

Add Mss 45784

f206v

"Never was man, says Raleigh,
"whose apprehensions are sober,
"& by pensive inspection advised,
"but hath found by an irresistible
"necessity, one everlasting being,
"all for ever causing, & all
"for ever sustaining" --

And, says South, "it is necessary
"in such a chain of causes
"to ascend to & terminate in
"some first, wh: shd be the
"original of motion, & the cause
"of all other things, but itself
"be caused by none". (`His
{CONTINUED ON **f207:**}
causeless pow'r, the cause of all things'
Blackmore

f207

Again, says Hooker, "God which
moveth ~~all~~ mere natural agents
as an efficient only."
And "observations of the *order of*
nature carry the mind up to
the great efficient of the world"
says Hale.
final }
ultimate } cause ?synonymous
first }
efficient} final -- without which
proximate it cannot be

Add Mss 45784

f208

Nature = Author of Nature -- Natura Naturans
= Creator
Nature = essence or quality
Nature is 'by nature' = spontaneous = produced
by its proper cause
Nature = established order or ~~proper~~ settled
course
Nature = constitution, temperament or
structure
Nature = system of God's works = world
= universe
Nature = a kind of semideity. In this sense
it is best not to use it at all ~~so~~
Boyle
Character = being in action
nature in action

f209

	<i>Query</i>	<i>Please return to F.N.</i>
1.		<i>answered</i>
Is		
	final	: [To Mr. Jowett?] {To Mr. Jowett
	ultimate	: cause synonymous?
	first	:
	efficient:	

2.		
Is		
	proximate:	cause synonymous?
	secondary:	

"The religious sense" (by wh: I understand
"the practice of virtue & holiness,
"FOR THE SAKE of a Being who is
"absolutely good & absolutely holy)
"has ever supplied the perseverance
"necessary for this labour of bettering
"mankind"x ["for the sake of"]
Surely this is the answer to the Positivists --
when they say: What is the good? What is the good

x Paul of Tarsus -- p. 368 [of having a Leader?

Add Mss 45784

f210

Please return to F.N. 1873

You say to me:

"Things are changed since you & I
used to talk of these subjects
together: *then* it was a
question what manner of God
there was. Now there is the
question whether there is a
God at all -- or, if there is, can
we know anything about Him?"

[This question, & the Positivists who
ask it, are really, I believe, as
irrational as the Table=turners
(so-called 'Spiritualists' -- could
any one have believed that in
1873 such a controversy *cd* have
appeared in the 'leading Journal' of
the most business-like nation?)

f210v

Still, if you think such a
question wants answering, let us
answer it.

I wd begin then thus: --

I.

there is a *prima facie* probability
of the recurrence of an event
from its having happened
several times in succession in
that particular manner --
but the probability of a determining
cause increases with each
recurrence in a far higher
ratio than the simple
probability of its happening once
more (i.e. than the probability
of the recurrence itself) --

it is in fact the difference between
a geometrical & an arithmetical progression
[I take this out of Herschel's Quetelet: 1850]

Add Mss 45784

f211

E.g. the probability that the sun
will rise to-morrow, from its
having risen a million times
in unbroken succession is as
a million to one.

But the probability of its having
risen by *cause* & not by *chance*
is as $2^{1000000}:1$ (2 raised to the
millionth power) -- that is, as
this enormous number inconceivable
in thought to 1 --

[Bayes' theorem]

Thus by the doctrine of probabilities
the idea of *chance* may be
expelled from philosophy.
[And the Positivists who invoke
positive philosophy & nothing
else are in glaring contradiction
with their own philosophy.]

f211v

Now the cause of the rising of
the Sun is: what we call God.

The "probability" therefore of an
efficient, a final, a First Cause
amounts to a demonstration -- i.e.
it is as a number inexpressible
in words to 1 --

If it is said: the efficient cause
is a "fortuitous concurrence of atoms"
(*conglomerated* as it were into a cause,) again we must call upon the
doctrine of probabilities.

This tells us that "Mind" is
the cause of events.

And the "Mind" wh: makes
the solar system, the mechanism
of the heavens -- (makes, that is, the
Sun to rise) is: what we call God.

f212

[2]

How, then, can it be said that
we know nothing of God? --

[Do you know, it appears to me, in
making this demonstration that
it is very like making a
demonstration that life is the
'cause' of a living body or
that 'mind' is the 'cause' & not
my 'bones & muscles' of my writing
this.

Still, if you think it necessary & if
the manners (I can't call them
'minds') of the day make it
necessary, I'm your man.

I can truly say that -- now more
especially in my great troubles
but -- for the last 20 horrible years,
I have scarcely ever looked at the

f212v

return of day without its
being my great support: in
this way: -- I say to myself:
'now you can't make the Sun to rise
-- So, the course of events wh: you
wd so fain guide is out of
your power. But the 'Mind',
the 'order of the best', wh: makes
the Sun to rise is the same
wh: guides & orders these events.
Don't tear yourself to pieces
because you can't alter these
events any more than you can
prevent the Sun from setting --
Both are in the 'order of the best' --
But you can be the fellow-worker
(tho' not the rival) of the 'Mind'
wh: is the 'order of the best' --]

f213

II.

As before said, the demonstration
that God *is*, that His 'mind' is the 'cause'
of events, & that we *can* know
something about Him,
appears to me as if going
back, back, as if Descartes were
to say: 'now I will begin again
to learn my ABC'.

It partakes scarcely of the
nature of a demonstration --
it is of the nature of an Axiom,
a Postulate, a Definition.

How the Positivists have gone
back since Socrates!

Old Hooker was a wiser man
than they --

Says he:

f213v

"the wise, amongst the very
heathens themselves, have
all acknowledged some first
cause, whereupon originally
the being of all things
dependeth; neither have
they otherwise spoken of that
cause than as an agent,
wh:, knowing what & why it
worketh, observeth, in working
a most exact Order or Law"

[The '*final* cause' of all things is:
that *without wh: they cannot be*.

This being admitted, surely we can
then know, by studying the 'things'
or Laws *wh: cannot be* without
this Final Cause, more of
this Final Cause than of
aught else.

Add Mss 45784

f214

[3]

It is a trite thing to say that
to deny it wd be the same as if
I were to say that because I
had never seen the First Napoleon
-- or if I had never seen this
unhappy man who is just dead,
-- therefore I cd know nothing
about him.]

Here is another Definition or Axiom --
it is from Raleigh --

"Never was man", he says,
"whose apprehensions are sober,
& by pensive inspection advised,
but hath found by an irresistible
necessity, one everlasting
being, all for ever causing
& all for ever sustaining".
And of the same 'necessity' South
speaks: when he says,

f214v

"it is necessary in such a
chain of causes to ascend
to & terminate in some first,
wh: shd be the original of
motion, & the cause of all
other things, but itself be
caused by none"

["His causeless pow'r, the cause of all things"]

As above said, this fact is more
of the nature of a Postulate than
of a Demonstration; --

as when Hooker says again:
"God wh: moveth meer natural
agents as an efficient only" --
& Hale: "the great efficient of the world"xx --
Surely it is nonsense to say
that we can know nothing of
this "Great efficient" -- that is, of
the Great "efficient's" *characteristics* --
[we can't know anything of His
nature]

xx "Observations of the *order of nature*
carry the mind up to the
great efficient of the world" [Hale]

Add Mss 45784

f215

that we can only know something
of the 'meer natural agents' --
~~Here again is an Axiom wh:~~
~~seems incontrovertible:--~~

f215v

III.
It has been said that the reason
why we expect (i.e. the 'probability')
that the Sun will rise to-morrow
is: that its rising has been
always recurrent, never interrupted.
But you say -- more truly --
that the reason -- & it is a reason of
a force multiplied almost to infinity
-- why we expect the Sun to rise
to-morrow is: the character of God
-- God's being=in=action.

f216

[4]
[This is in fact in popular terms
& applied to the "Great Efficient
of the World" only Bayes' Theorem
wh: shews that for the rising
of the Sun the probability of
there being an 'efficient' cause
is: overwhelming.
IV. If it be said that the
rising of the Sun is an arrangement
or Law working by or thro'
secondary causes & contingencies,
nem: con: --
But if it is said that this is all
we can know about it, this
appears nonsense.
"Providential arrangement", as it is
sometimes called by a totally
opposite side,

Add Mss 45784

f216v

is: the arrangement of
secondary causes & contingencies
by "Providence" --
And the probability that this
arrangement is by a 'Mind'
(commonly called 'Providence')
is as has been shewn
to the reverse
as a number inconceivable in
greatness:
to 1.
[Probability: not:: α :1]

f217

V.

That events *do* happen
according to their calculated chances
leads or applies to the discovery
of the Great First Cause.

For, why do facts conform to
probabilities?

The answer is the same as
the answer to the common error
of supposing that Laws (i.e. facts)
govern.

The answer is a definition --
Facts (Laws) don't govern:

Laws only register --
The *record* of facts is not
the compelling power.
A record is not an efficient cause
Laws are only the *record* of facts --
the summary: the classification

f217v

of facts.

So with "probabilities".
The doctrine of "probabilities"
is in fact the discovery of
Laws -- of a "most exact Order"
Is it the 'Order of the *best*'?

Add Mss 45784

f218

[5]

VI.

This seems the real question
the thing wh: wants working out --
"Mind is the cause of all things": quotes Socrates.

"If mind is the cause of all things"
~~says~~ adds Socrates, "mind must dispose
"them all for the best".

"Order of the best"

("in man & nature")

What needs working out is, is it not?

1. is there this "order of the best"?

-- what reason have we to shew
for it? --

2. whether 'mind' disposes 'all
things' 'for the best' depends
-- does it not? -- on the *character*
of that 'mind' --

In other words:

what is the *purpose* of God
in making the world? --

f218v

"why did God make the world?"

(if He did make it)

"Like man, He must have a purpose" --

And Plato replies:

"and His purpose is the diffusion
of that goodness or good
wh: He himself is."

That is a beautiful *definition* --

but it does not seem as if
this cd be, like the existence of
the "Great Efficient of the World",
made a subject of definition -- &
(i.e. not of evidence)

May we take for granted that

is ~~the~~ a Perfect Mind,
the "Author of order in his works",
(as Plato says)

f219

or, as we should say:
that it ~~is this~~ an 'order of the best'
(which ~~is~~ we call Providence)
wh: makes or orders the Laws:
those Laws wh: do not 'govern'
(that is an incorrect word)
wh: are only the register, the record,
the description of what passes
'in man & nature'.
'None know', says Socrates
[and how little we have discovered
since Socrates of the 'order
of the best' -- nay, how Positivism
has gone back.]
'None know how much stronger
than any Atlas is the power
of the best!'

f219v

Yet the Positivists & many others
put 'Atlas' (that is, what they
call the 'laws of Nature')
above the 'power of the best' --
that is, above the power of Supreme
Wisdom & Goodness -- of All Mightiness
wh: makes the Laws --
For -- how can a Law make itself? --
[Or, they say, 'we can know nothing
about the Supreme Power' --]

N.B. I would not use that
expression 'laws of Nature' --
Or, I would say: laws *in* nature --
[It is like the expression:
"Commissioners of Lunacy"
wh: looks as if they 'commissioned',
like ships, lunatics.
"Commrs *in* Lunacy" they are now called
And I wd say: laws *in* nature --

Add Mss 45784

f220

[6]

-- Boyle says: "Nature" is often ~~said~~ used
as if it were "a kind of semi=deity" --
And "in this sense it is best not
to use it at all" -- Indeed it is.

Certainly

VII The 'Order of the best' -- that is

= That the Creator is leading
every man of us to perfection
is (put thus as an assertion
without any evidence)

only a metaphysical idea? -- is it not?

For history answers, or
is often said to answer, that
man is only a constant
repetition of himself.

[Thro' all these years I have
been supported & only supported
by the belief that I am working
with Him who is bringing every

f220v

one to perfection -- (the 'order of the best')

But we must shew some at least

of the laws of this 'Order of the best' by which He is
bringing us to perfection {INSERTED FROM **f221:**} [*this is not a*
matter of Definition,

Axiom or Postulate] -- that
we may know "in whom we have
believed" & know *how* we know "in
whom we have believed".

Without this, it is nothing but a
metaphysical idea

Moral Philosophy is only

Metaphysical Philosophy -- *if it*
is not a study of the plan of God
& of the Laws by which His

Moral Government is carried on (described) --

Is His moral Government a
plan for our everlasting progress?

Or are all our generations the
same?

Is not this ~~is~~ what we have to shew?

Add Mss 45784

ff222-29 NOTES ON LIBERAL THINKERS & CHURCH PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f222

p. 98 not dillettante amusement
 but professional routine
 matira medica
 " 42. Would you not put in
 something about preferring
 private judgment to the truth?

p. 99 27 not natural but
 prepared or instructed that is just the
 point
 not brought to it
 not *forced upon* it
waiting in wonder (& working with reverence)
 to find out

49
I don't like word "mystery"
 unless you explain it.
It has become too Theological --
& 'inscrutable mystery' is often applied
first to that wh: we are bound to
 find out

f223

[3:620-21]

[1]

the greatest terror of driving all Liberal thinkers
out of ye Church the greatest confidence
that only way of reforming a Church is
by keeping Liberal thinkers *in* it

not as if Liberals, whether Roman or
Anglican, were inspired with fanaticism
like ~~Loyola~~ Huss, with zeal like Wesley
They might form a Church like
the Wesleyans or like the Albigenses --

But they are 'extremely not so'
Will the Old Catholics do anything by going out of
Will the State " not do much
by remaining *in* the Church: good Catholics
obedient to Pope, but throwing back in
his teeth *his* censure: "why don't
you introduce politics into your religion?"
with: "and pray why do you?"
Is it not the very worst thing that can
happen for Liberals, who are *not*
going to make a Reformation, to make
themselves be called heretics
except

f224v

[2]

the very worst thing that can happen
is for Liberals to submit to a
political Church-craft disguised as
religion -- instead of saying to their
Pope or Church: *You* are the heretic:
You are the traitor, political, to our
religion -- But we will stay in
your (our) Church, & keep you back
from your *politics* which are heresy

When E. & R. were called heresy,

you shd have said: the *Church*
was *heretical* for saying so: & have
bred up a school of young ~~men~~
clergy (*in* the Church) to back you.

If they cd reform the Church, this the
only way to do it.

If they couldn't, then make a
new Church of your own.

Whereas now it's a *de-liberalized*
Church -- versus Liberals *without* a Church

Add Mss 45784

-- almost without a religion

f225

[3]

immensely important at this day that
people who think at all should
make up their minds -- not just to
keep aloof from 'Creeds' & 'Formularies':
creating for themselves 'disabilities':
but -- in what direction the National
Life or Truth is tending if the Church began
the same direction but is only lingering some steps behind.

So that the 'Creeds' & 'Formularies'
may, if possible, not be stripped off
as a worn out garment -- but that
they, the thinkers, may breathe into them
new life & bring ~~them~~ her up to the front -- Then
might not they stay in the Church?

To illustrate:
it has often been said that a celibate
clergy cannot make progress:
because they hold nowhere to the
National Life.

[I don't know about that -- it has
been experience in history that the
celibates are the real fathers & mothers
of the human race -- But]
when 'Liberal' thinkers doubt whether they
can conscientiously remain in ~~her~~ the Church themselves:
or can advise the young to enter her: how

f226v

[4]

how

is it possible that a National Church can
imbibe or make progress with the National
Life, if all those who most strongly
represent the progressive National Life go out of her?
if all those who most impress progress
upon the National Life that moment
persuade others not to enter her?

Wd it not be a higher thing to do, if they
endeavoured to 'educate' the National Church
i.e. to stretch & modify her 'Creeds', 'Formularies'
& Forms of Worship? & bring them up to the thoughts
of the day?

It is quite another thing if they intend to
create a new Church of their own --

It is also quite another thing if they consider
the Ch: altogether so riven to a dead mould.
So in prison: so chained to Procrustes' bed:
so advancing in an opposite or retrograde direction:
that she can't be mended: that all they
can do is to escape from her: like Bp-White
Every man must decide that in his own
conscience.

But the mere negative acquiescing in disabilities
seems the most brilliant plan expressly
struck out for preventing all progress in
any Church: a plan for people *not* to think.

f227

[5]

It is like the notable ~~plan~~ educational
system wh: used to obtain in my youth:
our families being would: be Unitarians:
-- or rather as Canning said my godfather [grandfather?]
did in the Ho. of C.

"On a course of Theology

Dissenters"

the system was to put their sons at Ch. of E.

Schools -- when prayers were read, the
young outcasts absconded by rule.

This exemption from prayer: no other
religious instruction being provided:
bore the full fruits that might have
been foreseen --

Was there ever a cleverer expedient to
teach *not* to think or to feel?

Mr. Rogers doesn't like the "disguise
of a clergyman".

O would that under the "disguise of clergy=
men", thinking men wd stay in the poor
old Church & reform her! Otherwise
the sooner she ceases to be, the better.

f228v

[6]

No comfort that "matters settle themselves" --
that we shall endure, while *she* goes to the
bottom, if she does --

O when a soul goes down into hell: tho' the
place closes up behind her, & perhaps
even goes on better without her,
there is no comfort but to know that
she too, even thro' hell, is on her way
to perfection, like us all --

And without this faith, I could not live:
I could not work --

I cannot think how any body can.

Not the wickedness but the indifference
of this world that is so surprising

How can 'Liberal' thinkers be so
indifferent?

If they have thought something out,
how can they make a thought which
should be a quickener into a
disability for themselves, a Parish
Pound or Pillory for others? **[end 3:622]**

f229

[7]

Apropos not 'de bottes':
as your Visitor has no legal authority
over you:

††
might you not now run like the 'Wilde'
& do what you like
as to Services?

Add Mss 45784

ff230-35 NOTES ON RELIGION PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f230

[Mrs Smith's before 1874] {PENCIL} **[3:620]**
Half the educated world has no
 religion at all
The other half love Christ &
 have a good deal of feeling
 against you for
 which you are trying to take
 away
You only hot that feeling: that
 hatred [illeg] you: that fright of
 you by what you say
against Ath: Creed which
 doesn't do them a great
deal of harm. And all that
 is in it that does do them
harm you make do them more
 harm by your invectives --
You increase their belief in it
 There's one of the cleverest
men in the world J.H. Newman

f230v

who has said the most
 absurd thing:
The Church has not spoken:
 why: because you & such
as you drive them into it.
 Do leave off hotting that
feeling by talking of the 39
articles -- the Ath: Creed.

Add Mss 45784

f231

Half the conduct of life
depends upon conclusions for
which we *can* have no
"irresistible evidence" when
called to act upon them.

No discovery wd ever have
been made if discoverers had
waited for "irresistible evidence".

They go to look.
Why is not the same true in
Religion?

[end 3:620]

f232

Sheet 3. p. 2. bottom lines "or that he
will alter his universal laws in order to avert some
calamity from us" --

That appears to be the Liberal
mistake.

Is it not rather that "His universal
laws" are "IN ORDER" "to avert" all
"calamity from us"?

Is it not, so to speak, that, if
'we' were the only persons in the
world, & if one the smallest title
of "His laws" were other than
what it is, 'we' should not be
on our way to Perfection & happiness?
i.e. the worst "calamity" wd be
ours? --

Is not this (so-called "Liberal")
doctrine that God's laws go
their way & we must bear it
as mistaken as the Catholic doctrine
of answered prayer?
"God's Laws" are "to avert calamity"
"from us" -- for that & for nothing else

Add Mss 45784

f232v

Sheet 4. p. 2. "laws of nature"*

Is there not the same quid pro quo here?

If you put: laws of *God*, does it not make it all right?

`Our Father' the author of the "fixed laws" of ~~the~~ His Moral & Physical worlds, HE IT IS to whom we pray: In becoming acquainted with His "fixed laws", we can pray to Him *all the more: & trustingly* -- because `we know in whom we have trusted' -- Thus only is he really `our Father', our eternal, our infinite Father -- And we have to learn to consider Him thus -- Thus only is ~~does~~ "the light of the nineteenth century" real light

* "prayer as men may use living in the light of 19th "cent" & not in days when men were ignorant of fixed laws of nature"

f233

xx

Sheet 3. p. 4

"Universal Law" -- "Sparrows"
Yes: because it is the `Universal Law' ~~that~~ which cares for the `Sparrows' -- which counts the `hairs' --

it is not as if these things were contradictions, were anomalies, were "and yets" --

It is the *same* thing the "Reason wh: contains all laws" & among them the sparrows -- i.e. the law wh: takes care of the sparrows

xx He of whom Xt says "sparrows" "hairs numbered" -- and yet also the Universal Law, the mind or reason wh: contains all Laws" -

f233v {WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE LEFT SIDE OF PAGE}

See A `Note' of Interrogation

Add Mss 45784

Fraser May 1873

Page 573 & 574

Add Mss 45784

f234

The only thing sure to happen
is the unexpected.

f235

I don't in the least agree that
"the great moral truths are well
known" -- In *my* day an
entire Revolution has taken place
in the meaning of the "moral
truth" Charity. And I am
afraid it will come to mean
-- *refusing* a Beggar -- because
people like Stephen are
tumbling over the horse the
other side.

Wie Gott giebt mir

So geb' ich dir

Ajoutez quelquefois et souvent effacez:

Boileau's advice to authors
in revising their compositions

Add Mss 45785

Add Mss 45785, microfilm, 224 folios, 204 pages,

ff1-43, pencil Notes on Jowett's translation of Plato's Republic,
ff44- correspondence and notes

f1

Republic

{main text:}

p.2 Para 2 middle:

Divisions "Six in Number".

qy 5 (five) *

End middle

p 4.8 idea of good/p.147* idea of the Perfect God leading all
to Perfection/ /{arrow up to partial circle, top rt.:}

p.148* law = design

= final cause

law, leading to Perfection

v. Quetelet

{separated from previous insertion and main text by wavy line:}

p.149*

idea of good = God

= law = order

p.154*/

pp. 99, 101 (p. 10/

= perfection = harmony

World = perfect

{at right:} p. 65 summit

above virtues

This recurs continually in Republic

p. 64 a perfect man in a perfect state

Why do you find fault with me

& not with Plato?

It seems to me that I have spoken

prose without knowing it:

I think this is what Mr. Mohl means when he

says Plato almost alone in East or

West had an idea of perfect God

So

p.8 near bottom My Quetelet

p. 62 Plato says that Sophists, like "Times"

newspapers are the "representatives"

| "leaders" p. 73 public

| rather than the "corruptors" of the

| opinion

world "give back to the world their own opinions"

"make public opinion the test of truth" p.62

I think I have heard myself say some

thing like that: & Mr. Jowett beat

me

{vertically at left where indicated by |:}

Philosophy

Add Mss 45785

p. 62 . politics of the "Times"- first half page should be
learnt by heart [re the "representative" of this family's
influences.]

p. 73.

f1v

p. 8 line 4 from bottom

I am glad to see that Plato
says that the time has now
come for Mr. Jowett who has
passed his whole life in
philosophy to give his own
opinion and not to be always
repeating the notions of other men
I have always concurred with
Plato in this

p. 9 line 3 from top

Also: I concur with Plato in this:
Why does /a deep thinker like/ Mr Jowett reject the
consideration of the nature of
family relations. in his 30 or 40
years of public teaching?

p. 12 I concur also with Plato
where he says that Mr. Jowett
after the fashion of some Homeric

f2

heroes, is excellent above all men
in perfidy.

p. 12 Do you remember the Persian
poet-philosopher who uses exactly those
words as regards God & the doctrine
of future punishment? if He renders
one evil for evil at all (which will only
make men more evil) in what is
He better than I who have done
the evil?

End I think if I were you I would
bring out this /at the End/ as an illustration
of what you mean by justice in
God. (I avoid saying "character"
of God, because I have received
such severe flagellations from Mr.
Jowett for doing so: see p. 3 side 4

p. 12 X elsewhere p. 26

4 dots at beginning of Para: If this
is to represent that Mr. Jowett begins here

Add Mss 45785

f2v

to speak, I should prefer a
space to these unmeaning 4 dots.

p. 14 4 dots middle of line Ought there not to be a N.P.

End p. 14 line 5 from top

should bring out this
Gracious Majesty
language of the East
to Tyrant whether God or man.

End or Summing up: rather scanty.

|p. 14 Satire on Parliamentary Cabinets
| methinks I have been whipped for
| saying this

{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Government

p. 14 "governors of mankind are disinterested
"because &c.

| I do not see that Plato says this:

| does he not say that

| "governors of mankind do not like
being in office, because they receive pay"

{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Misprints

It is the argument eternally hurled against me
by the R.C.s because their Soeurs are not paid.

Add Mss 45785

f3

[2]

End or Summary

p. 15 Two great observations or principles /truths/

1. There is no kingdom of evil in this world

2. it is the *truth*, in erroneous religions, which prevails - not the error p. 102

p.16 3. justice the instrument {wavy line leads to:} Non Utilitarianism
p.39 p. 42

p. 22

happiness the result or inseparable accident

4. virtue /or ideal/ in action active, not passive

{in column at right under active: not feelings & intentions as Evangls say
Comprehends the whole relations of man

P.22

Aristotle p. 45 justice = virtue relative to others

5. evil: negation

good: finite

perfect: infinite

|p. 40 bottom not original sin

|p. 17 6. law: only the impossibility of
doing injustice St. Paul's law
Ballot

{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Government
{in semicircle at left:}

p.p. 110, 1, 2, 5, 128 & his contraries p. p. 91, 100

{linked to note in semicircle by a line:}

p. 125 St. Paul {then to:} p. 149* command & reflection

shd not do what they like but serve the ~~state~~ /common good/

top of p. 18 weave up the character of the just p. 76

I would summarize or add up. What

is said throughout by Plato of his

idea of the *just man*: tested in the refiner's fire p. 65

{smaller, between preceding 2 lines:}

unjust: tyrant /royal master of himself p. 112 cf. p. 8 (4 side

this conception one of the if not the

most striking part of the Republic

Like Isaiah's Christ: /& St. Paul's love of God p. 125/

{at right:} Rulers shd be saviours 39, 40, 54,

Supt p.p.p. 35

He who rules best is he who loves best: & has been tried

by many tests & come out of them in full command of himself

Add Mss 45785

f3v

p. 18 7. denounces making reputation
p. 28 or reward /or fear of hell/ incentive to virtue
in this world or the next

Need of virtue: idleness
also in Mahometanism & in orthodox
Xtianity

p. 19 Musaeus & Orpheus & the Fathers
& priests

p. 28 Book III Hell: fear of hell the reverse
of inspiring (to heroes): Xtian orthodoxy

End: Summary

Plato means by poets = priests
passim p.p. 19, 129, 21, 25, 26

Sacrifices all so many
indulgences = arguments in favour of injustice
atonements (how true this is)
mysteries

p.21 Jewish x, R.C., Evangelical *priests* {## line leading to f4, below} p. 21
ideal of happiness in misery

p. 25x Abraham, Jacob, Elijah killing the /false/ prophets
David, these priests' lates are what
Plato means by poets' lates, "bad lies"

p. 26: Poets = priests here preaching strange
Gods ('bad lies')
the 'lie in the soul' - p. 27.

f4

in connection with above

p. 19
How to make the best of both worlds
via priests
via injustice + good manners

Priests: to show us the way to /do sin without suffering by it/ {joined by
arrow to:} ~~not~~ to feel no bad consequence without leaving
it off

profit by
sin & ~~not~~ to ~~reap the~~ /avert any bad/ consequences to
ourselves

Priests: like poets: & like Doctors of
rich men & fine ladies

Priests: to show us how not to leave off
sinning: how to have the good effects
of good without being good

Raleigh: /go tell/ the Church
it shows

What's good "And does no good".

{a curvy line here leads back to f3v above ending at ##}

p. 29x. Gifts persuade the gods
e.g. the whole system of gifts to the Temple
[the sacrifices of God are a broken & contrite spirit]
" " of gifts to the Pope & St. Peter's

Add Mss 45785

go on to p. 4

f4v

|p. 20 query *instincts*
| not *instincts*
|

{written vertically at left where indicated by |:} Misprints

p. 21 Is Mr. Jowett undergoing for the
 first time the Socratic interrogation?
 What is your Theodike? how do you
 justify the ways of God to Man?

p. 21

8

| characteristic of the present day
| the unjust must appear just
| & always have a moral reason
| for doing what they like
{vertically at left where indicated by |:}

II

Just Man

p. 22

| 9 that politics are the ethics of States
| not ~~the~~ confusion
| of ethics & politics
 you wrong him

{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Government

{above and to right of this, separated by wavy line:}

p 152x Yes yes

top 3 lines

the error of politics & of Ecclesiastical religion has it not
been excluding ethics? Anglican Church directed
against an error has become an error

{in a column at right separated from next point by wavy line:}

p. 152* after "political
insert (& Ecclesiastical
Maxims.

line 10 from top

p. 24

| 10

| mere health only = to be a pig

| go on to p. 3 side 3

{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Body & mind

Add Mss 45785

f4v addendum

{the following text appears on **f6** FN's "p. 3 side 3", original location marked by ### below:}

p. 26 bottom 10

take out that "device of style" this minute.

Mr. Jowett undergoing the Socratic interrogation

| For is it? /is it/ not much more than this?

| is it not the suggestion of

| bodily} {mental

| health} = {phys

|| luxury} = {disease

| mental} {bodily

{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Body & Mind

Wh: Macaulay only renews 2000 years

afterwards & is yet unsolved?

f5

[3+]

p. 25 Mr. Jowett undergoing the /un=/Socratic
interrogation

//

Passion or animal spirits or enthusiasm

or convictions e.g. convictions about evils

Wh. we want to correct are the

secret of courage.

Then courage /wh: has no worthy exercise/ makes devourers

in families: & those who have no

courage but only philosophy are

devoured.

For single women in families

| have either only philosophy or only

| courage: & as the /latter/ have not enough

| to do, they take to governessing their

| parents & sisters or if married

women without children & /with/ much

courage & activity they may take

to governessing 3 families at once

Philosophy is the parent of

Gentleness: but without convictions

it does not do much - but get devoured

{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Philosophy

Add Mss 45785

f5v

p. 25 Homaeopathy grain of truth]

p. 25

12 first & greatest principle-
greatest & best of Plato's truths
(this & the just man)

that God is the author of good only
cp p.85 (not as Zoroaster & J. S. Mill say
of good & evil) & as Xtian priests
& Jewish " "
the Jewish Jehova

= God is perfect

and the second principle is like unto this.

12 (2) With God is no variableness
or shadow of turning
He is Truth -

i.e. a. He is Goodness

b. He is Truth

{at right beside "He is Truth" etc., in semi-circle:}

P. 154*

p. 149*

God is true {three dots for therefore}
not an abstraction

p. 27 Does this not connect itself
with what he has just said
that God is absolutely true?

God is TRUTH: we can only be true:

true even by appearing sometimes to be
false or partial/ like the shield/ or rather that Truth

f6

{joined by a wavy line to balance of thought on f6 noted at ** below:}
is not Truth if told so as to
convey a false impression? {? is struck out twice}

is TRUTH if told in a fable
tho' not true

Jehovah: a lie

Add Mss 45785

Text originally written here has been moved to follow **f4v** as intended by FN}

The 'lie in the soul': this is not
Remaining in the Church: that is
only appearing to be false.

{** - Text originally written here has been moved to **f5v** as intended by FN}

f6v

p.27 surely more than touches of
 "humours"
 Character not God
p.28 Socratic interrogatory of Mr. Jowett
 the *Character* of God
 he has used even the word
 What does he mean?
p.29 bottom
 character of the Sons of God
p.34 God not bribed
p.12
p.42 It is not the "greatest happiness
of the greatest number" but the
greatest happiness of **ALL** which is
the object & result of the Divine Govt.
[I thought we agreed upon this Theodikè]
My son, you must take out that -
 Utility is not the basis of Morality.
But I agree with the orthodox that there
can be none of the highest morality
without Religion. & that there can be
no real Religion (disagreeing here with
the orthodox) except by believing that a

Add Mss 45785

f7

{p. # preceded by / with two cross hatches} [3a]

p. 30 42,3

My Quetelet

Perfect God is working out perfection
for **ALL**

You say that this is an "insufficient
interpreter of the appearances of this
world"

I say: the "appearances of the world
are just the reverse

Nay What's more it is actually
not the appearances, the *conviction*
of Evil Wh: are so great that
they must lead us to look for the
Perfect plan - are not they?

[I think this whole Para: confused]

e.g. the "first principle"--What?

p. 85 idea of God as Author of perfection

p. 43 Religion must be based on the
highest conception of God. i e. on
the conception of a Perfect God.

This, the true definition of Religion,

Add Mss 45785

f7v

is to be found in Plato alone -
not to be found in Christianity.
[I shd bring this out most forcibly]
p.p 85,6 idea of good or common |
principle of truth & being = idea of God as |
the Author of Perfection: = Universal Law |
{these three lines linked by curved line indicated by | above and linked to a
note within another curved line:}
- p. 152*
over {may refer to text on f8v}
Platonic idea of good seems to be : God by
Law working out Perfection -
have you any right to call this an 'abstraction'?

{The above statement beginning p.p 85,6 and apparently ending with abstraction?
inserted by an arrow at this point--exact end of thought is for editor. The
actual location of text will be indicated ** below.}

p. 49 a small remark
"Two contradictions" true ???
You are continually told: "With God
nothing is impossible"
Yes: self-contradiction is with Him
impossible
And this explains much of his Govt.
It would be a contradiction
to make us perfect thro' suffering
without suffering
{** text: "pp.85,6 to abstraction?" appeared here, see above}

f8

p. 67 cp p.75
highest morality can't be without Religion
the idea of goodness & Truth
other than themselves
God = Sun
Holy Spirit = Truth
the cause of growth
not in knowing only but in BEING
Plato here soars far above himself in
other places: where he makes Knowledge = Virtue
this thought indeed 'more than human'
p. 69 constructive instead of interrogative -
[?exceeding being. unintelligible p 67]
p. 84 Education} becoming to
p. 76 } being
p. 154* Para 2
religious education (religion)
bound up "with truth & virtue"

Add Mss 45785

Is it not "truth & virtue"?

f8v

p. 152* goodness must be fostered
by the contemplation of the idea
(Supreme Being) of good = God.
Is not there truth in the idea that
there can be no Morality without
Religion? (and /but/ also there can
be no Religion without Morality)
The highest Morality can never be
without the love & appreciation
of the Perfect. Wh: we cannot
find to love in Humanity
(Positivism nonobstante) but
only in God i.e Supreme Wisdom
& Goodness -

f9

[4]

from p.2

Sir T. More p. 161*

Poets = priests

{in top right corner:}

p. 129

~~work~~ this /wants working/ up.

In Plato's estimation poets
are what we call priests

p. 19

p. 30 poets say that wicked prosper:

Then what is a true definition

of prosperity? [Socratic interrogation

p. 103 poets = priests = friends of tyrants

how true in this day

p. 30,1 -

acting (a) /p.130/ So with acting in one's own life)

that man cannot both live & act

Surely this is all very plain & sincere

& very applicable even to modern

times: this view of Plato's against

poetry /mighty issue at stake - the good or evil of soul

p. 123 All poetry, Novels, Art, Criticism

except Heroic & Religious poetry p. 123./

The finding a moral reason to do

Whatever we like, the "acting":

banes of present day as of his.-

A man cannot live his life & act it

It is simply Plato's way of exposing

Shams, is it not? -

(b) And is it not also what I say

f9v

about Novels: that they have no

Ideal: & about Shakspeare that
he has no heroic women?

Do not people, especially women,
not only become what they act:
but they become what they read:

pictures: shams:

& people, especially women, read
now a days nothing but Novels &
Newspapers?

p. 32. still upon *Poetry & Art*

Style depends upon subject

& subject upon the simplicity &
harmony of the soul it is the reflection of

Are not [Socratic interrogation] Style
& Subject now almost severed?-

For either we have Browning's
incomprehensible style:

or style *without* subject like
Tennyson, Swinburne (except *Atalanta*)
Rosetti etc

f10

And none have the simplicity of
Nature's forms.

Actually far inferior poets & women

too (half a century ago) Mrs. Hemans,
Mrs. Barbauld, Emily Taylor had
more of what Plato would call
Nature's simplicity & harmony: /& Moore/
/& even old Watts/

See Mrs. Hemans' *Landing of the*
Pilgrim Fathers: Moore's *Eastern bird*
Watts *How fine hath the day been*

And pictures: how much of
meanness: the Mustard pot: the
Shah's donkey:

how much of unseemliness: the *Plague*:
Delilah:

how much of extravagance: [Elty?]
And shall we not have to say this
of all the Novels of the present day.
/To wake the soul by tender strokes of Art p.123-/
Our Author [of what author can we say
this now?] shuns by vulgar springs to move
The hero's glory or the virgin's love
In pitying love we but our weakness show
and wild ambition will deserve its woe

f10v

What springs in Novels are not
'vulgar' now? And heroes, vulgar
or ~~great~~, wild, are utterly ignored by them
at present. Novels pp 122,3 - paints inferior truth
/injuriously excites the feelings/

And Music: also p. 41. top
What can be said of the Opera & the
Ballet : & what they are fallen to
Rossini's Guillaume Tell is now
unknown, unsung.

And all that is not unseemly, or
extravagant or enervating has
taken refuge in the oratorio
Music has made an un=fair ending
with Love

True Love is the daughter of Temperance
of heroic Virtues [False love } p.109
[Monster love}
as in Novels-

I could not love thee, dear, so much
loved I not honour more
& not of Novels- or Music- as they
are now

Music is now a deteriorating influence
And Passion becomes nervous
irritability: in consequence of Music & Novels

Add Mss 45785

f11

[4a]

p. 130 "ideal interest to a blacksmith's or
carpenter's shop"-

Yes: but also Art has lost its Ideal
by Novelists & painters having no
± higher ideal than idealizing
blacksmiths mustard pots & asses -
It is not as if Art painted a
Christ in a carpenter, as Holman
Hunt has tried to do:

it is rather the reverse, they
have degraded a Christ to a
carpenter, taken the commonest
forms & souls & tried to interest
in them like a tour de force
till now there seems scarcely
any ideal in Art: & Pausanias &
Mr. Jowett see nothing in the
Génie Adorant but Mr. Darbyshire
returning thanks after the Boat Race
at the Lord Mayor's dinner
Even Mr. Darbyshire who declines
the dinner is better than they

f11v

p. 130 it does not seem to me
that the antagonism of Plato to poetry
was levelled at the Greek tragedians
or the Godlike Aeschylus
but at what we call priests
/& the Sophists p. 131/

{after "& he..." a line is drawn that runs across the f, down centre and across
f12 beneath "What Balzac said he did"}

p. 131 Music
"elevated by Music"
or lowered by the Opera -
Does the modern stage lower or raise
us most?
Guillaume Tell is raising
Is Lytton Bulwer?
Indeed, is Shakspeare?

See 4b

Old Italian life of Petrarch:
naïf description of struggle between
Sensualism. [he had 2 illegitimate
children by different women -
while sonnetting his Laura -

Add Mss 45785

real & desperate his remorse]
& the ideal love of his Laura

Add Mss 45785

f12

/p. 131/ So are Novelists - the only real Art of
this day, the Sophists of this day:

Balzac & Miss Braddon

It is said that Balzac has had a
large share in forming the Communist
Red young man of the present Paris
And then you tell me of Middlemarch
Oh she paints what she finds
That is just What Balzac said he did

And you say

p. 132 What the vocation of Art is
to do

And I say
but *does* it?

And I say
do Novels ever depict "heroes" now?
Is that woman Dorothea a "hero"?

f12v

p. 133

cp p. 146*

O! O! O! O!

I don't agree in the least
The styling "love" an "illusion"
tho' a sweeping assertion
mollifies me ~~e~~ from exclaiming:
that modern love in modern novels
neither "humanizes" nor "strengthens"-
for "fairly" read *not*, printed in small caps.

The "charms" of poetry have
"been transferred to prose"-

Then why does not "prose", &
Notably the Novel, take up the
mantle of poetry?

Take out this minute the Para:
"The philosopher" to "value".

. ? ? ? ? ?

I don't at all agree - I think /p. 146*/ the
field of Love as Two in One

f13

[4/6]

p. 133

& One in God, So far from being
exhausted is as yet untrod
I think so far from "feelings of love"
being now "estimated at their proper
value" that they have yet to
be "estimated" as an incentive
to great heroic deeds-

Some approach was made
to this in the Age of Troubadours
& Chivalry & by dear Don Quixote,
/& by Dante & Petrarch,/ /see 4a (side 2)
When the Lady was never to be
united to her Lover but to
stir him on to deeds of Heroism
for ever:

it has now disappeared.

Ste Beuve: Mme. de Longueville. Rochefoucault

Here is a new untrodden sphere for
Poetry in Prose or Verse entirely unknown
to the present day

f13v

My son, an you love me take
out that mean calumny
BlaspHEME not against Love.
p. 133 Art on a level with philosophy
or Religion
Did you write this in your sleep?
Not "on a level": any more than
Words are on a level with Ideas.
Art is an expression; it may be
a 'false & imperfect' one: or a true
& perfect one
Words in Novels now have no ideal,
religious or philosophical
You are as bad as Plato with his
poets: *because* the present
Religious Novel is the worst of all
'religious ideals', therefore you would
have none of them-

f14

My son, if you don't take out
that page, I'll Sue you under
Ld Campbell's Act.
p. 133 "Mahommedans" "have renounced
"the use of pictures & images"
but not of architecture-
Mosques are the highest kind
of Art: the one true representation
of the One God: the Glory of God
in the highest: the most high of
the Most High:
higher than any Christian Art or
Architecture as you would
Say if you had seen the Mosques
of Cairo!
{faint smaller writing at right;
(This goes into [illeg] vol. 3.145)
p. 133 "to express the highest truth &
purest sentiment" O yes yes yes
yes!

14v

p. 139

Why do not modern "writers of fiction"
write like Plato with a high
ideal?

" " Plato continually refers to
the 'Son of a king' becoming
'a philosopher'?

Had he any 'intuition' of
Bouddha?

But Bouddha left his
king-ship.

And so would Plato's have
done.

f15

[5]

p. 3(10)

{at top right separated from text with a partial bracket:}

p. 55 the soul which was the owner fled

| p. 32

| And soul is the cause

| & body the effect--

| Darwin nonobstante

{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Body & mind

body Servant of the mind: /to be trained to its/

/service p. 155*/ /p. 84 p 154*/ {this last insertion joined by a wavy line to
"Plato" below, indicated by #}

p. 33 {below:} /34/ And oh how true what Plato says

p. 155* of Law & Medicine: p. 41

{in a circle angled beneath p. 41:} /p. 13-4/

Teach that, my son, to your young

Lawyers & Doctors

& that the Detective is not the Judge

& that Virtue may know vice: but vice

cannot know virtue p. 156* p. 38

p. 119 One always wonders that Plato {#}

gets so far & no farther:

he is really the best refuter of Darwin:

he always seems on the brink of the

Great discovery

that the soul makes the body, not the /body the soul/

that the soul 'informs' the body. not the

body the soul

that God makes things make themselves

- a much more Godlike attribute than making them.

& not as Darwinians fancy dethroning God-

that he does not "make new beasts out of old" [over

f15v

Summary

p. 37 Summary not at all
 exhaustive (perhaps not meant to be
 so) But it has a bad effect
 to "sum up" at all if you do not
 sum up exhaustively: to bring
 out "lesser points" if you do
 not bring out the greater

e.g. 2 theory of Art

"His views may be" not "summed
up as follows".

See p.p. 26, 30, 31, 32
for what I ~~have said~~ mean

p. 38.3 not exhaustive

See p. 34 Virtue may know vice but

4 & 5 sum up (not like this)

-- from previous notes

f16

p. 38

 differences in natures of men
 existing together in a single state
| AHC used to say we had no occasion
| to go to heaven or hell: for he saw
| heaven & hell existing together in this
world

{vertically at left where indicated by |:}

Government

from p. 5

p. 119 that Man may be like God in this

& Mankind may create Mankind

p. 155*

Plato's whole idea that the body depends

upon the mind. Mind informs the body:

but ~~this is~~ {after "but" a line indicates that the next words should be:}

his ideas of marriage are in diametrical

opposition to this & are {insertion marked here and line drawn up to balance of
text after previous strike out} /a diabolical inconsistency/

with this

p. 154* bottom

he is always separating 2 things which must

go together: and this is akin to his great

mistake about marriage

{the following text marked #-# appears higher up on the page but is marked for
insertion at this point:}

#He talks the greatest sense about the

| whole: parts of a whole: the body

| cannot be without the mind p. 155*

| & the greatest nonsense in making the

Add Mss 45785

| greatest event of human life or social life
| /marriage &/
| the propagation of mankind depend upon
the smallest & lowest part of a whole p. 119#
{vertically at left where indicated by |:}
Body & mind

f16v

p. 43 top

"charming" *habits* NOT "Patients"

Government 2.6

p. 43-5 13

I should bring out these invaluable
principles or definitions or maxims
that Policy = a regard to the whole
interests of the State

to have the Courage of your opinions
that Unity springs from Temperance

p.p. 44, 40, 32, 48

& above all

that the Object of Law = every /not p. 17. 6/ man to have his own
of Trade = every man to do his own business

Injustice = every man doing another's business

p. 48 which tries to rule & not to serve

Justice = perfect order = right man in
the right place p. 48

p. 45 = virtue relative to others: Aristotle

p. 46 = law = order = harmony

cp p.p. 16, 22, 39, 42, 45

p. 47 that Passion may be the Ally of Reason
enthusiasm

Add Mss 45785

f17

p. 69??? he will think *more* of human life as a *link*

[6]

p. 50 Summing up of this p. 68, 9

very poor

14 p. 112 reason solely given to attainment of *truth*
not reputation

the want of search after *truth* in modern
argument & conversation

only seeking in what one's interlocutor
says for what will support one's
own argument: not seeking in
discussion for the truth

he who kills the truth is a murderer

See p. 58 principles not persons

= his eye fixed on the eternal order p. 64

moulding himself & others on Divine image

= lover of God Yes. Yes: Yes

p. 160*

{in column at right:} not an atheist strange misapplication

a Philosopher = not a lover of opinion of the {below:}

/many/ /p. 68/

= believer in the idea

p. 62 = spectator of all time & existence

p. 68 Eclecticism: love of opinion & discussion

& controversy p. 68

merely, not of truth. the bane of the day:

degenerates from the widest Eclecticism

into love of *my* opinion

See the great mass of modern

dissension cp p p 82-3

See p. 57 Philosophy = the love of truth, /p. 65/

of knowledge -- not of opinion, of discussion

knowledge = of something that *is* -

opinion = of something that is or is not

See p. 59 Love of knowledge - not of opinion

or discussion: characteristic of philosopher

f18v

17

| p.p. 50. 2

| What is the best? What the best
| possible?

| The "might be" & the "can be"

{vertically at left where indicated by |:}
Ideal & Real

p. 53 that as a lying-in woman has more
chance in the worst home of life
than in the best Hospital

So a child has more chance in any
but the very worst home than in
the best Institution

See ourselves returning to the
Boarding out system - to *imitating* the
family - tho' we have some Union
Schools the best in the World

My experience: Mrs. Senior's

Leavesden: Workhouse Infirmary

See Infant Mortality in masses

See Bentham's Ass. O ass, ass, ass-

p. 153* Para 2 Bentham's nonsense. The child must be
managed by the mother: not by mothers: or by mothers being managed

Then Plato is of course entirely
in, laying down the law about ages of
ignorant of the laws discovered by Quetelet
by which sex of child depends on relative
ages of parents.

Add Mss 45785

f19

[7]

then the strange mistake about
mothers *not* to suckle their own
children

As if with the greatest care in
selecting the Nurse We did not
know that She could only be a
miserable make-shift for the mother

As if God did not know best
--had not provided for this -
& the mother's milk were not
adapted for her own child & no
other.

"ascribe to chance what is really the
invention of" God.

Were men & women left to a really

free "selection", "natural affinity"

in marriage by meeting freely in
work instead of /in/ play under Chaperones,
or in vice {below:}/without Chaperones,/ [Plato's legitimatizing vice,
poetizing crime, far more curious than
any of Dr. Balzac's or G- Sand's Novels]

f19v

the "invention" of *God* would be
Seen & neither the "invention of the
rulers" Nor "chance" nor "an
ingenious system of lots"

p. 56

a quarrel in a family
he has just abolished the 'family'
& then is obliged to come back to it

f20 blank

f20v & f20 filmed twice

Add Mss 45785

only a sort of clever juggler: it is Supreme Wisdom
/p. 80 except it be with a view to the good,
/ & Justice

& Goodness we have to seek

cf. p. p. 42, 3 (p. 30

p. 61 22

Strongest natures most influenced

by circumstances: /sometimes to ~~that~~ /such a/ degree/ as to reform them p.

70

Plato's discovery *versus* modern theorists

p. 70 finer natures more dragged down

by bad conditions most true

p. 63 degenerating in a strange sort

" " man can only attain highest development
among fellow-workers.

f21

[7a]

p. 70 22 cp p. 75

" yet the thesis &c &c

" For the alien conditions to "another".

Yes: but I think this is only another

Side, a supplementary view of what
he says.

The weaker or coarser nature will
take the better elements out of the
'alien condition', be nourished by
them & never think of amending
it

This is not the Reformer's nature

The stronger & finer nature
becomes either a misanthrope or
a Philanthrope: Sometimes,
often both. It may be
entirely crushed & corrupted: or
it may be under certain circum:
stances or with certain elements in
itself so driven & repelled by the
alien condition that it re-acts

f21v

altogether: & breaks away
Sometimes into great good -
Sometimes into great bad
Sometimes into both.
This is the Reformer's nature.
Thousands of Augustinian monks
had been brutified
Luther broke away-

One may touch cursorily on this point:
that the "alien conditions" are only
"alien" to the stronger & finer natures:
The weaker & coarser generally like:
& find enough to feed upon in
these "conditions"-
When one of the stronger is thoroughly
repelled & stimulated by disgust of
these "conditions"-
then comes the Reform-
But alas! Many victims before the Reformers:
many unconscious martyrs-

f22

O let us be not victims but
Sacrifices: offered to Heaven: not
conquered by evil!
It is always a curious question to
watch in history how long will
people, & ought they to, submit
to persecution, either religious or
political: (often degenerating under
disabilities)? [the Pilgrim Fathers
did not degenerate: they went
to a new country /& became a vast nation/: the French
Huguenots /were both massacred &/ degenerated: they came
to London: ~~into~~ & became Spitalfields
weavers]
And when if ever they
will & ought to rise against it
& secure 'Freedom to worship God'?

f22v

is it not notorious if we
would but *know* that millions of
the finer natures become brutified by
family relations: one only breaks
thro' them?

[I am not satisfied with Mr. Jowett's
answer: about "healing influences"
in the Family: as if God had
made the Family to be a Hospital]

f23

[8] Education
p. 84 true education p.p. 82-3 at different
becoming to *being* ages: up to 35: 35 to 50
p. 115 to give them self control gaining experience: then to
a higher principle return to ordering himself after
(p. 13. 4) perfection: grand idea
{in circle:} p. 156* scamped
p. 63 23
Fashionable & Real Education (Rousseau)
p. 75. p. 87 must be practical not only {below:}/ideals
p. 76 must not live in the heaven (or hell) of ideas
p. 78 education not knowledge but purification
{below; thoughts linked by lines down right side of page:}
/p. 127 to teach a man to choose
the good Education to comprehend the whole of life
Another Education in next world/
p. 66 24
precise about trifles p. 152*
inaccurate about the highest truths
life a lie
martinet about words
the lie in the soul p. 27 (3 3rd side) {perhaps refers to f5v}
{below in column at right; indicated by line as going here I think:}
/p. 153* truth as principle
rather than fact/
p. 70 25
"monster corporation
party organization" how true
|
| Archbp Whately used to say that the
| great evil of the Ch: of Rome was
| not its doctrine this or doctrine that:
| but its being a "great party"
| guided by ~~the~~ party principles
{vertically at left where indicated by |:}
Government

Add Mss 45785

f23v

Summary

p.p. 71-4

It seems that these Summings up
{below:}/p. 73
are rather poor & rather unintelligible
& do not at all do justice to Plato
p. 72 top Anselm was the original
of Descartes in this

f24

{at top right, separated from main text by wavy line:}
/p. 84 I think I would
leave the explanation of the
Cave alone: or give a much
higher one than this
p. 87 this account of
Cave much better/
p. 74 Cave
Where is the fire?
You do not mention the fire
till the 9th line
it is wanted in the 3 first
very poor account of the most
famous passage of Plato
perhaps of any philosophy in the
world
Will you not allude too to
Bacon's mention of the Cave?
p. 75
point out clearly the connection
this has with preceding pages:
~~In~~ the diviner intelligence turning to
good or evil appears to have to
do with what is said p.p. 61, 75
~~with~~ about stronger natures & circumstances

Add Mss 45785

f24v

p. 75-6

also: he comes /rises/ now to
Conversion from becoming to BEING
& to p. 76

Knowledge is not ~~being~~ right

cp p. 67

You do not rise to this higher
strain of Plato's

p. 112 attaining not to knowledge

but to the knowledge of *being*

he the wise /just/ man not judged of them
(cp. p.2)

p. 114 no true *being*

f25 (filmed twice)

[9]

p. 83 tr 'only' to after servants

p. 84 imagined (to be) seen qy imagined as seen.

pp. 82-3 Unsettling opinions -- p. 88

puppy youth or priggish youth

| playing with arguments

| tossing [?] & goring [?]

| not arguing - only contradicting

| cp p. p 68.9 62, 50

{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Education

{Written at bottom of p. but arrow shows goes here:}

/Rousseau says that the man who

in the /end of/ 18th Century wd abandon

all his early opinions wd have

been a bigot in the days of the

League./

cf. Education 8

p. 154*

Construction v. Destruction

Add Mss 45785

f25v

p. 88 Book VIII
? and /of their/ the education and pursuits (of
| men & women) both in war & peace
| are also to be common & of {below:} /their/ kings
| are to be philosophers & warriors
{vertically at left where indicated by |:}

[in 1892 3:88 Jowett added "men and women" , to read, That in the perfect state
wives and children are to be in common and the education and pursuits of men and
women, both in war and peace" as FN directed]

Misprints

p. 89 [2:89, not a misprint but right in text, careless]
for five & five qy read four & four

[Jowett had an apparent error, referring in one place to five natures of state
but only listing four. He corrected it by calling the "last" the fifth state,
of the "perfectly just" (1892 3:cxvi)

p. 89 Timocracy passim

As you are writing English, could
you not use a more English word
than *timocracy*?

In what English author is it found?

It is not even in Johnson

p. 89 goverment misprint for
government

f26

Government p p 90-99

p. 90 characteristics of the bad state
party spirit arts of war
versus

p. 147* public (or heroic) spirit: idea of good
good legislators: Parls nothing but a Debating Club or Railway Commt without
p. 91 public life the only real peace
to the real Statesman

Ld Althorp

[2:91 opposite description of oligarchy in 1871 2:91 His origin is as follows:
His father may probably have been a *good man dwelling in an ill-ordered state*,
who has *retired from public life* THAT HE MAY BE AT PEACE.

FN marginal comment: Public life might be peace. Lord Althorp

2:91 continues His mother is angry at her loss of precedence among other women.

FN marginal comment: Premier's wife out of place 1873.

wh

" Premier's wife out of place

" Oligarchy of Money

p. 92 Plutocracy
present Ho: of C

" " Rich destitutes
Pauperism

" top line

Principle of R. C. Sisterhoods
test to be able to come

without money p.

" Cellars of an oligarchical city
London

p. 97 Paris: proclaiming abolition of debts & division of lands
bad education & bad govt.: Causes

p. 94 Democracy = equality /among/ ~~to~~ unequals /p. 102/
every man doing what is right in his own eyes

f26v

Democracy
p. 94 quite irrespective of any body else
 profession of patriotism
p. 95 saying anything that comes into his head
p. 95, 7 busy drones
p. 96 "mankind's epitome" 2 lines
 not appropriate
 too good
" " excess of good: element of decay /p. 102
 " freedom passes
 into slavery p. 99
 Slavery out of Liberty "
" " Anarchy description of
p. 99 Tyranny /out/ of Democracy
p. 97 every man doing as he likes p. 101
 consequences of maxim: do as
 you like
 doing right or wrong as he pleases: his will
 Revolution his law p. 103
p. 98 Napoleons to the life
{a wavy line separates "his law" from Revolution and leads to:}
p. 99/110, 111 freedom--of what? of evil?
 slavery--of what? of good?
 every one to do as he likes?- in evil?
~~he~~ Or may he like to have slaves? the soul poor
a more miserable than the most miserable: he
who has the right & the power to do as he likes: &
the whole city or the whole family is in a league to give it {below:}him
 I think you are unfair to these
 masterly maxims.

f27

[10]
Government

p.p 99, 101
 I think this quite unfair to Plato
I think he shows quite a prophetic
 idea of ~~the~~ perfection & its
 possibility p.p. 4, 8, 64, 65
p. 100, 1
 Comte not Plato /conceives/ thinks only of an
 order of thought: not of a succession
 of time
[in margin: order of thought Comte, but Jowett doesn't add in 1892 3:cxxvi]
" last Para
 prophetic not historical {below:} or historical foundation
p. 101 prophetic of Napoleon's Revolutions, Paris
 See p.p 97.8
p. 101 top line
 because you can't discern the order

Add Mss 45785

Why say it can't be discerned?
is this not the impudence of ignorance?

" " good definition of history
filling up one outline with others
" " Dionysius? - his "personal acquaintance"
was with Napoleon - prophetic. p. 98

[FN objected to Jowett giving the example of Dionysius, FN wrote "No with Napoleon" in margin but Jowett does not change in 1892 3:cxxviii]

f27v

p. 101 bottom
Individualism *is* Dissolution
- every one doing as he likes p. 97
striking picture of family life
p. 102 as in Religions
it is the element of good which
gives power to bad ones
cp p. 15 (p. 2
p. 103 top line
you give us quite too much credit

f28

p p. 104-8
I skip the number of the Beast
wh: I don't understand
But Plato always seems to have had
a sort of prophetic indication
of Quetelet's discoveries in Number
in which he shows that numbers
are exactly dependent on other
Numbers
e.g. the no /of Births/ & respective numbers of
Sex of Births
exactly dependent on respective
ages of Parents i.e. on other {below:} numbers
&c &c &c

f28v

| p. 158* The metaphysical
| is man considering (contemplating)
| himself thinking:
| examining his own processes of thought
{vertically at left where indicated by |:}
Philosophy
p. 161* More's Utopia
You see that More's 'priests'
correspond with Plato's 'poets'.
Plato could not have meant Aeschylus

Add Mss 45785

for that 'being, not seeming' is from
Aeschylus, is it not? P. 183

p. 162* Campanella- His 'Sun' borrowed
from Egypt where the King or Principal
Magistrate was called Phra or Pharoah or
Rameses (Ra: the Sun)

p. 162* bottom

| 'Human life & conduct are affected
| by Ideals'- Then why not 'affect'
| them in Novels?- Why did you say
| that to me about Middlemarch?

[vertically at left] "poets"

f29

11

Government

p. 110 Royal the opposite of tyrannical
" " Sir W. Raleigh Fear not to tell the {below:} best
The truth shall be thy warrant

[2:110 opposite: And great and terrible as is the outward appearance of the tyrant sitting upon a throne in the midst of his satellites, *let us not be afraid to go in and ask*, and the answer is that the monarchical is the happiest, and the tyrannical the most miserable of states.

FN comment in margin: Sir W. Raleigh's last poem

p. 111 Slavery emancipation

" " Woman " "

p. 112 cp bottom of p. 49

Plato here appeals to experience {below:}
of *man* after "avaricious & ambitious"

p. 113 a greater & more real life

p. 163*

p. 114 Quetelet touches upon this
whether you can measure moral
qualities by figures & rejects it
Summary

p.p 116-8

I find this Summing up scanty

p. 116 1. I think he means more than
this. See p. 113. experience

{written in a column at right of page under experience:}

of sin

a greater & more

real life

Add Mss 45785

£29v

p. 117 13 line
 is 'him' Plato or Aristotle
 " " end of 1
 I think this mean:
 you might as well say that
 because our 'fruition' of God is
 in this world not lasting &
 dependent on our mental state
 therefore &c &c
 It is the mistake that all
 | theologians have made about
 | 'grace': as if God wd leave that
 | highest happiness dependent upon
 his own caprice & not upon
 Laws wh: we may find out &
 command if we will
 {vertically at left where indicated by |:} Philosophy
 Do take that out
 Even Duparlouss [?] who is clever
 says that we may command it
 more sometimes by intellectual
 study than by prayer

£30

| p. 117 last line but one
| an hour qy a year
|
{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Misprints
p. 120 criticism p. 121 narration
This I feel of Shakespeare, he {what seems to be a doodle here--a small
ladder with 3 rungs}
has taught no way of life
far inferior Artists have
p. 122 patience
____ {eternal {in partial circle:} p. 7 (18)
p. 123 Shall an {immortal being care
about any thing short of (for eternity
read) immortality?
p. 124 also p. 129 salvation
p. 124 top The soul is its own place
 & of itself
Doth make a heaven of hell a hell of heaven
p. 129 The next world too is a pilgrimage

p. 127 Samples of lives
| But that is just What God does
| not do.
| And we do not know beforehand What
| is the better life etc

Add Mss 45785

{vertically at left where indicated by |:} body & mind
{in a box in bottom right corner:} over

f30v

| p. 128 only habit & no love of truth
| (136) Men must live not by habit only
| " " in Education too we only seek to
avoid for our children our own
{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Education
" " bottom (cf p. 135)
free will & fate under the /mythic/ forms
p. 134, 5
Where do the souls come from which
| are put into (or which make)
| our bodies when we are born?
| this question seems to be treated
| here by Plato under a Symbolical
form.
[vertically at left:] body to mind

p. 136 Seems much scamped
2nd Para: especially
| p. 137 I. In Greece all States seem to
| have been founded more upon an ideal
| or type: in modern times to have grown up
Anyhow: in Paris attempted on some type & collapsed
[vertically at left:] governmt.

f31

[12]

p. 138 you can't unite /unite/ explain the
past history of Europe /with/ by the kingdom
of XV
but you can explain it by the
kingdom of God
It is the development of God's
thought: as all history is:
His path for us to progress
And when we understand better the Philosophy
of History, will not all history become Theodiki to us?
p. 140 Pray don't call Plato's
"paradoxes"-
You really deserve 3000 years
for that
" " *Communism*: curious
that it should be at once
a counsel of perfection
&
a Red Republican flag
p. 141 abolition of Slavery for
'only' read 'not'. Sir B. Frere &

Add Mss 45785

Livingstone would tell you.

f31v

p. 141.

Methinks I have often said
 & been beat for it
that in 50 or 60 years if we choose
 to study Social Physics
the whole world might be reformed

p. 142

The rights of property
 for the enjoyment of all & culture
 of all

nem: con:

" " Common property

" " Public Spirit or heroism

p. 143 Co-operation versus Competition
 Attainable for all What now is for
 few.

f32

p. 142 line 3 from bottom
 of comma- effect for "affect"

p. 143 line 14 from bottom
 of comma

" " line 9 from bottom
after 'insight' insert '& foresight'.
Plato is a real prophet.

Woman question !

" " Noble conceptions of *womanhood*
 In Mediaeval times the
 Conception of the Virgin Mother
 a noble & true conception
 In these times there are none
 nor had Shakespeare any.
It would seem as if the more
we cry out about the rights
of woman, the less power we
had of forming any ideal of
what she ought to be.

f32v

Woman Question

p. 144 top

 & Milton's

He thy God: thou mine.

Eve to Adam her God: not her companion

p. 110 line 10 from bottom

| for "vain pomp" put "outside"
| or "vain outside" of "tyranny".
|

Add Mss 45785

{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Misprint

[on 2:111 wealthy slave owners not in fear of their slaves. ...And why is this?
Because the whole city is in a league which protects the individual.

FN comment in margin: the whole family in a league

opposite 2:111 And is not our tyrant such an imprisoned, captive soul, who is made up of fears and loves, who has a swarm of passions which he is incapable of indulging; *living indoors always like a woman* and being jealous of those who *have the freedom of going about and seeing the world?*

FN comment in margin: woman question

opposite 2:111 Master of others when he is not master of himself

FN comment in margin: supt.

2:111 *His jealous, hateful, faithless temper grows worse with command.*

FN comment in margin: supt.

FN cited the last poem of Sir Walter Raleigh's in her critique of Benjamin Jowett's introduction to Plato's *Republic*:

Fear not to tell the best

The truth shall be thy warrant.**

In the marginal comment in the book itself she

f33

[12a]

p. 128 changing into animals
 similar to the idea of animal
 marriage among men & women
 p. 144

I think I am very good to enter into
this question after having been {below:} /beaten/

p. 145*

Plato contemplates marriages
"without feeling" or "imagination".

Yet when men or women are destitute

of either, Qy are *any*?

we /justly/ call them brutes:

occupying the lowest

step of humanity

unworthy of humanity &c

Many women & men too- Are made

up of feeling & imagination:

& these the highest specimens of their

race, when something else is added,

Yet in marriage Plato takes away

these & adds - - - What? - nothing

** Note, ADD Mss 45785 f29 and marginal note in Jowett,
Dialogues of Plato 1871 2:110.

Add Mss 45785

f33v

p. 145*

the improvement of the race
in "mental qualities"
qy how? not "possible"
in this animal way:
What provision does Plato
make for "mental qualities"
in this gigantic blunder:
a contradiction of himself
in every other part:
e.g. that the soul makes
the body, owns the body.
" " 2nd Para: instincts
do you call some of the highest
feelings wh: distinguish
mankind & womankind from
the brutes "instincts"?

f34

[the following originally appeared on f34 below, but meant for here]
/lower brutes desert wives soon after pairing: Plato wd
have men & women do so *immediately* after pairing:
higher animals do not: Golden Eagle: elephant;
even lesser birds assiduously attend their mates &
feed little ones till they fly./
higher animals Golden Eagle: 100 years a mate: [return to f33v]
" " 'improvements in the breed'.
You *could n't* 'improve the breed'

f34

in this way.
God has taken care of that.
{the following originally appeared lower on this f but marked for here.}
/Providence has provided that the
improvement of the race of man
shall not be in this fashion of brutes/
" " To the Greek etc
This is rather trying at an
explanation of Plato's colossal
blunder (in philosophy as well
as in fact) than a serious
discussion of the matter
" " line 5 from bottom
insert after "repudiating all the"
highest as well as the (ordinary
feelings of men) and women

f34v

p. 146* line 2 from top
No: this is a 'physical' as well
as a 'moral' blunder.
" " Many besides Dr. Combe
have done this eg Ld Glenelg.
middle
Certainly: What was Natural
is now incest. So will it
be with these other relations
they will no longer be "fancies" {below:} /are you serious?
but something deeper
& "regulated" not by "law" by feeling
the same /sort of/ feeling that "regulates"
"incest"- that is not by "law": by feeling
" " 2nd Para- v. p. 133
But "family attachments" MIGHT
(alas! there are few examples) *promote*,
not "interfere with" "higher aims".
And my Ideal in Novels wd. be to make
'love' & the 'family' tend to producing the heroic
or the ideal

f35

[13]

My Quetelet [orange]

p. 147* Quetelet
prophetic consciousness of a new
power for man's progress
p. 148* last line
not "repose" but a guide in action
to be found in the conception /if really worked
out to discovery/ of a
divine Perfect See how Christ
worked it out in action!
p. 150* Corruption of philosopher-Statesman
Cant
Ordinary statesman
party spirit
| "feminine" (take out that)
| positiveness
| But churches do reform
| when there is one man with
| Reformer's spirit to do it
{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Philosophy
" " line 4 from bottom
awkward "that most"
unintelligible

f35v

Add Mss 45785

| p. 137*
| line 12 from top
| after "one man". insert: or the reverse
{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Misprint
{in a box at left:} *My preface to Quetelet* [red und].
p. 137* rather scamped
method of science cannot anticipate Science.
True, but the method of the *Moral Sciences*
we have scarcely yet. Quetelet has disco-
vered something (not a method) capable of
"inexhaustible application". He has a
"true conception" but as yet only an inkling
| of facts. He is on his guard ~~to~~ against
| confounding probability with truth".
| The 'inspiring' 'vision', the 'true ideal'
in the future is that of Perfection.
[vertically at left:] Philosophy
Also: Quetelet was viewing truth as a
matter of fact, but of principle too
thro' facts v. next page {nothing in ms--perhaps meant in BJ's Plato}
He regards p. 158* the Sciences only in
relation to the idea of good
Have the wonders performed by Mechanical
Science increased our real 'good'?
I sometimes think Quetelet approached more
nearly than any one to Plato's highest sense in
Dialectic p 158+

f36

p. 153*
Would you not show the connection
instead of the antagonism
between
truth dealing with fact
&
" " " ideas
between
truth as a matter of fact
&
" " principle
| An idea on principle can't be true
| except deduced from or resting
| on true facts
{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Philosophy
1000 false facts don't make one true
idea of principle {even if the 1001st fact
is true Darwin has got no true principle
because he had only one true fact
& 1000 false ones.

f36v

p. 155*

Plato: the first great Sanitary author
| Gymnastics = Hygiene & Sanitation
| Medicine attends more to Materia Medica
| than to the Sanitary & preventive
p 41 pp 33, 4 (p 5)

[vertically at left:] Education

p. 156* scamped p. 38

The "powers of observation" are not /necessarily/
"quickened" by sin. No one likes pain:
or is likely to be mistaken in thinking it
pleasure. While the reverse may be
the case with sin-

I would not put 'crime' but sin: line
14 from top. evil

vice

Virtue may know vice but vice cannot
know virtue &c

{squeezed in interlinearly at left:} Cf top lines of p. 159* O! O!

{squeezed in interlinearly at right:} * line 6 from bottom

p.158* not "interrupted" or developed.

given a meaning to, systematized.
defined/

p. 156* Education p.p. 82, 3 terribly
scamped

{at right in box:] 8

This is one of the ~~gran~~ most striking
conceptions in Plato - Remember that, my
son, from 35 to 50 on we will say from 35 to 55,
you are to have the actual experience of life,
then you are to go back /& on/ to the conception of the
Perfect & in its rays give us forth the result {Jesuits
{2nd novitiate

f37

Education 14 {in boxes:} cp 8 14

The importance of this principle
modified as you will in practice,
of the Education of life being just
as essential after 50 as before

& a great deal more so, after middle
age, because then you have had
the experience of life

'To him that hath much &c

Jesuits' 2nd Novitiate

after 10 years' active work

Was it after 50 that Socrates

Add Mss 45785

began his life of interrogation?

f37v blank

f38 blank

Add Mss 45785

f38v {FN turned the paper at right angles f38v - f39}

Republic

The rest of the Republic always seems to me as if
Plato were advertising that if we accept his Republic
we shall hear of some things greatly to our advantage:
collateral advantages: I will not degrade Plato by
calling them cardinal advantages:
for one especially he seems hardly to take au sérieux:
and in its cardinal stupidity, one loses sight even
of its immorality. It is not even ironical: it is
simply grotesque .

These "advantages" seem to be three:

{the following 3 points have been edited rather than reproduced.
To evaluate FN's process in ranking these points see microfilm}

1. ~~And~~ the question of Body & Mind: ~~is~~
treated of ~~in connection~~ in a sort of superficial
& contradictory way but full of genius-
2. Communism in Property
3. The Woman /Communism in Marriage (Pairing)/ Question

f39v blank

f40 {filmed twice} {written on black-edged paper}

Plato the Prophet

more than a match. for
Kings & Priests = Poets
= Tyrants

3 or 4 great religious & moral
conceptions of which his
Utopian Republic merit the vehicle
just as the /Jewish/ Prophet's fancied
Messiah's reign merely conveys
(to us at least) his great
religious conceptions

Your excuses for Plato passim (all that about the Ideal non-practicable
very much beneath you

God's

verdict against Polygamy final-

But this is the exaggeration of Polygamy:
it is Polyandry, Polygyny, Polymatry/ Polypatry,
Poly paidy Poly everything
Even a breeder of animals would tell
you that he could not carry out
matters in this way. {Livingstone
{Good Words

f40v {black-edged paper}

Add Mss 45785

As a great man has hardly ever
had a great father, ~~we~~ still less a
great woman a great mother,
we see how very little comes
of this at all: how many many
more elements than Plato has in
his philosophy enter into the
question of breeding great men & {below:} /women/
let alone the fact (wh: Plato
takes no cognizance of at all
& wh: by the abolition of family
can be taken no cognizance of at all)
that if you go back even ~~to~~
8 steps & ~~th~~ at least these
enter into the composition of a
human being there are
256 progenitors to be consulted
& taken into account.

f41 {written on black-edged paper}

But according to Plato you are
not even to know /even who your own father
& mother are: much less/ who these
progenitors are
It is /all/ such nonsense
They make themselves known
by God's Law
Whether you will or no
go on to p. 48

f41v blank

f42

[48]

What do we mean when we say that Providence's condemnation
of Polygamy is final?

Is it not that no civilization can stand against Polygamy
but either it must die or Polygamy *must*?

The race must decrease & become extinguished
the dynasty or the aristocracy must cease to be:
these are the inevitable results of Polygamy:

While the inevitable result of /what we call morality: viz/ one man to one
woman,
is: social progress

f43

The statesman's "thoughts are fixed not on power or riches or extension of territory; but on an ideal state in which all the citizens have an equal chance of health & life, & the highest education is within the reach of all, & *the moral & intellectual qualities of every individual are freely developed*, & 'the idea of good' is the animating principle of the whole. Not the attainment of freedom alone or of order alone but how to unite freedom with order is the problem which he has to solve.

"Art then must be true, & politics must be true, & the life of man must be true & not a seeming or sham. In all of them order has to be brought out of disorder, truth out of error & falsehood This is what we mean by the *greatest improvement* of man."

"*the world*": not an abstraction of theologians but the most real of all things being another name *for ourselves* when regarded collectively & subjected to the influences of society.

Address to P.S.

letter, f44, pen

f44

35 South St.
Park Lane W.
June 13/74

Dear Mr. Jowett

I thank God, I thank God Who has given Irrigation the victory: in time, we may trust, to prevent more disastrous periodical famines: yet more to prevent a chronic state of half-starvation:

But for this we must yet set our hand to the plough & strike at the root of the

Add Mss 45785

f44v

Zemindary evil. May God hasten his work.

I had had a hint of what was about to happen: but had no idea that a great Minister was going thus to nail his colours to the mast, or rather pass the Rubicon, in such a declaration to the House of Lords. Only let him wisely go on with his work: the work for one fifth of the human race And let the Ho: of C. pass the Bill.

comments on Jowett's translation of Plato's Gorgias, f45-74, pencil, with bit on Republic in

f45

Gorgias

{paper damage on right edge of paper from top to 1/2 way down f}

3 Great moral truths

p. 60 To do is worse than to suffer [page torn]

64 To be & not to seem is duty

{numbers 60 & 64 enclosed in semi-circle}

49 54-5

64 To do wrong unpunished is wor{se?}/greatest of ev[ils]/
than to do wrong & be punished for [page torn]

p. 65, 6 p. 73, 74 p. 76

Also: the difference between truth & opinion /p [page torn]

Private judgment may be actually the oppos
of truth

| [I do not think it unfair but
simply & unbearably provoking of Socrates
to wrap his moral convictions in
that Cloud of Dialectic.

There is less of this in the Gorgias
than in any. p. 8

He is so terribly in earnest that
he even throws all his Dialectic aside
(at the end) & it becomes very much
what you would call in me a scream
& even makes Callicles in earnest. p. 76 59
& Polus.

Mr. Lowe is truly Gorgias

Add Mss 45785

f45v {paper damage at left, from top to 1/2 way down f}

art: only to be pursued /20, 98, 99, 101
{with?} a view to truth or improvement
{poet?}ry: Not to minister to the weaker side
{o?}f human nature 20
{Al?}so: Rhetoric to be used for self-
condemnation p. 106 not "extravagant"
74, 75 21 p. 32

Also: that you must be like the
multitude to influence them-
& that "to be despised & rejected"
is the fate of the righteous man
111

One should allow one's enemy to
escape unpunished

68 p. 75

No better argument /kind of proof of no value/ than numbers
p. 66 63 where truth the aim

f46

{paper damage on right edge of paper from top to 1/2 way down f}
you wilfully misunderstand
p.p. 106, 9

Just as I might say I can't maintain [page torn]
but any other theory is ridiculous

Order, Law, Constitution
p. 21 104 Pindar 78

Communion: fellow: feeling p. 105 [in margin]

You make an apology for speaking
to them of "the deeper things in Plato
p.

64

way of human life p. 97
most serious of questions 82

master of himself: self-control 86
21

Add Mss 45785

f46v [page torn]

[con]stitutes 62

[sav]oir faire: flattery 53 - 5

[a]sk God who He is - 36

Combat of life: greatest of all 125

very bad come from the powerful 124
"rich man"

f47

Gorgias

To do /It is/ a greater evil than to suffer injustice

It is better to suffer wrong than to do i{t?}

p.p. 21, 14, 125, 121, 106, 107

22, 66, 60, 64

& not to be punished than to be punished

p. 66, 65, 4, 68 72, 3, 4, 6

& to seem & not to be

p. 25, 49, 54-5, 125

f47v blank

f48 {paper damage on right edge of paper from top to 1/2 way down f}

Gorgias

Is not Socrates more ineffably

tiresome & at the same t{ime?}

does he not speak higher tr{uth?}

in the Gorgias than anywhere

else?

p. 4 /Why ~~should you/ Don't~~ call the highest truths

'paradoxes'- or at least

not the two first-

I should not call the third so

either- p. 58

/Are not/ Your Sermons always a sort of

Apology. for talking to them of

God?

And why should your Introductions

be a sort of Apology for

recognizing that Socrates

speaks the highest truth

& no paradox?

/Have/ Guarded statements whether about

Add Mss 45785

f48v {paper damage at left, from top to 1/2 way down f}

{Go?}d or /any particular moral/ truth never produced /moved/
enthusiasm of religion on ~~of~~ in
morality? [you say your Sheep:
dogs 'don't like religion'.] And you
{gi?}ve the reason: The "highest Ideals" only are
those which can move mankind- And
p. 8 you must *suffer* for your Ideal to love it
Is it "unfair" or simply &
unbearably provoking of Socrates
to wrap his moral convictions
in that Cloud of Dust &
Dialectic?

But whatever it is is there
not less of this "unfairness" & more
of the great moral teacher in
Gorgias than in any?

Is there any Dialogue, not
even excepting the Phaedo & Crito
Where he is so much in earnest?

f49 {paper damage on right edge of paper from top to 1/2 way down f}

He is so terribly in earnest t{hat?}
he even throws all his Diale{ctic?}
aside- towards the end-
& ~~even~~ makes even Polus in earne{st?}
p. 59, & yet more Callicles, p. 76
And it becomes almost what
you would call (in me) "a scream.{"}

To me, speaking as one of the
stupid: & ignorant, it seems
that the Introduction dwells
too much on the *form*, the
literary part of the Gorgias
& does not bring out in sufficiently
striking relief the great
truths which Socrates labours
so strenuously to enforce that

Add Mss 45785

f49v {paper damage at left, from top to 1/2 way down f}

you think Ideal synonymous with Paradox?

words sometimes seem almost confused

almost seems to lose his method

in the Introduction

Himself in them -

I cannot conceive what you mean by the last 2,

but 2 of p. 27.

And I do insist upon the bottom lines

of p. 26 & the top lines of p. 27 being taken out

I object entirely to p.p. 26, 7 - 1, 2

If Plato was not -writing

logically, why should you be

at so much pains to show

that his writing is not logical

Might you not as well write

pages to show that a Raphael

is not a Teniers?

I graciously condone your not

taking out these pages: as

I know you won't: but then

you must graciously omit the

word 'paradox', & bring out

more in relief the real moral

truths.

Add Mss 45785

f50 {paper damage on right edge of paper from top to 1/2 way down f}

[2]

These great moral truths ar{e?}
are not they?-

1. It is a greater evil to do
than to suffer injustice
If you call this a 'paradox',
why do you not call the 53rd
Chapter of Isaiah a paradox?
Is it not the highest of truths?
that it is better to suffer wrong
than to do it.
p.p. 14, 21, 22, 60, 64, 66, 106,
107, 121, 125

f50v {paper damage at left, from top to 1/2 way down f}

It is a greater evil not to
be punished than to be punished
for wrong.

p.p. 64, 5, 6, 8 72, 3, 4, 6

I have no idea why you call
this a paradox. It flows
quite naturally out of all the
rest.

That to do wrong
unpunished is the greatest of
evils follows not only
if you accept the first truth
but from all the higher experiences
of the life of every one of us-

{In large arrowhead pointing right, at left of page:} /Insert 2X/

Add Mss 45785

{The following text originally appeared @ f52v:} {paper damage on right edge of paper from top to 1/2 way down f}

/ 2X
Sovereigns never have fair ch{ance?}
because they are so shielded fro{m?}
the consequences of their own act{s? ions?}
until immense downfall comes
& this often not their own fault
The very bad come from the highest
ranks Socrates p.
& from the lowest- (not Socrates)
for very much the same reason -
because too low to see the
consequences of their own actions.
answer to p. all suffering
not improving
It is not indeed.
It is for us to teach them./
[In family life I see this every
day of my life: I see the
'spoilt child' making himself

f51 {paper damage on right edge of paper from top to 1/2 way down f}

or /& oftener/ herself miserable, & eve{ry?}
one else, down to ~~the-extr~~
mature life or extreme old {age?}
Tho' the 'punishments' of my life
have been somewhat severe, y{es?}
I can bless God ~~the~~ even in this
world that never in all my
life have I been allowed to
"do as I liked'.]
Also: that Rhetoric is to be used
for self-condemnation flows
quite naturally out of the former
truths.
p. p. 21, 74, 5, 106 {in a circle at right:} 22
{joined by a line to 5:} /vide misprint & sequitur/
Pray take out that about
"extravagant" irony". p. 32
it is not "extravagant" at all

Add Mss 45785

f51v {paper damage at left, from top to 1/2 way down f}

{I?}t is odd that I should be
the apologist of Socrates to you
to whom his method is simply
provoking, while to you it
is so agreeable that you even
used to practice it upon
a poor old dog like me]

Would you punish your enemy, you
~~One~~ should allow ~~one's enemy~~ him
to escape unpunished, for
the purpose of punishing him
p.p. 68, 75

is another corollary of the same
truth.

This is irony, of course
Don't make an apology to your
readers for speaking to them
of the deeper things in Plato

f52 {paper damage at left, from top to 1/2 way down f}

{in box at top right:} /misprint- p. 75 2Z??/
[page torn] there not a misprint at
p. 75. 12th line from top
[page torn] s & their unjust actions"
instead of "just actions"
[page torn] [alm]ost a truism that Rhetoric shd only be used
Self-condemnation. One goes over to oneself
[page torn] too convincing 'Rhetoric'- stating one's own case
oneself too strongly -the faults in Public /life/ -or bitter[er]
[page torn]- in one's own familiar friend - which have

self Control p. 21 | wrecked one's work
|

Also: ~~/that/ /that/ /out of/~~ that self-control ~~being~~ is
the true secret of happiness
p. 21,
viz & that every man must be master /over/ of himself
p. 86
naturally flows what you call
& what is not
the "extravagant irony".
out of these

Add Mss 45785

f52v {This whole folio is the "2X" referred to above @ f50v. The text has been inserted there as indicated by FN}

f53 {paper damage on right edge of paper from top to 1/2 way down f}

p. 115 confusing of "them" & "the{ir?}
What politics & statesmanship shd really
Statesman's proper business p. 111, p. 23
p. 111. making ourselves like the powe[r]
of the day = way to escape suffering

p. 110 {or 116?} leaving all ~~that~~ to God.
p. 22

[from volume 3:110 opposite the true man leaves all that about saving and being saved, not care about living a certain time, and the issue of the statesman wanting to be dear to the people and to have power in the state, so that they must be like the people in nature. But Socrates holds "*he leaves all that with God, and considers in what way he can* BEST SPEND HIS APPOINTED TERM."

FN top margin 3:111 By making ourselves like the ruling power we may, as has been said, escape the lesser evil, wrong suffering, but to escape the greater evil, wrong-doing, we must make the community in which we live just and righteous. The great statesmen were so far from doing this that they all suffered from its injustics, a proof how ill they had performed their highest task.

What art should be
making provision for soul's highest p. 20, 98
interest 55 101, 99
What criticism should be p. 17
p. 81
Real training v. routine 55

does something for the sake of something {on an angle at right:}
else 58 /not a "paradox"/
Rhetoric: lawyer v. Whewell

f53v blank

f54 blank

Add Mss 45785

f54v {paper damage at left, from top to 1/2 way down f}

object entirely to p. p. 26, 7
{it?} is not a reason why you should
{leav?}e them out. But it is a reason
{wh?}y you should bring out more the
{r?}eal moral truths.
{I?}f Plato was not writing logically
why should you be at so much
pains to show that his writing
is not logical?

f55

[3.6 3]

p. 49
Politics}
Rhetoric} is a mechanism for making
one appearing to know what {"he" is overwritten by:} /one/ does
not
This or something like it was in
your first Abstracts of Plato
which you showed me 9 years ago-
I remember it because I was
so delighted with the word
"mechanism".
And I pointed out
first that the ~~Public~~ /Government/ Offices
especially the War Office
& the Cabinet & also Parliament
were a "mechanism" for
appearing to the public to know
what one does not-
Secondly that Mr. Lowe was
Gorgias =issimus-

f55v

would you not make a great
deal more of this than you
have done
both at p. 12 where after
the cheer
Socrates "gently points out"
& afterwards in the Introduction

You seem to let the point drop.

I think the first Abstract
I saw of yours was better-

All this has to do with
Plato's great distinction
between Truth & Opinion

Add Mss 45785

Knowledge & Private Judgment

Private Judgment often stands opposed to Truth

Add Mss 45785

f56

But the whole Dialogue is really {"a" is overwritten by:} /the/
natural flowing of one thing out of
/another/ Another ~~off-shoot~~ /outflow/ of this - p. 111
& also of pp. 63, 6

Seems to be
the difference between truth & opinion
p. 33 30(a)
The Gorgias is not "the assertion of
private judgment"-
It is something far higher than this
It is asserting /the pursuit of/ truth *against* /"the right/ of
private judgment": truth ~~against~~ /versus/
opinion.
The "right of private judgment"
is not truth- It is: *opinion*
And in the present day, "private
judgment" is asserted so as
to be actually the opposite of
truth, the opposition, the obstacle
to the search after truth
p. 30. a 1 2
should it not be the *infinite* & *finite*?

3:33 at end of intro to Gorgias FN comment: He is doing something much higher:
reasserting truth against opinion; right of private judgment is not truth.
Jowett's statement is not as strong, although says not about right to dissent
or private judgment. In the new section Jowett points out that "the iron of
Plato sometimes veils from us the height of idealism to which he soars," (1892
2:301). He goes on to call Socrates' words "more abstract" than Christ's, but
equally imply that "the only real evil is moral evil" (1892 2:303). He mentions
a favourite Nightingale point: that "good intentions and even benevolent
actions, when they are not prompted by wisdom, are of no value" (1892 2:306).
He refers to the "ideal statesman" whose thoughts are fixed not on power ,
riches or territory, but an "ideal state, in which all the citizens have an
equal chance of health and life, and the highest education is within the reach
of all and the intellectual qualities of every individual are freely developed
and 'the idea of good' is the animating principle of the whole" (1892 2:308).

f56v blank

Add Mss 45785

f57

Also: So much more might
be made as to Rhetoric
with regard to law & lawyers
of the present day

f57v blank

f58

[3]

3. ~~That~~ the end of life ~~should be:~~
to be & not to seem -
p.p. 25, 49, 54-5, 125.

You have brought this out more
strongly in a Sermon I have
seen of yours than even in
this Introduction.

Do I tolerate Socrates for the sake
of his great truths?

~~I will not say that~~ /Do/ your Introducns
Seem to tolerate the truths for
the sake of Socrates?

Not exactly: but the vulgar
public, not the learned will never
read Plato except for these
great truths.

{written across very bottom edge of paper:}

even with one being wiser than ~~all~~ /every/ other world

{above and running up right edge of paper, divided from main text by wavy line:}

p. 33 go on to 3b

[down the right side] 90 into 36

{The text labelled "3b" is found on f61v. It has not been inserted here because
there appears to be another place where its insertion is also indicated by FN,
see f59v. This one's the job of the editor.}

f58v

Other great truths seem to be: -
Where did Plato make Mr. Lowe's
acquaintance? -
And was it you who told Plato
how to embody him in Gorgias?
4. What politics & statesmanship
should really be
The Statesman's proper business
pp. 23, 111- 115-

{in an large arrowhead in the middle of the p pointing left:} 3a
[And, my son, I really must hand
you over to Plato - you, the son
and father of Plato - I am ashamed
of you! I think F.N. has
sometimes in milky & obscure
language ventured to hint at
these truths about Statesmen

f59

to you & been told that she
'screamed']
{in an large arrowhead in the middle of the p pointing left:} 3a
{An arrow leads from the point of the arrowhead to the previous p. f58v.}
{The text of "3a" is found on f60 below.}
Akin to Plato's view of
statesmanship are his
views or truths
that you must be like the
multitude to influence them -
that making ourselves like the
powers of the day is the
way to escape suffering
[My son, you did not make
yourself 'like the powers of the
day' - & yet you 'expected' that
that Bishop who has climbed
up the 'excessively tall tree'-
& those 2 Deans should
'stand by you-]
that 'to be despised & rejected' is
the fate of the righteous man
p. 111, 115

f59v

Also that p.p. 63, 6
if we have no better
argument than *numbers*,
we have no argument at all
that ~~it is~~ /numbers are/ a kind of proof
of no value where truth
is the aim-

All this does bear so
directly on the statesmanship
& indeed on the literature &
criticism of the present
day-

The exclamation wrung from
Callicles, p. 76, shews him to
have been more accessible to
truth than the proverb.

"One /may be wiser than another: one/ can't be wiser than ~~all~~ /every/ other
~~world~~"- of which the reverse
is more true- since every reform has

3b

{I can't find the end of this sentence anywhere.}

f60

3a

p.p. 111. 115

~~I think~~/might/ this not be a little /more/ brought
out in the Introduction? p 23.

By making ~~ourselves~~ /himself/ like the
ruling powers, {we is overwritten by:} /he/ may escape the
lesser evil, wrong, suffering: but to
escape the greater evil, wrong doing,
he must (he, the just & righteous
man) must make the community
in which he lives, like himself-

Is it possible to put /the moral *truth*/ that
we must make 'the Kingdom
of Heaven within' *without* too
into better political form?-

And was there ever a time
when this was more wanted?

"~~The~~ Great statesmen /& great men are/ ~~were~~
so far from doing this that they
all suffer from the State's
or Mankind's injustice Shewing

f60v

how ill they had performed
their highest duty-
Or if they don't suffer, it is because
they neglect their highest duty
-What they are there for-
But we have got much farther
than all this now-
for no one cares (& every one prates)
about performing or not performing
the 'highest duty'- We don't care
enough now to make the 'great
statesmen' 'suffer': So we do not
have any. We are not vigorous
enough to be 'unjust': to revenge
ourselves upon the 'statesmen' for
not doing us good.

f61

p. 115
some confusion of "those",
"them" & "their"
in Socrates near the bottom
"their" after "them" awkward
but as to transforming /transferring/ the desires
of men (to higher things /objects/) & not
allowing those desires to have their way, & as to guiding or
controlling them whether by
persuasion or by force, so as
to make the /one's/ fellow-citizens better,
which is the prime &c
go on to 3a
{ "3a" is located on f60. It has not been inserted here because there are two
other places where its insertion also seems to have been indicated by FN. See
f58v & f59. }

Add Mss 45785

f61v

3b

Why was Plato not martyred
like Socrates?

it must be more aggravating to write
than to speak

[and Gorgias read the Gorgias]

was it because they were
then grown so indifferent,
like us, that they did not even
care to murder him?

It was not Indifferent:ism,
certainly, that murdered Socrates.

{Written in a very different script but definitely by FN, in column at extreme
left:}

I think I had rather be murdered
than see Truth

~~list~~ not listened 3c

to or what is
worse listened to with
Indifferentism

f62

3bc

As to "truth" being made "to depend
upon numbers", p. 14-

Would you not work this out
as to the ~~system~~ /method/ of
determining truth by majorities
(Parliamentary representation)
&c of the present day

which really means determining
/What is/ truth by those who are
least likely to know--what it is

For a majority must
consist of the least educated,
least wise, least excelling
in any way

"We are always taming down the
nobler spirits among us
to the conventional level" p.p. 17.
says the enemy. very truly:

f62v blank

Add Mss 45785

f63

Bring these out [4] in ~~the~~ /your/ Introduction
but also don't contradict them in /your/ conversation

(5)- ~~And now,~~

What Art

& Poetry

& Criticism should be

not Flattery: not shams: not the 'Art of Gratifying'-
-not Savoir faire

What /true/ Art should be:

- making provision for the soul's
highest interest
- only to be pursued with a view
to truth or improvement -

p.p. 20, 55, 98, 99, 101

True Artists: definition: bringing order out of disorder

[At this point, my son, I expect

an apology to Plato from you -

What was that you said to me
about Middlemarch?]

Is Midch "true art"?

What Poetry should be: p.p. 20, 98, 99

not to minister to the weaker

side of human nature -

to consider improvement & not pleasure /(of soul)/ of multitude

There's 'rue' for Mr. Swinburne

tho' I do declare his 'Atalanta' is an Ideal

- not a Paradox

Add Mss 45785

f63v

What criticism should be /have/

p.p. 17, 81

knowledge, good-will, frankness.

This of course *is* ironical

Still it is a very good
stipulation for what criticism
should be. And were it
complied with the criticism
of the present day would not
be what it is

'What! read a book I am going to review!'

p. 55 ~~(p. 10)~~

Not an Art but an experience or routine

[Cousin: une espèce de routine]

Nurse = Training: difficulty of preventing

Training, which should teach
why a thing is to be done *this* way
why not to be done *that* way
from becoming a routine: an empirical

practice

That is real Training v. Routine.

f64

p.p. 53-5 13, 31b.
intensely applicable to present day-
Surely the whole of *Novelism*,
really the chief of our 'Arts',
is nothing but a 'flattery',
an 'Art of Gratifying'-
What pretence does it make to
bringing 'order out of disorder'
an Ideal out of Social Life
-to making provision for the soul's
highest interests.
Novelists=prophets of present day-
What do they 'prophesy'?
Surely the whole of Criticism:
/Occupying/ the *dog in the manger's* place in
~~of~~ our overgrown periodical literature
is nothing but 'opinion'- no search
after 'truth'- nothing but
Savoir faire- the 'knowing' how to
'do' an Article, to put together words in literary
/form./

f64v

p. 31 6
{written on an angle in middle of page:} My Article
Fraser
"To Plato the whole world appears
sunk in error, based on self-
interest"- self-interest tempered
by literary self-amusement.

Plato about Imitation-
The literary self-amusement,
now necessary to us to temper
'self-interest', is mainly
derived from Imitation Arts,
Imitation Poetry -

Add Mss 45785

f65

[5]

| (6.) Of course all that about
| Law, Order, Constitution
| p.p. 21, 78, 104
| is /nuts/ delightful to me -
| But could you not bring it out
| a little more?
{| indicates a large square bracket}
| At p. 21, Virtue is due to Order,
| is what I mean by saying that
| 'Grace' is regulated by /the/ Law-
| not a /the/ capricious gift of God.

The quotation from Pindar
at p. 78 is charming.

But much might be done to
elucidate p.p. 104,5 to the
vulgar, like me.

f65v

That the virtue of every thing
is dependent on order
p. 104 just above 507
expresses exactly what
I mean by Law
but if in the Introduction

Something could be said about
this implying a certain Order,
or Constitution
this proper order /or Law/ inhering in
every thing-
/every thing having/ its proper or essential Constitution
/or order/ it would unite it more to the modern idea of Law

f66 [inserted from f65v as indicated by FN:]

- wh: so possesses us now:
- but which yet, as you say,
is at present little better
than a 'metaphysical expression'-/
Also- the soul "which has order is
orderly": does this mean, the soul
being rightly constituted-
it wd. be more intelligible-
I prefer the word Law to

Constitution - But you yourself
have told me the word "Constitution" -
{the following text is from f66 as apparently indicated by FN:}
###/Order
Law almost synonymous
Constitution here/

f66

The highest doctrine p.p. 22, 110

'leaving all to God' follows here.

For how could we, without stupidity,

'leave all to God', unless He had a
Settled Order or Law which we knew to
be good - the Law of Almighty Wisdom
& Goodness?/

p. 105 just above 508

I am not sure that the word

"communion"

unless interpreted in the Introduction
to mean

Sympathy: fellow=feeling

will be generally understood.

Communion = *union in feeling* -people think it 'Conversa: {below:} /=*tion*'-/

f66v

The 'old mistake' of Virtue being

Knowledge = an Art

the "old confusion of the Arts & the

Virtues"- p.p. 12, 50 - {inside large arrowhead here pointing left:} 6a
Has not Plato got beyond /that/ here?

Does he not say that Virtue
is an Order, a Constitution?

Does he not imply that it is a
State of the Soul, not a piece of
knowledge? - a "way of human life"

p.p. 64, 82, 97, 125

that the 'way of human life' is the

most serious of all questions

(alas! how little we think so now!)

that the combat of human life is

the greatest of all combats

Is not this a considerable advance over

Virtue is Knowledge?

It rises to Christian asceticism, to the
strain of S Paul-

Virtue is: a good soldier 'enduring

hardness'- not: Virtue is knowing

Add Mss 45785

f67

[6]

The highest doctrine

p.p. 22, 110

leaving all to God follows on 6a

For how could we, without stupidity &c

p. 8 last line

after (406) insert "B.C."

It looks like a reference {in a box at right:} Over

f67v

p. 9. 5th line from top

tho' Plato says that Pericles is

just dead

he forgets this himself

& speaks of Pericles & others

as statesmen 'of former ages'

'of old time' -

as you have

at p. 7

p. 23 3rd line from bottom

This does not agree with p. 9.

f67

p. 10- "from a man"? insert "who makes shoes"

"the answer 'I am a cobbler' -"

{in a semi-circle, at centre:} 6a

p.p. 12, 50 (confusion of Arts & Virtue)

fallacy that a man who knows

justice must be just

A man who knows justice /or right/ is not

just /or righteous/ but a jurist or judicial

as a man who knows morality

is not moral but a moralist

Would you not bring this out

more?

~~I think~~ the above distinction

is in Whewell

f67v {Text marked % above f67 originally appeared here.}

Add Mss 45785

f68 {paper damage on right edge of paper from top to 1/2 way down f}
[7]

p. 60 a geographical rem{ark?}

~~If these are /Contemporary/ historical allusi{on?}~~

~~(but I dare say that you will~~

~~— say there are not)~~

in the man going into the Agora

with a dagger

To the conspiracy of the 400,

it would make the

Introduction more historically

interesting to give them-

And also it would recall the

reader's attention to the fact

that our commonest principles

of morality were not known

then- which brings out more

into relief - Socrates' indignation

with Polus. Whose sentiments

then were perhaps the ordinary

ones.

f68v {paper damage at left, from top to 1/2 way down f}

{I?}t wd. be impossible for Polus

to say these things now -

{O?}n the contrary

Ld J. Russell

has to say what he knew that

they knew that he knew

to be false {in column at right:} L. Nap. did

the coup d'etat

because he thought

it right for country's

good.

Polus wd= have said tout crûment

that it was right for the tyrant

to do it for his own good.

f69 {paper damage on right edge of paper from top to 1/2 way down f}

I say nothing about

hypocrisy: hommage Vice to Vir{tue?}

We really not much better

now than then

f69v blank

Add Mss 45785

f70 {paper damage on right edge of paper from top to 1/2 way down f}
[16]

Gorgias

7th. truth

p. 4. p. 58

the third Socratic paradox.

7. This may be technically called a
'paradox' But if you do
should you not bring out its
consummate beauty & truth?
p. 58 doing something for the sake
of something else
p. 59 making a mistake
& intending to do something for our
good which we then find
out is not for our good
All this which means
that Success is given not to
Benevolence nor to Good
Intentions /without/ but to Wisdom
& that we have to *find out*

f70v

{paper damage at left, from top to 1/2 way down f}

{wh?}at are the consequences of

our own actions

that these consequences are

invariable

& constitute a Law so exactly

that it may be expressed

numerically

e.g. not only that Indiscriminate

Alms-giving whether by Poor Law

or Charity produces Pauperism

but exactly how many Paupers

-is this not doing what we *don't*

intend- & what if we had

looked before, we should

have seen - seen that what

we did *not* wish we were

going to do - & not have

done ~~wished~~ it?

Add Mss 45785

f71 [page torn]

so that in fact we are doing
what we do *not* will -

A man who founds a Foundling
Hospital produces an
exactly appreciable increase
of exposed illegitimate children
Is he not doing what he does
not will? p. 59

He has the "least possible power",
for he is actually bringing about
the reverse of what he intends
p. 57

It seems to me that there can
scarcely be a finer lesson
than this -
Please bring it out.

f71v {paper damage at left, from top to 1/2 way down f}

"Indeed the matters at issue
between us are not trifling;
to know or not to know
happiness & misery - that is
the sum of them". p. 64.

Add Mss 45785

f72 {Notation made to f--not FN's hand--top right hand corner:}

Notes on Prof. Jowett's second edition
of Plato - May 1875

- see letter

From B.J. to F.N. thanking
for them May 1875.

p. 152

timocrat: not an English word

if used must it not be explained

{enlist on its side combined endeavours of better part of people

{severe training of Supts in order to train others

{a voluntary rule over voluntary subjects

p. 156 qy. of (the inequality of property)

{Pol Eco growth of where?

{their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven

{we honour God when we know the darkened & disfigured}

image of Him

}

p. 162 la façon

separating them ? these

p. 172 idea of good = universal law.

People are enthusiastic about it

but have not filled up one moral law

p. 174 for feminine read /ecclesiastical/ Papal or Bourbon or Stuart

all the great historical instances we know of this

have been of men not of women.

Elizabeth, Catherine &c have shown just the contrary

Churches the type of it consist exclusively not of women but of men

regarding that only as the better life which makes men better

& leaving the rest

72v blank

Add Mss 45785

f73 [Republic 1875]

Bp Berkeley p 143 individual type confusion both in Mr. Jowett & in Plato
p. 129 the idea that God has an original design in His
head for every one of us & everything
p. 130 I think that the comparison of Homer & Hesiod being left to
147 starve is in irony & meant as a hit at the Sophists
bottom of p. 130 But it is a truism that if a man
does "understand the use of a thing", he invents much
better Plato is quite one-sided there -
We have a poor /Surgical/ Patient now in St. Thomas' who
invented on {"on" written over "a"} himself a valuable Surgical appliance
Why were the painters of the Italian Middle Ages
Superior to all others? Because they were /not merely painters but/ the most
accomplished men of their age.
p. 132 lets them rule instead of ruling them
refer to this when you say what the highest poetry is
p. 133 For ? but
injustice destroys one's own evil: therefore a good
135 St. Paul prize
138 use of evil: make a better choice: experience [1875 Rep]
those who come from earth choose better than those who come
from heaven *life may go from good to evil*
from this world to the other & from the other to this
most seek only to avoid their former condition
139 obscure (appearance)
140 ~~not~~ highest utility not unfair & prosaic test
no man can live his life & act it
143 Plato's poet your Mrs. in Middlemarch
you say this yourself. p. 146

f73v blank

f74 blank

Add Mss 45785

f74v [Republic 1875]

p. 144 not "moderate indulgence"
but raising them to higher objects

give poetry to law & idealize "scientific fact"
that should be the nobler /noblest/ poetry of the day
insert this p. 146

p. 145 as beautiful & more solemn
he who thinks must feel before he can execute
146 married love: no instance of its inciting
to great deeds ("Dante or Petrarch")
this shd be one of the offices of the new poetry of the day

Adam & Eve were married, I suppose:

but no one has sung married love since Milton sang

A virtuous woman

& how body of Adam & Eve.

or since is crown of husband

{but even she was bought by a

on the contrary the Novel always {stops at marriage

{good many rubies

[shd read: But no one has sung married love since Milton sang, or since: A virtuous woman is crown of husband, but even she is bought by a good many rubies. And how body of Adam and Eve. On the contrary, the novel always stops at marriage.]

147 "Paradox of Gorgias" not paradox but wit
these are like some of Christ's witty sayings
you might as well talk of Christ's paradoxes

149 Plato ought not to vilify Homer & Hesiod So much
taking from him as he does

150 some of "the souls" had a very "definite character"
it seems to me [Republic 1875]

& he ~~marks~~ /notes/ in a most remarkable manner

the use of evil: the effect of experience:
in the Souls who came from earth

actually choosing
better than those who came from heaven

Add Mss 45785

note, f75, pencil?

f75 {written on small black-edged note paper}

Mr. Jowett's Hegel:

I don't want to hear /what/ Hegel's /thinks/ thoughts of God:
Nor /what you think/ your thoughts about what Hegel thinks of God:
but what you think of God.

I don't want to hear the philosophy of Hegel:
[I know it already] but the philosophy of God

I don't want to know your Criticism of what Hegel
thought that God thinks: [at that rate Philosophy
would be nothing but what the 19th century thinks of
what the 18th century thinks {written over "of"} of what the 17th Century
/thinks/-----
of what the 5th Century before Christ thinks] but what you
think that God thinks

f75v blank

f76 blank

note, f76v, pencil?

f76v

Hegel

/Just as/ In the recent controversy, both Ch: of England Sides
praise themselves by saying that their religion
"keeps within the limits marked out by Bp-
Andrewes"-

Now I really do not want to make what
"Bp Andrewes" thinks of God the "limit"
of what we are to think of Infinite Wisdom
& Almighty Goodness-
Is this not become too /pettily/ ridiculous?

{date might be in FN's hand but bracket much more workmanlike than her usual;
faintish} [archivist: wrtn 1875]

f77, note pencil

Mr. Jowett's Hegel

The history of Philosophy the most interesting of all
histories
but it is to me as if you were to give me the history
of foods or the chemistry of foods
when I was starving

{very faint writing:} [archivist: wrtn 1875]

Add Mss 45785

f77v blank

Add Mss 45785

notes on Aristotle, ff78-80, pen?

f78

the Cause, (the Quid & the Cur)^{xx} Aristotle

4 Causes

1. *Essential* (Form) Formal
2. Necessitating Conditions (Matter)
3. *Proximate* mover or Stimulator of Change (*Efficient*)
4. That for the sake of which (*Final* Cause or End)
3. *Efficient* e.g. Why did the Persians invade Athens?
because the Athenians attacked the Persians first
4. *Final*^{*} e.g. Why does a man walk after dinner?
for the purpose of keeping up his health
(digestion is the *efficient* cause of health)

final cause prior in order of nature - posterior to terms of conclusion
in order of time or generation

efficient prior in order of time or generation

formal & material simultaneous with effect neither prior nor posterior
same fact may proceed both from a Final Cause & from a cause of Material

Necessity/

e.g. light from /passes thro' our/ lantern to guide us in dark
because particles of light smaller than pores in glass

x In the Final Cause or End of action, there is always some
ultimate end for the sake of which the intermediate ends are pursued,
& which yields when known *the only complete explanation of the action*

So also with the Formal Cause: there is one highest form which
contains the *Why* of the Subordinate forms-

f78v blank

f79 blank

f79v

Aristotle

SUGGESTS that the *Essence* which is declared by

Definition CAN NEVER BE KNOWN BY DEMONSTRATION

Definitions: principia from which Demonstration departs-
in going back upon demonstrations, *we must stop*
somewhere & must recognize *some principia undemonstrable*

The Definition can never be demonstrated, for it declares
only the essence of the subject; & does not predicate
anything concerning the subject; whereas Demonstration
assumes the essence to be known, & deduces from such
assumption an attribute distinct from the essence
(the *dubitative* treatment)

[you assume as your premisses 2 essential propositions, in order
to prove as an essential proposition the conclusion:
inadmissible--for your premisses require demonstration
as much as your conclusion -

You have committed a Petitio Principii: * *you have assumed*
in your minor premiss the very point to be demonstrated]

x donc la démonstration de l'essence ainsi entendue est absurde]

Bart: St. Hilaire

cause = essential nature of the thing itself (sometimes)

as: essence of triangle is cause of its having its 3 angles = 2 right angles
as well as of its other properties.

Add Mss 45785

f80

Aristotle

The celestial bodies revolve:

it is therefore possible for them to revolve-
but

it is not possible for them not to revolve

[impossible Possible

le possible qui n'est jamais: et qui par cela même
porte en lui une sorte d'impossibilité-

B. St. Hilaire

^{xx} *Cur & Quid* in both we aim at ascertaining What the cause is
but in *Cur* what we discover is perhaps some independent
fact or event
in *Quid* What we which is the cause of the event
seek is the real essence or
definition of the substance-the
fundamentals, generating, immanent cause of its
concomitant attributes

ff81-82, pen. f81 Jowett letter

Oxford Dec. 5, 1880.

Dear Miss Nightingale

I gather from your
telegram that you must be
in great trouble. May God
help you who have been a
helper to so many:

Mr. Smith had outlived
life & was of no use to his
family: & have a pleasant
remembrance of his kindness &
hospitality fifteen or twenty years
ago. For ten years past I have

Add Mss 45785

f82

scarcely seen him. The accession of property was worse than useless to him.

Godfrey Lushington gave me a good account of Mrs. Smith [I love G.L. notwithstanding his foolish Comteism & think him an able & honourable man.] He said that she was very well & active for her age.

I hope that you are relieved from anxiety about Shore Smith. Will you remember me to her?
{note concludes on f81v.

ff83-89 by Jowett

ff90-91, notes pen?

f90 {In fainter different writing but still looks like FN to me:}

Notes of a conversation
Sermons (at Oxford) have quite changed in the last 4 years or so

You never hear a Sermon now on ~~the~~
Miracles or on
Atonement or on
Everlasting Damnation
Death-beds-

You don't take your disciples to the Death-bed.

[Then what are they on?]

Chiefly on reconciling Science with Religion - or Philosophy with Religion.
or on good works: like Toynbee Hall among the work=classes

[But all true Philosophy *is* Religion:
& all true Religion *is* Philosophy.]

Yes, but we have not got so far as

f90v

that.

[Then, as *that* Theodicy or moral
Government of God, is gone, what
do you substitute for it?

What is the moral Govt. of God?]

O I have nothing: but
strip off falsities
listen to the inner voice.

[But you can't say that to the
people who believe in "harps" &
"crowns"-

nor to the people who have no
"inner voice"]

No. & it is quite true that the
Toynbee Hall /men/ have nothing like
the influence that Charrington has
distinguishing nirvana

f91

And James Martineau has
influence over a very small number
but none over the masses.

[I know one (Rosalind) who wishes to
be absorbed (Nirvana) in God
"because I dislike myself"-]
only answered by another anecdote

Hatch is in the historical-
no priestly influence, such as
consecrating the bread & wine till the
10th century

Xtianity a mutual benefit Society

[But does he go no further?
does he not say what the
moral government of God is?]

No

[And what are the Bampton Lectures?]

f91v

[Then, if the historical & the
 metaphysical
views have stopped off so much
how do you go on now to the
moral Govt. or the Theodicoean
view?]

We don't
[God used to govern by everlasting
damnation- How does He
govern now? {roughly circled, the first clause written as part of this line; the
balance in a column squeezed in on an angle below:}

That was a scheme

We are but
the fly on the
wheel if we
are working
without God:
with Him
then we are
part of
the
wheel.

What is the scheme?

No answer

Good men: working *for men*.

[But what is the key to Christ
to Gordon? Their Love &
devotion to God. their faith in Him
that they are His tools part of His
scheme.

working *for God* was the key to what
 they did for me.

{Written up left margin of page:}

Thou in me & I in thine that they all may be made perfect in
me

Add Mss 45785

Incomplete letter, ff92-93

f92

March 16/88

Surely the Pr. of W. had better things to tell the Q. of the new German Emperor than What 66 millions of people are saying, viz that of Doctors looking daily down one's throat &c.

A better thing has been told us of him within the last few days: that he has so conquered all impatience in himself that nothing troubles him /or makes him impatient/

When a man has done this - how did he do it?-

When one Considers What his life is now - What a fiery trial/endured as if it were a calm sunset -/
- When even 7 doctors looking down his throat ~~does not~~ cannot make him impatient, that is

f92v

a hero. martyr indeed -

Could not the Pr. of Wales tell the Queen this?

It is supposed his/the Emperor's/ life may be numbered by days. May God grant/to him ~~that he and his country that~~ & Europe to which every & hour of his life [is on facing page for here]

is precious - that he may be able to work /and to rule/ every hour of that life, without being resent-ed by his son -

And may God Grant us the strength which
[page torn] [has] been So extraordinarily given to him to
[page torn] & overcome in himself -

f93

[page torn] [It] is said that he has made this/last/ year ~~his~~ a "Crowning education" to himself - And so it has
- one could wish/pray/ that it might be for yet a few years of *this* life that he/this man of 57 has ~~schooled~~ /educated/ himself.

How does he ~~do it~~? win/get this calmness & serenity?

I suspect it is not because he puts himself above but as it were below troubles. He does not like to be treated as a Prince but "on the same level as any one else"
- a human creature "with human weaknesses"- So,
as St. Paul says, God's strength is made perfect in
his weakness.

f93v - blank

Add Mss 45785

incomplete letter?, ff94-95, pen ?

f94

[at left opposite date]
to take advantage
of Vacation 7/4/88
can if you please send more about
instruction in Agrice as means of
promotion

Dear Mr. Jowett,

~~could~~ had not time to
make this shorter

connection between the
~~ques~~ problem seemed ~~so~~
necessary yet
perhaps not shown

e.g. between poverty &
health

between sanitation &
Local Self-Govt

between Finance &
between in short the
different problems of Govt.

{upside down at bottom of p.:}

Wd if you please re-write this
if you tell me Ld L. not to be
trusted

I have seen [the?] Viceroy

Add Mss 45785

f94v

Now comes is it wise
to write so confidentially?
different allusions to I.O &
Home Govt.
You know Ld L.
I don't.
difference between present man
& S.H. if he approves
will he make a thing his own?
& then put it forward as his
own? And will he reject
What he does not make his
own? & not put it forward
in any way?
{following written on an angle at bottom}
old stager
of W.O.
that's not the Way
to get information
that's not the way
to get a thing done?

f95

~~first~~ Page A
perhaps better not sent
yet it lies at the bottom
of all.
problems will start up
they *will* be dealt with
they can't be driven back
See eg last Page No. 10 -
but had not certain [illeg] pieces
of information about home [?]
govt better be taken out?

S.H. invariably mastered a
thing & made it his own -
then worked it as from the
S of S.
[page torn] H. Smith
corps [?]
~~Lord~~ Dufferin W.H. Smith

f95v

by far the best man at W.O.
since S.H. Will actually
send a private letter of
F. N.'s given him by Lady S.
to the Army in Egypt Without
even asking leave

Ld. Cross

Ld Dufferin openly
forwards my letter to him
to the Dept of Govt. in India
concerned. & tells me he
has done so because he
approves

Ld Ripon who was a
pupil of S.H. never did this
-always made the Subject his
own.

{written in a space up the middle of the page:

I have asked

these 8 men not

to do it. And they agreed

I only mention these as illustra[tion] {paper damage}

But it is a complete novelty of {paper damage}

{written up right margin:

last 10 or 15 years in Govt.

if Lord Lansdowne would do it I wd send him nothing

{written upside down in top margin:

with which he could do it

Add Mss 45785

note f96, pen?

[15:828]

f96

Mr. Jowett Sept 7/88
The Emperor William has made Russia his friend |
has detached Russia from France |
has put off War for 3 or 4 years |
{| denotes a vertical wavy line perhaps supposed to be a bracket}
{following appears to left of this list under Emperor Wm}
Whether it was |
Bismarck Who did it|
or not |
Crimes of violence have greatly increased lately in Prussia
(Military ism) says Bismarck
Crimean War - made possible united Germany by taking off Russia
- prevented Russia from despotizing all the Eastern
states
- made an ally of France instead of an enemy
to England
- MADE Italy

[end 15:828]

f96v blank

f97 blank

f97v {upside down}

Mr. Jowett
Theodicy - To reconcile the aspects of
nature with those of God
of moral government
{on an angle in left corner:
changed in?
[on angle in right corner]
Fellows
Sir John Conway
Chemical
Nettleship

Add Mss 45785

f98

Mr. Jowett
have done with Providence-only Law
F.N. But Providence *is* Law.

Sept 8/86[?]

Old age does not think more of these things as it approaches the
end but less - nor does it think more of its life's designs - but less
Death does not think of its future state but of its grandchildren
These facts militate against a future life
F. N. No such thing: the first means that old age is, but need not be decay.
(Sanitary reform)
facts - I- ha [breaks off]
the night [right?]
Anthropomorphy
Origin of Govt

f98v blank

f99 blank

Add Mss 45785

f99v

[3:589]

Mr. Jowett

How can you make a friend of a man (Christ) Who lived 1800
years ago? (Mrs. Humphrey Ward)

F.N. No you must believe that Christ is living now -
is seeking you now

[end 3:589]

German philosophy has ceased in Germany. It still has some
hold in England

F. N. Military ism has checked it.

We never have rows & riots in Oxford now
but we have less Character

the drive of life |
the reading of newspapers | has deteriorated character
the rushing about |

Then you must draw the rein less tightly. It's in the spirit of the age
|F.N. nurses

[diagonal bottom right corner]

Physical Science

& Commerce

has taken the place
of

letter, ff100-01, pen. **f100** Jowett to FN on Miss Pringle

f102-07, pencil notes

[3:329-30]

f102

To Mr. Jowett

New Years

Sir Harry telegram

Miss Pringle

Many thanks for your valuable

hints as to "arguments" & especially
your advice "not to give up any
"efforts to persuade her."

I do think (tho' I have not
much hope| {straight vertical line} that she is more
amenable. She Considers,
Whereas at first She thought
only of *immediate* parry and the
answers *which* ~~alas!~~ I know
priests too well not to recognize
But some of her answers are
alas! too rational - She says
"I do not want to give up Truth

f102v

"but to find Him who is the
Truth. That is the whole question
Salvation could not be found
without."
You kindly say: She needs some
"greater religious satisfaction than
"she has at present. Can you
"offer it to her?"

I must say like her: "That
is the whole question" - by
"religious satisfaction" meaning,
as you said, some religious organizn
"because", as you said, mystical/or spiritual
religion is not enough for most
people -/without outward form And I may say: I
can never remember a time
when it was not the question
of my life. Not so much for myself

f103

as for others - For myself the
mystical/or spiritual
religion,
/as laid down by St John's Gospel
however imperfectly
I have lived up to it, ~~the mystical~~
was/& is enough. And I have always
seen it quite enough for ~~Miss P.~~ the lady in question
I thought her much farther on than
I - really living up to it -
But the two thoughts - which God
has given me all my/whole life
have been - 1. to infuse the
mystical religion into the
forms of others, always thinking
they wd show it forth much better
than I - & Miss Pringle/this lady
did - especially among women - to
make them the "handmaids of the Lord [end 3:330]
And this you, that is the
religious true-thinkers must
S John Latimer
[illeg]

f103v

2. to give them an organizn [3:330-32]
for their activity in which
they *could* be trained to be
the "hdmds of the ~~Lord~~?
I could have taken up the
education/school of the poor -
[Training for women was then unknown
unwished for - & is the ~~fruit~~
discovery
of the last 30 years]
But I was specially called to
Hospitals & Nursing ~~the sick~~.
both Sanitary & Nursing proper -
This, I said, is the organn". which
we must/begin with make to attract
respectable women & make
/religious/ women ~~respectable~~
[When I began, half the Hospital
Nurses were disreputable women
& the other half deserted Wives]

f104

[2]

I was impressed, as so
many are, with the fact:
the forms of the Church of Engd
have no longer any meaning
to most ~~educated~~ people -
educated or uneducated - her
mantle is soiled & ragged
& is falling off. She is now
naked but does not know it.
Those who attend her/services
do it by putting a forced meaning,
an esoteric meaning ~~on her~~
into these. I know men who are too
religious to go to Church - others whose
Is it not in the last degree
important to create a
name is legion, artisans, who have
no religion at all. & who have
implored me to publish something

f104v

for *them* -

The old/supposed
moral govt. of God,
viz. everlasting damnation &
salvation has completely
fallen away.

They ask now: what *is* then
the moral govt. of God - &
wish me to publish something

Is it not in the last
degree important to create
a religious organization in
which people *can* join?

It is not the question now
whom shall Elijah's mantle
fall on? Elijah has no mantle
/left./ it is all torn & dirty. Elisha
must have a new mantle.

f105

This ~~I am~~ God has not called
me to do -

~~I looked to you & to~~ And this you, that is the
Great religious/true/ thinkers, especially
those who have not left the
Ch. of E. must ~~do~~ do it.

Extraordinarily interesting
As are the historical, the
metaphysical, the philological
views & enquiries into religion,
these do not do it

To criticize other people's
"opinions ancient & modern
- still less to destroy them -
is not to give people an
organized religion.

{diagonally at bottom left:
to criticize

other people's
opinions

f105v

You say yourself: people
cannot live on mystical
religion - that is spiritual religion spiritual religion
face to face alone with God without
* outward forms
And these cannot live without
understanding in some measure the
{written as an addition surrounded by a line with arrow at *:
Moral Govt. of God
The book which is called the
Gospel of John, is the exponent
of mystical religion. [It does
not signify by whom or when
it was written] It is/
the Word./ the book that speaks -
But the R.C.s are now using
this very book for their own
purposes - that the world
may *know* - that the world
may see - they say means some
visible organization of religion (which
they claim to be theirs

f106

[3]
And you yourself say that some
visible organization is
necessary. for Mysticism will
not do.
And the question ~~comes~~ cuts very
deep into me now - for the
best and ablest/& most religious
woman I know
- the most unlikely to join
the R.C.s - *is* going to join them
for actually no other reason -
Others as near to me
are becoming "Positivists" after
a sore struggle after "Faith"-
Is not this a crisis?

The Methodists/& Salvation Army have really an
organization which by using
so largely the lay element has
a hold on/its people - But because

Add Mss 45785

f106v

it makes hymn-yelling &
not morality the test of conversion,
it is almost useless as a
real/religious/ progress -
Is not this a crisis?

f107

When I was quite a girl, my
one idea was: not organizing
a religion/Hospital
but organizing a religion [end 3:332]

f107v blank

f108-13 typed letter with hand corrections
filmed twice {in someone else's hand; *Important*
[Letter from F.N. to Jowett]}

{N.B. All text marked /.../ is hand written in what appears to be pencil and F.N.s hand.

Text that is struck out, has been done so by hand.

Another set of hand annotations appears to be pen and is in yet a different hand}

Add Mss 45785

{at right towards top:} /1889/ {m/b in F.N.'s hand but in pen}

{at left about 1/3 way down page:}

/Religion/ (printed large) Many thanks for your valuable hints.
This is the roughest concern as to argument) and especially your advice not to give up any effort to persuade the lady against becoming a Roman Catholic. She is more amenable. She considers, whereas at first she thought only of immediate parry and of answers, which we know priests too well not to recognize as theirs. But some of her answers are alas, too rational. She says - ' I do'nt want to give up Truth but to find Him. He is /the/Truth.' That is the whole question. Salvation could not be found without.

"/She needs some greater religious satisfaction than she has at present

{at right} /kindly you say/

Can you offer it /to/ her?"/

I must say like her, ' /"/that is the whole question"/. By /"religious satisfac-

tion" meaning ~~You would say~~ /as you said/ some religious organization /"/ because /" as/ you said,

f108v blank

f109

[3]

mystical or spiritual religion is not enough for most people without outward form /"/ and I may say I can never remember a time when it was not /"the/ a question" of my life /--/ Not so much for myself as for others /-- /For

myself the mystical or spiritual /religion/ life as laid down by St. John's Gospel, however imperfectly I have lived up to it, was and is enough /,/ and I have always seen it enough for the ~~lady in question~~ (/we speak of/ I thought her

much farther /on/ that I ~~+~~ in really living up to it. But the two thoughts which God has given me all my whole life have been .First- to infuse the mystical religion into the forms of others ~~and~~ /(/always thinking they would show it forth much better than I ,and *that*, this lady did)/ especially among women to make them the /"/handmaids of the Lord"/

Secondly - To give them an organization for their activity in which they *could* {emphasis added by hand} be trained to be the /"/handmaids of the Lord"/. (Training for

women was then unknown, unwished for;/ and ~~as~~/is/ the discovery of the last thirty years. One could have taken up the school education of the poor but one was specially called then to Hospitals and nursing, both Sanitary and nursing proper. This was then the /"/organization"/ which we must

f109v blank

f110

3

begin with to attract respectable women and give religious women a form for their activity. (Thirty years ago half the Hospital nurses were disreputable women and the other half deserted wives.) /No one would believe this now- Would believe the rabble rout, with some magnificent exceptions I had at Scutari & in the Crimea ~~We were~~ /I was/ impressed, as so many are, with the belief that the forms of the Church of England have no longer any meaning to most people /,/ educated or uneducated, that her mantle is soiled and ragged and is falling off. /--/ ~~T/t/hat~~ she is now naked and does not know it. ~~T/t/hat~~ those who attend her services do it by putting a forced meaning, an esoteric meaning into these, /--/that some men ~~think themselves~~ /are really/ too religious to go to church, others whose name is legion; artisans /especially/ ~~who~~ have no religion at all, but ~~who~~ want something to be published /~~or organized~~/ for them upon the moral government of God. They say the old /(/supposed)/ /idea of the/ moral government of God namely, Everlasting damnation as the only alternative to Everlasting Salvation {N.B. this is in pen and perhaps a 3rd hand, certainly much clearer than rest of F.N.s I've seen.} / (And really, compared with this, the R.C. purgatory is divine) is no longer believed. They ask then what is the moral government of God? and wish something to be published /organized/ for them. Is it not then in the last degree important to form a religious organization with services

f110v blank

f111

4

and outward forms in which all these people could join together with those who are passing over into the Church of Rome, *because* {emphasis added by hand} the say th{at?} there is nothing between the Church of Rome and Rationalism. {3rd hand, pen:} /Positivism has tried to do something of this kind. And a very queer thing it is./ It is not the question now: Whom shall Elijah's mantle fall on? 'Elijahsh ~~they say~~ 'has no mantle left, it is all too torn and dirty. Elisha must have a new mantle. This God has not called ~~one~~ /me/ to do. But this ~~is~~, /you/ that is,, the great religious true=thinkers ,especially those who have not left the Church of England,, must do. Extraordinarily interesting as are the historical, the mete/a/physical, the philological views /& enquiries/ into reli- gion, these do not do ~~it~~ /this/. To criticise other people's opinions /,/ ancient and modern,, still less to destroy them ,is not to give people /truth or/ opinions ~~of truth~~ of their own or to make an organized form ~~of~~ /for/ religions {all annotation in 3rd hand, pen until *} /us /truth to be clothed with or thought or acted out in./ You say yourself: people cannot live a/on/ mystical religion;/ that is spiritual religion face to face alone with God without outward forms ~~and~~ /So/ they cannot live or rather act /to any effect/ without understanding in some measure the moral government of God. /This is a truism/* The book which is called the Gospel of John is the exponent of mystical religion. Never mind for the moment by whom or when it was written. It is the book, /(// the /"/Word"/)/ that speaks.

f111v blank

f112

5

But the Roman Catholics are now using this very book for their own purposes 'that the world may *know*, {emphasis added by hand} that the world may see.' They say/,
/means some visible organization of religion, which they claim to be the/irs/It is for you to form yours./

Is not this a crisis, /a danger/ when something must be done? /People say coldly *Is it?* They might as well ask: When there is Cholera: Need anything be done?/You yourself say that some visible organization is necessary/,/ for
mysticism will not do. And the question ~~goes~~ /cuts/ very deep ~~now~~ /into me,/ for the
best and ablest and ~~the~~ most religious woman ,I know, and the most un-likely to join the Roman Catholics, *is* going to join them for actually no other reason. Others as near to me are becoming 'Positivists' after
a sore struggle to /'/get/'/ 'Faith'. Is not this a crisis?
The Methodists and Salvation Army have really an organization, which by using so largely the lay element, has a hold on the people, far greater than the Church of England. But because it makes hymn/-/yelling and not morality the test of conversion it is almost useless for real religious progress.

Is not this a crisis?

f112v blank

f113

6

When ~~so~~ {pen hand:}/very many years ago I ~~had~~ planned a future ,my one idea was not
organizing a Hospital ,but organiz/ing/ a Religion.

f113v [diagonal annotation by archivist:] Important.

88

or

89

Add Mss 45785

notes, ff114-16, pencil

f114

March 6/89 Mr. Jowett
There was no true necessity for a
priest consecrating the Eucharist
--any one might do it -
till the 10th century -

What Church? St. Augustine
No Papacy about 350
No confession
more ideal than now
too deep a sense of this
world & of human nature
quite impossible that he ever
represented the Church to himself
as modern converts do-
it was the Church opposed to
Paganism
[Miss Pringle's conversion]

f114v blank

f115 blank

Add Mss 45785

f115v

Septuagint
Congregations = translated
N. T Church
it wd have
made a great
difference in the
relations of Dissenters |
& Church |
 |
No Bishops & Deacons |
some prophets &c |
 |
{vertically where indicated by |:} truth of facts
{On an angle at left:}
 M.S
 So disappointed
imploring people
not to come into the
 R.C Ch-
{On same angle}
intensity
Which makes a prophetess

f116

Mr. Jowett May 15/89
Salvation - What does she understand
foundation of R. C. Church - perfection
" Ch. of England - very sad -
Who preached that soul was only
 existence we know of
 not matter
facts that there is no individual
 future existence - What?
What becomes of the bad?
 They can't be absorbed into God-

f116v blank

Add Mss 45785

letter, ff117-18, pencil

[3:332]

f117 {on an angle at left:}

Private 10 South St.

May 16/89

Dear Mr. Jowett

Very many thanks for giving us

Communion yesterday. [I like
the word 'Sacrament' - the Roman
/Soldier's/ oath - better] I may have
something to say about our
conversation another time-

I was rather aghast at
hearing: 'Mrs. Green knows
about *Miss P.* but she did not
'know about' *you know what.*

As if it ~~had been~~ /were/ ~~talked~~ {struck out twice} /not unnatural/
~~about~~ /for her to know it/ or as if Mrs. Green
had heard of it now.

No one at St. Thomas'

f117v

knows it - & *No one* but
2 or 3 knows it at all.

It would be absolute ruin
to us if any one at St. Thomas'
were to hear it- *She*
would immediately declare
herself. And then she
must immediately resign-

It is precipitating the
catastrophe-

The 2 or 3 who know it
are *Miss P.*'s oldest friends
Mrs as earnest in their
opposition as I -

Mrs. Green has never seen

f118

her. & would in no way
understand the /intensity of the/ case.
Please remember that it is
life or death to me to
under keep it secret - to
avert the catastrophe

Excuse this

Yours ever

FN.

[end 3:332]

Add Mss 45785

f118v blank

Add Mss 45785

notes, **ff119-20**, pencil f119 {she turned the paper at right angles}

First Communion: May 19/89 6. a.m.

It is not only for that solemn half hour or hour that He
is with you, don't think that. He is with us just
as much, if we please, in everything we have to do
during the day. If in our daily work, instead
of doing it merely because it is our duty or
the custom, we think: - He is calling us /giving it/ to
this, /do it for Him/ He will help & direct us in it -
What a difference it would make - nothing is
The Lord's Table trifling in this way.

f119v blank

f120

[2]

If instead of all this argument & dispute about the
different forms of so called /Xtian/ Churches, We were
simply to ask how best we could be Xtians,
that is be like Christ in the work He has set
us - *that* is not shutting up God to one issue
-one of two.

f120v

If instead of all this garbuglio about where the
R. Catholic Ch. was during many ~~of the early~~ centuries
after Christ, if He commissioned her, you were to
~~ask yourself, does Christ wish me to~~ /Is it God's purpose for me that I should
forsake the
work He /God/ has given me? is that following ~~Him~~ /Christ/? Or is
it: She, forsook me & fled - to some phantom about her own salvation.
That is not shutting up God to one issue - one of two - That is
really asking His will. See 2

{FN turned paper 180 degrees}

Jowett 5

?Buddhism

pain or pleasure cease /to be/ indifferent to either -
Yes: but you can't be indifferent to wrong. to evil.

& wrong /evil/ - the highest qualities are called out by -
We are to h. & th. after right: hot climate - thirst
that is not a passive state. strong expression -

Add Mss 45785

letter, pencil

f121 {Written on angle in middle:} Secrecy [3:332-34]

I did
not mention
Mr. J.

{still writing at right angles to norm; down length of full sheet}

Dear Mr. Jowett

June 12/89

Many *thanks* for your kind letter - But it was too late /I fear for *this*/. Miss Pringle had already seen Card: Manning - & the very day before your letter had written to the Treasurer of St. Thomas' Hospl. & to our Secretary her change of Views. She is now in Jersey for a little rest. but returns this week - /What they want is an organisation wh shall show them another moral govt. of God./

Pardon me if I say that ~~all this has not the~~ /these arguments have no ~~least~~ effect upon her - /except that of confirming her in the Ch. of Rome/ She & many other persons of her intense temperament - persons whom you know - reply ~~th~~ either that they do not find "the truth" or the "highest" "in themselves" - & go off to philanthropy - or, as she does, that the "highest" they /she/ can find "in themselves" /herself/

f121v & f122

sends her to the Ch. of Rome-

~~You~~* You say - you say this for me, *not* for
her, I know - that you are destroying historically,
metaphysically, philologically, *BECAUSE* you think
it a good thing to destroy & thus something else
may arise -

O reconstruct - What these poor souls
want is that there should be put before
them a Moral Govt. of God - not that of the
Churches

[end 3:333]

Maine himself says: the ~~law~~ principle of
progress is the law of destruction heading to
re-construction- O reconstruct before
it is too late- It *is* too late /I fear/ for her- **[3:333-34]**
/I had written you a long letter/
But I never cease /for a moment/ showing fight
We have taken into counsel a very
remarkable man, a former Surgeon of St.
T.'s, & great friend of hers - & he ~~has~~ is
"terribly grieved" & has written her a very
strong letter- ~~S~~ as I did too- She proposes
/now/ to "pause" "before the final step" - going on at St.
T.'s saying nothing in the mean time.
/But it is not too late for something else/
"He", the friend, I don't know/think/ that he has told her this.

f122v

"is very strongly of opinion that some loving & loyal soul to the Church of England should deal with her. If Mr. Jowett did /would/ not undertake the duty could he not suggest the right man to do so?"

They think "the time is past to stand upon etiquette with her - Some such visit should be paid, & she be willing to hear the other side for the sake of her friends".

I am asked to "undertake to work this thro' Mr. Jowett". "Surely the Whole Matter might be put before him in confidence & he be asked to deal with it himself or thro' some one else". x x "Such

f123

[2]

"authority would have some influence with her".

I do not ask you to do this yourself- but I entreat you to recommend some clergyman of the kind described in London - to do it And I hope we are not trespassing upon you too much.

They do not know, of course, that I have already told you all-

I had /actually/ written you a long letter on the subject of reconstruction &c but did not send it. Perhaps I may write you something by & bye.

Add Mss 45785

f123v blank

letter, f124 pen

f124

To Mr. Jowett 15/6/89

As to the word "Re-construction": it is not my word- It is Maine's- Perhaps he knows *now* what

"Re-construction" means- [You will say "No"]. He could not have meant: 'reconstruction of old organizations founded {in a box at right:} over

{the following originally appeared on f124v/125 but has been inserted here as indicated by FN}

/on historical error, metaphysical error, philological

error. As you so truly say: there are some things that cannot be re-constructed. But we mean putting into some visible form of organisation for those poor souls who, if they have not some *visible* form, have nothing- instead of the now ragged & even dirty mantles of the Churches which are falling off. Some audible form expressing the great truths of the Moral Government of God as now beginning to be understood by a few thinkers - & some *old* truths as old as thought but now only to be picked up here & there - but especially

'personal' & 'loving Government" - [O don't discuss nor let men haggle about *words*!]

or say two forms of words mean the same thing - or the same word means two opposite things.

I have been interrupted every half minute by messages/ assuring them of the /'personal'/ *help* & /'loving' Government of Almighty Love & Wisdom

call it by what name you will - That is what poor souls want

{the following appeared lower down on p but is inserted here as indicated by FN}

And therefore they

too much noise: can't think

Add Mss 45785

f126

[1B]

For Mr. Jowett

June 19/89

You seem to be always pulling down the old house

or always making a scaffolding

but never building up *the new-*

or organising

Qy Where is your reconstruction?

You say it cannot be organized {below:} /or built up/ It must grow

Yes. But then you must sow the seed

Where is the seed? I do not see it.

There is no seed {below:} /germ/ in destruction

historical, metaphysical

philological

f127 {only. Jowett's scrawl}

[5:193]

f128 {writing in most common axis again}

To Jowett

Aug 5/89

Oxford under graduates

-Mr. Lionel Smith- "All

"thinking men" "*collectivists*"-

[Mr. Johnson & the best

tutors of Oxford

Mrs. Johnson for Women's
Education

All "New" men Tories

Lectures on Political Science

& History - which teach

Christianity without the name

of it- And how to behave

ourselves - & that we must

not use a word beginning

with ph., because *philanthropy*

is . a wicked thing- but to be

f128v

all brothers & sisters is the
right thing.

[How much of this is true!]

Vol III T. H. Green

Liberal Legislation for

Hares & Rabbits

Add Mss 45785

note, f129, pen?

f129

In how many things is the Hindoo
especially in the want of the
strong Western individuality
& *anti-Nirvana-ism*, irremediably
Eastern & not to be Western-ized?

{On an angle at left:} To

Aunt Mai
Jowett

f129v blank

notes, ff130-39, pencil

f130 {annotation made by some researcher/reader:} [late 1880s]

Notes apparently for Mr. Jowett (mentioned in the 3rd person, her custom)

f131 {writing down length of full sheet} **[3:610-15]**

Please return to F. Nightingale

"The true philosopher is so oppressed by his
consciousness of the vast space
around him that he is always modest; but he possesses in the
life of the soul the Worthiest thing of all
worthies.--*That* is the idea to which we give
the name of God.
God in the Baconian or Positivist scheme means
the First Cause, but the Baconian & Positivist
view is: How has the intelligence increased
the Sum of what Lucretius calls the "commoda-
"vitae"?

Newman & the Lives of the Saints first
put before me the idea of the life of the soul- /kingdom of heaven within/
but that view may be called /just the contrary/ the *Idea corruptrix*
of the true, for it contains as a balance to its
renunciations & its asceticism the set-off of
future reward - payment by results.

To the philosopher, God means the
highest conceivable value; it is the thing per se,
it is intellect. /love/ Whether it belongs to an
individual or is a diffused essence,
like - - - we don't know. {in smaller FN script: (Thy kingdom is love
Aristotle thought it was a portion of a diffused

f132

{in smaller FN script, top right corner:} D. Quorm
Come in Lord Jesus

essence escaping.

What becomes of it we don't know - of its
psychical nature we are absolutely ignorant.

All the philosopher can do in life is to
bear in mind its moral value as a possession /of the possessed [?]
is transcendant. If ever you have realised
its existence, lay hold of it, never let it go - /god dwelleth in me/ the
life of the soul will give you joy beyond all
other joys; if you have ever known it let nothing
carry you away from it; but the world will
be too strong for you. Remember that the
momentary visitations of being are worth any
objects of ambition - moments of realization of
self, if if {"if" underlined 3 times} self it is. There is no such joy as this,
hold it fast; if you once have seen your way
to it, keep it fast.

The Positivists get no further than Bacon,
no further than the idea of "fruit", of the conquest
of nature by the intelligence - apprehending its
relations- All *that* is only the sub stratum
or basis of the grand development of thought
which provides not only for my seventy years
of life, but for the past & present; which pervades
all things.

{in smaller FN script}

but the system of nature is only as the ground work
of the higher system of the life of the soul - exists only for that

f133

3 X O no *that* is not myself. D Q

H Perreyve

The greater part of mankind have no mind,
or circumstances have not developed it- Yet
the Whole of this ideal order of intellect is only
a scaffolding on which is built up the grand
conception of the universe as a totality governed /O yes/
by fixed laws. The true slavery is that of the
"doers" to the "free", idle philosopher who lives
not to do, or enjoy, but to know. O yes

True knowledge is connected with consciousness
of itself - I can conceive of temporary being
stripped off me - but how much must be left
to constitute the pure Ego? Let us take
this consciousness of itself, this joy in the realisation
of self - the Beatific Vision - /? of self X/ Can I transfer
that power of speculative seeing, of intuition,
unaided by discursive perception or the sensitive
faculties? Should I feel "I" reduced to that?" [see quotes]
{in smaller FN script:} /Schelling/ /informs the body/

f133v {noted once on each half of the f at right angles to balance of piece:}
Please return to

Please

return to

F. Nightingale

F. Nightingale

f134

This is most touching- the view/of the Baconian & Positivist theory how true:

But - No doubt the ~~writer~~ /"philosopher"/ must be correct if he asserts that the "idea of the life of the soul" was "corrupted" by "Newman" with the idea of "payment by results".

But he can {the words "he" and "can" are individually circled} have read or considered ~~very little of~~

the "Lives" or works "of the Saints", ~~if he~~ especially of the mystics of Spain & their School, if he includes them in this /just/ Criticism of the corruption of the pure life of the soul by the idea of payment? /Just the contrary./ It might almost be said as he says: "the mystic Saints were the first /almost/ since the writers of the New Testament who "put before" the world the "true" idea of the "life of the soul", uncorrupted - Who restored the idea of "the kingdom of heaven is within" - of heaven being a state, a condition, & not a place - of ~~"he who dwelleth in love dwelleth in God & God in him"~~.

{the line through the previous text is fainter than usual for FNs strikeouts}

"I in Thee & Thou in me" & they in us - &c &c &c - the number of these texts is Legion

Take St. John of the Cross-

"*Se rechercher soi-même en Dieu*" he considers justly the true "corruption" of the "life of the soul". Is it probable that he should it consider hereafter as the [see] legitimate reward or payment?

134v blank

f135

[2]

~~the true "corruption" He gives us infinite advice
on this point~~

He tells us that prayer is "non /ce qu'on/ demande à Dieu
mais /chercher/ ce qu'Il demande de nous".

Surely this is the purest idea - not the idea "corruptrix
God claims from us
not we from God

Had I time & strength, I could quote these aphorisms
by the score from most of the mystics

Ioanni, Quid petis pro laboribus?

Domine, peti & contemni pro te.

We are to be "content d'être privés de tout ce qui n'est pas Dieu" /~~even here~~
Is this payment by results? Yes, in the highest sense it is - For God/~~even~~
here/ is

the Supreme good. But He is shy, so to speak of being mixed up with other good
~~Dieu~~ Le Père Eternel n'a dit qu'une seule parole qui est
son Fils et il la dit /continuellement/ dans un silence éternel: l'ame
doit aussi

l'écouter dans un silence perpétuel. Surely this is very sublime.

It is God speaking in, dwelling in his son /for all history/ for all
eternity

"that we all may be made perfect in one". It is the highest "idea"

"The will of God" is everywhere pointed out as the supreme object
of our search here - How much more hereafter!

It is probable that the word intellect is used /& leaves us./ in
a different from the common sense When the ~~writer~~ /"philosopher"
tells us that God means "intellect" as "the highest
"conceivable value". Otherwise how much higher than
"the highest" is the conception: God is "love": & he that
dwelleth in love dwelleth in God & God in him -

f136

[3]

How strangely beautiful it is to see the same truth
expressed in philosophical terms & Evangelical /Methodistical/
hymns. "the moral value as a possession is
transcendant" i.e of "the life of the soul" and

"O let me live of Thee possessed
In weakness, weariness & pain
The anguish of my troubled breast
The daily death, let me sustain
For Him &c &c

"Lay hold of it, never let it go".

St. Paul says: "lay hold on eternal life" - Eternal life is I
/suppose God's life, therefore/ & St John. "~~God dwelleth in us~~ /As Thou, Father
art in me/ & I in Thee, that they also may
& be one in us." "I in them & Thou in me that they may be made perfect in one"
But the philosopher says: moments of realization

"of self, if self it is," "are worth any objects of
"Ambition".

IF

Well, this is perhaps a higher conception than the
getting rid of self, the killing of self.

Yet St. Paul unites them both: "I am crucified with
Christ: yet I live - yet not I but Christ liveth
in me. & the life I now live &c.

Perhaps this is the highest of all conceptions. For

f137

[4]

"I & my Father are one".

In homely language, [for will there be even one in 100,000 or /one in/ a million who will practically understand these philosophical terms or Mr. Jowett's definition of truth? Yet these truths, if truths at all, are the most important of all truths for every man, woman & child to understand]

in homely language Daniel Quorm says:

"I want when any one knocks at the door, to be able to say: 'Daniel Quorm is gone. He is dead & buried'- And then his prayer: "Here I am Lord- Take me altogether- Make me Thine, Thine for evermore:-

Is not /this/ exactly the same truth?

A poor /dirty/ lad a carter's boy, age about 20, came to Lady {"Lady" is circled} Hope, /a friend of mine, at her own house/ After an evening class of hers /in the school/ & said: I goes into the public-house- And I gets drunk & fights. And I'm sick tired of it all. And the copy you set me was: "Come unto me &c" And I thought you meant me. And I want to come. And after some talk, he prayed: "Come in Lord Jesus; come in to my heart now"- There was a dead silence: & then he said: "He *has* come in, and will He /never never leave me more?"/

~~Was not this holding fast the "possession"? [profession?]~~

137v blank

f138

[5]

This lad turned out a clean, orderly man, deeply religious, exercised the greatest influence for good over his mates, married & when he was last heard of was still continuing the same excellent course-

Was not this holding fast the "possession"?
Was not this, in words of ~~3-letters~~ one syllable, the same "truth"?

p. 2 most true the criticism on Bacon &
Positivism - most welcome truth -

But that the system of nature is only as the warp for the higher system by which the life of the soul is woven, & exists only for that higher system is surely now the belief of thinking persons? not in order to pay a few compliments as scientific men do to the "Great Creator" but to believe in "nature" being there only for the "life of the soul"- "as a totality governed by fixed laws"

O yes. how true - the moral government of God

the Theodicy {Theodiky overwritten with "c"} - all one, "governed by fixed laws".

f138v blank

f139

[6]

"The greater part of mankind has no mind" as the philosopher truly says- Then how are they to apprehend these truths, as the philosopher puts them? Thank God that they can be put in the simplest language, apprehensible by all.

O no *that* is not myself: the simple man, alike the Daniel Quorm, & the Lacordaire & Henri Perreyve who 'gets rid of self', as Mr. Jowett truly says, will say.

p. 3. "The Beatific Vision" query of Self? No-

Yet there is grandeur in the thought - the infinite self-denial of God- that He wills each one of us to have a "realized self", a "pure Ego", not to be absorbed in Him.

I open his mind, and I find Nirvana-
Mr. Mohl used to say of Buddhism- No, no one will ever make me believe that a religion whose whole aim is the purifying of self ends in Nirvana, as a state of absorption. Discoveries since his death /of Buddhist documents/ have amply justified his disbelief that Nirvana was a jelly - a man's-jelly-

f139v blank

Add Mss 45785

draft letter?, ff140-43, pen. [5:108-09]

£140

```
{written on black edged paper
{on an angle, top left corner:} /Private/
                                [3]      As to Statistics
                                Please return to F. Nightingale
{separated from rest of text by wavy line:} December
Mr. Mundella says:                                1890
```

here we have been sweeping every year (under Forster's Act) some hundreds of thousands of children into our Schools - And we have not the slightest idea of the results of what we have been doing. We have spent millions of money. And it may be, more or less, WASTE.

We do not know how many children forget all they have learnt (tho' it is supposed to be a very large proportion) No

f140v

organization of Night
Schools or Secondary
Schools completes the
scheme of Education so
as to prevent this
enormous waste. x

We have no idea either what
is the *practical* result on the
after life ~~is~~ of these children
who do not forget every
thing.

In short of the effect of our
scheme on the National

x F.N: From the Horse Guards
some sort of estimate might
come. But only an enterprising
young fatherly General has tried
to fathom the abyss - & he
finds that even among the Guards
who are by Regulation to be
"educated" (& every one of whose
recruits he sees himself) an

Add Mss 45785

astonishing number are absolutely
unable to read or write. [I have
seen their papers

f141

life /our knowledge/ is practically nil, tho'
that scheme is now 20
years old P.T.O.

f141v

F.N. A propos to Mundella
the answers one receives from
grave administrators are like
those of the Irishwoman who
returned a jug broken:

1. that it was not broken
2. that it was broken when it
came
3. that she had never had it at
all

They, the grave Adm's answers
are:

1. that crime has diminished
exactly in proportion that
education has ~~imp~~ increased
2. that ~~th~~ a large proportion
of men in gaol are very well
educated - that education tends
more to increase their cleverness
in escaping conviction. or when
~~or~~ released to improve them in
burglary &c
3. that (Elementary) education has
nothing whatever to do with crime
either in increasing or diminishing
it

f142

[2]

the children's after life not being
/known:/ he said: get a schoolmaster
or mistress to trace for
10 years back say 1000
children

Then, he said,
the Revd. W. Rogers would
help.
have your Professor ready
He told me of several

Add Mss 45785

similar enquiries he himself
had held. e.g. Sir James Paget
had traced (I think he said 1000)_
students for him- the 3 best
were now Regius Professors
of the 3 worst, 2 had
committed suicide - in disgrace
- one was Palmer-
However, I hate anecdotes-

Add Mss 45785

f142v

IV He wanted me to
write an Article in one
of the Monthlies- He
himself had done so in
the Fortnightly - & he said:
it brought down such a
deal of information &
useful answers.

But I don't think I
could do that - much less
send round the hat with it.

V He said, if the R.
Institution would not
accept my endowment
probably the Statistical Soc":
would -

{blot} VI - Of course, I could
lengthen this letter to any
extent - For you have
but to ask a question, i.e

f143

pull the string of the
shower bath, keep your
head steady, & down
Comes the shower of facts.

But I do not know that
I shall /have/ time - . We are very
much pressed with a
legal question about
Registration of nurses-
not to mention India

And perhaps I had
better ask you kindly
to consider first what I
have now written to your
3 questions

how to find the 1 - money

" " 2 - man

" " 3 - facts

But indeed we discussed
almost every thing in
your note

ever yours F. Nightingale

{written vertically up right hand margin:}

I shall be most truly grateful to you to advise me on all the things
in this note, if you will be so very good

Add Mss 45785

f143v

{Address is upside in down bottom left corner. It appears to have been typed/printed like a return address in upper right hand corner of black-edged paper, but the page has been inverted for writing on the back.}

10, SOUTH STREET,
PARK LANE. W.

unfinished letter, ff144-45, pen.

[5:109-10]

f144 {black-edged paper}

Claydon Ho: Winslow: Bucks

Jan 3/91

Please return to F. Nightingale

Dear Mr. Jowett

I wish you all the
blessings of a New Year
& on your work-

Statistical Professorship

I think I cannot fully
understand what you
kindly tell me about
Prof. Marshall's answer,
because in the first place

it does not answer our
question at all - And in the
second his own book on
Economics (Which ought
rather to be called an Enquiry
into the Moral Philosophy of

?_____.)/statistics/ {The word "statistics" has been inserted into this space
by FN in pencil & different script} seems to prove the
exact Contrary of what he

f144v

says. [Also, I understand he is himself forming a Statistical Soc".]

He says that "Govt. ought to do it." I thought our chief point was: that the enormous amount of Statistics /at this moment/ at their disposal (or in their pigeon holes which means *not* at their disposal) is /almost/ absolutely useless. Why? Because the Cabinet Ministers, the Army of their Subordinates, the Houses of Parliament, the large majority of whom have received an University education, have received no education whatever on the point upon which all

f145

legislation & all administration must--to be progressive & not *vibratory* /see-saw-y/ ~~---to be~~ ultimately be based. We do *not* want a *neat arithmetical sum* - We want to know *WHAT WE* are doing /in things which must be tested by results/: We want experience & not experiment We legislate *without knowing* what we are doing The War Office has /on some subjects/ some of the finest Statistics in the world. What comes of them? /Little or/ Nothing. Why? Because the heads don't know how to make anything of them - (with the two exceptions of Sidney Herbert & W. H. Smith)

Add Mss 45785

f145v

Our Indian Statistics are
really better {pencil:}/on some subjects/ than those of
~~the War~~ /England/- Of these *Nothing*
in *administration* is made.
On Elementary
Education /I enclose/ a few recent
words of Mr. Mundella -
premising that he was not
thinking of Statistical {pencil:}/Professorships/ that
{"they" overwritten by "these"} these were casual words &
must not be quoted. *Please*
return them to me-

What we want /first/ is not {pencil:}/so much/ an
accumulation of facts (i.e. not at present)
but to teach the men who
are to govern the country
what are the uses of facts,
of "Statistics"- You said this
yourself - I think you said: **[end 5:110]**
{pencil:}'what we want is:

letter, ff146-48, pen

f146 {black-edged paper

10, SOUTH STREET, [printed address]

PARK LANE. W.

{On an angle, top left corner:} *Private*
Professorship} Feb. 25/91 **[5:116-17]**
of Social? }

Dear Mr. Jowett

My 'expert' "friend" - I
never saw him before - Mr.
Francis Galton, came to see
me on Monday by
appointment to talk over
the above.
A./1/. He proposes that he should
ask privately the Secy: of
the Royal Institution &
two or three others, (without
mentioning my name,)
after talking over the
scheme, whether he, the Secy.,
thinks the Royal Institution
would accept an endowment
of £3,333 6/8, for a

Add Mss 45785

Professorship after the

f146v

{reverse image of return address plainly visible}
Fullerian fashion (to secure
£100 a year) to lecture
upon _____ XYZ

I enclose what he proposes
as a title-

he does not like the word
"Social *Physics*"- (you asked
the question)- he says he
looked in the dictionary-
& that Physics is something
"not changeable - stable in
"itself" & does not include
"environment"- [Perhaps I
am mistranslating him -
what do you say?]

the only word I struck
out for was "practical application".

2. He was most delicate
about the money - but I
think, rather than lose a

f147

well digested scheme, I
could spare that sum even
to the 6/8, out of my own
money - & compel my
Trustee to consent - Who
is unhappily out of town
for health -

3. He /Mr. Galton/ thinks the Stat: Socy:
would follow suit & found
its /own/ Professorship of S. Ph.,
& perhaps other /Societies/ too: perhaps
Oxford & Cambridge

II. About a *man*:

Of course if I can only
raise £100 a year, we can't
have a Professor to ourselves

But, he says, there are
rising men, devoting themselves
to similar pursuits & enquiries

He named two
Berry? of Cambridge
Professor Edgeworth

f147v

He thought Edgeworth who
is Prof: of Pol: Eco: at
King's College would accept
the place & the £100
& do it well.

But he would talk & see
III About the *facts*:
this is of course the main
difficulty. He said we
must leave a large margin
to the future Professor
-offer several subjects
& let the Prof: choose.

He talked wisely & with
a wealth of illustration on
all my subjects.
e.g. As to what Mr. Mundella said
about Elementary Education
& its effects or non-effects on

f148

[2]

Social Physics, & their practical
~~the application of Social~~
~~Physics to~~/how can Govt/ "practically apply"
them? They know nothing /of them/ but how
to make a 'case' for the Ho: of C.
[What should you think of a
manufacturer who kept his
accounts & statistics in
the neatest & most perfect
manner, but made no
use of them as to what
manufactures were sold,
what are the markets of
the world?

Quetelet has made a noble
beginning, cut short by brain
exhaustion. Farr the same.
Both bequeathed to me the
following of it up (by a /Readership or/ (Professorship
There is a book coming
out by Longstaff. Nobody has

Add Mss 45785

f148v

followed Quetelet & Farr.

As for Marshall's book, it is most interesting - but does not help us much.

Farr's Statistics in the Office (over which he used to take me 30 years ago) are, I am told enormous {pencil:} (& unused) -

letter, f149, pen

f149

Jan 8/91

Dear Mr. Jowett:

I have tried in vain to write you *this* /a/ letter - I have begun it again & again - always interrupted every 3 minutes. The ridiculous expedient to which I must have recourse is: to ask you to *return it* /this/ {underline & "this" in pencil} to me - & I will try to make my meaning less ~~en~~ tangled -

I am soon coming to London
It has been impossible to me to leave sooner.

Would you be so very good as to *return* my two packets of papers on *Elective Principle in Indian Legislative Councils*- & on *Infant Marriages*
&c. &c

[10:777]

Add Mss 45785

f149v

/which you kindly took for your letter to
Ld Lansdowne/
either HERE to Claydon, if
THIS week, or *after* this
week, to 10 South St. &
shall have some Indian
business in London, & have
no ~~means~~ /eyes/ to reproduce them

I earnestly hope you are
pretty well. {pencil:}/Pardon this letter/

And I hope something may
come both of your letter to
Ld Lansdowne - & of 2.
Statistical teaching, that is,
of Social Physics & their
practical application
in University education

[end 10:777]

ever yours

F. Nightingale

Very glad that Mr. Balfour
did not waste his time
in coming ~~here~~

letter, ff150-57, pen with pencil additions [5:114-15]

f150 {black-edged paper

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

{On an angle, top left corner:} Private
Social Physics}
teaching } Feb 14/91

Dear Mr. Jowett -

I have consulted an
expert about a "scheme", as
you put it, for teaching
*Social Physics & their
practical application* at Oxford
At his desire, I gave him
some of the subjects that
I should wish to be treated,
which, as you & I have
already, I believe, discussed;
I shall only put here, quite
short, & asked him to
add to them

The subjects I gave him

Add Mss 45785

were:

go on to 2
{ "2" found on f153 }

f152v & f153

{FN has written across the entire sheet instead of only the left hand side as usual.}

[2]

A results of Forster's Act

- (1) what proportion of children forget all they have learnt
- (2) what results on after life & conduct of those who don't
- (3) what methods e.g. in Night & Secondary Schools
to prevent /such/ a waste

B. results of legal punishments- deterring from or encouraging Crime

- (a) some say, keep a boy out of gaol, whatever you do
- (b) others, give a boy a taste of gaol, or he can't be reformed

B2 no Statistics exist of the career of a criminal

from first committal} say for stealing a turnip {pencil:} Black Book
to gaol } or breaking a window
to his last - to the gallows or back to honest life

B3 what effect has education upon crime?

- (a) some say as education increases, crime decreases
- (b) others education only teaches to escape conviction or steal}
- (c) /others/ education has nothing to do with it better}

C Workhouses

- (1) what proportion of *same* names from generation to generation there?
- (2) what proportion of children depauperized by /a/ large or /b/ small
Union Schools or c. boarding out
- (3) what proportion of girls from large Union Schools fitted
 - a. for domestic service
 - b. for vice

{pencil:} go back to 3

{ "3" found on f151 }

f153v blank

f150v & f151

{FN has written across the entire sheet instead of only the left hand side as usual.}

[2]{faint pencil:}3

- D. India*
1. Whether peoples growing richer or poorer under us
 2. Whether physical powers deteriorating or not
 3. What manufactures or productions as good & cheap
in India as in England - whether bought by Govt: of India
 4. Whether Native trades & handicrafts flourishing
or perishing under our rule
 5. What result of Sir C. Wood's Education of 1853

To these my friend only added: because, he said, other

Add Mss 45785

"things must be considered first: {pencil:} See p. 4
{p. 4 found on f154}

Add Mss 45785

f151v blank

f154 {black-edged paper

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

What he said, "were some
"of the things which must
:be first considered": ____
the difficulty "to specify
exactly what is aimed at
in a way free from all
am{changed to pencil here for balance of f:}biguity - & again in a
way to which the Statistics
available will give an
answer also free from
ambiguity"
[This is enlarged upon-]
"Therefore", he says, "by no
straightforward & expeditious
method can the above
problems be solved

f154v

"Each is a separate &
difficult undertaking,
requiring a vast deal of thought
& planning, just like planning
a campaign"
Way in which object might be
attained: requires
"(1) A man or men conversant
with the methods & especially
the *higher methods* of Statistics
"(2) conversant with the existing
Statistical data
"(3) with his heart directed
towards the Solution, one
by one, of such parts of
such of the above problems
as he can after much thought
see his way to attack
successfully

Add Mss 45785

f155

{pencil:} (4)" proportioning his labour
so as to stop short when he
has reached a fairly near
approx {pencil from here to end of f}imative result -
& not to waste himself
in figures in order to
procure a slightly closer
approximation.

" He must be the master
& not the Slave of his
Statistics.

instances Quetelet
& Buckle

f155v blank

{I return now to transcribe the balance of f151. The editor will have to judge
where this bit of text best belongs.}

f151

{FN has written across the entire sheet instead of only the left hand side as
usual.}

- (1.) No. of hours' work & corresponding amount & value
of out-put in different occupations
whether purely mechanical, partly mental, or aesthetic
- (2) effect of town life on offspring, in number & in health
- (3) what the contributions of the several classes (as to
social position & as to residence) to the population
of the next generation - who in short are
the proletariat?

f152 {black-edged paper
10, SOUTH STREET, [printed address]
PARK LANE. W.

Add Mss 45785

f156 {black-edged paper

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

"Difficulties *against*
the two Universities

"e.g. Geog. Soc."

"Unless subject has a place
in Examn:, Professor will
get *no class* at all.

"a salaried Sinecurist--

"would live in much
isolation at Oxford"

whose "main interests are

"Scholastic'

recommends the *Royal*

Institution {underlined in both pen and pencil} in London--

to found a Professorship

there - & require a yearly

course of Lectures

[gives his reasons]

f156v

[gives details]

considers "*London* {underlined in pencil} the best
residence by far for an
enquirer into social
statistics"

f157 {turned paper at right angles}

Now of course I am not giving you all
this as information - since you are
the first person in the world I
should ask (& do ask) about it--

P.S. {"P.S." written in pencil} Also: your generosity in leaving £2000 would
probably stipulate for Alma Mater

ever yours

F. Nightingale

{in extreme bottom right hand corner, in pencil:}

Excuse scrawl

f157v blank

f158 {black-edged paper

10, SOUTH STREET,
PARK LANE. W.

{balance blank}

Add Mss 45785

f158v blank

ff159-60 notes of conversation pen with pencil additions [5:115-16]

f159 {FN has written across the entire sheet instead of only the left hand side as usual.}

Feb 23/91 F. Galton

Social Physics - What?

Royal Institution

{pencil:} /Longstaff/

3 difficulties To find the money

greater man {pencil:} /{what man?

greatest facts

Mr. Goschen

Mr. Ritchie

set before them facts /wanted/ about criminals

" " paupers

any other country better facts

in better form?

Only Govt. can collect the facts.

Statistical Society - any funds?

could they set on foot any branches

of enquiry?

What facts would answer our questions?

how they could be obtained?

facts from Prisons?/French system/ English system - non criminatory

Schools Themselves

Customs prevents their career

{pencil:} WorkHouses being known

{all at right after "French"

written in pencil}

f159v

Lord Lawrence

Lord Egerton of Gatton (Ly Egerton

Maude's cousin

Cyril Flowers whip Rothschild (wife

Col. Howard Vincent

Sir C. Tennant Mysore Gold Mines

D. of Argyle

Ld Northbrook

Sir Dighten Probyn - P. of Wales

to entertain

Add Mss 45785

f160 [written across full sheet]

[2]

inferences drawn from such

e.g. effect of punishment on crime

others e.g. effects of education on crime

So complex - can't isolate cause & effect

1. form estimate of sort of facts which

govt. could supply

Human nature bad subject for Statistics-

Can't get distinct account of it

runs up into so many forms of physics

& is so involved in circumstances

e.g. you can't distinguish effect of education

from efft- of race

climate

{pencil:} /can't you?/

drink

can't arrive at definite conclusion

? /Any/ Statistical genius devoting himself to

these Secrets of nature

{pencil:} /who?/

What are the subjects to which Statistics

applicable with chance of discovering any

certain truth

f160 blank

Add Mss 45785

letter, ff161-62, pen

[5:118-19]

f161 {written on black-edged paper} [copy of letter to FN in her hand]

{3 lines; on an angle, top left corner:} Copy Please return to F.N.
42 Rutland Gate S.W.
March 16/91

Dear Miss Nightingale

What do you think of the
enclosed--subject of course
to any corrections of your
own--as a printed leaflet
to be sent with a private
letter to a few competent
friends?

I think it would start
the matter on safe and
good lines, so that in a
very brief time, after the
receipt of the answers,
it might be possible to take
the open step of disclosing
your name & of summoning
a meeting of the more

Add Mss 45785

f161v {written on black-edged paper}

helpful correspondents to
finally discuss details for
your consideration--viz
whom to ask to write the
Essays.

If I am moving too rapidly,
you must check me, and
if I have misstated the
sum available, you will
of course correct it.

The more I think of the
first step mentioned in
the Memorandum, the
more reasonable it seems
to be. It would excite
much interest, comment,
and constructive criticism,
& would give abundant

f162

{written on black-edged paper}
time to discovering a
proper person & to making
subsequent necessary
arrangements.

very sincerely yours
Francis Galton

f162v blank

memorandum, f163-66, pen

f163 {FN turned paper at right angles} [copy in FN hand]

{Top left corner:} /Copy/
[Confidential]

to -----

At the request of an intending donor, whose name is
for the present with held, I have drawn up the
following memorandum to elicit the views of
a few competent persons before further steps are
taken.

I should be greatly obliged if you would favour
me with your opinion on or before -----.
Stating at the same time whether you would
permit public use to be made of it

Signed Francis Galton 42 Rutland Gate

MEMORANDUM The sum of £4000 is now available

Add Mss 45785

to further the scientific study of social problems

f163v & f164

from a statistical point of view, if a plan can be devised which is likely to lead to important practical results.

The problems in question are scattered over a wide field. They refer to education, pauperism, disease, crime, and to numerous similar subjects, and especially to the measure of success that has followed various acts of legislation upon them.

It is fully recognised that no one of this vast range of problems can be attacked with hope of success, without a great deal of previous consideration and knowledge of disturbing conditions. Still it is believed, that by grappling with such problems one by one in succession, beginning with those that seem to offer the least resistance, much valuable result would accumulate from the labour of even a single competent inquirer.

The question is: how to expend the sum in question to the best advantage?

A plan that provisionally commends itself is to allot (say) £200 or £300 in honoraria (say) of £50 each, to a few selected writers who should severally draw up a list of what seem to them to be the most feasible problems in the branch of inquiry with which they are familiar. It would be their part to think out

f164v

and to draw up reasonable plans of campaign specifying the available data now in existence, and such other data as would be required, and which at the same time might be procured, without serious difficulty.

Their essays might at first be published in any way acceptable to themselves, as in magazine articles, but with the reservation that, after a few months, parts or the whole of them might be republished in a separate volume.

It is thought that the simultaneous direction of the minds of (say, six) highly competent persons

f165

[2]

to different branches of the same general scheme, would greatly assist in its inauguration and in drawing public attention to its importance. There is also some reason to think that the now available sum might in the meantime be increased by the contribution of others.

Limiting ourselves however to the residue of the £4000 upon which we could count with certainty, and which if placed in trust as an endowment would yield a little more than £100 a year. What should be done with it?

165v & 166

Two results ought to be aimed at, the one to ensure that the *memoirs it elicits* should be critically discussed by competent persons, as at a meeting of the Statistical Society; the other that the results of the investigation should be given in a lucid form such as would be intelligible and attractive to an audience like that of the Royal Institution. Considering the good work done by the Fullerian professorships of the Royal Institution, on a similar endowment to that now in view, it seems not unreasonable to offer to that body the residue of the £4000 for a like purpose, that is to establish a Professorship of [social economy] renewable from time to time at fixed periods, and charging its holder with the duty of delivering a certain number of lectures annually.

Another plan is to endow a studentship at a University.

A third plan is to institute an annual lecture or course of lectures, like the Hibbert lectures.

A fourth plan is to institute an annual essay, to be read before & published by some learned Society.

f166v blank

Add Mss 45785

note, ff167-68, pen & pencil [5:120]

f167

Social Physics Professorship {on an angle:} /Wm. B. Coltman/
March 16/91

Money: Guarantee from me--a written guarantee

1. form a Committee - of names likely to attract
subns=
2. select a working Committee from these
to publish a statement ~~for~~ of the necessity
for & objects of the proposed Institution, &
collect subns=
3. afterwards consider whether I should give a
Capital Sum or what?
4. Or undertake to guarantee £100 for the
first one, 2 or 3 years, as might be thought
desirable
5. Mr. Jowett's £2000 /left/ for Scholarship or prize at /Oxford/

Names:--D. of Westminster

--Sam Smith M.P. (rich) interested in
Continuing Elementary Education {emphasis in pencil}
(Mr. Rathbone)

--Mr. Phillips of Manchester (rich
interested in *Reformatories* {emphasis in pencil}

--Col. Howard Vincent (rich
1st Offenders' Act. interested in *Prison Statistics* {"

--Mundella ----- Education

--Lord Brassey

Want of Education Statistics {"

{added in pencil; written over angled note below}/--Lord Brassey

{on an angle at bottom left, pen:}

/Objects

El. Education

results

Crime: Punishments }

Gaol effect of}

Reformatories

Prison Statistics

Workhouses & Schools

? depauperizing

{on an angle at bottom right, pencil:}

Rolls Purpose [?]

XIX Century

April

Sanitary Admn

Socy=

The Deanry Yard

Arthur Acland

Technical Education

Add Mss 45785

f167v

Hooker 2nd Secy of Stat Socy.
Henry Cunynghame - Pamill Comm
bar
Statistical Abstract /official/ March/90
include
Herbt. Spencer: Bolton King
Toynbee Hall men would help Henry Ward
Lowe [illeg]

f168

[2]

[5:120-22]

Mr. Galton's letter

1. Stat. Socy= is their Journal read? ? X
Where their rooms?
Could your Professor work there?
What Lectures?
2. R.I. Yes: Lecture there & paper
Where would he work?
Could endowment be at Stat. Socy.
& lecture at R.I.?
Could he give RESULTS {underlined 3 or 4 times} of Statcs= at R.I.?
e.g. variations in Crime from year to year?
& *Why* it was so?
& *Why* it was *not* so?
- X R.I. Lectures so unspeakably more interesting
to a General Public than Stat. Socy papers
so condensed
3. No Elementary School master or mistress
or High School Mistress time to trace back
1000 children for 10 years
Mr. Jowett's 1600
4. No Staff at Education Office for Statistics
Records of every child - but no one to follow it up
5. Professorship in London?
6. Where is the Black Book? Home Office?
7. Brewery /Distillery/ Record of every Brew for 100 {overwritten in
pencil to read:} 120 years
under 16 heads - Why it failed - Why it succeeded.
--Ah but that's *for drink* - we *can't* do that *for morality*
{all underlining in 7. is in pencil}

f168v blank {black-edged paper with return address: 10, South Street; Park Lane.
W.}

Add Mss 45785

note of conversation with Jowett? f169- , pencil

f169 {black-edged paper 10, South Street; Park Lane. W.}
{written above return address, top right corner;} Mr. Jowett
{written beside return address, at left margin;} Professor
should be expected to give not
more than 8 or 12 lectures
in the year & to publish a
paper every year-
Thirdly the subject seems to
me very difficult. It is so
large & the inferences to be
drawn from it so uncertain
I look at it in this way. During]
the last 40 years I have had]
about 1600 pupils at Ball]
Coll Could I or any one
draw up Statistical facts
about them which would
lead to trustworthy results
e.g. of the proportion of length

f169v

of life or of distinction
in after life {"in" written over "&"} in University
honours I doubt it but it
may be worth considering
The first question to settle
is the subjects to which
Statistics are applicable
We see of course that they
must be definite & that
they must be isolated or
capable of being isolated
The 'theory' or 'philosophy' of
Statistics has not been
sufficiently examined. It is
no use like Mr. Herbert Spencer
to Set a label on each man

f170

or on facts of history, if we
can't read them in this connection

I think that for the first
five years it might be better
to confine the Professorship
to a department of the Subject
e.g. Crime or Education &
then have another for the
next five years

It seems to me that no
one can collect Statistics:
on a given subject or know
what it is useful to collect
unless he have a great
knowledge of the subject
e.g. physiology

f170v

One interesting subject would
be: the collection of facts
bearing upon the relation of
body & mind, Lunatic Asylums
&c

It would be well to have
plans for the collection of
facts or criticisms on the
defects of the *Public Offices*
[FN. keep clear of criticism at first X
or the effects of new laws
[do something]
say about Bankruptcy,
changes in the Poor Law-
& popularizing them ?

Another subject: "The results
of Statistics"- What of the
Statistical Society?

[No criticism but help FN]
Is it a useful body? & can we

Add Mss 45785

f171 {black-edged paper with return address: 10, South Street; Park Lane. W.}}

[2]

get some money out of it
to found prizes or the like.

[FN Prizes a signal failure
except in France - e.g. India]
- Whether it might not be well
to include in Statistics or
at least to recognize as a
sister subject (of? direct
?production) the experience of wise men
upon their own subjects
altho' they cannot be reduced
to precise figures- "What
everybody knows & nobody
thinks of" also

f171v

"the experience of great physicians
the great inventors or the
like - .

f172 blank

{f171v/f172 filmed twice}

f172v

As in my heroic virtue I don't
propose Sanitary things, because
of the plenty of machinery /at work/ for these,
so I don't want Bankruptcy &c
at present - only *directly* practical
things - such as *moral* Sanitation
(as you say, e.g. Crime & Education)
& Poor Law I'm quite agreeable to
And I don't want *at present*
"criticism" of "Public Offices",
Official or Unofficial - or
negative things [I should
have been just where we
were 35 years ago - Should
not I? - if I had "criticized"
the W.O. /or nursing/ instead of working
for it, by others & myself.]

Don't be literary /yet/ in these
things, as they are trying to
make us Nurses. FN

Add Mss 45785

continuation of memorandum at f163-6 above, ff173-75, pen

f173 {writing across entire sheet}

[3]

Subject

8 or 12 lectures a year - publish a paper every year.

subject so large & inferences so uncertain

1600 pupils at Ball: Coll: in 40 years

how could Statl= facts lead to trustworthy results?

e.g. of proportion of length of life

or of distinction in after life in

University honours

1. to settle the subjects-

Statcs= must be definite - "capable of being /isolated/

2. 'Philosophy' of Statistics not examined

3. no use like Herbt= Spencer to label facts of history

if not read in this connection.

5 years to take Crime

5 years " " Education

A man must have a great knowledge of the subject

to know what are useful Statistics to collect

Subjects:

1. relation of body & mind: Lunatic Asylums

2. facts on defects of Public Offices

FN steer clear of criticism & do something

3. effects of new laws about Bankruptcy

changes in Poor-Law

& popularize them

4. results of Statistics - What of Statl. Socy.?

FN No criticism but help.

Is it a useful body? & can we get some money out of it
to found prizes or the like? (F.N. Prizes a failure

f173v blank

Add Mss 45785

f174

[4]

Subjects

recognize as sister subject
experience of wise men upon their own subjects
without precise figures
'What every body knows & nobody thinks of'
" of great physicians
inventors
&c

F.N.

directly practical things
Crime
Education
Poor Law
don't want criticism } but
as e.g. of W.O. } work at it
or Nursing }
don't be literary yet

f174 blank

f175 {writing across entire sheet}

[5]

Prof: Edgeworth just became Prof: Political Economy
at Oxford

f175v blank

Add Mss 45785

letter, ff176-77v, pen & pencil [5:122-23]

f176 {black-edged paper with return address:
10, South Street; Park Lane. W.}}

{on an angle, top left corner:} /*Private*/
{in centre, in pencil, very large:} /B/
{top right, above return address:} /March 17/91/

Dear Mr. Jowett

I ought to report to you in
some degree what is taking
place about the _____{"?" in pencil} Professor
=ship or Lecture-ship.

Mr. Francis Galton came to
me again yesterday. He is
going kindly to prepare for me
a sort of rough note for a
statement of the *necessity*
for & objects of the proposed
Institution {underlining in pencil} - such as might
constitute *an appeal*.

[But {again, very large; pencil:} /B/ first he says we must]
[have a *name* intelligible]
[to the vulgar - He does not]
[like *Social Physics* for]
[the reason I gave you.]
{large, square bracket is in pencil, as is all emphasis underlining}

f176v

Could you kindly without]
much trouble *return me*]
a half note sheet, in his]
handwriting, of a proposed]
name enclosed in my]
last letter to you, which you]
answered? [I foolishly took]
no copy of it]]
If you could return me the]
whole letter, it would be as]
well; but don't trouble.]
{large square bracket and emphasis underlining in pencil}

Mr. Galton has consulted
several experts. And one thing
I am rather sorry for. The
general opinion has veered
round from Edgeworth to
Llewellyn Smith. Do you
know him? Is he a pupil
of yours? He is an enthusiast

f177

in these things - He was a
writer in C. Booth's book
He bestirs himself at Toynbee
He is young. He is a Secretary
to somebody-

Mr. Galton says: make a
beginning: make a start:
that is the thing now to do
Let us have an intelligible
programme - & then ask
subscriptions.

He aspires to

1. Lectureship at R. Institution
2. Scholarship at Oxford.

He says: if you are
interested in it, certain to
succeed

- 3.{pencil:}/regular/ Professorship somewhere
4. Endowment of a course of
annual Lectures - like the
Hibbert

177v

But, he says, we must always
remember how little can be
done by money to secure
original work.

He says: the thing is to
get together a number of
youngish men {balance of f written in pencil and another FN hand} & with
enthusiasm for the subject
& keep them together by
ready sympathy &
appreciation...

[And this is what you do]

ever yours

F. Nightingale

Add Mss 45785

copy of Galton's proposed circular, f178, pen & pencil

f178

{writing across entire sheet}

{pencil, another FN hand} *Copy*

Mr. F. Galton April 21/91

Suggested Circular to be sent to half a dozen or so eminent
authorities, with a private letter to each, asking about precise
subjects & persons

CONFIDENTIAL, to advise as to details.

It is desired to promote Statistical Inquiry into
the efficacy of Legislative Acts, intended to promote
the moral well-being of large classes-

With this object in view, it is proposed during the present
year to offer £50 to £75 in remuneration for each of 2 or 3
essays, severally referring to selected branches of either of the
following topics

Board School Education

Treatment of the Criminal Classes, especially of boy-offenders

Effect of Poor Law & Workhouses, /whether/ depauperizing or not

A statement and discussion is desired in each essay
of the nature & value of the Statistical information now
accessible, and of such other information as exists in an
unpublished form; and again of such as has not yet been
collected but which might apparently be procured
without serious difficulty.

It is then expected that the writer would discuss
the ways in which these data should be treated so
as to lead to sound & to practically important
conclusions with the minimum of difficulty-

{Publication of Essays as already suggested}

Should the results of this first attempt be encouraging,
it is proposed to follow it up by further action in
future years, perhaps of a wider character.

{To be initialed or signed} F.N.

{written in pencil in another FN hand} Initialed May 23/91

f178v blank

Add Mss 45785

letter to FN, ff179-81v, pen

f179

[5]
Balliol College
Aug 14, 1891

Dear Miss Nightingale

I am glad to hear that you are at Embley - There is a great pleasure in being reminded of old times, though there is also a sadness. I have a strong recollection of your Father who was a fine old gentleman & of his Sister Mrs. S. Smith who had my aspirations after higher things. I am very sorry that the Shore Smiths are in difficulties. They ought to have been able to keep up the name & position of your family

f179v

We have hunted everywhere for Lord Lansdowne's type written letter & Miss Knight says that it is useless to make any further search. It was headed 'For your eyes only' nevertheless I shall show it to you, if we can find it. Meanwhile let me tell you some thing about its substance. Lord Lansdowne is very liberal. He says that he agrees with 'our' letter in every respect. The change of the age for marriage he acquiesces in but does not expect that much practical result will follow. In another letter he says that

Add Mss 45785

f181

To Mr. Jowett Oct. 29/91

[3:545-56]

~~I think~~ you say you never knew what the human
body was before - No more you did. Don't you
think you ought now to take stock of what
strength you have & what tries it most - Is it
seeing Undergraduates or others or doing business?
And what hinders sleep, Sleep that knits up
the ravelled sleeve of care? & avoid it-
Seeing people late?

Not but what ~~br~~ man does not live by
bread alone - Gloria

And every man must be his own brain-filter
just as the stomach is its own laboratory - And no one

f181v

God bless you, my dear individual
friend-

ever yours

(which does not sound like the 'spoon'
business--I am sure I am not 'ever' Dean
Liddell's)

ever yours

FN

To me often reflecting on: if there is
another world, there is no individuality

f182 blank

f182v

must contradict it, IF he is *honest* which
few people are. We lie to ourselves-

Glory to God in the h- how do we give that
glory - not by singing or saying the G - in E -
but by doing what it says there as so you do-
bringing peace on e & S.W.

or as Gordon said b. & c these poor people

Also by preserving the powers that God
has given us till the last moment - that is
glory to God - Whether we eat or drink do all to the
g of G - /How deep & true/ especially in illness
For so He giveth His beloved sleep of our body
by letting Him guard the city/of our body/& by
guarding it ourselves accordg by His rule
{written upside down} Gloria in excelsis

Add Mss 45785

f183 letter, f183- , pen & pencil

{pencil} Mr. Jowett May/1892
{pen} Thank you for your most
kind letter.

[12:547-49]

"The proposal for registering
Nurses" is no longer a "proposal"
but a stand up fight before
the Privy Council - counsel
engaged on both sides - all
the petitions ~~against the~~
~~"proposal"~~ against the
"proposal" gone in - whose
name is Legion - The "proposal"
is for a R. Charter which
would give the power to
fix the conditions of training
& certificate=ing, tests &
examinations for the whole
Nursing profession a power
which ~~I believe~~ query do
the Universities of all Britain

f183v

possess? The money
but above all the time &
strength wasted /compulsorily by/ ~~for~~ the
opposition to the R. Charter,
instead of being allowed
to go about its real
business of training &
organizing Nurses & Nursing
is incalculable

I have done my part,
sent in the statements
asked for some time ago -
& till the cause is called
on, dismissed the subject
from my mind- For I
have enough to do with
India, seeing women-heads
of nursing, the interruption

f184

to which I regret more than
any thing - & many other
things-.

There will be only one thing
worse for us than a victory
(because of the ill blood
raised) And that is a
defeat.

But there may be great
good done by rousing our
side to an increased
earnestness about

1. providing Homes for Hospital,
for Private, for District
Nurses, *while* engaged in
their work of Nursing.
[This is at present only done
by Hospitals- ~~&~~ a few for District
& Private Nurses. Doctors
understand this least of all.
2. full (*private*) Hospitals Register
tracing career of Nurses trained by them

f184v

It is not strange that
people understand the
subject /so little,/ (as little as they
do India)- because it is
so technical- & they
think it is *all* technical
The promoters of the R.
Charter least of all.
They do not understand that
there is

- a. Hospital Nursing
- b. Private Nursing
- c. District Nursing
 - (1) in cities
 - (2) in the country
- & d. Maternity or Monthly
Nursing for the poor.
Whose ignorance does
life long harm.

f185

{pencil} up to date [2]

Of these, a.- the Hospitals
need no Register but their
own which is or ought to be
kept so full, ~~th~~ giving the
whole career of each Nurse
after her training (with remarks)
that it is out of the question
submitting it to the public.
If ~~a~~ /then/ Hospitals have bad
Nurses, it is their own fault.

The same thing may be
said /mutatis mutandis/ of {pencil} c. District Nurses
who, after Hospital training,
are or ought to be trained
in a District Home under
A trained District Superintendent

The Register therefore ~~takes~~
/is/ only for /{pencil} b./ Private Nurses.

f185v

~~(a.)~~ It can take no notice
of course as to whether
the ~~Hospital~~ Nurse is
living /& working/ on her own foot
or in a Home- Yet the
Private Nurse is the one
(of all others the one)
who wants moral &
comfortable helps the
most to prevent her
becoming an irresponsible
nomad.

f186

~~The who~~

You say truly/ of nursing [blue]/ a woman's/
"employment which is interesting to them
& also inclines them to goodness & a
good life"

Yet how to create this good
life?

The ~~whole of the~~ reform {struck out in pencil}
of Nursing which began
about 30 years ago
was based upon *this*, as {emphasis in pencil}
much as or more than
on giving *technical* training, {emphasis in pencil}
Namely, to make the
Hospital where all
Nurses must have their
training a home of moral
& spiritual helps, physical
comfort for health, ~~decent~~ /proper/
accommodation for decency,

f186v

good surroundings, careful
& motherly superintendence,
good companions-- a home
where no good mother
of any class need fear for
~~to place~~ her daughter.

The result of this has
been beyond all expectation
But there is still so much
to be done - Hospitals
are still on such different
levels. {emphasis in pencil}

~~(b.)~~ The Register /{pencil} Princess Christian's/ which has
been published, & in
which little or no care
seems to have been taken
to verify the nurses' own
statements, does not
affect to make any

f187

[3]

distinction between Hospitals
for better /or/ for worse -
[You might as well say
that a man was An
European, with no
distinction as to whether
he was a Russian or a
Spaniard]

The least harm that will
come of this is that
nurses will flock to the
Institution which will
give the easiest certificate
at the least trouble of
training.

But, as above said, the
R. Charter, and I may add,

f187v blank

f188

the "Articles of Association"
of the British Nurses'
Association (Princess
Christian's) aims at
far more than this.
It aims at what, as far
as I know, no Professional
Association (and *this* {emphasis & insert in pencil} /one/ is
wholly untried) has ever
aimed at before-

3. A Nurse's work is
not a profession but
a calling

f188v blank

f189

[4]

To return to the subject of "homes":
as so often happens a friend
has done us an enemy's turn--
a man of singular ability who
in fact raised all the money
for the Nurses' Pension Fund--
who edits a journal called
"The Hospital", without
knowing anything about it.

Add Mss 45785

He has opened a "home" (from
not being a "home") called
the "Co-operative" Nurses--
for Private Nurses, which
is exactly the reverse of all
the essentials stated above--
a Register for Nurses without
a Home-- They take a week's
lodging, if they are 'out of a Patient
& become in fact {pencil} these
irresponsible nomads, without esprit

f190

de Corps, or comfort- The danger
of becoming selfish is great
Even the Short-service Soldier
whom all Nurses in their
Short service tend to
resemble has his Regiment
in whose honour he may be
supposed to feel some interest.
But they have none, according
to this plan
The extension of "Homes for
Private Nurses on sound lines
aided by the Nurses' Training
Schools and Hospitals affords
at present the best prospect
of meeting the requirements
of the public.
{to end of f written in pencil}
The only object of these "home"-less
irresponsible Nurses seems
to be "*forcing up wages*

[end 12:549]

f190v blank

Add Mss 45785

note, f191- pencil

f191

Hi/g/ham

Oct 1/92

[3:506]

6 months' notice--very serious

[on angle] Better try

See him at Oxford

me to write to the Bishop in answer to his to you

injustice to Mr. Higham

injury to the Church--i.e. himself

fear of publicity

Sir H. should take /good/ legal advice against the

Bishop if he can present & the Bp refuses to **[end 3:506]**

institute- /No/ A private enquiry of the Bp's can

velvet gloves - men of the world

go on to 2

Over

f191v

Bp of Ripon would ordain men who did

not believe in the miracles

or Resurrection & Ascension

f192

to prove is that it will do no good & a great
deal of harm X

X FN It will exclude a great many good

Nurses who could not pass any sort of Exam:

& admit a great many wholly inefficient who

will pass a splendid Exam: & have been trained

You cannot give your Hospital character

except to a very few confidentially

FN [illeg Toryish?] moral faults are not committed

now by Nurses

Dr. Moore - An inferior sort of practitioner

f192v

Mr. Jowett

Cannot refuse a certificate or testimonial to men

going into orders- even if they have been

sent down = ~~on~~ /a/ moral fault

Low standard must be X

this will probably be the same 30 years hence

You *must* have a *low* standard

People will probably go to a Physician in the

Hospital. Whose Nurse she may not have been

FN Then you want to give the Royal seal to this

low standard-

What you will have

f193

Answer to Mr. Jowett

All you say may be true, But they say: We don't find]
that highest & best *within* ourselves - R. I dislike]
myself.]

How am I to find it? How will it come there _____]
within? What they want is to show them a Moral]
Govt. of God /Seeking then/ by which they seek it, /finding then/ by which they
find]
it, following them by which they are brought to follow it.]
Mrs. Sd desperation of Drummond's book - /e.g. Chap on/ degeneration
]

But ~~how~~ /the way/ to get out of it? No way-

[3:604]

No use saying The kingdom of heaven is within - if]
there is no King with a moral govt. to create His]
kingdom within - We can't - to make us observe His Law-]
No use otherwise to say: His Law is]

f193v

His presence- We can't give ourselves His presence]
by saying it - Any more how much less then we]
can give ourselves the Queen's presence -]
What is the Moral Govt. which leads us to it]
which creates it in us?]
We can't be born again of ourselves any more]
than we can be born of ourselves-]
You confuse the two meanings of the word Law--]
the Law which compels]
the Law or the Presence of God which is the Register of]
His thoughts

f194

To the
{balance of f blank}

f194v

This is the charm of the R. C. Ch. to them - this organisation
which is constructive in their eyes - You are
destruction - to make a ladder to heaven. there are
regular steps in their best books laid down -
Montée du S. Carmel - there is a whole organisation to
mount them with. What is the way to reach your best
& highest within?
A Plan? No? then in the Name of goodness, give me
a word. I'll use any word you like - But it's
telling me nothing to say there are two meanings to
every word - there are two ways of saying everything [end 3:604]
{the balance of text written upside down}
individual - this congeries of qualities we call I
pedantry

f195

Mr. Jowett | God's moral govt. [3:604-05]
"He governs the lower part of His world by
fixed laws {on an angle}/stopping
short at the /higher/ upper part by ideals" words in
anxiety
to define
F.N. But how are these /ideals/ to be attained?
{added beyond a wavy line in a column down right half of sheet:}
/and what is to become of the millions
who cannot even form an
idea of an ideal?
And what becomes of
the bad who could [see]
not help being brought
into the world?
F. Newman/
"F. Newman says
we cannot claim from God
that He will lead the
beings brought into the world
by the lust of two people to
the ideal or perfection?
That is not the question at all
/Is not/ The question (which almost every
body /over/looks) is: Does not God "claim from us that He will
bring an ideal--perfection--out of these poor wretches who cd not help
being born

f195v

You believed a great deal more than

Add Mss 45785

this when I first knew you
"at least my Lord, you gave me cause
to think so"-

You believed that there was a *great*
deal to be found out about God's moral
Govt.- you believed that

f196

M [r] Jowett
the mind Can do something but not much
to overcome the body"
that is "thro' the weakness of our mortal
nature" we can do nothing without Thee".
Yes: but it is God who is to supplement this
weakness- God in the third party who
enables the soul to overcome
the Sin that doth So easily beset us
{on an angle in bottom right corner}
/lying
worshipping the
Goddess of learning/

f196v

But how to attain these ideals?]
That is God's moral Govt. isn't it?]
We are not left to ourselves to attain]
these - We cannot even make them without His fixed]
/laws/ [end 3:605]]
Fixed laws are only /the register of/ the thoughts of God]
There must be fixed laws which enable]
us to form these ideals, to attain them]

f197

Jowett [2]
resign yourself whether you are to live 5 years
Resignation such a poor virtue]
does not God claim from us more than that?]
/if/ we really believed /what we say/ that He /is/ was Almighty Love]
we should not talk of resigning ourselves to the]
/supreme/ Perfect Good but of seconding it]
{on an angle at bottom left}
/to examine His ways e.e. His laws
His thoughts
His fixed laws/

f197v blank

f198 blank

Add Mss 45785

f198v

definition of an individual]
We know very well what it is]
tho' we cannot define it]
Leave the definition alone]
{on an angle at left}
/You can't
Get on a line
if you are always
stopping to define
That is only
If you sit down upon tin tacks
you'll /soon/ only get up again
{on an angle in middle, bottom of f}
/Quetelet
my will/

f199

Jowett [4]
pauperism declining
But is it? Those magnificent schools
only returned children paupers grown up to the
workho: same names - Boarding out - the
simpler success
{on an angle here:} /training/
beggars banished from the streets {on an angle here at right}
Is pauperism diminishing? /What do
drunkenness declining? Elementary Schools /for LIFE
vice disappearing? You asked me/
Quetelet - Education in Gaol does not reform
the criminal - It only enables him to escape
conviction another time - There are fewer convictions
not more reformatons not " crimes

f199v & f200 {written diagonally across entire sheet}

Whether I
thought observations
were nothing -
It is because I think it
everything - for the individual
to learn how to observe in life
for the public, the statesman, to observe
what is the result of their measures,
their vast organizations for Pauperism
Crime
Education
Insanity - no training

Add Mss 45785

The science of Politics is no Science
at all. It is wholly Empiric
not to say quackery -
party Politics

Cannot
it be made a Science?
Look at Ireland
{written on a different angle in middle of f200}
/Ideal Law
And they leave out
the highest part of the Ideal
which is God/
/{in a box}
July 3
Mr Jowett
for a few days/
{written across bottom of f200--full sheet open}
Booth's Pauperism
in the E. of London
House to House Visitation

f200v

Jowett [3] materialistic philosophy
"You say that the body forms the mind
that the mind rises a little above it
but not much"- I don't admit this X
O then surely there must be fixed laws
for the mind as well as for the body
We cannot be abandoned to the body
We abandon ourselves to God
so to speak

X For as the outward man decayeth the inward man
is renewed day by day - Is that a fiction?
It might be the experience of every one if we knew the laws

{written at right angles along right margin}
& how to use the laws

f201 {writing with the sheet folded}

Soul
You talk so much of circumstances
making the man- but when the
man, the soul, is made - & the
circumstances are with drawn
--is nothing left? Surely that is
a poor, lame & impotent conclusion

f201v blank

Add Mss 45785

£202

[illegible]

```
f202v blank
f203 blank
```

£203v

making Mr. Jowett absurd = the story of the walk [2]
Défaits
God was good - because *he* was good
but not from any proof afforded by the moral
government of the world
Not a sparrow falls to the ground
Fluffy
God does not want us-
no individuality in future life

f204 {written on black-edged paper, across length of folded sheet}

In Loving remembrance
of Revd. Professor Jowett
the genius of friendship
among many trials
above all the friend of God
who has now received the crown of life
Florence Nightingale
Oct. 6/93

Add Mss 45785

f207 Evelyn Abbott letters to FN regarding publication of Jowett letters

ff213-14 Evelyn Abbott letter to FN 13 March 1890 [1896?] [not FN hand]

"In one of his notes- he notes himself -

he had been reading the "De
Imitacione Christi"- "Could I,
in ten years time, write a new
Imitatio, adapted to our own days."
Had he done this - what a work
we should have had! And I
hope that by careful sketches from
his published & unpublished ~~work~~
writings - something which may

f214

take the place of [] book may
some day be compiled

f217 in Abbott letter reference to H. Perreyve, that Jowett had only heard of
him through her. Reference to a Jowett recommendation that the statistical
professorship be called her father's name.

f204v blank

f205

f205v blank

f206

E. Abbot & F.N. {Evelyn}
re Jowett's Life

f206v blank

Add Mss 45785

letter, ff215-18v, pencil

[3:546]

f215

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

E. Abbott March 13/96

Thanks

{below return address}

I 'rejoice without ceasing'
that you think an Imitation of Xt
adapted to the times can be
made out of Mr. Jowett's
writings. I remember Mr. J.
being very much struck with
what Henry Perreyve used to
say, tho' he had never heard
of him before. H.P. was a
/remarkable/ young French priest who had
he lived would have been
greater than Lacordaire.
He died quite young, in
'65 or '66. His best known
work is La Journée des
Malades - But his preaching
power over young men was
marvellous.

f215v

He used to say 1. that the
only influence you could
have for good
/& to bring about the love of God/was by
[the following in a circle on f216] either over a man or a world
seizing the spirit, the élan,
of the age. Now, he said,
the spirit of this age was
obviously, progress, ill
understood, liberty, tho'
blood stained. Seize it -
show that it was the spirit
of Christ, of St. Paul,
the ideal of God - God put
it there. It is the spirit
of all progress [?]
trades Unions

f216

St. Paul: Christ shall make
you free
I think tho' Mr. J. would have
put it in different words,
that was his spirit with his
young men. He ~~took~~ tried to take every
/young man according to his genius
his mind, his élan (that was
Mr. J's strength
quotations & also perhaps
his weakness

f216v

Imitation

Everything is so different
now that we have discovered
this beautiful /little/ world to be
the cradle of babies - not
the universe - the universe
of philosophers or of ascetics

Add Mss 45785

f217

10, SOUTH STREET, [printed address]

PARK LANE. W.

He ought to be free -2- H P. Rom VIII {may be XIII}
have explained John VIII {may be XIII}
what truth is - Mr. J.

H. P. used to say
that 2. this is the age
of unions, often retrogressive
sometimes blood-stained-
often destructive of property of bien être
But why cannot there be
Unions of the educated for
good - He pointed out
that the Oratoire of Paris
might be made a place
where every man might make
use of his gifts for good & for

There was something of this
in Toynbee Hall if it would /but

[line connects below: to & for]
progress - & teach the working
Classes. the simplest elements
of Social Economy, of which
they are ridiculously ignorant
& of Christianity. F.N.

f217v

H.P. spoke of bringing back
men so wildy dispersed in
mind to God the Centre,/the sanctuary/ whence
He creates, inspires, renews
all our ~~hearts~~ being.
I have often thought of Mr. J.
in his great characteristic
of taking in the whole lives
of his undergraduates
instead of merely their
college life, in his efforts
for them.

And there was, I believe,
a humility & gentleness
which made him master
of them as courtesy & gentleness
Mr. J lives of his pupils

f218

always does more than the
most masterful spirit.
The sacrifice which God
asks of us, said H.P. is
of that self-estimation
which is the torment of our
lives-

Now this was eminently
Mr. J.

I simply dwell upon H.P.,
because his words are so
much better than mine
not because Mr. J's character
was in the least degree
formed by him [I believe
he never heard of H.P. but
from me- And- he often came

f218v

to my father's place in /Lea Hurst/
Derbyshire. And there I
remember having ~~one, but on~~ a
passing talk with him about
H. Perreyve.

My father died in '74
But Mr. J. was at Lea
Hurst a few times after
between '74 & '79
~~that~~ when I was there
with my mother /She died in London /early/ in '80 ~~And he~~
~~used to look at my books,~~
I have a letter of his on my
father's death, but cannot find
it. He was very anxious in
'90 that I shd start a
Statistical Professorship at
the R Institution in London
& call it by my father's name
Alas! it is not done.

Add Mss 45785

f225 NOTES ON SIR W. MARKBY PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED

[2]

X

but withal with a certain reticence
one instance: he really lived like
a monk. his principle was to keep
nothing for himself. His food even in illness only [illeg]
much -- even his books £2000 -- £ 5
his servants, even when he was very ill
But -- he was dead against eccentricity
hardly any
& no one would have found out his
principle. his clothes always neat &
clean. Sir W. Markby
he never wrote
& hardly ever spoke
about this kind of thing

ff226-7 NOTES ON MR. JOWETT'S SERMONS PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED

f226

Mr. Jowett's Sermons
A friend said to me
"It's not like preaching
"It's not sermons
"It's more like the ideal
of undergraduates talking
-- especially the "Eating &
drinking". He shows them
the *Act*; he shows them
the *Life*, not the dogma.
He does not say: This do,
& that /think/ believe. But
he says: Here it is
-- *what* do you think?
The effort it was lately
years perhaps few think
He would be so glad to

f227v

[2]

know he does know
how his College is being
carried on.

Add Mss 45785

ff228-39 NOTES ON MR. JOWETT, EDUCATION, ADVICE TO UNDERGRADUATES
PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED

Mr. Jowett /
his mother wd not let me be
" sister sorry
Master always master of himself
long schooling of himself
His fear of emotions missing the train
man is greater than doctrine
" " Statistics
Buddhism in the air Theosophists
Jews woman
Stanley -- behaved very oddly
Davidson voted against himself
{written vertically}
/ note books
Immortality
impersonality x
what else?
x his own personality was so
enormous that he did not
feel it
all but master in 1854
4 years dining in his room
immense
Unquenchable courage
indomitable perseverance
Who is like him in uniting
University with life?
Balliol was education
not only lessons

Add Mss 45785

f229v

2

advice to the undergraduates. how long do you read?
that's too long. have you joined cricket, boating?
No: then you ought -- healthy body makes healthy brains.
Do you know any one with Mr. Jowett's power of making University
the entrance to life?
[above 5 lines struck through]
Silent walks -- yet the men felt he was thinking of **them**
little good Letter takes a whole day to write
but it is work which
run up *Snowdon*. Ld Lansdowne
Johnson. Father Ignatius
Immortality
how little we can do here. You must not say that to
others
so enraged me No it was ignorance
never said anything of a bad ruler but that he was foolish
young A.H.C.

f230v

He would ask the men: how
much do you read? that is too
long. What friends have
you? None? You should not
have many but a few. But
then he would introduce 2 men
together. What boating,
cricket, athletics have you
joined? None? Oh you should?
what is good for the
~~To exercise the~~ body is good
for the brains
Cricket field £ 3000
{written upside down:} Alyce Bull
Headley Park
Hants

f231

July 22/93 last party
great " "
August illness came on
Sept 10 left Sir W. Markby's
Mr. Gell
16 to Mr. Campbell's
Injections did not reach the
place

Add Mss 45785

He helped the poor Armenians &
Orientals who came
He paid for poor men

Add Mss 45785

f232

2

He had parties every Saturday
till Monday He would look
at the book. What undergraduates
were going out, & he would
ask them after dinner &
introduce them to the great
men -- & he would
take care whom he should
introduce to who. he got
scores of small posts under Gov't
P.T.O

Boswell

Sir R. Morier 55 to 58 70 [illeg]
first man he had during
Long Vacation

f232v

[4]

both Gov'ts for men
Who then rose
Tutorship 20 min past 6
25 " 7
charm of him then
He *would* see every undergraduate
at least once during term
~~It~~ And he asked to his
parties *not only Balliol*
men but Oxford men.
clever young men, Professors
whom he would like to
introduce to the great men.
It is incredible the pains
he took to introduce young men
to /gov't/ people, for future life
Who will do that now?

f233

wished to have a Monument
in Westmr Abbey
went in a Victoria from
Station 5 miles to Headley
with Sir R Wright
talking

had a presentment he
Shd ~~in~~ not return to Oxford

Add Mss 45785

swelling above left side

Add Mss 45785

f233v

[5]

Davidson gave the casting
vote against himself to
Caird.
Caird gave up £1900 at
Glasgow for £600 at Balliol
no private fortune

*he & Sir R. Morier gave £30 [£50?]
alternately to help a poor man*

*Is Dr. Caird a clergyman?
Organist?*

O but he was musical
—Sister

f234

[6]

*Archbp Tait on his Mr. J's Mastership
on his death=bed Jowett you were right & I was
wrong [so Tait repented??]
did he teach Matthew Knight?
his Will good & useful lives
what did he do as Vice=Chancellor?
His annoyance
Who succeeds Mr. Jowett as a Register Officer?
Not Resser*

f235v

—2? {cut off 7?}

Clough }

Stanley } *Scholarships from Rugby*

*annoyed about 18 Eton boys/ men taking off their names
--did not like to meet Dissenting Ministers'
sons
incredibly & hopelessly naughty 1887 October
Browning -- his illness here
J. how God works good out of evil Pilgrim Father
He: No he takes the better part of us Beatitudes Wesley*

Add Mss 45785

f236

not a Department but a man
Immortality
Truth
Arnold & Jowett
who like him?
 follows in his train?
Mrs. Campbell
Oxford will not be saved
 by her women
be loved Sir R. Wright because
 he set him on foot
did the Epistles & Plato Essay
because he could say what he
liked
I thought my friends would rally
 round me

f237

Mr Jowett
 God was not particular about being
 named himself if Truth or Love would do
instead
-- 1861
| *Mrs. Green's Extracts from Epistles*
| *Xtian Doctrines & Practice,* *Essays & Reviews*
| *Stroke of Genius servants' wages*
| give all that thou hast
service = Secondary Education: Fletcher
Simon de Montfort } -- *enthusiasm of education*
Mr. Jowett too }

f238

Pontius Pilate *What is Truth?*
 Not answered because he did not care
but Mr. Jowett shd have answered because
 I did care
Well,
What is truth?
/ *He has learnt so much from his illness.*
But he hadn't only the power of the body
/ *only spoke to Lord Selborne & one word to Lord*
Bowen

Add Mss 45785

f239

[8]

Did not an influx of *High Church* &

R.Cs. follow *Arnold*?

Will the same follow *Jowett*?

He never had any pupil Toynbee Hall

following /up/ God's moral gov't

periods of depression

feeble memory, he said

with tears

God has not given me intellect enough for the

Too many Epigrams book

not too many aphorisms

disappointment

ff240-41v NOTES ON SHOWING THE IDEAL CHRIST; FIXED LAWS; EDUCATION
PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED 1895

f240

{vertical line drawn across the length of the page} 1895

To show forth the *ideal* Christ

in sermons {vertically:} R. Catholic

in person sister

not to moralize

not only to say God acts by

fixed laws

but to show how those fixed

laws act for eternal good

God takes the best of us

Yes but ~~He~~ also works

good out of evil -- progress

out of conservation

Cavaliers

Reformation

millions deny a moral Governor

at all [illeg]

educated young ladies

Mr. Jowett never denied

Add Mss 45785

f241v

[diagonal line drawn through entire page]
Now little education/bringing up there is

Mr. Jowett's was Education
lower étapes

The poor are dragged up
Very few are brought up
of these who not called
the *educated* classes

Marc't [?]
the higher classes-- the Ten Thousand
Are not educated

they are plastered on
conduct not theology

a perfect God Plato
Mr. Mohl We don't know
Mr. Jowett what is perfect
horror of

System
not in letters -- in conversations
his letters were usually /epigrams/ aphorisms
on conduct. because there was
no immediate answer as in
conversation

Add Mss 45785

ff242-47 NOTES ON EDUCATION AND THE "BRINGING UP" OF LOWER CLASSES
PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED 1895? [prob not FN hand]

f242

Mr. Jowett ~~hated~~ /had a horror of/ system.
His idea for his undergraduates, the permanent idea
of his whole life was -- *conduct*, not
Theology or even Theodikè

To show forth the *ideal* Christ
if he could in his sermons -- in his person
(tho' this last of course he was not the
man to put into words)

not to moralize, not to preach Christ
but to show forth Christ /in life/ ~~this~~
~~certainly~~ was not this his standard idea?

2. There never perhaps was *less* education
or *more* talk about it than now -- education
in the sense of "bringing up" --

But *Mr. Jowett's* was education.
"bringing up" in the highest sense of the
word. (instruction)

The lower classes, ~~are~~ as they are called, are
"dragged up". Even the present Elementary
Education including Technical Education,
good as it is in the hands of
some devoted schoolmaster, is not exactly

f242v

2. cont'd & cannot be, *without the home*, a "bringing up". And it will take a generation or two to see if the Instructor tells upon the mothers & fathers of future generations, upon the *homes* of the future.

~~Of where are called~~ Still less bringing up is there for Pauper Children. ~~And the~~

The old apprenticeship seems to have been better ~~than~~ in good hands than the new Technical Education with no record of *results*

Of what are called the *educated* classes very few excepting those who are in the hands of rare mothers who ought to be crowned by the nation are "brought up". Are the others only plastered over? In some ~~large Ladies'~~ Colleges male & female, does not this process/ become a/ reach high art but not /an/ Education?

In the "higher classes" as they are called than "Ten Thousand" the plastering appears to reach the highest Art. But is it true the character & conduct are declining?

Mr. Jowett's was pre eminently a "bringing up". /It/ included a "home". ~~a~~ the whole life -- It was *his* life And how successful he was!

f243

2

& cannot be without the home, a bringing up [Still less is it so with Pauper Children. The old Apprenticeship in good hands was better Of what are called the *Educated* classes very few excepting those who are in the hands of /rare/ Mothers who ought to be crowned by the Nation are "brought up". They are/ appear to be/ plastered over, and in some of the Ladies' Colleges this process reaches ~~the highest~~ Art, but not Education. In the "higher classes", as they are called, the "Ten Thousand" -- the plastering appears to reach the highest Art.

it was his life

Mr. Jowett's was eminently a "bringing up". including the home -- the whole life

How Successful he was -- To this he devoted *his* life.

How pleased he would be to know, perhaps he does know ~~it~~ -- that you were are continuing his labours -- vastly more pleased than to know that you were /are/ writing his life!

f244

3

3 He thought it unprofitable to work out what nation or who has believed in a *perfect* God. M. Mohl, a Wurtemberger, who learnt all the Oriental languages he could, in order to write some sort of history of religions (a history of God, tho' he did not call it by that name.) who was consulted, tho' a staunch Protestant, by the Jesuit Missions

Etrangères in Paris.

as an authority superior to their own, thought the same as Mr. Jowett, But M. Mohl, who died in '75/ in answer to a question ~~of mine~~, said that Plato had the idea of a "perfect God" -- I told this to Mr. Jowett, thinking to please him. But he did not take it up. I think he merely said that "perfect" was only a word & /that/ we don't know what *is* perfect. There were two men

f245

something tragic.

4

who might have worked out the Great Problem, the Great Theodike, & gave themselves to translation, / a tragic end./ Is not this something like being blinded by ~~being~~ looking at the Sun?

After all, Mr. Jowett was right. to show the ideal Christ -- not the perfect God.

I wish I could give you these things in his letters. But they only came out in his conversation. His letters as you know were usually aphorisms or epigrams on conduct, because the ball was not given back to him as in conversation. But I often felt extreme disappointment & exhaustion in conversation at *his* not giving back the ball.

?

f246

[5]

4. He says in one letter that one can only say: "God acts by fixed laws" that is not like taking an Index or the Title of a book for the book? The book should show how these "fixed laws" "sacrifices" no ~~bad~~ one but work out the eternal good -- God has eternity to work in, we have not, at least as far as this world is concerned.

5. Liking to this is: he used to say: "God takes the best/ part/ of us & works by that."

Yes, but He also works good out of evil, progress out of conservatism.

A Bishop gave the two following instances The Cavaliers were the best: but it was good for the nation that they did not win. Luther was not the best. but it was good for the world that he won.

We come back to the old story: there are hundreds of thousands who cannot see that God is good -- But there are millions who ~~don't believe in~~ /deny the existence/ of a moral Governor

f247

6

at all. & among those, some of the most highly cultivated young gentlewomen of the present day.

6 There is nothing very inspiring in denying the Miracles, or denying a Moral Governor, or in negation at all

There was no negation in Mr. Jowett.

But one must regard it as /not strange/ ~~how~~ how painful that the sisters of two of the great reformers of the present day (of whom Mr. Jowett was one) became R. Catholics

7. But Mr. Jowett was right again For how little in our whole lives does Logic reckon -- tho' Hegel, as Mr. Jowett offered, thought differently.

(Fashion to prevent us from thinking even what 7. /Is not/ This ~~is~~ the age of acquiring but ^ not thinking Is pretty exact

Every thing is to be ~~what is to be~~ thought for us: Reviews

Reviews of books which the Reviews had never been read
Leading Articles of newspapers, Reviews of Reviews
Reviews to tell us what to think Reviews to tell what not to think
Leadg to nothing

Abstracts, Summaries, Commentaries, &c. &c. &c. ~~Spirit~~
gives from -- Spirit of

Now Mr. Jowett always thought: ~~for himself~~ he was always original.

Add Mss 45785

ff248v-50 NOTES ON JOWETT; LOGIC; HEGEL; INTRODUCTIONS TO PLATO
PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED 1895

f248v Mr. Jowett [following 7 lines struck through]

not to preach
but to show forth Christ
conduct not theology
how little in our whole lives
does Logic reckon
horror of system
could not the introductions
to Plato be brought into
the life? he said he
put his thoughts into those
because he could say what
he liked
What will become of the Extracts
that you don't use? Will they go
to Mr. Lewis Campbell?

f249

R.B.N.A. 2
{following 5 lines struck out}
this is the age of *not*
thinking -- every thing is to
be thought out for us --
Reviews -- Abstracts, Syllabus
Synopsis -- Commentaries.

conduct, not theory or
science
Dr. no idea of this
here not now

f250

Mr. Jowett 3

Hegel, the almighty Logician
strong practical sense
yet conceiving all things,
the form of categories &
believing the categories to be
God
So strong a sense of the identity
of their own actions with the
will of God as to exclude every
other feeling -- who have neither
wished to live nor wished to die
except as they fulfil His will
x x Such a sense of things would
no doubt give infinite rest &
almost infinite power.

ff251-v NOTES ON JOWETT; IMPROVEMENT IN EDUCATION; INTRODUCTION TO PLATO PENCIL;
HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED

f251

identity on

7. Mr. Jowett was always trying to/ & improving
his own character for the sake of his undergrads
This is very rare in middle aged & his work
men & still more so in elderly & old men.

2 There never was more talk about education
than now. Is there more real education, in the
sense of "bringing up" bringing up for the
future life. The improvement in instruction
is enormous, in books, & primers & manuals
for instruction, & in the method for instruction.
Is the *education* making equal strides?
But Mr. Jowett's was real education -- upbringing
in the highest sense of the word -- upbringing
for the man's future life which he never lost
sight of

The "lower classes", as they are called, are
"dragged up". Even the present Elementary
Education, good as it is in the hands of some
devoted schoolmaster who has something in
his head besides grants, including Technical
Education is not exactly

Add Mss 45785

f251v

[7]

Question 1.

Could not the best parts of the introductions to
Plato be brought into the Life?

~~he said~~ & so not be lost?

he said he put his thoughts into those
because he could say in them what
he liked

Question II: what becomes of the

Extracts you have made that are

rejected for the "book"? they will not

go into Mr. Lewis Campbell's or any one's hands?

ff252-53v NOTES ON QUIETISTS?; INDIA JURISDICTION BILL
PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

f252

Mr. Jowett July/64

10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address}

PARK LANE W.

"I suppose there have been
persons who have had so
strong a sense of the
identity of their own
actions with the will of
God as to exclude every
other feeling, who have
neither wished to live nor
wished to die except as
they fulfil His will Can
we acquire this? I don't
know. But such a sense
of things would no doubt
give infinite rest & almost
infinite power. Perhaps

f252v

quietists have been most
successful in gaining this
sort of feeling, but the
quietists are not the people
who have passed all
their lives rubbing &
fighting against the world
But I don't see why
active life might not
become a sort of passive
life too, passive in the
hands of God & in the
fulfilment of the laws of
nature. I sometimes fancy
that there are possibilities
of human character much

f253

greater than have been
realized, mysterious as
they may be called of
character & manner & style
which remains to be called
forth & explained. One
great field for thought ~~is~~
on this subject is the
manner in which character
may grow & change quite
late in life

f253v

India Jurisdiction Bill
These explosions are like
Epidemics. they have a
tremendous force for a
short time & then the air
is cleared & the body
is incapable of taking
them again. I have
often thought how completely
the Ecclesiastical Titles
Epidemic cured as of No
Popery. And so it will be
in India.

qu? '87

Add Mss 45785

f254 NOTES for JOWETT; POETS & MORAL FORCE PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

Jowett Oct. 1864

A Poet does not understand that he ought
to be a prophet. No English poets seem to have
felt this. They have wit & sentiment & imagination
but no moral force. Clough might have
x x been great
{written upside down}

[2]

I don't see *why there shd be one anxious moment*
one mental pain in our lives. At least when we
have *determined to give everything to God* Then
we have fairly won & ought to enjoy -- rest.
The thought that should fill our minds is His
all pervading truth & love. The result
is with Him. Why shd we vex ourselves
with the details of our work? or seem to
deny at each step the general principle
on which our minds really repose?

f255 NOTES ON PRAYER AS MORAL PROCESS, PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

Jowett March/65

Nothing more required to be stated than
that prayer is a mental, moral spiritual
process, a communion or *conversation with God*
or an aspiration after Him & resignation to
Him, an anticipation of heaven, *an identification*
of self with the highest law. the truest idea, the
blending of true thought & true feeling, of the
will & the understanding, containing also the
recognition that we *ask for nothing but to*
be better, stronger, truer, deeper than we are

x x x

The human race is inspired. But how short the
moments of inspiration have been -- a little
stream in Greece & Judaea -- dammed up
after a century or two in the original fountain
all other progress but the dilution of this water
of life. Great men like Luther & Bacon have
been inspired, but how muddy the inspiration
has been with the previous elements. Even
Spinoza is a schoolman warring against
scholasticism (I mean in such Things as his
notion of substance, & the importance that he
attaches to *more logical demonstration*

Add Mss 45785

ff256-59v NOTES ON RELIGION; THE OLD TESTAMENT; KNOWLEDGE; INTUITION
PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

f256

Jowett 1865 March 8

Theodikè "Idola Templi"

a new division of Bacon's
idols

among them all the metaphysical puzzles
of Theology, including the doctrine of the
Trinity & the real presence in the Sacraments
vacuum in the mind that would be ready
to receive anything: -- the immaculate conception
or the incarnation of Vishnu

f257v

Jowett [2]

I read thro' the Old Testament (begun
Jan 1 at the rate of 5 chapters a day
-- one of my tasks) with increasing wonder
1. at the beauty & interest & moral greatness
2. at any body being still willing to
hang the life of a man on the inspiration
of Scripture.

f258

Jowett March 9/65

Idea of Law traceable in all the Old Greek
philosophers. Heraclitus & others. They seem to
have had a sort of intuition of future knowledge

Were they not prophets as truly as the Hebrew ones,
not anticipating the future of morality & religion,
but the future of philosophy & knowledge.

Socrates the first who said distinctly that
whatever is is best.

1864 Nov 4 Oxford
down to him

f258v

The world requires infinitely
more courage *and infinitely more*
caution

not to speak ill of people
This consciousness when you come
to act (or talk) with them
lessens your influence with them

Add Mss 45785

f259v

[2]

To be true to human nature & to fact, Religion requires to be

1. Spiritual -- the religion of communion with God -- [but what is God? FN] reason to reason heart to heart

2. Material political legal: the religion of universal law in all its gradations moral & physical, or in transition from one to the other

the place of Jacob Boehme is the heart of God.

Turn Over

f260 NOTES ON RESTING RELIGION ON CHRIST'S RESURRECTION; HEGEL
PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

April 15/65

2

Easter Sunday. I don't suppose that we either have or could by any possibility have sufficient evidence of the Resurrection to justify us in resting religion upon that, *if we could be justified in resting upon anything of the sort.* x The Death & not the Resurrection of Christ is the really strengthening & consoling fact -- *that human nature could have risen to that does show what it is divine*
How curious it is that adversity & suffering should be "the blessing of the N. Testament; & this is probably the only Xtian doctrine not to be found somewhere in Gentile anticipations of Xtianity

Mr. Jowett

April/65

Hegel the Almighty Logician

strong practical sense -- yet conceiving all things in the form of categories and *believing the categories to be God* -- the first & only historian of philosophy x x x
x x the strongest conservative, destructive, orthodox, heterodox, Christian, anti Xtian system that ever was

Add Mss 45785

f261 NOTES ON JOWETT; MOURNING AND TRYING TO IMPROVE
PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

Mr. Jowett 1865 after Hilary's death

And now let us who are left try to *rest*
in God more & more & to complete & perfect
our lives more & more, trying to think & feel
gently about all, as *not having intended*
many things hurtful & painful to us, & believing
that though we are *weak & fevered*, God
who has done so much for us will fulfil
our work

f262 NOTES ON RADICALS, JOWETT's (?) COLLEAGUES PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

1867

radicals. There is something that
is not quite intelligible in his
colleagues neither actively supporting
nor opposing him.

Think of all this also in connection
with the conservative reaction of
six years ago.

Add Mss 45785

ff262v-63v NOTES ON RADICALS; TORIES; CHURCH OF ENGLAND
PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

f262v

Mr. Jowett March 19/70
What an evil in the country a huge
party like the church party is

They (Dissenters) think that the Church help
to keep down the truth as some of
themselves do

f263

[2]

Browning -- When I have done that I shall
try to do something better still, & so on
as long as I live. And I like to think of
myself as beginning & not ending
May/67 At what a rate the chariot
of democracy is driving. Household suffrage
lodger franchise, one year's residence

x x x

Think of the effects on the Ch of England. (that
of Ireland is gone any how) & on the whole
country -- the exultation of the Idée who has

f263v

revenged all his personal wrongs x x x
x x he has got his pound of flesh
out of these Tory magnates who
have scoffed at him x x x
& really done & great service (not taking
into account the means)

x x x

?

People have often said that he (Gladstone)
would be the leader of the Radicals,
but they never guessed that he would
accomplish it by making the Tories

Add Mss 45785

f264 NOTES ON MR. JOWETT's WRITING; SPINOZA
PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

Mr. Jowett 1868
The Chapter on "minding baby" is
excellent: only wrote tracts like
that for the labouring poor & you
will do an incalculable good
I particularly like the parenthesis
(though he's not our baby) in
which a world of morality is
contained
Spinoza! thought of an infinitely
present God & then of a
consecutive God
My boy -- asks whether good
would not degenerate if
there were evil, just as
peace would corrupt, if
there were no war.

f265v Rough NOTES ON INDIVIDUALISM; CIVIL AND MILITARY OFFICERS
PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED 1895?

[2]

Mr. Jowett
Something should be said
of the power of Individualism
in practical life as opposed
to the necessity of Churches,
Societies, organizations
service & perhaps in some degree
the cramming manners in which
{written vertically} the Exams are [illeg]
Every year England is presenting
more openings at the
Universities, in commerce,
in Secondary official positions
& every year India is becoming
dearer & more expensive &
less attractive. The consequence
of this is that every year there
will be a regular deterioration
both of Civil & Military officers
It is not the competition nor
the age, but the character of the

Add Mss 45785

ff266-67 NOTES ON JOWETT'S TEACHINGS; WAYS TO IMPROVE ONE'S SELF; LAWS OF NATURE
PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

f266

Mr. Jowett March/69
*I don't trust the reports of any one
about any one & only half
trust my own eyes so that I am
unable to form any judgment*
{written upside down}

Mr. Jowett Sept. 11 ?65
3 things clearly

1. The moral nature of God i.e. His nature,
justice, truth, etc.

2. The fixedness of the laws of nature

3. The endless power which man has of
improving or deteriorating his own condition by
working upon moral principles through or with
the laws of nature

Perhaps you wd say that no 1. involves
optimism -- the restoration & regeneration of all

f266v

mankind including Chinese Hottentots etc.
(but always excepting Government clerks)
I think that this is probably true, but it
is one thing *to leave the consequence to be
drawn* and another to insist upon it
The truth is that *I am afraid of drawing
to much upon another life & assuming
a knowledge which we do not possess*
About that I think our attitudes!! of mind
should be one of faith & hope, binding up

in an indissoluble union our notions of
immortality & the existence of God with
the existence of right.

f267

[2]

not tiring myself with mere drudgery
or shrinking into a coterie
or caring only for the affection of admiring
friends. Few persons have worked
harder, & yet I have wasted a great
deal of time & have not managed well

I see nearly every undergraduate once a week
Jan 30/70 The whole entirely under my control
And I hope to take a *particular & individual*
interest in every man in college. *That is my aim*
the good effect on me & I hope on them

Mr. Jowett Jan 5/95 Oct 23/69

21 years ago

More & more for myself I see two or three
things which this late trouble (his mother's health)
rather tends to impress on me. *First* that I must
be absorbed in my work & use all means
towards this (not neglecting health) & *shut out*
all trivial thoughts & personal feelings of all
sorts. *Secondly* that I must aim at
perfect *calmness*. As you get on in life, this is
the only way in which strength can be husbanded
& made effectual. *Thirdly* that I must try to
act more simply & on a larger scale, not

f268 NOTES ON SERMON BY JOWETT PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

Mr. Jowett Sermon on Oct 16/92

Nettleship [?]

"Christ Himself must be regarded as what in modern

Language wd be called a *latitudinarian*

1. neither in Jerusalem nor in this mountain
2. Except a man receive the kingdom of God as a little child
3. In spirit & in truth

proofs that the faith of Christ does not consist
in niceties of doctrine but in a *pure & holy* LIFE
what an *entire omission* there is in the *Gospels*
of many opinions & statements which are popularly
considered to be an *essential part of the Xtian faith*

The simplest notion of Xtian teaching is that
wh: approaches most nearby to his own

[2]

He (relationship) wd have regarded man as having
a *better self*,^{xx} a better mind, a higher consciousness
in wh: the element of religious truth were contained
The lower consciousness is the sum of the material

Add Mss 45785

conditions of man's being. the higher is the *spirit*
of God dwelling in him

Add Mss 45785

£269 NOTES ON JUSTICE and JOWETT PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED

Jowett [5]
Justice is *not* blind. On the contrary.
She must see & examine.
God cannot but claim from us to examine
His ways (laws) *Resignation* is blind

£270 NOTES ON PLATO; UNIVERSITY CAREERS PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED

{confusing lines drawn throughout the page, connecting some sections to others}

pony
carriage
Lizzie Life = living water to so many
? profane
And except we are "the way"
But {upside down} laundresses
to our pupils & dependents
we are nothing

as a father thinks not only {upside down} Grace Phillips
of his sons' University careers Welsh girl
(as too, many tutors do) but of their
lives' whole careers -- his parties!!! his "natural"
life

```
1 Something from Plato
line of the Bible
line of Plato
```

3. Love never faileth
2 above all, his LIFE, his *fatherliness*
not his preaching or doctrine
"I am the way -- etc. etc. the bread Christ's
door answer

Stephen Remarx {written vertically}
Sir Harry Hon & Revd
& Eliza Adderley
Magazine [Goodwill? illeg]

Add Mss 45785

f271 NOTES ON "LIVING EPISTLE"; JOWETT's INFLUENCE PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN;
UNDATED

"ye are our epistle written in our hearts
known & read of all men"

2. Cor. 3. 2.

Mr. Jowett was indeed "written in our hearts"
not his preaching not his Theodicy
for he had none
his LIFE was the extraordinary unconscious
influence over College, University & the world
I am afraid the expression "living
epistle" is not in the Bible, this is the
only verse I can find.

Add Mss 45785 added bits

f219

22/10/95

Dear Sir W Griselby

Will you kindly present /convey/ my
very best thanks to the Trustees
for their *great* /goodness/ *kindness* in
sending me a copy of the "old"
"Master's" Sermons. I have
read a good bit of them. They
~~always~~ /It may/ strike One as strange that
a man whose whole life was
/in/ one enthusiasm should /address/ wish
his flock
Sermons in such carefully /scrupulously{?}//studiously/{below}
restrained
practical & unimpassioned
manner. {goes nowhere} I suppose /Perhaps too/ he thought
that ~~only~~^ ^reaction came of
excitement - even devotional
exct. & that one must *live*
not preach, one's religion to be
effective.

f219v

right to speak it all on
^others:

Pardon my writing /so many words/ I could
not but write tho' I have been
much interrupted by work.

But *his* enthusiasm was in
^the true sense of God in
us.

{following 12 lines written vertically, paper turned sideways}
they were different
in will {illeg} but
one {illeg}

He said /probably/ he did not
like a religious book
by a man of high
political career which
certainly had great
merit & made a man
noxious {??} because /he said/ it did
not pull people together
but separated them
still more.

{paper again right-side up}
as far as showing what they
were alike in & not what

f220

effect - dearer to Christ
than that of Lazarus.
An enthusiasm /without dogma/ for the God of
truth, holiness & love.

3 In these days when we hear
so much of unity of the
Churches which after all
only ~~ends in~~ /means one great ecclesiastic/ the Pope of Rome
being *unus* {?} as has been /truly/ said
~~liking~~ & so little of the unity
of spirit as taught by
~~is as well to~~ /Christ/ one may /remember how he,
a man of such experience,
a man of the world in the
very highest sense, clung to the
unity of the spirit in Christ!
sense & cared only for that
of the *unity of the Churches*.

f220v

[2]

He had no catchwords:
His life was one enthusiasm.

He never /even/ kept any money
for *himself*, tho' he was an
excellent man of business
{line leading from tho' to following line}
this was not from carelessness /neglect or/
but a {illeg?} conviction of what was right
for as you know two things done for effect
But he had a horror /sort of/ of singularity
- no meaning of holiness or the
{illeg on several levels} But /His/ /very/ {illeg} was
scrupulously /carefully/ neat & /a model of/ cleanliness.
2 In his Sermons one sees how
~~scrupulously~~ he refrained
from recommending any
~~enthusiastic~~ singular course
even minutely
but was intent on putting an
ideal into the College /routine, & {illeg}/ {illeg} &
translating Christ's precepts
enthusiasm - God in us
for us
into this age. And what a
resurrection he had

f221

[2]

He would not even have a
Servant on account of the
expense to go with him
when he was quite too ill
to go alone on his tours of
visits.

Perhaps too he thought
that excitement, even
/Devotional/ Response excitement was
nothing - & nothing could
come of nothing & that
our {illeg}
He was an incarnation of the
spirit - not dogma or
what he sometimes called
pinning our faith on
"metaphysical puzzles."

Add Mss 45785

f222

Mr. Jowett Jan 7/94
I wished for the moral govt
of God, bringing good out
of evil, as all history shows
 The Pilgrim Fathers
Progress out /of bad works/ so as my
Mr. Jowett said, No, He
always took the better part of
us.
{on a slant above} All Dissent
But this was the secret of his
power. He was always
finding the better part of us
His extraordinary perseverance
 from a youth to age -
E Abbots apprehends the extreme
tenderness /charm/ of his character.
Does he apprehend its extraordinary
 strength.

f222v

connecting University education
with a man's future career
unique in this

The kiss

f223

[2]

The charm /of character/ *before* his

Mastership

a "feeble memory"

God has not given me

intellect enough for the

Moral Philosophy book

he could do his Plato when

ill. 3 half hours a day

his putting his Nurse to work

188 ? 7

so enraged I was /indigestibly/ ("light" food)

that I asked him whether that

was willfulness /contrariness/ - And he

answered like a lamb: No, it

was ignorance.

doctors to the genteel people

doctors to the slaves

he preferred the slave-doctors

f224 [3:547]

Mr. Jowett

I think he had more character

than any body I ever knew - not that

he did /no obstinacy/ not change /&/ somewhat unaccountably

his opinions about things & people - but that he

spoke as he thought & he did as he spoke but X

He mastered life - ~~it was not life that~~

/did not/ mastered him - that was what the

spirit of life was in him - He was

master even when most Depressed

also: it was he who put life into Plato

not Plato who put life into him. **[end 3:547]**

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