

Add Mss 45786

BL 08 Add Mss 45786-45790 925 pages

Add Mss 45786, microfilm, 269 folios, 210 pages, correspondence on nursing, hospitals and workhouse infirmaries, Ireland, Adam Matthew reel 24

ff1-169 correspondence with Acland 1867-
ff170- on workhouse infirmaries, Ireland, Monteagles

ff1-4 Acland letter 15 January 1867 from Oxford. Dear Miss Nightingale , You kindly said that I might ask you any questions on which you could advise me.

There is a proposal to allow ladies to come to our small hospital here to be trained as Nurses. What do you think of this? And under what rules should it be done? There will be great opposition I have no doubt, to any plan, on the premise that it will interfere with the present Nursing staff, and it will be said that it will be the beginning of a system of Lady training. This will very likely by the governors believed to be a religious movement?? This is all very unsure. But the proposal will be made. I shd like to take the best part I can in the settlement. It would illeg ...

I send a proof of a Note which I have handed in to the Poor Law Committee. Whether it will be circulated I do not know. I think it will be attempted to exclude it.

It is an uncorrected Proof. I have, I am sorry to say, no other. Also a proof of a paper handed in by E Smith. [hard to read]

FN note on back, f4v, light pencil

f4v

No difficulty can arise about religion, if the care of the sick & not the care of their own souls is the main motive & qualification

If the latter then all sorts of fanciful rules & vestments and not the professed object (care of the sick) must be the tie to bind the Sisterhood together.

~~Naming~~ admitting ladies" to pick up", as they could, like birds ~~except~~ instead of or as training them, like any other Probationers, under a regular system in a regular course experience tells us, is a mere fiction. The Hospital order is upset for nothing.

Hospital a place of very serious work & not at all a place for any religion or other focal

ff5-8 Acland letter to FN from Oxford 25 January 1867. black-edged I shd have earlier written to thank you for your most kind and valuable letter concerning the *Nursing*

but that I thought I wd wait till after the Meeting (at our hospital) which has now taken place.

The question was adjourned to our next Court, i.e. some day in April. Meanwhile I shall hope to get proposed a definite plan for teaching whether nurses (whether ladies or others) who may conform to the Regs which may be illeg. It will not be easy--first because our matron dislikes it; secondly, because we cannot house them and thirdly because respectable and indeed good as our present nurses are (on the ordinary type) I do not think they would have (as it appear) the tact to teach and I do not suppose I cd get one of yours admitted for the purpose of teaching even if I were able to get one from you. I think the matron would resent it and she is a really valuable person.

However I shall endeavour to get some conversation with the matron at St Thomas' and with the sisters at King's. The physicians will be unanimous in any good arr that is illeg and so would many of our governors.

The general tenor of your directions I honestly concur in. I have shown your letter privately to three of our best people to their great satisfaction--I might say also they expressed their gratitude. I must put together the paper on the subject without delay and perhaps I shall venture to trouble you again when we have an outline of Rules. I do indeed enclose some which would have been adopted probably had it not been thought better to defer the question for a fuller consideration.

I do not know what the Cubic Space Committee ...or rather why it has not been illeg. Again I must grateful offer my best thanks for all your kindness in this and other occasions.

f9 Radcliffe Infirmary Oxford Copy of Rules Jan 19 1867

ff10-13 Acland letter to FN from Oxford 31 January 1867 I am unwilling to delay a post in writing to thank you for your letter and for the proof of the paper to our Committee. What kind of service you have rendered to us, and to the public by that document I cannot estimate. Whatever the intention may have really been, I have had a kind of instinct that we ere not to state the whole case. My endeavour to get it considered as you know failed- but your paper has come like the "Deus ex Machina" to complete it, and only just in time.

For my own part I have no drum but for the truth and for the execution by the government of its duty illeg that may be. God know this is no occasion for needless increase taxation, and incurring expense. But in a case of admission of a illeg which is to have generation after generation of nurses now with in a great country the additional feet we manifestly but a very small consideration. I could prove that by the workhouse I have visited to have made them right instead of wrong mt have increased the expense a 15th or 20th. I mean to talk over the whole matter with Mr Lambert who I find is one of the largest people in these depts. I hope you do not think that our Committee are to blame. I doubt it. I think that somehow the inspectors had a conscientious horror of unnecessary expense, and due to illeg that the subject was comparatively new to more than one and truly it has in he last 20 years been so created that those who enquired fixed illeg notions then, have no conception of what those are talking about have. However your writings by illeg and the general illeg.

I am half

f14 with FN note pencil: Please return to F.N. Acland letter to FN Oxford 22 Feb? 1872 blue paper, black-edged. I have illeg your kindness always with gratitude for the result.... wd not write about your volume on Lying-n Hospitals till I had made up my mind on this subject, i.e. till I had settled whether to attempt to move the *Medical Council* to look into the matter. This I hope now to do. Will you once more counsel me, then I will write again if you will permit me to do so.

ff16-17 Acland letter to FN Oxford 1 April 1872 embossed. I have been unwilling to trouble you again about the nurse and midwife education, after your most considerate and interesting letter at the time of the Medical Council. I write now really only to tell you that a com was appted at the council in the terms which I enclose. We shall gradually collect information and whenever there is anything which I think you will care to know, for or against, I will write again to you. Meanwhile only I beg to offer my grateful thanks for your renewed attention to my request for advice.

ff18-21 Acland letter to FN. Aug 3 1872. I spent last Sunday at Claydon and went carefully into Emily Verney's condition. One lung (the right) is extensively tubercular, but not much excavated. The left is little affected. Her appetite keeps good and the diarrhea is rather diminished. Therefore I hope and think that life may be spared some time without great distress to her. She is bright- as ever- but weak and hectic. I came to tell you this much because she spoke much about you, and she said how kindly, how affectionately you write to her and I thought that some good news as far as I

cd give them wd soothe you also. Sir Harry is greatly dejected. Emily herself in what she said of herself. I am hoping to learn something in Norway in ?? Indian and Norwegian leprosy. There is a great hospital at Bergen for it. I have been much illeg. Many thanks for your most kind hospital, but I *must* return to Portsmouth catching a train at Romsey. I drove illeg. Jut heard the grievous news of Lady Ashburton's house. I fear that too will have distressed you. I heard from her only a few days since.

ff22-25 Acland letter to FN Oxford 23 March 1873. FN red und. black-edged. I venture once again to trouble you, though indeed all but ashamed to do so. The Medical Council sits again this week. I am proposing a Draft Report for the Committee on the "Women's Education." I venture to send the draft to you.

I have many representations from various quarters as to the desirability of adopting *some* mode of licensing for the **Midwives and Superintendent Nurse** [FN red underline and?\. It seems to me that the time is quite come for thoroughly sifting and settling the question. Whether the Medical Council shd or shd not do it. **This issue I hope to bring this week.** [FN red underline]

I have yet to insert in the Report several particulars, and among them a proposal from your volume on Lying-in Hospitals. I had however to send the Ms hurriedly to the printer one day last week and cd not at the moment settle how much of our address at the end of the volume to quote. So it remains for the revise: when the committee meets **next Thursday** [FN red und and adds note: tomorrow]

Miss Lees has been staying with us. She came for a couple of days and fell ill with quinsy, so she was here a fortnight to our great delight and my instruction.

It occurs to me that you may by chance object to some of my half statements in the Draft,

[FN red pencil comment: **I do. F.N.**] or be willing to supplement some definitions, or give me some instruction as to your own wishes.

[FN in red pencil: **There is no time --F.N.**]

If so wd you do me the kindness of writing to the Athenaeum, Pall Mall
initialled comments written on a letter, f24, pencil.

f24 {letter, underlined by FN}

*object to some of my
brief statements in the
Draft {written vertically} I do. FN - or be willing
to supplement some defi-
ciencies or give me
some instruction as to
your own wishes. There is no
no time - FN*

ff26-29 Acland letter to FN Mar 27 1873. blue, black-edged. I have just received the valuable packet you have so kindly sent to me.

I have been all day at the Medical Council, engaged as it turned out in great part on other subjects, than ours. I ought perhaps to say 'your.' But I had two hours with the Committee on the draft report--have advanced it a stage, and will bring you or send you tomorrow a revise of it, that you may see how it gets on.

I do not think now that the report can be finished before Monday morning next. With most of your kind suggestions and advice I agree. I am so sorry that the porter of the Athenaeum illeg the table that I was not to be there yesterday. I was and had I had the letter then it wd have been illeg today at the com. Now I will communicate its contents tomorrow. But of course the alterations I might make thereupon will not appear in the revise you will receive.

It is clearly a big subject. I think the Med Council will on the whole take it "au serieux" though some will endeavour to cast it aside as unworthy. I think they will fail and they certainly will if I have enough self control to delay *recommendations* this year. As you advise, they will certainly allow the committee to take more trouble if it does not commit the Council.

Mr Stansfeld is very anxious to have something done for the educ of the Poor Law midwives all over the country.

I am sorry to be obliged to write now hurriedly else I could not write tonight, either to thank you most heartily or to tell you what I told.

Miss Lees did not illeg I have the originals from St Petersburg thro Lord Granville, as well as Miss Lees's translation.

I have to go out. On my return I shall read again your kind letter and reread also Mr Bonham Carter's and return them on Sat with Dr Shrimpton's.

ff30-33 Acland letter to FN Oxford Mar 2 1873 I venture again to send another revise. I think I have removed from it as far as I can judge passages you might object to. I feel with you how much has to be done, how much has to be thought before that can be done. It is of great consequence that this Committee shd not flinch from making some Report now, and I think we have to draw up our statements as to how the need and the difficulties of what you wish and the illeg.

It will have been an immense gain if the Med Council (comprised of men from all parts of the country) goes this year this far. And this done, we shall then be in position to get the aid of the Council to bring about a great good.

I will write again in a day or two. I expect I shall have the discussion on Monday not before. We have had now for two days a discussion on some legal difficulties which have thrown us back more than two days.

ff34-35 Acland letter to FN March 31 1873 embossed. I received your packet this morning with not a little compunction. I fear I have been giving you much trouble. I shall be glad if I do not in the end displease you, though to be sure even then I shall probably believe I did not deserve it.

But first may I thank you for the kind and hospitable message I received. I had had my breakfast and I ought not to run out of illeg at my committee.

Now I have modified the report as far as I cd to meet your wishes. It is wonderfully cut down and runs short to a marvel. But in this case I am sure half a loaf is better than no bread, and brown bread also better than none. This report will be a fulcrum for future work. I cannot but think it will be accepted. We have made the recs to be that the Committee (not the Council) shall do certain things, mainly make further inquiries and so prepare the way for the direction of future efforts.

On midwifery you will see the further revise, indeed probably tomorrow I may get one to you. But I have no hope of it for the printers except just in time to present it. Had it been delayed past today a year must have been lost.

ff36-37 Acland letter to FN Oxford April 5 1873. The printers could not let me have a finished copy of the report on women's educ before I left last night. So I send till he can give a tidy copy, a copy of the minutes you write there in the report as it passed. I was attacked because it was so voluminous. I fear you will be displeased that it is so meagre.

FM comment, f36v, pencil Acland letter Oxford 14 April 1873. I am able at length to send you the little report completed. And now will come the next step. That requires consideration. [FN red pencil: It does indeed. Mr Stansfeld is very desirous to have some system of registration at all events of the midwives, that who they are and when they are may be known.

I shall illeg on with caution The subject must be and will be thoroughly sifted.

FN red pencil: I hope so.

I hope you will excuse me for adding a little extra fragment extracted from the Contemporary of this month.

f36v

I fear you will be displeased that it is *so meager*.

[FN comment pencil] What *can* he mean by

this? I made him cut

off much - I wanted him to cut off more. FN

initialled comments written on a letter, f 38, pencil

f37 Now comes the question, what next? I have to ponder on that....

ff38-39 Acland letter to FN in, on pale blue, black-edged. Oxford April 14 1873

I am able at length to send you the little report, completed. And now will come the next step.

That requires consideration. FN red pencil: It does indeed.

Mr Stansfeld is very desirous to have some system of registration at all events.

initialled comments written on a letter, [FN red und]

of the Midwives, that who they are and when they ... known. [FN red und]

I shall proceed now with caution. The subject must be and will be thoroughly sifted.

f38v

FN red pencil: I hope so.

I hope you will excuse me for adding a little

f39

Extra fragment extracted from the Contemporary of this month.

FN blue pencil: *What is this?*

ff40-41 Acland letter embossed Oxford 22 July 1874 I am ignorant at the news you kindly send me. I of course "flatter myself" that a grave conversation with her immediately after she had declined had some effect. Any way I am glad. Tho I still wish she had more direct hospital duties, for she is illeg with her illeg. However we shall see. Now I am venturing to tell you that the Med Council has been pleased to let the p illeg It is certainly the most responsible post in our profession I know I may count on your help as far as you illeg And your help will be given by urging us on to our work and counselling us. It is better that any president can do illeg now a day in any office. But I imagine such a one may have often power to turn them a chin up tomorrow or down the. I return Miss Lees's letter with many thanks.

f42 Acland embossed.

Yet I imagine such an one my have often power to turn the machine up the ... or down the

signed letter, ff43-46, pencil

f43

35 South St
Park Lane W.
March 17/76

My dear Sir

I have to thank you for your most valuable pamphlet on Engineering & Public Health which I do most heartily.

The death of our dear friend Dr. Parkes fills me with grief & also with anxiety for the future of the Army Medical School at Netley.

He was a man of most rare modesty of: of singular gifts. His influence at the School: - there was not a man who did not leave it the better for having been under him: -is irreplaceable:
Dr. Acland

f44

But the knowledge & instruction he has diffused
-from the School as a centre - has extended &
will extend wherever the English language is
spoken: & beyond.

To me he is almost the last pledge of
those times with Sidney Herbert: (who founded
the School) - He was the mainspring of that watch

But I will not take up your time with
enumerating Dr. Parkes' powers & gifts: which
you can appreciate better than I.

But go on to tell you what we hear & what
we fear:

To us all, & to his Colleagues & to the School itself
his loss is the greatest calamity that could happen:
-especially now that economy is *talking* of
requiring the School itself to be discontinued

[All that could be saved in money" if this were
to be would be less than £3000]

In this country there is not continuity ~~of~~/in improvement

Every body thinks he can do better & does worse

The proposal mentioned has cropped up in
the brain of some one totally unacquainted with
Sidney Herbert's reforms & their reasons

There are now, as you are aware, *three Services*
benefitted by the School -the Army, the Navy, the

f44v

Indian.

If they would consider the question in all its bearings
before so fatal a step is taken as extinguishing
a School which has done & is doing so
much good, it never could be taken

[Sir Wm Muir, the Director Genl. of the Army
Medical Department is strongly in favour of
the School as he well may be.] I know no one who could help us with public
opinion as you could

NB

[What I have said of this danger is: *a mere rumour*
& must be treated as *a mere rumour*]

f45

[2]

Dr. Parkes died like a true Christian hero -
at his post. & with the simplicity of one. I think
I have never known such disinterestedness, such
self-abnegation, such unceasing & wise exertion
for others: such forgetfulness of self -

His death was like a resurrection:

When he was dying, he dictated letters - or gave
messages to every body: *all* about what ought
to be done *for the School* for the spread of
Hygiene knowledge, for other useful & army
purposes: *none* about himself

He actually wrote letters about our Soldier's Valise equipment

f46

about our soldiers' health, efficiency & comfort:
 -: & many other useful things pertaining to his
 various Offices - prepared papers &c, (one
 which will be published 2 months hence)
 till I think March 5, when he could no
 longer hold a pen - For some time, even before ~~this~~ this date
 he had been able to take no nourishment: [he
 died of Acute Tuberculosis] from March 1
 even speaking for a few minutes in a faint whisper
 quite exhausted him: on March 7 it was
 evident he could not last many days:
 but on March 9 he commended *the School* to
 Sir Wm. Jenner: & dictated a letter to me
 about Hygienic interests: merely saying of himself
 that he might be summoned to his last account,"
 before I received it On March 13 he rallied I was allowed
 to send down a Trained Nurse

On March 15 he died, perfectly clear in mind
 & leaving messages (by his friend Professor Longmore)
 as long as he could speak

It was truly the death of a hero. Let us
~~And~~ as he went to the sacrifice of himself:
 (he was only 56) with joy & praise - as the heroes
 of old: so part with him.
 But let us try to save what he would have saved

Excuse pencil: & pray believe me, dear Dr. Acland
 ever your faithful servt. Florence Nightingale

ff47-50 Acland letter to FN Oxford 12 May 1879 embossed, black-edged. I was
 so glad again to be allowed to see your handwriting on any subject. I believe
 the Oxford ladies are about to do a really good work. They have taken this
 month up in thorough earnest and only need advice and illeg

I have after 31 years thought it though it was a great wrench to give up
 the "infirmary". But I shall thereby be able to examine, I have no doubt a
 larger influence for good if I am fit to do so over ALL insts *including* the
 infirmary itself.

There have been numerous violent attacks on me in the "British Medical
 Journal for not attaching a regular and *complete medical school* at Oxford. I
 think Oxford has another work to develop, viz a complete organization of
 general and scientific education PRIOR to practical studies with the
 opportunity of studying all the subjects which are NOT
 part of a *regular medical school* as nursing, hospital construction, district
 nursing, dwellings, urban and rural sanitary admin and other allied subjects.

Therefore I do earnestly desire Miss Airy to come here and help us. The
 question is how this can be done. Our infirmary staff were determined NOT to
 have a thoroughly trained nurse and prevented. But the ladies now understand
 the matter we are trying illeg.

My daughter will ...I have not seen Lady Verney lately . It has been to me
 a heavy heavy winter. But I am trying to illeg

ff51-53 Acland letter to FN Oxford embossed 18 January 1881 [fair copy] FN pencil underlinings

I hope that my asking your advice on a subject which will I know deeply interest you will not give you much trouble.

I was last week at Portsmouth seeing my Artillery son off to Natal in the Palmyra, that most sad expedition of which I hope the end may be better than the beginning. I took the opp of going both to *Netley* and to *Haslar* to ascertain the truth or incorrectness of a report I had heard concerning *the Medical School at Netley*. At Netley I found a class of nearly a hundred, consisting of future army, navy and Indian surgeons I heard an entirely perfect lecture from the good Prof Longmore the subject being the latest conclusions of Eur and Am surgery on the tr of gunshot wounds. It was a simple privilege both in respect of matter and manner to listen to such a discourse. I need not say to you that his dept of med is only one of several, each I have reason to believe, *as well handled* [FN colour und]

by his colleagues. In short the impression was revived in one which Netley has always produced, and which I first derived through friendship with our dear and invaluable friend Parkes, that *Netley was raising the tone of the Army Navy and India Medical Services*. Now the report which has reached me was that *young naval surgeons were to be withdrawn from the school*, that the *professorship of naval hygiene was to be abolished* and that *Dr Macdonald the prof of naval hygiene was to be put on half pay*. Though I wd have no official kn of the fact, I believe the report to be substantially true. I looked upon the result with *dismay*. Since Parkes 20 years ago, exposed the inefficiency of applicants for army med commissions, I believe the whole tone and position of the med service has been greatly raised, and that as matters were, *the army, India and navy med services* were becoming filled with *highly instructed* and admirable men *through the influence of Netley* to a considerable extent. More...

ff54-56 Acland embossed Oxford. black-edged. Jan 31 1881. I am so much obliged to you for your clear and full statement of the case of Netley and Haslar.

I am not sorry that I had enquired about it, except for the trouble I have given you. But I see to feel convinced that if a naval school is good at Netley in army illeg or intended to then the nearly last thing will have been done.

I say nearly last cause I do believe the young illeg. FN red und
.... I entirely agree with what you say about the having ships and naval hospital for the illeg if a school.... I am quite sailor enough for this, ... But this would not illeg with some enthusiasm upon the particular advantages of Netley

signed letter, ff57-62, pencil

f57

Private *Please return to F.N.*
MOST PRIVATE July 4/87
{printed address} 10, South Street,
 Park Lane. W.

Dear Sir Henry Acland
You ask about the 1. *Army Medical*
 School

2. ARMY MEDL. DEPT.
 organization & wants"
Their "wants" are: to be flattered
 all round. Without this,
nothing can be done but offence
And first: 2.

Army Medical Dept.
 organization & wants"
It has not organization. It
has enormous centralization
[There is perhaps nothing like
this in Great Britain]

f57v

"Wants" 1, The Army Doctors
 now administer & command
 the Orderlies i.e. the Hospital
Staff --

They have no instruction in
administration

2. (a) They are the Sanitarians
 of the Army. Unique power
 is thus put into their hands.
 There is nothing like it in
 Civil life

But ask them, if they have a
single Sanitarian among them
And if they are candid they
will simply tell you 'No'

No practice is given them

f58

2(b) They are the Statisticians
of the Army

If an man sneezes at York
or has typhoid at Portsmouth
it is all reported within the
week

[There is nothing like this
in Civil life]

But this splendid engine
for Good is entirely nullified
-partly by the great centralization

Should not the P.M.O &
Sanitary Officer of *each District*
report the cases of (say:)
Typhoid or Pneumonia &c
the causes the Sanitary
remedies - & the results of those
remedies.

f58v

that have been applied.

[the report to be countersigned
by the Genl. Officer of the District]

This report *complete* x to
go in *weekly* to the Director-
Genl., or at stated short
intervals - for him to urge
instant *Sanitary measures*
~~to~~ upon it on the War Office
This would be one of the
most beneficent destructions
of centralization - this fixing
the Sanitary responsibility on
each District

x As it is no, the figures go in
weekly to the DG's office, are there
compiled by 20 clerks, & then shelved

f59

[2]

Wants" - Army Medl. Dept.

3. The Army Doctors have to arrange say the hours of Night Nursing, the supervision of Night Nursing

There is no arrangement of hours as in Civil Hospls.

When an Orderly has to do his turn on night duty, whether that turn is once in 2,3,5 nights, he has his day duty as well. *And there is no arrangement for his sleeping by day.* His sleeping is smoking

The Doctors are not taught *organization of hours.*

f59v

4. In the Army the Night Sentries have *Rounds*" to supervise them every hour or 2 hours or at short stated intervals

There is nothing of the kind in Hospitals.

They resent a good Serjeant's night supervision.

The Doctor (on orderly duty) does not make his rounds every 3 or 4 hours by night - or at all in most cases

This could be done by a stroke of the pen at our centralized Head Quarters.

Quite recently, in a well known Hospital, the milk of 3 Typhoid cases was taken by the connivance of the Wardmaster by the

f60

Night Orderly for themselves Fortunately it had been recorded in the Night book by a careful Sister exactly how, when, how much, the milk was to be given. The offence was proved. But the punishment was merely nominal

In the same way, Typhoid cases die of Haemorrhage because allowed to get up by the Orderlies

Now all this will be contradicted to you. I tell you these facts *for yourself alone.*

You must not quote any thing I have here put, please

f60v

5 Ask if Orderlies are promoted to be Wardmasters for *Good* NURSING or to be clerks &c: i.e. promoted *in their branch* - in Nursing for Good Nursing - not promoted to be Clerks &c for Good Nursing - whether: Medical Officers consult the Sisters in recommend Nurse-Orderlies for promotion, (where there are Sister)

6. Do all Medl. Officers give the Orderlies systematic clinical instruction - or only spasmodically?

f61

WANTS": A.M.D. [3]

7. Orderlies differ according to
their Medical Officer
By them can he be judged
8. There is no DISTRICT Field
Hospital instruction or organization
There is at Aldershot - but not
in every district ~~is~~ are a Field
Hospital men & officers exercised
together. The consequence is
that in time of war Field
Hospitals are pitchforked
together -literally no man
knowing his fellow or his Officer
What should you say of a
Regiment so organized?

f61v

9. Want of discipline/supervision in
food arrangement
The Orderly Medl. Offr. now has
to inspect all the food & the
meals- [Cooking amazingly
improved}
But he may pass the milk (say)
as fresh - And before it
reaches the Wards somebody
may have mixed stale
with it.
Again, who wardmasters
the Wardmaster?

f62

Please return these [5]
5 sheets to July 4/87
F.N. {printed address} 10, South Street,
Park Lane, W.

One question I do not quite
know how to answer.

Was there not a Blue Book
about the *Hospitals* about
the year 1860"?

I do not recall, (tho' I have
consulted Sir Douglas Galton)
a Blue Book on Hospitals"
-apart from the Barrack &
Hospital Commission's and
Indian Sanitary Commn. Report.
Lord Morley's Commn.'s Report
there is for wants at time of
Egyptian War -

f62v

and of course the Report
of Royal Commission of 1857-8
on the Sanitary State of Army
which described all the
THEN wants -
and out of which the
Netley School was evolved

f63 blank

ff64-67 FN pencil note: Please return to F.N. Acland letter Oxford 21 January 1888. I grieve to trouble you again about the nurses reg. I do not know the whole story. But I see there is a great embroglio brewing.

Dr Steele, and "the Hospitals" are going on with a plan of reg under "The Hosps Assoc" Mrs Fenwick with the matrons and Princess Christian at their head with another.

In order to simplify my own action and enable me of some use I have withdrawn my name from the "Hosps Assoc" and I have remained on the Nurses and the Princess Christian. I did the *former* because I saw they were so quarrelling among themselves that I cd not possibly attend the meetings. I was worse than useless and because I knew you were doubtful about it, when Dr Steele invited me some weeks ago. I remained on the latter because I thought that illeg *the Queen's gift* and Princess Christian illeg there was the best chance of promoting a wise settlement through that body.

But I have cautioned both parties of the great *difficulties* of the undertaking *legal financial and admin* and been illeg. At present both assocs are going on to organize their plan. If both do so there will be *two registers*. Of course this will never illeg. I have said nothing can be accepted without you. I do hope you have joined the Princess's tho' I know you hesitated. FN No

I shall be in London about all this next week prob I hope you are better. Lady Verney was much better when I was last there.

ff68-69 Acland to FN from Holnicote, Taunton 8 June 1868. I am following your ex, would I cd in more, by writing in bed, where I have confined by an illeg...When in Egypt two years ago I met Miss Dowston ?? daughter of the founder of the great (great in two senses) pottery in Lambeth, a charming person, there recruiting her health after long nursing a brother as he died.

She has now for some time trained but not for long courses as a nurse.

Her great desire is to *go India*. FN red und.

She is a person of power and brightness and I think would be an acquisition anywhere. Her mother is dead but her uncle (Sir Henry Doutan??) is head of the great ... She has applied for a place at Simla and hopes to go in a few weeks. Meanwhile *she is anxious to get leave to see the working of St Thomas' if that could be*. FN red und

But what I am venturing to desire is that she might have your counsel & "God speed" as to India. Can this be? I should be very grateful.

I hope you are really better. I wish they would order you to Lymouth or Torquay that I might sometimes come to see you out of London, when you are not so driven as you are

draft for a letter, **ff70-71**, pencil & pen

f70 {archivist: c1888-9}

[12:528-29]

To Sir H. Acland

REGISTER -Shd. be dropped

-premature at least

(essential difference between Registration

(of Nurses & of Doctors or Midwives

But Dr. Acland does not even

think midwives.

Wd. he say so to Pss. Xtian?

[Sir J. Paget completely discourages

[Regn. of Nurses

[thinks that of Doctors almost useless

[Lpool gives Certificates UP TO DATE

[to be renewed every 3 years

[Does Regn. of Nurses contemplate

[anything of this sort?

[Moral as well as professional character everything in a

[Nurse, kindness, patience, trustworthiness,

[self-control, discretion

[how are these intangible things to be registered **[end 12:529]**

Private Nurses- is direct

application to be made to Hospl. for her

CHARACTER? for Register

f70vX *Registration*

Dr. Steele not committed to the
Hospls. Assocn. plan - bonâ fide
desirous of collecting the best advice
- has sent round paper of enquiry
he sees the difficulties, but thinks
that, until something done by
leading Training Schools, *Registration*
will be established by other & less
competent hands - suggests to
begin with agreement among
principal London Hospl. Managers

HBC will talk to his Committee

X X X

Resn. referring to Commee. will Dr.
Steele as Chairman to report whether
Medl. Council or Hospl. Assocn or
some independent body Shd. establish
{crossed over other text}
complies with certain minimum corrections
Register

Dr. Acland proposes certifying or
registering Training Schools or Institutions
rather than Nurses his own Acland

Home & Mrs. Green's

Bond St.?

f71*Register*

What safe guards proposed?

A A 3 years' service? Right x

A stringent Exam".? Useless

- What against a case like *Christie*:

(taken on at Bond St. at once

without enquiry on statement

that she had been ? 3 years at St.

T's

Such get their 2 Gs a week

instead of one

[A.M.D. takes its lady Nurses

on so from such certificates with no

enquiry] {in tiny writing squeezed in between the lines}

x i.e. not nothing But *what does*

it prove? Medl. students can show more

Nurses will control themselves just for those 2 years

and what may be seen after

No Register but the honest

register of *Hospls. themselves* a safety

or protection

Pension Fund

II 2—(Gifts) 4 city men - Burdett's

Pension Fund £20000 required

by act if Parlt. to begin with

~~?Queen's gifts to Matrons' Assocn~~

f71v*Pension Fund*

? The £20,000? Not what it would
seem to be from newspapers.
Act of Parlt. requires deposit to be
made of £20000 for doing any
Annuity or Life Assurance business
as a guarantee until assets
amount to £40000. The
£20000 may then be withdrawn

Is the *interest* of the £20000
together with Nurses' payments, to make
?Sick & ? Superannuation Fund.

A gentleman has offered £250 to
cover this year's working expenses.
Burdett has asked H.B.C. to be a Vice
President, one of 30, & he has declined
continues his Registn. scheme as appendage
to Pension Fund.

You would not take even a servant
from a Register without writing to references
we don't take even a Pros:
?Queen's gift to Matrons' Assocn.

unsigned letter, ff72-77, pen, original Bodleian

f72

{written in corner}

Private

& Confidential B.N.A. July 14. 89

Mansion House 10 South St

Meeting Park Lane

W.

My dear Sir Henry Acland,

Sir James Paget was good enough
to give me a long & wise" & instructive
interview yesterday, according to
your desire.

I will sum up his wise" (as you say)
advice in answer to your 2 questions:

How to delay Mansion House
Meeting on Wednesday'

What Steps can Sir H. Acland
now take as to general question?'
as much as possible in his own
words.

N.B. I told him I was to write to you
his opinion: & repeatedly asked him:
May I say this or that from you to Sir
H. Acland?' He wished not to write himself

f73

- Let them go on
 - Competition is good
 - Let Sir H. Acland speak at the Meeting & *say nothing.*
 - Let *both associations* x go on: with their respective Royalties.
 - The royalties won't quarrel or fight.
 - It is the best thing in the world that they *each* have a Royalty.
- x** 1. The Hospital Association" (Mr. Burdett's)
out of which the National Pension" scheme came.
2. The British Nurses' Association" (Princess Christian's)

In answer to questions: e. g. It is said the BNA must break up, because they fight so at their own Meetings, chiefly about questions of power; before Princess Christian (in the Chair), who does not know how to manage them:

Sir James Paget, In all probability the B.N.A. *will* break up. They are without experience - (almost in your, Sir H. A's, words) of legal, professional, financial, or social - they don't know the difficulties - they are children-

Then in the H. A. (Hospitals' Association") Mr. Burdett will wish to do everything himself- because if he had been consulted before the Creation

f73v

God almighty would have been saved so many mistakes - None of the evils of this world would have Happened" x x x

Sir J. P. Let them both (B. N. A. 7 HOSPITALS ASSOCIATION") have a register if they like it -" x x x
The Privy Council will not give a Charter to both"- x x x but the rest may register."
The Queen *cannot* grant a Charter except after the most ample time given for counter-pleas & examination -
You may use this time-
No Charter can be passed in a hurry."

f74

Private

[2]

Sir James Paget. I have seen the Draft of the B. N. A'S proposed Charter - I told Sir H. Acland so.

It contains *no legal rights of exclusion from practice*
There is nothing in it to give legal power of exclusion, or of *getting the Nurses off the Register* -"

F.N. The B. N. A. says it constitutes their Nurses a legal professional body."

Sir J. P. It does no such thing: not with legal rights. And unless they take express powers in the Charter, the taking Nurses off the Register for misconduct or incompetency, (as you tell me they propose) is a difficulty amounting to an impossibility. The

£75

revising The Register yearly & bringing it up to date is a fiction - no one knows this better than Sir H. Acland All the Register can show, is that these Nurses *once were trained & once were respectable.* The Public will have to make enquiry just as much as before."

[F.N. Then how is the Register to increase the security of the Public against incompetent Nurses? or of competent Nurses against incompetent?

Not only does the Register do no good, but it confirms the unthinking Public in its erroneous idea of the value of a certificate or the (still less) value of a testimonial]

Sir J. Paget The Registration of General Practitioners in 1815 did good."

F. N. The Case of General Practitioners is quite different from that of Nurses, is it not? You don't require the same security as to conduct & character for your Doctor (General Practitioner) as you do for your Nurse. Things fatal against Nurses would not be so against Doctors.

Sir J. Paget did not allow this.

At the same time he said: How many Doctors made a large practice only from gossip - which of course no Register could touch.

[How much less could Nurses be touched ?]

f75v

He said: the only real security for the Public was for the Patient to dismiss an incompetent Nurse - the Hospital the same - and he ended by admitting that *delay* would be good - but that 30 or 40 years hence perhaps" there *must* be a Register for Nurses, as their profession became more & more filled with educated women - for a protection to them against uneducated women.

f76

Private

[3]

[F.N. told Sir Jas. Paget that the largest Nursing Interests, the Hospitals & Training Schools in London, Liverpool & Edinburgh - have already signed & are signing their Memorial for *postponement* of the B. N. A. Registration scheme - & have stated in it that they should feel it their duty to oppose by every legitimate means in their power" a Charter if on the lines of the B. N, A's Prospectus."

Sir Jas. Paget seemed refreshed & rejoiced at this, instead of depreciating it - And all thro' -in his wise" (as you say) gentle, terse & witty way, He seemed entirely inclined towards the row" & the

f77

clash of swords -

& by no means the B. N. A. and the
Princess Christian - or towards Mr. Burdett & the
H. A. -

or indeed to the lamb lying down by the lion at all,

- let them go on, he said.
- Let all go on; - protest, memorialize -
-fight their Charter.
- Let all have their innings.
- Don't let the Royalties have their's alone.
- Have Royalties on both sides.
- Let Sir H. Acland speak & say nothing.

[I don't mean he said all this. But on the
Whole he thought, ~~that~~/or seemed to think that
the wise ones - that's we - would be

Heads: we win. - Tails, they lose.']

He always concluded about Registers & Charters
with saying: I can only speak by *comparison*

with *men's bodies* - I can't judge for the women."

[F.N. It is another phase of that curious movement
that women don't want to be this or that, but
to be like men.]

f77v

Dear Sir Henry Acland - I have done your behest
however badly - I have a great deal to add,
which I will willingly do, if time
allows us (you & me)

ever yours sincerely & gratefully.

note, f78, pencil

f78

To Acland in answer to letters July 17,18/89

You think her (Pss Xtian) wrong - Has she shown any wish to enquire into what you think right?

I can only expound the Hospitals view -
~~Is-t~~ Does she wish to hear it?

Savory the only man of eminence who actively supports the B. N. A.

letter draft, ff79-88, pencil original Bodleian

f79

July 24/89 Most *Private*

Dear Sir Acland I have to thank you

as I do most heartily for 3 letters; the ~~last~~ third received last night with its enclosure, your letter to Mr. Wakley, Editor (or Proprietor?) of the Lancet -

i grieve & know with more ~~but am not~~ than surprised that you have suffered for your exertions during that visit to London which comprised Pss Xtian's Mansion House Meeting

To your first two letters I spared you an answer. But your kindness seems to call upon me for an answer to this.

First of all as to "hard words" you will, I am sure agree that the

f80v

: You will ~~probab~~ perhaps kindly like to hear what the impressions of people by no means belonging to the Burdett/Hospls. Assocn. but who have understood & helped the Hospitals in every wise & experienced way for perhaps a generation are about the Mansion Ho. Meeting as they themselves tell me

The more you disagree, the more a man like yourself ~~perhaps~~ wishes to hear both sides

A. The B. N. A. is killed - broken up at the Mansion Ho:" "They came to no Resolution - decided on nothing but to put off ~~the~~ a Charter for a year"

They flattered one another. praeterea nihil & that ilk

f81

[2]

Register ~~is to~~ should perhaps be a mere Directory
b. As to Midwives There is to be a bill in Parlt. for the Registration of Midwives as you probably know
The M. P. who told me this who has been engaged in all Hospl. & District Nursing work for 1/4 of a century, obtained that it should be put off till next season, because then it will be possible

to say to Pss Xtian (& to the Queen is she is interested): Here is what the B. N. A. wants. Can ~~you~~ H. R. H. not slide ~~it~~ the matter over to the Ho: of C. Bill? & let the B. N. A. be a mere

f82

Provident Fund for Nurses?" This M.P. is honestly more anxious for H.R.H.'s name than she is of her own.

c The Holiday Home' which the B.N.A. & Brudenell C have put forward is just what Nurses *don't* want. They want for rest & holiday to go home to their friends -to be entirely out of Nurses' atmosphere - mental & physical -those who have no friends, & some of those who have want to be helped each one to a different place - & are -
{box drawn around the next paragraph}

^3(5)

You must make please, no use of any part of this information, ~~if~~ you probably know it from her quarters - the nervous ones to be braced - The Consumptive ones to go to a southern sea - &c &c-
^each one to a different place -
or to go to a private family as guests - Many are now willing to admit them.

I have never heard any one really conversant with Nurse life who did not ~~strongly~~ hold this considered opinion -
d ^You have yourself strongly characterized as the Extensions"

f84

-that it reached such a pitch that tho' the Matron condoned it, the Hospital Committee were at last, obliged to interfere - and on the offence being repeated to dismiss several Nurses. The Matron has wisely abstained from forbidding intercourse with the said Lady Secy. either at her Office or elsewhere - tho' she knows that it continues -

I have told this thus briefly; ~~tho'~~ it might occupy a foolscap sheet, if I were to give the correct details

With business thus conducted, it would appear almost impossible for the Hospitals to come to any common ground - as much so as to say that the B. N. A. is ~~not doing~~ ~~active harm~~

f84v

g. To support Pss Xtian is not to drag her thro' the mud". This was said by those who are quite ignorant of &

I am afraid that if the B. N. A. continues very much alive, something of this sort will appear in the newspapers before the close of the year - The people are honestly anxious to save H. R. H. & not to injure her - They have no connection with any Association - but with the Ho of C. & are in no haste to act. This is Strictly Private.

f85

4. I am sure that your great kindness
 will pardon me if I say that I greatly/dearly
 regret my name having been mentioned to an Editor
 of a Medical Journal & what passed
 in private conversation with you. by you the
 acknowledged head: the Medl. Profr. to publicists the
 word "Confidential" is nil.
 Suffer me to say that I have resisted the urgent solicitations
 of some whom I most respect of ~~those~~ many
 with whom i am most friendly - also the
 intervention of Sir Harry Verney who to-day was so
 convoked to make me sign as ~~almost~~ to make me to yield

f86

to sign the Memorial - My name has
 not appeared in any ~~wa~~ public way
 whatever connected with it -
 & should not while things are in this
 confused state & as you so truly say this terrible party spirited
 state -

I had hoped that it would not be
 mentioned without my sanction in any
 way - public or ~~what~~ private - or in a
 "confidential" way which is equivalent to
 publicity - I have been particularly
 counselled to keep out of the 'row'
 & have done so -

Please pardon me if i earnestly
 beg your kindness to help me in doing
 so ^ ^ 5

No one will hear of this letter to you -

I trust that you are better & will
 take care of yourself ~~no~~ if only for the sake
 of your very many friends, of whom I will not say
 I am one of the chief where *all* are chief

Believe me ever yours sincerely F.N.

f87**^2**

In regard to Dr. Bristowe
Excuse me too if I say that the Hospitals
do not at all recognize Dr. Bristowe
as their leader organ & his being
President of the Hospls. Assocn. decidedly
militates against ~~this~~ instead of contributing
to his being the Hospls. leader
^ Pray if your letter to Mr. Wakley has
not been sent yet
might I ask you ~~to take out~~ as a great favour & kindness to erase my poor
my name

^3

note, f88, pencil

f88

Sir H. Acland

Now they can have trained Nurses, now the Doctors
are so highly educated, Cottage Hospitals follow
but will not supersede County Hospls.

letter, ff89-92, pencil

f89 {archivist: ca early Mar 1891}

My dear Sir H. Acland Confidential {printed address, slanted}

Telegraph

Steeple Claydon, Bucks.

After all your kindness to me, I reproach myself with not having kept you au fait of what passed with regard to Pss Xtian's movement in favour of Registration of Nurses, & ~~their her~~ Assocn's recent application to the Bd. of London for a licence - & the consequent movement of nearly all the great Hospitals in London against it, But no {printed address vertical}

Claydon House

Winslow

Bucks.

doubt you have better informants than I.

And I have really not had a moment.

But what I venture now to suggest to you is this

There was an ~~excellen~~ unanimous meeting at St.

f90

Thomas on Feb 27 of a very large proportion of London Hospitals & ~~other~~ authorities Medical & other who unanimously passed Resolutions against any present Registration & the application to the B. of L., Sir R. Alcock moving the first -

[I have ~~seen~~ the Articles of Association of the B. N. A. -which are to be presented to the B of T. & in the words of I forget whom "Sir, you do not know the strength of the expression I am keeping back]

But not withstanding the agreement of so large a number of [~~illeg~~] authorities Medical & technical, Sir M. Hicks Beach very wisely feels that he must have medical authority to set against that of such names as *Sir F. Paget, H. Acland, Sir J. Paget & Sir D. Duckworth* No one can wonder or feel aggrieved at this And what I venture now to suggest to you

I understood from your kindness that you did not like to write to Pss Xtian to enlighten her upon the real issues of the case & thought it useless also that you thought when the G has given

f90v

so large a sum to the Nursing cause, ~~wh~~ to be devoted to District Nurses, named after herself, you thought it ungracious not to stand by the daughter of the Sovereign.

Would you think well to write your present views about the matter to *Sir M. H. B.* (not of course at my or any one's suggestion but your own)? This would ~~of course~~ indeed have great weight.

The 2nd suggestion I venture to make : is that as the D. Of Westminster's protest is one of the strongest

f91

[2

against the Registration, & the D. Is Chairman of
 the District Nurses & of the Q. V. Jubilee Nurses
 this does away with any ungraciousness - the D.
 Sir R. Alcock & Sir Jas. Paget being the 3
 principal persons on the Q's gift - & the first
 two having pronounced so decidedly -

But the world is full of cross-purposes: none,
 I think, more curious than this - Sir M. H. B. is
 resting very properly his authority on 3 great men
 I am addressing the first - Nestor as you know,
 I saw at your request - I had a delightful 2
 hours with him. If I had wanted arguments on our

f91v

side I shd. have taken his -{printed address} Telegraph

Steeple, Claydon, Bucks

excepting / including this that ~~he gave her name~~ names are given to
 a "busy body going in at Court - And I derive
 from him the conclusion that Registration must
 come (~~when we are gone~~) years & years hence & we must work
 up to it "Well, mister, says, 'What you zay, I zay too"

As for Sir D. Duckworth: Confidentially he
 has said the Pss knows nothing {printed address} Claydon House,
 Winslow
 Bucks.

About it or she does knot know what
 she is about -

All this is in the strictest confidence -
 audaciously I suggest to you {written across the bottom & side of the page}
 But

whatever
 you think
 well to do
 you will
 I am sure
 kindly think
 How well not to name the

f92

Did you know Sir S. Northcote's story {printed address} Telegraph
Steeple, Claydon, Bucks

about the Cornish Jury?

I think I/you could make as good a story

about your 3 selves as the Jury whom Sir H. M.

Beach has appointed to decide the matter of

Pss Xtian v. The Hospitals

"Well, mister," says he, "what you zay, I zay tu"

{printed address} Claydon House,

Winslow

Bucks

ff93-96 embossed Acland letter to FN 14 March 1891 re presenting Russian, re present distress, give up my post. Miss Helen Norman; Paget; do you know the duke of Bedford well?

I am very sorry to have been so long before writing to you. I am not like you, able to work when I am ill. I have ... been out of my room for more than 6 weeks, ... for the illeg the "Russian illeg" I hope it is that because that implies a cessation to the present distress. If it continues I must give up my post. And yet I would rather strive one, following your example at my long distance.

... now the nurses business is wretched. I can learn nothing about it. I have had dark hints about their many affairs but we really cannot trust to these I am told that a certain Miss Helen Norman of 19 St Mary's ... Paddington was an asst sec and knows all manner of things (which she not write). But I have written to her in vain. , not been able to see Lady Mary Glyn I believe knows her.

Paget (the illeg_ ought to help us. But he is not disposed to interfere. I feel ...

Do you know the Duke of Bedford well? Spectator...

on a letter, **ff97-100**, pencil, Acland to FN 14 April 1891, from Bovey Tracey, Devon. FN underlinings, hard to read

f97

Please

return to

F.N.

Since I wrote last to you in reply to yours concerning the President of the Board of illeg I have been so unwell that ... Sir Harry...

I write then now for a particular object. I wrote very fully to the Empress Frederick about the Nursing Registration ... She telegraphed to me last week to come to London and see which I did. The result was that illegs to have a committee or take some steps to obtain a ... report on the whole... FN !!!

f98 ... Princess Christian. [hard to read],,, She told me she had been to see you and remarked that *you had not alluded to this affair* FN red und. and we agreed to... I return to Oxford [hard to read]

ff101-02 Acland letter to FN from Oxford, 22 April 1891 obliged by your little note re registration

ff103-04 embossed Oxford Acland letter to FN 23 April 1891 with FN underlinings

I am very sorry you will have had to write *two* letters. I ought to have said the The leader in today's Times is written I doubt not by one of the Registration Committee, who is a master of modern articles. I fear it means a great strife. The committee is a large one with ... good name and John Bull will not admit he is wrong and ... It is idle labour to speculate at resent but i see it will be sufficient to charge after the Princess Christian portrait engraved on the Register in the Motto. It is an ... to be regretted. However I shall have your advice. I have

ff105-06 April 25 1891. My dear Miss Nightingale You will like to know something of what happened yesterday at *Marlborough House*. FN unds

Shortly after I arrived Mr Burdett came and Sir James Paget, the Prince and Princess were most attentive to what was said to each and asked many questions. The result was that great difficulty of the

ff107-envelope Acland to FN May 8 1891, with FN note:

Wants
information
about Registration
midwifery
B.N.A.
& about Lady Dufferin's
Fund

ff108-09 Acland letter to FN from Oxford embossed 9 May 1891 with FN blue pencil note and underlinings

Please

return to

F.N.

I was in London yesterday hoping to ask if I mt impose. But it was impossible and today I had to get ...This last was partly because I wanted to be within call tomorrow if Dr illeg wanted me. But I have a most ... I have to be away for a special ..I shd have been very glad too cd I have ... illegs red und. Re Charter not settled

f110 Acland letter to FN 19 Jan [a guess] date, 1892 FN blue pencil note
Please return to

F.N.

letter, ff114-17, pencil draft letter to Acland, original Bodleian

f114

Jan 18/93

10, South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane, W.

Dear Sir Henry Acland

Yes, please, on Monday.
Will 5.15 suit you?

Are the Certificates which
you are kindly going to
present to Nurses at St.
George's in the East?

Of everything in
"what is to be said" at a
particular place depends
on what the *training* is, ~~enc~~
what the *length of service*,
what to be certified -

~~[they give~~ Certificates
are given
after **6 months** service at
Hospitals of the
Metropol: Asylums Board
~~Hospl.~~ where there is no

f114v

no pretence at training!!! ~~And these
are accepted at the Hospitals!]~~

Now for the larger question

-the ~~one~~ essential
question - more essential
"now" than ever - viz. The
character, the moral
discipline of the Nurse
as a woman. It is
not technical training
only which makes a
woman into a Nurse

And 2. What is the moral
& technical discipline
which she will receive
when armed with her
certificate, of which the

f115

public does not know the
value, she leaves her
Infy. Or Hospl.

We are glad to think
that the Medl.
Profession

are in some degree
awakening to this -

Is there to be nothing
between the "Profession"
& that is, the Army & the
individual?

People would think this
disastrous, ridiculous in
the Army. *There* there is
the company, the Regiment,
the Corps, The 'Tommy Atkins'
&c &c &c. No one thinks

f115v

that the soldier *is vouched*
for by belonging to the
 Army, the "Profession" -
 It is 1000 times more
 necessary where the Private
 Nurse ~~is~~, after she has left
 her Hosp. but is still in
 her "Profession" becomes an
 "irresponsible" ~~atom~~ nomad [People
 little know what the
 conversation of these Nurses
 is]

But the Medl. Profession
 is beginning to know -
 "Take a Nurse who has
 "been 6 months away from
 "her School or Hospl.? No
 "thank you, she has deteriorated
 "from her Certificate" said

f116

[2]

one the other day.

One Hospital Sister is
 as unlike another, tho'
 with the same "qualification"
 as can be. The tone of the
 one influences our Students
 to all that is right - of
 the other to much that is
 wrong *or not at all*
 says another.

I could multiply these
 instances as inf.

As you ask me, I venture
 to think that this one thing
 to call Nurses
 to "now" is

1.the need of what no
 certe. can certify, no

f116v

Examn. Can touch

and 2. The necessity of attaching herself to some Home with motherly & trained supervision, so that she *may* have some 'esprit de corps' to guide & support her. This applies of course to Private Nurses especially.

We venture to think that there is ~~no~~-little real analogy between the Medical (or "Pharmacy") Profession - & the "Nursing Profession" -

We venture to think that Nursing in the Social

f117

(or "State") sense is not a Profession at all, but a calling, as you are aware -

A Physician of the Hospl which has put itself most forward about "Registration" & "Profession" expressed his opinion forcibly when he said that it could end in nothing but an "inferior class of Medl. Practitioners" especially in the country.

As to "India" to turn a class of Nurses up-coming without other supervision but the Doctor's takes one's breath away. [in one branch of this matter the

f117v

consequences already have
 been disastrous]
 Lastly, how much has been
 purely 'doctrinaire' in
 all these ~~discussion~~
 Registration & Certificates
 advocacies. The
 advocates have not
 themselves believed in it.
 Your kindness to Sir Harry
 & the younger Harry
 is beyond thanks.
 {printed address, upside down:}
 10, South Street,
 Park Lane. W.

Ff118-19 Acland letter to FN by 29 March 1893 going to Oxford, re women's qualification

ff120-23 22 April 1893 Acland letter to FN with FN underlinings. I have just landed from Gibraltar and Malta. Torquay...Sir Lothian Nicholson, gov of Gibraltar talked with me much of the life and death in the Crimea. General Gordon his often comrade in the Mines.

I am writing to you directly in consequence of finding a letter from Princess Christian telling me she is about to hold a meeting of the "Royal British Assoc of Nurses" at Oxford *in a few weeks*. In the letter HRH says "The assoc is surely and steadily making its way and we have the happiness of seeing the good results of much of its labours. I am more keenly and certainly interested in its work and welfare than ever."

Two things with regard to a meeting a Oxford are clear to me, 1st if I attend it illeg to the of nurses "sans remede" and then 2 to its mgt by HRH's council and mangers. You may remember that when Mrs Fenwick and her friends quarrelled with the "hospital assoc" and within a week obtained HRH as their president, and Paget, I and two or three more were made into illeg I agreed under protest as you were not connected with it and illeg

I felt I cd not oppose the queen's daughter. The queen having just then given her ,000 to found the Queen's Nurses. [FN und in blue] I think I was right. But the division among the well intentioned illeg in the assoc, the hosps and the Pension Fund is deeply lamented by me, now as ever.

Is it not possible [FN red und], as I once at Claydon asked you to agree to the insts that train acc to an "approved plan" sending to a central body the names of their approved nurses, and the whole body publishing these lists? [FN red und]. This is the legal arrangement of the Medical Council [FN blue und] in relation to all the licensing bodies, illeg corps, colonies. Shall we stipulate for this in a charter, which I doubt not sooner or later will be obtained. Do advise me [FN red und]. Since HRH joined the soc naturally attracted all manner of plumes in numbers to support her. They will never rest. Is not the only practical course to help to make the movement as good as it can be made [FN red und] I shall be in Oxford in a day or two and

shall soon see our dear Sir Harry.

fF124-26 Acland letter Oxford 23 June 1894 The plot for me has thickened as regards the Nursing Assoc. [FN red und] I have just learned that the assoc is to hold its annual meeting here on 25 July: the Princess Christian coming. I am asked to take the chair. I do not see that I can refuse. Paget and I and two or three more were made vice-presidents *directly* HRH had illeg, i.e. a few days after the division at Guy's Hosp.

They have the Charter illeg in it illeg Paget, Wells, Savory, Quain, Poyser, Hay Thompson, Duckworth, Gassord [?], Humphrey [FN blue und] 14 Matrons and many others. They have power to maintain and publish a list of persons who may have applied to have their names enlisted as nurses [FN red und] &c

But you probably know and have seen the Charter.

I shall never cease to regret that somehow the Princess had not been drawn into the matter. But she has been and has thrown herself *thoroughly* [FN blue und] into it, and will establish it by force of energy and her great illeg.

I feel that even if I were well enough to work at it with them I shd be of no real service. This you will see by looking at the list of names of illeg that I have been quoted [FN blue und].

FN note, written on an envelope, f127, pen & pencil, stamped Oxford JU 23 93

f127

Please

return to F.N. [written across the corner]

We wished to

avoid as much as

possible all

matters of content

&. We did not

as some would have wished

add a further clause indicating

that we still adhered

to our objections that any such list of

Nurses so proposed wd afford no

trustworthy guide

to the Public & Medl Profession & will

f127v

{written on the three sections of the back of the envelope}

The mere facts of ~~the~~ dealing with
individuals shows it to be

worthless - worse applying
to the Institutions

{on side} *She* misapprehends

the whole bearing of the case

{upside down} be detrimental to the progress of

sound principles of Nurse

training & to the interests

of Nurses themselves

f128 Acland letter Oxford 15 July 1893. I was greatly concerned to see the two letters of the 2nd and 6th in last week's paper. It is all too sad. It is something like the Cameleon story. But it began in disasters. When Mrs Fenwick swarmed off at the Guy's meeting, and was able to catch the Princess, two things were clear, the Princess was in a false position, but in *some* way she would succeed. At every stage there seemed to be something wrong. The letters in the paper were grievous. Of course she did not write them, *but as president she adopts them.*

And now there is a *charter and incorporated in it Paget, Lister, Spencer Wells, the president of the Medical Council* [FN blue pencil "Who?"] and many others of more or less note. That is a fact. *If we say they will not and cannot do rightly and wisely John Bull will lose his temper.* In the list are no doubt and always have been many not the least entitled able to advise. But they are there and the Queen's daughter is at their head. I have been put in great difficulty. *They hold an "annual meeting" in Oxford on the 24th, the Princess asks me to "take the chair* I had to say Yes or No. I felt I shd provoke ill feeling and perpetuate it by saying No, so I said Yes. *But I am wholly on the illeg as to who comes, who speaks, what motions there will be. I wish you would write me a letter of your opinion of what should now be done. There is the Charter* [FN not (a). *There are the "lists." Move for a smaller committee with Paget or Lister chairman and yourself* [FN blue pencil !!] *as lady to advise* [FN red und] It would be grand and worthy of you and do them good all ways practically, tho really administratively. It an opportunity. I have had a very kind letter from the Princess, *I am not in the cluster with all the illeg and had never seen it till the other day.*

What is coming to the acute restlessness of the age--war? Unbelief? Loss of proportion? Yet an amount of attention ever paralleled in every direction. Sir Harry is so well -so good... an amount of good

ff132-35 Acland letter Oxford 1 July 1893. FN. Blue pencil No. 2

I wrote on Saturday before leaving for my daughter in law the captain's wife who is naturally in a most. At the natural disaster of the Victoria which her husband illeg. And there she is alone will two children for illeg. ...more on Queen's daughter. Much FN und. Shall I write to the duke of Westminster? I do not see that I can do more. But what can he do?

ff136-37 Acland letter Oxford 4 July 1893. embossed. I am really concerned at

not having a line, not even a rebuke from you.

I have seen the Princess today at Cumberland Lodge and I said very much what I said to you. I told her that it was now little use to discuss whether the Charter was good or might have been better. There it is with all its shortcomings, now after all the rough correspondence on both sides. Can we help them to make the illegs. They have power to do what they like [FN pencil] i.e. subject to approval of Privy Council

My feeling is that they have been rough advice?? & suspect Mr Burdett is one, on your side Who illeg FN blue pencil !!

The Princess and Dr Thorne spoke with great personal regard and respect, all ways for you Will you ask to see him? May I ask him.

....Meeting here Monday morning.

ff138-39 Acland letter 22 July 1893. embossed. FN red pencil. No. 1

I was both touched and startled by your telegram. I found it meant you had been writing very early, too early. And this was partly true....re assoc. Atmosphere. FN und....

I am just able to catch one last London post- so I shall not write at length. As far as I understand the matter, I cannot illeg..... I hope to be able to compare my thoughts and arrange them as to something of the nature you say. But I have no intention of making an "address" as is put in the agenda. I believe they ... My part ...400 nurses....

Thee is the Charter and a Princess of England the head of it supported ...by a crowd of men of distinction, Paget, Lister &c. HRH said that yesterday. But I am afraid she does not know how many from their names not to illeg. [FN red und]...

I entirely agree with what you tell me, with as much weight of the relative value of hospitals. I shd not illeg 30 for a rep board.

Ff142-43 Acland letter Radcliffe Library, Museum, Oxford 26 July 1893 FN re pencil No. 2

I greatly desire to see you, not for any trouble, the contrary. I want to tell you about Monday, my reservations and conclusions, generally. The strongest person of the party is RHH The whole meeting was "private." None but members of the assoc were admitted. The only medical men were: Dr Fenwick, Dr Thorne, Sir D Duckworth Dr Scholfield. There was no discussion. A report was read, mainly as to the advantage of the charter. Angie and I had to give serious tea at two oc to HRH and 130 nurses. My impression is that the chartered corp has a very difficult task upon it. There was no jar of any kind I must be at the House of Commons tomorrow with the speaker on business at 5. If you cd see me between 1 and 4 I wd come any time you name.

Ff144-45 Acland letter 26 July 1893 FN blue pencil embossed.

No. 3

Your very welcome and most kind telegram has reached me safely. illegs I shall hope to arrive at 2.25. You must not let me tire you and send me away when you will. I think I now quite understand the cause of the difference but how the controversy has been so illeg I cannot understand. [FN red line I margin]

It is certain that now the self constituted body has a very difficult and

grave task to perform. Whether the central advisers are equal to it remains to be told. I wonder whether you read the heart breaking events of the Victoria.

note, f146, pencil, notes from meeting

f146

Sir H.A

July 27/93

Appearance of the Nurses? noisy, untidy, hair, rings

Some sort of uniform,

badge pretty & not of worth to joining Assocn. For

-same tone in the whole

3 years' training? means what?

Dr. Thorne to see?

[Rank means knowledge - Highest rank = highest

Knowledge

H.R.H. so gracious & charming

Difference in Hospitals?

Is not the main difficulty that they do not

understand the difficulty of their task?

Sir D. Duckworth {written up the side of the page}

ff147-48 Acland letter to FN 28 July 1893 Oxford. embossed. to Ruskin tomorrow. I trust you were not overtired yesterday. I think I was clumsy but I was anxious you shd know all I know wh wd in better English be how little I knew.

What I am clear about is that the volunteers have undertaken a very difficult

FN pencil note: say rather impossible

now national task and that this org for the purpose is however good in their intentions a very unfortunate one.

This is no more than I have felt from the first. But it is I think now so serious as you have always said that it is in the interest of some 20,000 or more nurses, and of all the sick in this country illeg men like Wm Rathbone and Mr Bonham Carter and the duke of Westminster to work at things as they are under charter. I feel the Princess is so strong and so good that if the best arr is made known to her, she will try to carry it out. I think as far as I can judge the Fenwicks are illeg and Sir W Savory the leader. But I also believe if you and the Princess can meet there will be some common action for good. Her followers or rather leaders will not go against her convictions.

Pray forgive me, believe me to be ever gratefully yours etc.

ff149-51 copy of Acland letter to Your Imperial Majesty, from Grassmere 9 August 1893. May it please your Imperial Majesty a few days since I ventured to address to your imp maj an Oxford newspaper with an account of a meeting of the Royal Br Nurses Assocn Oxford.

HRH the Princess Christian, though I fear much over taxed by many good and useful works, came herself, having desired that I shd take the chair. Though very unwell, I remained in Oxford for the purpose for, I believed that so doing I might be allowed to *aid in the hope of united action for the good of*

the sick, the nurses and the progress of the best treatment of disease, acute or chronic.

During the queen's reign the position of women in relation to medicine is wholly changed and that of nurses not the least.

Now that the Nurses Assoc has a Charter the questions are materially altered.

The deep interest wh your imp maj has taken in the whole subject, its great importance in several ways so young and old, rich and poor, your maj's comprehensive views expressed graciously some two years since and more recently I know to Miss Nightingale induce me now to write seeking advice at a very critical moment. I do this for a practical purpose. There is now an opportunity for heartily combined action by the several bodies and insts who are really anxious to organize once for all, and in the best manner the "profession" of nurses in Great Britain.

It is quite clear that this will be done in some way as the medical profession has been by Act of Parl, as san insp, plumbers are over in the course of being by voluntary assoc. It is one of the movements of the century's last years.

Two things seem just now desirable. First, that no step shd be taken till the autumn by anyone. Second the Prince of Wales shd be induced (as I feel sure he wd if your im maj wd ask him) to invite two or three reps of the hosps, and two or three independent persons such as Lady Dufferin and Mr Rathbone (Lord Brassey or Lord Wantage) two or thee from Nursing insts to meet HRH the Princess Christian.

Wd that it were possible for your imp maj to be present! Or that not being so, to write a letter or memo in communication with Miss Nightingale.

I have already named this or some such proposal to Miss N, but not as yet to the Princess Christian, for I thought HRH was not well and that on every ground the matter had better rest. When Sir Michael Hicks Beach was considering the propriety of incorporation as a company ltd the difficulty as your imp maj will remember was not so much the abstract question of "registering" as by whom, and under what conditions.

It does not seem to have been taken into account by some writers and speakers that the Medical Council framed a register of persons already certified to be qualified by one or other of all university and medical corps of Gr Br and further that the council consisting of one rep appointed under the act by each of the great bodies with six by the crown, and now six by the whole Med profession[much more in letter]

FN note, ff152-53, pen & pencil

f152

Commentary on Mile End Infy training papers sent by Sir H. Acland -
Jan. 1894

All the papers sent do not
constitute ground for a certificate
of competency.

f152v

"household or domestic matters only", it is reverting to the old system, now thoroughly disproved by experience.

The "Nurses must be responsible" for the state of the wards to the *Ward Head Nurse* for whose responsibility the Matron is responsible which she may exercise thro' the Assistant Matron -But According to this No 3 the

Assistant Matron is responsible for the Nurses to the Matron who is *not* responsible. The Ward Head Nurses are the stones to the whole situation, thro' whom the trained Matron acts *Paper No. 4 Nearly "Examination for Nurses"* Nearly all these questions might be answered by a person of good education who had never touched a Patient.

"Copy" No 5. The Examiner himself seems clearly to point to this in his letter of July 27/93

He places a Nurse in "*second Class*" who "wrote the best answers on *Nursing*"!! And the solitary occupant of *Class first* is proposed "as a model", tho' he states that the "questions on "Nursing" (generally) "were not answered so satisfactorily

f153

Private all the papers sent do not constitute ground for a
Certificate of Competency

Mile End Infy Training

This Certificate is defective for the following reasons according to our
view 1. because it has no Matron's

signature

2. because "conduct" & "attention to
"her the Nurse's duties", being put last & as only
"also satisfactory" is, to say the
least of it, *unsatisfactory*
3. because "Examinations" really
prove only general education
& not nursing power.

What *is* a *competent Certificate*?

- In 2. "Memorandum on Nursing at the Infirmary"
6. The "Instruction in Bed-side Nursing" must
be given *not* by the "assistant Matron" still less in
"a different ward on each day of the week"-
but continuously by the "head Nurse" to
the Probationers *in her own Ward* - And if she
is not fit to do this, she is not fit to be
Head Nurse at all
 3. "Memorandum respecting the duties of the
"Assistant Matron"
There *must* be a *trained* "Matron" - And
she must be at the head of the Nursing
including the Training - If she "attends to

note, f154, pencil gray paper

f154

Emp Fred is in acc
is in accord with one
that your proposals are not
practicable

note, ff154v-55, pencil

f154v

Sir H. A.
 With reference to a Control
 body wh
 shd decide on what
 Hospl are capable to
 train or not ~~we shall~~
 be guided by certain
 viz regulations such
 as you suggest should be laid down
 by the RBNA,
 the Queen's Jubilee
 Fund Council &
 myself - the time
 is not ripe for any
 such scheme --The
 public opinion of
 Hospitals could not
 submit to any dictation

f155

Miss DeLaney March 14/94
 Gray's Anatomy
 1244 beds
 1400 in winter
 sterilize

Furneaux's Physiology

 for us
 Charteris' Practice of
 Medicine
 Husband's " "

f155v dubious hand continues, pencil
 & what is more
 important, the Hospital
 Managers are not
 yet imbued with the
 perception of what is
 requisite for the
 proper conduct of a
 Training School-
 these illeg
 arrangements with
 not teach them

The task of the Corporate
Body wd be in a very
invidious one &
could not be
carried out in practice.

Ff156-60 Acland letter to FN Torquay 8 April 1894. I received your most welcome letter now a fortnight since or Wednesday after Easter. You would have heard long since but I have not been in a condition to do much.

On Tuesday in Holy Week the 20th I had a sharp sudden attack of Aphasid wh was for about 4 hours...by God's providence was practically gone in 24 hours. I am not surprised. I have for months past though such an attack, or one much more serious, likely at any time, from perpetually recurring vertigo, and therefore to my great sorrow I felt it wd be wrong to go to Sandringham to meet the noble hearted beloved empress. The doctors wd not let me travel for some days, and I felt it wd be horrid for the princess tho is a thoroughly kind friend.

Well, that is too long a story. But it is the reason why I have done nothing in the last fortnight and more.

I was grieved to hear that you were sill so ailing, busy and overdone and ...you wd be and hope you have sleep and freedom from your blessed conditions in public health such as is given to you.

Now for the subject of your letter and its several propositions. You may be surprised but I virtually accept them each and all. My letter was virtually an ultimatum. I cd not think any power other than the Queen cd untie and adjust the forces that have so long contended. From your letter, which gives your own

write and illeg

...T shall take some opp of telling the Princess Christian this is my conc and the future ...the "corporation" Acland a "vice president" I have not been able to remove? Dr Thorne.

Ff161-62 Acland letter Torquay 15 April 1894. I am sorry to hear of you still so ailing. I enclose you another letter wh to my mind only makes the tangle more tangled, except in one way, that it is certain that the various insts, corps and illeg will go on their own way and with the evil and as well as the good of compt=setting and rivalry of attraction. If I cd do any good by withdrawing my name from all I should. But my work is near done and I shd be sorry to add a note of discomfort when the objects are in various ways illeg and good.

I think you will illeg by the royal seal of the corp. I am allowed to return to Oxford next week for half work preparatory to I am sorry to say greater work.....I have burnt your letter as you desire. It is very doubtful now whether I shall be able to count going to HRH among necessary duties. I shd only have to say illeg that I feel that my power of helping is over from the many illeg that have ...

F163 Acland note. PS Since writing I hear from the empress that she is in England now for so short a time that she will not be able to enter fully upon this. But another time, later, hoped toyou will see her Majesty.

note, f164-65, pencil

f164

Sir H. Acland 19/12/95
 70 Nurses & Household
 Are the Medical School &
 Hospital combined
 as at Cambridge? already
 Residents come from Medl School
 improvement
 County, University & City
 combined
 Lack of money - no Nurses'
 Home - for Nursing as other
 Dept.
 Representation on Commee.
 necessary - now all
 Doctors - Mayor - more
 powerful Commee wanted
 will pacify the Univy &c

f165v

[2]

Connect Ex --Hosptl with
 Ratcliffe - now in a [Radcliffe]
 dismal block with
 separate Commee.
 Acland District Nursing
 Connect with Queen's
 Jubilee without
 separating it from
 Acland -
 Why prefer the Acland
 Private Nursing Home to
 Ratcliffe for students?
 To live on your Probns
 -all small Hospls mischief makers

ff166-67 letter Oxford embossed illeg 1898 I send you by book post the various little retrospect by Keith and fear a very poor addition to your library, but still in this time of change and progress worth your looking at.

I was and am very grateful for all your kind help and advice on Thursday. It leaves much unsettled in my mind as to my duty about the medical missions, and after I have seen Sir Wm Hunter and the master of Balliol again I shall write to you. I suspect that Oxford from various causes cannot do much. The inf e.g. is not a training school comparable to St Thomas or at Edinburgh.

I have no clear return after all what illeg We cd ...the Eye Hosp which is a really good thing paying to the inf over £100 a year

notes, ff 168-69, pencil

f168

Sir H. Acland 26/7/97

Dr. Quain: Private Nurses

so sad

Mr. Wainwright: Private Nurses

so bad

Nobody makes the
distinction

launched into the wards
with nothing but self
no loyalty: no discipline
only on the threshold of training

but it is a new thing
women are to influence thro'
love & kindness - Queen a woman
not men, thro' cannon
Mr. Birdwood

f169v

Nurses - *conduct* [2]

Missionaries - not that
dogma - thro' what they are

Doctoring - ditto
revolution in the World

Gowers Sir W Dr
for nerves & heart

f170 note South Metropolitan District Schools

note, f171v, light pencil

f171v

Of course

he admitted that

By & bye

Well that's just what he says
that his idea is quite as
much for us as for his

Workhouses -

note, f172, very light pencil JS rough hand

[6:392-93]

f172

There is a proposal to apprentice workhouse
girls in London Civil Hospitals with the
view of their eventually becoming trained
Nurses & in this way to get a living

Their highest age is 16 & it is
proposed that they should not become
Nurses in their own account until they
arrive at the age of 25. Will you
tell me what you think of the feasibility
of such a scheme. Could you find
hospital employment for girls of these
ages which would be useful to them in
after life? Would there be any question
to their introduction into hospitals specially
because there were students at the Medical
School. (In short if the proposition
were made to you to undertake say
half a dozen of these apprentices could you
do it with fair hope of making them
Nurses after 9 years service.

f172v {archivist: [ca 1 May 1865]}

M.F.

The whole question of apprenticing girls to London Hospitals for 9 years with the view of their becoming Nurses is of so much importance that I shall not write you my opinion in full for a few days. I see difficulties and until I have had time to go more into the question perhaps you would not object to delay taking any further steps

draft, ff173-74, light pencil

f173 {archivist: [ca 10 May 1865]}

I have made the necessary enquiries about the apprenticing of Workhouse girls & now send you the results and the conclusions which appear to follow from them.

1st as regards Civil hospitals such as St Thomas
not nursed by a religious order

You might possibly be able to induce the Governors or hospital committees to take girls as ~~t~~ apprentices, the guardians paying all cost for the years of training. But for the first 4 or five years these girls could only act as scrubbers & servants under the nurses. They would learn little ward work & I fear would not turn out well as nurses. We have no evidence that scrubbers have ever made nurses of good quality. Again where there are Medical Schools, there would be dangers ahead which could only be avoided by having all the girls placed under special discipline which could scarcely be carried out without considerable expense
2. In hospitals under religious nursing the only one I could recommend is Kings

f173v

College Hospital which is nursed by the ladies of St. Johns House. They have no means at present of taking apprentices but there is little doubt that if the Guardians could ~~en~~ afford the requisite means they could take a certain number & they could train them for future nurses. This is the most hopeful ~~outlet~~ method I know. The girls would be under constant instruction & supervision and they would have ward duties allotted to them according to their ages & ability. This proposal is worth going into

3. Liverpool Workhouse - In this case you have a Lady Superintendent & trained nursing staff. The Governor & Guardians would render every assistance in the experiment. Indeed one of the objects of the charge at Liverpool is to be able

f174

to train ~~pa~~ paupers for Nurses & no doubt they will be trained. In this case there is an organization which in some sense supplies the religious element of St John's House

4. When you consolidate your London workhouse Hospitals & we can give you a few training matrons & nurses. I do not see why the Guardians might not personally interest themselves in training. [illeg] Committees of Guardians might feel disposed to ~~expend~~ look after the training & in this way each workhouse might in time supply all its wants & have a number of trained nurses to send elsewhere.

These then are the possibilities of the case. After you have considered the points I should be very glad to have your opinion of the extent to which

f174v

any or all of these matters of training could be rendered available for workhouse girls. I apprehend you could only retain these girls after their training has been completed for Workhouse paupers by an agreement to serve say for 5 years. But then could girls under age make such an agreement?

Since this was written I have received the copy of your proposed circular. It is all apparently that you can do under the present circumstances, but reading it as I have done from my own point of view it ~~rather~~ indicates how entire & complete a change in workhouse nursing will be required before it can be placed on a suitable basis.

I send you privately a paper drawn up for me by one of our trainers at St. Thomas' Hospital. Please return it to me

ff175-76 letter to Farnall. My dear Farnall, You know that the board cannot interfere to compel bds of guardians to make any alterations or improvements of the structure of their workhouses without their consent. There is indeed a provision in the Poor Law amendment out which was framed to give Poor Law commissioners this power but it was so qualified by limitations that practically it was inoperative.

It is now proposed to introduce a change in the new bill to render this an available power so that the board may be able to compel guardians to expend a reasonable sum in making such improvements as they shall find necessary in workhouses.

I trust the board will thus be able to enforce better ventilation, more order, and better accommodation for the nurses and assistants. Yours faithfully H.G. Lumley G.H. June 1 1865.

note, f177, pencil JS hand re new bill

f177

The facts are I fear too bad, but I don't see what good could come of asking a question. The proper time will be when the *New Bill* is introduced. We must then see that these cases are made.

Mr. Farnall

The enclosed has been sent to me. If it is true it is most shocking. It really appears as if we were all going to the dogs. Ought not such cases as these be provided for in your new act.

note, ff178v-81, pencil

[6:341-42]

f178v

Mr. Farnall

Table 1 - Col 7 & 8

These columns put together, all cases which receive relief & all classes of costs

You must divide into subdivisions as follows

1. - Able bodies
2. Sick
3. Infirm. aged, Invalids .
4. Insane
5. Children under age -

This is necessary to justify the General Hospital & Asylum rate

f179

The only ground for a general rate is the abolishing the present London system, separating the sick ~~to~~ & infirm from the healthy & charging all the Hospital costs to a general rate

A General Poor Rate ~~without~~ with a general system of relief like the present would be an unmitigated evil
a Hospital & Asylum rate

f179v

Miss Agnes Jones
has told you so
You have made yourself
a very hard bed

f180 JS hand, pencil note

to pass an order to abolish the treatment of
all sick in Workhouses & to empower its
Guardians to send them out to Civil Hospitals
where there would be consolidation & some
chance of nursing

to rent out some & to try to nurse the invalids
in existing Workhouse wards would do no good
the sick poor should be treated either in
consolidated Infirmaries where they
have the advantage of good administrative
nursing & treatment at a moderate cost

or you must do what I have said about
it

Until you have decided, it is of no use
discussing the question of Nursing - because
you cannot nurse in the great majority of
the existing Workhouse Infirmaries. I have
already obtained & sufficient experience to be able to
say that whatever arrangement you make, your
Governor of the Hospital must not be the
Governor of the Workhouse. If all the

f180v

power of the existing Poor Law were
vigorously worked you could obtain
some improvement, but only apparently.

The great cardinal improvement is the
separation of Sickness from Pauperism
& its separate ~~treatment~~ management
Until that is done the Workhouse
Infirmary will remain a public
scandal as it ought to be.

f181 note, JS hand

It has occurred to me to send you a slight correction ~~of~~ for my last letter
 In your table of classes you put together aged & infirm. My proposal for the Hospital & Asylum rate rests on the assumption that the rate is required to pay for those pressing who require more or less constantly medical attendance or other care. Now aged persons not infirm or diseased might be left to the Parishes until they come to require Medical attendance more or less constantly & then they would be passed into Hospitals or Asylums & become chargeable to the general rate
 You state I see that the weekly charge for the various classes amounts to 3/10d 1/4

You will have to estimate what will be the cost of good hospitals & good treatment

f181v

Otherwise the ratepayers may object to the increased cost

f182 List

[FN] *To be returned to FN* [blue pencil]

There are 30 boards of Guardians in the Metro District

2nd these boards... have 41 workhouses:

Middlesex: Bethnal Green will hold 1388 persons;
 Chelsea 664; Clerkenwell 460; Fulham 537; George St Hanover Sq (2) 700;
 George Saint in the East 82; Giles Saint, Bloomsbury 950; Hackney 619;
 Hampstead 260; Holborn 710; Islington 477; James St Westminster 700, Kens
 453; London City 1010; London East 841; London West 800; Luke saint 705'
 Margaret & John West (2) 917; Martin st 533; Marylebone St 1800; Mile End
 647; Paddington 642; Pancras Saint 1920; Poplar 584; Shoreditch 777; Stepney
 621, 20,543

f183 contd; Strand 600, Whitechapel 680;

Kent: Greenwich 1044; Lewisham 300

Surrey: Bermondsey 900; Camberwell 550; George St the martyr 624; Lambeth
 1100; Newington 694; Olaves Saint 537; Rotherhithe 340; Saviours St 388;
 Wandsworth & Clapham 550; total 28,850

The whole of these workhouses are usually full or nearly so.

3rd The following classes are to be found in the workhouses above adverted to, viz.:

temporarily diable say 6000

old and infirm 20,500

imbeciles or idiots 1800

able bodied 1850

children 3000

total 23,150

f184 The average cost of each of these persons per week, in relief alone is
3/10 $\frac{3}{10}$

4th of the above workhouses, the following 14 are built in the suburbs of
London and will contain 9121 persons.....

f185 contd 6th There are now 6039 sick persons in the workhouses and 6403 old
and infirm persons, who require the attendance of medical men. Total 12,442

Each of these persons will cost 6p a week total £218,000

The total money spent for all purposes in relieving the poor in the
metropolis for the year ended Lady day 1864 was £876,281

notes, ff186-87, light pencil JS hand [6:260]

f186

I send you a specimen only of Miss Jones' letter to me about the Liverpool Workhouse nursing.

You will see that the root of all the troubles is just what I told them would happen from the very beginning - namely that ~~the~~ as Miss Jones has no proper official position & was in fact only an intruder within the Workhouse by tacit permission of the Committee in consequence of Mr. Rathbone's high local position and ~~wh~~as the Governor had an official position & responsibility, there would of necessity be clashing.

f186v

If the experiment is to be ~~put~~ fairly tried what should be done is simply to give Miss Jones an official position & make her ~~rep~~-responsible for her nursing just as any other officer is responsible.

The governor must of course have some general authority, but he should never interfere with the superintendent or her nurses.

Miss Jones should be supreme in her position over the nursing, & if the Governor ~~has any~~ or any body has any reason to

f187

complain of her nurses they
should do so to herself leaving
her to deal with the case
& ~~if~~ in her default the
complaint should go to
the next authority which
I suppose would be the
Committee. ~~if~~ Mr. Rathbone
proposes to go on for two
years to come well
let this or some similar
system be tried for that
time & judged by its
results. No Governor that
ever was created can be
head nurse of any establishment
whatever. It is simply an
absurdity to think so.

Ff188-92 embossed paper Farnall letter to FN from PL Bd 20 February 1866. Re
Hospital and Asylum Note

f193-96 embossed 2 January 1867 Farnall letter to FN, from Manor House, re
London admissions

incomplete letter draft, f197, pencil. In JS hand **[6:361]**

f197

Before I could reply to your note asking me to
write to Lord Derby about Workhouse Nursing
I received Dr. Smith's report; which if acted
on will so alter the whole ~~aspe-illeg they~~
aspect of the question of Workhouse Infirmary
Nursing & Management, as to render
any further interference of mine quite
useless. Nothing which I have
seen regarding workhouses has more
distressed me, or has undermined really
effective reform apparently now hopeless
than the appearance. ~~of this report.~~
I shall say no more ~~about it now except~~
~~that I should look on its adoption as~~
until I hear ~~wh~~ in what manner
it is proposed to deal with the
report at the Poor Law Board Mr. Farnall
Private & confidential

ff198-201 Farnall to FN Jan 9 1867 embossed from Doncaster

A miserable mule will be the result of the C Space Committee sittings--sittings--nothing but sittings--and ...I hear that they *think* the altering of the structures of some of the old wkhs and so separating as *well as they can* the infirmaries from the rest of the House will be as good as fresh hospitals!! And also that by sending more sick people to the voluntary Hospitals they will have adopted the best *practicable* measures. What a confused and confounded plan - what a mule in short.

I wonder what sort of a report that was I think they had drafted on Saturday -- was it a jumble? I hear it was and I doubt it not.

I dare say they have decided upon *something* but that something--what is it? Is it something more than nothing? Possibly. Will Hart be down upon them? You know they refused to admit him to their counsels and now therefore his power to strike a blow for the good cause and his own honour is come. I hope he will not fail to do but I am half afraid he has turned his little coat and I am half afraid his assoc has "shut up." If this is so and if all those people have become dumb dogs, they will desire everybody to be equally silent. There is but one hope and that is in mighty Bumbledom himself. I think he will raise his voice and bring himself back out, cruelty, mismgt, stupidity and arrogance, illeg illeg the rest of the tomfoolery. I think he will parade himself before the public in such a sort that the public will take a sly at him and hand him *clean* over whether the C Space committee like it or not. My hope is in bumbledom now. But what a pass are we come to. What to learn of the illeg. .. "If you don't do it *we will*." There is the tone of a ...

Ff202-03 embossed 15 January 1867 from Doncaster Farnall letter to FN re Dr Markham, metro. They tell us that the assoc ...in fact it has shut up shop. They say too that Dr Markham *now* maintains that the present system ought to be maintained, and that it is much better than he thought for and he is prepared with a sort of illeg to turn the metro wkhs illeg hosps or at last 21 o f them. It is workhouses

f204 Printed Appendix Edward Smith FRS No. 9 with comments

ff206-20 embossed Farnall letter to FN from Doncaster 25 January 1867 Messrs Corbett and Markham have just finished a joint report on the London workhouses. I wrote to the office for a copy and anticipated some fresh vexations from reading it. But instead of sending it Mr Owen, the man who does the propriety business for us (he is originally a journeyman saddler in Wales) writes to me in this fashion "the report of Mr Corbett and Dr Markham is only just to hand--quite in a rough state. I do not think it will be treated other than as strictly confidential till the president is prepared to commit himself to its recommendations."

"How best to do it" in short, but the best of the joke is that Mr Hardy is preparing to commit himself -- of course any recommendations in this illeg of legal and medical wisdom is dictated by the gentleman who is now supposed to be going to get ready &c &c I suspect that the great idea in this president is go in strongly to whitewash the guardians and to blackwash everybody else. Corbett we know is rich in illeg civility and even the gds of London and the

can digest an enormous amount of any sort of food--begin to think that they somehow believe and see that Mr Corbett is an impostor. He went to the London Wkh the best WA taken all together in London to the other day and being more out of his senses than usual desired the officials to withdraw several of the beds in each room, but he did not tell them what to do with the poor sick wretches in those beds. I suppose the fear of C Space is upon him, and seems his disinterested orders. I can see him rushing about the wards and I can hear him pouring out his commands and one thinks of course of the last pipe that burst in one's home through the sudden thaw. Mow Corbett is evidently a great lawyer and for Markham a great physician and under them illeg circs I shd like to direct their illeg observations to the state of the sick paupers (if paupers the may be called) at one of the illeg to the state of the sick poor in their *homes*. Not a word for their miserable holes of habitation. I believe all of them to be in positions the least favorable to recovery in easy comfort from their beds down to their dress. Oh these illeg what can this parish do for them? Why he cal kick them and "there's an end to it." Poor creatures they always like to see the doctor-- he orders them stimulants which their best friend drinks for them and mutton which is cooked that nobody can eat it for them. It is necessary to think of and to ask for the outdoor sick people. Hart has thought about them, but I am sure he can't get on without making arrs, illeg

Ref to Husson.

Ff211-15 embossed Farnall letter to FN from Doncaster 27 January 1867. I fancy Mr Villiers wd be very glad to see you, and, if you see him, I will be very glad if you tell him a bit of your mind about the sick poor in wkhs. You have long since made up your mind on this most important subject, and therefore once again showing him its positive conclusions will not I think much trouble you and I am quite certain that he will associate the decisions you have formed and as I most immensely hope not upon them, instead I am sure he will look forward to this meeting of yourself and him with some anxiety, of poor illeg. But I long to hear that you have made him illeg competent and strongly accept them. You know how quiet and intelligent he is and how true he is to his colours. I want you to give with your hands the Victorian cross of determination just close to his heart and then, if he again has the opportunity of leading the van as I believe he will--I am certain he will carry your hopes triumphantly through all obstacles. I scarcely know why I asked this visit, my faith in him is so great and my belief in your strength is complete. But I ought to interpret your meeting ...a illeg confidence but ...

Ff216-19 embossed Farnall letter from Doncaster 10 February 1867 I believe I have got Mr Hardy's scheme into my head and therefore I venture to tell you what I think about it. He says we have 26,795 people in the London wks and that 20,731 of them are disabled people. These London wks accommodate at present 28,850 persons, giving each about 400 cubic feet. Mr Hardy admits that, upon an average, they shd each have 800 cubic feet, therefore our London wks shd accommodate only 14,425 persons, but he means to take out of the wks about 4300 persons, and then he will l have in the wks 22,495, but as the wkhs are calculated to contain only 14,425 what will he do with the surplus of 8070? They must remain where they are, and so there must be in the

London wks upwards of 22,000 inmates while there shd be only about 14,000. In other words, the sick wards of these wks all remain very illeg and overcrowded as usual, That is an imposition still the House cheered.

Oh the poor and pauperized unions are to be relieved. There is to be a common fund of a sort, he explains the sort--and rides off with an assertion that its all right, but the est of this sort of common fund will not be a relief of 1d in the £ per annum to the poor unions, sill the House cheers.

The mgt of these sick wards is to rest with the impossible gds watched by illeg of the P.L. Bd these ...are to be of the I.P type, but here is no such case in the East of London and in the West they are not wanted. If they were to be found in the East they cd not act long for the gds cd always be 2 to 1 against them. Hat is the case in the rural unions. Illeg don't act, they illeg bds of gds unless here is something to give away, for they are always outvoted by the elected gds. Your illeg will be in the same position and will not attend. Still the House cheered.

Dispensaries and drugs are to be maintained and paid out of a common fund. Your union guards will then...

Ff220-24 embossed Farnall letter to FN from Doncaster 14 February 1867 re workhouse sick

ff225-29 embossed Farnall letter to FN from Doncaster 15 February 1867. I go on with yesterday's history. You will know that I now talk of 19 small hospitals on ground which is available and

ff230-34 embossed Farnall letter to FN 27 February 1867 pleased to get a note from you and never expect you to answer any note of mine until you can do so

Ff235-38 embossed Farnall letter to FN 3 March 1867 from Doncaster. re Dizzy and his Reform Bill and Hardy's bill

ff239-40 embossed Farnall letter to FN 6 March 1867 from Doncaster re Villiers 45786 f239. I intended to have written to you yesterday but I was obliged to go to E Hull and got back here too late for the post. What I desire to tell you is that Mr Villiers does not appear to be to thoroughly understand that if the sick poor are taken out of the hands of the Gs and are maintained by a gen rate there shd be est a firm central admin authority to manage the sick, altogether apart from Poor Law adm. This was Lord Carnarvon's view of the case but it is not impossible that you inspired it. I have written clearly to Mr Villiers on this point of adm. But I shd be glad if Sir Harry Verney cd of *his own accord* explain to Mr Villiers what your views are on this important subject. Mr Villiers seems to suppose that if the sick poor are placed in the common fund they wd still be paupers and be consequently under the mgt of a bd of representatives of the ratepayers and the sick poor shd be wholly rescued from the pauper illeg to be treated in hosps, be supported by a general rate, to be under the mgt of a central bd illeg ...qualified for the work and paid for it. If Sir Harry cd, that is if he entertains this view, show this to Mr V I think good wd be done. I send you a note which I recd yesterday from Mr Case of the PL Assoc.. Who was sent

to illeg the illeg Corbett.I send it to you with a request that you will return it to me and, as it is marked "Private"....I assure you that I have ...

f241 embossed Farnall letter to FN 23 April 23 1867 from Manor House. I am here for a few days, leaving on Monday next, but before that I hope you will allow me to have the pleasure of seeing you. Will you be so good as to grant me an interview? If so I shall be glad if you will name your own day and hour. I am not altogether in high spirits as you may suppose. But be assured that I will not inflict my miseries on you if you will see me. illeg hopes to see her

f242 embossed Farnall letter to FN 24 April 1867 will call on Saturday a 4 o'clock [add date] 45786 f242 I shall avail myself of your most kind permission and will all on you on Sat at 4 o'clock. I promise not to illeg

ff243-46 embossed Farnall letter to FN 11 June 1867 delayed writing you because I have from day to day hoped circs wd permit him to tell you that I had accomplished my desire to be recalled from the York District and to be enabled to reside here with my family, and do my duty from hence.. Today however the last I heard of the flag I have been flying is torn away and I must reconcile myself to my present district until --- until when I wonder? I cannot tell. In the meantime I shall endeavour to let this place (which is today looking very beautiful, quiet, and full of green shade, and singing birds) and transport my family probably to Harrogate for 12 months. This beats up the scheme for my life for it interferes with the education of my children and poses me with new and not pleasant places. But I am not in any harm [?] even to illeg much less to grieve over this business. If however I was to say that I did not keenly feel my position I shd deceive you. I do. I have served the P.L. Bd for 20 years. I have been sent to five different districts (no other inspector has been moved at all excepting Mr illeg) I have been selected in all emergencies to do difficult work and I have done it. But there comes a man from the illeg with a single word useless all I have worked for that all was London, London not for my own sake but for that of my children. I have often thought of you when I have been thinking of myself, and in less than an instant I feel ashamed of myself for daring to be dissatisfied or even disturbed. Turn we to higher thoughts than a beastly pain. I have est a splendid district school in Lincolnshire, working with it the important ... Lincoln, Boston, Newark, Grantham and Sleaford, and ... I shall draw nearly 400 helpless little children from the rotten air of wkhs out it of the sweet fields and I shall help them to grow in form and stature and show them how best to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their own brows. There is consolation in this is there not? And when my pains and penalties are passed I shall look back with [Lincolnshire?] illeg with hearty ease. I am taking 6 weeks holidays so as to try a lot this illeg place and to arrange for the departure hence of myself and Bessie "for one year certain" I suppose. [fin]

ff1-55 FN and JS Mill, and copies of correspondence
ff56-151 Villiers
ff152-95 Wyatt
ff196-269 Lord and Lady Monteagle

handwritten copy of letter, ff1-3, pen {not in FN hand}, pencil, on lined paper

f1

Private

30 Old Burlington St
London. W.
Sept 5/60

Dear Sir

I am encouraged by Mr. Chadwick to venture to write to you direct.

My reason is to ask you whether you would consent to read a religious work *confidentially*, and to return it to me, - if with your remarks, for the sake of which it is printed on half margin, I need not say how much they would help me -

Your "logic", - especially as regards "law", "free will" and "necessity", - has been the forming influence of it and of "me" - thought whether you would acknowledge the superstructure, I am quite ignorant.

At all events I am inclined to try, altho' quite aware that you ought, for your own sake, to decline even looking at it, if it troubles you -

f2

Many years ago, I had a large and very curious acquaintance among the artisans of the north of England and of London -

I learnt then that they were without any religion whatever, though diligently seeking after one, principally in Comte and his school. Any return to what is called Christianity appeared impossible. It is for them this book was written.

I never intended to print it *as it was*. But my health broke down. I shall never now write out the original plan. I have therefore printed the ill S.S, as they were, mainly in order to invite your criticism, if you can be induced to give it.

I beg that you will believe me, dear Sir
One of your most "faithful" adherents,
(signed) Florence Nightingale
I acknowledge the justice of your

f3

animadversion (of which Mr. Chadwick wrote to me) upon a passage of my nursing, *if* I meant what you think - which I did not. If my words bear the interpretation, and you will kindly point them out to me I shall be glad and grateful to alter them.

F.N.

f4-5, Richmond, Surrey, June 24, 1860, Edwin Chadwick to J.S. Mill, with envelope {re FN's desire of an introduction to JSM [5:371]}

Richmond, Surrey, S.W.

26 June 1860

Dear Mill [John S. Mill Esq]

Miss Nightingale does me the honour to ask me to introduce her to you. Her present ill health and little bodily strength does not enable her to see anyone, even near relations, whose occasional presence is not absolutely necessary for her aid or for the mitigation of her suffering, but she desires this introduction to enable her to write to you. I cling to the hope that the strong and brilliant mind may, for our common good, yet prevail over the disease which afflicts the body.

yours ever

Edwin Chadwick

f6, copy of note, {September, October, 1869} J.S. Mill, re the publication of a MS

Correspondence with Miss Nightingale in September, October, 1860, may be published ultimately, but not unless and until the M.S. to which it relates shall have been published. If it is published anonymously the name must, of course, be suppressed.

J.S. Mill

ff7-8v, Blackheath, black-edged blue paper, Blackheath September 10, 1860, John Stuart Mill to FN [5:374-75]

Blackheath

Sept. 10. 1860

Dear Madam

Your note should have been answered sooner, but I was from home when it arrived.

I should most willingly do my best to be of use to you in the matter which you speak of, if you think that I am a suitable person to be consulted about a work of the kind. In one respect indeed I am very well fitted to test the efficacy of your treatise, since I probably stand as much in need of conversion as those to

whom it is addressed. If in spite of this (or perhaps all the more on that account) you would like me to read and give my opinion on it, I will do so with much pleasure.

I am very happy to hear from yourself that you did not mean to convey the impression which I still think the words of the concluding passage of your Notes are calculated to give. I did not myself think you could possibly mean it, since in the same passage you also seem to imply that women should not be excluded by law or usage from the liberty of trying any mode of exertion open to men, at their own risk in case of failure. But as the advocates of the "rights of women" contend for no more, and are even, in general, ready to make what appear to me far too great concessions as to the comparative unfitness of women for some occupations, I do not think they can justly be accused of jargon, nor of contending that women ought to do certain things merely because men do them.

Believe me, dear Madam,
very truly yours
J.S. Mill

handwritten copy of letter, ff9-12, pen {not FN's hand, same as f38}, lined paper

f9, original Boston 2/6/2 [5:375]

30 Old Burlington St

W

Sept 12/60

Dear Sir,

Taking advantage of your extreme kindness (an article which nobody ever fails to take advantage of) I have sent you, by Book Post, Vol: 1 of the religious work in question. There are, I am sorry to say, two other "devils", (I mean vols:,) "worse than the first." But, as I fear you will never read five pages of the first, I have, with admirable caution, sent you only one.

From a word you have used (in your very kind note to me,) I do not think it is quite of the sort you expect. But that will not make it the less tedious.

Without farther discussion, I accept, from so great a master of

f10

language as yourself, the interpretation you have put upon some words in my "notes on nursing", I will alter these words in the next editn. But, as a matter of fact, I protest against you're a assertion that there is no such class as the one I designate as talking a "jargon". You have not been, as I have been, a "scratting" female, (I use the significant old Derbyshire word) among a world of "scratting" females (and very odd ones too).

To every word of an article, called by your name, on this subject, I heartily subscribe and defer. *This* is not the "jargon" I mean. I refer to an American world, consisting of female M.Ds etc., and led by a Dr. Elizth Blackwell, - and though the latter is a dear and intimate and valued friend of mine, I re-assert that her world talks a "jargon", and a very mischievous one - that

f11

their female M.D.s have taken up the worst part of a male M.D.-ship ~~this~~ of 30 years ago and that, while medical education is what it is - a subject upon which I may talk with some "connaissance de cause", - instead of wishing to see more doctors made by women joining what there are, I wish to see as few doctors, either male or female, as possible. For, mark you, the women have made no improvement: they have only tried to be "men", and they have only succeeded in being third rate men.

They will not fail in ~~[illeg]~~ getting their own livelihood, but they fail in doing good and improving Therapeutics.

I am only here stating a matter of fact. I am not reasoning, as you suppose.

Let all women try. These women have, in my opinion, failed.

f12

But this is no *a priori* conclusion against the principle.

Allow me to be faithfully & gratefully
yours,

F. Nightingale

ff13-18, September 23, 1860, JSM to FN, giving his opinion of FN MS black-edged blue paper
[5:376-78]

Blackheath
Sept. 23. 1860.

Dear Madam

I have read your treatise, or rather the portion of it which you did me the honour of sending to me. If any part of your object in sending it was to know my opinion as to the desirableness of its being published, I have no difficulty in giving it strongly in the affirmative. There is much in the work which is calculated to do good to many persons besides the artisans to whom it is more especially addressed. In point of arrangement, indeed of condensation, and of giving as it were, a keen edge to the argument it would have been much benefitted by the revising [?] which you have been prevented from giving to it by a cause on all other accounts so much to be lamented. This, however, applies more to the general mode of laying out the argument, than to the details.

With regard to the substance of the book, it is surely necessary to say that there is very much of it with which I am in entire agreement, and strong

sympathy; and where I am not, I neither have any desire to shake your own conviction, if I could suppose myself capable of doing so, nor should I regret the adoption of the same creed by anyone to whose intellect and feelings it may be able to recommend itself. I would be a great moral improvement to most persons, be they Christians, Deists, or Atheists, if they firmly believed the world to be under the government of a Being who, willing only good, leaves evil in the world solely in order to stimulate the human faculties by an unremitting struggle against every form of it. In regard however to the effect on my own mind, will you forgive me for saying, that your mode of reconciling the world as we see it, with the government of a Perfect Being, though less sophisticated than the common modes, and not having as they have, the immoral effect of consecrating any form of avoidable evil as purposes of God, does not, to my apprehension, at all help to remove the difficulty? I tried what I could do with that hypothesis, many years ago; that a Perfect Being could do everything except make another perfect being--that the next thing to it was to make a perfectible one--and that perfection could only be achieved by a struggle against evil.

But then, a Perfect Being, limited only by the condition, might be expected so to form the world that the struggle against evil should be the greatest possible, in extent and intensity: and unhappily our world conform as little to this character as to that of a world without evil. If the Divine intention in making man, was Effort towards Perfection, the divine purpose is as much frustrated as if its sole aim were human happiness. There is a little of both, but the absence of both is the marked characteristic.

I confess that no religious theory seems to me consistent with the facts of the universe, except (in some form or other) the old one of the two principles. There are many signs, in the structure of the universe, of an intelligent Power, wishing well to man and other sentient creatures. I can't however shew, not so many perhaps, but quite as decided indications of an intelligent Power a Power with the contrary propensity. Most (not to insist on this) the will of the benevolent Power must find, either in its own incompleteness, or in some external circumstances, very serious study [?] to the entire fulfilment of the benevolent purpose. It may be, that the world is a battlefield between a good and a bad power or powers, and that mankind may be capable, by sufficiently strenuous cooperation with the good power, of deciding, or at least

accelerating, its final victory. I know one man of great intelligence and high moral principle, who finds satisfaction to his devotional feelings, and suffers under the evils of life, in the belief of this creed. Another point on which I cannot agree with you, is the opinion that law, in the sense in which we predicate it of the arrangements of nature, can only emanate from a Will. This doctrine seems to me to rest solely on the double meaning of the word law, though that double meaning cannot be more completely and clearly stated than you have done. It is much more natural to the human mind to see a divine will in those events in which it has not yet recognized insensible constancy of sequences than in those in which it has. No doubt, this instructive action is

erroneous; and Will is, in its own nature, as regular a phenomenon, as much a subject of law, as anything else: but it does seem rather odd that unchangeableness should be the one thing which, to account for its existence, must be referred to a will; will being, within the limits of our experience,

the thing of all others most liable to change. Indeed it cannot be unchangeable, unless combined with omnipotence, or at all events with omniscience. With all that you say affirmation of the universality of law, and in refutation of objections on the subject of free will and necessity, I need hardly say how heartily I agree. I have made a few cursory remarks in the margin of your book, but what I have now said is the chief part of what I had to say. I do not yet return the volume, because, unless what I have said of it takes away your desire to show me any more of the work, I hope to see the remainder. If so, however, it should be soon, as I shall leave England for the Continent in about a week. I have not time or space left to say much on the other subject our correspondence. My opinion of the medical profession is not, I dare say, higher than yours. But it would be dealing very rigorously with the M.D.'s of whom you have so low an opinion, to expect that they should already have made any improvement in medical practice. Neither, when we consider how rare first-rate minds are, was it to be expected, on the doctrine of chances, that the first two or three women who take up medicine should be more than what you say these are, third rate. It is to be expected that they will be pupils at first, and not masters. But the medical profession like others must be reformed from within, under whatever stimuli from without; and it surely has more chance of being so, the more the entrance to it is widened. Neither does the moral right of women to admission with the profession, at all depend on the likelihood of their being the first to reform it. On this point, however, we are agreed. I am, dear Madam,

very sincerely yours
J.S. Mill

ff19-22, copy of ff13-18, on printed stationery 1, Devonshire Place, Portland Place, W. tel 2039 Mayfair, Blackheath Park

handwritten copy of unsigned letter, ff23-26, pen, lined paper, original
Boston 2/6/3

f23

30 Old Burlington St. **[5:379-80]**
W.

Sept 28/60

My dear Sir

I cannot tell you how I
feel the extreme kindness of your letter,
and of your consenting to read so
very tedious and unfinished a
"treatise". I have ventured to take
advantage of you, by sending the
second part, which is only a kind
of Diary of application to my theories
to *life* (from the time I first read
your "Logic" - up to seven years ago,
when I first entered active life and
had no time for thinking). The third
part is merely a summary of the
two others. I am sure that you will
not suspect me of false modesty, when
I say that the "want of arrangement"
and of "condensation" I feel to be such
that nothing but my circumstances

f24

can excuse my submitting it to you in such a state. and nothing in your kindness impresses me to much as your consenting to read it in such a state.- I am quite sure I could not do it myself. I remind myself of a flute player, who once (gravely) said to me, that his "playing was so disagreeable to himself that he would like to go out of the room in order not to hear himself play."

2. Your words "~~say~~ any one to whose feelings and intellect it (my creed) may be able to recommend itself" impress one painfully; because I feel so much that it will do so to *none*. It wants an organisation of life to carry it out. We have seen the most absurd creeds sustained and spread by this "esprit" of organisation in the founder.- we have seen the most able and enlightened opinions remain the opinions of one, ~~did~~

f25

because *that one* did not attempt
any re-forming of *life* to carry them
out.

Had I [~~illeg~~]-lived, I should have attempted,
probably failed in, some such
organisation, or "society", to carry out
my religion. [You see I am not at
all under convention as to what "a
woman should do"]

As it is, I am very certain
that "my creed" will fall to the ground,
without influencing any one to real
good. Whether any one merely "thinks
it good" or not is a small matter -

3. With regard to your two
grand objections as to the *truth* of the
theory, which is of course the one
thing important, I am deeply obliged
to you for having stated them so
clearly and fully - I am not convinced.
I do not attempt, because I do not hope
to be able, to offer anything to a mind

f26

like yours which you have not often thought over before. But it is very useful to me to see *where*, to a mind like yours, the argument is unconvincing and "does not at all tend to remove the difficulty".

I did not receive your letter of the 23rd till last night. I have been unusually ill and busy (with war office business) and they, my friends, had deprived me of my private letters - otherwise I would not have sent you the *tails* of my "treatise", so inconveniently near to your departure.

If you are so good as to write to me again, I should like to have one more address from you, in order to be able to write to you once more. and then, as Frederic the Great's General said to God: "Grant me this one thing, and I promise never to pray to you any more" - [more?]

handwritten copy of signed letter, f27, pen lined paper [5:380]

f27

30 Old Burlington St.
W.

Sept 29/30 {archivist's correction: 1860}

My dear Sir,

I need not say that, if it would be *less inconvenient* to you to take my unfortunate "treatise" abroad with you than to read it now, it would be much more useful to me that you should read it anyhow, than risk to me that it should be lost coming home (by the Universal Carrier Wheatley) or that it should not return while I am alive.

But I suspect this proposition viz: that you should take it abroad, would be the *greatest inconvenience* of all to you. and therefore, I only suggest it - I do not even wish it.

Ever yours gratefully,

F. Nightingale.

ff28-31, Blackheath, October 4, 1860, JSM to FN, re FN's MS [5:380-82] black-edged blue paper

Blackheath
4 October 1860

Dear Madam

I should have been very sorry to miss reading the sequel of your book. If when I had only read the first volume I was very desirous that it should be published, I am much more so after reading the second, as the exhibition it contains of what life is in this country among the classes in easy circumstances, being so earnestly and feelingly, and many parts of it so justly, done, and so evidently the result of personal observation, is at once a testimony that ought not to be lost, and an appeal of an unusually telling kind on a subject which it is very difficult to induce people to open their eyes to. And though the things into which one puts the best of one's heart and mind do all the good which, to one's own feelings, seems to lie in them. Few books have a better chance than this of doing some good, and that too in a variety of ways. I should not feel any doubt about it if the book were published with your name. Indeed, the mere fact that these are the opinions of such a woman as all the world knows you to be, is a fact which it ought [would?] be of as much use to the world to know, as almost anything which could at this time be told to it.

I have seldom felt less inclined to criticize than in reading this book, and moreover I have said in my former letter the substance of nearly all the criticism I should have to make. There is, however, a new point of difference between us, sufficiently a matter of principle to be worth mentioning to you. In one, and only one of your inferences from the doctrine (improperly called) of necessity, I do not agree; it is when you say that there ought to be no punishment (only reformatory discipline) and even no blame. It seems to me that on the principles of your treatise, retaliation from others for injuries consciously and intentionally done them, is one of those natural consequences of ill doing, which you yourself hold to be the proper discipline both of the individual and of the race.

With many minds, punishment is the only one of the natural consequences of guilt which is capable of making any impression on them. In such cases, punishment is the first means available for beginning the reformation of the criminal, and the fear of similar punishment is the only inducement which deters many really no better than himself from doing acts to others which would not only deprive them of their own happiness, but thwart all their attempts to do good to themselves and others. With regard to the legitimacy of resentment, a thoroughly evil will, though I well know that it does not come into existence without a cause, seems to me not the less on that account an object of aversion, and a strong indignation against usury [?] is so inseparable from any strong personal feeling on the subject of wrong and right, that it does not seem to me possible, even if desirable, to get rid of the one, without to a great degree losing the other.

I write these things for your consideration and not as pretending to lay down the law on the subject to anyone, much less to you.

My address while abroad will be Saint-Vévan, près Avignon, Vaucluse, France, and I am very far from wishing that you should do as Frederic, General said he would.

I have returned your treatise today by the book post. I am

yours very truly
J.S. Mill

ff32-33 copy of ff28-31 on Devonshire Place stationery

ff34-35, July 6, 1867, London National Society for Women's Suffrage, sent to FN from JSM, a printed announcement asking for a signature

ff36-37v, JS Mill letter on embossed Blackheath August 9, 1867, expressing JSM's support for the society for women's suffrage **[5:393]**

handwritten copy of signed letter, ff38-42, pen, lined paper

f38

Copy
Private. 35, South Street
 Park Lane,
 London W.
 August 11/67

Dear Sir

I can't tell you how much pleased I was, nor how grateful I feel, that you should take the trouble to write to me.

And, if I ill-naturedly answer your note by asking a question, it is because I have scarcely any one who can give me a "considered opinion", (since those who were always with me are dead).

That women should have the suffrage, I think no one can be more deeply convinced than I. It is so important for a woman, especially a married woman, especially a clever married woman, to be a 'person'. But it will probably be years before you obtain the suffrage for women. And, in the mean time,

f39

-2-

are there not evils which press much more hardly on women than not having a vote? - and may not this, when obtained, put women in opposition to those who withhold from them these rights, so as to retard still farther the legislation necessary to put them in possession of their rights? - I do not know. I ask the question very humbly and I am afraid you will laugh at me.

Could not the existing disabilities as to property and influence of women be swept away by the ~~legislation~~ legislature as it stands at present? - and equal rights and equal responsibilities be given as they ought to be, to both men and women? - I do not like to take up your time with giving instances, *redressible* by legislation, in which women, especially married poor women with children,

f40

-3-

are most hardly pressed upon now. I have been a matron on a large scale the greater part of my life, and no matron with the smallest care for her nurses can be unaware of what I mean. e.g. till a married woman can possess property, there can be no love and no justice.

It is not possible that, if woman's suffrage is agitated as a means of removing these evils, the effect may be to prolong their existence? - Is it is not the case that at present there is no opposition between the two elements of the nation - but that, if both had equal political powers, there is a probability that the social reforms needed might become matter of political partizanship - and so the weaker go to the wall? - I do not know - I only ask and very humbly and I can scarcely expect that you will have time to answer.

f41

-4-

I have been too busy for the last fourteen years (which have never left me 10 minutes' leisure - not even to be ill) to wish for a vote - to want personally political influence. Indeed I have had, during the 11 years [~~illeg~~] I have been in Govt. offices, more administrative influence than if I had been a Borough returning two M.P.s - (notwithstanding the terrible loss I have had of him who placed me there).

And if I thus draw your attention to myself, it is, only because I have no time to serve, on the society you mention, otherwise, there is scarcely anything which, if you were to tell me that it is right to do politically, I would not do.

But I could not give my name without my work. This is only personal [I am an incurable

f42

-5-

invalid.] I entirely agree that women's "political power" should be "direct and open". But I have thought that *I* could work better for others, even for other women, off the stage than on it.

During the last 6 years that I have worked hard at the India Public Health Service, I have often wished for an opportunity to ask Mr. Mill for his influence in it. Is it wrong to take the opportunity of asking you now to ask him for his invaluable help.

and so to beg him to,
believe me (tho' in haste)
ever his faithful servant,

Florence Nightingale.

J.S. Mill, Esq., M.P.

ff43-47, JS Mill letter, on embossed stationery, Avignon, December 31, 1867, re FN's preference for working behind the scenes [5:398-402]

draft letter, ff48-49, pencil {archivist's note: [draft of FN's letter; see copy in her own writing][ca. Jan 1868]} in JS rough hand, pencil

f48

Mr Mill

Before I decide either one way or the other on the female suffrage question - I wish to know why all the existing disabilities as to property & influence of women cannot be swept away by the legislature as it stands at present.

That great evil & injustice exists there can be no doubt. ~~and~~/also that equal rights & equal responsibilities are most desirable for both sexes. But it appears to me that if this womans suffrage is agitated as a means of removing these evils the effect may very possibly be the ~~reverse~~ reverse of what is anticipated. At present there is no opposition between the two elements of the nation, but if both had equal political powers, the social reforms required would become apparently

f48v

matter of potential partizanship & the weaker would go to the wall.

draft, ff49-48, pencil **f49v** {Archivist's note: dated by draft on back, 1867?}
{in JS's hand}

Sir J.B. [?]

I have considered carefully the question about hospitals for each sex, not because there is any, or can be any difference of opinion on the propriety or impropriety of having separate hospitals for such ~~sep~~ purposes. but because the question has been specifically asked me whether such a division be beneficial or otherwise, or conducive or otherwise to the welfare of the sick. I felt bound to consider & this is my answer. If there were a large community solely of women, or a similar community solely for men, & if the sick of either community had to be nursed, you would by the mere state of the case have to provide either a male or female hospital as the case might be. But this as I understand is not the question. It is whether if you are about to establish hospitals for the sick poor of a great city, you ought to divide the accommodation with two classes male & female in separate buildings.

I answer pointedly that any such division would be most unadvisable, and would be quite other than beneficial to the poor.

f49

In the first place it is of the greatest importance ~~that~~ both for the medical men & nurses that they should be able to attend cases of both sexes & of all ages together. ~~Every nurse~~ & There must of course be male & female wards, but every good matron will take care that her nurses have experience in attending on all classes in each set of wards, simply because the resulting management will be better in all the cases in the hospitals. What are called special hospitals are special evils ~~what~~ whether for the reception of different sexes, ages, or diseases. No good but only a one sided weakness of administration & treatment ever comes of them. Besides which they increase indefinitely the costs of management.

Every hospital from 20 up to 500 or more beds requires the same general constructive arrangements for administration, & the same number of officials. All your ~~expenses~~ administrative expenses would be doubled by having two hospitals instead of one, and I am very much mistaken if the public would subscribe to support two institutions for doing

f48v

work which could be far better done by one. In short there is no one advantage to be gained by having hospitals for each sex. ~~If in~~ Every thing is disadvantageous & if I were asked what to do with two existing hospitals ~~in wh~~ one for each sex, ~~or disease~~ I should say unite them by all means.

I would most strongly advise you to have a general hospital for all ages, sexes & cases. ~~You will do infinitely [illeg]~~

draft note, ff50-53, pencil black-edged paper, FN hand [5:402-04]

f50

Mr. Mill's letter 30/1/68
granted J.S.M.'s premises, his conclusions
are drawn in the most masterly
manner-

But - let him look in the Advertisements
of every day's "Times." And he will
find occasion to doubt every one of his
premises

Take the present state of
 Railway Legislation
 of Poor Laws
 of Labour
 of Trades' Unions

That women ought to have the suffrage
there is not a doubt
But will it have the result he expects?-

 There are three countries
 America
 England
 Switzerland

with the freest political Institutions
in the world -

Two, at least, have perhaps the worst
social evils in the world

Mr. Mill says: - the remedy for these is
 political freedom -

One might answer: - how has political
 freedom worked down there in the
 Palace of Westminster?.

f50v

The meaning of our word, political liberties, is: - that those who have no ideas or no strength of character shall be 'free' from all influence of those who have ideas or who have strength of character.

Our Government for 30 years has been signalized by nothing so much as by having no ideas - & no force of principle.

To return to the Advertisements
(taken permiscuous) in to-day's
"Times."

1. the course of *Railway Legislation* -
"Capital authorized to be raised."

"228 millions £ Ordinary Shares

134 " " Preferential "

[I take merely the rough outlines]

We all know what the course has been

We all know how Parlt. has passed
Railway Acts without the slightest
enquiry.

We all know what the result has been.

We all know that it has fallen heaviest

f51

on English *women*. Whose ~~contributions~~ investments were perhaps half of all that Capital - that there is scarcely an English woman at this moment not suffering from it in her income.

Does Mr. Mill mean to say that, if there had been a Women's Parliament, this would not have happened?

We all know that, contrary to our Constitution, contractors &c fill our Ho. of C.

2. Advertisements

East-End Distress

Poor Law completely broken down -
Private Charity completely broken down
& worse - for it has increased the evil.
"Workhouse Test" completely broken down
Labour Test ditto.

[Not only are they torturing these poor fellows with unproductive labour at unremunerative prices. But the Torture-test is of no avail. For the Workhouses are overflowing & the people are starving.]

f51v

And *the least harm* of the
overflowing Workhouse is the
burden on the rates (9/ in the £)
The harm is - the withdrawing all
these heads & arms from *production*.
The "Workhouse Test" has saddled the
country with pauperism - more
perhaps than anything else except
the want of Education.

Now:-
the wives & daughters of all these
people are starving -
Then - what becomes of Mr. Mill's
letter? -
Does he really believe that the giving
any women a vote will lead to
the removal of the least of these
evils? -

3. Trades' Unions

Take the answers these Shipwrights
gave themselves (to the offer of
employment on two Ships)
These men (knowing that ship-
building is an irregular & fluctuating
employment) pitch their expenditure
at the maximum rate of their wages

f52

-2-

& then won't take less -

The remedy to this is, of course,
Education.

But what will Mr. Mill's vote
do for all these starving women? -
All these Legislations, all these
Railway, Poor Law, Trades' Unions
Legislations or non-Legislations
are the working of the Reformed
Parliament - of the *freest*
Parlt. we ever had -

[not the result of that freedom, of
course - but the result of the
greater difficulty in bending many
wills than few to the right course]
Yet the remedy, Mr. Mill says, is
more political liberties.

It is not political liberties we want.

It is legislative honesties.
Give us honesties first - & then you
may offer us liberties.

I want my bread first. And then
you may give me my vote.

f52v

Is it really possible to believe
that these Legislators could not,
if they laid their heads together,
frame an Act by which the
work man might make his own
bargain as to wages with his
employer - with an appeal
to Courts of Justice or other
authorities? -

As long as you steal from a man
his own labour, his power of
production, where & how he
likes, you can't call him a
free man -

And all your political liberties are
a farce.

As long as your Legislators can
find no legislative remedy
against the tyranny of Trades'
Unions, who decree work to be
judged by quantity, not quality -
who decree that superior quality
of work shall not be paid for -

f53

the first element of liberty is
wanting -

For this is - not to steal from
me my power of production.

[Who steals my purse steals trash.

But who steals my power of
production steals all I have.

I was interfered with in my
power of production when I
was a girl - So are all women.]

4. Is it possible to believe that at least in exceptional times of distress
the State could not give

productive work at
remunerative prices, as in
Lancashire - not on the
principle of 'Ateliers Nationaux'?

The unproductive work seems to
me as great a blunder as the
Trades' Unions ever made.

unsigned draft or copy, ff54-55, pen {arch: [30 Dec 1864]} JS hand, ink

f54r

[6:329-30]

Sir

I need not tell you how much I have been shocked, as who has not been shocked by the dreadful death of Poor Daly from injuries inflicted, (I use the expression advisedly in the Holborn Union Workhouse. I feel the case to be to a certain extent my case, because I have been put in trust by my fellow countrymen with the means of training nurses, whose duty it is to nurse, not to seem to nurse, and although the subject of nursing the sick has been discussed earnestly ever since the beginning of the Crimean War, we have here ten years afterwards a case such as we saw when we began in the Hospitals of the East, but not after. I am emboldened to address *you* on the subject, because I see by todays Times that the Holborn Guardians have referred the case to the Poor Law Board. You will no doubt examine into it thoroughly & find out who is to blame. I have no desire in the slightest degree to influence your decision. My object in writing is quite different, it is to bring before you the whole question of Hospital nursing in Workhouses. ~~In our~~ I would be the last person to add to the difficulties of Poor Law Guardians by declaiming against their inhumanity. They have a difficult task

f54v

enough to perform in steering their way between pauperism & real want, but fortunately there is no such difficulty when the poor ~~man~~ pauper becomes sick. From that moment he ceases to be a pauper & becomes brother to the best of us & as a brother he should be cared for. I would make this a cardinal distinction in Poor Law relief. It is in some sense admitted already. Work house sick wards are generally better than the others, they are more comfortable, there is better diet, I happen to know that in many instances every thing but one that money can get is supplied, but that one deficiency may at any time lead to great suffering or as in this Holborn case to death. That want is efficient nursing. On reading the evidence before the coroner it is impossible not to see that there was no nursing in the case ~~which~~ ~~w~~ worthy of the name. I am afraid that nearly every Workhouse in England could tell a similar tale. If you could only get to know how many poor have died because they were not nursed you would be shocked. You are perhaps aware that at Liverpool the evil of the ~~pauper~~

f55

system of pauper nursing ~~he~~ is now working its cure. One noble man there has devoted £1200 a year for three years to introduce trained nurses into the large Workhouse Infirmary. Simply with the view of giving a blow to the old system & to shew to these Unions what it is possible to do in the way of improvement. Manchester it is expected will some follow.

So far as our opportunities of training nurses under the "Fund" will enable us to help in such a work, we are ready. We have supplied all the head nurses & the Matron for Liverpool & they will begin on Sunday or Monday. The improved nursing system is thus about to be initiated in one of the largest ~~estab~~ establishments in the Kingdom and there is no reason why it should not in time be introduced in every workhouse, ~~is there.~~ Could you help in this great improvement by having a searching enquiry made into the nursing system in all workhouses. The occasion appears to be a suitable one, and if you can see your way to undertake so good

f55v

a work I will be most happy to help so far as my strength will permit.

signed letter, ff56-57, pen [embossed stationery] [6:330-31]
presumably written by someone else, large C.P. Villiers signature

f56

Gwydyr House
Whitehall S.W.
31 December 1864

Madam, -

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and to thank you for the trouble you have taken in this communication. The case, to which you have referred, is under consideration of the Board, who will cause a due inquiry to be made into its circumstances, and as to the amount of blame, if any, which upon a careful investigation - shall be ascertained to have existed.

The Board have endeavoured to secure a staff of Nurses, in the large Workhouse under their control, and believe that, in most instances, with tolerably good success; though they are aware of the improvement which is still to be sought for. They are watching with much attention the result of the proceedings at Liverpool of which you make mention, and hope that much good will be produced. The circumstances of that

Workhouse

f56v

Workhouse, where nearly three thousand persons are maintained, are however very peculiar.

The great difficulty which I believe exists in many parts of the Country, is to find an adequate supply of well trained Nurses to meet the urgent demand. Public Hospitals and Private Sickness, offer a predominant motive for choice of situations, and the Boards of Guardians can seldom compete with success against such opponents

It must be forgotten that in many Workhouses the number of sick paupers with acute cases, is not so great as to afford full occupation for a staff of Nurses.

Still the subject is one which has never been overlooked by the Board, and I shall do my utmost, while I am at this Board, to favor the extension of that system of sanitary Improvement to which you have devoted your time and energies with such signal success.

I have the honor to be,

Madam,

Your faithful servant

Miss Florence Nightingale

C.P. Villiers

f57

P. S. With respect to your suggestion that an Inquiry should be instituted as to the general system of nursing in Workhouses, I shall be happy to communicate with you at any time most convenient to yourself.

draft, ff58-60v, pencil in JS hand, light blue paper [6:331-32]

f58 {archivist: [early 1865]}

My note to you was founded on the proceedings before the Coroner's inquest about Dalys case and since then I have seen the letter of the Medl Off. in the Times. This has confirmed my opinion that what in Dalys case ~~the~~ was considered *nursing* I would in no sense consider so. Knowing as I do ~~the~~ practically the present state of nursing, I should very much doubt if there is much nursing material in any Workhouse hospital, or indeed in any Workhouse. Pauper nurses are no nurses. In the Liverpool case there will be a staff of trained professional nurses, just as much trained in their deportment as the

f58v

Med. officers, & an attempt
is to be made to select & train
workhouse women as nurses
provided the material be
forthcoming not only with the
view of nursing the ~~sick~~
sick poor, but of enabling
the women so trained to
earn an independent
living as trained nurses
outside. It would not
be difficult to draw up a
code of instructions for
any enquiry into the present
state of Workhouse nursing
if you saw your way to
such an enquiry. You

f59

might try ~~it~~/ the enquiry in a few of
the larger houses to begin
with. ~~N-you~~

From the P.S to your letter
~~you~~ it appears that you
desire to have personal
communication with me on
the subject. I am hardly
able to see any one, but
I consider the whole
question as one of so
much importance that
I would make an effort
to see you here if you
should happen to desire
it

f59v

Whether there should be a registrar or not in a hospital depends partly on the number of cases & partly on the means of paying the registrar. There are paid registrars in the Great London Foundation hospitals but in these cases there are funds ~~and the~~ at hand to meet the costs and also the ~~great~~ amount of work requires a special officer. I could not without some enquiry state whether such an officer were in my opinion required at Norwich, and it would hardly do to propose that one should be appointed unless I were certain that the funds were forthcoming

f60 pencil on light blue

The general defective state of nursing even in many good hospitals where for years the need of good nursing has been recognized.

The demand for better nurses ~~who~~ for hospitals & other purposes which greatly exceeds the present supply.

The now acknowledged fact that nursing is not a natural gift, but an acquired art founded ~~th~~ like the healing art on scientific & practical knowledge.

The absence of information as to the present state of nursing in Workhouses.

The fact that the Liverpool Guardians unanimously agreed that it would be advantageous to introduce trained nurses

The effect which an efficient system of nursing in Workhouse Infirmeries would have on the whole workhouse administration.

The probability that a few trained nurses ~~w~~ in a large Workhouse would call out any talent which might be in the house among the pauper nurses, & lead them to prepare themselves for nursing as a profession.

f60v

Generally that as far as practicable ~~in~~ improvements in civil life should be introduced into ~~hosp~~ Workhouses so that they may keep pace with outside improvement & the unexceptionable nature of the object sought for in improving Workhouses & nursing.

FN draft, ff61-67, pen {archivist: [after 1 July 1865]} [6:337-41]

f61

-2-

- A. To insist on the great principle
of separating the Sick, Insane,
Incurable x & Children from
the usual pauper population
of the Metropolis
- B. To advocate a general metropolitan
X rate for this purpose & a
central administration
- C. To leave the pauper & casual
X population & the rating for
them under the Boards of
Guardians, as at present,
- these are the A.B.C. of the
reform required.
Centralize all the Sanitary powers {line drawn beside the following four
lines and X in the margin}
at present exercised by the
Guardians
Release them from these duties
x how many of those called
incurable are *not* incurable
a life's Hospital experience has
taught me -
Old age is, of course, incurable -
I mean to return to this

f61v

entirely.

Provide a scheme of suburban

Hospitals & Asylums

{drawn beside the four items and an X in the margin}

1. for Sick
2. for Infirm, Aged & Invalids
3. for Insane & Imbeciles
4. Industrial Schools for children

Pay for them by a general School

& ~~Asylum~~ Hospital rate.

[I am well aware how much has been done already for the children - & how admirably it has answered. Is not that a reason for doing it entirely? - for completing the work? - There are children still in the London Workhouses.]

Children should all belong to the central authority from the moment they enter school until they

f62

are; provided for. They should
never enter the Workhouse
after entering the School.

[Let me mention a thing, by the way,
which at one time I took a
good deal of pains about - but
which was entirely frustrated in
effect.

A proportion of the girls would
like to become Hospital Nurses.
But it is impossible to put a
girl from 14-16 years into
a Hospital to train. Yet this
is the age at which girls must
go out to seek places -

Under a system of administration
instead of the present no-system,
this might be managed &
arranged for.]

To return.

All those classes which
suffer from any disease, bodily
or mental, should be placed
under a distinct & responsible
administration amenable
directly to Parliament.

f62v

Uniformity of system in this matter is absolutely necessary, in order that the suffering poor should be properly cared for, & in order that vacant beds & places may be filled up, wherever space exists.

[These Infirmeries & Asylums of course to admit of separation of classes & sexes. - so that Sick, Insane, Imbeciles, Aged Infirm, & above all Children, may not be mixed up in the same wards or under the same roof.]

All the Officers of these Infirmeries & Asylums should be appointed by & should be responsible to the central authority - which is responsible to Parliament.

f63

-3-

Sickness, madness, imbecility, & permanent infirmity are general afflictions affecting the entire community & are not (like pauperism) to be kept down by local knowledge or by hard usage. The sick or infirm or mad pauper ceases to be a pauper when so afflicted, ~~& should be chargeable to the community at large, as a fellow creature in suffering.~~

Hence there should be a general rate for this purpose to be levied over the whole metropolitan area - to be administered by the central authority.

[May I make here two

remarks by the way? -

1. the state of the dwellings of the poor, the sanitary or rather un-sanitary state of London in general is not often taken into account

f63v

in the ill health it produces, e.g. consumption, weakness
of intellect,-
rheumatism - We only think of
the "violent" & "sudden deaths"
of Typhus & Cholera. Yet the
poor cannot drain their own
streets, nor reform their own
dwellings. It is not hard to
visit our short-comings (in
making London unhealthy)
upon the disease they engender
by calling it pauperism, by
treating the sick or imbecile
like the able-bodied lazy,
immoral paupers & tramp, living
on other people's labour?

{The above paragraph has a vertical line
with an X in the margin}

2. What might be done in
the way of cure, I say nothing
of prevention, must be at
present quite unknown.

We built the Herbert Hospital
(Military) for 650 beds. There
were 596 Patients in the old
Woolwich Hospital. This winter,
in an unhealthy season, there

f64

were but 100 beds occupied in
the Herbert Hospital.

{vertical line in right margin}

All hands were lifted against
us, all mouths cried: - How
were we to justify the outlay of
the Herbert Hospital?

Query - is it cheaper to have
596 Sick Soldiers in a cheap
& nasty building or only 100
in a dear & good one?

Query - would it be cheaper
to have poor sick people
recovering in good suburban
Hospitals, or becoming
paupers for life in London
Workhouses, - the ground
of which, besides, would sell
for far more than the
Workhouses are worth?

But, if none but the casual
& tramp are left under the
London Guardians - will London
Workhouses be necessary at
all?

I say nothing of the waste
of Pauper Nurses - the waste
occasioned by their dishonesty
& reckless carelessness - or of

f64v

the *Malingering* of idle Paupers -
e.g {blue} making their legs sore - malingering
which exists to a far higher
extent than ever it did in the
Army.]

Sick, infirm, idiots & mad
persons require special
constructive arrangements,
special medical care &
nursing & special dieting.
[Of all these they have little
or none that is worthy the
name in the present London
Workhouses.]

They are not "paupers." They
are "poor & in affliction."
Society certainly owes them,
if it owes anything, every
necessary care for recovery.
In practice, there should

f65

-4-

be consolidated & uniform
administrative arrangements.
Sickness is not parochial;
it is general & human, ~~& its~~
~~cost should be borne by all.~~

[N.B. Those who come from
the worst dwellings are always
the most sickly.]

For sick you want Hospitals
as good as the best Civil
Hospitals. You want the
best Nurses you can find.
You want efficient & sufficient
Medical attendance. You
want an energetic & wise
administration.

As you say, look at the "Assistance
Publique" at Paris. That is
something like, tho' not
exactly, what you want.

[All the great Parisian Hospitals,
the Schools for half the Medical
Men of Europe are managed
by this central authority.]

It has its Bureau of admission.

f65v

It knows where there are vacant beds; it distributes its sick accordingly; and it provides the cost.

You will do no good without some such administrative authority - as I am sure I need not say to you.

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

All the officers of these Hospitals should hold direct from the Board an authority - & should not be under the Guardians.

f66

I must say one more word for
the Children - at the risk of
repetition.

Get all that remain in, out of the
Workhouses. This is a state question.

You want to prevent the
generation of paupers. Take
all the children, train them
in Asylums & Schools to work,
put them in the way of getting
a living. The Colonies would
take the whole of them, especially
the young women, thankfully.

But get these out of the Workhouses.

This is again a matter of general,
rather than of parochial interest.

[I could whisper the case of one of
the largest & best
managed Workhouses in
England, particularly proud
of its Union School, tho'
within the walls of ~~the~~ its
Workhouse - which Union
School furnishes a

constant supply of paupers
to its Workhouse & Workhouse
Infirmary. This ought NEVER
to be.]

f66v

As to the able-bodied paupers
in Workhouses, as to persons
receiving out-door relief -
to deal with this group requires
special local knowledge. A
Central Board could not do it.
Leave these to the Guardians.
But look what this amounts
to. It is $64000 + 1850 = 65,850$
(by a recent Poor Law Return.)
persons in health receiving
relief.

Query - would it not be a
great saving to abolish
Workhouses & add the two
sums together - converting
all paupers into out-door
recipients? - It is evident
that the "Workhouse test" is of
little use -

I would leave all, however,

f67

-5-

in the hands of the Guardians,
together with the casual Medical
aid they require. Apparently,
for the whole class, one
Workhouse would suffice, if
the present method of relief
were continued.

Apparently the matter would
arrange itself thus: -

1. properly appointed Hospitals for *sick*.
2. Schools & Asylums for *children*.
3. Asylums for aged poor
4. " for Infirm & Incurable poor
5. " for Idiots & Imbeciles
6. " for Lunatics

1. a few workhouse beds for able-bodied
2. Machinery for out-door relief.

f67v

- A. Hospitals for sick should be
separate buildings or Pavilions
- B. Aged & infirm Imbeciles
& Idiots with Incurables,
might occupy different
& detached Pavilions of
the same building.
- C. Lunatics should have a
quite separate Asylum.

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

N.B. I take no account of great
casualties e.g. frost, great commercial
distress. A more flexible system is
then wanted, something more like the
Manchester Relief Board. Suppose the
Union & the Poor Law Board to possess
the power of calling into existence "an
Extraordinary Relief Committee" which
should charge the extra rate on the
whole of London.

signed Villiers letter, seems his own hand, ff68-71v, pen pale blue paper

ff68-69

39 Sloane St

10 Jany {arch: [1867]} [6:397-98]

My dear Miss Nightingale

Thank you very much for
the peep behind the curtain
that you have given me!

What the broth will be
when its ready, one can
hardly guess, but, up
to *this* time, I expect
that the *numbers* that
have been *cooking*
it, has not falsified
the proverb. If one could
see all the private instruc-
=tions to the Commission, I
can't help thinking, that one
of them, wd be to the effect,
of not leaving things as
they are (any how) but
not make them any
different, either =

I see an announcement
in the Medical Journal
that the P. L. Board
intend to purchase 3
hospitals & send fevers
& infectious cases there
from the Workhouse,
But, in the 1st place
one may say, what
is *that* (3) among so many?
Again, who is to pay
for the 3? & thirdly
how are the 3 to be

f69v

be managed & maintained
unless the fine folks
in the West End, are
made to contribute their
share to the 'keep' of
the Metropolitan Poor
(wh has not appeared in any programme that I have seen)
However, I am most
likely the least, to
hear any of their plans
(that is if they know it) &
I shall be indebted

f70

-2-

to you entirely, for any
information I get on the subject

I am only afraid, that
owing to *your* doctoring, I
shall never see this
original 'Sketch' as it
reached you!

What I hear. let none
of the Commission, some of the
Poor Law Board, say
(which it hardly required
so much wisdom, to

f70v

announce as *new*) is that
people are *not* cured
by *Space alone!* &
that there are other
conditions quite as essential
to the well regulated
hospital, ~~filling~~ for sick to wh
Space is as *nothing*, but these
being secured, the old
abominations could
not recur - wh of
course all means
that they ought to keep

f71

a large proportion
of the old Houses & construct a few new ones -
As to the deliberations
of the *other Commission*
wh began again to
day, they will be very
important this week -
- for the last 3 days,
people who are likely
to know were all
asserting positively that there
wd be no Reform

f71v

Bill, & if not, that
there wd be *changes*
of *another kind*, in the
beginning of Feby!
& that is the prevailing opi=
=nion amongst their
leading supporters at this moment no
doubt - You will I
daresay be able to
gather from the *Times tomorrow*
what they ~~did~~/decided to day - &
if I hear it upon any other
better authority - I will inform
you - If they do not propose a measure
I can't think they will survive it.
I am yrs very sincerely
C.P. Villiers

signed Villiers letter, ff72-75v, pen [6:401-02]

f72

Private 39 Sloane St

Wednesday morning

30 Jany [18]67

My dear Miss Nightingale

I return the paper you were
so good as to allow me to see,
& I am ashamed to say,
that it makes me feel that
I did not understand the
question before ! - It is the
most instructive & exhaustive
~~paper~~/document, I have had
the advantage yet, of reading,
upon this very important
matter & I cannot bear to
think, that it may be considered

f72v

by the *foolhardy* people
as 'wholly unfit for publi=
=cation' (as the Reporters, some=
=times say) & wh, I can
conceive may be the view
taken of it, at *Whitehall*!
where the case is being *doc*=
=tored, after their own fashion.
It is so distinct, & reasonable
& would, if presented to them
fairly, test the sympathy
with the sick Poor, ~~of~~ wh some
persons are making such loud pro=
=fessions of but, wh, I am afraid,
usually cools down, or ceases

f73

at once, when they see the
 price they must pay for the
 amendment. (of what they de=
 =nounce) - If they want the
 poor really cared for, or cured,
 you shew them, what is essen=
 =tial, amongst other things,
 for the purpose - Well! they
 will say, 'It is all very true,
 'but look at the enormous
 'expence it would entail
 'upon the Unions they couldn't
 'afford it! - Well, *that* therefore at least
 tho' the *parochial mind*
 may be incapable of a
 calculation, of what

f73v

their own bad workmanship
 costs them, in the long run,
 & it is your case, that economy
 is promoted, by doing all
 that is possible at once, to
 save or recover whatever
 is out of gear in the human ~~filleg~~/animal - However,
 it is of no use talking of
 our ~~own~~/national defects - we hate
 to do any thing, on a great
 scale, or on *principle*, or at
~~filleg~~/once! We love compromise
 & tinkering = &, I have no
 doubt, that Hardy-cum-Mark=
 =ham ~~are~~/is the appropriate
 oracles for the English public ~~filleg~~

f74

-2-

I take a great interest
in the subject, & if ever
you feel at liberty to
let me ~~see~~/have this Paper,
~~again~~, I should be
much indebted to you for
if - It has never been
out of my possession or
has a soul seen it
besides myself - I only
wish, that if their plan
does not satisfy you, that
it could get inserted some=
=how, in the Englishman's

f74v

Bible, viz the *Times* - but the
world might really under=
=stand, what proper atten=
=dance, or *nursing* means, & requires
in any Establishment pur=
=porting to heal the Sick -
These Gentlemen certainly keep their
secrets well, tho' I have
no doubt it is to be
somewhat ascribed, to
their Workhouse plan being
like their Reform Policy, ~~Policy~~, viz
nil ~~being got~~ decided yet -
I wanted ~~filling~~ to learn some-

f75

=thing about rating Charitable
 Institutions the other day
 & 'the *Legal advisor* of the Board' felt
 a *delicacy* in giving me
 a reply, fearing, that I
 might ask him some
 =thing else, & abt the new
plan for the Sick poor!
 Knowing the state of
 their nerves, generally,
 with respect to *strangers* now,
 I have not mentioned
 to a human being,

f75v

that you had been kind
 enough to communicate
 with me upon the
 subject in any way
 whatever, & you may, I
 assure you, entirely rely
 upon my not making known
 any information you my
 give me, for my own ins-
 =struction on the subject - &
 of which, I feel I am not
 half master, yet - With
 many apologies for the trouble I am
 giving you - I am yrs very sincerely
 C.P. Villiers

ff76-81v, C.P. Villiers February 1, 1867, 39 Sloane St. Private. I shd
 amazingly like to hear what you say to this *seven months* child, born in the
 workhouse in Whitehall and of which there has been such promise! If it had
 been thoroughbred, it wd have spoken for itself, I think, without so much
 palaver--in the midst of which things may be found, of which in the mind of
 the author shd tell against the production. He sees objection to hospitals
 for it seems the general maladies which infirmaries do not and he is
 therefore against the plan of the "association" which suggested it to contain
 1000 each, *therefore* he proposes to erect buildings to contain *800 each*
 (exclusively sick) again great hospitals (of 1000) must be at inconvenient
 distances from the poor, because there cd be so few--but places containing
 800 might be without number I suppose! Again it is necessary to have trained
 nurses and at all events a *staff of paid ones*, but, curiously enough (he
 says) the mortality is higher in hospitals where these are to be found than
 in workhouses where they are so deficient, and greatest of all in workhouses
 where the most perfect system of nursing has been tried! Then it is said that
 no doubt the Guardians are unfit people to superintend a hosp or the
 treatment of the sick, *therefore* he will provide for *nominee* to sit with the

Guardians and who shall be *rated at 100 a year!* And people need not be startled at the novelty *for* he has known justices of the peace sit with Guardians in the country who are amongst the *largest ratepayers* in the parish! (No allusion to the good they ever did for it) Well I! Perhaps there is to be a matron for the new infirmary, but what qualifications and *rating* is to secure her being a *fit person* or, if she is not being interfered with by people who are not so. But this perhaps is unfair, to say, because he has provided for everything; he understands medical schools are much wanted. Therefore in the neighbourhood, there shall be *what?* I can't understand exactly, but some place for medical students, who have access to *the 800!* and who it seems may expect to find there a *suitable* physician who is attracted there, by the circs of a school being in the neighbourhood!

Then what is the dispensary system? We know what it is in Ireland and it seems Mr Lambert went to Ireland and reported upon Irish dispensaries and upon the strength of that report the oracle spoke last night, but, there *all poor* (or who call themselves so in the union returns so may go and get advice and physic gratis. He does not say that his bill provides otherwise in future here. I don't know how this wd work in London, but I am sure it cd be called for, instantly all over the country anyhow. And whether *large ratepayers* will like it I don't know. I don't exactly make out who is to occupy the old workhouses (if that is not to be the *new infirmary*). He takes out the mad, the infirm, the young, ablebodied--they are none--and they are rather too large, I hope, for the use of the unmarried mothers, who seem to effect their purpose while there with a little visit, and as they are not allowed to leave the bambinos behind, the number of children between one month and 2 years can't become large.

What amuses me in the plan of the 'Common fund' as he calls it, is the principle it will recognize (viz approach to equal taxation) and the stifled fears of the great people, who will hardly venture to complain, when a chairman of sessions and the pet of the clergy makes the proposition say it is only *for the sick poor!* The members for the Eastern parts of London, were of course in fits at the small percy promised to them and the prospect of lower rates and of course that part of the business is proper enough, and upon the whole I suppose indirectly it is a blow at Bumbledom and is therefore good. I don't think he is going to let us have the *appendix* before the 2nd reading, and if you wd not see the *least* objection to my seeing your paper once again I shd be very much obliged to you, but if you have not a copy to spare pray don't think of it.

Fortunately Mr Hart called on me in the morning yesterday and he saw that I was too unwell to go to the House or else I might be supposed to have been about on purpose.

I beg your pardon for writing so much...C.P. Villiers

PS I take Mr Hart to be silenced, but not satisfied.

ff82-82v C.P. Villiers 39 Sloane St. May 12, 1867, re the cost of the plan and who should pay,

I am extremely obliged to you and shall always be so for any points or suggestions upon this difficult question, of tending the sick and managing the poor. Nothing requires more care and experience to judge rightly upon it, and you might have seen a just deal in analogous matters . I only wish that

you presided at Whitehall and friend Hardy was recumbent somewhere else--a long way off). I see at once the justice of your remarks upon the bill, which is drawn by a hand wh as the "Examiner" once said of Mr Labouchere, reminded him of a sight sometimes seen at a fair a hare beating a drum and the wonder being how he can be made to do what frightened him so much. He has screwed up his courage to propose what he all his friends opposed me in doing, in spreading the charge fairly over the large illeg or at least coterminous with the administration Doubtless having offended many by this act of justice he seeks to set himself right by providing for incompetent and interested people to administer the fund. Belgravia will cry out he is going to take his money and relieve the poor without due regard to their property and simply with the view to secure good treatment for the sick. No, he will say, I will put people over the asylums, not on account of their fitness but because they pay rates upon £100 a year and who will be as eager for economy]breaks off]

ff83-86v, black-edged paper, 39 Sloane St. embossed February 20, 1867

I thank you sincerely for the instructive letter you have just sent me-- and for your kind offer of replying to any farther queries which on my ignorance I mt wish to trouble you with before the debate on Mr Hardy's bill.

I really have not the conscience to do it, I feel that I know more about it all than I ever did before, thanks to you, and feel heartily ashamed for having been so uninformed hitherto, but what with illeg and wanting proper opportunity and having a illegs I am sure that I can neither say anything tomorrow the least worthy of the occasion and I shall if possible postpone my 'say' till one of the many other opportunities wh this bill will provide of speaking. I don't think Mr Hardy's bill will escape without considerable criticism, but of course it will be read a 2nd time.

In fact everybody is engaged about the Reform Bill which D'Izzy is to hatch next Monday and in the operation as many hope will eject 2 or 3 out of the nest in which we have all been sitting. The advantage of Mr Hardy's proposing the bill is not his party, who wd have opposed it, had they been out, will now all swallow it, and some useful things will be launched, that they can't recover, at least I suppose they will support him, tho the story is that they are not a happy family at all on that side and some are expecting to be 'ruined' as the maids say if they illegs Mr D'Izzy longer! PS I wonder *how bad* E Hart is? I can't make him out. How he has got any influence with the press I can't think. He runs with 'hare & hounds.'

ff87-90v, {archivist: Feb? 1867}, C.P. Villiers, 39 Sloane St. I am really quite ashamed of troubling you again, after you have already so kindly satisfied my curiosity as to your view of this measure of Mr Hardy, but, in your last letter I wanted to know, if I understood you rightly, in disapproving of the plan of herding the fever and smallpox cases, exclusively, in asylums erected especially for that purpose. So it the case now that these are hospitals for these maladies and where indeed the paupers are also part, and where in this kind of world I am found. Is it shown anywhere that the mortality is higher there than in other places where such cases are treated? Again, were not the plan of the "association" to have hospitals were acute cases could have been sent placing 1000 in each, would that plan have been objectionable? I presume that at the house of any one union, there would not be many of these cases, and that they could be

"huttet" easily alongside of the infirmary, but would not the illeg of the mortality being high in these asylums where 800 are to be congregated apply to all hospitals or all congregations of invalids or diseased people under one roof.

I find that Mr Hardy is to bring in his measures on Thursday [Tuesday?]. I wonder if anything fresh has struck you respecting it? The poor parishes are already aware to what illeg of first namely that they will have to pay for these building more than they will gain by the reduction (of Fever) in the £ which they are promised.

The "local acts" also are stirring and tho he will get his bill read a 2nd time, for the reason that *they* on that side are not *free* to oppose it, & other people who see any good in it will vote for it at this stage, yet he will have some trouble and I am afraid that no vote of ours before the bill comes on will prevent that. We have got such a pith of forbearance now!

ff91-95v, {archivist: Feb 1867}, C.P. Villiers, 39 Sloane St. thanking FN for her reply and further discussing Hardy's Bill. I beg to thank you most sincerely (and to apologize equally to you for the trouble I have given you) for the opinion you have sent me upon this question, raised by Mr Hardy's bill. I am only sorry that you have to learn the extent of senatorial ignorance that exists on these matters, those they do really come home to us all, for what affects the health of the metropolis must be immensely more important than what is absorbing the mind of the 'rulers' (existing & expectant) at this point! Yet few will inform themselves about the details of Mr Hardy's bill and will pass it in order to put a tiresome subject out of the way. There is as you justly say, a radical defect in the bill, namely that if they were to be left as he proposes, 2 years hence when everything about Daly and Gibson will be forgotten that same struggle between doctors and guardians (or the 'managers' perhaps) will be going on and be attended with the same results! He is clearly beaten upon the subject, because he knows better, judging by his 1st speech. He is aware that there ought to be no connection or rather confusion between pauperism and sickness, but he has not provided for this principle and has hoped by (I expect in vain) to conciliate guardians who, of all things in the world hate an intruder, like the intended nominee. However I don't believe there is such a character as he imagines or wants. In the cold weather sometimes there are some illeg young men all torn who want to do a bit of good, for a short time, and would rather enjoy going among the guardians but they wd not have time or inclination to do that for men there a few weeks and their precious habits would inspire the 'greengrocer' with anything but respect.

And they mt not agree, really good men cd not spare the time. The only question is whether a mischief will be done by th bill passing as it is, that does sometimes happen, though it is an improvement, for it becomes more difficult than ever to get it amended. However I think Mr Stone is now set and rolling and people will before long be much better informed upon al sanitary matters than they have ever been, and there will be great changes. Mr Hardy already illeg I see referred to something in a few years passing much grander than *his* bill tho' he called that *fallacious* the other day. But after passing from pure conversation to household suffrage in 48 hours one may reasonably ask 'what next?' from these gentlemen! The man in the street says, they can't go on, however there is a bad trick that boys, deprived of

their own porridge, practise at school to prevent the consumption of others that they seem to be doing by affairs of state and they will not leave a very pleasant bed for others who follow them lay down in.

ff96-99v, March 4, 1867, C.P. Villiers, 39 Sloane St. re the publication of a report on the London Workhouses and its effect on the Tory government

unsigned draft, f100-00v, very faint pencil rough JS hand

f100 {archivist: 1867}

[10:761]

There is nothing in the objections against the Chorlton Hospital that we are not accustomed to. They were urged against the new army Hospitals, but all the suffering here come to nought & every body in time gets satisfied.

I was aware of the want of govt. offices & thought this made the cost per head less than it ought to have been But probably the building will be found too large for the strictly parish sick, as all our new hospitals are.

The number of continually occupied beds has immediately

f100v

decreased whenever the wards have become occupied This is natural & indicates a reduction of the constantly sick from better sanitary conditions enabling them to get well sooner.

The omission of a lying in ward is a grave oversight but even this could easily be supplied in this place by a small additional outlay. **[end]**

ff101-07, {archivist: [1867]}, C.P. Villiers 39 Sloane St. re a hospital at Chorlton which meets some of FN's recommendations. Tuesday evening. I only returned to town on Monday aft and found your note and interesting enclosure late in the evening. I thank you extremely for doing me the favour of sending it. I continue to take a considerable interest in the subject and this case of Chorlton is well worthy of attention. If it has all the success that is expected of it the example will be of great use in case the subject of state hospitals is ever taken up with earnestness and with the view to a wise and benevolent arrangement suitable for the whole country. Hitherto that has not been done. The movement in London (of which benevolent people availed themselves) had really reference only to procuring a more just distribution of the charge for the poor of London, or in effect to ease certain unions and parishes in the East of London by levying the poor rate over the whole area of the metropolis.

The apparently arduous supporters of G Hardy's bill illeg could hardly be brought to consider what was essential for the proper management of a hospital, where however they won't be able to escape from some of the consequences of that measure and it will be referred to as precedent when a larger plan is in question. It must be satisfactory to you that one properly constructed building should have sprung up at last (out of a union) giving effect to all the principles for which you have contended, and at a cost, at once meeting the fears and objections ordinarily opposed to the requirements of humanity and experience. I trust it may prove a success in every way. I did cause some inquiry to be made about the Chorlton Infirmary a few weeks ago, and of course I found there were different opinions as to the wisdom and advantage of such a illeg [more available]

draft letter, ff108-12, pen in JS neat hand [6:343-45]

f108

Mr. Gathorne Hardy

Sir

My excuse for writing you on ~~the subject of~~ the reform of Workhouse infirmaries is that I have been in Communication with the Poor Law Board for some time past on the subject besides having had opportunities of discussing ~~the subject~~/it with Mr. Villiers personally. My immediate reason for writing is that I have read Dr. Smith's report, and need scarcely say that if I agreed with its practical proposals I should perhaps be the only person who did.

He appears to be unacquainted with the centuries of consecutive experience which have led to the adoption of a certain minimum of space for the sick, and he rests his argument for returning to the hospital ~~practice of the middle~~ Construction of the Middle ages, on

certain experiments of Dr. Angus Smith on the amount of carbonic acid in sick wards, which

f108v

~~when examin~~ are not new, and which moreover have ~~no~~ little or nothing to do with the question at issue. The proposal made by ~~all~~ the chief leading medical authorities in London to Mr. Villiers to give 1000 cubic feet per bed remains in no sense invalidated by Dr. Smiths report.

Again Dr. Smith appears not to have sufficiently considered the fact that when extensive alterations & additions have to be made to defective buildings, it becomes really more economical to build anew, & in doing so every necessary improvement can be introduced into the plans.

In as far as regards the nursing & management of sick in Workhouses, I can ~~spea~~/say most positively, that if any improvement in this direction

f109

is to be carried out, it must be don under a separate organization and management from that of the Workhouse. ~~In nearly~~/Above a year ~~18 months~~ ago ~~I~~ my fund trustees ~~have found~~ provided a Matron & 12 nurses to try the experiment of introducing trained nurses & training others in the Liverpool workhouse. The cost ~~was born~~ has been borne by Mr. William Rathbone. their governor is ~~a first-rate man,~~ /an excellent officer and the committee willing, but practically although the nursing has been a success, the administration has been far from satisfactory, & ~~thus~~ I believe all parties consider

f109v

that the best thing to do will be to separate the sick administration altogether from the Workhouse administration. One main object we have all had in view in trying this experiment has been to introduce trained nursing into the London Workhouses, but unless the administrative & structural improvements required are carried out, ~~now~~ it will be absolutely useless to make the attempt.

The antecedents of all the London Workhouse authorities appear to be ~~most~~ opposed to improvement, ~~but~~ and this difficulty can only be overcome ~~by~~ by beginning from the foundation. Classification of workhouse inmates & separation of the sick consolidation of sick wards into habitats with a separate administration ~~appears to be~~/is absolutely necessary to success.

f110

The report of the Barrack & hospital improvement Commission gives all necessary information as to the questions of ~~space~~ ventilation.

The spaces - 600 feet in Barracks & 1200 feet in hospitals were fixed by the Royal Commission of 1857 which consisted of Lord Herbert, Sir Henry Storks, Augustus Stafford, Sir Thos Phillips Sir James Clark, Sir R. Martin two directors General of the army Med Dep, Dr. A. Smith & Dr Alexander. and Dr. Sutherland. They settled the space not after such ~~m~~ one sided quasi-scientific enquiries as have been followed ~~by the Lord~~ in the London Workhouses, in which chemistry has been

f110v

applied to questions it cannot solve, but after minute & laborious enquiry extending to all the leading hospitals in England & France.

The question was then purely a practical one & it is so still.

In the report herewith sent you will find the whole subject of the relation of ventilation to space discussed & all ~~about~~ about shafts & inlets. Practically as regards hospitals you will find that with 1200 cubic feet per bed nothing

f111

short of keeping the windows open will preserve the wards sufficiently fresh for sick. ~~& the~~ men in the prime of life, but what are you to do with poor feeble old people who could not stand this. Surely 1000 cubic feet is not ~~enough~~ more than enough to ask for such cases; But his would only after all be the fixed datum, so to speak.

In order to use the space

f111v

so as to combine warming with ventilation you would require special construction arrangements.

f112

These opinions I have already expressed both to Mr. Villiers & Mr. Farnall and if I can render you any assistance in the great work in which you are about to enter, I shall most willingly do so to the extent to which my feeble; health will enable me {the following paragraph has vertical lines drawn through it} and I have also stated my willingness to do what I can in the way of ~~provi~~ providing nurses, ~~although the demands on us are so great that that~~

ff113-15, July 25, 1866, on embossed House of Commons, Private. Gathorne Hardy. You owe me no apology for calling my attention to material points connected with the subject in the consideration of which I am so much engaged. I shd say this to anyone who wrote in the same spirit as yourself, but I am really indebted to you who have earned no common title to advise and suggest upon anything which affects the treatment of the sick. Your note arrived at the very moment when a gentleman was urging me to lay upon you questions relating to workhouse infirmaries and I shd not have hesitated to do so if needful even without the cordial invitation which you give me to ask your assistance. At present I have not advanced very far from want of time as while Parliament is sitting I am necessarily very much occupied with other business and I am anxious to remedy if possible present and urgent grievances before I enter thoroughly upon legislation for the future. I shall bear in mind the offer which you have made and in all probability avail myself of it to the full. Believe me Madam
yrs vy faithfully Gathorne Hardy July 25 1866

ff116-17, January 29, War Office, note "Tomorrow" draft, ff116v-17, pencil {in JS's hand}

f116v {archivist: 30 Jan 1867} black-edged War Office, pencil rough

To Gathorne Hardy.}
I am afraid from the
information contained in your
note that the common purpose
of certain influential persons
on your committee has been
hurt. It appears to me that
as I have helped you to
what may be called the
general principles on which
your plan should be
based that, I should now

[6:402]

f117
cease further interference
until the committee has
come to some distinct
conclusion & then if the
committee choose to
request my opinion on
any specific points it
will afford me the greatest
pleasure to give it.

draft, f118 -19v, pencil {in JS's hand} [6:399-400]

f118 {archivist's notes: [To Gathorne Hardy] [ca. Jan 1867]}

I fear your scheme will not meet the case. If you proceed with it at all you must do so in the largest spirit.

I send you the Hospital Regulations which will show how we manage in the Army. A similar system would do for London provided you laid your hands over the whole surface - and took powers by your act to do whatever is required to carry out principles in my paper. Otherwise I fear you will fail.

f118v

What you want it to take powers for the separation of cases, then to build any number of proper hospitals & asylums where necessary, taking *not* the workhouses, but such only of the Workhouse infirmaries as are suitable for sick
It will be safest to get the Times to advocate the general principle & this will afford room for discussion and ~~for~~ time to perfect the details.

f119v

Will you look at this note about Pauper children.

I should deal with them just as ~~for~~ with pauper sick. They should all belong to the central authority from the moment they enter school until they are provided for. They should never enter the Workhouse after entering the School.

I suppose the cost should be paid out of the rates, in which case a Privy Council Inspector would be necessary.

draft, f120, pencil rough JS hand

f120 {archivist: [To Gathorne Hardy] [ca. Jan or by Feb. 1867]}

As ~~par~~ you will very likely be preparing your measure for the Metropolis it has occurred to me to suggest the following as ~~the~~ an outline of it, if it be practicable.

1. To separate distinctly the sick from the able bodied & casuals
2. To separate distinctly the permanent invalids & aged from the able bodied & casuals
- 3d. The same as regards children.

Then to provide suburban institutions

1. for sick
2. for Infirm, aged & invalids
3. Industrial schools for children

I would let them all be under a single head appointed say by the P.L.B. & let them be supported by a general rate.

As regards able bodied & casuals, I would leave them to be dealt with by the Parishes, recouping the outlay out of the ~~Rate~~ General rate & keeping a firm hand over them

unsigned note, f120v [6:400]

120v

Well you talked to me a long while the other day about a conversation you had had with somebody - about taking the 20000 sick & infirm out of the Workhouses & putting them under the P.L. Board (with an uniform rate)

which was just what Mr. Farnall said (to me) And I told you so -And you were diabolically cross.

Well Mr. Farnall *begs* us to write to him *any hints - not about matter*

Now I would write to him again - both upon the above and upon what you have said just now about the Fever Nests & a special rate.

I would now let this go out, but it seems to me that as I have not objected that my name should appear on the title page that in your circular you might avoid the ~~absolute~~ anonymous absolute, by signing it The Compiler

on behalf of the Committee
of The Liverpool Nurses training
School & home

This would at once give it a status and command attention.

ff121-30v, printed Metropolitan Poor Law Bill, {archivist: Gathorne Hardy, Feb. Mar. 1867} with FN comments

f124 written in margin of bill at clause 11. For "resident in the District"
FN wrote
substitute resident *in the Metropolis*. Mr R.

f125v

FN written at bottom of bill on its p 6:

31. Substitute

"The respective Unions or Parishes from which the inmates of the Asylum are sent

shall be charged at the rate of pence pr day towards the maintenance of each inmate sent by them." Mr R

[The danger Mr. Hardy fears of people being sent by parishes unnecessarily into the Hospital, is easily guarded against, & justice & efficiency secured by

requiring the parish to which the sick belong to pay the cost of the ordinary maintenance

of a pauper, such cost to be estimated at a very full rate, & let the Common Fund bear

the extra cost which accident or sickness may entail in keeping them & tending them as

Patients in a well-managed Hospital.]

f126v at bottom of bill on its p 7:

Or the same object may perhaps be even better accomplished by a clause allowing to each such Hospital a subsidy out of the common Fund equal to the estimated difference between the cost of an ordinary pauper & that of a Patient

in a well-managed Hospital--such subsidy to be contingent on such a staff of Medical Officers & Nurses, on such dietary & general efficiency as is required

by the P.L. Board. A periodical report by competent Inspectors to be as it is with schools, necessary to qualify for such grant.

Mr R.

f130 FN wrote in margin of bill at clause 77 for ratepayers resident in the union or parish

substitute

resident *in the*

Metropolis

Mr R.

notes, f131v, pencil [this is FN commenting on bill] [6:410]

f131v

[page torn] Hospital accommodation which Mr Hardy contemplates for
[page torn](?) Patients should be so arranged that the Hospital shall be the
normal school 1. for London
2. for S. of England

Mr R

Mr Hardy states

7046 temporarily disabled

13685 old & infirm (include Cancer, Consumption &c x which from their
long continuation

bring even the most careful to poverty)

Yet of these he only proposes to relieve out of the General fund 2800
(2000 lunatics & 800 small pox & fever Patients)

Mr R

P.S.

I am as stern a political economist as any man & would make the able-
bodied pauper either *really work or starve* which is not done now.

I hate waste of any sort & am convinced that the amount of money, life &
character muddled away in England, by unmethodical & inefficient
management of affairs, public & private, is fearful.

Whether to make a fortune or organize successfully any public or other work
the principles are very simple - Let the system be one by which good or
bad management is promptly brought to light. Let those who are to carry
it out be chosen carefully, trained carefully, paid sufficiently, & entrusted
with means of doing their work efficiently - And success is certain in
the long run.

x It is indeed wretched that such should be made miserable & unfair that
their
expensive support should be thrown entirely on the district they happen to be
in when
taken ill. The danger &c vide p. 6 -

draft, ff132-32v, pencil in JS rough hand [6:403]

f132 {archivist:[ca. March 1867]}

Mr. Hardy

I have read the notice for the Bill about the Metropolitan sick poor with great satisfaction & trust that the stigma which has been resting on us in this matter may now be swept away.

~~I take it for g~~

Perhaps you know that your Committee on the subject ~~requ~~ did me the honour to request me to ~~write a~~ send suggestions about nursing for the infirmaries; I prepared & sent in a paper & as I have just received an acknowledgement of it from Sir R. Watson in which he states that it is to be sent in entire to you, it has

f132v

occurred to me to enclose a copy in order that you may see what I said.

If the paper even in the smallest degree helps toward the solution of the question it will afford me very sincere pleasure

draft, ff133-34, pencil in JS rough hand [6:406-07]

f133 {archivist: [~~after Jan 14.~~/ca. March 1867]}

Mr. Gathorne Hardy

I should have serious scruples in addressing you on the subject of the provision for sick poor in the metropolis were it not that I ~~ha~~ had been for a considerable time previously in communication with Mr. Villiers, who I also saw on the subject. I am cognizant of almost every step which has been taken, & have watched with the keenest interest every approach to improvement in the management of Workhouse Infirmaryes. ~~My~~ The trustees of the Nightingale fund have moreover funded a Matron & Nurses for the Liverpool workhouse Infirmary, where the first experiment on a large scale of introducing trained nurses on a regular administrative plan, is now being tried: and one object of this experiment has been to pave the way for providing & training nurses for the London Workhouse Infirmaryes. But on carefully considering the various accounts which have from time to time appeared of the state of these

f133v

places, ~~It~~ it has appeared to me that without extensive structural & administrative changes it would be utterly impracticable to carry out the required improvements in the management & care of the sick.

One document I have just seen is Dr Smiths report with his proposals for improving the workhouses. ~~With~~

In so far as concerns the Infirmaries I feel most reluctantly compelled to dissent altogether from the spirit of his proposals & to state that if they are acted upon, I can ~~hardly~~ scarcely conceive how improvement such as the public has a right to expect can be carried out.

It is quite evident from all the published documents that great changes

f134

will have to be introduced before the evils of the present system can be removed, & I have ventured to write to you to state that I shall always be glad to render any assistance which my weak health will permit, ~~in~~ which may to however humble an extent aid in removing the great stigma which now attaches to our treatment of the sick poor.

draft, ff135-36, pencil {in JS's hand} [6:407]

f135 {archivist: [ca. March 1867]}

There is an expression in your note which seems to indicate that you and I are not quite at one in principle as to the management of the sick poor, having claim to attendance & care under the poor law.

There are two classes of sick persons who will come under the operation of the act.

1st Sick persons taken from among paupers actually in the Work houses, or in actual receipt of Parish ~~ref~~ relief out of doors.

2nd. What may be called casual sick cases occurring among casual poor, or sick cases put on medical relief & who thus become chargeable on the rates only & while they are receiving such medical relief.

Now what we contend is that the moment any one of these people in either class becomes sick, they cease by the very fact to belong any longer to the Workhouse Category at all. They are a new & very special class of persons requiring quite another kind of care than they could obtain under any workhouse

f135v

arrangement, & it is for this class that
~~for the first time~~ we ought to provide
 such hospital accommodation, attendance,
 nursing & care as we would desire to
 see provided for any poor persons in
 whom we take interest. We deny
 the existence of "sick paupers," or
 "pauper sick" altogether, & we intend
 never to rest until this distinction
 is done away with, and a suitable
 organization provided for treating these
 sick people in which no [illeg]
 idea shall find a place. It is
 not creditable to us that we are the
 only people in Europe among whom the
 idea of treating sick even from amongst the worst social classes on the same
 level as the idle, dissolute or debased,
 or even the unfortunate is recognized.

f136

~~We have rescued a~~

draft, ff137-38, pencil {in JS's hand}

f137 {archivist: ca. March 1867} {Whole f is crossed through with a single vertical line down the centre.}

It is proposed that the rating shall be
 general over the Metropolis, & why should
 the election of Managers be local.

12. Whatever are the nominated to be
 one 3rd or one 4th of the board
- 14 How about Contracts & speculations
 by "relatives or friends" of Managers
15. Does the expression "fitted up" include
 alterations or additions to buildings?
 or only furnishings & inside alterations
17. Why should not these buildings be
 charged to the entire Metropolis
 This clause may become oppressive
 to the poorer parishes
19. Owners will not be likely to submit
 legal questions to the Poor Law Board

f137 ? {in FN's hand}

~~The whole Act is a mistake~~

The first 36 clauses are simply an extension of Mr. Villiers' Union Chargeability Act for a special purpose - i.e for sick, insane &c

and for this purpose the Guardians are to be replaced by other Boards of Guardians, partly elected, partly nominated. It does not appear that there is anything in these clauses which could not be equally well obtained thro' existing Bds of G. with the addition of a few members nominated by P. L. Board to sit & vote whenever questions connected with the sick &c were under discussion or than could be obtained by deputing an Inspector of the P.L. Bd to be present.

The real principle is that sickness & personal calamity, being not of local but of general concern, should be paid for by a common rate - dispensed under one central management -

f138

The only Patients to be provided for by the Bill out of the common rate are

Lunatics

Fever

Smallpox

together with Medicines, Medical Officers Salaries & Salaries of all Officials &c -

Taken as a whole, the bill adds (a penny) rate to the Metropolis without any adequate result. And it ~~rec~~ leaves the main questions as to provision for the other sick poor much in the same position as at present - the only ~~pr~~ security for better treatment being that these will be a small minority of P.L. nominees on the proposed new Board

Practically, the measure can't be improved. The fundamental principle of it is altogether wrong.

f138v

It is quite evident that every word of this Bill must be most carefully considered by persons who have had official experience of the working of the P.L.

77.

totally useless
or would introduce such a state of complication into the business as would lead either to the hampering of all business -
or to putting the whole business ultimately into the hands of the central authority

FN neat draft or memo, ff139-40, pen [6:408-09]

f139

Private *Mr. Hardy's Bill*
The first 36 clauses are simply an extension of Mr. Villiers' Union Chargeability Act for a special purpose - i.e. for sick, insane &c.
And for this purpose the Guardians are to be replaced by other Boards of Guardians - partly elected, partly nominated.

It does not appear that there is anything in these clauses which could not be equally well obtained thro' the existing Boards of Guardians with the addition of a few members nominated by P.L. Board to sit & vote whenever questions connected with the sick etc. were under discussion - or which could not be obtained by deputing an Inspector of the P.L. Board to be present.

The real principle is:- that sickness & personal calamity, being not of local but of general concern,

f139v

should be paid for by a common rate
- dispensed under one central
management.

The only Patients to be provided for
by the Bill out of the common rate
are:- Lunatics

Fever

Small-pox

together with Medicines, Medical Officers'
salaries & salaries of all officials &c

Taken as a whole, the Bill adds a
(penny) rate to the Metropolis
without any adequate result.

And it leaves the main question

- as to the provision for the other
sick poor - just where it was -
the only security for better treatment
being that there will be a small
minority of P.L. nominees on
the proposed new Boards.

f140

Practically, the measure can't be
improved. The fundamental
principle of it is altogether
wrong.

draft, ff141-42, pencil, FN

f141 {archivist: [ca. March 1867]}

The fundamental error of the Bill consists in providing separate large Hospitals for Fever & Small pox. One would think that the 18 per cent Mortality of the existing Fever Hospital last year (14½ per cent excluding cases which died shortly after coming in) would have been sufficient justification for providing no more such shambles. Every one acquainted even slightly with the Hygiene of these diseases knows that the lowest Mortality rates are obtained by having a few cases only together.

Now, there is no reason whatever why each of the proposed Sick Asylums should not have attached to ~~them~~ it one, two or three separate small wooden huts. or brick huts. And in this way ~~the~~ to provide for all classes of cases with as few establishments & as small "Establishment charges" as possible.

The first amendment then, if the Bill is to be amended would be to get rid of these provisions for Fever & Small-pox. And, if this were done, the Bill would be

f141v

simply a proposal to classify the inmates of Workhouses in separate Asylums - to consolidate the buildings & administration for sick properly so called. & to add a certain number of *ex officio* members to Guardians elected on the Boards of management.

But - it is not very obvious to what extent the sick would benefit by this change, more than they would benefit under the present arrangements - if the P.L. Board only had powers to see or order that everything necessary were done for them.

Eg. that the existing Infirmarys were extended & improved up to the requirements of modern science.

While, on the other hand, the Bill totally overlooks the fact that the charges for improved buildings & improved administration to be made on the associated Parishes & Unions may amount to a larger sum than the poorest of them can by any possibility bear.

f142

This point should be most minutely enquired into.

So far as our own examination of the P.L. returns enables a judgement to be formed, it would be simply impossible to work the Act without raising the rates in the poorer parishes.

Depend upon it, the key to the whole reform is to separate distinctly between an avoidable calamity, personal or mental, & pauperism - to provide for the former just in the same way as the main drainage of the Metropolis (which is of common concern) is provided for by a general rate - and to leave pauperism like district drainage to be paid for by a local rate.

Were these principles adopted, then I would have as few efficient sick asylums as possible - consistent with convenience of position for the poor. I should have one Board of management

f142v

for the whole of them, just as there is on the Metropolitan B. of Works. for Metropolitan improvement - to be composed partly of elected members from Parishes & Unions, partly of nominated members. In this way you would have uniformity of system - you would always know where vacant beds were to be found - you would be able to check the expenditure in all the Hospitals much more readily - you could preserve uniformity of administration in all Nursing & Medical arrangements - you could get all your contracts taken at lower rates - & your administrative authority would have that weight required for carrying public opinion along with it.

As it is, the Bill is an "instalment", but "in the" wrong "direction".
N.B. The results of treating fever in huts are well understood to be the most favourable known.

draft, ff143-44, pencil {archivist:[re Mr. Hardy's plan ca March 1867]}

f143

Mr Villiers

Supposing a system of Govt. Workhouse Infirmaryes, [6:421-22]
will there not be some difficulty in arranging the
mode of admission, the places of admission (by
Medical Officers) in so large a Metropolis? -

Again - a man is admitted to a Workhouse, & has
some trifling ailment (Rheumatic pains) after
admission - (he is admitted as a pauper, *not* as a
sick man) - how is he to be dealt with
under the new system? - is *he* to be sent to
Hospital?

Again - it constantly happens now that a man &
his wife are admitted into the Workhouse, who apply
for admission in order to have their children sent
to Hanwell School. They leave them in a few days,
in order to get them new clothed - then take them
out & pawn their clothes.

This is a constant occurrence now -
Mr. Villiers sees much difficulty in having wards
for casualties (accidents & sudden illnesses) in the
Metropolis, supposing the system of Suburban
Infirmaryes carried out - Because, he says,
each must have staff - He thinks such cases
ought to go to the (already existing) Hospitals.

f143v

Mr. Villiers does not believe that the increasing the pay of the Medical Officers (for Workh. Infiries.) will do much good.

Yet, he thinks, this is the only point the Ho. of C. will understand.

He says:- the only object of M.P.s is to keep their seats -

that nothing but a public cry (which has now subsided - & which needs to be kept up by 2 or 3 untiring individuals, who now do not exist) will induce them to think much of Workhouse Infirmeries -

& that they will be perfectly satisfied with any half measure or no measure at all Mr. Hardy may choose to give them.

Dr. Markham managed the translation of Mr. Hart from "Lancet" to a much more moderate paper, Brit. Med. Journal - because Mr. Hardy found the "Lancet" cry inconvenient.

And Dr. Markham has managed to muzzle many others of the inconvenient protest-makers.

f144

Mr. Villiers believes that Mr. Hardy's plan is exactly the opposite of ours - that it is to draft off Lunatics, Infirm & Aged, Children etc - & to leave the present Workhouses for the 6000 or 7000 sick - together with, he believes, such cases as those mentioned, where a father & mother come in to get their children clothed. [He believes that the expence of *any new* buildings (for the Aged &c), *if any*, will be charged to the Consolidated Fund - that the sick will be left in the Workhouses, as before, - charged to the rates, as before, - under the Guardians, as before.]

Mr. Villiers believes that the Asst. Secretary, Mr. Lumley, of the P.L. Bd., is at this moment drawing a Bill.

to the effect that

- (1. the Board is to become Permanent]
2. an increased number of Inspectors
which will give a great deal of patronage
3. a re-arrangement of the Auditors system, which
will give Govt. a great deal of patronage -

drafts of the same letter, ff145-46r, pencil, in JS hand [6:466-67]

f145

I have lately heard of a Board of Guardians ~~attempt~~ having sent a woman ~~for a t~~ whom they were desirous of appointing as midwife to a Workhouse for one months training ~~to~~ in her office after the Nightingale fund had declined to receive her for a less period than 6 months, which we know from experience to be necessary.

Looking at the amount of suffering & probable loss of life which might be entailed if this precedent were adopted elsewhere I would beg to suggest whether the Poor Law Board might not prevent much mischief by requiring that no midwife be employed by any Bd of Gds unless her qualifications & certificates have been previously approved by the Board. I should feel disposed to apply this rule to all cases & its practical operation would be that ~~these~~ a better instructed class of women would gradually be available for the purpose

f145v

It has recently come to my knowledge that a Board of Guardians ~~has been~~ has attempted to obtain the services of an imperfectly trained woman to act as Midwife in their workhouse ~~and~~. They wished that we should take her for one months training which we declined to do & they sent her elsewhere. It has occurred to me to address you on the subject lest a precedent be established which in the end might lead to much suffering & to loss of life among the poor. Apart from this danger I can see no objection to the employment of properly qualified midwives in Workhouses or in Parishes. We train ~~so~~ women for such purposes under the fund, but practically we find that it requires ~~1/2 year's~~ 6 months careful training to qualify a woman merely for the nursing responsibilities of such a profession.

Until a sufficient number of trained midwives can be provided it would certainly be better to continue the present system of ~~the~~ requiring the Medical Officer of the Workhouse to take the lying in cases, and in the mean time it has occurred to me to suggest whether the Poor Law Board might not caution boards of Guardians against employing women

f146 {in FN's hand}

To Mr. Hardy

{the following paragraph is crossed through with a single vertical line}

It has come to my cognizance that
certain Boards of Guardians have
attempted to obtain the services of
women to act as midwives in the
performance of those duties usually
allotted to qualified Medical Officers,
& for which these Officers

{Following carries on from f145v, in JS's hand}

~~unt~~ until their recommendations and
qualifications have been submitted to the
Board. It appears to me that the Medical
Inspectors of the Board would easily decide
as to the Competency of any woman offering
herself for such an office & that it would
be highly desirable that ~~he~~ such applications
should be referred to them for ~~and~~ opinion.

{FN's hand} Happy is the man whose father is damned.

f147, letter by Ernest Hart dated February 11, 1867, re Mr. Hardy's bill in
the *British Medical Journal*

signed letter, ffl48-51v, pen {archivist: Mr. Gathorne Hardy}

f148

Army Sanitary Comm 35 South St.

Capt. Galton Park Lane W. [15:518-19]

Private & Confidential April 13/77

Sir

I very meekly feel that I am venturing on what you might think a quite unwarrantable intrusion but that your great kindness encourages me to plead my reasons before you.

Capt. Douglas Galton was 'served', so to speak, with a (very courteous) 'notice to quit' the *Army Sanitary Comm*: during a brief absence in the United States: of which *Comm*: he is, except Dr. Sutherland, the

f149

oldest & most experienced member, & an unpaid member from the beginning.

He has more experience in *Army Sanitary* things than any man living, except Dr. Sutherland: and in *Army Sanitary Engineering & Army Sanitary building works* than any man, without exception.

He would be irreplaceable: for another man, however able, would not have his experience in the work of the *Comm*:

He worked with Lord Herbert from the time that Sidney Herbert began his labours of *Army Sanitary* reform - now 20 years ago: when he was placed on the "*Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission*": the first fruits of Sidney Herbert's R. Commission "*on the Sanitary State of the Army*" in ~~1877~~. 1857. On the "*Barrack & Hospital Impt Comm*:" which consisted of Sidney Herbert, Dr. Sutherland, Capt. Galton, (& Dr. Burrell who is dead,) Capt. Galton ~~sate~~, or rather travelled, ~~then~~ ~~as now~~ as an ~~unpaid~~ /working member: for he did not enter the War Office till some years after. That *Comm*: developed into the "*Army Sanitary*

f149v

Comm:" when, in consequence of Sidney Herbert's second Royal Comm: "on the Sanitary State of the Army in *India*," (which he ~~did not~~ lived only to place in the hands of the present Lord Derby, who 'reported' in 1863) the said Comm. undertook *I.O.* as well as *W.O* Sanitary affairs.

Capt. Galton has thus been 20 years, & not as a member of the *W.O.*, at the work.

I believe it was I who first named him to Sidney Herbert in 1857, - which I mention, not because my naming him but his own ability was the

f150

-2-

cause of his appointment on the Comm:,
but because it seems to plead after a manner my excuse before you, as having been familiar in a way no other person now living has been from the beginning with Capt. Galton's work.

I have only to add that I write this without Capt. Galton's knowledge, but that I know him well enough to say that it would be a grief to him not to continue his unpaid services.

Let me again hope that you, overlooking what

f151

may seem my impertinence, will favourably consider this matter:

& that you will believe me

Sir

ever your faithful & grateful servt

Florence Nightingale

[end 15:519]

The Right Honble

Gathorne Hardy M.P.

&c &c &c

ff152-53v, 88, Regent's Park Road, N.W., August 8, 1868, from W.H. Wyatt, to Mr. Burrows re Workhouses with an initialed note of FN identifying some papers

ff154-55v, October 29, 1868, from W.H. Wyatt, printed stationery 88 Regent's Park Road, N.W. to FN thanking her for her support and describing plans for the new Hospital

Letter from W.H. Wyatt, Add Mss 45787 ff154-55

88 Regent's Park Road, N.W.
29 October 1868

Dear Madam

I beg you to be so good as to accept my best thanks for your most kind note of the 22nd; to have won the approval of a lady, of whom every Englishman feels proud, is most gratifying, and it will, I can assure you, tend to encourage me, in the performance of the duty, which has fallen to my lot, and we do need sometimes require a little cheering on, for the malice and misrepresentation of those, who formerly filled, and lived on their parochial offices, is unceasing, while the better class of ratepayers and aloof and take little or no interest in our efforts to bring about a healthier state of things.

You will be doing our poor an inestimable service in co-operating with us to provide a superintendent and a trained staff of nurses for our new infirmary. Under our present system, we find it impossible to obtain the services of either efficient or trustworthy women, we hope the new hospital, with its 520 beds, now being erected at Highgate, may be ready for the reception of patients, quite early in the year 1870, and while no money has been wasted on ornament, it will comprise I believe every requirement, likely to aid restoration to health.

Our lying-in wards will remain permanently at the present workhouse, but after the removal of our sick, we shall be able to afford very improved accommodation to this class of patients.... (re Bonham Carter etc.)

ff156-57v, November 12, 1868, W.H. Wyatt letter from 88 Regent's Park Road, asking for FN's comments on plans for the new Highgate Infirmary

ff158-58v, November 18, 1868, W.H. Wyatt letter from 88, Regent's Park Road N.W. informing FN that the architects for the Infirmary will forward the plans to her

45787 f159, November 20, 1868, letter by John Giles on embossed 28 Craven St., Charing Cross stationery, from the architects enclosing the plans for St Pancras Inf. Messrs John Giles and Brown present their compliments to Miss Florence Nightingale and have the honour of sending herewith the drawings of the St Pancras Infirmary. If convenient to Miss Nightingale they may be kept a week or ten days.

Messrs Giles and Brown are pleased to have the opportunity of thanking Miss Nightingale for the very valuable suggestions contained in her book on Hospitals She will perceive that in the report on a fever hospital forwarded to her yesterday they have endeavoured to overcome some of the difficulties pointed out in her work especially as regards the position of the staircase.

They will be very happy to afford Miss Nightingale any further information on the plans forwarded Nov 20th 1868.

f160-61, November 28, 1868, from W.H. Wyatt, 88 Regent's Park Road, re changes suggested by FN in the plans and welcoming Sir Harry Verney's presence at the laying of the foundation stone

signed letter, ff162-63v, pen [6:435-36]

f162

1st October 1869

{printed address:} 88 Regents Park Road.
N. W.

Dear Madam

It is with sincere regret, that I have to trouble you with this communication, but I do not think it would be right, to allow farther time to elapse, without bringing to your notice in consequence of the change, which took place last April, in the administration of Poor Relief in St. Pancras, it appears to me most improbable, that the present Bd of Guardians will ever carry out the arrangement, made so kindly by the Nightingale Institution, & which would have proved such a great advantage to the Parish, that a staff of

f162v

Nurses should be trained for service in the new
Infirmary at Highgate. this
building is now complete and except the fittings,
ready for occupation.

You will I dare say have read in the public
journals, an account of the cruel & disgraceful
manner, in which the sick poor have of late
been treated, and unfortunately those, who might
have counteracted this harsh treatment, have found
it impossible to do any good, with the vacillating
counsels & uncertain actions, which now reign at
the Poor Law Board, the chief desire there, now seems
to be to pander to the popular cry for *apparent*
cheapness, and to undo all the good, which would
have been effected, had the provisions of Mr. Hardy's

f163

act, been fairly worked, we can not however hope
for his department to be successfully managed, so long
as the Chief is changed with every political movement.
a reaction will no doubt in time come over the public
mind, but meantime, any amelioration in the treatment
of the sick Poor must stand over.

The whole of the ex officio Guardians, living in this
division of the Metropolis, have found it imperative
on them, to decline the performance, any longer, of their
duty as Guardians, the conduct of the recently elected
Guardians for this Parish, having been so indecent
and outrageous, that it was not possible, to continue to
associate with them, without suffering a loss of
self-respect.

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I shall ever remember, with feelings of deep gratitude the kind and generous manner, in which you were ready to assist us, in starting our new Infirmary, and also the encouraging approbation you bestowed on the efforts, we were making to secure a better treatment for the sick Poor. They will, in time I hope be carried out by our successors.

Sincerely trusting that your own health may have sustained some improvement

I have the honor to remain

Dear Madam

Yours most respectfully

W.H. Wyatt

Miss Florence Nightingale

ff164-65, W.H. Wyatt letter, December 13, 1869, 88 Regents Park Road, re her kind note of 11th inst came, hasten to inform informing FN of success in the election to the Board of a majority of the members and of his own acceptance of his nomination by the Crown, not elected but nominated. I feel that it is so important that the matron and her staff should be firmly supported. "You may rely that nothing shall be wanting on my part to make the new hospital effective and if possible a model for the rest of the metropolis."

ff166-67v, January 17, 1870, W.H. Wyatt, 88 Regent's Park Road, to FN thanking FN for a present of game, good prospect of the nursing arrangements working satisfactorily at Highgate has high faith in Miss Torrance and the training of Nurses at the new Infirmary, but explaining that the new Board consisting mainly of tradespeople will have to be managed carefully

ff168-69v, August 6, 1870 W.H. Wyatt, 88 Regent's Park Road, announcing the permanent appointment of Miss Torrance and the Nurses and the difficulty of getting a capable Medical Officer appointed and enclosing a letter from Dr. Shaw. I have just recd from Dr Shaw, the gentleman who is temporarily filling the position of medical supt at the Highgate Inf the enclosed letter, and I venture to send it on to you, as I think it cannot fail to afford you gratification.

The opinion of Dr Shaw is valuable for not only is he an accomplished physician, having been gold medallist at the London Univ,, but he knows the wants of a large public est, he having for some years been an asst med officer at the Colney Hatch Asylum, in which inst there are nearly 187 female nurses.

It was only on Monday last that I succeeded in getting Miss Torrance and the whole staff of nurses permanently apptd, unfortunately the majority of the colleagues with whom we have to act were so ignorant and perverse and we are so hampered by the absurd regs of the PLB that I do not think I shd have had sufficient energy to have persevered had I not felt as encouraged by what you had done for us that I felt the effort to est this hospital on the best principles must not be abandoned. Everything will now depend on our getting a good man, as permanent med officer and this is very doubtful for a large action of the managers seem determined to support a very incompetent person.

Of Miss Torrance I cannot speak too highly, I never met with a lady more determined to do her duty regardless of her own personal comforts and interest. She has had a very difficult part to perform and she has done it well.

Allow me to express the hope that you are yourself in the enjoyment of better health

ff170-71v, August 6, 1870, Highgate Infirmary, N. from Dr. T.C. Shaw to Mr. Wyatt expressing his admiration for the Nurses at the Infirmary

ff172-73v, January 5, 1872 from Mr W.H. Wyatt on printed 88 Regent's Park enclosing a report on the Hampstead Hospital and plans the training of nurses

ff174-74v, January 5, 1872, extract of a Report from the Committee for Hampstead Hospital

draft letter, ff175-84, pen & pencil, plus printed pages

f175

Private

35 South Street, Feb 15/72

Park Lane, {printed address:}

W.

My dear Sir

I hope you will not have thought that I could be neglectful of even the least wish of yours, seeing my delay in answering a kind letter from you I am ashamed to think how long ago relative to the training of nurses for Small-pox

[13: 620-26]

at your Hampstead Establishment, asking
me 1. whether 2 months' training would be enough
2. to give any general hints or suggestions.

I was deterred from writing by always waiting
for the time that never comes to a person who
always has too much to do & always less health
& strength to do it - but more by the fear of
not being able to compress what I had to say
into any compass which would make it practically
useful to you.

But I will wait no longer - And if what
I say is useless, I shall at least have shown
how desirous I am always to fulfil, if I could,
any wish of yours even to writing without time.
W.H. Wyatt Esq

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1. then

I think that 2 months would be just enough to teach a woman what a Small-pox Patient is - & *not* enough to enable her *trainers* to learn what the woman is herself.

We give a month at our Training-Schools for Nurses merely to ascertain what the Probationer is like. We do not engage her on probation nor allow her to enter into any engagement with us till the end of the month. Nor with all the care that we exercise before admitting the woman at all, do we consider that we can form a good guess as to whether the woman will "do" or not till after we have had her in the Hospital a month. Even then we are so often deceived in her that we are rather inclined to consider this month of postulancy not long enough ~~but~~ & that two would be better.

2. I think *6 months* the very shortest time in which a woman could learn to be a Small Pox Nurse without previous experience - And this only because Small Pox generally runs a more ~~steady or definite~~ /uniform course than Fevers. *Six months* would not be sufficient to make a Fever Nurse. A Hospl Nurse might learn to be a Small Pox Nurse in 2 months.

We give twelve months' training as the shortest time to our nurses.

f176

3. That you may not think me altogether unpractical & running after the "Ideal", I will venture to submit to you a few considerations as *to what a Nurse is*, rather with the view of your working out in your own ~~mind~~ experience what *she should be & how she should be made* - no man could do it so well - & no man has such large influence in this Poor Law movement - than of presenting to you any ideas of my own.

a. To instruct a woman, & still more a girl, in any other means of gaining her livelihood, such as printing, telegraphing, cooking, dairy work, the use of the sewing-machine &c &c &c ~~requires~~ /needs only the time necessary to make her a proficient in that work.

But *Nursing the sick* &, nursing or teaching children stand ~~alone in this respect~~ / on quite a different footing. viz. that to do it well, nay even to do it at all depends quite as much, perhaps more, on what *you have made* the woman who is to do it as on your having taught her the technical details of her trade.

~~And in this~~ /But training to ~~nursing~~ /*nurse the sick* is even a much more *risky* thing than training to *school-mistressing*.

For ten women who are fit, or can be made fit, as Pupil teachers or Children's attendants, ~~I have not~~ /perhaps could be found one ~~in the course of a life of 'knocking up & down'~~ the world fit to be trained as Hospital Nurse. And for ten women fit for the charge of Hospital Patients, ~~I have~~ certainly could not have found one fit for the

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charge of those women (Nurses) themselves.

b. There are two great peculiarities in Hospital Nursing work which perhaps are scarcely enough taken into account:-

One is: that these are *grown-up* women whom you ~~are~~ have to training as Nurses. It is & will be probably always impossible to admit girls in their teens into Hospital Wards, unless into Children's Wards. Yet girls in their teens are the best as Pupil teachers - they are of course much easier to train than grown up women -

{the following paragraph is crossed though with a single pencil line.}

[Experience not only of England but of the Protestant-Nursing orders of Europe leads me to think that what you gain at one end as a general rule by admitting Probationers under 24 years you lose at the other.]

The other is: Hospital Nursing is the *only* calling in the world where a woman is really *in charge* of a number of *adults, men or women*, as if, nay still more than if they were babies. For purposes of life & death they are as much in their power.

c. The inference experience suggests is that, even if you can be sure which you never can be in 3 or 4 or even 6 months that the woman has learnt her trade of Nurse, you cannot *risk* her as a *character* by sending her out to such a very responsible situation, a situation which involves life & death, as that of Hospital Nurse till you have trained & tested her as a wom{an} {page torn}

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-2-

in moral ~~qualities~~ & also in mental qualities -

And that if one does risk her & she fails,
one not only feels very uncomfortable oneself,
but one brings discredit on the Training Institution.
Insert Miss Torrance's letter. Extract from p 3. {red}.

d. "Picking up" as it is called, i.e putting an ordinary woman
of the ordinary class which takes to Hospital Nursing,
to 'pick up' what she can in Hospital Wards, I
have not the least faith in. I have seen a great
deal of this kind of thing - not one woman in 100 has the intelligence, the
power of *taking up* to make
anything of it - & every year's experience
confirms my disbelief in its practicability.

In a life spent if not in Hospitals at least in
Hospital experience, I have met but 6 or 8
Hospital geniuses - ~~it is true there were~~ in
all classes - i.e women who ~~would~~ /could make any
thing of "picking up" ~~their own knowledge~~ for themselves their Hospital
acquirements.

In *England*, it is, I am sure, a far rarer talent
than that of *teaching*.

Yet 'the unready Saxon' will leave the supply
of Nurses to his Hospitals almost to chance.
He will not even give you a year's notice to
supply him.

I am not at all placing the art of nursing ~~so~~ as extravagantly difficult
~~very high~~ - But tho'. it is obviously so ~~very~~ peculiar
as to require ~~a very~~ systematic ~~organization~~ /arrangements for
training. ~~But~~ I am satisfied that, - make the
Hospital life such a one as respectable young women
can & ought to engage in - make a really careful

f177v

system ~~of~~ /for training- organise a complete Nursing Staff then under its own head (Trained Matron) with rules for its own guidance, discipline & protection - and there will be found an ample ~~a sufficient~~ supply of good English women to make English Hospital & Poor Law Nursing the first in the world, instead of being the very last, as it has been till quite lately.

And a woman who has once done *well* in Hospital life almost always likes it too well ever to leave it. Several quite of an ordinary class have reminded me of this & said they found it true.

For this end

4. there must be a regular organised machinery for training the women

I mean the Sisters, (Head Nurses), Matron, Resident Medical Officers, must not only be good nurses, good physicians, but they of course *especially* the former (Matron & Sisters) must have a regular system ~~of~~/for training, testing, teaching, (& recording progress,) managing the Probationers not only as Nurses but as women.

I never knew a Matron who succeeded in this unless she had a genuine interest in each individual woman's moral progress & success in life, over & above her interest in the nursing work - a *motherly* interest in each of her women.

[And in the most notable instance I ever knew of this a ~~the~~ Matron ~~was~~ younger than the majority of her children† may have a motherly interest in them.

f178

For this end

5. there must be

Reading, Writing & General Improvement Classes

Bible Classes [besides of course the Diaries & Case-books

which Probationers must be taught to keep.

& the like Else how could they give an intelligent account of a case, or written directions to a Night Nurse &c &c

It would be very desirable if the Matron could

meet once a week such of her Probationers

as could be spared at a sociable tea -

She *must* win their confidence - Or she will do

nothing with them. They must feel that

she cares for each of them for herself - & not

only for the credit of the work.

How can this be done in 2 or 3 months? -

It would be very desirable if there could be/ that the Matron should meet her Nurses in a Devotional Meeting *Nurses* once a week - [*Nurses not*

in the least above the ordinary wages=getting class

have told me almost with tears in their eyes

that they dated from such Meetings their rising

to a more careful performance of duty, to a

higher interest in their Patients & their success

in after life.

6. We shall all agree

that the Matron can only work thro' her nurses - can scarcely do anything for

the moral or physical improvement of the Patients

except thro' her nurses. They are in constant

charge in the wards. She can only come in

now & then, at most twice a day.

I leave the physical care, because that is so obvious. As for the moral care

~~Yet even among Workhouse/Poor Law patients, especially the~~

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children, the time they are sick in an Infirmary ward may be the *only time* in all their lives (the lives of children of Out-door Paupers) that they hear a good word, see a higher/better purer more kindly state of things. [I have known children say this themselves & kneel down praying their own little unprompted prayers that 'God would not let them [I am sure that some of our Nurses, or forget - rather your nurses ~~at Highgate~~ feel this acutely & try to act accordingly, without preaching, doctoring or proselytizing.]

But how can the best matron in the world trust her nurses to do anything like this, trust them even to keep up a/the kindly, firm, quiet moral tone in their Wards - essential even to physical recovery - if she has not trained them (or somebody has not trained them) to the idea & *practice* that they are not only in *physical* but in *moral* charge of their Wards - if she has not met them in prayer (and in conversation) that the Patients may be better in soul as well as in body for their stay in the Infirmary - if she has not impressed them with their responsibility in this respect - if she has not shewn them: you & you alone must be the Ward-Mistresses: *I can only act/work through you*: If a Ward nurse is not a Ward *Mistress* she is nothing but a tinkling bell. {underlined in red.} And how can this be taught in a "few months"?

[A woman whom I should not have at all expected it of - once said to me - naming two Infirmaries (in one of which this was practised, in the other not) where she had served: "This was heaven - *that* was hell".]

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-3-

7. I say nothing here of discipline - ~~of~~ obeying Medical orders & the like. ~~But I am/~~For we are all convinced that no one can obey who does not obey intelligently - that the intelligently ~~well~~ trained Nurse is the only one from whom there can be/~~is~~ the least hope of ~~real obedience to/~~carrying out of Medical orders - of anything more than the merest eye-service - & that the Prussian is right in his Army training - he trains every soldier & petty Officer to the utmost degree of individual responsibility, even while keeping up the highest *esprit de corps* (which is as necessary for the Nurse as the Soldier. Each must be proud of the Service to which they belong.) But each must know how to act for himself or herself, while acting in one ~~grand/~~united whole with the rest of the ~~company, Regiment/~~Staff or Corps ~~d'Armee~~, even tho' he or she may actually be out of sight of all the rest whom he or she is acting with. ~~And if this kind of training is/be~~ necessary to destroy life, how much more ~~is it necessary~~ to save life?

8. To spare ~~your~~ time & ~~mine~~, I venture to send you the list of ~~Qualifications/~~Duties we require of/ that a Probationer should become competent to fulfil before ~~we~~ promotion ~~her~~ after at least a year's training to be Nurse: -

In the three ~~xx~~ first qualities the first ~~offence/~~transgression ~~ensures her~~ is: dismissal. The others may be acquired by training -

Now no one can say, I think, that all these

xx

Of course the *sin* is the same in *all* positions. But it is a mere truism that whereas in

the needlewoman or printer's apprentice	drinking, lying or dishonesty
	may only injure

f179v

qualities are not essential to a Nurse,
without which indeed a Nurse would not
be a Nurse,

tho' some of the more purely Surgical
qualifications might be omitted in a Small pox
Nurse - yet others might be added.

The Sisters should keep a ~~monthly~~/weekly record
by marks of what progress ~~a~~/each Probationer in her
ward makes in each of these points - the Matron
a monthly record, dotting up the Sisters' weekly ones.
of all the Probationers' progress.

[I cannot think that public money should
be spent on training, without some such *testing*
record as this.]

9. How often we are deceived & disappointed
in women even after all this time, & training,
testing, & machinery I do not like to say.

How then must it be where this
is not? -

We at least *know* our failures -

There are many Institutions which make
failures & *do not know* them.

A Matron once said this to me in a sort of
agony. And indeed I knew it.
herself & her employer, in the Nurse it may be an affair of death or life
to her Patients. This is what makes the Nurse's position so
peculiar.

f180

10. Do not you think that Hospital Nurses require a great deal more & receive a great deal less of the moral & spiritual helps which maid servants in good domestic families receive & expect or perhaps I should rather say used to expect & receive?

Do not you think that Hospital Nurses have a right to expect it - & that it is the good ones who will be most disappointed not to receive it & will probably leave disgusted?

People often say that the old faithful class of domestic servants who lived with their "family" as long as the "family" lived is ~~almost extinct~~ dying out.

If it is so, why?-

Because there is no longer in the mistresses that intimate motherly "family" relation with their servants?

This relation is far more necessary in *Hospital* than in domestic life, do not you think? Because the life is so much harder.

I mean such helps as Bible-classes, family prayer of an interesting, not formal, kind, ~~spiritual~~ conversation on good things, social teas occasionally &c &c &c

In my young days the young lady or ladies of the family ~~always~~/generally held evening classes for the younger servants, male & female - General Improvement

f180v

Classes & Religious Classes -
besides the ordinary family prayers - &
public worship.

All these things are, ~~I am~~ surely much more
wanted in training Hospital Probationers
to keep them up to something of a better life
than in training domestic servants.
They have a right to expect it - And the good
ones do expect it - & are disappointed if they
do not find it.

Is it not so?

Shall we say that we only wish for such women (as Hospital Nurses) *as do not*
care for such good things:- {Underlined in red}

In my young days mistresses used to be several times
a day in the Kitchen & Servants' Offices - & they
knew how to do what the servants had to do
& how it ought to be done -

And Housekeepers and Upper Housemaids, it
was understood, were not only there to be
good servants themselves but to train
girls out of the village, town or neighbourhood, even pauper girls, whom
the mistress put under then & afterwards
found good places for as domestic servants.

It was also understood that the young ladies taught the pauper girls to read,
write &c &c

But All this is far more necessary in an Infirmary
than in a home.

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11. One thing more:-

training is not only, is it? letting them see how a thing is done, but showing them *how to do a thing & why it is to be done so* -

~~I have known~~ many a good Sister (Head Nurse) ~~who~~ could do the former (letting them see), but not the latter (showing) which alone constitutes a good *Training Nurse*.

~~And I have known~~ many a Matron ~~who~~ has ~~had~~ not the least idea even that it ~~was~~/is necessary.

12. Lastly:- [6:464]

if it is possible that there is a place on earth where training is *more* necessary than in a Hospital, Nursing, ~~I think, do not you? that it is~~ it not in Poor Law or Infirmary Nursing?

The Patients are longer *in*, they are more trying, more exacting, they require more patience, they think they have more a *right* to everything than Hospital Patients do, they are generally of a lower ~~class~~/description, whether originally of a low class of fallen from

dissipation, in Poor Law ~~Sick~~, Small-pox & Fever & Sick Asylums than in General Hospitals.

Also, there is far, far less of what may be called the public's supervision in a Poor Law Asylum than in a London Hospital, where there is an immense staff of Visiting Physicians & Surgeons, Medical ~~Students~~ School-Governors, officials & 'public' of all kinds. This has its disadvantages - but in my opinion also its very very great advantages. Every body is kept up

f181v

to their duty. A whiff of public opinion, - even
public criticism is profitable - is constantly
coming in from the outside. Visiting Physicians
who have their fame & their fortune to make
& also other & higher motives are troublesome but *most Salutory* Inspectors.
No one can ~~be~~/remain torpid.

The Poor Law Nurse ~~requires~~/needs to be ~~almost~~ of a higher sort
~~almost~~ than the Hospital Nurse.

God speed her & you in your great good work
is all I can say.

ever your faithful servant
(rather I would say your cordial fellow servant)

f182-83v,

printed: Duties of Probationers under the "Nightingale" Fund & Timetable for
the Probationers

printed, with FN handwritten changes (how different from St T?)

Your are required to be Sober; honest; truthful; trustworthy; punctual; quiet
and orderly; cleanly and neat; patient; cheerful and kindly;

1. Burns and wounds deleted from list of things to be skilful at
4. Instead of mgt of trusses, and appliances in uterine complaints, says
delirium
8. Instead of attend at operations, In Ward Mgt
12. Wounds deleted

f184 envelope:

W.H. Wyatt
88 Regent's Park Road
London N. W.

draft, f185, pencil in JS rough hand

f185 {archivist: [circa 10 Mar 1872]}

Mr. Wyatt

Would you state how you propose to arrange [13:627]
the nursing. And would you send me
a sketch of the plans & let me see
the plans in order that I may judge
about the arrangements for the trained staff.

ff186-89v, March 13, 1872, from W.H. Wyatt, printed 88 Regent's Park
{archivist: [see FN to Dr Sutherland March 15, 1872]} FN pencil note: Please
return to F. Nightingale.

I feel quite ashamed to have left you so long unthanked for your most
valuable letter of the 17th of February on this subject of training nurses.
My only regret on receiving it was that I shd have been the cause of giving
you so much trouble and adding to your heavy labours, however I will make the
best return I can by trying to turn to some useful account the several points
on which you have been so good as to give me the advantage of your great
practical knowledge.

The reason of my delay in replying to your letter was that I wished to be
able to tell you how we were progressing at Hampstead in our endeavour to
partially train some nurses for attending on smallpox cases, for although I
fully acknowledge the weight of your remarks about necessity of knowing the
characters and dispositions of women being trained, our views at Hampstead
were of a much more humble character, we simply sought to give a little
preliminary training in actual nursing, w/o intending to guarantee the entire
trustworthiness of the individual, altho while with us the sister in charge
does her utmost to implant in them a love of doing their duty from motives of
right.

Our effort may however be said to have collapsed, from the following
cause, happily the disease of smallpox in London has very decidedly
decreased, but it appears to be raging badly in many provincial towns, and
there is hardly a day on which we not receive the most troubling request to
send down someone who will be willing to act as nurse, the requests have been
so great that in many cases we have been obliged to send off women who have
been less than a fortnight on the staff. We have of course stated the small
amount of experience they have had, but the provincial authorities have been
thankful to cure them, for the most part, the report on their conduct has
been satisfactory.

I must now reply to your very kind letter of the 10th inst (missing) and I
can assure you that I continue to take an unabashed interest in the welfare
of the Highgate Inf which is, in many respects, a model parochial hospital,
our time is however but ltd and with my many other duties I have found it
impossible to attend both the Hampstead and to Highgate.

I am however pressing my committee at Hampstead to relieve me at Lady day
from duties of chair, and hope to persuade Mr Ross, chair of Middlesex Hosp
to undertake the work, If I succeed then I will have more time at my disposal
to devote to Highgate, but any time in deference to the wish you are good
enough to express I will not retire from the com of the Highgate Inf, so that

on any special emergency may be able to give some support to our excellent and valuable matron, Miss Torrance.

I have had some experience in committees, but I never met a more difficult one to work with; they quarrel and wrangle over the smallest detail, indeed their only object seems to be to accuse each other of every possible bad and corrupt motive and if they can to prevent anything being done. I can only hope that the new men to be elected may prove a different sort for I am sure at Hampstead where we have an excellent committee we do more work at one meeting than is done at Highgate in ten.

Do you know Mr Stansfeld, he has the power to nominate six managers (only 4 are now named), if you have an opportunity of suggesting to him that these vacancies judiciously filled up might materially assist the good working of the hospital he wd I have no doubt do it, indeed I believe he wd do it at once on my request, but as I am obliged to reserve to myself the most perfect independence in acting with the LGB, I hesitate to make any suggestion which might possibly be construed by them as a personal request on my part.

I am sorry that there is a very unjustifiable delay on part of the printers, I have not yet been able to send you the plans of the Hampstead Hosp, but I hope you will receive them before the end of this week. [FN got plans of Hampstead Hosp?]

ff190-91v June 1, 1872, W.H. Wyatt, 88 Regent's Park re Miss Torrance's resignation from Highgate Infirmary Your letter recd this morning did not surprise me as Mr BC had yesterday made me a communic on the same subject.

I shall very sincerely regard Miss Torrance's removal from Highgate where she has done so good a work and done it so judiciously but if she is to be taken to a higher sphere of usefulness as you think she can better advance the work, which owes its foundation to yourself because your name at St Thomas rather than at Highgate you will assuredly have no repining from me, but which I say that I feel that it will be a severe blow to the work, which is going on so well at Highgate.

So are as my personal efforts are concerned, you may rely on my doing everything in my power to assist and encourage Miss Torrance's successor, but a very great deal must depend on the lady's own tact and judgment. Miss Torrance held her own position and yet conducted those with whom she worked and our committee is in many respects a very difficult one to deal with.

Mr BC gave me to understand that I was not at liberty to mention Miss Torrance's intended resignation but that as soon as possible you will *yourself*

ff192-93v, April 22, 1878, expressing his interest in accepting her nomination to the Board of the Nightingale Fund and his dismay that the training at Highgate Infirmary is not continuing

note, ff194-95, pen & pencil
f194

[13:50-52]

Please return to

FN. {blue}

Sir Wm Wyatt. {underlined in red} April 24/78

Almoner of St Bartholomew's:
introduced subject of Training there:
St. B. would give £400 or £500 to make
it worth while for a really good
Training Matron {underlined in red} ~~there~~ to come there:
asked me to look out for one: -
it rests with Treasurer & Almoners:
they have £70000 a year, & wish
to do all things well:
notice not yet given to present
Matron: will pension her handsomely:
New Matron must proceed
slowly in her reforms, like Treasurer
& Almoners. Or there will be a
Mutiny.

well aware that Matron

Assistant &

Training Home Sister {underlined in blue}

will all be wanted: Trained & Training

650 beds:

not satisfied with Training School,

tho' Home is good:

(books & musical instruments provided)

The Medical Instructors give
Clinical Lectures but not {underlined in blue} by the bed-
side: When the Probationers
come from them into the Wards,
don't know difference between

f194v

temperature & pulse {underlined in blue}:
want real teaching & training as
to what to do on the Patient.

Sisters don't give it: old fashioned
women don't like Probationers
(these give them trouble)
don't like new system or
superintendence:
very ordinary women

Miss Hincks would have been safe
to have been appointed: if it had not
been for that Nurses' Round Robin & they
did not like "being dictated to": & did not
believe she did not know of it {blue}

Highgate {underlined in red}

Mrs Suckling doing fairly well
- won't turn her out.

Sees no prospect of Nightingales'
return: but a great deal of
good has been done: & Highgate
can never sink to a low level
again:

f195

St. George's Fulham: {underlined in blue}
quite aware a Trained Staff
could not be sent without Trained
Matron

Lambeth {underlined in red}
fears Nursing arrangements
are all made
"Mr. Ward, Chairman, {underlined in red}
"I know very well:
"living at Brixton:
"I will speak to the good done at
"Highgate:
"My name may be used with him"

Local Govt Board {underlined in blue}
man at the head so weak -
swayed this way & that by every
petty Inspector: Inspectors a
poor lot:
can't get a rise of 2 for
a Nurse without their
interference
it is miserable
no man with any self respect
can serve under such interference
from the L.G.B. Office

f195v

N.F. Council {underlined in red}
Will gladly serve on both
Council & Committee {underlined in red}
"only wish to do my best"
"not so strong as I was before my
"hard work: tells upon me."

[end]

note, f196-97, pencil [6:493]

f196

R.C TRAINED Nurses May 14/96

"Confidential" From Lord Monteagle

13 May/96 21 Carlyle Mansion

Cheyne Walk

S.W

x x "Improvement of Irish Workhouses" x x

"One of the principal points in which
"we want assistance at the present moment
"is as to the manner in which the services
"of the R.C. Sisterhoods can best be utilized

"They have of recent years been placed in
charge of the infirmaries in many Workhouses
in R.C Districts & have effected great
improvements, but hitherto unfortunately
they have not been trained as Nurses.

Now in these districts it is essential to work
with & through these good Sisters, & I was
therefore delighted to hear from Dr? O'Dwyer
the R.C Bishop of Limerick & one of the most
enlightened & energetic of the R.C. ??
a few days ago that he wished to bring over
a *trained Nurse* to instruct the Nuns in the
Workhouses in his Diocese: and he asked

f197

-2-

"me if I cd help him to find a suitable person.

x x x "I have just been told *confidentially* that you knew an R.C lady who had been trained as a Nurse, & who wished to devote herself to this very branch of the work. If this is the case, cd you kindly put me in communication with this lady who might either go herself, or help to find a suitable person.

(Signed) Monteagle

{The following isn't FN's hand - initialed HyBC}

Simply acknowledge his letter
& say that you will write again
or else
that you very much doubt the
feasibility of the proposal & will
make further enquiries - ~~a similar~~
the idea is not a new one & has been
tried in Dublin you understand
with very doubtful success

Note- you had better see Miss
Pringle & talk over *the whole* question before further
communication with him -

draft, ff198-99v, pencil [6:496]

f198

Oct 5/96

10, South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane. W.

Dear Lady Monteagle

How good it is of
you to wish to see me.
It is of all things what
I desire most - to *learn*
of you. to know from
you ~~the~~ present conditions or Irish
workhouses x - & what are
your views & your
plans of improvement &
Lord Monteagle's - Any
x of which I know so little

f198v

if it is granted me
little help I might be
favoured by being able
to give would depend
upon knowing these things

I am in a dilapidated
condition. But I would
not miss such an
opportunity as you are
good enough to offer me
~~for the world.~~

I will therefore accept
"Wednesday" at 4, if you

f199

are sure that will suit
you. [You offer me "any
"time".]

And if I might I would
accept Id Monteagle's
kind offer to come,
tho' I am unable to see
two persons at once
& I know how occupied
he must be -

Would *Thursday* at 4 be
possible to him? Do not
let me be an inconvenience.
I shall be so ~~delighted~~/happy

f199v

to get such information
as his. It gives me
new life, if you will
excuse my short comings

unsigned draft or note, ff200-01v [6:498-99]

f200

Irish Workhouse Nursing

7/10/96

10, South Street {printed address:}

Park Lane. W.

Administration of the Infirmary

Guardians' Powers ?

Staff-master or Matron

as in English Workhouses?

Powers of Medical Officer

& of Master, as regards

the Sick Wards

Whether Sick Wards ever in

separate Building?

Powers of Poor Law Board

over Guardians

Can the Board make

compulsory rules as to

payment of Nurses, & as to

employment of trained

Nurses? Yes, but they're not

always kept

Accommodation of Nurses - decent

f201v

-2-

Laundry work

Dublin, ? for Spitalfie[ds]

Workhouse Infirmary

Are any trained Nurses

employed in any one?

and which? N & S Union.

better than nothing

Has any W. Infirmary a trained

Matron? or any Provincial

W.I.? unlikely

Nun Matron

Maternity

Wards

What does

she

do?

Medical Men

Does it seem that many

Doctors who hold Workhouse

appointments are in favour

of paid *trained* nurses?

prefer them to nuns

Does Lord M. know of any

large Workhouse,- Dublin or

Provincial,- in which it is

likely that Guardians &

Doctor would concur in

trying the experiment of

f200v

-3-

employing paid Nurses?

If expense the obstacle
could money be got by
voluntary subscriptions to
assist?

Nuns

It is said that in some
R.C. Dublin Hospital or
Infirmary (perhaps M.M?) a
trained Nurse has been
engaged to train under the
direction of untrained nuns -

Is it likely that the Nuns
could ever be got to go
through a training in a
lay Hospital?

{Vertical note at side:} St. Vincent's nuns.
Miss Campbell ~~possible~~ R.C convert

Guardians

Do not religious (& political)
differences, give rise to
obstacles & jealousies in

f201

-4-

employing Protestants on
the Staff, and is it not
very difficult to find R.C-
educated women willing
to take up Nursing as a
calling?

Is there any R.C. Hospital
where any systematic
training of Nurses is
carried on?

won't sit up at night
L.G.B. untrained Nurse

Workh nursing Assn London
Are nuns clean? Yes -
ophthalmia

unsigned note, ff202-03v {archivist:[7 Oct 1896]}

f202

Dublin Monteagle
 goodness of District Nursing
re-acting 2 ways on Workh Infy
 People would not go in
because District Nursing better
- forced up Infy Nursing to be
better?
Bds of Guardians prefer Nuns
 because they think they come
 for nothing
untrue - each Nun - Home
 Nuns won't sit up at night
L.G.B. compelled a Night
 Nurse (but not trained
Are there any of Miss Dunn's
 Nurses in the Provinces?
What can Miss Pringle do for
 them?

{f203 is blank}

f203v

-2-

Your L.G.B. & your *Inspectors*
 must know more than
those they inspect or govern
 x
Priests great help to trained
 Nurses in Dublin
Clergy have never done us
the least good
x
You must take that your
 inspectors & your L. G. B.
are not appointed for political
or religious reasons

unsigned note, ff204-05v, pencil
f204

Mater Misericordiae
R.C. trained Nurse
to train the Nuns

Miss Campbell
is training lay Assistants

Dublin
Why should not the same
system that has been
adopted in Paris be
adopted in Dublin -
in Ireland -

f205 is blank}

f205v

Sisters of Charity
in Dublin

unsigned note, ff206-13, pencil

f206

Ld Monteagle Oct 7/96
Lady Lothian
|| Lady Pembroke widow x
election of Guardians
nothing could be worse
Miss Wilson x

Mrs Ernest Hart }
Miss Wood shouters
inaccurate
Counter movement
Peasant farmer
x x has 12 Nurses
||

{f206 is blank}

f207v

-2-

children - movement at
once

R.C.'s much more
liberal than Protestant
1 £10

I am there to set other
people to work

(Miss Pringle - so humble

(MEETING NEXT WEEK OF
COMMITTEE

(If you could give us *hints*

f208

-3-

Ld M.

L.G.B afraid to put
its foot down
Balfour's bill Act
"dissolving" small Unions
giving power to spend
money for Schools &c
Boarding out 5/
District School 11/
large bodies
ophthalmia

{f209 is blank}

f209v

-4-

League

Immense increase of
out-door relief
has stopped the family piety
Legge good Inspector

|| *Ophthalmia* in any
school is above 20.
|| ARE NUNS CLEAN?

Bds of Guardians look
after the financial
very little after the personnel
the Master or Matron

f210

-5-

immense Boards of Guardians
too large to meet

Would not have District
Schools without the nuns
to make homes for ~~them~~/the children
the lay element is so
hard - the nun so homely

Nuns have such a
tradition of education
- not of nursing

{f211 is blank}

f211v

-6-

Archbp French began it [Trench?]
he got over Anglican
Sisters - & then the nuns
followed suit
There are paid trained
Nurses & Night Nurses
The shouting ladies have
got the ear of many of
the R.C. Bishops
Bp O Dwyer is staunch
to us - & most energetic of
all

f212

-7-

Ld M.
Conference passed off very
well - no row - a Protestant
Dr praised the nuns - an
R.C. Dr. criticized them
Matron of 20 would not do
- it would not be like a
Home - it must be a nun
We want to interest some [6:499]
one in each place - to
go into the details with a
superior mind - not official
better than any Inspector
Goodness of nuns
Pinsale

f212v

-9-

Great official jealousies
- a man inspected who had
not seen the M.O - inspected
for 20 years - they opposed
each other simply because
they hated each other.

~~Legge?~~ proposes that no
M.O. should be appointed
to a larger place till he
has had a smaller. So
better salaries could be
given them

f213

M.O.s have no power
over Dietary for those
not in Hospital

f213v

-8-

Dr. Legge says - there
should not be a District School
of more than 200 boys -
- arranged by fifties - not
according to ages.

F.N. gardening & geology
Ld M. We should teach these
A District School for ~~girls~~/boys
does much better than one for girls
games & the rest.

unsigned note, f214, pencil {archivist:[7 Oct 1896]}

f214

Miss Pr. 2 top wards of
Workhe She wishes to
collect all the bad cases
here - that they should
be *her* wards - that she
should then live &
sleep i.e sit up all
night in the Infirmary
(& have her Probationers
? there)

ff215-17v, October 9 {archivist:[1896]}, 21, Carlyle Mansions, Cheyne Walk,
S. W., from Lady Monteagle thanking FN for flowers and her visit with FN

unsigned draft letter, ff218-19v, pencil **[6:503]**

f218 {archivist:[ca. 9 Oct 1896]}

My dear Lady Monteagle
You know how
interested I was in all
that you were good
enough to tell me about
Workhouse Hospitals &
especially Workho: Hosp.l
nursing in the S. of Ireland
& about how well Miss
Pringle was working in
the Limerick Union-

I was more delighted than
astonished for I have
known intimately Miss P's
rare powers of organization

{f219 is blank}

f219v

-2-

& administration for very
 many years, coupled
 with that gift of divine
 & real humility & sympathy, which
 gives her the influence & power of
 discipline in its truest highest
 sense, that of making
 the various persons &
 branches of a great
 Institution work each in her own place as one
 man, or rather what is
 more difficult ~~is~~/as one woman.
 I have never seen these
 gifts of hers excelled - And
 I trust in God that her
 usefulness will be extended
 while she lives .

ff220-22, October 11, {archivist: [1896]}, Auckland Castle, Bishop Auckland,
 from Lady Monteagle thanking FN for her continuing interest in Miss Pringle
 and her work

ff223-23v, October 14, {archivist: [1896]}, Mount Trenchard, Foynes, Co.
 Limerick, from Lady Monteagle asking FN to write a letter to the Bishop
 praising Miss Pringle, with a view to Miss Pringle's undertaking to train
 Probationers

ff 224-27v, October 22, {archivist: [1896]}, relating her interview with the
 Bishop and his acceptance of the idea of Miss Pringle training Probationers

ff228-29, November 5, 1896, relating difficulties with the training plan and
 its indefinite postponement

ff230-31v, Easter Monday, {archivist: [19 April 1897]} thanking FN for her
 criticism of "Dr. Smythe's scheme"

ff232-37v, April 20, {archivist: [1897]}, detailing the difficulties about
 Probationers, especially accommodation

ff238-39v, April 28, 1897, from T.J. Stafford, to Lord Monteagle, re Nurses
 in Workhouses with FN note blue pencil

f24 at since the issue of the order X other boards have invariable insisted
 x No spe-
 cial order abt
 trained
 Night
 Nurses

+that the person appointed shall be fit for the position
+ not by Gen
orders

ff240-40v, April 29, 1897, re training of Probationers and the difficulty in
bringing about this change Stafford letter to Lord Monteagle

unsigned letter, ff241-43, pencil {same as Stafford letter, ff240-40v}

f241

No 2

April 29/97 Dublin

[6:504]

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

In any other country the easy
& obvious course to adopt
with regard to the training of
Nurses would be to make an
order that only certificated
Nurses would be sanctioned
but here you are at once met
by the difficulty of the Nuns,
such an order would exclude
all nuns from Workhouse
Hospitals, a question upon
which much might be said
on each side, but certainly
not a desirable one to raise

f241v

just at present

If you desire to have a
hard & fast regulation you don't want it made
that each Hospital according
to the number of its Patients
shall have a certain Staff
of day & night Nurses and
a specific training, I think
you must go to the *Executive*
Board qy in Ireland qy & not to the L.G.B.

As regards the training of
Probationers in Workhouse
Hospitals, notwithstanding
obvious objections &
difficulties, I am in favour
of an experiment being
made when Guardians can

f242

be induced to try it. I tried to get South Dublin, which on account of its size & the comparative efficiency of its staff, would be a good place to work it, to adopt a system of paid probationers but the Guardians would not listen to the suggestion, now, of a good Board like South Dublin are not ripe for the change how can you expect country Boards to be ready to pay for what they at present get for nothing. that is the answer I look upon the pauper help we get in our

f242v

"Hospitals as perfectly impossible material for making nurses out of, but for the present, at least until you can get the experiment of Probationers tried, you must be content to go on hammering away at Guardians to get a fair number into each Infirmary, remembering that Workhouse Infirmary beds are not fill with *critical cases, like City Hospitals; the percent-age of really serious cases being small, & that therefore* they do not require the same staff of nurses to look after them

f243

3 No.2 2

You cannot ~~raise~~ ram reforms
down the throats of the
Guardians in the way our
friend Dr. Smyth suggests
(who by the way is not a
Workhouse Medical Officer)
Your Association will do
an enormous amount of good
if you can get them to go
slowly & set to work to
EDUCATE PUBLIC OPINION,
but take care of the
shriekers.

T.J. Stafford

ff244-46v, May 20, {archivist: [1897]}, E. Monteagle thanking FN for flowers
sent and discussing the nursing question

ff247-49v, May 25, {archivist: [1897]}, E. Monteagle thanking FN for notes
sent and asking questions about her suggestions

ff250-51v, May 27, {archivist: [1897]}, E. Monteagle thanking FN for her
continued support

ff252-56v, July 26, {archivist: [1897]}, re the progress of training Nurses
for Workhouse Hospitals in Ireland not signed E Monteagle hand. I think I may
venture to write now so it will be four weeks tomorrow since my last
delightful visit to you and things have got a little more forward since. I am
not sure if I told you that it was illeg at the meeting of the executive of
the Irish Work Assoc which was held I Dublin 3 days after I saw you that
instead of the deputation to the chief sec asking him to issue an ukase to
abolish pauper nurses, the assoc shall ask the Local govt bd to give them an
interview at which the subject of the improvement of nursing cd be discussed.
The LGB acceded very cordially to this request, but on account of the absence
on holiday of one of the most efficient heads of the dept the interview has
not yet taken place nor can it do so till the 16h of August.
Mention of the Irish Times which some of the nationalist papers that were
quite illeg but illeg at the idea of any interference with its illeg state of
things is quite coming round to illeg there must be trained nurses in the wk
house hospls and that the nursing shd no longer be left to paupers. There
have been 2 illeg cases of neglect quoted lately culminating in ...

ff257-60v, December 20, 1897, re the progress of training Nurses for
Workhouse Hospitals in Ireland E. Monteagle Again I have wished to write to
you and for one reason or another I have put it off, always very unwilling
but I cannot let the

ff261-61v, envelope, enclosing a cheque to be returned to FN

unsigned note, ff262-68, pencil [6:494-96]

f262 Letter from Lady Monteagle

June 16/90 Mount Trenchard
{printed address:} 10, South Street,
II Park Lane. W.

"question of training &
"qualifications of Workhouse
Nursing now coming to the fore
"New head of Medical
"Dept. of L.G.B., Dr Stafford,
"opportune, just as new
Local Govt. Bill comes into
effect.

First question: *'what
will qualify a Nurse to be
considered trained, so as to
receive the half salary
which the govt. will pay*

f262v

"henceforth in Ireland to
one trained nurse in each
Union as they do in
Scotland
"In Scotland a "trained"
Sick Nurse is described
as one who has not been
less than two years in a
Public Hospital being a
training school for Nurses
& maintaining a resident
Physician or House.
Surgeon having a Trained
Matron.
"This rule, if transferred
to Ireland, would at once

f263

put the nuns out of court
- which would be a great
calamity to the poor &
would stir up much
strife - & as you know
they are making such
advances under Miss
Pringle in Limerick
& Miss Holcraft (?) in
Waterford that it would
be doubly disastrous
at this moment. Dr.
Stafford & Miss Pringle
are at one about their
merits if trained

{Following written vertically up the side:}

Application from Coshly & one from Dungarvan for 6 months
boarded, lodged & paid at the rate of £50

f263v

{inserted at the top} Too early to require 3 years training
in a Dublin Hospital

merits, *if trained* [He is
a R.C., tho' married to
a Protestant] Dr. Smyth
&/is the Dublin Doctor
wanted to make 3 years
in a Dublin Hospital
a necessary qualification
for a trained Nurse -
& some of them refused
to look upon *any*
experience in a
Workhouse Hospital
as any training!!!
(even under a trained
Nurse) in fact seemed

f264

-2-

to think it {printed address: 10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.

rather a disadvantage -
In this they are against
the opinion of Miss Pringle
& Miss Holcroft who
both think some
experience in a Workhouse
during the Probationer
~~term~~ time would be
valuable. (Certainly

I enclose a paper
drawn up by Dr. Smyth
& which he has insisted
on getting adopted by

f264v

the Irish W.Hse Association

Lord Monteagle, with
the greatest difficulty,
got them to take out
the Paragraph with
whh he started which
was a copy of the Scotch
rule as regards
Training; also some
others as to the exact
number of Nurses to be
employed &c which
would have been much

f265

resented by the
Guardians -

Will it be asking too
much to ask you to
look over this & to
mark anything of which
you don't approve?
You saw something like
this of his before
& we preserve your
remarks upon it.
but this is a rather
softened Edict;
also to ask you what)

f265v

you think of having

Probationers do some
at least of their training
in a Workhouse Hospital
- of course under a
trained nurse. {Yes, if Workhouse
Hospital is fit to train

x x x x

A short expression of
your views which
Monteagle could pass
on to Dr. Stafford
would be valued.

I enclose you two
letters of Dr. Stafford's

f266

-3-

written last year {printed address:} 10, South Street,
when he was only a Park Lane. W.
subordinate, just to
show you that he is
more moderate and
reasonable than Dr.
Smyth, tho' one must
admire the latter's
zeal - only wishing
it were more tempered
by discretion

E. Monteagle
I went to see Miss

f266v

Pringle the other day
& found the Limerick
Hospital (Poor Law)
much improved - She
has now under her
three nuns from Sligo
& Kilrush who have
been sent by their
respective Bishops
to take advantage
of her training, & she
finds them very
promising

f267

The doctor gives
them regular clinical
~~teaching~~ Lectures &
Miss P. herself supplements
them by Class teaching
| & the sisters are
| learning to do *all*
| the practical work.

It would indeed be
hard to exclude them
when their Training
is complete from the
benefits of the grant
of the 1/2 salary

f267v

because they have not
been trained in a
Dublin Hospital -
To *them* it makes of
course no difference
who pays their salary
but it will make a
great difference to the
| Guardians when they
| are selecting nurses
| if they know that they
| can get this relief for
| one Nurse & not for
| another

f268

~~There~~ {printed address:} 10, South Street,
We don't feel competent Park Lane. W.
to express any opinion
as to how far the nuns
are qualified to
participate in the
Govt. grant

f268v

We do not feel competent
to express any opinion
as to whether these rules
could be modified to
meet the case of the Nuns
to train the nuns was a
sine qua non

f269

Dungarvan
Helen Taylor, a Protestant
went over to Ireland

f269v

too early to require 3 years
training in a Dublin Hospl
as a necessary qualification
for all Workhouse
Infirmeries - it might
be for big ones - for those
in which there was a
large number of serious
cases - They would not be
forthcoming - they could not
be had in all probability
in sufficient number to
supply the demand as
~~was previously suggested~~
~~It would be too expensive~~
~~even with the Govt. subsidy~~

Add Mss 45788

Add Mss 45788, microfilm, correspondence with Harriet Martineau, 321 folios, 322 pages, Adam Matthew reel 25

signed letter, ff1-2v, pen

f1

30 Old Burlington St. [14:993-95]

London W 53

30/11/58

Dear Madam {archivist: Harriet Martineau}

I know that you
have been interested
about our Army
matters & therefore,
altho' an old story
now, I venture to
send you a copy of
a certain "confidential"
Report of mine to
the War Office.

f1v

It is *really* "confidential"
& no copy has been
(or is to be) presented
to the House of Commons.
Therefore it is only
for your own private
reading that I send
it, if you have still
time, strength or
inclination for this
kind of subject.
If not, please put
it in the fire, as
the Report is in no

f2

sense public property.
And I have a
great horror of its
being made use of, after my death,
by "*Woman's Mission*=" *aries*" & those kinds
of people. I am
brutally indifferent
to the wrongs or the
rights of my sex--
And I should have
been equally so to any
controversy as to
whether women ought

f2v

or ought not to ~~have~~
~~done~~ what I have
done for the Army
though a woman,
having the opportunity
& *not* doing it,
ought, I think, to be
burnt alive.

I need not say that
it is not at all as a
literary work that I
venture to send you
this Report. Its only
interest is that of its
subject. Believe me to be
very faithfully yours.
Florence Nightingale.

signed letter, ff3-4v, pen {from Martineau to FN}

f3

Ambleside

Decbr 3/58

My dear Miss Nightingale

I have waited a day, to acknowledge the arrival of the Report. It is now before me, & I have to thank you, which I do very cordially, for the painful pleasure I foresee I shall have in reading it. I need not say that your wishes as to privacy shall be exactly observed. I suppose they do not preclude any use that I may be able to make of facts in the Report, -as *facts*, without citing you or the Report, or imputing

f3v

blame to individuals. What I mean is that I still write for "Daily News" (as well as elsewhere). I write three "leaders" per week for "D. News:" &, as I have had occasion to write on *your* sort of subjects before, I may have to do it again: & it would be a great benefit to do it under the enlightenment of your information herein furnished. It would be quite another thing implicating you or anybody indicated by you.

In whatever I did, in the war-time & after it, in relation to yourself, my object was to have you entirely *let alone*;--in regard

f4

to theological opinions, offers of praise, assurances of fame, descriptions & criticisms of your management,-- (& even in my own mind, subscriptions of money for your objects.) What I could do I did to keep the crowd off you, & leave you air & space & liberty. The thing was impossible, of course; but it was right to try. I mention it now simply to indicate that I shall not bring the "Woman's Missionaries" upon you. I have sympathy with them, however, as well as with you.

To me it seems right that all people whatever should *do what they can do in natural course*: & I suppose this is the doctrine of the Woman's Missionaries. I am with them so far as to assert this benefit,--of everybody being allowed to do their best & to help people to

f4v

find out what they can do, & to do it. But I detest all setting up of idols, & all proclamation of Rights, & unnecessary division of men's & women's work. So you have nothing to fear from me, -even if I had any future before me. As it is, every stroke of work is more likely than not to be the last. Yet I may go on, as I have gone on,--much longer than could be expected.

I heard of you the other day from our friend Milnes. I fear you are not better, --or not much. But I will not trouble you with what I think & feel about that.

I once saw Mr Nightingale--about 20 years ago; & I remember a bit of kindness of his in the pit of the theatre. That is one family recollection. Another is my Envelope case, which you sent me when

f3 {written sideways over the introduction}

I was at Tynemouth. Julia & Hilary are a tie between
us too--Altogether
I will venture to
call myself, but
with the deepest
respect,
yours affectionately
H. Martineau

signed letter, ff5-8v, pen

f5 {archivist: c.2 54}
30 Old Burlington St.
London W.

Dec 4/58

Dear Miss Martineau

I shall be very
grateful to you if you
will make use of my
Report in the way
you mention. All
such help is most
valuable to us. And,
for the purpose of
putting you in possession
of the exact position,

f5v

in which our cause
now stands, I shall,
if you will kindly
allow me, send you
in a few days(i.e.
as soon as it is out)
an answer ~~to~~ which
I have been forced to
make to anonymous
attacks & pamphlets,
circulated with
printer's names, by traitors
in our own camp -
These are however only
mentioned in a Note

f6

The real object of this little thing (which is very short & need not frighten you) is to let our friends know *where we are*.

There is nothing "confidential" in this, a "Contribution to the Sanitary History of the Army". But, altho' I have inveighed against the anonymous attack, I had rather be kept anonymous myself.

f6v

I do not trouble you with any excuses about these things being not literary works & having no charm of style & so on. So long as I can secure some hold upon the minds of those who hold in their hands the remedies we are so urgently seeking, it is only under this aspect that style could be an object of attention to one crying for relief from sufferings so pressing.

f7

The words you use
about your own health
are also, as far as I have
~~could~~/been able to learn, applicable,
word for word, to mine,
which I only mention
to shew that I too have
"no future" & must
do what I can without
delay.

Believe me

most sincerely yours,

Florence Nightingale

P.S. I send you by this day's
post, as you mention

f7v

so kindly your interest
in my especial branch,
Hospital Nursing, my
"Subsidiary Notes on
Female Nursing." Please
put this in the fire
either way. i.e. after
you have read it, if
you feel inclined to
read it or without
reading it, if you have
no time or inclination
that way. I think
these manifestos do so
much harm in fettering

f8

the steps of ~~one's~~
successors in one's
own path. I send
it to you only, because
there has been so much
rant & cant about
us, so much misap=
prehension about what
we did do & so much
too about what we
did not do, & chiefly
by the female ink bottles
(in which you are very sure
I do not include
yourself,) that it may
interest you to know

f8v

2

what a very plain,
matter of fact thing
Military Hospital
Nursing really is.

The most affecting
thing I think I ever read
(& that must be 20
years ago) was your
tale of the death of a
drinking woman in
one of your Political
Economy stories. Since
that, I have seen this
in real life frequently
& in its most terrible
aspects. But ~~it~~ I have
never forgotten the lesson
you taught, to work upon it
with even friendly interest. F.N.

[end 14:995]

signed letter, ff9-10v, pen {from Martineau to FN}

f9

7

The Knoll

Ambleside

Decbr 7th 1858

My dear Miss Nightingale

I have again delayed
writing my thanks to you for
the "Subsidiary Notes", to save
you the trouble of two notes
when one would do. The Editor
of "Daily News" now writes what I was
waiting for, --his desire that I will
use, at my own discretion, the facts
in these Reports, & his promise to

f10

use what I shall send.--When
we want *action*, --& the editor does
desire that above everything,--we prepare
our material, & wait till the M.P.s
come up for the Session. This I propose
to do now. If there is any particular
direction in which you would wish to
see "D. News" at work, --any one object
that you want carried first, by the
force of this Report, --just let me know,
& I will see what can be done. The
"D. News" is powerful, & increasingly so; &
it will do as much for any express
object as any one organ can do, --from
its honest character, in addition to its
wide circulation,--the one operating on
the Government & the other on the public.

The little you say of yourself is too
much like what I feared. I am sure
you will do what care can do to
prolong your life. I am always
intending it, --& yet I am always

f10v

overworked. In my case, that does not
so much matter,--the immediate
work being of the most consequence &
my years being considerable. In every
way, a future is more important
in your case, --for the world's benefit
I mean.

Yours devotedly
H. Martineau.

unsigned letter, ff11-14v, pen

f11

30 Old Burlington St. [14:995-96]

London W {archivist: 58}

Dec 20/58

My dear Miss Martineau,

I cannot thank
you enough for your
letter, so few people
give me that kind
of sympathy (which
is the only kind one
can care for) so very
few.

Please look at
pp. 11, 12 of a
"Sanitary Contribution

f11v

I send you--~~they~~/this
brings up our Sanitary
history to the latest
date- with one
exception. Since
that was written, the
Govt have granted
the Army Medical
School (in embryo)
at Chatham. But
we want its full
development urged
none the less.

And please
read the forthcoming

f12

Article in the next
Westminster Rev.
Jan/59 on our subject.
You probably have
all the Reviews sent
to you. But, if not,
please let me send
you this. It gives
the last information.

I think that
what is most
pressing for you to
do for us in the
"Daily News", as you
so kindly suggest it,
would be

f12v

I. Army Medical School
especially the
professorship of
Hygiene.
The cost of
disease, especially
to the Army. The
cheapness of
prevention--Army
Hygiene a specialty
"Prevention better
than cure" If
India is to be held
and to be held
by 100 000 white
troops, which the
present "Re-organi
zation Indian Army

f13

-2-

Commission declares
necessary, how is
England to stand
such a drain upon
her population, if
Indian Stations are
not put into such
a Sanitary state
as will diminish
the frightful disease
& death we suffer
there?

II. Necessity of new
"Regulations" for the
Army Medical Dept
None of any use at
present in existence.

f13v

A Code has been for
some time prepared
by a Commission &
in the hands of
Genl Peel. Where is
it?

III. Reconstitution of
Army Medl Dept,
as recommended by
Mr. Sidney Herbert's
Commission.

Its Director General
[An efficient one
has been appointed
in the person of Mr.
Alexander]

Its Council
scheme [before the War Office

f14

-- why not yet passed?]
Its three ~~Departments~~/Offices
as proposed -
Hospital
Sanitary
Statistical
Director=General cannot
administer all himself.
He must be assisted
by a consultative,
(not a voting) Council
of 3 men, specially
conversant with
Hospitals
Sanitary &
Statistical questions
he administering.
What has become
of this scheme? It
is known to be before

f14v

the War Office. Is
the Treasury opposing
--Folly & cost of
parsimony. In
England, where
human life has a
higher money value
than in any other
part of Europe,
what is the cost
of wasting soldiers
lives in the way
we do? --to save
--what?
IV. Necessity of some Nursing
system in Army Hospitals.
None at present
Neither male nor female
that *can* be called a *system* at all.

[end 14:996]

Dictated letter or copy, ff15-16v, pen {not FN hand}

f15 {archivist: 2}

Great Malvern

[14:996]

January 8th/59

My dear Miss Martineau,

I should have written before
had I been able. I hope before
long to see the leading articles
you kindly promised. With regard
to the other magnificent offer, namely
the series of papers to be afterwards
republished I feel loth to part
with that either. I am ~~that it~~
even that would not *popularise*
the subject, nor do I think the immense
sale of your India papers
necessarily infers that that
subject has been popularised.
The literary merit alone of
any thing of yours would ensure
a great circulation, & therefore

f15v

I feel as if we should be losing
an immense chance if we did
not close with your offer.
Something in the style of your
Illustrations of Political Economy
would do more than anything
to make the subject popular
but I think it wd be hardly
desirable to bring it down to
the level of the class from
which the recruits come or
rather ought to come. We have
immense difficulty already
in recruiting the men we should
like to have & shall have
more.

In a few words I cannot

f16

bear to give up the idea of
catching at *both* -- both the
Leading articles & the Series
of Papers.

Believe me {in FN hand}
ever yours overflowinglly

Florence Nightingale

P.S. {written in another hand}: you say in yr letter:

"as I take up each head, I

"shall perhaps ask you whether

"any thing new has taken place

I shall be too glad to answer
any such question. The fact
is that the army Medical

f16v

Council scheme, which I
mentioned to you as just going
before the War Department
is I am afraid now being
denuded of its essential
points by the Under-Secretary
of State.

[end 14:996]

Dictated letter or copy, ff17-20v, pen {not in FN hand}

f17 {archivist: 3}

Great Malvern [14:997-1000]

January 14/59

My dear Miss Martineau,

I have delayed some days
answering your letter. If you
are still in the same mind
as to your magnificent offer, &
I do think it a magnificent one,
I will just say, as shortly as I
can, what I think the conditions
must be, & you will understand
what I feel-- without my
telling you about your
generosity in making it.

First. The Book must
be your own independent
work. Your private
contribution to a public purpose,

f17v

& your private concern as a
writer with the publishers.

Secondly. I place the materials
of my Report at your
disposal on condition,
1. of revising the proof sheets,
so far as they relate to these
materials, as you propose
my doing in order to
guard against "innocent
mistakes" as you say.
2. of my name not appearing
beyond a simple reference
to my published "Evidence"
(I will explain, farther on,
what this is) The terms
in which this reference is

f18

made being also revised by
me subject to your approval.
I will now explain my reasons
for this.

The basis of your book
may be "The Report of the
Royal Commission on the
Sanitary state of the Army"
& my "Evidence" published
in it, together with one of the
appendices in it, which I
wrote, & the "Contribution"
which you have.

I will take care to send
you this Report, but you
will not have the trouble
of reading it unless you choose,

f18v

for my private Report may be
used with perfect safety,
except the "personalities,"
as you propose (although it must
not be quoted), because
the matter of it so
dovetails in with my "evidence"
that the Report is really only
an expansion of the "evidence
& can be perfectly used as
your own thoughts & deduction
of course in your own word
& ideas.

There must be no allusion
to me in the Preface, as
having supplied the facts,
farther than the reference

f19

-2-

to my "Evidence" if you wish
it, such as any other
writer might make.

I am so engaged in
"extensive practical
operations" as the miners
say, that any other reference would do my
real practical work
irreparable damage.
It is necessary of all things
that such a book as you
could & would write,
should bear the most
transparent evidence of its
own origin, & that it should
be simply the expression
of an independent intelligence

f19v

called forth by facts in
every body's hands.

I think it is really easier
for me to dictate letters,
so that I should feel it an
unnecessary burden upon
your "guardian", as you call
her, to ask her to come
here.

I have said quite shortly
what I think about this.

I cannot say what I feel
about your undertaking
such a work at such
a time.

f20

If I live *it* will be a
real pleasure to me to look
over the chapters as you
propose.

I do not think that
any alteration is likely to
be necessary, such as would
give you material discomfort
for the reasons given above.

With regard to your
"pecuniary independence"
that must be secured -
& if Messrs Smith & Elder
were not to offer a fitting
sum, which I conceive
to be impossible, you would

f20v

kindly let me know, as
well as how far it falls
short of what *is* a fitting
sum.

{in FN hand}

Believe me to be
ever yours most truly
& gratefully
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff21-28v, pen {not FN hand} {archivist:} 5}

f21

Private Great Malvern

Jany 23rd

My dear Miss Martineau,

With regard to the letters which you were so good as to send me, thank you very much. I quite agree with yours.

With regard to the Leading articles, thank you very much too. I think only two have appeared. They have been very much appreciated, particularly the second.

With regard to anything new having occurred, the Army Medical School

f21v

has been granted, as I think I mentioned to you: granted that is in embryo at Chatham. The army medical council has been decided against, (definitively it is said) by General Peel, but Mr. Herbert has told him (very definitively also) that he will in that case wash his hands of the whole business & fight it in the House of Commons. He writes

f22

to me." I don't despair
"of getting our scheme thro'
"still, tho' I really cannot
"say how."

The same threat was
efficacious in the case of
the Army Medical school
& it may be so now--
I mean without having
recourse to the House of
Commons. Of course
all this is strictly for
yourself alone+ as it
has been told to me
alone. I only write it
in order that it may guide

{in a different hand} +We have kept this strictly, but I venture to
send it now because the occasion seems over I
having discussed it in print with her observations.

f22v

you in the compilation
of your Leading articles,
& I subjoin on another
sheet a suggestion
merely for your consideration
for a leading article
which might be of use
to us.

{in FN hand}

ever yours gratefully,
F. Nightingale

1

The Royal Commission
(on the Sanitary state of
the Army) whilst
exposing defects in
present sanitary
arrangements & their
results to soldiers
appears to have carefully
considered the means
of remedy.

Two plans come out
in the Evidence.
One, to place the whole
Sanitary Administration
under an Officer quite
unconnected with
Army Medical Depart=
ment.

f23v

The other, to use the
Department & its officers
for preserving health
as well as curing
disease.

There are strong arguments
for both methods.

Hygiene is a specialty
& like other specialties
requires undivided
attention.

Treating disease is
also a specialty
requiring a man's
whole thoughts, &
it is doubtful whether
the train of thought,

f24

which makes a good
physician does not
make a bad Sanitarian.

Some of the Evidence tends
this way.

Other witnesses consider
that as the public pays
a large Staff of
educated medical
Officers, these ought
to be employed for
Sanitary service.
Against this proposal
stands the fact that
under the present
system, the army
has suffered so vast

f24v

a rate of preventible
disease & mortality.

Can we hope to reduce
this by employing the
same machinery under
which it has occurred?

The Royal Commission
appears to have considered
that the machinery might
be improved, & rendered
efficient by two measures.

1. Educating every
medical officer
in the specialties of
Hygiene.

2. Creating a council
to be attached to the
Army Medical Depart

=ment

f25

-2-

of three members:
one for Hygiene,
one for Hospitals,
one for Statistics.

It considered that:
given the School & Council
but *only* if *both* were
granted, the Army
Medical department
might be entrusted
with the Army Hygiene.

Profiting by the
experience of the
failure of Deliberative
Boards, the Royal
Commission proposed
to make the Council

f25v

simply consultative.
i.e. that each member
should be perfectly free
& unfettered, in giving
his advice to the
Director General,
(minuting it if necessary)
but that the Director General
should be sole
administrative head
over the whole department.

We learn from the
evidence that this plan
was recommended by so high
an authority as Sir John McNeill

f26

& that it has worked
successfully under
the Scottish Poor Law.

It is also the plan
adopted in the Government
of India. The new
Indian council is so
constituted.

It has long worked
successfully in France.
In considering our progress
in Army Reform, we
ask what has become
of this Council?
Are the deliberate
recommendations of a

f26v

Royal Commission of
"experts" to be adopted
& future armies saved
or has the whole plan
so carefully considered
& so intelligently framed
been shelved by the
genius of dullness &
stupidity in the
War Office to which
Great Britain from
time immemorial has
committed the destinies
of her soldiers in peace
& in war?

Why all this delay?
Or rather has not

f27

-3-

the time arrived when
the Nation should call
for a Royal Commission
of Enquiry into the
manner in which the
interests of the army
are neglected through
the ignorance of a set
of obscure paid officials
who in all probability
would never have been
able to earn their salt
in any other walk of life?

The House of Commons
last Session, decreed
Barrack Reform, by

f27v

an unanimous vote
sanctioning by the National
voice one recommendation
of the Royal Commission.

Our columns show
from time to time the
progress which is made
let them also tell the
War-Office that unless
other equally necessary
reforms are carried out
it is quite possible that
better men may be
found to attend to the
health & efficiency of
the Army.

F.N.

f28

NB.

I don't think, (this is between ourselves) that hardly any one is awake to this fact.

The House of Commons thinks that it has done great things when it has turned out one Minister & put in another. It has done nothing at all. At least I can answer for the War Office, which is the only Public Department I know well enough to make any assertion about--

I always thought

f28v

John Bull hated a Bureaucracy but the War Office is the veriest Bureaucracy I know.

The War Secretary of State is entirely in the hands of his permanent subordinates & a change in the Cabinet makes no change whatever in the administration of the War office. Also these permanent Subordinates are certainly men very much beneath par -- you will understand that this is by no means for the Daily News but only for yourself.-- F Nightingale
{signature is Nightingale's own}

[end 14:1000]

signed letter, ff29-30v, pen {not FN hand 6 [14:1001]

f29

Great Malvern

Jany 26th/59

My dear Miss Martineau,

Thank you very much for
the enclosed, which I am
very glad that you have
accepted as sufficient.

The reputation of Smith & Elder
whom I only know by name,
while you know them personally,
is that of being prudent people
but trustworthy & honest in
all their dealings.

The blocks of the Diagrams
are, as you suppose, mine, but
I should think them exhausted.

I printed 2000 copies of

f29v

the Lilac-covered Diagrams
Pamphlet & had the blocks
renewed 4 times.

If ever you should think that
they will be of use in your
book, please tell me,
& let me contribute the blocks.

Thank you very much for
having that idea.

Besides the Report
I have sent you this lilac-covered
Diagrams Pamphlet. I am
anxious to save you the
trouble as much as possible

f30

of reading duplicates & at the
same time to indicate at once
what has been published
& what not.

The three places indicated
in the big Blue Book
for you to read were
1) the Report itself,
2) my Evidence,
3) the Diagrams paper.
These being all published
may of course all be made
use of, so may the
"Contribution" (green cover)
4) *My report* [not published]

f30v

is really only an expansion
of these four.

The lilac-covered Diagrams
paper is only a reprint
of (3.) & occurs almost
word for word in the
"Concluding remarks" of
my report. [end]

{in FN hand}

ever yours gratefully
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff31-31v, pen {not in FN hand}

f31 {archivist:} ~~10~~
Great Malvern **[14:1001]**
Feb. 9th/59

My dear Miss Martineau,
I believe I shall be
going up to town almost
immediately, where any
packet addressed to
30 Old Burlington Street
London W.
will reach me safely.

I think for the very reason
that you give that it will
be better for me to have
your MS in two or three
chapters at a time as you

f31v

propose.

Thank you very much for
your permission about Mr.
Sidney Herbert.

I am very sorry to hear
that you are worse
than usual, I think this
unquiet weather does
weary people to whom
quiet is very necessary
very much.- **[end]**

{in FN hand}

ever yours truly & gratefully
F. Nightingale

copy of signed letter, f32, pen {not FN hand} original Univ of Iowa

f32

30 Old Burlington Street {archivist: ~~f2~~}
London. W.

(Copy) Feby 28th/59

I cannot help writing one line to acknowledge
the receipt of the precious M.S., to say
that it has been sent on by hand to
Mr Smith, and that he took it himself
from the Messenger.

I will write to morrow.

Yours very gratefully
(signed) F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff33-34v, pen {archivist: 10 [14:1002]}

f33 ~~f3~~

is given away 30 Old Burlington St
To H. Martineau} London W

Mar 1/59

I cannot tell you
how much I liked
your M.S. I am sure
that it will help us
immensely--that it
will be very much
read by the public
& still more by the
soldiers.

I have corrected a
very few technical
mistakes & altered

f33v

two or three *words*
only. It is astonishing
to me how very few,
even of such technical
mistakes, there are.
And of errors of
judgment it seems
to me there are none
--while the interest
is both of intellect
& of feeling.

If you would let
me see the Proof, it
is possible there may
be a few more such
technical mistakes,

f34

which I may have
overlooked in the
M.S.

I enclose an Extract
from a French Article
which may be worth
your looking at. If
you would like to see
the Article, please say
so. But there was
nothing more in it
about "us"- My
impression on the
field of Inkermann
was like the Frenchman's
but stronger, as I was
nearer both to the men
& the day.

f34v

I have always meant
to send you the Diary
of one of our men,
Serjt Jowett, because
he was a by no means
unusual specimen
of the manly English
soldier. I send one
now, with passages
marked, which I
think you will like
to look at.

If I have done so
before, forgive me. **[end]**

Yours ever gratefully

F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff35-38v, pen

f35 {archivist: -14-

}

30 Old Burlington St. **[14:1002-03]**

London W

March 3/59

My dear Miss Martineau

I have endeavoured
to give on another
page as unbiassed &
unenthusiastic an
opinion as I can.
But I am not the
less surprised at
Messrs Smith & Elder's
opinion. x I feel however
that mine is worth
nothing at all against

f35v

a Publisher's. Perhaps
they think that a
high priced book
which will go through
the Circulating Libraries
is best. For them
it is simply a
question of finance
--And for us too in
one sense, viz- that,
if that is the way
to sell a book, the
Circulating Libraries ~~does~~ secure a much
greater number of
readers, which is

f36

our object, than at
first sight appears.

I should have
thought it would
have sold largely
as a "Railway Book,
at 2/6 or 3/ as you
propose.

I should like to
give it to all the
Regiments--a thing
easier for me to do
at a low price of
course than at a
high one.

I hope that any

f36v

way you would let
me make it no
loss to you. But I
know quite well that
this is not your
object but to secure
the largest class of
readers.

Yours very gratefully

F. Nightingale

P.S. About a third
part of the Army pay
a penny a week for
permission to read--This
is what they do. But
buy books they do not.

f37 {archivist: 11 }

March 3/59

It seems reasonable
to anticipate as large
a sale *at least* for
this work on Army
Hygiene as for that
on British India.
["*At least*" I say, but
I should have thought
a much larger sale
should be anticipated,
because, from the
nature of the two subjects,
the interest of our

f37v

Rule in India is an
ever=changing one, but
this must be a
permanent interest.]

If the sale of that
was 5000 copies, &
if to print & sell
5000 copies of this at 2/6
or 3/ would be a
good deal more
remunerative than
to sell 1000 at 7/,
~~of this~~, it would
probably be worth

f38

Messrs. Smith & Elder's
while to do so -

My own view,
judging from the way
the book is written,
is that it would be
very largely read, if
sold at a low rate,--
But this is only my
inexperienced opinion,
as against that of
the publishers! I
have however heard
nothing which would
lead me to alter it.

f38v

One thing is necessary
for our object - viz.
that as many readers
should be obtained
as possible.

In answer to a
specific question, I
am bound to give a
specific answer.
Though the soldiers
are a reading, they
are *not* a buying class.
They would read this
if put into their
Reading=Rooms. And
I should put it there.

[end 14:1003]

F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff39-40, pen

f39

30 Old Burlington St. **[14:1003]**

London W {archivist: ~~19~~ }

March 19/59

My dear Miss Martineau

I have only & very
hastily glanced thro'
the M.S. just received.
It appears to me quite
to keep up its spirit.
But I think, & I am
sure the soldiers
will think, that the
relief & the effect
of the Battle of the
Alma is necessary.

written, that is, as

f39v

you would write it.
It is wanted to
bring out (~~in relief~~)
the miserable
commencement of
the Plateau.

[The Times'
Correspondent gives
good details of the
Alma.]

I am not able
to finish the M.S.
to day. If you think
with me about the
Alma, perhaps you

f40

would like the M.S.
kept back till it
is written. **[end]**

Yours ever gratefully

F. Nightingale

{in light pencil, in another hand:}

It is done,--& Balaclava too.

I have presented Inkerman, as
the soldiers' Battle (so knowing
how they are all {illeg three?} {??})

signed letter, ff41-44v, pen

f41

30 Old Burlington St. [14:1004-05]

London W {archivist: 22 }

March 21/59

My dear Miss Martineau

I feel for two reasons
that it is desirable
to work up the
Instructional matter
into a narrative by
introducing the battles.
Let Inkermann be the
culminating point
as it deserves--But
I think Alma & the
Light Cavalry Charge
are wanting--if only

f41v

as sketches, while
Inkermann is the
finished picture--
Alma offers two of
the most remarkable
features in war history--
viz. the advance of the
Guards up to a
battery which they
took - the reception
by the Russian infantry
in square of Sir C.
Campbell's Highland
Brigade, as if they
had been Cavalry--
The Light Cavalry Charge

f42

at Balaclava will be
remembered when our
sufferings have been
long forgotten--as one of the
most chivalrous things
~~filleg~~ ever done by any men.

My two reasons
are 1. that it will
be impossible for me
to gain admission into
the Regimental Libraries
for this book, unless
the Instructional
matter is disguised
in narrative [no
Chaplain or Inspector
would ~~ever~~ sanction
it]-- 2. that no
careless person (&

f42v

soldiers too are careless)
would ever read it
without the battles.
You have mentioned
the mission of the
Engineer Officer sent
by Lord Raglan to
fetch the fleet to
B'clava. And it
seems to want the
Alma to complete it.

[The A. Register is
the best thing you
can have for details.
It gives them well.
But I would not
think it worth your
while to do more

f43

than work them up
into a rapid sketch,
if you agree with me
so far as to do this]

I think some of
the didactic part
might perhaps do
better as a conclusion
to the book. But
this is for after
consideration--I am
a bad judge about
these things--But
the person whom,
with your permission,
I asked for his
opinion; agrees
with me.

f43v

I have finished the
M.S. & corrected
some technicalities,
according to your
desire, & will send
it on immediately
to Mr. Smith.

The dates of the
revival may be
obtained as follows:
The Sanitary Commission
Report, a completed
proof of which I send,
gives the history of the
Sanitary ameliorations
at Balaclava, the
Camp, & Scutari; & the

f44

dates--In fact, their
Report is nothing
but a history of the
revival--My "Notes"
give the dates of
improvement in food,
clothing, Hospitals
&c.

This is all there is
to give. For as to any
improvement in
rules, system or
regulations, there never
was any.

What improvement
took place was all
done by an enormous
expenditure in money

f44v

& the relaxation of
all rules--together
with the impulse
given by two Civil
Commissions, 1. the
Sanitary one, whose
Report I send, which
did all the Sanitary
works--& 2. the Supply
Commission (Sir John
McNeill & Col. Tulloch)
which *discovered* the
stores on the spot &
the supplies of fresh
meat &c to be had
in the country.

[end 14:1005]

Yours ever gratefully,
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff45-48v, pen {archivist: ~~24~~ }

f45

30 Old Burlington St. [14:1005]

London W

March 24/59

My dear Miss Martineau

I have not been
able to write before
what you will hardly
care to hear now--viz.
how cordially I agree
that you must be
the judge of your
own book. But
more than this--I
entirely agree that
the narrative & the

f45v

didactic are much
better worked up
together, if only
the land-marks,
the Battles, are put
in--and, if a *few*
more dates--are
worked in to mark the
epochs of discomfort,
& comfort, in order
to be guide=posts
to unreflecting
people. E.g. the
whole Army was
not hutted till
January 1856.

f46

[I have mentioned
Note 1. to P. 321 of my
"Notes" the insufficiency
of Huts even in Dec/ 55.

In April/55, (I am
going backwards) two
thirds, *at least*, of the
Army were unhutted.

In January/55, the
first mention of Huts
by Dr. Hall occurs,
(P. XIV, Preface to
Section I.) But this,
as nearly all his
other mentions, refers
solely to *Hospital*
Huts. When he means

f46v

men's huts, he says
Camps--And the
men had *no* huts
at all till March
& April/55. When
slowly, slowly, they
began to arrive.

In all references
to "unventilated
huts", therefore, it
seems ~~to me~~ important
to crystallize the
unreflecting readers'
ideas into the fact
that the first winter
'54-'55, the *men* were
wholly unhutted.

f47

-2-

[At P 303 of my "Notes"
I have given a sort of
Table of the men's
state ~~of~~ for the ~~few~~/six
bad months--And
at pp 432-6 a
view of some of the
principal dates-]
If the two years, '54-
'56, are divided into
epochs, the attention
of the careless reader
is arranged for him.

I cordially agree
that the poor soldiers
are no public at

f47v

all & never can be:
that is, no public
~~use~~ to write for--
~~them~~-- I only
mentioned *them*
because you asked
me -

You are quite right,
I believe, about
Inkerman. The *n*
is only the plural of
"kerma", Cave - "In" is
town--caves-town -
And the pronunciation
bears you out. Our

f48

foolish Despatches
always put the
double n--And I
have the habit of it.

The Turkish words
on the contrary, having
no vowels--one is
obliged to spell them
anyhow--The much
disputed *Koulali*,
for instance, I spell
so, only because the
Turks pronounce it
so--(not long een at
the end)

I hope that you

f48v

are not materially
worse.

Today & yesterday
there has appeared
more prospect than
at the beginning
of the debate that
Ministers will go on
upon the Reform Bill.
But the Opposition
don't really expect
it. **[end]**

Ever yours gratefully,
F. Nightingale

initialed letter, ff49-50v, pen {archivist: 26}

f49

April 1/59 [14:1006]

My dear Miss Martineau,

I have written you
a very cold & business-
like letter. But I
hope you will believe
1. that, if you will
tell me what Smith
& Elder's offer is
below what it
ought to be, I shall
esteem it a favor--
I am no judge as

f49v

to Mr. Smith's
letter at all. But
it seems to me out
of all question
that your "second
course" is the right
one.

I cannot at
all tell you how
it distresses me
to think that
you have injured
yourself in strength

f50

& probably increased
your suffering by
writing this book
for us -

It is a very poor
thing to say. But
I hope you will
at least prevent
me from injuring
you in purse.

I have been quite
unable to write
till this evening
or I would have

f50v

answered by
return of post - **[end]**
Yours ever gratefully,
F.N.

signed letter, ff51-51v, pen

f51 {archivist: 27}

30 Old Burlington St.
London W

April 1/59 **[14:1006]**

My dear Miss Martineau

1. I should say that
your reasons in favour
of the second course,
viz. printing a small,
not very cheap edition,
are unanswerable -

2. It might be
desirable to make
beforehand some
arrangement for a
second, cheap, edition,

f51v

if as may be hoped,
the sale of the first
edition should shew
that it will be wanted.

3. I most earnestly
deprecate any course
which would make
the payment of your
literary labor
contingent on the
sale, which it
appears would be
the case, if a cheap

edition were printed
at once.

4. I still hope &
think that a cheap
edition would
circulate largely.

5. In order to secure
what circulation I
can ~~for it~~ in my
individual capacity,
I should wish to
take £20 worth of
copies (at the whole=
sale price, if I may,)

f51

Of course the lower
the price, the more
copies I shall have
to do good with.

My friend, Col.
Lefroy, the Inspector=
General of Military Schools, &c
has been sent on
a sudden mission
abroad. And I
cannot therefore
ascertain from him
(within two months)
whether I shall have
the *necessary* permission
to circulate these copies among
~~for~~ the Regimental **[end 14:1006]**
Libraries. Yours most gratefully
F. Nightingale

initialed letter, ff52-53v, pen

f52 {archivist: 31}

30 Old Burlington St. **[14:1006-07]**
London W
April 16/59
My dear Miss Martineau
I have read (& a
little revised) the
M.S. & shall send
it off immediately.
I cannot tell you
how much I like it.
But I will write
about that tomorrow.
The only object of
this is to say, IF
you still wish for

f52v

the three Diagrams
out of my Report,
could I not save
you any further
trouble by sending
them (ready done) to
Messrs. Smith and Elder,
if I did but know
size of book, number
of copies &c?

Some such *note*
as this to your Preface
would save all
idea of my complicity
with the book, arising
out of this introduction
of the Diagrams.

f53

"To ~~give~~ illustrate
the Statistical statements
in the following pages,
I have introduced
three Diagrams, ~~illustrative~~
shewing the Sanitary
state of the Army
during the War in the
~~East~~/Crimea, for permission
to use which, I am
indebted to the
publishers of "A
Contribution to the
Sanitary History of
the British Army" in
which they originally

f53v

appeared."

No one knows I
wrote that - At the
same time it is by
no means a Government
document - only a
privately printed one.
And nobody will
enquire further -

Forgive me for
writing so shortly.
I have been so ill,
so busy. But not, I fear,
worse so than you [end]
ever yours,
F.N.

signed letter, ff54-55v, pen

f54 {archivist: 38}

May 19/59

My dear Miss Martineau

I cannot tell you
what a relief it
was to me to hear
that you were not
materially the
worse for your book.
I hope it is true.

I have done what
you say about the
money--i.e. delayed
making up the

f54v

deficiency to you,
whatever it be,
till you tell me -
Tho' I cannot help
feeling this is unfair
to you - £45 does
appear to me for
a writer's share
in ~~the~~ his own book
so very small.

I have got some
of my copies of
your book. But
I have not yet

f55

been able to read--
nor to write, except
this bit -

ever yours gratefully

F. Nightingale

I must tell you a [9:87]
secret, because I
think it will please
you. For eight long
months I have been
"importunate widow"=
ing my "unjust judge",
viz. Lord Stanley, to give
us a Royal Sanitary
Commission to do

f55v

exactly the same
thing for the Armies in India which
the last did for
the Army at home.
We have just won
it. The Queen has
signed the Warrant
So ~~I consider~~ it is
safe- Mr. Sidney
Herbert is Chairman,
of course - Drs.
Sutherland, Martin,
Farr & Alexander,
whose names
will be known to you,
Sir R. Vivian & Sir
P. Cautley, of the India
Council, are on it. [end 9:87]

initialed letter, f56, pen Highgate {archivist: 42 }

f56

June 9/59

I think I will not ask
you to come to-morrow
please if you meant
to come--nor to see
me till I come to town,
which I hope will be
on Monday. I find that
any measure of waiting
on expectancy now quite
unfits me for any
work I am still able
to do.

Yours ever
F.N.

signed letter, f57-58, pen

f57 {archivist: 49}

30 Old Burlington St [14:1008]

London W

August 21/59

My dear Miss Martineau

I have so very much
wished to write to you
myself for the last two months.

But this is the first
day I have been able
to do anything but the
most pressing business.

I applied to Col
Lefroy, the Inspector Genl
of Army Schools, for

f57v

permission to send a
copy to each Regiment
of your "England & her
Soldiers" But it seems
that ~~the~~ some similar
suggestion had been
made to Mr. Herbert,
who thought that
it would tend to making
the men discontented.
Col. Lefroy was not
able, ~~to withs act~~ either
against his Chief's

opinion, to grant the permission.

I therefore had a letter written to Messrs Smith & Elder to ask them to send 20 worth to ~~the~~ different Reading rooms ~~in the country~~ according to their own judgment of ~~how which~~/what would best increase its circulation -

Secondly. It would

f57

so very much tend to my satisfaction if you would fulfil that part of our agreement now which settled that I should make up the sum you received to £100. I enclose a Cheque for £55 as I think you said £45 was the sum given by Messrs. Smith & Elder.

I hope you are not worse. Believe me ever
yours gratefully Florence Nightingale

f58

Col. Lefroy spoke with the very highest terms of admiration of your "England and her Soldiers," even while saying he was compelled to decline it for the Soldiers' Libraries. I sent him a copy in making the application to him.

F.N.

[end]

signed letter, ff59-60, pen {from Martineau to FN}

f59

Ambleside

Jany 19/60

Dear Miss Nightingale

I have almost shrunk from writing to you about your "Notes" &c because I felt so strongly about them that it was difficult to speak without an apparent extravagance which one wd not offer to you. This is a work of genius, if ever I saw one; & it will operate accordingly. Maria & I had devoured it before night; & I feel confident that it will be the same with a multitude of people, though all have not exactly the keen interest in the subject that M. & I have. The book will be as "D. News" says (I don't know who wrote that) "a revelation". It is as fresh as if nobody had ever before spoken of nursing. It is so real & so intense, that it will, I doubt not, create an order of nurses

f59v

before it has finished its work. -I want to be doing, to help the diffusion of the book. I wrote to Edr of "D. News" that I wanted to treat it more broadly than can be done in a newspaper notice: &, as I knew he would, he at once got it done in decisive style. Meantime, we (Maria & I) have written (confidentially) to the Editor of the "Edinburgh Review" (who is in Paris) asking whether he is at all likely to be able to have an article on the broad subject of the Relation of the Well to the Sick, on the text of these "Notes". *Entre nous*, I am engaged to write an article for him, *this* quarter on another topic; but I shd not mind the delay of a quarter if he wd allow me to do what I wish. His hands are always full,--his programme bursting with

articles: but he so honours all that you do that I don't despair. I have also written strongly to the *Times* reviewer about the "Notes", & I have little doubt of a good help to the circulation thence. Maria is writing to friends who have money, to show them what good they may do by putting this little book into every house where there are women of any good quality at all.--Maria longs, I know, to nurse you. I do think you wd find her as near to your standard of a nurse as anybody in Europe. O! how we quivered over that section "Chattering Hopes & Advices" *How* true it is! & how dreary! I gratefully admit that I suffer very little indeed from that sort of plague. Maria wards it off, in fact. But in my former long illness I knew too well what it was: & now, there is

f59

a visitor occasionally who courts, or who relieves his or her own feelings in the ways you know so well. One good lady, --so kind otherwise!--regularly says in autumn "Good-bye now. I hope to find you quite well in the spring." And every second or third visit, she begins "Well, now--I want you to see another physician &c &c. I am persuaded, as you have gone on so long, that you might get well on some plan &c &c &c." My dear cousin, Mrs Turner, said one day "She will never say that again. She is now really impressed by what I told her, --that your being alive now is, according to your doctors, owing to your perfect quiet & monotony &c." However, just before Xmas my kind visitor went over the ground again, in the regular way. We are hoping she will read the "Notes".

f60

-2-

If you will not for a moment think it needful to reply, I will add a thing or two.--I see no reference in any of your books to an important precautionary method which it is possible may not have come under your study; --that of putting beds North & South (the patient's head to the north). The reason cannot be stated with scientific precision but it is supposed to belong to the relation between the human electric current & the current of terrestrial magnetism. However that may be, the fact seems to be indisputable that in cases of extreme exhaustion or irritability, the position of the patient makes the difference between sleep & sleeplessness,--& therefore at times between life & death. You may see a pretty

full statement of facts on this matter in Treatise III of Reichenbach's "Researches on Magnetism." The head to the South is next best to the right position. The distress when the patient lies East & West is often very great--in puerperal cases, in nervous fevers & insanity, & in great feebleness of any kind. For several years, I always took a pocket compass when going to any Lunatic Asylum or Hospital: & now that two of my nephews are "about to marry", I have given them a hint to set the beds the right way at first, --however little it matters to the healthy which way they lay their heads. I have now *privately* advised them to get the "Notes" before furnishing their houses & they will do it. --By the way,

you wd approve Catherine of Russia's apartment in some respects: --bedposts (if there must be any) of purple glass; & the walls porcelain.

I will not trouble you further, except just to say, for truth's sake, that I go much further than you in approbation of Homeopathic treatment, --in the hands of not only amateurs but the profession. I have been watching it for 23 years; & I am as sure as I can be of anything future that it will supersede any other principle & method yet known. There is much yet to learn in it: but that it is true as far as it goes, I am persuaded must be seen by all who really & effectually study it. There is a dreadful paucity of

f60v

qualified practitioners, though they increase by hundreds every year. In Birmingham there are only two, --though "there is practice for a dozen," as the departmental chemist declares. Now that Town Councils vote money, as at Liverpool, for the support of Homeopathic Dispensaries, we are more in the way of a due supply of skill. I need not tell you that the "globules" for ever fastened on by the rival school are not a primary or essential part of the theory or practice.

I do wish I knew how you were. I will write to Julia soon. She has been so welcome at Nottingham!

As for me,--my special suffering of late has been from *tic*,-- from which I have not been free one day or night since the 26th of October--Maria has however obtained sleep for me, in the very midst.

f59 {written sideways along margin}:

of the pain,--by (*unknown to me at first*) mesmerising my pillows, bed, & night clothes. It was like a miracle. We cannot apply it directly, by mesmerising *me* from the danger of congestion; or the pain wd soon be sent to the night about. But it is reduced since I got sleep. The doctor is too glad I believe to quarrel with the means. I am most gratefully yours H. Martineau

signed letter, ff61-66v, pen

f61

30 Old Burlington St
London W {archivist: 6}
Feb 8/60

Dear Miss Martineau

Many many thanks
for your note of the 5th,
which I should have
answered before, but
that I was unable to
write.

Nothing would be more
generally useful (or, ~~to~~ by
me, more desired) than
that you should treat
in your broad way the
"mutual relations of the sick & well."

f61v

Your book, though it
must be some 18
years since I read it--
stays by my memory,
as every thing you write
does. And I believe
I could repeat it
pretty nearly all, as
I could nearly all
your "Deerbrook" &
much of your "Political
Economy" Tales.

But I want to say
one thing. I do believe
there is not the smallest
chance of anything you

f62

write not being discovered.
If therefore you will not
think me wholly
impertinent & like my
own "chattering" advisers,
I would say, do not
~~do~~/write anything which, you
do not wish to have
known, is by ~~you~~/You. The [?]
article will be remarked,
questions will be asked,
and I never knew
anything that people
wished to know (of this
kind) that did not at
last "leak out". If a Review
Article does not fall

f62v

dead--and depend
upon it this will not
people always ask,
whose is it? and
people always find out -
Ultimately *every body*
will know that you
have written it.

You will say (& say
truly) that ~~every~~ you
have great literary
experience & I have
none-- Still I cannot
help telling you, in
return for your generous
confidence, of what I
believe will be the case.

f63

-2-

So far from wishing to
y deter you from writing
the Article, it would
very much deter me
from writing this, if I
thought I should -

But--*whatever* you
write will be KNOWN.

I am so glad to
hear that you are
something ~~better~~ easier.

Ever yours sincerely
& gratefully

F. Nightingale

I quite agree with you
that *how to be ill* is a

f63v

~~very~~ necessary complement
of *how to nurse*. One
is not complete without
the other. But, on the
whole, I think the first
duty better performed,
generally, than the second -
I thought at the time
(& I think so still)
that you are a little
hard upon the *sick*
in your book - Because
I am a Patient myself,
I think I am *not the*
less inclined to be hard
upon the sick too, as

f64

you were for the same reason. But I think a Patient's gratitude to a really good Nurse is almost painfully intense. There is one thing, however, in which all my experience in sending out Nurses, as well as that of all Institutions which do send out Nurses, convinces me that (tho families of the sick perhaps oftener than) the sick themselves lamentably fail and that is in

f64v

expecting nurses to "sit up" night after night without any proper provision for quiet & regular sleep during the day. One is always obliged to *make a bargain* for one's nurse in this respect.

On the other hand, I do think that any aversion the Patient manifests or feels (unmanifested) towards the Nurse is generally the Nurse's own fault, not the Patient's.

f65

-3-

I have seen an
expression of real terror
pass across a Patient's
face, wherever a Nurse
came into the room
who, he was sure,
would tumble over
the fire=irons &c.

I have seen Patients,
scarcely able to crawl,
get out of bed before
such a Nurse came
into the room, & put
out of the way every
thing she could throw
down, hide everything
they were likely to want,

f65v

(not because they had
not a right to have
it but because she
was sure, in "putting
things to rights," to
put it out of their
reach) and shut
the window, because
she was sure to leave
the door open behind
her (putting them
into a thorough draught)

On the other hand,
again, this is my
painful experience)
& one which many
medical men will

f66

corroborate. I am always asked to send a Nurse because the friends of the Patient are "worn out" with "sitting up" or ~~be~~ to save the servants "running up & down stairs." I am never asked to send a Nurse that the Patient may be *better nursed*.

I do believe this is the root of all. And the Nurses are "indeed ~~made to run~~" made "to run up &

f66v

downstairs" & to "sit up" till they are unfit for any thing,-- this being the avowed object ~~for~~ a Nurse is there for *not to nurse*.

F.N.

Please not to think this letter requires an answer.

We have had a terrible loss in our poor "Director General" (of the Army Medl Dept To us it is irreparable.

signed letter, ff67-69v, pen {from Martineau to F.N.}

f67 {archivist: -2-}

Of no consequence,
& no answer required.

April 7/60

Dear Miss Nightingale

I think it may be
just worth while to send
you the opinion of your "Notes"
sent me by the greatest
woman (as I consider her)
on record, --Maria Weston Chap-
man, --whose name will
by & by stand beside

f67v

Washington's in history,
as the deliverer of her
country the second & greater
time. For 25 years she
has been my study, first
from a remote point, &
then under the penetrating
light of the strongest affection
& I certainly regard her
as the most wonderful
woman on record for
power of achievement on

f68

the grandest scale; &
the most perfect proof
within my experience of the
possible union of the highest
intellectual & moral
attributes. x In England all
this is known to a very
few. In France to more.
In America it is clear
enough.--All honour to
Garrison! but Garrison,
morally adequate to *anything*,
is ignorant: & Mrs Chapman's
learning, to which I can find
x Such a nurse, among the domesticities!

f68v

no limit except in one or
two directions, (& I have heard
the same from persons far
more instructed than I) had
informed & guided the
movement which is now
regenerating the republic.

Well: here is what she
thinks of your "Notes."
Perhaps you heard what
her daughter said of them,
--that "they ought to be
read in all the churches."
I like that remark amaz-
ingly.--I will not trouble
you with more, as I have no news
on our topics. Yours devotedly
H. Martineau

f69

Mrs Chapman to Maria Martineau
March 1860

"I thank you heartily for the 'Notes on Nursing'. It *is* an admirable book. It is already republished here. I suppose we always like in a book to have it tell us what we already know, & what at the same time is not generally known. We feel *stood-by* to others, & confirmed in our own minds. I feel in this book still another satisfaction:--it ploughs deep--begins & ends with the idea of *health* & its conditions, & does not shrink itself up in order to avoid awakening general thought, while perfectly skilled to keep to the self-prescribed line in the treatment of what it takes in hand. What I specially admire is the absence of all professional taint, while yet every page shows the high ability to bear

f69v

with, & ~~make the~~ lead on, & make the best of professors of healing."

signed letter, f70-70v, pen

f70 {archivist: 3+}

(Private)

April 26/60

Dear Miss Nightingale

I think you will like to see
the note of the Edr of the Q. R.
[Queen's Regulations re Army Med Dept.
Oct. 50]

So I put it into an envelope
ready directed, that you may
have no trouble.

Maria has told Hilary that
I have been very ill. I am "on
the mend," as people say, but
have not written letters yet.

The article appeared a week
ago.-- Yours devotedly
H. Martineau

f70v

{notes in Dr. Sutherland's hand}
{small diagram}
{a big X crosses the note}
If the blank wall where the
fireplace is, occupies a breadth
similar to the {illeg} space for
~~two beds.~~
{larger diagram}

{archivist: Note by Dr. Sutherland}
The ceiling might be coved
to give the height required or
a plain moulding carried
round the upper edge of the
coving all the way round his
ward. The windows should come
as high up the ward as
possible & three of {illeg Mackinnels?}
ventilators should be placed
along the centre line of the ceiling.
{diagram}

where the grates are wanted
apply to Captain Galton

signed letter, ff71-72v, pen black-edged stationery [8:611]

f71

30 Old Burlington St

London W {archivist: 20}

April 28/60

My dear Mrs. Martineau

I cannot tell you,
and this is not a
figure of speech, how
much I felt at
hearing how ill you
were.

I trust your life
will yet be prolonged.

It is indeed kind
of you to remember
me at such a time.

It is the greatest
pleasure I can have

f71v

to learn that words
of mine have
enabled good Nurses
still farther to
alleviate the
suffering of sick
or of dying beds.

I thank you
most cordially for
your Review. I
believe it will have
the widest influence
in spreading a
knowledge of these
Nursing

f72

truths.

I had rather have
been more criticized.
It would have helped
me more in the
enlarged Edition which
is to come out.

But I cannot but
be glad of what you
say.

Yours ever affectely
& gratefully
Florence Nightingale

f72v

{in H.M.'s hand}:
F. Nightingale
April 28/60

signed letter, ff73-76, pen {from Martineau to F.N.}

f73

Ambleside {archivist:4}

June 11/60

(No answer needed)

My dear Miss Nightingale

I am delighted to have a sight of the Regulations. Now the thing is to get them widely known among the right people. I have sent a leader upon them to "Daily News"; but whether room can be found for it in the present pressure of politics is more than I can say. --I hope I may also write upon it,--as a P. S. to an article of some months since on Nurses, --in "Once a Week". The Editor comes home to work today; & I have asked him.

About six weeks since I had a remarkably interesting letter from a lady in Glasgow, entreating my attention to the quality of the nurses & keepers in lunatic asylums. She says she was herself an inmate of a very good one for 3 months,

f73v

& can prove to me the bad effects of setting ignorant & prejudiced attendants over educated patients &c &c. --Now, I have known a good deal about this for nearly thirty years; (have written a little about it:) & my sense of the importance of it is so strong that I cannot help just saying that I wish it may consist with the plans of your Committee to provide for the improvement of this class of Nurses, as well as the other.

It seems to me that much less *teaching & training* is necessary in this department than in that of Hospital nursing; & that the thing especially wanted is *an opening* first, & then *countenance*, such as your Committee wd give. There are, no doubt, many good women who lean towards that

f74

kind of occupation, & that kind of benevolence, but who do not know how to set about getting practice & employment. I know the want of good nurses to be desperate,--in both public & private establishments; & I believe that, an opening once afforded, the deficiency wd be partly supplied, in a short time.--If an arrangement cd be made with St Luke's or some other well-managed Asylum, like that at St Thomas's Hospital, it might be the best thing ever done for the Insane.--I don't mention Hanwell, because I have (& always had) a thorough distrust of Dr Conolly; as I suppose most [Conolly] people have since the Stillwell affair. My cousin Richard Martineau is an active Visiting something at St Luke's & gives me an impression of excellent management, & constantly improving results in the way of cure.

The Lincoln Asylum was admirable,

f74v

some years since. It was there that night-watching was first tried, --one of the very greatest blessings.

Well! I will say no more about this, except that I am encouraged to try by Maria's telling me that at Kaiserswerth there is a large department devoted to the Insane, so that you must have seen what I want done, & are most likely to approve it, I should think.

Mrs Arnold & daughter Fan were just gone forth on a long round of visits when your "Notes" came out. Fan tells me that the book was on every table wherever they went; & everybody was talking about it. Some appreciated it (as the Arnolds do, very emphatically:) but says Fan, nothing but the book itself cd show *how* much it was wanted. She was ashamed, wherever she went, to hear the women talk. Such conceit, such ignorance, such insensibility she cd not

f75

-2-

have conceived. It never occurred to them that they were no judges, --had no means of forming an opinion; & the stuff they talked was perfectly amazing. One young lady seems to have particularly impressed Fan. "That about the skin, & washing, & hot water, & stuff coming off! I don't believe a word of it. Try? ha, ho, I shan't try, I'm sure. I don't believe it is true: & if it is true, I am quite satisfied with *my* skin, & don't want ~~anything done to it~~/it any better than it is." --The book has a large work to do among such people, & in time it will do it. It is the best possible sign, in such cases, when offence is taken in the first instance. "What a wonderful book it is!" Maria cried out yesterday. She had occasion to refer to some note, & nearly read it all through again before she put it down.

We are so glad to hear of your

f75v

having that picture of Holman Hunt's the other Sunday. (A friend of mine saw it on the Saturday, when it was going to be sent,--that is how I heard.) Maria has been giving a fine engraving of ~~Mur~~ Murillo's *best* Immaculate to her brother, as a wedding present; & she kindly had it sent here, that I might have the pleasure of it for a month before the wedding. We do enjoy such things,--don't we? It does make my mouth water, however, to read of some pictures,--especially Holman Hunt's.

My Sanitary series in "Once a Week" ought to be drawing to an end; but I have hankered after doing "the Soldier, his Health," & have hoped for new material. Now I see Mr

f76

Sidney Herbert promises the Barrack Report next month. So I shall keep the series open till then.

I shall not look for any notice of this: & I rely on Hilary to save you the receiving it, if you have too much upon you. Our kind love to her.

Yours devotedly
H. Martineau.

signed letter, ff77-78v, pen {Martineau to FN}

f77

(No answer Ambleside {archivist: 5}
needed.) June 16/60

Dear Miss Nightingale

I am going to take a
liberty, in consequence of Hilary's
good news that a new edition of
the "Notes" is wanted.

The printing of the "Notes" is
very bad. The marginal notes
have so many bad & wrong letters
that it seems as if they had been
overlooked. In one page I see four
errors or disgraces. I know too
well that invalid eyes are not
up to the work; and I get help.

f77v

By yesterday's evening post
arrived a proof of a long
article (*entre nous*, on Russian
serfage, for the next "Edinburgh")
Maria & our maid Caroline sat
down to it at 7, & finished at 10.
Caroline reads my M.S. while
Maria goes over the proof. Thus
I have today only to attend to
the sense & matters of judgment.

In the "Notes" there are es for
cs, & cs for es; & letters too far
apart; & imperfect letters, besides
some more important errors.

f78

I venture to say this, because you said you wished there had been "more criticism" in my review. But this sort of thing is better said privately.

I shall be delighted to have the Barrack Report, thank you.

We have a fine summer day at last; & I hope you have it also to cheer you. The cold has suited me well; & since Monday I have been easier than for many months past. I mean no tic. Real improvement is out of the question. I hope it is

f78v

still time to save the crops from such destruction as I find is dreaded all over the country. The wireworm threatens as much national loss as a war. Pernicious little animal!

I am yours devotedly

H. Martineau

P.S. I have sent a short article to "Once a Week" on the Nightingale Fund scheme.

initialed letter, ff79-82, pen [8:612]

f79

30 Old Burlington St.

London W {archivist: 26}

June 18/60

My dear Mrs. Martineau

I cannot delay
thanking you for your
most kind note of
this morning. Alas!
my second Edition
had long since gone
to press. But I
think you will find
that your advice
has been carefully
followed. I have

f79v

incorporated nearly
all the *notes* into
the text, as advised
in your "Quarterly"
& I have carefully
looked through the
misprints, which
I was aware were
disgraceful in the
first Edit. Had I had
your kind note
before, I should
however have

f80

employed, some one
to do this more
carefully before me.
There is some new
matter in the
second Edit, which
I shall venture
to send you, when
out. And I am
preparing a third
& cheaper Edition,
by order - for the
(quite) people. If
you have any kind
criticisms or

f80v

suggestions to make
me for this, they
will be (as always),
thankfully received.

I want to write
to you many things
on the subject of
your last letter.

I have been
so driven lately by
an enquiry I am
making (thro' the
Colonial Office)
into the causes of

f81

aboriginal decrease
from Scrofula &
consumption, which
are shewn by the
Schools & Hospitals
--& about which
also I want to
consult you--that
I have only time
for this scrawl now.

I am so glad
to hear, I cannot
tell you, that you
are less suffering.

f81v

I fear there is every
prospect of dear
times & of bad times.
Butcher's meat is
likely to get destructively
high in price. The
young animals have
done remarkably ill
this year.

And ~~I know/some of the~~
~~House~~ some of the
Ministers are looking
forward with anxiety, **f82** which I fear is just.
in haste. But I need not

Yours ever, tell you this--
F.N.

signed letter, ff83-86v, pen {archivist: 6 Martineau to FN} [8:612-13]

f83

(Anytime will do.) Ambleside

June 25/60

Dear Miss Nightingale

We are heartily pleased to hear of your people's edition of the "Notes". As Maria says, the "workies" are so much more persuadable than the gentry! Eg; in contrast with the ladies who are so entirely satisfied with their own skins, look at Billy Ewington, son of one of my cottage tenants! Maria gave a copy of the "Notes" to his mother & aunt (then nursing) & the lad read it, & at once pulled out the stuffing with wh he had stopped up his chimney. The same credulity wh makes them the prey of quacks makes them docile to us. At least, so we find it.

My first question (which does not mean that an answer is necessary or desired) is whether you are at all aware of the mischief done (all over the country, I believe) by the "bonesetters", & the popular faith in them. The mischief is more desperate here than I have seen it elsewhere: but I know it exists in Northumberland, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, & the midland counties. The bonesetters here are entirely believed when they allege that the regular surgeons, however "clever in their own way", "know nothing about the bones." At the same time, these fellows can make out that any disease is concerned with "the bones", & can usually oust the doctors in that way. There is one now, we believe in

f83v

prison, awaiting his trial for manslaughter, who is a fair specimen of the class. Our surgeon, Mr Shepherd, was consulted about "a swelling" in a man's body. It was an aneurism, & he said so. A bonesetter told the patient it ought to be opened. The patient wished for the best cure, & went to Liverpool, & was more or less in several Hospitals, where he was warned to keep entirely quiet, & not let "the swelling" be touched, as it wd be death to open it. He came home, & the bonesetter prevailed. He cut into it, & the man died instantly, of course.-- Mr Shepherd lately asked our chief bone-setter how many bones there are in the forearm;--he did not know! They do a dreadful amount of twisting & spraining & laming here, & are perverse beyond description. They are sometimes employed by people who ought to know better; e.g. by the late rich, & far from ignorant landlord of our chief inn, who sprained his ankle in a drunken fit. He suffered terribly, before he sent for the proper surgeon. (He soon after died of delirium tremens.)

The general quacking here, as everywhere is dreadful. It has been a bad year for croup & the like: & ~~th~~ if Maria tries to interest mothers of babies about what to do in case of attack (& our two surgeons have to range a wide district), she finds them entirely satisfied that there is no

f84

danger as long as they have bacon in the house.
"A spoonful of hot melted bacon fat was never known to fail." We suppose it acts as an emetic - For "fits" of every kind (unless perhaps of ill-humour) there is nothing like three sprats (they must be three) tied on the patient's breast at bedtime. That is a specimen of the way we go on here. As for Holloway's Pills, I have known a man take seven in a day; & when he had "the bellyache" afterwards, he really very nearly died of fright,--his confidence being suddenly gone. He & the neighbours nearly mobbed the surgeon for saying that he wd do very well, & was only ill of the pills--The furor for "a pill", --no matter what, blue, black or white,--is as frightful as it is disgusting. Even in my own kitchen I have known a servant take "a pill", because it was a pill, & without the least idea what it was meant for. Somebody once gave her some that somebody had thrown away!--I dare say you are aware that in country places,--& believe in towns too, pills are used by druggists as small change, like postage stamps, --a penny apiece.

If you don't know it (but I dare say you are aware of everything I am saying) Hilary can probably tell you the stories (in my Lake Guide, I think) of the old woman who had not washed her feet for 30 years, & of the young mother who wd not let her baby's arms be washed, "He wd be a thief; & I would not

f84v

like that.--But their notions about "sweat", (or, when genteel, "perspiration" are really fatal. If one induces a labourer to wear a flannel waistcoat, in these damp winters & variable summers, he thinks its chief virtue is to sleep in, --"to suck up the sweat,"--the garment being worn the day before & the day after, & for weeks, day & night. This reminds me of a new measure of value of agricultural implements proposed by my late farm man. He begged leave to buy a field-roller at an auction, & got it. He afterwards told me, "You have got a real good bargain of that roller. I tried it, & I never see such a good roller:--I swat trou= in twenty minutes." They are unusually clean for their class (the wives at least) in their houses, but in their persons, downright *caked* with dirt. I doubt whether the men ever wash their necks, by what I used to see behind loose neckcloths, & the sick lie amidst filth wh is enough to kill them without more ado.

Maria bids me remark the extraordinary tendency that visitors (*my* visitors) have to talk to the invalid in the way to make him or her *sick*. I am too deaf to know what M. has to do: but she says *very few* come whom she has not to check, & it is true, I have frequently been made faint & sick (faintness being perilous above all things by the horrid things my friends have told

f85

-2-

me,--of tortures, operations, accidents, incidents of disgust, loathsomeness of some sort. As I write it, it seems very odd. I don't remember people talking so before I was ill: but it is the fact. Perhaps there is some train of association awakened:--my illness may revive some illness or pain of theirs &c. Well: I have no room for philosophising.

Before I stop, I think I will say a word (private, please) about poor, dear Annie Clough. Nobody can now help the mischief of her long, dreary attendance on her mother. It was a truly dreadful case. I don't know that I ever knew a worse for the attendants. But it was made the worst of by the smallness,--I might almost say the noisomeness of the house. (I mean the rooms) We don't think Annie has the least notion of wholesome habits. When she sent for Maria after the death (wanting M. to telegraph to the Arthur Cloughs.--you know why) the woman engaged to help about the funeral had already told my maid that what was to be done about the body she cd not conceive,--it was *then* in such a state, & not to be buried for five days more! Maria saw Annie in bed; & there was a fetid

f85v

smell upstairs, &, not only all the blinds down, but apparently not a window open in any part of the house! Next day again, when Maria was melting with heat, not an inch of window was open that she cd see; & Annie was in a thick woolen shawl, wh she drew round her saying she thought the day was chilly. I hope her new schoolroom is airy. How her landlord cd ever have the rooms built so small, all through the house, I can't imagine,--the land being his own. I *know* that, in summer attached friends decline invitations to tea on account of the unbearable heat of the rooms. The chambers seem almost filled up by the beds. And only think of *two* of the household sleeping in Mrs C's room latterly, & she with her bad bed sores, poor thing! Annie C's complexion,--the very substance of her muscles,--seems to show something very wrong. When (as is her wont) she holds her face in talking, the finger marks remain on

f86

the cheek, almost as badly as mine on my legs & feet at night, when they are worst. We think too that A.C. is altered in some yet graver ways. No one can wonder, I'm sure. But she is muddle-headed; & her talk is beside the mark, to a ~~surprising~~/sorrowful degree. All her friends here think a long & thorough change quite necessary for her. I don't think school-keeping is *now* good for her,--fond as she is of it, & great as is the blessing to her neighbours. But I will not enlarge on this. My aim has been, in speaking of her at all, to seize a possible chance, wh may or may not exist, for her being moved on the subject of fresh air. I fear she has it all to learn. And yet she must have read your "Notes". We all have a cordial esteem for Annie Clough: & I believe *all* her friends here agree that the release has taken place only just in time, --*if* in time--to give her a chance of health of body & clearness of mind.

Now I release you.--We cd learn *any* *thing* about the people's ways & notions here, if

f86v

you wd like any questions asked.

Yours devotedly,

H. Martineau

P.S. You & I enjoy other folks' roving
so I mention (for Hilary too) that Maria
undertakes, (for poor me) a resurvey of the
Lake District, for a new edition of the
"Guide". She will take an infinity of
little excursions, to gather up the latest view
of things. Her sister Susan, who arrives today
will be her companion for half, & her brother
Frank by & by for the other half. *She* does it
for my credit, as to thee "Guide": but *I* promised
it as a holiday for her. & I am sure she enjoys
the idea of it.

signed letter, ff87-90, pen {Martineau to FN}

f87

Ambleside

July 15/60 {archivist: 7}

Dear Miss Nightingale

We presented a rather absurd
spectacle yesterday,--Maria, her sister,
Susan & I. When my breakfast-tray goes out
Maria comes in, to discuss our letters &
settle the business of the day. The post
yesterday brought in several books & a
heap of papers; but I seized on your
"Notes": & there were we, instead of minding
our business, reading away at your
Supplement, -- nieces on knees by my
chair,--till we all burst our laughing
at making holiday at the busiest
time of day. "Well!" said Maria, "We
shall have read it all through before
night. No matter whether now or
by & by." However, we went about
our business at the moment: but

f87v

I saw them busy at the book in the window in the evening. Today M. tells me she is almost frightened --it seems scarcely possible to be a Nurse, --it requires so much experience. Nevertheless I believe she will nurse a good many more, when she has done with me.

I need not thank you for the new satisfaction you have sent me. You must know how I am enjoying it.

I am so glad you touch upon cousin-marriages. The Queen has sadly increased our difficulties about that: but I have written as freely on the subject as if she

f88

had married a grandson of Prester John, --& especially when her husband laid the foundation stone of the Asylum for Idiots.

The Americans are looking to that matter. I dare say you are acquainted with Dr Howe (Laura Bridgman's friend) & with his "Report on Idiocy" in Massachusetts. As you possibly may not, I send one of his statements; & another that I picked up yesterday. If not wanted they will burn very well.

I am thankful to have your autograph (if it were ever so much less beautiful) in this book. Believe me gratefully & affectly yours

H. Martineau

f89

Dr. Howe, Commissioner in 1847, deputed by the Legislature of Massachusetts to inquire into & report on Idiocy in that State, relates (p.90) that of 17 marriages between blood relations there were born 95 children, of whom 1 was a dwarf, 1 was deaf, 12 were ricketty & scrofulous, & 44 were Idiots.

Dr Berines of Kentucky reports that of the inmates of charitable institutions in the United States, the children of

f90

the marriages of First Cousins form the following proportions.
Deaf & dumb--10 per cent.
Blind --5 per cent.
Idiots --15 per cent.

In Kentucky & some other States the marriage of cousins is prohibited.

(H. Martineau
July 15/60)

signed letter, ff91-96v, pen [8:613-14]

f91

Private

30 Old Burlington St
London W {archivist: 38}
July 29/60
{archivist: To Harriet M}
I feel how ungrateful
I must seem in not
having answered your
four last letters--And
yet I was not
ungrateful -
I fully agree in
all you say about
Lunatic Nurses. But
Lunatic Nurses have
made a progress in *some*
degree commensurate with
our times in the

Add Mss 45788

304

last ten years (altho'

f91v

not nearly enough)
which Hospital Nurses
have not made.

I fully agree with
all you say about
cousin-marriages.
I believe if more
facts could be collected
like those of Dr. Howe,
(whom I well know),
the fact, of the degeneracy
of their offspring
might be proved
beyond a doubt.

I thank you sincerely

f92

& warmly for what
you are kind enough
to say about my
"Notes on Nursing"
You do not know
how, in the midst
of much disappoint-
ment, such words
cheer & strengthen us.

The only possible
merit of my little
book is that there
is not a word in
it, written for the
sake of writing, but
only forced out of me

f92v

by much experience
in human suffering.

I thank you very
much for your words
about Annie Clough
--the truth of which
I fully feel. I have
seen her, but ~~I quite~~
~~feel~~ the impossibility
of preventing her
from going back *for*
a time to her School is
insuperable.

I had hoped
before this to have
sent you the "Barrack
Report". But, altho'

f93

-2-

we have worked at it
as hard as ~~po~~ we possibly
can, yet urgent matters,
(our Indian enquiry,
&c) have delayed
the finishing of it,
which yet must
absolutely be done
before Parlt is up.

I shall send you
the very first complete
copy.

I think our Indian
enquiry, when I can
send it you, will
interest you extremely.

f93v

We are already in possession of more information than the India House could give us.

My disappointment arises from the state of the War Office & from Sir Jas: Graham's Report, which touches *no one* of the vital points. The vital points are 1. that it is a very slow Office 2. that it is not at all an efficient

f94

Office. 3. that it is an enormously expensive Office. 4. that every one of the branches can negative the S. of S.'s intentions-- & every one can negative the other - The four remedies of 1. quickness
2. efficiency
3. economy in administration
4. unity
are *not at all* touched upon in the Report

f94v

The articles upon it
in the "Times" have
been disgraceful, &
are solely to be ascribed
to Delane's desire
to keep his *entrée*
at Cambridge House.

The object of the
"Times", & of the Report
is not efficiency;
but that they may
have a S. of S. in the
H: of C. whom they
may worry, if any
thing goes wrong.

The real objects are:

f95

-3-

1. To organize the W.O. under
distinct Departments, each
under a Head responsible
to the S. of S., but working
the whole details of his
Department himself.
2. The Head of each Dept to
communicate directly
with the S. of S. & the
S. of S. with him.
3. The *minuting* system
to be restricted simply
to what is necessary.
 1. to state contents
of each paper
 2. head to take
necessary steps on
it
 3. S. of S. to decide
As much of the business

f95v

with the Heads to be
done personally as possible.

4. Office thus to consist
of a certain number of
distinct Departments
--not of mere Divisions,
all working through each
other, as at present.

I am not at all
without hopes that,
thro' the S. of S.
personally, much
may be done. But
I am bitterly disap-
pointed that the

f96

country understands
so little of the
real defects of the
War Office, that
such a report as
Sir. J. Graham's &
such articles, as
there have been upon
it in the papers,
could pass -

The country never
could really have
cared for the
Crimean disaster,
or at least could
never have understood

f96v

its real causes for
such things to be.

I shall like to send
you, if you will let
me, the results of an
inquiry into the aboriginal
Colonial Schools, when
they are all come in.

I did not think
I should have sent you
my "second Edition",
without a word. But
so things have been.

With many thanks
for your undeserved notice
of it, ever yours gratefully
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff97-98v, pen {Martineau to FN}

f97

Ambleside

July 31/60 {archivist:} ♂

Dear Miss Nightingale

This is no letter,--only
a line of thanks for your
most valuable letter, &
for the good things you
promise in the way of
Reports. --The one "leader"
in "D. News" on the Report of
the Army Organism Com-
mission was quite in the
spirit you wd wish, but
very meagre, of course, (I
don't know who wrote it.)

f97v

Today I am asking the Editor whether the subject is given to any other of the staff; & if not, whether I may undertake it: & if so, whether now or after the House rises. I wish there may be room at once: but we are so crowded! The articles on India are almost all mine. Sir C. Wood will lose

f98

us that empire, if possible.

It is a serious misfortune (in connexion with army reforms) that Mr S. Herbert has lost character this session so irreparably. He will never get over--& *ought* never to get over--his way of defending the promotion of Coll Grey.

It is such a pity that he does such things! This incident will never be forgotten. He was very

f98v

nearly trusted just
before. Now he never will
be--entirely.

Yes, thank you, I shd
like to see your news of
the Aborigines. Possibly
one might do good with
it in U. States, where the
Indians need all that
can be done for them.

We think it an excellent
thing for readers that you
have thrown your notes
into the text, in your second
edition.

Yours devotedly,
H. Martineau.

signed letter, ff99-102v, pen

f99 {archivist: ~~46~~ }

30 Old Burlington St

London W

Sept 1/60

[14:1008-09]

I feel that I must
thank you for the Arts:
in "D. News" of Aug.
21, 22, and 25.

They are so much
to the point, they hit
our short-comings so
exactly on the head
that, if anything
can do us good, I
am sure they will.

But the want
of administrative

f99v

power in men of
the present day
is, I think, very
striking.

People talk of
my "terrible &
unprecedented
experience of
inefficiency" in
the Crimea--I
say my "terrible
& extraordinary
experience of
inefficiency" in
the War Off. in

f100

the last four years.

No one would
believe it who had
not witnessed it.

With regard to
our Barrack Report,
we were obliged to
put a "dummy" on
the table of the Ho:
of Commons to keep
its place. I see
no chance of its
being ready for a
month or more now.

f100v

You shall have
one of the earliest
copies complete.

I am at Upper
Terrace, Hampstead,
for a few weeks.
But the old address
is always the safest
for me, if you are
so good as to want
to send me anything.

I have always
forgotten to say
that your experience

Add Mss 45788

314

of people's delight

f101

in telling invalids
horrid stories of
accidents & operations
is also mine. I
thought they did
it out of compliment
to my profession.
They tell me surgical
cases which make
me sick, though
I am by no means
squeamish, as you
may suppose. Had
I known how
much wider this
practice was than

f101v

I had any idea of,
I think I would
have mentioned it
(in my little book)
ever yours most
truly & gratefully
F. Nightingale

[end]

f102

-3-

I could at any time
give you the latest
information upon what
the ~~Dept~~/War Office is (or is not)
doing in these matters.

How often it reminds
me of what La Roche=
foucauld said of the
Fronde--to the effect
that there never was
so much design
without action--so
much action without
design--so much
enterprise & so little
effect--so many fine
words & so little good
sense

f102v

Believe me always
 very truly & gratefully
 yours
 Florence Nightingale

{at bottom of page written upside-down is a calculation}:

40000	144	
16		12
-----		----
640000	1728	
5184		
-----		3/370
12160	---	
12096	8/123	
-----		---
3/48	152	
--		
16		

signed letter, ff103-12, pen

f103

PRIVATE

30 Old Burlington St
 London W

Jan 4/61 [15:301-03]

My dear Miss Martineau

I am going to throw
 ourselves upon your
 mercy as I have so
 often done before.

It is in the matter
 of the "Daily News" and
 Mr. Herbert's retirement
 from the Ho: of Commons.

I will try to be
 as short as I can.

His failing health
 is alas! but too well

f103v

"constaté" It is disease of the kidneys (this is private). And his Doctors were unanimously of opinion that his life was not worth a year's purchase, unless he retired from public life altogether.

It is, I believe, at my earnest request that he retains the War Office & accepts a Peerage.

He feels himself

f104

this *shelving*, in the prime of life, so deeply that he would infinitely have preferred retaining his seat in the Ho of C. and giving up office. Or, next to that, retiring altogether.

Perhaps he feels that the Ho: of C. has called out what is best in him.

Perhaps he feels, as I have felt all along, that he is no statesman.

f104v

Any how, to him,
retaining office and
relinquishing the Ho:
of C. is like what it
was to me giving
up Men, & taking
to Regulations.

To me the blow is
even more severe
than it is to him.
Because I know he
is a man not of
organizing capacity
(my heart is sick
when I think that
nothing is yet done

f105

-2-

to re=organize the
War Office &c &c)
but of great persua=
siveness to lead men
with him, of rare
single heartedness.

Without the Ho: of
C., in which he had
certainly singular
influence, & where he
alone could carry the
Estimates & measures
we want, I fear
that he will lack
the stimulus which
carried him through
the dry work of the

f105v

Office.

And yet, when
±/one thought of the
men spoken of to
replace him in
that Office, no one
but must feel
that it was all
over with Army
Reform if HE did
not stay in it &
especially all over with the slightest hope of
re-organizing the Office.
You see I am but a
poor Canvasser.

But to the point:
I feel it so important
just now that the

f106

"D News" should help
him through.

If you would, I
would send you
information of all
that he has actually
accomplished.

You cannot think
what harm has
been done--not to
him but to the
cause of Army Reform,
by the line the "D
News" has taken.

I know that
the affair of Genl Grey
produced a great

f106v

impression.

I cannot but think the nation hit the wrong nail on the head. And while they were accusing him of subserviency in promotions, they ought to have been "hounding" him on for his supineness in the re=organization of the W.O.

I must say this for his defence however, in the matter nearest my heart.

f107

-3-

He was under a pledge to Sir James Graham to do nothing till *that* Report was completed (when it came out, *you* know our mutual disappointment with it-- & in fact, it contained nothing at all about its main object) A plan was immediately framed & laid before the Cabinet about a month ago & approved.

f107v

It will be carried
out immediately.
But I don't believe
while Hawes remains
there that any plan
can work well. And
Mr. Herbert is not
the man to turn him
out. But neither
would any other
S. of S.

With regard to
Genl Grey's case, the
facts are simply
these.

Regiments are

f108

generally given in
their course.

Genl Grey had been
passed over three or
four times.

Had he not been
Genl Grey, he would
have had it long
before being entitled
to it from length of
service.

War Service can
exist but for men
when there *is* war.
Between /15 & /54
there was war only
in India.

f108v

Genl Grey did volunteer
for every service that
offered in Portugal
in Canada & did
extremely well in both.

He is said to know
more of military matters
than any man of his
class.

In my small way
I can myself back
this & do it disin=
terestedly, because
he opposed me in
everything I urged
at Balmoral.

f109

-4-

The difficulty of
giving these Regiments
fairly is immense.

You remember
about that Genl Cox
who, said the "Times",
had been "passed over"
after a whole string
of "distinguished
Army services". That
Genl Cox had certainly
been everywhere &
done everything--
but everything *ill*--
had embezzled money
& was altogether unfit

f109v

(this again I can
back of my own
personal knowledge).
Yet such was the clamour
that he was given a
Regiment at last.

Genl Grey's services
were the same in
every respect as
those of four others
who received Regts
before him.

He volunteered
for the Crimea [The
Prince, I believe,
prevented it]

f110

Again, I know that
Mr. Herbert said to
the D. of Cambridge (&
urged it, strongly) that
altho' he did not deny
the abstract justice
of Genl Grey's claim
he thought it ought
to be sacrificed to a
very natural public
feeling.

I know Mr. Herbert
so well that I know
that neither Court
nor Horse Guards
could have moved
him one jot, if it

f110v

had not been for
this abstract justice.
And to that alone
he yielded - And then
as he always does
& will he took up
the Cudgels in the
Ho: of C. for what
he himself had
opposed & laid the
whole blame on
himself.

It is an absurdity
to say that these
appointments rest
with the Sec. of State.

f111

-5-

Of course, he can
refuse in very gross
cases- But virtually
& really, it is the
Commander-in-Chief
who decides, just
as much as the
"congé d'élire" really
decides who is to be
Bishop.

I don't defend
this state of things.
It is one of the
gross inconsistencies,
of which the W.O.
is full. But really
& virtually all the Sec. of State
has to do is to *defend*.

f111v

All this is only for
your own private
conscience if I
could but satisfy
you. So is the whole of
this letter merely for yourself.

The sooner an
Article appears, if
you would write
one, in the "D. News",
the better.

I know what
the "address" of Mr.
Herbert, which
appeared this
morning, has cost him.

f112

And I would fain
that his remaining
in Office should
really be worth to
the country & the
Army the great private
struggle which it
has cost.

[end 15:303]

ever yours gratefully,
F. Nightingale

f112v

{in HM's hand}
Florence Nightingale
Jany 4/61

signed letter, ff113-22v, pen

f113

30 Old Burlington St
London W
Jan 13/61

My dear Miss Martineau

[15:304-06]

I have carefully
burnt the letter
enclosed in yours.

I do not see that
it makes matters
any better,--

As you say, he
does not retract the
lie about Mr. Herbert's
health, which he
put forth, & which

f113v

I heard stigmatised
as "unworthy of a
respectable paper"
by men whom you
would call worthy.

As far as I
understand, what
the "D. News" accuses
Mr. Herbert of is
this: that his aims
& intentions are
beyond his success
--his powers--his
achievement call it

f114

what you will.

Nobody suspects
his good=will. But
the result is not
equal to it.

Now, the way to
treat a case of this
kind is not to do
what the D. News does.
--not to attack him
--not to suspect his
honesty -

On the contrary.
If the D. News were
honest, it would be
to encourage him--to
support him.

f114v

The D. News is fast
lapsing into what
the press is in
America-- ~~as~~/what the
provincial press is
in England.

I can scarcely
conceive a worse
effect than that
produced by accusing
an honest & not
very vigorous man
of dishonesty.

The consequence
in America is that
no honest man will
take office - for fear

f115

-2-

of being attacked
for dishonesty.

The consequence
(even in my time) in
Town Corporations in
England has been
that corporations
were honest & jobbing,
now they are
dishonest & much
more jobbing,
because good
men have been
frightened out of
Office by the Press
Now, as far as I

f115v

can see, the "D. News"
is rapidly going
this way.

I have long
since ceased to see
it - And, if you
will not laugh, I
should say that I
was a very fair
specimen of a
political man of
the independant
advanced type -

I know not
whether its circulation

f116

is increased. But
I know that it is
quite damaged
among worthy
political Liberals -
(men) -

I have (or had)
so much respect
for the D. News
that I do not believe,
if it were upholding
a principle, that
this would move it.

But what
principle is it
upholding?

f116v

What is all this
about Genl Grey?

It simply shews
what comes of
writing about what
it knows nothing
at all about.

These appointments
are not given
according to service
in the field. The
principle in the
British Service is
seniority, with
certain modifications.

f117

-3-

And this principle
neither Mr. Herbert
nor the D. of Cambridge
nor the Ho: of Commons
can upset - For it
is founded on ~~the~~
a *property* question.
If the "D. News" wants
to attack the principle,
let it do so, but
not the man - This
only shews its
ignorance - Mr. Herbert
has done
what no other Minister has done
to modify the evils
of purchase. The Editor seems
to live singularly
within his Office

f117v

by his note -
Shall I say
what the world
says - the world
of worthy political
men - It says
that the "anti-
Herbert articles"
were furnished by
Sir B. Hawes, the
obstructor of
every thing good
in that Office--
& who, *aghast*
at the prospect

f118

of losing his system
by the re-organization
of that Office, did
everything in his
power to get Mr.
Herbert written
down, in hopes he
would resign
altogether.

I do not vouch
for this--But this
is all the credit
which the D. News
gets now (for its
honesty)- in this matter.

To me it appears

f118v

as if the D. News
always, like the
Saturday Review,
hit the wrong nail
on the head.

Since I "have
been in the W.O."
we have had three
men, Lord Panmure,
Genl Peel, Mr.
Herbert-- Ld Panmure
had a strong hand
in administration,
but cared "neither
for God nor devil"
He jobbed his own
way & would have

f119

-4-

sworn at organization,
if he had ever
heard of it. He was
a man after
Hawes's own heart.
Genl Peel did
nothing--any way
--nothing but jobbing,
at least. Then comes Mr.
Herbert. He is
quite above jobbing.
But he is not quite
up to organizing.
Now however in
real good earnest,
with broken health,

119v

and with every
difficuly thrown
in his way, he has
approved a plan
& is carrying it
out -

And what does
this paper, which
we used to call
the most liberal
& enlightened of
the whole press
~~do~~/write?

~~Let me say however~~
that I entirely agree
with what the Editor
says about not looking
at "private motives"

f120

Mr. Herbert noticed
your Article in the
D. News & mentioned
it to me to day--
a thing I never
knew him do before.

~~Now let me say~~
farther about Genls
Grey & Cox - Again
I think the D. News
hits the wrong nail
on the head -

To me the *gravamen*
was the giving an
appointment to Genl
Cox, because the

f120v

newspapers clamoured
I say, you richly
deserve what you
got. If you go on
the principle of
fiat justitia, ruat
caelum, the paper
would treat you
much better in
the end - Genl Grey
was entitled to
his Regiment four
times before he got
it--then give it
him - Genl Cox ought
never to have had
it at all--then

f121

-5-

why did you give it
him?

The Commander
in Chief is like a
dog with his tail
between his legs
before the newspapers.

But the Sec. of State
must bear the brunt
in the Ho: of Commons.

Very good: then
you bore the abuse
for Genl Grey, which
you ought to have
had for Genl Cox -
This is all fair.

f121v

As to Mr. Herbert's
health, I see death
written in the man's
face--. And when
I think of the
possibility of my
surviving him, I
am glad to feel
myself declining so
fast (owing to this
severe anxiety & severe winter) for
I should lose with
him--all my power
to serve the Army -
And I cannot now
seek another service.

f122

I am drawing in
from my out=works.
For I have not now
strength sufficient
to defend these--&
am confining myself
to my principal
strong-holds--the
Indian Enquiry, the
Day Rooms & Libraries
of the Army, and
the Statistics of Health.
This, in addition to
my own Civil Hospital
work, is all I am
able to do now.

f122v

I must just revert
to Genl Grey's case once
more - If you look at
those who were rewarded
for field service in
the Crimea--to what
a set did the nation give
its rewards?

I cannot tell you
how glad I was to hear
that you were better--
even temporarily. It is
the only good news I
have heard for some time.

I do not see how
you can do anything more
with D. News than you
have done on this subject. **[end 15:306]**

{continued on **f121**, written sideways in left margin}:
Ever yours gratefully F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff123-24v, pen {Martineau to FN}

f123

Ambleside

May 8/61

Dear Miss Nightingale

We owe this copy of your cheap "Notes on Nursing" to you, we doubt not. I could not help reading it all through again, - all the old parts as well as the new: & I think I like it better than ever. I have ordered a batch of copies; & the parson & the Arnolds & I shall soon see that everybody here has it who can at all profit by it. It is a great book.

It is long since we heard any

f123v

distinct account of you. Annie Clough has had no particulars; & so we have not. I have dreaded to hear of mischief from the east winds; & I dare say they *have* done you harm, as there seems to be illness every where. Those cold winds give me great relief, coming in the midst of the spring failure of strength & breath. A cold day like this revives me wonderfully: but the spring *is* very trying. I never saw such an one for beauty,

f124

as far as I can see it from my window: & Maria says the same. It is the very finest & forwardest we have known here: & the flowers are large & brilliant beyond our experience. Maria is gone now to the middle of the river, - Blathay, --where, on the rocks, glows the yellow globe lanunculus in great beauty. A vase full of them & lily of the valley & orchis is as good in my eyes as any bouquet from anywhere.--In June, Maria leaves me for one week, to another brother's wedding, --such a happy one!

f124v

There is a splendid baby for her to see, from last years' wedding of the elder brother. It is a very marrying world just now, it seems to us: but people judge from their own circle. As far as it goes, it is a great brightness & pleasure.

Maria does not think A. Clough well, or likely to be here, -- from the old want of air & good management. It is well she is going abroad --the very best thing for her, probably.

I am anything but unhappy about America. It is the resurrection of conscience among them,--the renewal of the soul of the genuine nation. I think destruction will overtake the wicked; & the good, --the best--are already

signed letter, ff125-26v, pen {Martineau to FN}

f125

(No answer needed) Ambleside

Sepr 20/61

Dear Miss Nightingale

I have not written, because I, in some sort, dared not. We have felt so strongly what the affliction of Lord Herbert's death must be to you, that I have not ventured to speak of it, though silence seemed unnatural. I will say no more of it now, I only wish you to know that you are sympathised with by some who know something of what your grief must be.

f125v

The reason of my writing now is that I have just heard something that I think will gratify you. *Our* book ("England & her Soldiers") is at present quoted largely & incessantly in American Medical Journals, as a guide in the newness of military Management in the Northern States.

Before I knew this, I had sent one of two articles (the second goes today) on "Health in

f126

the Camp," & "Health in the Hospital," to the "Atlantic Monthly." I don't like Magazines, or writing for them: but that very good one has such an enormous circulation that I now & then say "yes" when the proprietors ask me to write. In spite of the War, they have again asked me now; & I thought it a good opportunity to interest their public in saving their citizen-soldiers' lives & health. It is more to the purpose that the Medical Journals are learning from us; & I am sure you will be glad to hear it.--Miss Dix (the

f126v

Superintendent of Nurses there, is a woman of great energy. I shd rather have doubted, if others did, her sober sense, but the Americans do so wonderfully combine the sentimental & practical that she may turn out a pattern of an administratrix. The insane have been her particular care for some years before this war began.

I am afraid we must now hope that you are better. I have heard of you only through Julia, & not definitely. I have had a suffering time this summer,--latterly from Tic: but just at present I am much easier. Yours devotedly
Maria's affecte respects. H. Martineau

signed letter, ff127-30v, pen

f127

Hampstead NW

Sept 24/61

[15:597-98]

My dear Mrs. Martineau

I am really grateful to you for what you tell me about the Northern States.

When you speak of their "newness of military management" it occurs to me, would you like to send them a collection of what might be useful ~~in~~ "as a guide" in the Sanitary Service?

If so, I should recommend (& would gladly send to you for transmission)

1. the Royal Commn. Sanitary Report of 1858--written by Sidney Herbert in 1857--which you know

2. the Army "Medical Regulations," issued by him, October 1859--which I think you know. These have now been at work for two years. They were

127v

tested in the China War. And the result ~~of~~ was that instead of having sixty out of every 100 die from disease, as we had in the first winter of the Crimean War, we had only six percent *including* those killed in action. And that the "Constantly Sick" were about one seventh of what they were in the Crimean War. [I would furnish to you this fact in exact figures, if it would be of any use.)

These "Regulations" are now considered the best code of ~~all~~ any ~~those~~ of the Armies of Europe including as they do a whole Sanitary Service.

And I have been applied to more than once by foreign powers for them.

3. The Army *Purveyor's* "Regulations" issued by Sidney Herbert in January 1861. These are what their name imports.

4. The Report (very short)

f128

on the Army Hospital Corps & service
~~organization~~ of General Hospitals--
issued by a Commission called
together in 1860 & acted upon
by Sidney Herbert in 1861--
not presented to Parliament.

5. The "Barrack & Hospital
Improvement Commissn" Report--of
1861--of which I sent you a
copy, as soon as we could (presented to Parlt)

6. The "Day Room & Soldiers'
Institutes" Commissn Report only
just out, & not presented to
Parliament. The calling together
of this Commnn was ~~t~~ nearly the
last official act of Sidney Herbert.

This Report is short & by
no means powerful. But I think
you might like to see it, even if
you do not want it for American
friends. If so, I would gladly
send it you.

It does not however *tell*,
because facts & illustrations are

f128v

omitted from it.

We find that the disease of vice is daily increasing in the Army so that fully one half of all the sickness *at home* is owing to that.

[8:420-21]

And that the absolute incuria of the Magistrates (even to enforce the existing law) as at Aldershot, Chatham & all our Garrison towns makes the public houses nothing but bad houses, where prostitutes are openly kept by the beer house keepers for their customers.

And it is to be feared that the present War Secretary, who is totally ignorant of his business, considers that there is no remedy for this but the French plan (of inspection & brevetting of the women)-- ~~the~~ a plan invented expressly to degrade the National character.

We find 2. that the most

f129

ordinary Day Room, Evening Club,
or whatever it may be called,
will draw away the men from
these places of resort. So much
do they prefer morality ~~from~~ to
immorality. But it must be
"free & easy" as to its rules--
Smoking must be allowed-- & as
the majority are not "reading men,"
it must not partake so much
of the character of a Reading Room
as of a club. Tea & coffee must
be sold. Dominoes & Chess &c
given--the room well lighted--
illustrated newspapers supplied.
And you are *quite sure* of a
large attendance. **[end 8:421]**

But I am wandering from my
subject.

Dr. Edward Jarvis (U.S.) President
of the "American Statistical Association",
who was in London last year for
the International Statistical Congress,

f129v

but of whom I know nothing
save that he was then sent to
me to obtain information, was
very anxious to get all our War Office
Regulations & Blue Books. I gave
him what were out then. This
year he has written for more.
And those issued this year were
sent.

But I fancy they will be
used more for a Scientific than
a practical purpose.

Should there really be an
opening for practically helping
the Northern States in their
military organization, I could
recommend many other books.

As e.g. our ~~books~~ forms & Returns for keeping
the Army Health Statistics, as at
present in use, which would
be the more easily adopted in the
U. S., as they have already adopted
our Civil Registrars General's Nomenclature,

f130

which is the one used in these our Returns and Reports.

Our first Annual Report upon this new system is just out. It is by no means remarkable. But it is the first attempt made by *any nation* to give its Army's REGIMENTAL & STATIONAL Returns of Disease & Death & their Sanitary causes.

The next will be undoubtedly better. Because it will be possible to get in *all* the Returns on the new system in time for the Annual REPORT.

The U.S. might also like to see a Programme of our new Army Medical School at Chatham which has finished its first year's course & is answering perfectly. It was opened by Sidney Herbert, October last.

=====

The organization of our Army Medical

f130v

Department, which has now
been at work three years,
answers admirably. ~~It~~ even
in inferior hands. The present
Director General (Gibson) & his
Council of three- Sanitary, Statistical
& Medical.

When the Indian Commission
Sanitary Report is out, which
will certainly not be till next
year, it also will be of very
great use to a nation forming
a Military service.

ever yours

F. Nightingale [end 15:598]

signed letter, ff131-32v, pen [8:160-61]

f131

Hampstead NW

Sept 24/61

My dear Miss Martineau

I think you will be glad to
hear that we are about to open
(in October) a Training School for
Midwife Nurses at King's College
Hospital, London.

They are to be persons selected
by country parishes, (whether ~~led~~ personated
by clergy, ladies or Committees or
Boards,) between 26 and 35 years
of age, of good health & good
character, to follow a course of
not less than 6 months' practical
training, & to conform to all the
rules of St. John's House, (which
nurses at King's Coll: Hosp:) while
there.

No farther obligation is imposed

f131v

upon them by us. They are supposed to return to their parishes & continue their avocation there.

I am sorry that we shall be obliged to require a weekly sum for their board--but which will be merely the cost price--not less than 8/ or more than 9/ a week.

Our funds do not permit us, at least at first, to do this cost free. For (the Hospital being very poor) we have had to furnish the Maternity Ward & are to maintain the dying in beds. In fact, we establish this branch of the Hospital, which did not exist before.

The women will be taught their business by the Physician Accoucheurs themselves--who have most generously entered, heart &

f132

soul, into the plan--at the bedside of the Lying in Patients in this ward, the entrance to which is forbidden to the men=students and they will also deliver poor women at their own homes, Out Patients of the Hospital. The ~~Sister~~ Head Nurse of the ward, who is paid by us, will be an experienced midwife, so that the pupil-Nurses will never be left to their own devices.

They will be entirely under the Lady Supt of the Hospital. Certainly the best moral trainers of women I know. They will be lodged in the Hospital, close to her.

If I had a sister of 18, I should gladly send her to this School. So sure am I of its moral goodness which I mention, because I know poor mothers are quite as particular as rich

f132v

ones, not merely as to the morality but as to the propriety of their daughters.

In nearly every country but our own, there is a Government School for Midwives. I trust that our School may lead the way towards supplying a want, long felt in England. Here we experiment & if we succeed, we are sure of getting candidates. I am not sure this is not the best way.

I hope we shall begin very quietly. And if we turn out a few good country Midwife Nurses, we shall be sure of having more candidates than we ~~want~~ can accommodate. Our first expences have been heavy. I hope another year we shall be able to give board free to a certain number from poor parishes.

yours ever

F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff133-45v, pen

f133

PRIVATE

Hampstead, NW

[15:319-22]

Sept 24/61

My dear Mrs Martineau

I am not ungrateful, believe me, for sympathy on account of Sidney Herbert. So few have sympathized. So few know what a loss it is. Some comforters have comforted me with the belief that I "should not be long after him." And I own I have long been selfishly longing for release.

f133v

But will that
restore the health of
the Army, moral
health & physical? Will
that replace the loss
they have had? Will
that fill the gap?

In one sense, there
is no comfort. The
loss is irreparable.

Could we but have
said, It is finished,
how little I should
have mourned the
personal loss.

His last articulate
words were "Poor

f134

Florence & our unfinished
work" words too
sacred to repeat but
that they show the
man.

He died broken
hearted for what
he had failed to
achieve.

Till the very
day fortnight of his
death he ~~h~~ struggled
on doing the official
work. But it was
too late.

It is proved now
that the organic
disease of which he

f134v

died must have
been of years standing.
In fact the only
wonder is how he
could have done
anything for the
last 9 months.
Or even since
November last.

And I too was
hard upon him. I
told him that
Cavour's death (the
same day {illeg. ±?} June 7
told me of this &
of Sidney Herbert's
hopeless state, told

f135

2

both of these, by himself
to me) was a blow
to European liberty,
but that a greater
blow was that a
Sidney Herbert should
be beaten on his own
ground by a bureau=
cracy. I told him
that no man in
my day had thrown
away so noble a
game with all the
winning cards in
his hands.

And his angelic

f135v

temper with me, at
the same time that
he felt what I
said was true, I
shall never forget.

Of course all this
is private. But the
meaning of it is
not private.

I wish people
to know that what was
done *was done* by
a man struggling
with death--to know
that he thought so
much more of what
he had *not* done

f136

than of what he had
done--to know that
all his latter suffering
years were filled
not by a selfish
desire for his own
salvation--far less
for his own ambition
--he hated office--
his was the purest
ambition I have
ever known--but
by the struggle ~~to~~ of
exertion for our
benefit.

Alas! What has
it all come to? He

f136v

had not put in
the main=spring
to his works. He
had not re=organized
the War Office.
And every day his
decisions, his judgments,
are overthrown.

Till I saw how
the Commander in Chief
how the Court, how
an ignorant Secretary
of State, can upset
everything, I had
not known myself
the force of the
opposition he had

f137

3

to encounter--and of
which he never
complained.

How he was
misunderstood!

All the blame
of all the mistakes
of the Commander in
Chief & the Court
he took upon himself--
generously assumed
it in the House--

And the real
flaw in his states=
manship--the not
re-organizing his
own office--men

f137v

do not see. Or if
they do, they do not
understand.

But it is this
which has undermined
everything.

Seven years next
October I have served
in the War Office--
And I have never
seen the Horse Guards
so rampant as now.

The commander in
Chief rides over the
weak & learned
Secretary of State as
if he were straw.

f138

Day Rooms, Barrack
Inspections, Hospitals,
of all the Sanitary
improvements--it is
all the same--not
one will they leave
untouched.

The fatal mistake
of appointing a
Military Secretary
in the War Office--
extorted from poor
Sidney Herbert--in
the hour of his weak-
ness--has given
the Horse Guards a
power in the War Office
they will never let go.

f138v

The dogs actually
trampled on the
dead body.

You saw perhaps
that the new Woolwich
Hospital is to be
called the "Herbert
Hospl" & that it
was gazetted, as if
direct from the
Queen.

That was my
doing.

Not only did
they not intend to
do it--but the
Commander in Chief

f139

4

actually went to
Sir G. Lewis & asked
him to cancel the
building of the
Hospital altogether.
Lord de Grey, who
was in the room,
said, Sir, it is
impossible. Lord
Herbert decided
it. And the House
of Commons voted it.

And then they
covered their {illeg. defeat?}
by putting it in the
Gazette that it was
to be called the

139v

"Herbert Hospital"
as if it were their own grace.

I could tell you
far worse things
than this--how Mr.
Gladstone first
wrote to me, & then,
when I applied to
him, for help to carry
out Sidney Herbert's
plans, would not
pledge himself to any
thing--not even to
friendship with *him*.

How the Soldiers'
Wives Hut Hospitals for which,
after two years' work

f140

Sidney Herbert had extorted
from the Treasury
a sum annually of
£6000 to £8000,
till they should be
done--& the very
first one \mp applied
for, in terms of
the Treasury grant,
after his death
the Commr in Chief
answered that he
would not suffer
one hut to be put
up for the purpose
till the Genl offices
was handsomely

f140v

housed.

How exactly the same thing happened with regard to Soldiers' Day Rooms. One of Sidney Herbert's last wishes was to set these up at Aldershot. And I applied to rent at my own expence an empty Officers' Club House which had failed, for the Soldiers. And the Commander in Chief stepped in & said

f141

5

he wanted it for his "distinguished guests," when they visited Aldershot.

The man is a snob. And Sir G. Lewis is a muff.

The reign of intelligence at the War Office is over. The reign of muffs has begun.

Again, they tried to put an end to the Barrack Inspections, on the plea that

f141v

Engineers did not
like it. And I
defeated them by a
trick which they
were too stupid
to find out.

But you know
this guerilla warfare
cannot last. I am
worn out & cannot
go on long.

We have lost
the battle. And
the snobs & muffs
have won.

Five years, had

f142

Sidney Herbert lived
another week, had
he and I, without
the intermission of
a single day, fought
the good fight & LOST
IT. Oh could I but
say, he had *finished*
his course.
But, Now, all is over.

I began this before
my other two letters to you.
But, somehow or other
I could not go on with
it. And the other
two were business &

f142v

must be gone on with

I have not seen
the newspapers since
my dear master's
death. For their
praise & their blame
of him are alike
distasteful to me.
They did not know
him.

So ~~But~~ I know not
what *has* been said
of him now. You all
have said (and I
too have said) that
he did not do all
he ought--that you

f143

6

"could not trust him."

But ~~what~~ which of these
Ministers could not
have been better
spared? which
Minister has done
so much as he?
who ~~could~~ will take
his place? who
will carry on his
work? who is
there to carry on
his work? who
is there to work
as he did?

As for his friendship

f143v

& mine, I doubt
whether the same
ever could occur
again.

I supplied the
detail--the knowledge
of the actual working
of ~~the~~ an Army in
which official men
are so deficient--
he supplied the
political weight.

Alas! the one
thing I never provided
for--never could
expect--was that

f144

I should survive him.
Manin said,
that he had never
conceived the
possibility of his
surviving his country
that he saved
neither health,
nor powers, nor
anything else for
such a contingency.

I must say
the same thing.

[end 15:322]

I have sent to
Sampson Low's the
six War Office documents
which

f144v

I mentioned to you.
Should they wish
for others, I will
send them, but not
without. Would
you, if you have
not yet written,
say that all the
Statistical Forms
now used in the
British Army are
(in miniature) at
the end of the "Medical
Regulations" (Appendix,
which I send. But
that I will send
the Forms themselves

f145

7

in the *useable* size,
if they wish it--
as well as any
thing else -they call
for- ever yours

F. Nightingale
I wish I could
think you were
materially better.
But I am very
glad to hear you
are less suffering
just now.

I ought to say

f145v

with regard to the
Midwifery business,
that I have taken
up £100 for the
first two years
to supplement
any deficient
payments of
Probationers who
are really too poor.
After the first
two years, I hope
there will be more.

F.N.

signed letter, ff146-47v, pen {from Martineau to FN}

f146

Ambleside

Septbr 25/61

Dear Miss Nightingale

Your offered documents
will be received with fervent
gratitude at Washington, I am
very sure. I write to accept
them, & to say that we will
write again in a few posts
to say where the parcel
had better be sent to in
London. I have no means
of forwarding anything

f146v

bulky from this place: but
one of the American
publishers in London will
no doubt undertake it.

Meantime, I will write by
next mail to the Secretary
at War at Washington, to
prepare him for what is coming.
I know, nothing can exceed
the anxiety of officials there
to do right by the soldiery;
& their welcome of what
you offer will be hearty

f147

accordingly.--I'm sure I wish
we could help the Southern
leaders to keep *their* men alive
too. But, even if I had access
to them (which I have not)
the case really seems desperate.
That soldiery is at once
barbaric & corrupt. Their bodily
condition is shocking,--from
drink, tobacco-chewing, & the vice
which always rages where slavery
is. Those "mean whites" are the very
lowest specimen of the white race,
--almost of the human race.

They are dying off fast now in

f147v

cholera, fever &c. They ordinarily live in a state compounded of apathy & mad excitement, from drink & passion. Such material for troops! --& a very large proportion is of that sort.

I am so glad of your Midwifery scheme, & that everybody seems to be doing so right about it!--More soon from your devoted

H. Martineau

{this comes after nasty letter re Herbert, no inkling how offer made etc.}

initialed letter, ff148-49, pen [15:598-600]

f148

Hampstead NW

Sept 30/61

It occurs to me that you might like to send to Miss Dix my Private Report on War Hospitals (the fat & the thin *lilac* Vols:) premising that they are still, of course, just as "Confidential," as when they were printed--altho' Mrs. S.C. Hall has made the most unwarrantable mention of them in

f148v

her Magazine.

I would also send Miss Dix a copy of my last Edition of "Notes on Nursing," if you wished it.

In my Evidence printed in the Blue Book on the "Sanitary State of the Army" there is a short, not sweet, account of the Sanitary evils of the Scutari Hospitals, (which made them what they were) & which might

f149

be useful to her. But to send her out that ponderous Blue Book, (which has gone to Messrs. S. Low, as directed by you,) would probably be too much.

I regret that I did not send the folio (lilac) book of Diagrams to Washington with the others books. For its letterpress is a short & compendious account of the Sanitary evils of the British Army Yours as they were. F.N.

[end 15:599]

signed letter, ff150-53v, pen {from Martineau to FN}

f150

Ambleside

October 4/61

Dear Miss Nightingale

My first impulse was to answer this letter--this sacred letter of yours--instantly,--that same night. But another impulse came in check;--the strong desire to *do* something in such a case. I have wanted to subside a little, & consider, & consult,--as from myself alone,--the best adviser in the case.

Dreary & dismal as the prospect is, I am afraid to assert to myself that it is hopeless. We must not give up. S.H's work to be undone by weak, foolish or bad men as soon as he is buried away. No harm can come of an attempt to shame the Horse Guards; &

f150v

nothing but good can come of explaining to the soldiery & the people what S.H. did, & what more he wd have done, & what prevented him.

So I have consulted my Editor. ("Daily News.") I did think of the "Edinburgh Review." But the editor is, (while full of disgust at the recent Ministerial appointments) of an intimate friend of the new Secretary at War. The "Westminster," besides other reasons, has such a miserable circulation that it is a bad vehicle when an immediate & extensive impression is wanted. Much best is my editor's improvement on a notion of mine.

If I can obtain a sufficiency of clear *facts*, I will gladly harass the Commander-in-Chief as he never was harassed before; --that is, I will issue a "leader" against him every Saturday

f151

for as many weeks as there are heads of accusation against him & his Department. We don't want to mince matters. We are under no constraint of any kind; &, once sure of our facts, we can say what we think of them, & freely invite parliament & people to say whether such things shall go on. If we were to begin, say, six weeks hence, when M.Ps. & the travelling public begin to settle at home & read the newspapers, & were to go on till we had finished the exposure, something *must* be done in parliament. There wd be time to arrange the movement while the exposure was going on: & people wd be looking out for a better man to succeed Lewis, or the expected deposition of the present Ministry, early in the session.

On the whole, I believe that no harm

f151v

cd arise, & that some good might. One does not see where the needed man is to come from: but we cannot know that he does not exist: & we may prevent an undoing of what has been achieved, if we cannot do more.

The thing is,--how to obtain a sufficiency of *facts*. This seems to be the only question.

I can look back to all the ill-deeds which have been already discussed, the tamperings with the Competitive Examinations system,--the equivocation about the Purchase system,--the {illeg. infringement?} of the Medical service Warrant, & such matters; & it will *tell* to bring together the trespasses committed through a course of years, & discussed in a series of sessions. But I need not tell you how much more will be wanted.

f152

(2)

And I don't know any possible way
of obtaining them but from yourself.
And I dread proposing any fatigue
to you. Yet, here we are,--a nation
granting unheard of supplies for Defence,
ready to grant anything to raise the
quality, benefit the character, & improve
the comfort of our soldiery;--&, if all is
spoiled by maladministration, are not
the people to be precisely informed of how
it happens? If you can show me how
I can get the requisite material, it
shall be done. I need not point out
that in this will be effected all that
can now be done towards awarding due
honour to S. H.

The Editor says there is a prevalent
notion, wonderfully obstinate, that "George"
is the soldiers' friend. This we must
root out. The man himself is such a

f152v

coward that he will expose himself
if pertinaciously & vigorously attacked
& he may be kept in order for a time,
& have less abject obedience from his
tools.--Well! all that may stand over
--all speculation as the effect of what
we may do.

The object of a Saturday return
to the subject is to produce more
effect ~~to~~ upon the sinners, & to cause a look-
out for the topic on the part of the
public. We must also make each
article complete in itself, that it may
tell upon readers who may occasionally
miss one.

I need not say that we shall keep
the thing profoundly secret till we open
fire,--& the authorship always.

It will be no evil if I have to
repeat some of the matter of the

f153

former articles on the re-organization of the War Office.

One thing more, & then I will leave the subject for today,--Our idea is to avoid, very carefully, making our articles appear to be adapted to Army Reformers, or any class whatever. The aim is to present an intelligible view to the public of what ails our Military department, from top to bottom; how it might have been mended, & who prevented it: & what has been accomplished, & by whom. Then we must propose the question whether the proved sinners shall be allowed to go on obstructing & offending, & show the way to answer it. Here I will stop. I

f153v

cannot say anything about *your* particular trial without upsetting myself, & perhaps you.

Yours devotedly,

H. Martineau

P.S. I don't wonder at your having avoided all notices of your friend in print. My wonder is that near friends do not always avoid them. I paid my tribute in "D. News"--a short Memoir,--most inadequate, of course, but I trust not injurious.

initialed notes, ff154-55v, pen {by Martineau}

f154*American War-Office*

I *had* sent off my letter to the War-Secretary before your remark on the Statistical forms reached me. But I shall soon have an opportunity of saying more. Perhaps also of sending the book of diagrams. Meantime, they have those in my volume; & some of the leading facts of the attendant letter press of yours.

Miss Dix

I think I had better say plainly that, not only do I know very little personally of Miss Dix, but that I do not very much like what I do know.

f154v

Of her devoted benevolence I have no doubt: but I am not satisfied of her sense, discretion or delicacy. She may be much improved since I knew her: but I could not undertake to entrust to her anything so very secret & serious as your *thick* vol. I could not but hesitate to admit any foreigner to a sight of evidence so damning to named individuals, nor perhaps to the worst facts of a system which is not likely to exist in that foreigner's country.--But I think (I will look at it again/the thin one has less of this personal damning, while it is full of matter which must be most useful in U.S.

f155

I can get Sampson Low to send it to Miss Dix through his friend Olmsted, who is in the Sanitary Commission. I can also refer her to the Evidence in the Blue Book,--your Evidence,--which you speak of, & which she can see at Washington.

Mrs S.C. Hall years ago forfeited all claim to be trusted as an honourable person. I wd never let her see anything I wd not see in print, --from the time of her behaviour about Miss Edgeworth. It was as rank a case of sordid & audacious treachery as I happen to know,--her publishing a Memoir of Miss Edgeworth, as an intimate friend, after every possible warning, & in spite of Miss E's own last prohibition, & certainly under pretences of

f155v

intimacy which the Edgeworth family utterly deny. I have myself seen the family better on the subject: & it simply confirmed the impression I derived from the Memoir itself.

Midwifery Nurses

What you say is very interesting. We are consulting & considering here, & should be most thankful to send up a suitable pupil. It is a thing *very much* wanted here,--such a nurse & the doctors earnestly wish for one. But, in a town of 1500 people, & a populous neighbourhood, there is actually not a maintenance for *one* such nurse! The people spend *any* money in drink & dress; but get through, in confinement cases without ~~pay~~ expense;--get in a neighbour to help, or hire a little girl to wait &c! We must try to mend this.

H.M.--

initialed letter, ff156-62v, pen

f156

Private Hampstead NW [15:323-24]

Oct 8/61

My dear Mrs Martineau

This is only to say

1. that I put in a
flyleaf to the "Medical
Regulations" sent to
Washington, ~~{sto~~ -word crossed out is illeg.} (at
~~the~~ "Statistical Forms")
stating that these
were the F
orms in use
(in miniature) & that
they could be had, if
desired, of the *useable*
~~form~~ size.
2. that I sent the
lilac folio Diagrams--

f156v

as there was a delay
of half a day, (owing
to Parly Printers') ~~delay~~
of half my parcel.
But not too late,
as Mr. S. Low assured
my messenger, for the
whole parcel to go
together.

I can hardly say [15:323-24]
how much I should
like to see your noble
project of the Saturday
Articles carried out.

I believe I can
promise to furnish
you with certain *facts*.

f157

I need hardly say that my acquaintance with the W.O is now comparatively limited. But two fast friends I have still there--both however now out of town--but will be back *before* you begin.

Still, altho' I know comparatively little of what passes there, I can always know what are *facts* & not tell what are not.

It is quite true that the prevailing idea of the Commn in Chief is, as you say, that he is the "Soldier's Friend"--i.e. in London & the Army.

f157v

The North of England is much more enlightened.

And I have known men very well informed in political life who shared this idea. My dear master had it himself.

His manner is very popular--his oaths are popular--with the Army. And he is certainly the best man both of business & of nature at the Horse Guards. That; even I admit. And there is no man I should like to see in his place. [At the

f158

2

War Office I should
like to see Lord de Grey
who is thoroughly
imbued with the plan
of re-organization,--
But then he has little
weight with Court,
House, or Cabinet]

What makes ~~the~~
"George" popular is this
kind of thing: In
going round the Scutari
Hospitals at their worst
time with him, he
recognised a Serjeant
of the Guards (he has
a royal memory--
always a great

f158v

passport to popularity)
who had had at
least one third of his
body shot away--
& said to him with a
great oath, calling
him by his Xtian &
sur name, "Aren't
you dead yet?" The
man said to me
afterwards, "So feelin'
o' Is Royal Ighness--
was n't it, m'm."
with tears in his eyes.

But "George" *is* a
"snob"--in his worship
of every rising power

f159

in his dread of the
newspapers--in his
intense ~~w~~ moral
cowardice.

I have not the least
idea whether the public
knows (or does not know)
that, in the matter of
giving away Commissions,
the D. of York's affair
was acted over again
by the D. of Cambridge,

Stocqueler & Miss
Farebrother. And that
it was his horror of
this being fully noised
about (by the papers)
which made him so
submissive under my

f159v

dear master's reign.

But of course I
learnt these facts in
a manner which
prevents my making
any *useful* use of
them.

Another thing. And
I mention these now in
order to shew you that
the most pungent facts
are impossible to
bring out. *for me*.

The "equivocations about
the Purchase System" were
the Queen's own. She
wrote (on one occasion)
two letters to S.H. with
her own hand, of which

f160

3

the best that can be
said is that they were
written by a woman in
a fury. I have never
seen S. H. so moved. He
sate down directly &
wrote to her that his
"honour was concerned."

All this, of course, is
strictly private. But if
people did but know
one tithe of the struggle
he had against Court
& Horse Guards, they would
wonder not that he did
so little but that he
did so —— much.

f160v

At the same time my
object AS HIS ALWAYS WAS
is not to clear his
reputation, but to
forward his plans.

And I believe that
I can furnish you with
facts enough for this--
i.e. by the time you are
ready for them.

But I need hardly say
that there cannot be
among these any which
people must know
could come only from
S.H. himself.

f161

4

About the "infringement
of the Medical Service
warrant"--I must just
say what is the fact,
tho' it is no excuse.

The Warrant is now
as we originally made it.
Alexander, the late Director
Genl (& this is almost
the only error of judgments
I have ever known
him make) insisted
upon the clause--the
reversal of which has
caused so much dis=
content. But I must
frankly say that it was

f161v

impossible to work--(it
is a question of *Quarters*)
& that all of us who
were concerned in
drawing up that Warrant,
said so from the first--
& that it proved in
practice to be so.

However this is a
point I am not at
all anxious about
clearing up. We have
real troubles enough
without that.

I will give you
Sir. G. Lewis' administration
in one trait. Not one

f162

fortnight after he had
been in Office, he said,
"I don't see what all
the talk is about, as
to the difficulty of the
War Office. There is
nothing to do but
signing papers. I sign.
And the work is done."

But many are aware
of this, his utter unfitness. And men have
said, Under "George" &
Lewis, what *will* the
next war be?

This is a rambling
letter--more to hint
at difficulties than to

f162v

give useable facts.

But these shall be
forthcoming.

[end 15:324]

Ever yours

F. N.

incomplete letter, ff163-64v, pen {from Martineau to FN}

f163

Ambleside

October 9/61

Dear Miss Nightingale

I am very thankful
that you approve & agree.
By the second week in November
I shall be anxious to open
our persecution of the snobs.
Meantime I will do my best
to {illeg. rub?} up my memory, & recall
all the {illeg. sins?} of the Horseguards
in "George's" time. I will get
the Editor to help me. No other
person but Maria will know

f163v

a word about it.

I shall write what I think & mean--right out--leaving it to the Editor or his lawyer to look out for libels. Theirs is the responsibility. &, once satisfied that I send them only what is true, I shall leave the legal considerations to them. -- I had never heard the explanation of that Stocqueler business; but it was so obviously fragmentary

f164

that I dare say the Londoners have made it out. This is, however, the first I have heard of it.

I am glad I *know*--what we all supposed--that the Queen meddled in that purchase matter. I will frighten her, & move her, about the next war, without telling anything but what anybody may find out.

Sir B. Hawes & daughter called here some weeks since. I see scarcely anybody; & Maria was out: so we had not the

f165

Ambleside

October 29/61

Dear Miss Nightingale

Your note grieves me.

I fear it shows that you are not the better, but the worse, ~~for~~ after your autumn removal.

As to the War-office information, --I must take the greatest care not to harass or oppress you in regard to it. But I think I may, --in consideration of the extreme importance of the object,--ask two questions,--

f165v

or rather (as I don't wish to get an answer out of you unnecessarily) to make suggestions.

1. Would it do any good to begin a month later? Any time before parliament meets (six or eight weeks before) would do: and--

2. Could you put *me* in communication with one or both of your "fast friends" at the War-office,--so as to save your intervention?

I need not say that no mortal need,--or should, if wished,--know anything about it. In my position

f166

absolute secrecy wd be easy;
& the editor of D.N. himself will suppose all to be going on precisely as we planned.

If I am wrong, please pardon me. The object is so important that I would do anything to accomplish it,--short of risking injury to you. I heard, 2 days since, a high political judgment that "Daily News" alone keeps this country right on American affairs; & I believe it may fulfil much the same function in this other case, --if the information can be got.

Your precious Sketch shall be

f166v

kept as at the bottom of a well.
I did know the separate facts,
but to have them in order, & so
given, is very valuable.

I am alone till Thursday,
--since last Thursday,--& not the
better for it: but I still fare
better for the device, I alluded
to,--& I fancy I may tell you about
it, some day,--for the chance of
somebody being profited.--So Julia
is gone to Algiers! I trust it will
do her good: but her being so sensible
of the fatigue of preparation & travel
seems to indicate a great change
in her -- Yours devotedly

H. Martineau

initialed letter, ff167-69, pen

f167 F. Nightingale [HM]

Hampstead, NW

Oct 31/61

My dear Mrs. Martineau

I will first answer **[15:328-29]**
your two questions
1. any delay will
give me a better
chance
2. I could not put
you into communication
with my two at
the W.O. Because I
could not tell them
at all that I
made use of their
information in the

f167v

way we intend.

And this, as you
will see, also involves
my using my own
judgment as to
what is honourable,
what not, for me
to use again (in
the way we intend).

My position at
the W.O. is so different.
My dear master
trusted me. Now
I have to trust
myself. And, this

f168

you see involves a
greater discretion
on my part &
less information
at the same time.

I entirely agree
with you as to the
importance of your
purpose. You may
entirely depend
upon me as to
giving you what
information, *I can*.

But when I am
pressed with business,

f168v

there are often now
many days in the
week when I can
do nothing at all.
My prospects of
death are nearer.
And I am ashamed
to think with what
eagerness I look to
release -- ever yours

[end 15:329]

F.N.

I should be very
glad to know your
plan of treatment
of the liver in heart
complaints. My
experience is that

f169

in all heart complaints
which involve a
sedentary life, the
principal suffering
of the Patient comes
from the liver.

I have a notable
instance of this
now in a dying
man.

And I too F.N.
suffer much
in this way

initialed letter, ff170-72v, pen {Martineau to Nightingale}

f170

Ambleside

Novbr 2/61

Dear Miss Nightingale

How I can understand & sympathise with your desire for release! Few people dare to say it for themselves, or to tolerate the feeling in others; but I know enough to receive such an avowal with thorough sympathy. I am not so eager, on my own part, as I was 3 or 4 years since, partly perhaps because I suffer less (in the absence of Tic) having found the easiest mode of getting on, --but much more from the American outbreak, wh causes me to be seriously wanted. It is owing to a series of events that it happens so; but I know that some qualified persons believe (entre nous, please) that our country's keeping a straight course depends at present on my life. My constant work on both sides the Atlantic really puts down my

f170v

personal feelings,--actually my bodily sensations, --more than I cd have believed, a few years since. I am aware that I shd be very happy, any night, to know that I shd die before morning; but I find myself longing & wishing less than I did seeing what your work is, I cannot but fear that your suffering is far severer than mine;--& indeed I am sure it is,--though I cannot move,--cannot go into the garden, & see after the flowers, as my neighbour, our pleasant new incumbent, Mr. Bell, saw you doing at Hampstead lately. He was next door,--I think he said at his brother's--My difficulty about moving is from,--not only my size, but the displacement of every internal organ, from the enlargement of the heart. Standing & moving cause a faint distress wh is intolerable.

f171

The enlargement is most about the waist.
& we don't find the dropsical symptoms
increase--& they never were very bad.--But
to business;--the liver treatment.

You must know we have a most
helpless doctor here. He is a good natured &
honourable man, but not very wise, & wholly
destitute of resource. I suspect his awe of Maria's
sense & knowledge makes him worse; but
we have to rely on ourselves, whenever Dr. {illeg. Sathaw's?}
old instincts don't serve. I told M. lately
that I was satisfied that a certain state
of the secretions,--showing a bad state of liver,--
always go along with the tic (which has been
maddening, this summer & autumn) & with
everything like rheumatic pains that I have
ever had; often existing also without the pains. Mr Shepherd, our doctor,
only said {continued from above line}
that, such a life as I have led to so long, the only
wonder is that the lives & everything is not
worse: but he had nothing to propose.

M. then recalled that, many years ago, her

f171v

father was very ill,--the best physician in
Birmingham cd do nothing for him, & sent him
to Cheltenham in despair. There he saw a
really trustworthy somnambule (there are
such people). She declared his ailment to be a
peculiar mischief in the lives, & she ordered
him to eat carrots liberally, & to drink
carrot-tea. She told him he wd be well in 3
weeks; & he was so.--We told Mr Shepherd,
omitting the somnambule, which wd simply have
made him abuse carrots for life, & he was
willing I shd--try,--only saying that dandelion
was better;--indeed, he owned he had never
heard of carrots except as a slight diuretic.
(Why had he never ordered dandelion?) I
have since taken carrots daily,--a good helping,
either at dinner or in beef tea at night;
& I drink a tumbler of hot carrot-tea in the
middle of the forenoon. --I have not had
one twinge of Tic since the day (2d or 3d)
when the excretions showed that some

f172

(2)

effect was produced. The bowels have since acted almost regularly, & the quality of the excretions is *much* altered. I have more perhaps of the desperately heavy sleeps which make Maria uneasy; & have had some few symptoms of disturbance, giddiness & flatulence: but these are not worth mentioning in comparison with the mischiefs which seem to be banished. Mrs Turner, who is now filling Maria's place for 3 weeks, says I look better than a year ago,--clearer, with less dim & congested eyes; & my life is certainly much easier, though, as I need not say, the breathing is not better, nor the strength, nor the action of the heart.--Cath: Darwin was here just when we were beginning to be sure of the benefit; & she said Sir Henry Holland was always prescribing carrots, & making so much of them that all her clan (Wedgwoods & Darwins) had "to say the truth, set it down for nonsense." Now, she says, they shall attend more to it.-I forgot to say that one

f172v

great change is the *diminishing* the prodigious action of the kidneys, wh was very exhausting. Mr Shepherd owns himself exceedingly impressed:--quite candidly says it is a valuable lesson to him.--@! if it could give you any ease, how glad I should be!

I appreciate the rest of your letter. My scrawl shows that I must stop now I have been writing a long & serious newspaper letter to America today, & am tired. I shall soon be hearing from the Secy at War, I dare say. He has been in Missouri, I see, just when my letter wd reach Washington.

Yours devotedly

H.M.--

incomplete, initialed letter, f173-73v, pen black-edged stationery

f173{archivist: [Nov-Dec 1862]}

succeed him. [9:124]

I am working hard
to get our Indian
Sanitary Report thro'
the press ~~till~~ by February.
I send you one paper
which Ld. Stanley (our
Chairman) insisted on
being signed by my
name. It is of course
"Confidential" till the
Report is laid on the
table of the Ho: of C.
And I solicit your
assistance, when the
time comes, in pressing
the reforms upon the
public. [end 9:124]

But where will
Lancashire & America

f173v

be then?

How can her friends
let Miss Bremer write
such abominable
nonsense about the
ex. King & Queen of
Greece- the Queen,
perhaps the greatest
wretch in Europe?
politically and morally
ever yours
F.N.

telegram, f174, pen

f174

Name {written}: *Florence Nightingale*
and *4 Cleveland Row London*
Address

TO

Name {written}: *Harriet Martineau*
and *The Knoll Ambleside Windermere*
Address

Agitate agitate for Lord de
Grey to succeed Sir George
Lewis.---

{see **photocopy** of **f174** and **f174v**}

initialed letter, ff175-75v, pen black-edged stationery **[8:615]**
f175

F. Nightingale [HM]

4 Cleveland Row [printed address]

S. W.

April 23/63

Dear Mrs. Martineau

It is a great relief
that Lord de Grey is
War Minister.

I cannot resist
the pleasure of seeing
"Maria" if I can
find strength between
May 2 & 12. I keep
your note; & will
write to her, if she
will allow me, at
one of the addresses
indicated therein.

A thousand thanks

f175v

for all you have done
for us.

I keep my answers
till I see "Maria".

I am such a
miserable poor
creature now that,
to do any business
at all I must
forego every the
slightest pleasure.
And if I cannot see her,
this ever yours
will be my F.N.
reason.
You well know.

unsigned letter, ff176-81v, pen {from Martineau to FN}

f176

Ambleside

May 17/63.

Dear Miss Nightingale

I have been longing to
write for some days; but I wd
not send two letters when, by a
little patience, one wd do. Maria
& I waited for our tête-à-tête
about you till we were alone.
Her lieutt left us yesterday,
& we had a talk which made
me dream of you the whole night.
That is, every time I woke I
tried to think of other things;
but fell into the train of fancies
again. I don't like dreaming
of people I care about; & espe-
cially when I am ill, & have

f176v

had dreams. But I fell into it again this afternoon in my nap.--I need not say that Maria gives me no comfort about your health. I did not expect any. But it is such a blessing to hear of your cheerfulness! It is such a blessing that she has seen & heard you at all!

We have just been going over her Memoranda of the business part of your conversation. I see what you mean & wish; & I will do what I can when I get the Report. --I do wish I cd get hold of the indubitable particulars of one, two, or three

f177

of the D. of Cambridge's jobs, in order to alarm him, & excite the attention of others,--the "Daily News" lawyer taking care to keep within the verge of the libel law. M. & I have a wild wish that she cd go up to town for a day, once a month or so, to take your directions, as you cannot write. It is not possible, --on account of fatigue & expense, & leaving me: but it is grievous that I am prevented helping by our inability to communicate. I can fancy that you now know what I mean in wishing that you had a Maria,--& what *she* means in longing to nurse you, as well as me.

I verily believe that her excellent health & spirits are owing

f177v

to her having what some people
wd call double work;-intellectual
occupation,--not for luxury, but
as part of her business;-revising
all I write,--looking out material
&c. (I won't put proof-correcting it
as an intellectual exercise.)

This on the one hand, & her poultry
yard, dairy, garden & housekeeping
on the other relieve the nursing.
She finds time & thought to help
all the neighbours, it seems to me
Annie Clough is most trying
to us in lecturing Maria & her
family about M. wearing herself
out for me, & telling us all how
we ought to manage differently
--she being wholly ignorant of

f178

the state of M's family. Not a
little astonished wd she be if she
knew how absurd her advice is.
The truth is, *entre nous*, that M's
sisters have suffered so much by
their nursing,--or rather tendency,
at home that M. is almost
ashamed of being so much ~~better~~ stronger
& happier than they. I cannot
but see that she is in good health
for the first time in her life,
--& in a sort of health which implies
happiness. I insist on her going
forth for a complete change twice
a year; & she has some of her
family here in the intervals, & goes
mountain trips in summer with
tourist friends. She gets good nights,
too, for I almost never require

f178v

anything in the night (owing to sitting up till I am easy enough, under my opiate, to go to bed.) This is a great deal to have scribbled about Maria; but you were so very kind to her that I seem to wish you to know how she goes on in ordinary course.

I put in two vignettes of this house. The gloomy one was a present to me from two artist friends, soon after the house was built. The other & truer one is what somebody made for the shops in the

f179

District,--about as bad in quality as {illeg. Fox How?}, Rydal Mount, & all the rest of them, but giving a good notion on the whole. I sit in the room which looks south & west, & sleep in the room above. The study is the room with the bay window; & sometimes I sit there. As soon as the roses are out, we mean to have a good photograph taken of the house, from another point. If it succeeds I will send you one. How I wish I cd give you one of my two exquisite views! & the quietness of a house in a field, --free from noise, smoke & dust! I do

f179v

grieve that you have no view.
I don't believe I shd have been
alive now if I had been a
Londoner.

But I must have tired
you. I dare say I shall send
a line or two when I have looked
at the Report.--You know, I
am fully aware that you *cannot*
write, & of course I never dream
of an answer. But--but--I
do wish I had an acquaintance
in the War-office who wd let me
know how things go on.

You know what Maria wd
say,--& I too. Yours devotedly
H. Martineau

f180

P. P. S.--Who cd believe such
a thing! I began this letter
with your photographs upper-
most among my topics; & not
one word have I said about
them!--It looks like growing
{illeg. superanimated?}: but I can
see how it happened.--I am
obliged to take things very
gradually,--& I meant to say that
that heat had to wait till
M. & I were along & at leisure.
Henceforth they will be before
me as I work, & bathe me
in the sunshine of Egypt. How they
bring the Nile *sensations* back!

f180v

In regard to *that*, I like
 the stones of the soil & their
 shadows, & the hot edge of
 the ridges as well as any part.
 But, in the other view, how
 beautiful these are! At
 present I like the Thebes
 one the best:--Maria the Philae.
 They are a great boon, both in
 themselves, & as coming from
 you. I shall thank you every
 day, for a long time to come.

I had told M. that you
 & I had met once: but it
 was years earlier than the

f181

time you told her. I am sorry
 I cannot recall that at all.
 But, when you & your sister
 were staying at the Taylors' at
 Buckenham we somehow
 met on the road somewhere,
 one day.--I remember you
 two little girls gazing intently
 at me. You had warm cloth
 pelisses, which I remember more
 of than your faces: yet I remem
 ber their expression too.--I take
 previous care of an envelope-
 case you sent me when I was
 ill at Tynemouth. It is always in
 use, & never wears out. I have made

f181v

it one of my special legacies.

note, ff182-83, pen

f182 {a picture of home in countryside}

The Knoll
 Ambleside

f183 {a picture of home in countryside}

N. S.
 The Knoll, Ambleside.
 This is by far the most like,
 --the other being too woody & misty

Add Mss 45788

395

for a thoroughly sunny house.

incomplete, unsigned letter, ff184-85v, pen black-edged stationery

f184

Private

4. Cleveland Row. [printed address]
S.W.

May 19/63

My dear Mrs. Martineau

I cannot help **[9:434]**
telling you, in the joy
of my heart, that
the final meeting of
the India Sanitary
Commission was
held to day-that
the Report was
signed--& that
after a very tough
battle, lasting over

f184v

three days, to convince
these people that a
Report was not
self=executive, our
working Commission
was carried, not
quite in the
original form
proposed, but in
what may prove
even a better
working form,
because grafted
on what exists.

This is the dawn

f185

of a new day for
India in Sanitary
things, not only as
regards our Army,
but as regards the
native population.

The present form
of the working
Commn proposed is
to add for India work Sir Proby
Cautley, Sir Ronald
Martin, as two
members of the India
Govt, & Mr. Rawlinson,
on to the standing
War Office Commission
(for these purposes)

f185v

& to let them hold
their Meetings at the
India office, when
desirable. The two
Indians themselves
proposed to be
called in at all
the War office meetings,
for W.O. work
in order to learn
their mode of working.
Sir Charles Wood &
Lord de Grey will thus
be our heads, instead
of our having a
special Chairman,
Lord Stanley. **[end 9:434]**

Lord Stanley is not

initialed letter, f186-87, pen black-edged stationery [8:615]

f186

PRIVATE May 19, 1863.

I assure you that
Annie Clough never
said anything to me
like tiresome meddling
as to "Maria's" health.
And I was struck
by her look of singular
soundness, ~~of~~ bodily
& mental that
perfect balance
between body & mind,
(you know what I
mean) which one
scarcely ever sees
now--the "spirit of love
& of power & of a sound mind."

f187 {archivist: [Jan-June 1863]}

Did I tell you that
I had heard from Sir
C. Trevelyan that he
has provided £300,000
in his Budget for our
building purposes &c,
which he thinks is
as much as can be
expended in the
first year. But,
he says, if more is
wanted, it shall
be forth-coming.
This of course is
private.

F.N.

unsigned, incomplete letter, ff188-89v, pen black-edged stationery

f188

{printed address:} 4. Cleveland Row.

S.W.

July 8/63

My dear Miss Martineau

By dint of sending
three times a day to
the printers & almost
every half hour to the
lithographers, I have
got the earliest copy
of the India Army
Sanitary Report for you,
before it is issued.

We have lost [9:219]
five precious months
of the Session in
getting it out. And I

f188v

am now canvassing
Ld de Grey & Sir C. Wood
with all my might for
the working commission.

It is now I feel
my physical inability
far more than from
any pain. For had
I been able to rush
about as I did in
1857, with the first
Army Sanitary Report,
I do believe I could
have got this out
in February, instead
of in July, as I did
that.

f189

But, without a
Chairman, for Lord
Stanley does nothing
for us, & without a
Secretary, what can
a poor, invalid woman
do? [end 9:219]

To me it is
inexpressibly sad
bringing out this Report,
begun as it was
with Sidney Herbert,
and now two years
after he is gone.

But enough of this.

The main point is
to get the three Presidency

f189v

Commissions appointed,
& also to have some
arrangement about
the home Commission
at once. It is certain
that, without home
experience, Indian
improvement is hope=
less. But, if home
assistance were given
for a time, until the
Indian (Presidency)
Commissions could
walk alone, the
improvements would
*go on. This is the
most urgent point
now. If the Barrack*
{last three lines are bracketed in margin}

initialed letter, ff190-92, pen black-edged stationery

f190

Private

July 22/63

Dear friend

I am so anxious [9:229-30]
about the results of
the Indian Sanitary
Report. No one but I
who have been trying
for 7 years, "come"
August, to work a
War Office, without
being Sec. of State,
can tell how much
cause for anxiety there
is. Had Sidney Herbert
been alive the thing

f190v

would have been done
directly. He never
wanted anything but
a reason to go himself
straight to any Minister
& get it done. Lord
Stanley wants a
great deal besides
a reason. He told me
that he would not
offer his services.
But he would like
to be asked. So I got
Lord de Grey to ask
Sir C. Wood to ask
him. And on Monday
there was a meeting
of Sir C. Wood, Lord

f191

Stanley & Dr. Sutherland
at the I.O. But there
is a most unfortunate
hitch about the
appointment of the
home Commission
on the ground that
there is no direct
reference of plans
from India to England,
at present. Now
such a reference is
just what we want
as regards Sanitary
works. And without
it the R. Commission
had better never have
been. It works well [end 9:220]
at the W.O. to which

f191v

all Sanitary works are
now sent from every Station
(from the W. Indies to
China) This is what
is wanted in India.
If not in strict accordance
with existing system,
surely the system
should bend to the
greater necessity.

Since I wrote this
Lord de Grey has been
at my request to
see Sir C. Wood.
And Sir C. Wood
has given in. & he
will probably add
two India members,

f192

as we at first
proposed to W.O.
Barrack & Hospital
Commission. And
I am bid to think
over *instructions*
for the same.

But I am not
sorry to have written
this. For I never
believe I am to
have a thing till
I have got it. And
perhaps something
more may be said
in D. News about
the absolute necessity
of this home Commission.

Ever yours, F.N.

initialed note, ff193-93v, pen

f193

I have written to Mr.
Spottiswoode to ask
about the woodcuts
for your Once a Week.
The blocks are mine.
At least I suppose so.
I paid for the printing
& wood cuts of my
own paper.

I will let you
know the result.

Our printing
affairs have been
cruelly mismanaged.
The two Blue Book
edition is not sold

f193v

at Hansard's. And
Hansard tells men
who apply for it
that he "knows
nothing about it."

I will write again
ever yours

F.N.

July 24/63

initialed letter, ff194-97v, pen black-edged stationery

f194

Private

Cleveland Row SW

July 29/63

Dear friend

I think it is of the **[9:231-32]**
highest importance
that you should write
to Lady Elgin. But
you know the points
quite as well as I do.
And I do not know
either her or Ld Elgin
at all.

~~The~~ To mention a
few heads:

The Report has made
a great impression &
all England is expecting
to see it carried out:--

f194v

the first thing to do
is to select good
men for the
Presidency Commission
& to make them
cordially & voluntarily
co operate with
the Home Commission
that energetic steps
should at once
be taken for
draining, paving,
cleansing &
supplying with
water the seals [seats?]
of Government
& *well-digested*
schemes of
improvement to-be
should be sent

f195

home for consideration
on matters of detail
not yet known in
India
[All here are desirous
of cooperating in
the good work of
civilizing India &
saving the Army]
I have only two points,
not for Lady Elgin but
for you.
1. not one single
soul has really laid
hold of our main,
our essential point,
viz. reform your
Stations first. Your

f195v

climate is not
essentially in fault.
--your situations
are not necessarily
or always in fault.
--it is your own
habits of beasts &
not of civilized men
which are primarily
the cause, only
heightened by site
& climate.

I am sure I hope
to live to see the seat
of Govt removed
from Calcutta. But
for all that, they have

f196

contrived to make
some of the healthiest
positions in India
nearly as unhealthy
as Calcutta. And
Calcutta, if it were
situated in the
healthiest position
in Europe, would
be unhealthy with
its want of paving,
want of water supply &
of other things too
shocking to mention.
2. We are going on
extremely well at
home. Sir J Lawrence,

f196v

Lord de Grey & even cool
Lord Stanley have
worked well at Sir
C. Wood for us. And
~~I~~ the home
Commission is to be
a conjoint Commission
with the present.
W.O. Barrack &
Hospital ditto. And
I have been bid to
write instructions x
for it. So I hope
it will be appointed
immediately. I am
sorry to say they have
conceded the point
x
also for the Presidency Commissions.
But I don't know how Lord de Grey
thinks these can be enforced or accepted

f197

that the initiative is
to remain with the
Presidency Commissions.
I had rather we had
kept it ourselves.
Because they are quite
sure to send home
stupid schemes. And
there will really be
more interference with
their action than if
we had had the
initiative. But I
can't help it.

2.

I find that the
blocks (woodcuts)
are mine--but that

f197v

members of the
Commission are
negotiating with
a publisher to
reprint my paper
with the wood cuts of course
at his own expence.
I do not know the
result. And I did
not know this when
I wrote
1000 thanks for the
photograph. It makes
me feel almost there. [end 9:232]
ever yours
F.N.

initialed letter, from Nightingale to Martineau} {ff198-201v} {pen}
{handwritten by Nightingale} {dated August 1/63} black-edged stationery

f198

2 Cleveland Row SW
Hampstead NW
August 1/63
Dear friend
1. Some of the
Commissioners *have*
made arrangements
with Stanford to publish
my paper at his own
expence & have
promised him the
wood cut blocks. This
was not my doing
And I am rather
sorry. I will tell you
if I can the disap
pointments which
have led ~~to~~ them to do
this. But first a

f198v

more important thing.
2. I am in great tribulation
about the I.O. We have
found a most formidable
enemy in Col. Baker
there. Writing instructions
has been put a stop
to. [And he {illeg. primes?}
Sir C. Wood] He has
written a letter to Lord
Stanley impugning our
Statistics. It is astonishing
how careless & superficial
is the view which very
clever men will take
& accept on this
subject. It is true
we had all this to

f199

fight through after the
first Army Sanitary
Commission & did fight
through it. But Lord
Stanley is not Sidney
Herbert--dead two
years tomorrow--two
years!!!

And Col. Baker
when proved wrong,
will not be the less,
but the more ~~formidable~~ our
enemy for that. And
he is the very soul of the
I.O., because the best
man of business there.

His Argument is
that the war years
give the highest Death
rates. (*not* from wounds)

f199v

~~rates~~ & that, therefore
peace, not Sanitary
measures, as the
remedy--that we ought
to have left the war
years out of the
averages. As well
might he say that
the Army almost
perished in the Crimea,
not from wounds
but from want of
every appliance of life
--& that therefore
peace, & not supplying
it with the appliances
of life, was the remedy.

Lord de Grey says,
we had better stop

f200

arrangements for the
home Commission for
the present, as we
"should only irritate
them."

Of course all this
is strictly private.

I am greatly alarmed.

Lord de Grey is an
excellent honest man.
But he has not that
generous confidence in
a good cause which
enables men to fight,
thro', obstacles. Sidney
Herbert never wanted
anything but a good
reason to make him
do anything.

f200v

3. I don't know whether
you know the series of
disappointments we had
about the printing.

By mistake Sir C. Wood
laid the 8vo copy on the
table of the House--while
thinking (& writing) he had
laid the two folios.

By mistake the type
of the two folios was
broken up. And they
are now not to be had.

People & officers
(of all men, after Ministers,
the men one most
wants to interest) have
been to Hansard's; have
asked for the two folios,
have been told he "had

f201

never heard of them"
have thrown back the
8vo saying "it bore on
the face of it the marks
of being a very imperfect
work" having references
{illeg. (margin passim)?} to
evidence & documents,
which are neither to be
had, nor to be sold,
nor to be published,
nor presented, nor
distributed to Parliament.

Others, Officials, say
that they don't want
the opinions (in the
Report) they want the
facts (in the Blue
Books)

Others say the Report

f201v

is not trustworthy,
"because based on
evidence not to be
shewn"

I cannot help
connecting these
"mistakes" now with
the declaration of
impugning our Statistics
from the I.O. They wanted
to destroy our Evidence.

I forget whether I
have told you any of
this before. If so,
forgive me. This is
the reason why our
Commissioners chose
to reprint my paper, even tho'
separately, because it
gives the "facts" from
the Statistical returns.

ever yours F.N.

initialed letter, ff202-07v, pen black-edged stationery

f202

Hampstead N.W.

Aug 4/63

Dear friend

(1) about the 2 folio [9:235]

Vols: There were 1000
copies printed, (which
number we obtained
with difficulty). Of
these were sent
350 ~~400~~ to India

100 to Ho: of Commons

50 to " of Lords

(for any members of
either house who
would ask for them.
And I write to as
many of my friends

f202v

as I can, of either House
to ask for them.)
100 more copies are
to be sent to the
Houses of Parlt, if they
are asked for.

Another attempt
made to have them
sent for sale to the
Parly Deprts has
been suppressed,
with this concession

"orders have been
given at the sale
offices of Parly
papers to refer

f203

any one who wants
a copy to (the self
styled Secretary)
Mr. Baker!!" [The
notes of admiration
are not mine]

The remaining copies,
not distributed, are
in the possession of
the I.O., who will
therefore, I suppose,
refer the applicants
to Mr. Baker.

[end 9:235]

(4 Old Palace Yard
S.W.)

The Govt actually made [9:235-36]
a profit by selling the

f203v

first Army Sanitary
Report. And it is
said that they would
make a much
larger one upon this.
Because Civilians
go so much to India
now that scarcely
a family in England
but has some connection
either in India or in
the Army. [It is
therefore certain, it
is said, that their
economical excuse
is humbug]

Some copies are said to
have been sent to W.O.

f204

& Horse Guards. But
these have been not
received. And
35 to Permanent Libraries
(2) The 8vo copy contains
the Report, the Actuarial
Tables at the end of
Report in folio Vol. I.
and the Precis of Evidence
(following these) in folio
Vol. I. This Precis
drawn up by (the self
styled Secretary) Mr.
Baker, is simply
ludicrous from its
imperfection &
incompleteness. If people

f204v

read it, it weakens
the Report by not
bearing it out. If they
don't, why take up
so many pages with
printing it?

The 8vo contains of
course all the marginal
references to the Report.
And what people
(justly) say is-- can
a Report be trustworthy
based upon documents
(which we have
enquired about &)
which are not to be
had? But the public

f205

must only look at the
Precis of one of the
documents, viz the oral
evidence, (said Precis
said to be very imperfect)
all the rest is ignored.
Past labor, vast expence,
four years time, have
been spent on collecting
the Stational Returns
(replies to questions)
And this the public
is to hear nothing of.

Vol. II is invaluable
(these are the Stational
Reports in extenso)
to Commanding & other

f205v

Officers. The Abstract
of these in Vol. I,
prepared by me & Dr.
Sutherland with the
utmost brevity (&
which took me 6
months! work), *on the*
express understanding
that *that*, as well
as my "Observations,"
should be presented
to Parlt & included
on the 8vo (this
understanding was
not asked for but
offered) is necessary
for the public.

f206 {archivist:[F.N. to HM.] 1863}

The attacks of the
I.O upon us are
vexatious.

E.g. The Death rate is
understated, because
it takes no account
of the men invalided
from the Army for
disease nor of those
who died on the passage
home (no inconsiderable
number). Yet we are
said to have exaggerated.

So with everything
(3) I have sent for
Macmillan. I hear
that your articles in

f206v

"D. News" have produced
a great impression.
As also that for
Lord de Grey's appointment
at Easter did.

I feel I have
never thanked you
for these as I ought.

I have a great
deal more to say,
but must put it off. [end 9:236]

ever yours,

F.N.

It is amazing how easily [9:236]
Sir C. Wood is satisfied
of the truth of anything

f207

it is held desirable to
assert. The answers
to Col. Baker's statements,
thro' Lord Stanley, do
not reach the public
(the only way of
reaching Ministers)
you see. But you have
reached the public.

I must say for
poor Sidney Herbert
never, never would
he have burked
evidence, as Sir C. Wood
tries to do. Lord de
Grey is honest. He has
written me a satisfactory

f207v

letter, in answer to
my appeal. He will
do his best. But
Sir C. Wood's imputation
was public. And our
answer is not public.
[My appeal to Ld de G.
was of course F.N.
qua the Home
Commission]

[end 9:236]

initialed letter, ff208-11v, pen black-edged paper [8:441-42]

f208

Hampstead NW

Aug 25/63

Dear friend

I forget whether
I have ever mentioned
this disagreeable subject
to you before.

You perhaps know
that, for the last two
years, great efforts
have been making by
the W.O. to see if
the "country would bear"
(i.e. if the Ho: of C.
was likely to listen
to) any measure
which would enable
the system of French

f208v

Medical Police to be introduced among the prostitutes of Aldershot & the other Camps.

Sir G. Lewis was decidedly in its favour. And Mr. Higgins, of the India Office, proposed, (or was proposed to) to "sound" the country, by means of the "Times".

The enclosed paper was drawn up, at Sir G. Lewis' own request, by me. But, if he

f209

was converted, poor man! it was only by death.

Since his death, Mr. Higgins applied at the W.O. to know what he was to do. And this paper was shewn him. But Dr. Sutherland's name was put to it. An extremely abusive correspondence followed, between him & Dr. Sutherland, which I did not see.

I have corresponded

f209v

with Lord de Grey &
Mr. Gladstone (at
their own request)
about it.

Mr. Higgins however
intends to pursue
his purpose o'
"sounding" the world
in the Times.

There was a leader,
vague & foolish,
in the Times of the
19th (Wednesday) And
since that, there has
been the enclosed
letter in the Times
of the 22nd (Saturday)
& another leader, today, 25th

f210

--~~both~~ all three, I believe by the
same hand & a letter by
another hand today 25th.
I am sorry to say
that our Director Genl,
a very silly fellow,
is decidedly *in favour*.

I received a
threatening (anonymous)
letter from the Army
Medl Dep., Whitehall
Yard (no need to
trouble you with
telling you how I
knew its origin) in
case I continued my
opposition.

f210v

I have no idea-
not that it much
matters how they
knew that I prompted
the "oppositions" or how
they knew that paper
was mine. [Sir G. Lewis
himself volunteered
secrecy.]

Of course, if I thought
it right, I should
go on all the more
for their threatening
tellers. But I don't.
It is not a subject
on which I *can*
have such special

f211

knowledge as to head
an opposition of this
kind with my name
--however I may
choose to go on working.

But I have been
asked to ask you
to put the "D. News"
to watch the "Times";
& if necessary, to
answer it.

The enemy has
not one little of
evidence, ~~in favor~~ as to the success
(in abating disease)
of the French Medical
Police system, which
would be admitted

f211v

for one moment in
a scientific enquiry
or in a Court of Law.

ever yours

F. N.

You know Capt. Pilkington
Jackson. He became
aware at Aldershot
of what was going on
& said, "To make the
plan complete, the
prostitutes who survive
five years of this life
should have Good
Service Pensions". And
my brother in law, Sir H.
Verney said, "And Jackson
should award them!"
Certainly, this is logical.

signed letter, ff212-13, pen {from Martineau to FN}

f212

Sepr 2/63

Dear friend

I was charmed to
hear from Maria, on her return
from seeing you, that you
were interested about my
fancywork,--wanted to know
what it was like &c. This
justified me at once in
getting up a specimen for
you; & I have just finished
a cushion which will be

f212v

sent to your Cleveland Row
address as soon as it is
made up. If you but
once rest your honoured
head against it, how
pleased I shall be!
I don't doubt your liking
the pattern,--which we
think beautiful: but I
am afraid you may know

f213

it, as ~~it~~ it was given me
a dozen years ago. I chose
it on this occasion because
it is the prettiest within
my reach. I am sure
you will be so kind as to
accept what I have had
such pleasure in working
for you.

Yours affectionately
H. Martineau

notes, ff214-17v, pen {archivist: F.N. to H.M.} [8:442-44]

f214 3/9/63

POINTS

1. The controversy has arisen

on account of the prevalence
of the disease among
soldiers

2. the soldiers enlist about,
or under, 20, & are free
(after ten years' service)
about, or under, 30.

And, according to existing
Regulation, six out of
every 100 besides Serjeants,
may marry at home--
and 12 out of every 100,
besides Serjeants, for India.

But the meaning is
this: military law does not
& cannot prevent men
from marrying. Every
soldier may marry, if he
thinks fit. But the
proportion of married
people, stated above, are
permitted to have
quarters in Barracks,
or lodging money at the
public expence & to
take their wives to India.

The only bar to marriage
is that Commanding Officers

f214v

are required to dis=
countenance marriages,
& to explain the
"inconvenience & distress"
accruing from them
especially when Regiments
proceed on foreign service.

3. The first point that
occurs is whether the
soldier's position in this
respect is one of greater
hardship than the
working man's. What .
percentage of the
labouring class can
marry before (or much
before) 30, *if provident*?
Yet it is not expected
that every unmarried
young working man
should fall into vice
& disease, even in our
worst seaport towns.
How happens it then
that so large a percentage
of the Army become
affected by disease?
If the Army is more immoral
than the working class out
of which it is taken, it is
because its standard is
more immoral.
Surely in dealing with
this, moral agency
should be taken into
account. If man were
a mere animal, all

f215

the consequences of such an organization would have to be incurred, whatever they were. We should have to admit the "Social Evil" as a social necessity; which is what the "Times" correspondent (Mr. H.) contends for; & all that follows from it: education, procuration, brothels, syphilis, registration of women, licensing, prosecuting counterband houses, &c. It would no longer be logical to put such a state of things under public stigma-- Society must *admit* into it what is necessary. Of course there could be no sin. It will be seen also that what is necessary for soldiers must be extended over the entire community. Otherwise police Regulation would fail. And hence we have this ~~plural~~/singular

f215v

argument that, *because*
a certain proportion of
men, out of a whole Army
of (say) 80,000 men,
get into Hospital
every year on account
of their vices, *therefore*
the present aspect of
vice, in its social relations,
as it is seen by 30
millions of people, is
to be entirely changed
by Act of Parliament.
The thing is absurd.
Such an act could only
be the expression of a
popular conviction,
which does not exist.
A few years ago, the
Legislature, in its
wisdom, made vaccination
compulsory without
being asked to do so.
The "Times" of to day
(Sept 3) states that
"the laws now in force

f216

for the purpose of extirpating small pox are not likely to accomplish their object, & that the system established by law for public vaccination works in an unsatisfactory manner". (Extract from Report of Medical Officer, Privy Council). The same newspaper contains a letter on the subject of Venereal disease which shews that even in working a voluntary Lock Hospital, the Medical Officers have "the labours of Sisyphus" entailed on them. For the poor wretches ~~go~~/rush out "as soon as a ship arrives."

4. Under a Police system like the French, *everything* would be a "labour of Sisyphus." We should have to legalize

f216v

what society now
repudiates. This could
only lead to one result,
corruption, which again
would engender more
disease. And so the
end would be worse
than the beginning.
5. How much more
sensible the opposite
course! Let us by all
means relieve misery
& heal the sick even
from vice. But let us
enquire how far we
might not prevent
vice by treating the
soldiers, as moral
agents--& not as animals.
Hitherto their Barracks
have been as uncomfortable
as possible. They have
had no rational means
of employing or amusing
themselves. Vice, in their
case, & especially in
India, is simply the
child of idleness.

f217

Let the soldier be treated as a man. Make his Barrack as far as possible a home. And make it his interest to keep out of Hospital by giving him some profitable employment. And we shall have done the best the case admits of. Better have an entirely married, & stationary Army for home service, than licensed prostitution --even if by so licensing it, you could stop disease, *which you cannot.*

6. On the general question, all are agreed that the nightly exhibition of vice in the streets is a great cause of disease from temptation. If the existing law cannot put a stop to this, amend it. Then extend

f217v

the means of Medical relief by dispensaries & hospitals to the required amount. But why should Government pay for this, anymore than it should pay all the poor rates? If a certain portion of the public wish to protect another portion from the consequences of their own vice, let them subscribe for the purpose. work by Police Regulation

8. Besides all this, it has *still* to be proved, not by Medical opinion not by bad logic, but by positive ascertained Statistical fact, that police Regulation *does* prevent disease. It has been stated, e.g. that every case cured under Police Regulation is so much disease prevented. Be it so But you have set another machinery at work by Police Regulation

7. In regard to the presumed moral results of separate Lock women's wards, all nurses' experience agrees in this that, in these wards, plans for future vice are laid. & if in a sea port town, ~~on~~ the coming in of a ship "empties" the said wards. So much for the moral effect of these establishments.

initialed note, f218, pen black-edged stationery [8:444]

f218

Hampstead NW

Sept 4/63

Please look at

"Correspondent's" letter

in today's "Times"

Sept. 4. (Mr. H's)

He has very much

taken in "his horns".

But he still ~~says~~

advocates the French

system, "*if necessary*".

His figures are

extravagantly wrong.

The D. News should certainly

enlighten the F.N.

public with a

better principle;

Figures have nothing

to do with it: the principle.

incomplete, unsigned letter, ff219-23v, pen black-edged stationery

f219

Hampstead NW

Sept 9/63

Dear friend

I am really overcome
with the beauty of your
present & more still
with the incarnation
it is before my eyes
of your care & thoughts
for me. & (~~of~~ in its softness)
behind my shoulders.
But it is almost
too much for me to
think of the trouble
& fatigue it must
have been to you--

f219v

pleasure you bid me
think it--And, if
it could but be one
half the comfort to you
to give that it is to
me to receive, I should
not feel so overpowered.

I am very, very
glad to hear what
you tell me about
Prof. Hancock & the
India Report. I too
have been asked to
do a paper for the
Edinburgh Meeting
~~I ha~~ on that subject.

f220

I had intended to do so
but do not know
whether I shall be
able--& am very
very happy that it
should be put into
such able hands.

Shall I send
you another copy,
as you have given
yours away, of the
two big Blue Books,
before they are all
gone?

I send a copy of
the republished form
of my "Observations".
With this, of course, I

f220v

had nothing to do--
& am rather vexed
that, as I gave Stanford
my blocks, which cost
me £54, on purpose
that he might sell
it cheap, & as I
have not even asked
to buy copies at
half price in return,
he should have put
the price of 2/6 upon
it.

Of course, if you
have people who
wish to get this,
this is to be bought.

f221

2

But nothing compensates
for the suppression of
the big Blue Books.

I gave a copy of *this*
to Mrs. Cline for her
future son-in-law,
Col. Wilberforce Greathed,
the "Wilby" of the siege
of Delhi, a most
gallant soldier &
capable man, now
Asst Military Secretary
at the Horse Guards,
& a very important
man to us--brother
of this Col. Greathed
who has put his

f221v

name to our Report.

His only answer
was that he "hoped
it was not true"
Whereupon I answered
that, if he would look
over the stationary
Reports, signed by the
Commanding, Engineering
& Medical Officers
of every Station in
India, he would come
to the conclusion
either that these
Officers were such
exaggerators that

f222

Falstaff (with his
"eleven men in Kendal
Green") was a fool to
them--or that my
paper ~~was~~ very
much UNDER-stated
the case.

Whereupon it appeared
that all he meant
was that he liked
Punkahs & that he
thought I did not
give Punkahs credit.

But is not this
disheartening?--one
of the best men in
the Service!!

f222v

I only quote it
because it is one of
"legion" of instances,
where men, from
not knowing of the
evidence, have supposed
our Report on our
propositions, a *got*
up thing, not trust=
worthy, or at least
something very like
~~Queen Elizabeth &~~
"scandal about ~~her~~
Queen Elizabeth".

We are getting on
with our conjoint
(home) Commission
however--Sir P. Cautley

f223

Private

has been appointed
on it--& tho' the W.O.
keeps me 3 weeks
with every fresh
case of the Instructions
which I draw up
(at their own request),
I do hope we may
set to work in
another month or so.

Meanwhile I have
had the great
satisfaction (I like
to report progress to
you) of being ordered
by the W.O. to prepare
a portable Manual

f223v

(an 8vo) out of the two
big Blue Books to be
sent by them from
themselves which
is important to every
Commanding officer
in the service.
I offered to do it
at my own expence.
And they have accepted.
Unless the W.O. orders
Officers to read it
& to *understand it*,
they do neither.

I have only strength
left to say that I read

initialed letter, ff224-27v, pen black-edged stationery [8:445-46]

f224

Hampstead, NW

Sept 17/63

Dear friend

I saw the Saturday
Review & was amazed
at its audacity, unless
it is simple stupidity.

The Malta case, as
reported there, contains
a statement said to
be by the "Deputy Inspector
General of Hospitals"
leaving us to suppose
that this refers to the
Army. It refers to the
Navy, & is consequently
a misquotation as

f224v

you will see at p. 19
of the Report I enclose.
Therefore it does not
touch the Army question.

At p. 25 N, look
at the table for troops.
It contains 8 years of
inspection, during which
the average admissions
were 12.52 per cent.
It contains one year--
of inspection 6 months
--non inspection 6 months.
For the 6 months inspection
the average was 15.71
per cent per annum.
For the 6 mo *non-inspection*

f225

the proportion fell to 11.02.

And the next year of
non-inspection it was
13.13.

This is the latest
published information.

This gives a very
different account from
Saturday Rev.

I have marked in
blue on the margin the
most important passages.

Please shew up the
Sat. Rev.

Please use the facts
in the Report & return
it to me. There is no
other copy.

f225v

I am sorry to give
one suggestion for work
while "Maria" is away.
I know the loss. For
I have no "Maria."

I was glad to see
in the article from the
"Mountain," in today's
"Once a Week," an allusion
to the want of hours
for meals as one of
the causes of ill health
among hard=workers.

In these days when
no one but the agricultural
labourer, not even the
agricultural labourer's
wife, has a digestion,

f226

I take it, *after* ill=ventilated bed=rooms, the want of a complete hour for the mid=day meal is ~~the~~ a main cause, especially among dress makers, of the scrofulous or consumptive tendency.

It is often alluded to but never strongly dwelt upon.

I mention my experience.

If there cannot be a full hour for mid day meal, then late dinner & a "snack by way of a damper" is the best. But in dress making &

f226v

some other trades, the late dinner can as little be taken as the mid=day one free.

Nothing, I am certain, destroyed my own health so much as this. For years my dinner was no interruption to my work--If ate at a table at all, it was ate as part of the contents of the table. And I went on during & afterwards with business just the same. Anecdotes are no use. But illustrations are.

f227

I am sure, from my large experience, that twice the work & half the sickness would be the result of the full free hours for meals.

Mistresses cannot give it to themselves. But they can give it to their workwomen, nurses &c.

ever yours

F.N.

I may just add, (about the first subject of my letter) that a D.I.G. of Army Hospls told me, & one favourable to inspection himself, with reference to Dr. Armstrong's statement

f227v

that syphilis had disappeared in the Navy during the time of inspection at Malta. "Why, there were no ships there at the time."

I do not vouch for this. I tell it you as it was told to me.

F.N.

unsigned note, f228-28v, pen

f228 {archivist: c. Oct 1863], F.N. to Martineau autumn 1863?}

Please still to consider
all this confidential.
And the names of
course are supposed
~~still~~ to be deep hid
in the recesses of the
W.O. and the I.O.

f228v {words cut off--hard to read}

time ago in the {illeg}
one.

I was quite in
despair about ~~this~~
carrying this working
Commn, ~~after~~ it
had gone so against
us in the last
three Meetings--
this is the greatest

initialed note, f229-29v, pen

f229

{archivist: [F.N. to H. Martineau]}
I was in hopes to have [9:258-59]
written yesterday about
Lady Elgin's letter--but
could not. I had to
see Lord Stanley; & to
get sight of the official
papers of denial
sent home against
us from India.

I enclose a letter
from Dr. Farr which
please return to me.

But nothing can
give you an idea of
the horrors of the
disclosures as to the
state of the Stations

f229v

which these ~~men~~ Indians
make themselves
while declaring
themselves "to be 100
years before England."

I mean to send
you some Extracts--
But it is poor work
refuting them, instead
of helping them.

ever yours

F.N.

25/11/63

Could you ask Lady Elgin to
look at the *Cholera Commission*
Report for Northern India
dated Calcutta. July 1862--
received at home Nov 2, 1863.
We have no disclosure like that.

It is appalling. [end 9:258]

initialed letter, f230, pen black-edged stationery

f230

{archivist:[F.N to H. Martineau]}
{printed address:} 32, South Street
Grosvenor Square. W.
26/11/63

I am obliged to ask
to have this Extract
returned to me. This
Report (a thick folio)
is full of, if possible,
worse things. How
"these fellows" (not
my word) do strain
at a gnat & swallow
a camel! We have
said nothing that
approaches to this.
F.N.

signed letter, ff231-32v, pen {from Maria Martineau to F.N.}

f231

The Knoll Decr 15th/63
My dear Miss Nightingale
Thank you
very much for your letter today.
My Aunt says it has done her
more good than anything yet,
she is so specially glad to hear what
you say of Sir John Lawrence.
She bid me tell you this, but
I know she feels even more your
sympathy about Ld Elgin. The truth
is that she does not feel a mere
personal loss like most people; she
has often said that in her condition
there is a loosening of ties that

f231v

lessens her individual feeling in such a case, but this is a different matter, & I am sure she could have had no greater blow. All these years she has known what he was doing, & has honoured, & admired, & (even sometimes) guided his course, & no one knows better than she what he might have done, had he lived. And now it is all over, & she does suffer terribly. She is better, in health, since the suspense was over, but she is very weak still & hardly is aware, I think, of how ill she has been. She generally knows all about her own state, but she has surprised me very

f232

much this time by not seeming to understand it. Even on the worst days, when her pulse was gone down to the very lowest, she wd wonder what made her feel faint, & look surprised if she detected me in any unusual precautions. All this time she is working hard--too hard it would be under ordinary circumstances, but she is very much interested in what she has in hand, & perhaps it is best as it is. She hopes to write to you soon she says, but I do not think she can at present. It will be no sign of her being worse if she should not, only of her being hard

f232v

pressed with work.
Sir Charles Wood is too bad--but we are very glad to hear of the Defence & only hope Lord Stanley will be equal to the occasion.

With my Aunt's love & best thanks
ever yours

most respectfully
Maria Martineau

signed letter, ff233-34, pen black-edged stationery [8:618]

f233

115 Park St W.

Feb 9/64

Dear friend

I do not write to even
ask you to tell any
one to give me news
but only to say (what
I cannot say ~~of~~) how
what I heard only
last night of the
danger of your dear
one filled me almost,
with terror at the
thought of your
anxiety. I do not
know in what that

f233v

danger consists.

I scarcely know
whether sympathy with
you, or dread of the
cutting short of that
most valuable, young
life absorbs me most.

I trust you have
good help for you
both.

I scarcely ever
remember being so
much impressed
by any character as
with hers on so
short an acquaintance.

f234

Ever yours in sorrow
but with hope
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff235-38, pen black-edged stationery [8:618-19]

f235

115 Park St. W

Feb 12/64

Dear friend

I cannot say how
deeply obliged to you
I am for writing to me
& for making Miss
Arnold write--But I
can hardly think enough
of the effort, or bear to
think of it, it must
cost you.

I have hope. She
has strong will to live,
a good constitution
and a great spirit.
Bed, warmth, complete

f235v

rest & as she can
breathe but little air,
to have that little *good*
--these are the essentials
upon which life must
win through the struggle,
if at all. And all
these she has.

It is quite astonishing
how little breathing lung=
room the human being
can live with, till
the disease begins to
subside, provided
no other effort whatever
is required from the
vital powers.

f236

That she continues to live
is in itself hope for
recovery.

Within the last few
weeks, I have had a
case quite near me,
very similar to, but
which appeared to all
more hopeless than
your dear one's, & which
is now steadily recovering.

I speak ignorantly--
at such a distance.
But head symptoms
may be quite accounted
for from the condition of
the lungs.

I will not believe

f236v

there is not hope.

Twice, when I saw her,
she spoke of her life
with you as being a
"privilege" And when
I said, Yes, I *do* think
it *is* a privilege, I
thought her face was
like the face of an
angel. You know her
quiet concentrated
manner of earnest
truth--who so well?
when she says these
things.

I believe what you
say that you think least

f237

of the personal loss
to yourself--the time
being so short.

I remember, when
Sidney Herbert died
tho' I looked upon
it then, & do still,
after two years and
a half are over, every
day, like a dreadful
ghost-lurking, which
I dared not think
of, tho' I could speak
of it. I never felt the
personal craving after
his personal presence
at all bitterly--my
life will be so short,

f237v

what does it signify?--
but of the plans for
reform of the Army
cut short for ever--
of me left to do Office
work, hard enough
with him, impossible
without him. As he
said himself, in his
last words, Poor Florence,
our work unfinished.

You must allow your
friends to feel the
same for you--a
dread lest your
valuable work for
our country, for mankind,

f238

should be cut short,
should be made more
difficult.

But it is not come
to that. And I do
believe, and I do hope,
that it will come, not
to that, but to a
better end.

I will not write
more. Very likely you
may not care to
read this.

And I am always
yours, I cannot say how much,
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff239-41v, pen black-edged stationery [8:619-20]

f239

115 Park St W.

Feb 16/64

Dear friend

Your News fills me
with gratitude &
trembling hope.

Her longing for air,
for *wind*, is nature's
own inspiration--
Provided the body is
kept warm with hot
bottles or such other
things as are most
suitable, it is the
real medicine for
her state. Mr. Paget
& she are of the same

f239v

opinion. Let the patient
lie in the *wind*, he
says. Even the French
physicians, the slowest
to accept this, are coming
round to it: And a
series of French articles
have been lately
published, saying, for
Typhoid Fever, there
is nothing ~~but~~ for it
but to let the Patient
lie with the fresh air
blowing round him all
night & day.

Stimulants & warmth
too--but she can take

f240

stimulants. In her case,
may truly be said, While
there is life, there is hope.

Nursing is of prime
importance. But that
she has. Give your
patient nothing to do
for herself but to
breathe--And there
is hope.

I dare say you know
more than I about
Lady Elgin. Ly Augusta
(I cannot bear to call
her by her new name)
called on my sister on
Saturday to leave this
message for me: (she

f240v

goes out now as little
as possible) "I know
how she will have
grieved with us & felt
the loss of another of
those whose heart &
mind were devoted to
those causes to which
she gives her life. It is
a great mystery, but
to *him* even in those
moments of acute
suffering all seemed
clear & bright."

Mr. Cuming Bruce,
who is one of my
brother-in-law's oldest
friends, writes to him

f241

to say that he & "Elma
will be in town (to
day) to meet Ly Elgin"
He says that "she (Elma)
has little heart for
anything else" that
"she is to hear & tell
her all the sad details
of both their losses--
poor little Charlie--
she (Elma) has seen
no one yet but the
nearest relatives."
My brother-in-law, is
to see Mr. Cuming Bruce
by his own desire.
And we shall hear

f241v

more.

Lady Elgin's unselfish
fortitude is something
wonderful.

You probably hear
more than I do. But
I write it because I have no heart to
write to you about
anything but these
two dear ones.

[I do not know
Ly Elgin. Nor did I
know *him*]

ever yours
in hope
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff242-47, pen black-edged stationery [8:621-22]

f242

115 Park St. W

Feb 18/64

Dear friend

I do hope & rejoice,
tho' with trembling, that
she may be yet restored
to you & to us all.

Bless you for writing
to me--tho' I am
afraid it has cost
you much.

I shall not expect
to hear again from
you, tho' perhaps Miss
Arnold will be so
good as to write from
time to time.

f242v

Few have been the
friendships I have
known--fewer the
marriages which
appeared to me
worth much. And
of these few I have
seen many cut short
by death.

Unless the union
of two together makes
their work better for
mankind, I cannot
call it worth the tie.
--(I suppose I am
getting dour from old
age--you know bad

f243

wine does get sour--
while good wine gets
better by age--)it may
be pleasant to see,
but not more pleasant
than to see two kittens
playing together,
much the same, I
think, in worth.

I always thought
your union with
her, fructifying for
mankind, one of the
noblest I had ever
heard of. I am sure
her sympathy with
you was. And this is

f243v

why I felt a kind
of sick terror at its
being untimely cut
short. I think you
could scarcely have
felt more yourself.

I do thankfully
hope now that there
is good prospect for
both. Of course, a
convalescence, even when
it can be called con=
valescence, from such
an illness, is a very
anxious thing. But
she has every chance --
~~of~~ good air & good
care.

f244

-2-

I am sometimes afraid
that you yourself will
feel the effect of
intense anxiety more
than you know of.

You complain of
irregular or imperfect
circulation in the brain.
Do you know the
"dodges" of heat & cold
applied to the back
of the neck & sides
of the throat? I am
so afraid of ignorantly
suggesting experiments,
that I will only give
some illustrations. If
the *head is* HOT, & one

f244v

side of the throat-- is
as COLD, as marble
out of doors (to the
touch--the Patient is
generally unaware of
it--on the contrary
complains of feverish
ness) the cold extending
often down to the
elbow, & like marble-
the thoughts are sure
to be over active, &
yet confused--often
troubled with scruples
of imaginary wrong
done to others. This
is what I constantly

f245

suffer from--And heat
applied to the back of the neck &
sides of my throat at
night always is useful.
A small India rubber
bottle filled with hot
water, & laid behind
the back of the neck,
is useful. But I am
afraid to recommend
this, without daily
experienced advice.
Because it weakens
the blood vessels &
prevents them from
properly acting
afterwards. My hands
are always so hot that
if I hold them round

f245v

my throat, that will do.
Hot flannels will do.
But then one does not
like to keep a person
up at night.

 If the pit of the
stomach & bowels are
cold to the touch,
without the Patient
being aware of it,
that is a sure sign
that hot fomentations
(or hot dry flannels)
or even hot hands
applied there, will
relieve the head. But
hot fomentations, too
often repeated, may
be dangerous without

f246

-3-

experience. Dry heat is not.

 You may almost
always procure sleep
to a sleepless Patient
by some of these means,
where imperfect--or
rather too great supply
of blood to the brain
is the cause of the
sleeplessness, from the
heart not doing its
duty properly.

 The contrary indications
shew that cold is
required to the back
of the neck. I suppose
every body is familiar
with the relief that is
 given by

f246v

Eau de Cologne in other spirit, or simply a wet rag, (IF the Patient is not allowed to get elsewhere damp,) applied to the back of the neck, ~~gives~~ far more than when applied to the temples.

I would never recommend ice, unless an experienced person were there to watch the effect-- altho' the effect is marvellous.

I am told that

f247

Dr. Chapman has written a very clever tho' offensive, book on this subject. I have not read it. I have had neither time nor strength. I wish I had. I only give you the result of my own nursing experience.

ever yours gratefully
& hopefully
F. Nightingale

incomplete, signed letter, ff248-50, pen black-edged stationery [8:622-23]

f248 {archivist: to H. Martineau}

-2-

March. 1864}

My brother-in-law, Sir
Harry Verney, sees Lady
Elma, who is an old
friend, when he calls
--but not Ly Elgin,
whom he does not know.
Ly Elma describes *her*
as gently sorrowful,
much wrapt up in
the little girl. [You
know they are at
Mrs. Bruce's house-
it seems a forlorn
thing, instead of
entering at once on
home duties, to be
living in another

f248v

person's house] not
very strong. Ly Elma
is very fond of her.
They are very poor--
Ld Elgin having spent
much in Canada &
India & not yet
having had time to
save. My brother-in-
law has been consulting
Ld Stanley with a
view to bringing
forward a pension--
Ld Stanley thinks
£500 a year. I
question whether
Ld Elgin's character
would not stand
higher by asking for

f249

nothing. £500 a year
does not seem worth
asking the Ho: of Commons
for.

Ly Elma said that
Ly. Elgin had written
twice to you, so that
I have no doubt
you know more than
I do.

I think *his* sisters
are comforts to her.
The Queen had been
to see her.

When Genl Bruce
died, the Pr. of Wales
was almost too much
for Mrs. Bruce in his
attentions to her. They

f249v

were obliged to tell
him to go away.

Genl Bruce wrote to
me when he accepted
the Governorship, that
he was overcome with
the responsibility.
But he gave up every
thing he cared for to
fulfil it-but that,
as a soldier, he could
not decline the post
of danger. And oh!
it was so true. It
killed him. He was a
good soldier.

I sent this letter
to his widow.

F.N.

f250 {archivist: [Feb Mar 1864]} **[8:250]**

Believe that there
is no one in this world
who thinks of your
great trial, & feels
how insupportable
it is, as I do. I
think of you day &
night. Would I
could hear a part of
it for you!

F Nightingale

initialed letter, ff251-52, pen black-edged stationery **[8:623]**

f251

115, Park Street. W.

March 7/64

Dear friend

I feel so much your
wish to be alone, I have
not written. What can
one say? Those two
lines always run in
my head.

No man bears sorrow

better: Portia's dead
O insupportable & touching
grief!

as words will when the
brain is worn out with
pain of mind & body
& cannot make words

f251v

of its own.

I have a number of letters of hers--the last on Jan 20- how little I thought then she would go before us.

I put up a book of mine for her as soon as it came out. --then moving here, altho' it is literally but a stone's throw, when I was more than usually busy & more than usually ill caused it to be laid away & forgotten.

f252

~~aside~~ The next thing I heard was that she was ill. I have long hesitated whether it would give you more pain or pleasure to have her book. But I think, even if you should never cut a page, you will like to have it, to see what was the impression she produced on one who never saw her but once.

If I am mistaken, forgive me.

Yours ever in sorrow
F.N.

initialed letter, ff253-56, pen black-edged stationery

f253

Private

115 Park St. W.

March 14/64

Dear friend

I send the V. Report.

You have the two Vols: **[9:868-69]**

of the India Sanitary

Report. And in Sir A.

Tulloch's evidence it is

stated that the Admissions

from Syphilis in the

Army amount to 60

per 1000 per annum--

not 400 and 500, as is

popularly believed.

Mr. Acton's table clubs

together all kinds of

diseases under one

denomination.

f253v

There is little literature on the subject. What there is relates solely to the *disease*, the mode of treatment.

The present movement should be discussed under the head of public morality, public policy, public utility. Proof of all three,--overwhelming proof,--ought to be produced. Medical *opinion* is absolutely worthless--except as to the treatment: As to prevention, that is another thing. About

f254

that, they have given us no evidence at all.

My evidence is, (but all Paris police papers are kept so secret that I cannot produce any;) that the Paris police, the only people who know anything about it, state that there the disease among the prostitutes is very small, among the men is very much *increasing*; that, in thousands of cases among *men*, examined & traced at great expence, *not one* was traced

f254v

to a diseased woman.
The act of vice between
a man & a prostitute,
even not diseased,
seems to produce the
disease, but not
invariably, (no more
than every body catches
small pox under bad
sanitary conditions,) in
the man.

Oh that a Medical
man would observe,
as I have observed,
in Paris! There, where
the perfection of
Medical Police exists,
are the worst forms
of disease among men

f255

-- married men.
If Paris Civil Life were
to be sent to Hospital
as our soldiers are,
half Paris would be in
Hospital. The reason is
that vice has been
made prevalent--there
by the fancied immunity
from disease, to a
degree we have no
idea of. **[end 9:869]**

The "Times" letters are
not worthy of notice.
They are merely medical
opinion. If, after
careful statistical
enquiry, there were
proof to shew benefit,

f255v

there would still be
left the questions of
policy & morality.

As regards soldiers,
until we have provided
men with rational
means of work &
recreation for their
spare time--what
can we expect but
dissipation? & disease?

[9:869]**[end 9:869]**

I am afraid there
is too much reason
to fear what the Govt
may do. I understand
Mr. Robert Lowe has
told the Cabinet he
would willingly propose

f256

(in Parlt) an Act for a
Medical Police *for the*
whole country after the
Paris fashion.

We are not idle. [I
sent all your former
D. News Articles (cut
out & pasted) to Lord
de Grey]

I feel so much what
you say about the
heart sickness of looking
over what you had
done with her--now.

I wish "Jenny" could
come directly.

ever yours

F.N.

initialed letter, ff257-59v, pen black-edged stationery [8:449-50]

f257

Private

115, Park Street W. {printed address:}

March 25/64

Dear friend

The worst of it is: that
we do not know exactly
what the measure is
that they are going to
bring forward. We
believe it to be only
that women who enter
Lock Hosptls are to be
locked up till well;
which is nothing at
all but a measure of
Hospl administration,
just as you take
precautions to prevent

f257v

the insane & the delirious
from running out into
the streets.

[& which will end
in nothing else but
this: that you won't
be able to catch your
hare, if you lock her
up. She won't come in.]

But we do not
know: & nobody knows:
& we cannot find
out till people are
come back to London
which will not be
till Monday week.

f258

I will then let you know, the moment I know anything certainly myself.

I am afraid it would answer no good purpose to communicate the evidence you have to any one. We do not as yet know what they propose. And your flank might easily be turned, if you were to argue from it against unknown proposals.

[That evidence bears principally on the comparison between Mediterranean Station

f258v

where there are police measures--and other warm climate stations]

A good pamphlet would do immense good; if prepared so that, as soon as what the Govt scheme is to be is known, you can insert a criticism thereupon into your pamphlet, before the Govt scheme is launched.

The main point which can be urged at present is that there is no evidence that police measures do good, even in diminishing

f259

disease. [their advocates
always take this for
granted which is
just begging the whole
question, physical]
& that, before Parliament
is called on to legislate,
there should be evidence
--not medical opinion,
but facts shewing
positive decrease by
Police measures.

If, as we suppose,
they simply propose
that the poor women,
once admitted into a
Lock Hospl, are to be
kept, till cured, by law
-then any general

f259v

argument against a
Police system, which
is a totally different
thing, would be not
pertinent.

ever yours

F.N.

initialed letter, ff260-60v, pen black-edged stationery

f260

Private

115, Park Street. W. [printed address]

March 31/64

Dear friend

We have not yet the
information we want.

But have you seen
"the Lock Hospital
dinner" in the "Saturday
Review" of March 26?

There is the same
dogged disregard of
fact--the same
self=contradiction--
(for if one of the
statements or
propositions is true,

f260v

then all the others
are false) the same
"begging the question"
as to the utility of a
measure, & then
going *bang* at it,
without any knowledge
whatsoever of the
subject--that all
Jacob Omnium's
articles in the "Times"
have shewn--on
this matter.

ever yours

F.N.

incomplete, initialed letter, ff261-62v, pen

f261

was obliged to {~~illeg~~}/do it.
I asked no one to look [7:335]
at him--told no one--
And he came in my
brother in law's carriage,
hoping that no one
would know. But it
all failed.

We had a long
interview by ourselves.
I was more struck
with the greatness of
that noble heart
full of bitternesses yet
not bitter--& with
the smallness of the
administrative capacity,
than even I expected.
He raves for a Govt
"like the English." But

f261v

he knows no more
what it is than his
King Bomba did.
[It was for this that
I was to speak to
him.] One year of such
a life, as I have led
for 10 years, would
tell him more of
how one has to give
& take with a
"representative Govt"
than all his Utopia
& his "ideal." You
will smile. But he
reminds me of Plato.
He talks about the
"ideal good" & the "ideal

f262

bad" about his not
caring for "repubblica"
or for "monarchia".
He only wants the
"right."

Alas! alas! what a
pity that utter
impracticability.

I pity *me* very much.
And of all my years, this
last has been the hardest.
But now I see that no
man would have put
up with what I have
put ~~it~~ up with for 10
years ~~for 10 days~~ to do
even the little I have
done which is about
a hundredth part of

f262v

what I have tried for.

G. looks flushed &
very ill, worn & depressed
--not excited. He looks
as if he stood & went
thro' all this as he stood
under the bullets of
Aspromonte--a duty
which he was here to
perform.

The madness of the
Italians here in urging
him is inconceivable.

F.N.

{in Martineau's writing at the bottom of page written upside down}:

F. Nightingale

April 1864

initialed letter, ff263-64, pen black-edged stationery [8:450]

f263

Private

115, Park Street. W. {printed address:}

April 28/64

Dear friend

I write in haste, merely
to send you a copy of
Sir M Peto's paper,
which I must ask you
to return. Sir M. Peto
had not a copy left
himself.

I am carrying out
an enquiry at Chatham,
by which I hope at
least to procure a
clause punishing *all*
procurers & solicitors

f263v

& also to call the attention
of the Ho: of C. to the fact
that Justices won't
convict even on the
existing law against
"bawdy=houses."

On Monday I may
be able to tell you
about the D. of Somerset's
second Draft.

45788 f263, 28 April 1864

I hear that the
proposal for Ly Elgin's
pension is to be
£2000 per an. (£1000

f264

from consolidated Fund
--£1000 from India
revenue).

She is now at Lambton.

ever yours

F.N

initialed letter, ff265-66v, pen

f265 {archivist: F.N to H. Martineau [May 30 64]}

{printed address:} 115, Park Street. W.

I don't allude to the
Holstein question farther **[15:615-16]**

than by transcribing:--

"the Danish business
seems at last to

come right, after all
the folly & wickedness
of so-called statesmen
have been spent on it.

And they will be
obliged to ask the
Duchies & to recognize
the Augustenburg. The
Queen has acted very
bravely, & consequently,
they say she is mad.

f265v

"It makes one sick to
think of what has
been done & suffered
in this matter since
1850, so uselessly,--
against all right,
& the nature of things,--
by the frivolity of Palmerston
the underhand ambition
of Prussia, the stupid
jealousy of Austria
& the" (violence &
ignorance--I put in
this, as less hard &
more true than the
original word used "of the English
"press. But at last
"they must give up this
"iniquitous treaty of 1852".

f266

As for the Queen having
"given assurances to Prussia",
she is & always has been
in dire disgrace with
Prussia--And so is her
daughter, the Pr. Royal,
(Crown Pr.)--for being
German, *not* Prussian.
Anything more untrue
could scarcely have been
concocted. [The Queen
of Prussia's visit was
forced upon her, if
that is what people
allude to. But I don't
really know what they mean].

Since I can remember
anything, I have never

f266v

seen the whole country
so mad in ignorance.
And it is as vain
to assert what one
positively knows of
one's own knowledge,
as it is vain for an
~~Austrian &~~ Lombard
to discuss Venetia's
wrongs with an Austrian.

[end 15:616]

F.N.

{Martineau has written upside down at bottom of page}:
F. Nightingale
May 30th 1864.

initialed letter, ff267-68, pen black-edged stationery [8:451]

f267

115, Park Street. W. {printed address:}

May 31/64

Dear friend

I have the second
Draft of Ld C. Paget's
Bill at this moment
before me. [And I
hope to have a copy
to send you tomorrow.]
Suffice it to say that
its principle is just
as bad as the first,
(as per enclosed;) with
the important addition
of (2)--that I have,

f267v

being desired to criticize,
pointed out its dangers
as strongly as I could,
(always dwelling upon
this, that it is the
house, not the woman,
against which
proceedings should
be taken.)

Adding a proposition
to the effect of (3), if
they will have the
Bill.

also pointing out
that "*solicitors*", where the
woman does not walk the

f268

streets herself, are
not touched at all
by the Bill nor beer=
houses where landlord is
the intermediary.
The W.O. added Clause
(4). If these camps are added,
Colchester should be
added.
Could you return me
the enclosed? P.I.
gives no summary
of the Bill. It is
only written to remind
you of the principle
of the first Draft.
I don't believe any
Ho. of C. will pass
this Bill. Any honest
girl might be ~~taken~~ locked up
all night ever yours
by mistake by it. F.N.

initialed letter, ff269-70v, pen black-edged stationery

f269

115. Park Street. W. {printed address:}
~~May~~ June 2/64
Dear friend,
This is only to thank you
for your account of that
painful tragedy, which
touches me chiefly as it
wounds your companion.
I did not hear of the
newspaper blunder till
I saw the contradiction--
But are not newspaper
blunders almost more
numerous than newspaper
truths?
I have not much to
say about the Bill. My

f269v

objections to it were answered by saying that "places of public resort" includes public houses & lodging houses"--that "a policeman cannot act without knowing that the woman is a common prostitute & without having reason to believe that she is diseased" that "then he (an Inspector) has to go to a magistrate & by his order to take her to a certified medl man, who will place her in a certified Hospital."

f270

Whereupon I replied, in a letter too long to give you, that then the Bill would not touch the Army's case at all-- that the prostitutes are (there) "servants" of the beer=house keepers, not shewing themselves in the public streets at all, but *barmaids* in the part of the public house which *is* "a place of public resort" & *prostitutes* in the landlord's private dwelling only. How then ~~are~~ is the Inspector to reach her there? How act, "knowing that she is a common Prostitute"?

f270v

Also the danger:--that
if you make prostitution in
a beer house from which
disease follows, illegal,
you will make prostitution
in a beer house from which
no disease follows, legal.

I will not say a word
about the Danish question.
Because, as you say, we
"differ so widely." I will
only say that what I
told you of the Pr. Royal,
& which you say you *do*
"not" "believe", I know just
as I know any other
matter of *fact*: just as I
know the fact of your opinions,
and I *know* our Queen &
Pr. Royal to have been grossly

{continued on **f269** above the salutation}:
libelled, which is my reason for
saying this. [The Extract I sent you
was from a personal friend of the
Queen's. That,
however, had nothing to do with the
Pr. Royal].

Ever yours
dear friend F.N.

copy of signed letter, f271, pen [8:452]

f271

Copy

115 Park St

24th June 1864

Dear friend,

On Monday leave was
moved for to bring in the (enclosed)
Bill. Next Monday it is to be
read--and "committed to a large
Commee--so large that ye House
"will accept it without discussion."

I send you my copy, with
heads of my remonstrances upon
it (received & sent in today) Please
return it to me at your con-
venience. (Ministers may be out
on Monday) Yours ever

F. Nightingale

initialed letter, ff272-74v, pen black-edged stationery [8:452-53]

f272

115, Park Street. W. {printed address:}

July 22/64

Dear friend

This is only to tell you
(what you know already)
that we have lost, & the
Ho: of C have gained, the
"Contagious Diseases" Bill
(amended)--& that I
will send you back
your Article, for which
we were deeply grateful.
The reason it has not
been sent back already
is: that I lent it to
one of the MP.s on the

f272v

Committee to read to
them. All the Committee
were against us except
two: Sir H. Verney & Mr.
Ayston.

D. Hartington said,
quite gravely, to his
master in the W.O.
who told me:-- "The
only way would be to
attach a certain number
of these women to each
Regiment & to put
them under religious
instruction." (sic)

f273

I have been under such overwhelming anxiety in sending out sanitary schemes for Indian Stations to Sir J. Lawrence, ~~that~~ who has been soliciting us for them *for seven months*, that I have not been able to follow this Committee as I could have wished-- tho' I cannot reproach myself with having neglected to answer any of their questions.

All in vain.

f273v

I feel a kind of hopeless despair: about our things:

the W.O. is utterly demoralized.

Sir C. Wood does not speak the truth--

the H. Guards deserve the V.C. for their cool intrepidity in the face of facts.

To return:

I do not like to remind you of your thought of writing a pamphlet. But Col: North in the Ho: of C., & every body every where,

f274

repeats; -- the French
have succeeded in
banishing vice-disease
from their Army.

Now we have the
facts:

the French Admissions
from vice=disease
(in the Army) are
EXACTLY *the same*
as the English (in
the Army)--

the French inefficiency
(or length of time in
Hospital) is *one=tenth*
~~eighth~~ more than
the English--from the

f274v

same.

I send you a
paper, which we
have just issued,
& which please return
at your convenience.
Please read the
paragraph I have
marked.

I would gladly write
more about our
things. But I am
quite unable. And so
are you, I fear.

ever yours
F.N.

letter, ff275-79v, pen [8:456-58]

f275

Private

Hampstead N.W.

Aug 31/64

Dear friend

I was very grateful for
Miss Martineau's kind
letter, telling me just
what I wanted to know.

With regard to that
dreadful Act, the present
state of things is thus:--

a Commission has been
named, of which Mr.
Skey is to be President,
to investigate the whole
thing *de novo*. And I
was asked to name
the W.O. member upon it,
which I did.

f275v

& to write the Instructions,
which ought to be much
what Coroners give at
Inquests. viz. to disregard
all you have heard, to
forget all you have read
& to mind what you are
about.

With regard to the
working of the Act, I
was asked to name an
Army Medl Off: to work
it; which I refused to
do, & to indicate the way
of working. But I also
refused to teach men
to sin at the public expence.

f276

The Medl Off: will not be named for a month. It will take him other two months to come to anything. For there is absolutely not enough dock accommodation at the Stations named in the Act (for I drew up a list of all there was, at the W.O. desire) for him to do anything of what is prescribed in the Act.

In the meantime, we have received letters from Malta, about the working of Police Inspection there (which ~~shew~~/tell a

f276v

tale of corruption & horror, such as I never saw before in so small a compass)- which shew that the Medl Officer & the Police were actually in the pay of the Prostitutes & levied unmercifully a tax on these women which, if they did not punctually pay, notice was given against them to appear just at the moment they were exercising their horrid trade:-- which shew that the ignorant outcry, made by Dr. Armstrong & others

f277

-2-

against the cessation of
the Medical Police
was made against the cessation of a
"system of prevention"
which not only did not exist,
but which could not
exist; & was in fact
a system of corruption
& horror, without parallel.

These letters I have
sent to the W.O. But I
mean to send them to
you.

What I feel is, with
regard to Mr. Skey's
Commission, that, if they
will really examine the
whole subject *de novo*,

f277v

that, & nothing less, will
do.

It is vain, for us &
two or three others, to
repeat the same thing.

Every Army & every
Navy man is committed
to the Contagious theory,
culminating in the French
Police system.

It is vain for us &
two or three others, to
repeat that we do not
go on the female: morals
principle, viz. that, if there
were a perfect Police
system, vice: disease
would disappear;--but
that, we do not choose to

f278

have it, because it would injure morals.

That is a question to be considered, but tomorrow.

The question now is:
& one which everybody,
without the least enquiry,
answers in the affirmative--
but which French Army
Statistics answer in the
most decided negative:

does Police Regulation (&
Quarantine) diminish
vice: disease?

Supposing syphilis to
be the result of Contagion
& of nothing else, & never
to be set up in the Constitution
by any other means--

f278v

Considering all this,
would it not be better
to postpone accepting
your generous offer to
write a pamphlet,
till some results & some
decisions have been
come to?

[I take into account
your desire not be [to?]
called upon in October.

But] my belief is that
what will happen will
be this: that, not before
three months at earliest,
will anything come out,
& that then, if we are
here at all, you will

f279

-3-

think it better to attack
(them) in D. News.

I have written so fast
that I am afraid you
will be only bothered by
my circum locution.

All thro' this month
I have been quite beset
with work--And I am
so much feebler in every
way this year--And I
cannot describe to you
what the anxiety is of
being single-handed here
to urge people to meet
Sir John Lawrence's
noble devotion to our cause.

Our Govt always puts
off now till after the
Parly session any trifles

f279v

which concern the lives &
morals of men only.

I am glad to hear that
there has been some relief
for you at least from
suffering.

ever yours gratefully

F.N.

Have you seen the
"Contagious" Act itself.
If not, shall I send
it you?

{Martineau has written at bottom of page, upside-down}:

F. Nightingale

Augt 31/64

(Private. Contagious
Disease Bill.)

signed letter, ff280-83v, pen black-edged stationery [8:624-25]

f280

Private 1
27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}
Park Lane. W.
12/2/65

Dear friend

I am sure the same
goodness which makes you
write to me makes you
know that it is almost
the greatest pleasure I
have. I am thankful
the cold agrees with you.
I cannot wonder at your
feeling your great
irreparable loss more
everyday. There is no
real loss, the grief of which
time does not make
deeper & more intense.
There is generally much

f280v

truth in common sayings:
but I do not see that
there is any in the common
saying of "the great healer,
Time," "Time will be its
cure" &c, unless it means
Death.

I am like the washerwoman
who said, heaven would
be to have one hour in
the day when there was
nothing to do. We are so
busy at this time of the
year. I have had to see
Ld Stanley & Mr. Massey,
who is going out to India

f281

by the mail of the 26th. Sir
John Lawrence holds on
his way like a hero
(what would Homer have
been if he had had such heroes
as the Lawrences to sing?)
but what a difficult
course it is! It is not,
as Englishmen fancy it,
a despotic Government.
but it is a number of
little despotic Governments
which, their despots once
named, are all but
independent of the head
Government. Mr. Massey
goes out, full of will
to do good & he will do
good--but sublimely
unconscious of this.

f281v

I have also had to see
Mr. Villiers &, by Mr. Villiers'
desire, Mr. Farnall, to
confer about introducing
Trained Nursing into
London Workhouse
Infirmaryes. They are
much more frightened
at the death from the
Holborn Union than they
"let on". I was so much
obliged to that poor man
for dying. The man was
lost for want of cleanliness.
[Mr. Villiers says he shall
never hear the last of it
in the Ho: of C.] It was
difficult to me to recognise
the earnest Corn Law

f282

repealer in a man who, as far as I saw, felt merely as if he were rehearsing a speech for an angry debate in the House.

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

66 Midwifery Nurses

112 Asst " "

for the female Regimental Hospitals: Matrons & Nurses for Military General Hospitals, of which ten are named.

Then there will in all probability be these London

f282v

Workhouse Infirmaries to nurse.

We are training 18 Nurses for Manchester, & cannot find one poor Superintendt for Manchester.

We are at our wits' ends. To me it seems, the more chatter & din about "Woman's Mission", the less are efficient women to be found anywhere. It makes me mad to hear the cant about unemployed women. If women are unemployed, it is because they won't work. We can secure the highest salaries for

f283

women that are given to
women at all (Queens &
actresses excepted). The
women for Matrons we
can't find.

If you can help us, I
know you will. At the
same time I know you
will consider this letter
as private.

[There was a most pressing
invitation to me to go to
India to do the thing myself.
Nothing in the whole world
should I have liked so
much. If there had been
a reasonable prospect
of my living thro' the voyage
& for 6 months after,
I would
have gone]

f283v

I fail much. I never
leave my bed, except to see
my masters. My face is so
swelled, especially when
I make any such exertion that
I suppose this is what is
meant by my "looking well".
But it is a "grâce d'état"
to get through these interviews
well, even if you have fever
after them for a fortnight.
My writing business is so
continuous, & lately tries
me so very much, that
you will please say, my
poverty & not my will
consents, to my delay in
answering yours.

ever yours

The winter {printed address, upside down:}
in London 27 Norfolk Street, F. Nightingale
has been the Park Lane. W.
darkest, longest,
most foggy I have ever known.

signed letter, ff284-90, pen black-edged stationery [8:625-27]

f284

2

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}

Park Lane. W.

20/2/65

Dear friend

I do think that an
Article from you, as
you so kindly propose,
would help us very
much. But the facts
look so very small. And
the possibilities, which
are every day held out
to us, are so enormously
large. & these we have
no right to lay before
the public.

f284v

It is not money we
want; it is workers.
The public would give
us money; they won't
give us workers. Every
body is tarred with
the same stick. There
is the "Times", congratulating itself on the
thousands it has got
subscribed this winter.
But where are the
workers?

No: we don't aspire,
altho' they are needed by
the hundred & the thousand,

f285

to sending out Nurses
by the hundred or the
thousand. What we
want to do is to send
a small staff of
trained Nurses & a
Trained Training Matron,
wherever we are asked,
proper opportunities
being guaranteed to us.
But the material,
especially for the latter,
(the Matrons), does not
come to us.
We have 23 Nurses in training
now at St. Thomas'--
our largest number--
18 is the largest number

f285v

we can entirely support at
St. T's but this is no
difficulty at all: even
at this moment some
of our 23 are supported
by others. We should
never lack the money.
Wherever people really
want Nurses, they will
give the money to
maintain them. [Of
course, the Training costs
are paid by us for
these.] But we want
the workers. The only
other limit is put: not by want of money, but by
the undesirableness of

f286

-2-

having too large a proportion
of Nurses to Patients.
Under St. Thomas'
temporary diminution
of beds, I think 23
Probationers should
not be exceeded.
But, by the goodness
of King's Coll. Hospital=
Superintendt, we not
only train Midwifery
but general Probationers
there now. We have
10 for Manchester
training there now.
Of these, as of the

f286v

Midwifery Probationers,
the cost ~~is~~ ^{is w} of *board*
is willingly paid by
those who send them.
[For the sake of having
more beds, it is proposed &
seriously thought of,
that we take on
another Hospital. But
this again is private.]
A higher calibre of
woman is required
for a Training Matron
than for a Midwifery
Nurse. I will not
say a higher, but a
finer & a larger sort

f287

of calibre. She, the Training
Matron, must have
some power of organization
& of authority. And hitherto
women of this stamp
have ~~quite declined~~ never thought of
learning the technical
Hospital detail, which
it is quite necessary
to know.

Now see our opportunities.
Messrs. Villiers & Farnall
would gladly (I have
seen them again)
form Schools of Nursing,
on all the London
Workhouse Infirmaries

f287v

with our Trained Nurses
as heads & Pupil Nurses
from the larger Union
Schools--i.e. the bigger
girls [I think this
plan most promising.]

India would take
from us any number
of Trained Matrons &
Nurses & pay highly.
As it is ridiculous of
us to think of sending
them out by ship-loads
the more reason why
we should send out
a high {printed address, upside down: 27. Norfolk Street,
Park Lane. W.
stamp of Matrons & Head

f288

-3-

Nurses, as nuclei, to form
in India a sort of
"Covenanted Service" of
Nurses for India.

I think I will send
you (privately) a copy
of a private paper.

I am preparing for
Sir J. Lawrence.

[I have got 7 millions
did I tell you? for
Barracks in India:

Sir J. Lawrence says
it must be 10 millions.
And Mr. Massey says
it shall be 10 millions.

f288v

My dear millions.
How well it looks-
six oughts after a 7.
£7,000,000. Like
the man henpecked
by his heiress wife,
who used to retire to
comfort himself with
her Banking book, I
am married to the
India Off., confound
it. But I retire to
comfort myself with
the look of my dear
millions].

I am afraid you
will think I have given

f289

you no materials at all
for the Article you are
so very good as to
propose. But you see
my difficulty.

I shall be so glad if
you see Lady Elgin.

One question of yours
I have not answered.
We have no superfluity
of applications at all
from any description
or class of persons
wishing to be trained.
We can scarcely make
up our number of the
right sort. But not

f289v

many of *any* sort apply
to be trained. We never
once have rejected one
of the right sort for
want of room. But
really not many come
of any sort, to be
rejected. Yet they are
not only maintained,
trained, & paid wages,
free of cost--but they
have a certainty and a choice of
well-paid places,
when certificated--for
as {illeg. to?} we have always
10 times as many
situations
offered as Trained persons
to fill them. Indeed I am

f290

-4-

sorry to say that
Nurses of ours have
been made "Superinten=
dents," who were totally
unfit for it, & whom
we earnestly remonstrated
with, as well as
with their employers,
to prevent their
being made "Super-
intendents", but in vain,
such is the lack of proper
persons. And this again, you will
see is private.

Ever yours gratefully
F. Nightingale

{back to **f284** for another subscription, which is written above letterhead}:
ever yours gratefully

F. Nightingale

f290v

{in H.M.'s hand:} F. Nightingale
Febry 20/65
{printed address:}27. Norfolk Street.
Park Lane. W.

initialed letter, ff291-94, pen black-edged stationery [8:627-28]

f291 {in H.M.'hand: F. Nightingale
(on Nursing Schools)
Febry 1865}

27. Norfolk Street. {printed address:}
Park Lane. W.
22/2/65

3

Dear friend

I don't know whether
you have seen the last
Reports of our Training
Schools not that they
tell one any thing.

I am just as anxious
about the Training
School of St. John's
House (which is at
King's College Hospital)
as about our own
St. John's is a Society,
which keeps its

f291v

Sisters & Nurses, does
not send them out,
as we do--we are a
mere Training School.
It is the only sensible
Society of the kind I
know in the Anglican
Church--because it
unites cordially with
a great secular
Institution, like King's
Coll: Hospital, instead
of keeping aloof as
Miss Sellon's & other
Societies do.

f292

[The Augustinians at Paris
unite cordially with the
great Hospitals they
nurse.

The Sisters of Charity do
not.]

Yet Miss Jones x is just
as much at her wits
end to get "Sisters"
as we are.

I don't understand
it.

When I was a girl,
I would have given
both my hands (only
that would have made
me useless) to have

x the Lady Supt of St.
John's House

f292v

been received into a
Hospital on the terms
in which ~~those~~ her "Sisters"
are received.

I am sure too that no
one knows Matrons
as I do. Yet there are
still only two. Miss
Jones & Mrs. Wardroper,
to whom I would
entrust the training
of Probationers.

I have seen enough of
Governesses to know
that education is by
no means an universal
fanaticism in England.

Why do gentlewomen

f293

who have to earn their
bread, never take to
anything else.
Between being a Matron
& a Governess, I should
have thought few
would hesitate.
With regard to our
Workhouse Nursing, I
will just say that, if
London Boards of Guardians
were to get a scent
that the Poor Law Board
was colloquing with
Miss Nightingale to
nurse their Workhouses,

f293v

it would upset the whole
scheme. For, tho' the
P.L. Board has the
power of forcing Nurses
upon the Guardians,
the Guardians have
a very unpleasant power
of dismissing any Officers
of their own, who gives
information they don't
like. Indeed, part
of the scheme I shall
have to work myself
with the Guardians if
at all; whose backs
are always set up by
the P.L. Board.

f294

As for Sir J. Lawrence's
scheme, I have no right
to mention it at all.

Ever yours gratefully

F.N.

This is the longest, darkest,
foggiest winter I have
ever known in London.
The Esquimaux have
4 months' darkness.
So have we.

signed letter, ff295-96, pen black-edged stationery

f295 {in H.M.'s hand: F. Nightingale}

27. Norfolk Street. 4

Park Lane. W. {printed address:}

April 1/65

Dear friend

I don't like to let
the day pass without
thanking you for your
invaluable article (Cornhill)
which stirs up the
whole subject, &
brings it into the
region of the respec=
tabilities--an amazing
thing in England.

But I have neither

f295v

time nor strength to
say what I think
on what I ought of
it.

The long dark
winter has tried
my strength so very
much.

And we are in
all sorts of Indian
distresses--the India
military authorities
attacking our facts
again. (sanitary)
& requiring an answer

f296

and finance looking
bad, as you know--
income tax to be kept
on, & even with that,
£800,000 deficit
owing to Bhootan war
& short opium crop.

ever yours gratefully

F. Nightingale

I saw your Nursing
article in D. News
some time ago-- &
thanked you in my
heart for it.

signed letter, ff297-300, pen black-edged stationery [8:628-29]

f297

Private

34 South St.

London W. 5

Aug 13/65

Dear Miss Martineau

I have been so very
sorry not to be able
to write a word of
thanks to you for your
note, of sympathy for
your anxiety, of enquiry.
I was indeed afraid
that she was much
worse.

She will be sorry to
hear of poor Hilary's
sufferings. I believe
the best hope is that
they will soon be over.

f297v

Now, in consequence of
opiates, she scarcely takes
notice. But there is
still wonderful strength
of pulse. Suppuration
threatens. If there were
more constitution left
to bear it, it might
even now give her
two or three years of
comparative relief.
It is a tragedy from
first to last worse,
to my mind, than a
Cawnpore tragedy.

I would so gladly have
written about India

f298

Statistical matters. But
 I fear neither of us are
 able to bear it.
 I think I sent the Return
 for Queen's troops (Mortality)
 every year subsequent
 to those for which the
 R. Comm: could get
 returns.{ This was not produced }
 in time to be noticed
 in our Reply to the India Govt
 They charged us with
 exaggeration. We now
 find that the average
 mortality for India
 for these last 9 years (1856-64),
 (which they say, prove
 exaggerations on our part.)
 has been 42.9 per 1000,
 & for Bengal 51.1 " "
 We know that, of late

f298v

years, more men have
 been invalided & have
 returned, many to die
 at home instead of
 in India, since the
 Mutiny. And adding
 these, we find that the
 Army in India in these
 "model" years has lost
 91 per 1000.{ by Death's }
 invaliding and
 returned men.
 & in Bengal.
 107 per 1000 {by same causes
 The total loss is thus
 above what was stated
 in the Report of the R.
 Commission

f299

So little is understood
of the whole subject of
Statistics as applied to
Health purposes, that,
when the India Despatch
appeared, it was stated
that the Report of the
R. Comm. was false &
had been demolished
by the India Govt

We felt assured that
Sir J. Lawrence had no
such object. But, as
the opponents are always
stronger than the supporters
of good, we have been
replying with all our
might.

f299v

Mr. J.S. Mill's return
to Parlt is a great boon
to us.

But what I am
practically working at
now; is: to get the
Presidents of Sanitary
Commns (in the 3
Presidencies) made
Secretaries to Govt &
Ministers of Public
Health--to be in short
personally responsible
as heads of the Sanitary
administration. & to
have direct communication

f300

with Govt

Sir J. Lawrence helps
us all he can.

I do not write more,
because I can't

always yours

F. Nightingale

envelope, f301, pen {postmarked: LONDON N.W. 9 AU 14 65} env black-edged

f301

Miss Martineau
The Knoll
Ambleside

signed letter, f302-02v, pen [8:629]

f302

34 South St. W.
Sept 6/65

Dear friend

I just write one line
to thank you for your
kind letter, & to say
what I cannot tell
you how thankful
I am to say that
Hilary was released
this morning early.
The end was quite
easy. But the
suffering has been
cruel. Of course they
will write to you--
But in case they

f302v

should not have time
today, and remembering
how you and I
have been one in
sorrows, I just
write to say that
all her suffering is over.
ever yours
F. Nightingale

{in H.M.'s hand, upside down}:

F. Nightingale

Sepr 6/65 (Hilary B. C.'s death)

signed letter, ff303-07v, pen black-edged stationery

f303

Private May 2/66

35 South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane,

London. W.

Dear friend

I cannot help saying [8:629-30]
one word. Your note
gives the most convincing
evidence against yourself
--viz that your work in
life is not necessarily
over for ever. It may be
a season of mere
temporary mental
exhaustion, such as is
inevitably the lot of those

f303v

who are suffering from
both severe exertion &
illness & grief. I do
not say this to give
you pleasure. I am
afraid, if it is true, it
is just the thing to
give you pain. I am
afraid that to live
is with you little more
than an effort & a
suffering as with me.

f304

But I cannot help thinking
that a period of
complete mental rest
might restore for a
time the mental power.
And I can hardly help
hoping that it may be
that you will once
more enlighten public
opinion & public feeling
in England. Else, I
am sure, the painfulness
& the desolateness of a
bereaved & infirm life
is not what one could
wish, a friend, like you.

304v

I saw the other day a
letter from a man
resigning work for
the same reasons
that you do. But his
own letter, poor man,
was the best proof that
the step must be taken
at once & for ever--
quite the reverse of
yours.

I could not but say
these few words, at the
risk of displeasing you,
tho' I am not able to

f305

-2-

write more today. Otherwise
I should have put it
off till I could write
more. For I have so
much I should like to
tell you, if I could.

You will know that we
have been rather in a
fever lately, because
Ministers were hovering
between 'in' & 'out'.
On the whole, we are
glad they stay 'in'.

The Public Health Service
is going to be re-organized
in India. The reasons

f305v

connected with the
peculiar forms of
Indian Government--
new to me but not
to you who have gone
so deeply into Indian
Govt which Sir
J. Lawrence gives me
in two letters--are so
curious that I think
I shall copy them for
you--sometime.

Lord de Grey does better
for Sir J. Lawrence in
these respects than

f306

Sir C. Wood, tho' the latter was a statesman & Lord de Grey is not.

== Next I should much like to tell you a long story about a Bill which Mr. Villiers promised us quite early, in the year for a London uniform poor rate for the *sick* & consolidated Hospitals under a central management. [This was

f306v

before we got our Earls & Archbishops & M.P.s together to storm him in his den.] We shall not get our Bill this Session for Mr. Villiers is afraid of losing the Govt one vote. But we shall certainly get it in time. "In 1860, "The consolations of the future "never failed me for a "moment; and I find them now an equally secure "resource." Can you guess

f307

-3-

who wrote those ~~(illeg)~~/words?

They are in a note

--from Mr. Gladstone,

written the morning

of his speech, on

the Franchise Bill.

Could you have believed

he was so much in

earnest? I could not.

And yet I knew him

very well once.

His speech (he was ill)

impressed the House

very much.

"And e'en the ranks of Tuscany
could scarce forbear to cheer"

f307v

I have much to write

in answer to yours--

but not now.

Please burn this.

ever yours

living or dying

F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff308-11v, pen {from Martineau to FN}

f308

Ambleside

May 13/67

Dear friend

It is an immense time since I wrote to you. The reason why is easily told. One does not wish to send dismal letters to invalid friends; & this dreary Spring has been full of anxiety & trouble to us--as to many other people. I will say nothing of family illnesses--very alarming at the time--wh have passed away: & of remaining troubles the only one that I need speak of regards myself chiefly. If there was an old woman in England securely & comfortably provided for in a moderate way, we shd have said it was myself; & now--when I cannot work, nor stir, nor alter my way of living, I find myself likely to be deprived (for the present, with wh alone I have any concern) of nearly two-thirds of my income. It is the Railway panic wh cause this; & a most strange

f308v

perplexity it is for a careful body like me.
It comes up in my confused & broken nights
disagreeably; but we are not much troubled
by it by daylight.--And it *may* not happen,
--I being a holder, not of Shares, but of Preferential
stock. And I have money enough in bank &
in hand till November; & I don't often look
so far forward as that. And I cd raise a
loan on good security; & I have plenty of friends
eager to help me. But I wish to keep my
independence, if possible. We all believe that
there will be no loss of capital,--that there
will be a complete recovery, sooner or later; &
if so, my legatees will get what I have left
them: but I don't expect, myself to touch
either principal or interest.--How many,
almost as helpless, are set fast at present,--
& in a worse way, as being shareholders! I
have heard of some-widows with young children,
spinsters with narrow incomes, old people & the
like, who don't know wh way to turn. The
anxiety among my family & friends is that
I shd not drop the very few things that it is
possible to drop,--the *Times* the {illeg. nurdie box?}, wine, &c
& I have promised to go on with them for
the six months. By that time, if I am not

f309

past all wants, we shall probably be able to form some notion what we ought to do.

Nobody need fear my attempting to write again. I never wrote (nor suppressed) a line for the sake of money; & I shd certainly not begin now, if ever so able: but I am utterly unable. At least I believe so.--My condition is odd,--& especially in contrast with you--so unable as you are to bear opiates. The bowels continue to be the trouble; & I try in vain to get out of the practice of having two washings-out, & two opiate enemas daily, in addition to all I had before by the mouth. They make me very much more comfortable than I was till my doctor ordered this bold stroke: but I expect to pay for it; & it is a very thin disguise of various failures that I become more & more sensible of. The cold of this strange Spring (not bitter as in the Midland counties) has served me so well that I was ashamed--hearing & seeing how everybody else suffered by it: & now, my turn is coming. With the first warm days, my strength runs out like water from a leak. I hope I may think of it as good for you, --as far as good is yet possible. I have heard

f309v

nothing distinct of you for a long time. Julia Smith has been at Liverpool,--amazing my sister,--& in truth overwhelming her--with her energy,--in the schools &c. I hear of her often --always as looking old, worn, & over-energizing. The old story! I have often wondered whether she sees, more or less, that she might do all she does, & more, without wear & tear, if she cd introduce order into her thoughts & ways. But, unhappily, she despises order--steadiness--regularity, as the ways & means of small & low minds,--& bad even for them. But in saying all this I am only groaning over a dismal waste of life & power,--not finding fault. I honour & admire & love her that I *can* only mourn, & not blame. It is a case of constitutional liability,--so ingrained in her constitution that she wishes to be as she is in regard to that class of conditions. There is something fearful in passing into old age with an incapacity for repose, or even for any stationary form of energy. What an exquisite moral nature hers is!--in my experience one of the most awakening & moving disclosures I have been blessed with in my whole life. I always tell myself that she *must* have been happier than I can see that she ever has been.

f310

(2)

But what am I about to write all this to
you who, if it is true, must know it so much
better than I can!

How doleful all public
affairs have been looking,--abroad & at house!
Ail those mightily religious Governmnts & Courts
abroad,--what a temper of heathen barbarism
they have been showing, on every possible occasion!
And our own hopeless Parliament, & set of
public men! But they are the inevitable d
regs of the Palmerstonian system & period;
& they will be purged out sooner or later. O yes,
--where you & I differ it is because you are
thinking of one thing (administrative rule) & I
of another,--the principles of political conduct:&
I certainly think that, with all his charms
as a friend, & all his ability & graces as an
administrator, Ld P's living so long as he did is
a misfortune to the country wh it will take
generations to get over.--The regeneration is,
however, sure. The worse the disintegration, the
helplessness, the laxity now, the sooner will the
renovation come; & one begins to see a good head
here & there popping up from the chaos. If it does
make us ashamed, as Lady Elgin says, to contract
the statesmen of the period of Ld Grey's book
--with the officials of our day, we see the need

f310v

of a return to earnestness, truth & principle growing so urgent that what we want must soon arise. The real menace seems to me to be in the tone of "Society" being, as I am told, so low in morals & manners, while the Court is so much better than perhaps ever before, & the middle & lower classes rising fast. The aristocracy who consider themselves "Society" had better look to themselves: but I am told that they will flock to Willm Brougham when he becomes Lord B, & that other scoundrels, --not merely profligates about women, but cheats in money matters stand as well as other people when it is in convenient to see their dark stains.--Well for all this I am more hopeful than I was five years since. I believe the national quality is, on the whole, improving; & I am confident that the goodness there is--intellectual & moral,--will become more & more available. --I suppose you have not read Lady Herbert's book ("Impressions of Spain") *That is* a puzzle to me,--her denial of the plagiarism.

From what I saw of her when Miss {illeg.} I understand the rest. But one longs for *him* to have had another sort of wife--Yet, under the circumstances, it was hailed

f311

(3)

at the time.--How I have run on!
& now I am dining & writing at once.
Do you savour the boiled beef?--or the
custard?--Cow-keeping & poultry {illeg. dilts?} give
us such custards & other good things!
I hope we shall not have to make
such a change as giving up *that*.

I met with an odd thing last
week;--a book--& one I was glad
to read--full of sneers at Sanitarians,
--at all of us, & all our ways, & by
an army surgeon, & one who knows
India from end to end. I had read
Dr Rennies' "Peking", & got his "Shoot an
War," & found the latter wonderfully
poorer than the former. I had never
before heard Sanitary action reprobated
en bloc. It was a novelty, if not a very
amusing one.--You must have been
very unhappy about the famine in India.
If I could, I cd tell you such a story

f311v

--a glorious story--of the feeding of the
people of Portland (Maine) after their
fire,--saving a multitude of lives,--
all by the organizing faculty of a
Negro of the name of Smith, He
is a *great man*, in more ways than
one.

Dear friend, I must say
Good-bye, & send this as it is,
--without a glance at it. I
hope I may hear how you go on,
from somebody, some day.--My
household are well. Ever yours
affectionate H. Martineau

signed letter, ff312-15v, pen {from Martineau to FN}

f312

Ambleside

Sepr 6/67

Dear friend

I never thought of *your* being long in writing. My complaint was against myself--so long as I have been silent after receiving Wm Rathbone's book from you.--That book has made, & is making a wide circuit, & I hope it will do some good, by the small portion of it that is practical. He must have a curious sort of mind for so wise a man as he is in some moral regards. The amount of repetition,--of whole paragraphs & pages,--is unaccountable; & so is the apparent unconsciousness that he is proposing a subversion of the social system, without either end or means for replacing it by another. One does not expect him, or any man, to solve the most unmanageable of difficulties; but his apparent unconsciousness of what he is dealing with is very striking. Yet the book may probably do a great deal of good, & can hardly do much

f312v

harm; & I am sure, if he stirs up others to anything like his earnest activity on behalf of the sick & suffering, his will have been one of the lives best worth living in our time.

I somehow missed the damning review of the book in the "Pall Mall." He took it so to heart as to make pertinacious inquiry into who wrote it; & at last found it was Wm R. Greg,--his uncle! I can fancy how opposite their notions must be.

Well,--my not writing has been owing partly to its seeming best to wait till after the decisive meeting on the Railway matter but more to my being really so little fit for writing that, unless roused, as today, by being spoken to, I let my silences run on too far. My condition is considerably changed within some months; & I become more & more sensible of head-failure. I am so slow about everything,--have so little ability to read & to converse,--feel so dreamy, & often as if everything was unreal or *unaccustomed*, --though our life is as monotonous as ever! The more prominent ~~by~~ differences to others are

f313

the constant disorder of the bowels, & the frequent haemorrhage from them. I get great relief, as throughout, by the (now large) opiates & I doubt whether my head wd not be much worse without them:-they do "give tone to the heart", as the Doctors say, & sustain appetite & digestion (in my case) wonderfully: but I feel no sort of doubt that my state is a declining one, both as to bodily strength & faculty. My bad sleep wd confuse *any* head. I can go to sleep almost any minute; but I cannot *keep* asleep, & often have 4 or 5 wakings in an hour--owing, I am told, to uneasiness caused by bad circulation. --This is a full account of my condition; & I wish I knew as much of yours,--the more, & not the less, from the painfulness of the little you tell me. When you tell me of keeping your eyes & right hand only, I do hope you don't mean that your ears have failed. I *should* grieve to think that so terrible & peculiar a loss as that of hearing had been added to your heavy share. What Maria told me of your nights has always remained with me; & when I am most confused by my broken

f313v

sleep I always think how much more suffering a night yours has too probably been.

As to the Railway affair,--how cd I have not told you (if writing on the subject at all) which Railway it is! Mrs Arnold is the Great Western--Blanch Clough's & Julia I am told, the Great Eastern, & mine the Brighton;--& so the story runs, all over the kingdom. I was surprised at Midsumm by the usual cash-warrant for £17, due at that date (as also at Xmas) I had forgotten that a small portion of my investment was in Debenture stock--wh has been regularly paid. Except a very small amount in Ordinary stock, the rest of mine is in Preference Stock:--that is, just upon £200 a year. I get no dividend for the last 1/2 year; but the Board seem to expect to pay for the whole year at the end of it. (Practically, in February I don't believe this: & if I live so long, which never seems probable, I shall be well satisfied to get one half-years! I have enough in hand & in bank to carry me on for some months --probably through the year: & we live for wonderfully little, --thanks to Jenny's house-keeping abilities, & the hearty, homelike

f314

(2)

affection of my two delightful maids,--who are more like daughters than servants to me. They know all about it; &, while we all make ourselves sufficiently comfortable (& *they* don't suffer in any way) we live for very little. We four women, & the house (*not* the land, man & livestock) lived for the first half of this year for £92,--including above £6 worth of wine, & other stores. Wages, taxes,--everything, in short,--all for £92! I think it very little. My dress cost 5/4d. We cd not go on long at that rate, however. Almost everybody I know has wanted to help me: but I don't think well of *money* gifts, & dislike them for myself. Friends want me to make "no difference" in my ways, under this new sort of change: but *that* is not possible. I must not, & cannot leave off, nor even diminish the *wine*, the most expensive article; & I don't propose to do so. I have no right to make my health worse: but otherwise, it is impossible to make "no difference" between having a sufficient & an insufficient income. It is

f314v

impossible to give, right & left, as I have been in the habit of doing, as a matter of course; & so on. But all this is very different from taking other peoples' money to live upon. Brother Robert understands my feeling about it; & he will lend me what I may want, on good security, & at interest. And he suits me for the purpose because, as a family man, it is proper for him to take interest for his loan,--(if I need one.) I must tell you that I have one money gift in my hands wh it was impossible to refuse, --though I fully expect to return it, with hearty gratitude, for the benefit of somebody else who may then be wanting it. Mr Oc: H. Smith receives, as a creditor of Dr Chapman, half the clear proceeds of the yearly sale of my Comte's "Positive Philosy,"--the other half being mine. In the Spring, "Uncle Oc" sent me the whole proceeds for 1866, with a letter in wh he tried, most ingeniously to make out somehow or other that I ought to have the

f315

whole. I told him I perceived that he had heard of my new trouble about income, & his silence admits it. I could not be so ungracious as to return the £8 odd on the instant: but I told him that it was probable that the difficulty might not recur, in wh case he wd of course resume his rights. And if I live to receive my dues, my first act will be to replace this money in his hands, for use à la Franklin, or in any way he pleases, of course. It was charmingly imagined & done, & I am very thankful to him. --And here is all I have to tell about my own affairs,--except that Jenny is at Edgbaston, --in fulfilment of my earnest wish that she shd be at the Birmingham Festival. It delights me to see how full she is of it; & nothing cd be so good for her. Her family are all delighted with her looks & spirits. My sister Ellen's only daughter Harriet is here during Jenny's absence; & a most

f315v

charming girl I find her,--not the
less but the more charming for having
left the Bedford Sq: College with certifi-
cates wh are equivalent to the degree
of B. A., in regard to the results of
examinations.--Jenny comes home tomor-
row week, after the due months'
visit, --paid very early for the sake of
the festival.

I am full of what you
say about India & everything. For
years I have held up Sir Bartle Frere
(& lady) in "Daily News", & it is a great
pleasure now to read what you say of him.
In all ways your letter is precious,--&
indeed quite an event, --so unexpected as
it was. Yet--I am going to burn it. I ought
& I must & will: & I am not likely to
forget any of it,--failing as I am.
Your Nursing news is always most welcome
--Parsee, Australn, & all everywhere. O yes,--
let me have your paper on Workhouse Nursing.

With all sympathy, love & reverence
yours H. Martineau

incomplete, unsigned letter, ff316-17v, pen, black-edged stationery [8:631-32]

f316

35 South Street,
Park Lane, {printed address:}
W. Feb /71 &
Sepr 20/71

Dear friend

I was so thankful to have your
letter, tho' so long ago.

I write as soon as it is possible.
O this year of desolation.

The one gleam of comfort thro' it all
was the rush of all English-speaking
people, in all climates & in all
longitudes- not the rich & comfortable
but the whole mass of hard-working,
honest, frugal, stupid people--who
have contributed every penny they
could so ill spare- women have
given the very shoes off their feet,
the very suppers out of their children's
mouths- not to those of their own
creed--not to those of their own
way of thinking at all--but to those
who *suffered most* -in this awful War--
all, all have given--every man, woman
& child above pauperism.

f316v

I have been so touched to receive from
places I had never even heard of
(but which it would take me a
day to enumerate)--from congregations
who had seen my "name in a stray
London newspaper--the only paper
they had seen"--as helping in the
Relief of the War sufferers--
sums collected by half-pence--
with a long letter to say how they
wished the money spent--
from poor hard-working negro
congregations in different islands
of the West Indies--
poor Congregations of all kinds--
"Puritan" Chapels in my own dear
hills National Schools-Factories
--London dissenting Congregations
without a single rich member--
--London "Ragged Schools" who,

f317

having nothing to give, gave up
their only feast in the year
that the money might be sent
to the orphans in the War
"who want it more than we"
women's working parties, consisting
of the wives of War Office clerks
& the like, who have to keep
up a good appearance on £120
or £150 a year & who keep no
servant. [I have known one
at least of these women who,
when I sent her game & wine,
almost the only thing I could
make her accept, cooked the
game with her own hands for
her poorer sick neighbours]
on this War occasion they sent
us quantities of valuable warm
clothing for the War sufferers
--& poorer women still gave their

f317v

work & refused to be paid
for it.

They gave to the sick & the suffering
of whom they know nothing but
by hearsay--gave, knowing that
they should receive nothing again--
gave to replace in their ruined
homes as far & as fast as possible
the people of villages utterly laid
waste--some of the most industrious
in the world--whose tools, beasts,
corn, kitchen pots & pans, the
very floors & wood-work of their
shattered houses, were all, all
gone--gave to enable these poor
people to return to their work,
to their former lives, as quickly as
possible.

signed letter, ff318-21, pen black-edged stationery [8:632-34]

f318

Private Lea Hurst

Matlock Sept 20/71

Dear friend

I wrote the enclosed to you.
I am afraid to think how many
months ago. I then wrote you
a long letter on the present state
of the War Office which I cannot
lay my hands upon-- you need
not wish to have it. The
absolute inefficiency & confusion
of the War Office especially of
the 'Control' astonishes even me
who have been in it for 17 years
& who have watched its downward
course--~~with~~ amid tasks, disappointments
& humiliations impossible to conceive
by an outsider--for the last 5 years.
The mistakes of the Control during
these 'autumn manoeuvres' are what
no one but I could believe.

f318v

I cannot retrace this wearing,
tearing subject.
Let me send you this unfinished
scrap, merely to show how often
you have been in my working
thoughts.
I hear a rather better account of you
Let me hope that it continues to
be true.
I came here because I do not like,
as long as it is possible, not to see
my father & mother, by being in the
same house with them And I
was glad to be here this time, because
our good housekeeper, Mrs. Watson,
who, with her husband, the butler,
& her son, a lame boy, now aged
21, has lived with my father &
mother, in a patriarchal sort of way,
much above that number of years

f319

has died here, after a few days'
illness--tho' she had been ailing for
3 years How little I thought
she would have gone before me!
How I remember her tears & kisses
of welcome, the first person who
spied me 15 years ago, when I
returned from the Crimea!

She was sitting beside me here
one Sunday last month. The
next Sunday she was buried!

Her loss to my parents is almost
greater than they know themselves--
the Sovereigns are not strong enough
to bear great changes.

All the villages round turned out
to see her coffin go by--my father's
carriage following with Aunt Julia
& all the servants--besides of course,
her own family.

I used to think always of her as
a real "mother in Israel" She had
brought up half the girls in Hampshire
& here as domestic servants. Three
of my four maids I had from her.

f319v

And all of her bringing up were
so unlike other people in their
high principle & true feeling.

~~Aunt~~ Julia does a wonderful deal,
and I hope is very happy. I believe,
(like you), she might do more at
less cost to herself. But this I
think would be cruel to express.

== Madame Mohl is gone back to
Paris--he who has been in Germany
too. He writes: "my opinion is
"more & more that these stupid
governments (German) have
missed a good & very rare
opportunity of reforming the
R. Catholic Church & getting rid
of the Jesuits, the celibacy of
priests, and a cart-load of
fetishism. XXX

"and now there is all over
Germany a devil's kettle
boiling of Prussian supremacy
& impertinence--of anti-prussian
feeling in the South, in Hanover
& Hesse--of Catholic quarrels,--
of discontent about excessive
taxation for armies, and of fear

f320

-2-

"of a new French War. Bismark
is stirring this infernal broth,
corrupting or intimidating
Ministers and his underlings
are very active in paying
newspapers. They have abundant
means from the French
contributions & from the
confiscated estates of the King
of Hanover & the Elector of Hesse.
The chance of Germany is in
the antagonism of the South
against Prussia; they may do
one another much good, just
as the English & Scotch have
done much good one to the other,

--only the Southern must defend
themselves against being
swallowed by this poor,
methodical, rapacious,
calculating & very laborious
race in the North. xx

"Bismark is a man of strong
common sense, with no depth
or delicacy of mind, not at all
pedantic nor troubled with a
conscience, not of Prussian essence
(except that he is rapacious)

f320v

"he is like one of those barbaric
kings one reads of, pleasant
in conversation, easy in manner,
no 'faiseur de difficultés', an
audacious & calculating gambler
in state affairs & war."

I have sent you some of M. Mohl's
lucubrations--they are better
worth sending than mine.
And yet I think I have
some to send you, especially
about India It seems
unnatural to let so long a gap
of intercourse intervene. I hope
to be able not to let it again do so.
[The Crown Princess came to see me in
London. & let me tell her a
good deal of the "behind the scenes"
of Prussian Ambulance=work.
I do like her so very much--&
twice as much now that she is
really worn & ripened by
genuine hard work & anxiety]
But I must stop If you are
so good as to write to me, write

f321

to the old address in London,
35 South St.
in great press of business & illness
but ever yours, dear friend
Florence Nightingale
We hear from my aunt Octavius
Smith (at Ardtarnish in Scotland).
You know she is a "widow indeed."
Her health seems reviving in
her care for others--& for the
little "grand-bab"--tho' sometimes
she says: 'it is a hard matter
to live'.

Add Mss 45789 214 folios, 19 pages, miscellaneous correspondence, Adam Matthew reel 26

ff1-57 typed copies of correspondence with Rev Mother Moore at Bermondsey,
ff58-99 corr with Irby
ff100-169 with Carpenter and miscellaneous
ff170-214 corr with Mme Schwabe, Schwabe letters hard to read and some cross-written;

ff1-3 Letter 7 July 1856
f4 Letter 1 December 1856, but Convent letter 3 folios longer
f5 Letter 5 January 1857
ff6-8 letter 26 January 1857
f9 letter 17 May 1858
f10 Letter 18 May 1858
ff11-12 letter 21 October 1863
ff13-16 letter 15 December 1863
ff17-20 letter 24 December 1863
ff21-22 letter 3 January 1864
f23 letter 20 January 1864
f24 letter 3 February 1864
ff25-26 letter 21 June 1864
ff27-29 letter 3 September 1864
f30 letter 24 September 1864
ff31-33 letter 31 October 1864
ff34-35 letter 9 January 1865
f36 letter 23 January 1865
ff37-38 letter 23 January 1865
ff39-42 letter 3 February 1865
ff43-44 letter 28 February 1865
ff45-46 letter 11 March 1865
ff47-48 letter 3 July 1865
f49 note 4 December 1865
f50 Holy Thursday 1866
ff51-52 letter 1 March 1867
f54 letter 20 February 1868
ff55-57 letter 8 September 1868

Irby correspondence

ff58-59v, Algers, January 5, 1870 from A.P. Irby, about schools, mostly written in German

ff60-61, [27 December 1869] from Maria Burger, from Kaiserswerth to Miss Irby re schools. Yesterday only I got your letter. I was so happy to know at last where you stay and what is your address. I will answer at once. I got the books and found the box, but I never knew from what place they came, so I presumed you wished to stay a perfect anonymous. I even venture to write in English, it seems so strange to write to you in German and if the old stumbling blocks make you laugh, perhaps you are not over merry and

it will do you good. I have not the slightest idea how you came to be in Africa, I suppose you shall go all round the world before many years more have passed. I made a journey too in autumn but only to Bavaria, to see my sisters and brothers in their homes, at last I had only one week left to spend with my parents at Munic. Since I returned we have been at our old work...

Hausordnung. It is done after the consecration, one day or two after it, by the sisters newly received. But it was never meant to be a secret and I wonder how the lady can fancy that In the ceremony of the consecration is included simple promises of obedience to our director and of conforming to the Hausordnung. Now Mr Fliedner thought as it seems to me this promise wd be more impressed in certain minds if they put their own names under the book (one exemplary with many white leaves at the end which is carefully kept). It was an opp more to see them after the consecration and before they left Kai again for their different fields of labour. You have seen enough of the busy agitated life here to know how highly personal interviews are valued by everyone. Mr Fliedner was very fond of all his sisters and that list of their names, wr by themselves, was precious to him. With deep pain and with many a sigh I saw him efface the name of such a one as had left the est in an unkind manner. I have signed the Hausordnung too, of course, it did not appear to me to be a very important act, far less a illeg.

ff62-64v, Agnam, (Slavia Zagreb) January 5, 1876 from Miss Irby with news of a trip and conditions in Croatia

ff65-66v, Neu Gradishka, February 9, [1875], from Miss Irby asking for a letter, and telling of her work

ff67-68, Wimbledon, February 14, 1876 from H. Sandwith to Miss Irby informing her of money that has been raised for her work

ff69-70, February 16, 1876, with more details about the money raised for Bosnian refugees letter of H. Sandwith to Irby, re money for, FN comment in red pencil: I could not have believed in the existence of such an idiot!

ff71-78v, Pakratz in Province of Slavonia, February 28, from Miss Irby to FN, regretting not having received a letter from her, and sending a report of her work and conditions in the area, with underlinings and FN comment f76: Before she said "I saw at once that was *the* man."

ff79-80v, March 10, 1876 describing difficulties about blankets

ff81-82v , April 1, to FN, thanking her for advice and describing her activities

ff83-84v, Leipzig, October 11, 1876, with details about her trip to Bosnia

ff85-88v, Pakratz, December 3, 1876, with information of the state of affairs in Serbia and with Bosnian refugees. I am grateful for your kind

words of 24th. Good illeg ...

ff89-90v, December 5, 1876, thanking FN for something sent through her and explaining difficulties with customs duties. It is the greatest honour to have anything sent through you and I thank you ever and ever. But that you shall be burdened and troubled with anything illeg is an intolerable pain to me.

I often wish I were illeg with your mother for I illeg say aloud to her

ff91-93v, Alt. Gradiska, December 12, 1876, reporting on her work and travels, Irby to FN

ff94-95v, Knin, May 4, 1879, thanking FN for her letter (missing), and telling of the work in Dalmatia, FN red underlining

ff96-97v, G Shaw Lefevre, 18 Bryanston Square, January 18, 1879, to Miss Irby from her cousin describing efforts made to obtain help for the Bosnian refugees

ff98-99, Christ Church, Oxford, February 20, 1879 to Miss Irby from H.P. Liddon describing his efforts to gain assistance for her work from the Bishop.

I am greatly indebted to you for your kind letter. As soon as I can do so, I will write to Bishop Strossmayer and will ask him to do what he can to protect your work. I shall however promote this object better if I ask Mr Gladstone to say the same thing to the bishop. Mr Gladstone is often in corr with him on political subjects and an incidental remark of this kind in one of his letters wd, I do not doubt, have weight.

When Mr Macl [illeg] and I visited the bishop in 1876, he spoke with great and I thought very sincere admiration of your work. He is, I suppose, in a very difficult position, both politically and illeg. His religious sympathies are much more generous than are generally found in the high places of the Church of Rome, and he is of course regarded with more or less disfavour by the official Hungarians. If he does not do all that we cd wish, we must make allowances, I suppose that the new R.C. arrs in Bosnia have been issued directly from Vienna or from Rome. You yourself ought to provoke no opposition in any quarter, as your work lies illeg the path of rival churches while it achieves results which all might be thankful to recognize and promote as truly philanthropic and Christian.

During my short Christmas holyday I paid Mr Freeman a visit and was glad to find him much more like his old self. ...

Carpenter correspondence f100-

ff100-01, Government House, Calcutta, January 8, 1867 to FN from Mary Carpenter, telling her of her kind reception by the Governor General and her efforts re education and nursing in India. I cannot leave this place which I do tomorrow without telling you how very kindly I have been recd here by Sir John & Lady Lawrence. My being recd there has been I am sure a very important step as it has shown sympathy with the objects to which I have directed my attention. I send herewith a paper which will show you what I have been attending to....

The grand and illeg want now is a number of kind hearted educated Christian women who will go without any prompting effort to India to work among the natives such are rare but I am persuaded that they may be found. Will you kindly mention this as you have opportunity, or I shall hope on my return to have a commission to send lady supts and trained mistresses for normal schools. By my going out at my own expence and unconnected with any society has produced a great effect on native gentlemen and ladies, and I have been recd by them with the greatest kindness and gratitude.

I shall henceforth do all in my power for India. Will you accept my wishes that this new year may be a better one to you.

ff102-02v, Red Lodge House, Bristol, May 11, 1867, enclosing a pamphlet describing her efforts re nursing in India and offering to see FN. The accompanying pamphlet will give you a brief summary of my work. I wish that you cd stimulate your workers to send their training for nurses to poor India!

I am going to town by an early train on Sunday morning for a second interview with Sir S. Northcott. I hope to leave the same day. If you wish to see me re India, I will arrange to call on you if you tell me the time but do not trouble yourself to write otherwise.

My journey to India has infinitely surpassed in worth all my highest expectations and I thank God for having given me strength.

f103, front page of pamphlet by Mary Carpenter

ff104-05, Bristol, June 2, 1867, thanking FN for her letter, and describing the lack of nursing in India

Thanks for your letter. Be assured that I never think you neglectful for not answering letters, being fully aware that you are always working above your strength.

I am well aware that you have long turned your attention to India, and doubtless your efforts have produced valuable fruit. But I have seen no effort to train nurses, and there is a universal want of any decent nurses in the hospitals &c. I believe illegs

I shall be at 24 Regent St on Wed morning about 3 and shall not leave until Friday morning. If you shd wish to hear anything from illeg writings, will you send me a line to that effect. It wd give me much pleasure to call on you, but wd not wish to do so if you are not equal to it.

ff106-06v, 24 Regent Street, June 5, 1867, arranging to visit FN to talk

about India

ff107-07v, with more details about her schedule

ff108-09, June 7, 1867 about her efforts to promote nurse training in India

After my pleasant and I hope useful interview with you, I saw the Hindu and Parsee gentlemen who were very glad to hear of the possibility of a nurse training institution at Bombay. They would much like to see what in London and would be most happy to have an interview on the subject with you before leaving for India.

I had also an interview with Sir Bartle Frere in the course of which I mentioned the subject. He was much interested and asked me if her thought you wd permit him to call respecting it. I told him that I wd mention the matter to you. He and Lady Freer wd be the very best persons to communicate with.

A letter written to him at the India Office will always find him.

F109 Will you allow me to say how much pleasure I felt in becoming personally acquainted with one whom I have so long esteemed. My sister Mrs Herbert Thomas, whom you know as Miss Anna Carpenter at Mrs Nicholson's in your childhood is also very happy to hear of you.

ff110-11, Bristol, July 30, 1867, regretting that Dadabhai Naoroji cannot see FN at the time and telling of her offer to go out to India to establish female normal schools. Carpenter calls Dadabha Naorji her friend. Since FN cannot see two, he yields to his friend, who is about to return to Bombay, hopes she can see him another time, he is remarkably superior

f112, August 15, 1867 asking to see FN before her departure

f113, August 15, 1867 confirming her appointment with FN

f114-14v, August 18, 1867 advising FN of her next visit to London and her wish to see FN

ff115-16v, August 20, 1867, thanking FN for her letter (missing), and sending information, re a normal school

f117, 24 Regent Street, August 21, 1867, arranging an appointment with FN

ff118-19v, Bristol, August 30, 1867, acknowledging the need for trained nurses and her inability to divert her energies from her educational interests

While in India, my attention was very painfully drawn to the condition of the patient sin hospitals and infirmaries, owing to the general want of efficient nurses. I have heard medical men express their sense of this want very strongly. It seems impossible to supply this want except by the establishment of some training institutions for nurses, or the introduction of some experienced matrons or nurses into a well organised hospital, where, under the direction of the physicians, and perhaps a small committee of ladies, *native women* might be trained to nursing.

You are aware that my own efforts are directed to another object, which most fully absorbs them. Yet this is so imperative an object that I cannot be believe that when the want is known, many ladies may be found illeg to take it up especially if they have the benefit of your direction and cooperation.

I propose bring forward this subject at Belfast and shall be very much obliged by your informing me what course you wd recommend and in what way you wd be able to give aid from the institutions bearing your name.

I do not apologise for thus troubling you, though I know how much you are overwhelmed with business, because I well know your deep interest in India.

ff120-21v, London, September 14 [1867], HBC draft to Mary Carpenter re nursing education in India

In reply to letter of Aug 30 &c at present in communication with govt of India but glad these questions taken up by private persons &c

I shall be always glad to assist the efforts by training supts under conditions laid down by the N Fund. Wd have entered more into detail as to methods but no data for India.

Any private effort in India wd be only tentative and subsequent organizaton wd be based on experience thus gained &c &c

Nothing surprise more than illeg theories people put forward without knowing &c.

Repeat ready to assist any such effort in manner stated to the extent of means of Fund now , , , ,

Additional probationers on payment, if find material suitable ... our great difficulty ...

f122, {September 15 [1867] HBC draft stressing the necessity for government action in order to achieve reforms.

My notion is that no good is to be done in the way proposed except thro' the govt, that advice thrown adrift at the meeting to be taken up by volunteers might induce misdirected efforts which mt embarrass your present negotiations or relations (whatever they may be called) with govt and cd in themselves lead to nothing.

In answering the letter I shd propose to state in very few words the general principles upon which alone the system cd be improved, adding illeg that, as far as your knowledge of India goes, you consider it impossible to carry out any reform except thro' govt.

If this meets your views I will draft a letter, or follow any other suggestions I may find in your already written letter.

ff123-24, Bristol, September 17, 1867, to FN from Mary Carpenter explaining her inability to act. Many thanks for your letter (missing) which is really right and for your kind thought in copying them. It happens most unfortunately that a ... Mr Furdoonji is most gratified by your letters which I sent

ff125-25v, October 20, 1867, sending the proposals about India she will discuss with Sir S. Northcote

I ought to have written on this to tell you that I sowed seed in Belfast and Dublin and found the soil ready. That is as much as can be done at present, until my own plans are more formed, and ...

I am devoted to India.

On Wednesday Oct 30 I shall have an interview with Sir S Northcote. I send herewith my proposals. I am not aware whether he has yet come to town and seen them so mark them private. I shall hope that you will have half an hour for me on Thursday or Friday.

f126, October 30, 1867, asking FN to state when she could come to see her

ff127-28, February 5, 1868 requesting that FN see Dr Hunter and his wife

ff129-30, February 4 [1868], Ruislip Vicarage, nr Uxbridge. from Dr Hunter to Mary Carpenter expressing his willingness to establish a training school for nurses in Bombay and to see FN.

I was glad to receive your letter and shall be happy to render any assistance I can in establishing a nurses training inst in Bombay The want of well trained nurses in our hospitals is very much felt as I think I mentioned to you earlier in Bombay. If you will kindly forward me a letter for Miss Florence Nightingale I will take an early opp of calling on he. As Mrs H and I leave by the Marseilles steamer of 18 illeg, our time is very short. If you could conveniently hurry to reply to this letter by return ... I could call on Miss Nightingale on Thursday. Mrs Hunter....

f131, February 5, from Mary Carpenter to FN, a letter of introduction of Dr Hunter

f132, Thursday [February 6, 1868 from Dr Hunter to FN fixing the time of his appointment with her that aft

ff133v-34, June 8, 1868, from Mary Carpenter to FN, asking for an appointment to see FN and expressing the conviction that they can proceed without government help

f135, printed notice of a meeting Mary Carpenter will address on Education and Reformatory Treatment in India

f136, 24 Regent Street, London, asking for an appointment with FN

ff137-38v, Bristol, August, 1868, informing FN of her departure for India and her desire to know the situation of the training affair in Bombay

f139, printed notice of a paper on the jails of India read by Mary Carpenter and a motion passed

ff140-41, printed piece about female education

f142, 24 Regent Street, October 15, 1860, thanks for packet, informing FN that a copy of her paper at Bristol will be sent to FN

Add Mss 45789

543

ff143-44, printed article

f145-46, Red Lodge House October 24, 1860, from Mary Carpenter re prison conditions

ff147-48v, December 19, 1868, Malabar Hill, Bombay, explaining Mrs Hunter's plan to start training independently of government and outlining her own program of finding out what the natives want

f149-49v, July 26, 1869, 24 Regent Street, expressing concern about FN's health and thankfulness for her own restored health

ff150-51, August 5, 1869, printed letter re Conference of ladies interested in questions, at Bristol, from Edwin Pears, gen sec, National Association for the Promotion of Social Science

f151, Miss Nightingale (written on back of above)

ff152-53v, August 10, 1869, illeg, from Mary Carpenter enclosing information about the conference and her imminent return to India. I hope that you are now getting rested and refreshed. I am looking forward to returning to India in October after the Social Sc Assoc, which is to be held in Bristol this year, as you will see by the enclosed. I think that such a branch of the assoc will be very important; it will certainly be a great help to me in India to know where I can refer for information respecting the various depts now so illeg increasing of sufficient and intelligent *woman's* work. To inform some of this into India is my grand central idea, but as it must be introduced solely in the way of sympathy and friendship, without any possibility of suspicion on the part of the natives of interference with their secret habits or of ulterior motives, such as proselytism or of the government of illeg. The whole thing is surrounded with difficulties but I feel so clear that my object is right that it is comprehended and believed in by the intelligent natives with whom I have come in contact that I do not hesitate in going again and think it but to be illeg rather bring on myself hindrance from professed helpers.

To return to my prospectus or invitation to ladies of course I do not suppose that you can take any part, but it will be a pleasure and benefit if you will *send me a few lines of sympathy which I may read to the ladies and any reports &c which you may think useful* [red FN und] Those you sent me on going to India I lent and your illeg

f154, September 24, 1869, Bristol, asking for any papers which would explain the Women's Training Institution. I trust that you are renovated by your absence. Do spare yourself as much as possible. Your life is very precious!

Your *spirit* will be with us in our conf. Please let me have one time to say so. And will you send me any papers which will explain the plans of your Nurses Training Inst.

f155, September 27, 1869, thanking FN for her notes and documents and asking her to have them printed. Many thanks for your loving notes and documents. I shall lay them with pleasure before our ladies' conference.

Miss Mereweather will ably develop that work.

Will you not print in a separate for illeg.

f156, May 1, 1870, asking for an appointment to see FN I am going to London on Tuesday and hope that you may be able to appoint a time to see me after Wednesday. I have so much to ask and to tell you!

f157, May 4, 24 Regent Street, expressing regret at FN's state of health and hoping she would be well enough to see her the next week. Thanks for your welcome! I am very sorry that you are suffering more. I *am* staying through part of next week and hope you may be able to let me know that you are well enough to see me. Yours affectionately

ff158-59, May 10, fixing a time to see FN and sending her an outline of an address she had given

ff160-61v, July 31, 1870, Bristol, expressing regret at not seeing FN in London and asking FN for her support for the Association

ff162-63, September 5, 1870, expressing thankfulness that "this horrible slaughter" is over and acknowledging FN's influence in alleviating distress. Our time to sympathize with you in thankfulness that this horrible slaughter is illeg stopped and the authors of it safe from doing further mischief. I shd not have written before of anything else but so habitually withdrawn my mind from the dreadful subject that I forgot that you *must be absorbed* in it. I doubt not that you have ben privileged to be the means of having organized such means as exist of alteration.

Our dear principles! How delightfully they have been helping. When you have time I shall be anxious to hear that you are not overdone. *Your life is precious!*

f164

Miss Carpenter

May 15/76

Nursing in India

Calcutta Hospital good

"a lady from us"!

Madras Training School

for Normal

Schoolmistresses

natives

good

Miss Marter: native *Christians* reformed Middlesex Hospl

always more "great talent for organization"

civilized

laid up for 2 years ill

took with one English Assistant

Nursing at Hospl: Madras [9:979]

Nurse training Eurasian women only

poor sick women: before no nursing

so delightful with Miss Marter's kindness. good (they speak English)

Miss Carpenter wd write to her

to ask if she will send one to St. T.'s:

to be trained

Choultra Nugu : Madras: Workhouse

orphan dept

Dr. & Supt both Eurasians no Matron

train Eurasian women from without for 6 months

on beds in sick Dept: (do not live in building)

then they have 6 months in Lying-in Hospl

also no Matron

then certificated & go out as Nurses [end 9:979]

get 60 or 70 rupees

Bombay: Dr. Hunter : trains Eurasian women [9:979]

f165v

Begum of Bhopal
 founds a *female* Hospl
 memory of P. of W.'s visit [end 9:979]
 asked an American Medical woman
 to be Doctress
 but she asked 700 a month: & was bumptious
 Baroda Mr. & Mrs. female Dept to Hospl
 Melville
 young
 Guikwar [?]
 well brought
 up
 Sir Salas Jung first of Mahometans
 Sir Madhava Rao first of Hindoos
 Gaols every where better than Hospls
 but at Dacca very bad:
 Dacca falling off never will be a Liverpool
 Kurachee will
 W.C.'s mere Cess pits in Women's apartments
 smell atrocious
 European Officials' ladies made ill by it
 husbands won't let them visit
 Dr. Hunter
 Miss Carpenter's branch Commee } all speak English
 at Bombay Dacca (not Baroda
 Hyderabad in Sind Kurrachee gave these
 Poona Lecture on
 Allahabad Voluntary
 Benares effort in
 Madras benevolence
 Calcutta in England

ff166, {no date} from Mary Carpenter to illeg saying she cannot go out due to a cold

unsigned notes, f167, pencil

f167

Oh facts - oh facts now let facts
be ours. not disquisitions on the
'eternal fitnesses' but what is the *fact*
what is the *truth* of facts - what is
to be *made into* facts; Facts are God's opinions
are men's & especially women's
'*Ei dice cose*' - as some one said of
M. Angelo's sonnets.

My prayer is that we may all speak &
hear '*cose*'. O how weary ~~of~~ are words, not
things - phrases, not facts.

How weary those 'Opinions' of
'representative women on Women's
suffrage. 'Opinions' indeed
Not a fact, not a thing - no '*cose*'
among them. If anything could
convince me that women are *not*
fit for the suffrage, they have done
it themselves. That is a 'thing',
Are these the women to 'represent'
us? What do they represent?
Bosh.

I want something to take the
taste out of my mouth

And I find it - in your work -
The phrases of Govt in face of India's
miserable realities do the whole
mischief.

signed letter, ffl68-69v, pen

f168 {archivist: [7 Aug 61]}

Madam

Mrs. Jameson was a writer,
not a worker. She is also dead.
No "society of Protestant 'Sisters of
Charity" exists or has existed, as
"proposed" by her, in England.

I am overwhelmed by illness,
by business, by heavy affliction.
And it is quite impossible to me,
either now or ever, to write you
a treatise upon German Protestant
'Deaconesses'

I would advise you to write
to my dear friend Pastor Fliedner,
Diakonissen Anstalt, Kaiserswerth
am Rhein, Düsseldorf, who is
the father of all Deaconess Institutions.

f168v

in Germany.

In England I would advise
you to write to Miss Jones,
the Lady Superintendent

King's College Hospital
London

who superintends a Protestant
order of Nursing Sisters (St.
John's House) who nurse that Hospital

Or, rather, I would, if I may, advise
you not to write at all - for
these persons are as much
overwhelmed with business as
myself, as all workers must be
- and to put off your researches
till you can undertake them in
person.

For if you are intending to
work & not merely to write, it

f169

would be impossible that any
writing of ours could help you -
or anything but seeing the
actual works.

Florence Nightingale

London

August 7/61

The "Maison Mère" of the
Catholic "Béguines" exists at Ghent,
as you are doubtless aware.

f169v {in another hand}

ansd Aug 12/61

Miss M. Fischer

Copenhagen

information as
to Deaconesses
in Germany

signed letter, ff170-71v, pen [7:325-26]

f170 {archivist: [Aug 7 1861]}

For Mme Schwabe

Sister Eleanora Cordero, the
Supérieure of the "Sisters of Charity"
of the Sardinian Army in the
Crimea, and since of the *Educational*
"Sisters of Charity" at Sienna -
whom I mentioned to Mme Schwabe -
is now at Paris for a short
time

Maison Mère des Soeurs de
Charité

Rue du Bac.

She says

that they have 200 children
& more in their house at Sienna
- but are almost without resources
- Sienna is so poor - that, without
me, she could not have given
them "soupe et quelques vêtements"

f170v

~~to this winter.~~

She is trying to establish for "demoiselles" a "paying class" - both to give education to those so lamentably deficient in it & to give ~~them~~ some means for carrying on the education of the *poor*.

They tried to raise 3000 fr. in Sienna for necessary repairs; they can only raise 1000 fr. And therefore obliged to give ~~it~~ up even this project.

Of all the persons I ever saw, Eleanora Cordero is the most fit for educating Italians.

I thought that, if Mme Schwabe has raised money - some might most fitly go to her. And for this purpose I would subscribe 50.

f171

Mme Schwabe must not forget that "Sisters of Charity" cannot go where they like. E.g. Soeur Cordero must stay at Sienna: but what they do is (judiciously) left much to themselves. E.g. They may extend their work among the poor, among the rich, among the young & old, as they find means.

S. Cordero is now (at Paris), arranging affairs with *her* Superiors - And anything that can be done from here must be done quickly.

P.S. I cannot conceive that any scheme of Italian national education can succeed, except it is supported by Government. We *must* know what the Italian

f171v

Govt means to originate, and
work with it, if at all -
E.g. they may think the Sisters
of Charity too papal, *though*
I do not think so - But I
regret to see that the tie
between the "Maison Mère" at
Paris & the branches, even in
Italy, is ~~are~~ being closer drawn -
For undeniably the "Maison Mère"
at Turin had better be independent.
For it is Catholic, without being papal.
F. Nightingale

Aug 7/61

{in another hand}

Sent the Substance of this to

Mme Salis Schwabe

Rhodes House

Middleton Manchester Aug 9/61 - illeg

ff172-73v, August 9, 1861, Sienna Maison Centrale, from Sister Eleanora
Cordero, to Mlle in French with thanks for assistance received

ff174-75v, {no date}, Glyn Garth w Bangor North Wales, from J.S. Schwabe, a
letter to be lithographed and sent with the circulars asking for support
for the "poor and ignorant" in Italy

ff176-77v, August 8, 1861, Turin, extract from a letter of Mde Matencie re
the state of affairs in Italy

ff178-79v, printed. General Garibaldi Address to the Women of Italy

ff180-80v, handwritten note on Garibaldi's address to women of Italy

ff181-81v, envelope addressed to Samuel Smith, Combe Hurst, Kingston Hill,
W London, postmarked D BANGOR 23 AU 61 and LONDON S.W. D7 AU 29 61
handwritten on back: For Miss Nightingale with Mme Schwabe's kind regards,
kindly to be returned at a convenient time

ff182-85v, July 14, [Albisetti says 1866, archivist [1862]], 8 Clarges
Street, from Mme Schwabe asking for FN's name on a circular in support of
help for Austrian and Prussian wounded. Although my thoughts have been and
are often with you, it is with reluctance that I trouble you with a note. I
find however your sympathies are so strongly with what I am trying to do at
present that I cannot refrain from asking a question which I trust you will
only answer with a simple yes or no, for whilst it be the latter, though I
shd regret it, I shd feel convinced without any further expl that it is not
want of sympathy but that you have some good reason why you do not add your
influential name for good, on the enclosed circular which I wish to get
printed still today if possible, as speedy help in this cause is double

help.

I have suffered much of late for this time I have been not merely harassed by my thoughts of poor Italy which I love so much but also by the painful accounts I receive from my poor fatherland. My son in law Dr Carl illeg an excellent young man is with the Prussian troops since the 30th of May, thank God to heal wounds instead of inflicting them. He is at the head of an hosp with several young doctors as his assistants. The govt does all that it can for their poor sick and wounded, both Prussian and Austrian sufferers fare alike with them (There are great numbers of wounded Austrians illeg Prussians are) but the number of the sufferers are so unexpected, so overwhelmingly great, that the doctors are short of many things and private help is needful. In Germany the ladies are all busy in collecting and sending slings to the battle field. The only comfort I can find in my depressed state of mind is if I with others try to send also some little help from here to the poor victims of such illeg policy. The Lady Shaftesbury has united on a former occasion with me for a similar object. I begged her to unite again with me, which she has willingly done. I enclose draft of a circular we have drawn up to which Lord Lyell, Mrs Lyell, Miss Goldschmid (Sir illeg) Mrs Roberts have added with Lady Sh and myself their names. As your name wd bring I believe a greater number of active sympathizers than any other, I wish to ask whether you have any objection to associate with us. I may add we have no committee, no meetings and you wd have no trouble beyond sending perhaps some of those circulars (which shall be sent to you ready folded up in envelopes) to some of your friends who you think wd like to help and to receive the things wh may be sent to your house and for which I wd send once or twice a week. I shd try as much as it lies in my power to get all we have in hands abroad where it wd be so administered as to do most good, and if you have to tender any advice I shd but be too thankful. When you see your brother in law Sir Harry Verney who used to have great [?] German sympathies I shd feel obliged if you wd tell him that I shd be most pleased if he wd call here. I shd ave called upon your sister, but I am certain they are residing at present in the country. I have recd 4 letters from different parts of Germany, Saxony, Bohemia, Silesia which I believe wd interest him and the contents of which he cd convey to you. Believe me dear Miss Nightingale with most affection and deep sympathy ever sincerely yours [good letter, FN gets details of defects]

ff186-87v, [July 21, 1866], Mme Schwabe no date thanking FN for her support and offering any assistance she could give. I cd not help feeling sorry that I had troubled you with a letter, wh obliged you to write so long an answer, tho I feel sure your name and perhaps a little advice in the way of administration will greatly assist our good and urgent work. I can fully understand you and your suffering and only wish I were free and often near you. I fancy I cd help at times a little in seeing petitioners answering letters.

Do you approve of the enclosed and may I get it printed as it is? The alterations I consider are an improvement--.The Lyells are satisfied and I have no doubt Lady Sh will. I never dreamed of you ever being troubled with any parcels, but took for granted that you had a confidential man who wh receive and give it up to me and our hon sec wd ackn the receipt of all. I

feel grieved to have appeared so inconsiderate, but you will now understand and forgive me. The young Hungarian, whose letter you sent by him to me, seemed an honest well meaning young man and I believe I have succeeded in doing for him what he required. Altho I am also at times a little overworked I shall always rejoice if you can make me useful and pray do not hesitate in doing so whenever opportunities offer.

I fully approve of your address not being published and thought at the time the pub of that letter a great indiscretion. Unless done by your special desire. If you think there are things we shd buy and send instead of forwarding money from here pray let me know.

I have recd today again painfully interesting letters from Rome and Breslau. The Austrians left on several battlefields their sick and wounded, but you will rejoice to hear that I learn from authentic sources that they are nursed and treated with the same tender care as the Prussians--my son in law is now in a hosp near Koeniggratz with several hundred wounded under his charge. He is an excellent and clever young man and if you wish me to draw attention to anything that may benefit the poor sufferers, I shall be happy to do so. If you wish to see any of the letters, they are at your disposal, but some are German and if you ask Sir Harry Verney to call here I can read them to him to communicate the contents to you. ..

ff188-89v, July 24, sending FN tickets for her friends and explaining she is waiting for an answer from Lady Shaftesbury

ff190-90v, July 26, [1866], thanking FN for a donation, explaining she expects an advertisement to appear in the papers and that she has sent money to Germany

unsigned notes, f191v, pencil

f191v

		pay	
Prussia			
made	Hamburg	36000	
		Dollars	
	Hanover		
	(city)	150000	

ff192-98, July 26, 1866, explaining how she has distributed funds and other necessities in Germany and the efforts made to achieve a union between the charitable associations

ff199-204v, [end of July 1866], explaining why she had not communicated more fully with FN and continuing with an account of her activities

ff205-10v, September 3, [1866], from Mme Schwabe thanking FN for her letter and detailing her activities for the relief of suffering in Germany and Italy

ff211-12v, September 19, 1866, thanking FN for news of Princess Louise's activities and providing a forwarding address

ff213-14v, September 27, 1866, thanking FN for her letter and enclosure and explaining what she had done about it

Add Mss 45790, correspondence with Nightingale's parents and sister, microfilm, 384 folios, 374 pages, Adam Matthew reel 26

ff1-5 Unsigned letter/draft/copy **[7:357-63]**
f1

On Saturday afternoon we weighed anchor, & left the harbour of Alexandria to run clear ~~beautiful~~ solemn Egypt we had bidden adieu when we left the Nile - but I was almost as sorry to leave ~~adieu to~~ Arabia - we had a head sea against us & made our way till Tuesday morning, when I scrambled on deck to see the snowy mountains of lovely Crete, glorious Mt Ida with her virgin head against the sky - Cythera (how dignified with the ugly name of Cerigo) we passed soon after - & in the evening we made Cape Matapan - & the Coast of Messenia, but it was too misty. In the morning we were off Clarenza (from which our D. of Clarence takes his name' & on the other side of us Zante, with that beautiful little city lying along the shore in such a position. Monte Oleno in the Peloponnesus & Mt. Parnassus behind even plain

flv

ly visible, capped with snow.
I doubt whether any one ever
first saw that graceful outline,
those lovely mountains without
feeling *my Greece, my home*,
instead of looking upon it as
a mere panorama. I think
the outlines of a country speak
so much of the character of its
inhabitants. the square corners
of the Egyptian ridges speak of
~~the love of~~ law - of order and
the love of Philosophy ~~on~~ and drawing
conclusions - the exquisite grace=
fulness of those peaks of Greece,
in which there is nothing savage;
(even when crowned with snow),
as in Switzerland - but only
variety, endless variety, speak
of the love of Beauty & Liberty,
not for the sake of a fierce &
rugged independence, but because
it is beautiful. The mountains
don't look like a ridge or a
barrier along the shore to keep
out other nations, but they run
far inland & seem to invite
you in, as long as you do not

f2

molest what they love. We steered
between Cefalonia & Ithaca,
saw the place where Penelope
came down to the sea - passed
the Lover's Leap in Leucadia
& came into smooth water
among these islands. It was a
dull day, but they are bright
& glowing even in a mist - & the
vines & cypresses looked warm.
We passed between Actium &
Paxoi - & the sun set upon Parga,
miserable Parga, in which there
is now not a Xtian left, an
exquisite little town, crowning
a ^t rock on the sea shore. All
the line of coast & of villages was
lighted up - & oh the beauty of
those Albanian hills in the evening
light. But it was too cold to stay
on deck - & it was not till the
lights of Corfu brought us up
again to see the approach into
the harbour at midnight that
we came. That is a beautiful
approach Straight for the beacon

f2v

stern Straight for the high land
I shall always think of, when I
think of the light on that rock
as we steamed merrily in, the
sea flashing with phosphorus
at every stroke we made - so
that we quite lighted up the
water. At Corfu all was done
for us that could be done to
enable us to land. Mr. B knew
the Master of the Port, & he de-
clared he cd do nothing for us &
so on we went, & saw no more
land till we made Trieste on
Saturday morning.

Now, what made the fable of
the Corbeau & the Renard trot
in my head continually, who have
certainly not read it these forty
years- I see before me the
Corbeau perched not upon a branch
but upon a chair, nay, I see
four Corbeaux all perchés upon
chairs- & (I have the gift of
prophecy as well as of memory)
to morrow I shall see five - and
Maitre Renard, La Fontaine wrote

f3

[2]

Maitre, but that was a mistake, one should write Maitresse, Maitresse Renard flatters them so well. & the poor amiable, as I must say the vain & simple Corbeaux let themselves be "plumer". And the best of it is that each of the four Corbeaux laughs aux éclats at the three others. What the fromage is the Renard knows better than I but she seems to care for it very much. People do well to teach fables to stupid children - who believe in them tout bonnement - then, in their old age, they make the application, like me-

Now the application of this fable is, my dear people, that there is a certain Mrs. Williamson, an arrant flirt or something worse, whom we had been warned against at Cairo, & whom the moment we got on board an Englishman we knew warned to make no acquaintance with. One after another every one of the men on board, married men & all, fell under her clutches - & at last this very Englishman, after

f3v

having called her to an impudent woman, fell also, *flattered in*. Of all the men on board the only one who resisted her was Benc Czik, constant only he. & I quite respected him for it. But the reason why I tell you the story is that she will claim us for acquaintance, perhaps make you act upon this claim. We avoided her constantly, steadily - & one day (I never dined downstairs) she came up upon deck during dinner, sate down on my mattress, & asked me *why* - & I told her tout bonnement - no one else on board would, & I thought it was not fair, I had not the pretension of thinking of reforming her - she cried very much, was determined to take no offence, was even civiller than before to both of us - but what did that matter? She was, if possible, more improper than before - & we held out to the last, tho' nothing cd be more painful - we wd have nothing to do with her & now, if she claims us, you know.

f4

I have now performed the office
of introduction for one lady, let me
do it for two others. Mrs. Lushington,
though helpless & an Indian, I
hope you will be kind to - & also
to the little Koch, whom I am
afraid you will not like, because
he speaks little but German, but
he is cramfull of information, did
everything for us - & we had not
even a knife to give him in return.
Pass him on to the Carters, if they
will be kind to him - & if he
is not too shy for them, to the
Nicholsons, - & be sure you give
him something pretty & useful
when he goes away for us, for
he is poor. We saw him under
the *most* difficult circumstances,
acting like a man of honour & a
Xtian, when somebody else was
doing very much the contrary - an
English boy he had under his charge.
Since Cairo we have lost sight of him.
well, my heart was
very sad as we
approached Europe - the spouseless
Adriatic mourned her lord - I thought
when we went away to Africa, that
if we shut our eyes for a winter
somehow when we opened them, we
should see something else - but here we

f4v

were fast nearing Europe - & nothing was changed excepting that it was a little worse than it was before. And everybody was congratulating us that we had been carried off to Trieste, because we should see the Emperor, who was going to have fêtes given him at Trieste, Venice & Pola. Fêtes on the ruins of Venice! If the Emperor passes in the streets, I shall go to bed if there is an illumination, I will be operated upon for ophthalmia. But no! every body seemed to think this merely a joke.

Well, we arrived at Trieste & found the whole town prepared for the illumination. but we left on Monday, & so, providentially for us, escaped the Emperor. We came with a good jog trot old Venetian merchant from Trieste to Ancona, not given to rhapsodies on feelings - & he told us that three fifths of Venice were "non rovinate, ma quattate" that the Caravvagio & the quarter of La Salute had suffered the most. that only 2 fifths of the town remained entire - that the republic had not sold one of the pictures or works of art - that the population had been obliged to take refuge in the two-fifths of the town which the balls did not reach. That he

f5

{3}

for his part, had made ample provision
& could have stood a siege 3 times as
long, but that he had 3 dogs at home,
& that *they* would not *touch* the bread
which the people eat, without murmuring-
that they the people not the dogs suffered dreadfully for want
of water - & ate the very dregs of
everything - that 10,000 people have
now left Venice - & she has ceased to be
a Portofrance - this is where the
Emperor goes to make fêtes.

Well, we went ashore at Ancona,
which we reached on Tuesday morning.
found the city broken, the palaces
burnt & broken, & a bomb thro' the
Duomo, where the people had taken
refuge during the ~~siege~~ Austrian
bombardment which lasted from
March till June - a powder magazine
blew up in consequence of a bomb, &
the city looked as if it had been shaken
by an earthquake - the place was full
of the Austrian garrison - Bologna,
Ravenna, Forti, Cesena, have also Austrian
garrisons - Oh when you come back
to this land, & I think of the convulsive
struggle there has been here for 2 years,
& of how it has ended, Austrian garrisons
in every town - {~~she~~} & I must tell you,
a lie put up on the very Duomo walls,
& a fête celebrated the very day before

f5v

because the Pope was returned to Rome!
It seems to me that people will sell
their consciences for a show - political
principles are to me just as true
an incarnation of religion as moral
principles - I would not go to see
a man who had disgraced himself
morally - I will not go to see a man
who has disgraced himself politically.
I cannot understand people abusing
the Austrian Govt & then going to stare
at the Emperor. I would not ask
the favour of Mr. Ward - a man whose
politics I dislike & despise - changing after he has been a Radical too, to
get
us on to the island, any more than of
a man whose morals I despised.
But people think that all a joke-
It always seems to me, though it sounds
such an odd thing to say, that the English,
who are supposed to be interested in
nothing but politics, to talk on no other
subject, to think of nothing else,
have no serious politics at all - that
what they care for is only party - they
dismiss the struggles of the Italians, as
if they were a work house row, they
speak of Hungary & its immense sacri-
fices as if they were a piece of
Dilettanteism, & sit at their shops
& the corners of their hearths, (well-
earned & richly deserved, I grant
you). & cease to BELIEVE in Politics.

f6

Oh if you were to see the Coast of Italy
now, O thou forsaken, tempest tossed
& not comforted - & think of what
our hopes were 2 years ago. We went
to the Duomo, thro' the steep streets of
Ancona. the small, the little awkward
heavy carts, painted fine with colours-
every thing reminding me of my beloved
Rome - but Austrians meeting us at
every step in that hated uniform.
I really could hardly look about me for
sorrow.

The position of the Duomo, S. Ciriaco,
is magnificent, overlooking the whole coast,
high on a cliff. it was all hung with
tapestry, to celebrate the Pope's return
to Rome !! The subterranean church is
curious. full of old tombs of the 6th or
7th century. There was one of the Beato
Antonio of Ancona. Potrebbe esser Santo,
said the Custode, ma ci vuol molto
denaro per esser fatto Santo - e la sua
famiglia, povera gente, li [illeg] mangiare -
ciastuno pensa ai suoi interesse - Ci vuol
due mila scudi per esser canonizzato -
cosa vuole? i preti pensano, anch 'essi'
al loro interesse - & as grave as a Judge
half empty with the povera famiglia for
not sacrificing their Mangiare to the
honour, he went rambling on. We went
down to the Lazzaret, seeing marks of
devastation everywhere, & then on board
again, before the time, for we were sad at heart

6v

Loretto high on its cliff, with its
grand Duomo, looks beautiful from the
~~shore~~ sea - & indeed the whole line of the
Apennines is magnificent from bare
ridge behind ridge - I had no idea
they were so grand. & capped with
snow, as they were now, a thing never
known before, they looked as wild
as the Alps, without their ugliness
for the outline is beautiful, & ~~some~~
lovely little cities, set out on trays
spread themselves, high on every
bosom of the mountains, to the Sun
But it was too cold to stay on deck
We saw no land till we reached
Brindisi - indeed the weather was
too bad - we reached Brindisi on
Thursday morning - the Puglia, a long
low line of marshy coast, with an
old tower here & there, against the
Saracens, is hideous - but the richest
country in the world, it *might* be -
only the Dazj are so high that no
one will cultivate - every one talked
of its powers & its short comings -
it *is* the poorest, it might be the
most prosperous - we were an
eternity before we got pratique - the authorities are so slow &
then, when we went ashore, the
miserable little town, which looked
as if it had never seen us before,
did not wish to see us then, & hoped

f7

never to see us again, its steep white streets perfectly deserted. the Captain said ~~they~~ he never brought anything there. there were no imports - ~~but~~ a few remains of ancient palaces - half plastered - oh how forlorn it looked -

We did not reach Corfou till Friday mornng - I really was glad to leave this wretched Italy. we had a Bolognese on board, who was going to try his fortune in Corfou, under the British flag. he said the University in Bologna was closed because the Govt= did not choose Unione di Gioventu - the medical classes, the best in Italy, dispersed - & the town a desert. The Venetian said that in the Piazza di S. Marco, where "non si poteva passare la sera, i caffè, la musica, tutta la gente affollava" - there were not ten persons now, not a soul went to The Caffè, the silence of the place was intense - I was glad to hear this, because ~~the~~ it is always said, if the Italians can get their music & their pleasures, they care for nothing else. The Giudecca, he said, was ruined.

We landed at Corfou as soon as we could. & drove a little way into the island - & to the Gov:ment summer palace, which is uninhabited, on account of its

f7v

unhealthiness. I would not go & call
upon Mr. Ward. The day was bad.
the Albanian hills clothed with mist
& snow. Still it is the most lovely
island in the world. but I believe
the most unhealthy. If you want a
contrast to Egypt, it is here - the
olives & orange trees, the most
beautiful companions which God
has created - they set off one
another like joy & grief - for the
olive tree is so strong in its one
greatest association that it always reminds
one & stands for the type of the greatest
sorrow the world has yet seen - while
the orange tree in all ages has been
our type of love & joy. I never see
its shining bright leaves & white
blossoms against the dark olive,
placed as Providence always has
placed them together, without
thinking of the Spirits of Good & Evil
& calling tho' Isaiah has told me not,
calling Evil good - for ~~has~~ who shall
say that the ~~suffering~~ Evil of the Mount
of olives was not good?

There is not a square inch of flat
ground in Corcyra - & there is nothing
more beautiful than the cypresses
& cactuses, which (I cannot say *slopes*

8

but) jumps down into the sea. The line of the tall cypress shooting up into the sky, out of the cliff descending into the sea, is so picturesque - It was a hideous day, but the amphitheatre made by the mountains of Corcyra & the Albanian ridge is wonderfully fine, & the little villages sunning themselves everywhere - & the sea running in to the island at every gulf it can find, & from the One Gun Battery a little rock, called the Sail of Ulysses with a tiny Greek chapel ~~p~~ upon it - & the Greek priest in his patriarchal dress putting off from the bottom of the cliff to it in a little skiff - then the rank rich vegetation, the profusion of flowers & grass & malaria* - & the pretty Corfiots, with their English cottages, all are such a contrast to Egypt - The colouring, if you can but catch a gleam of light, is like Guido's of St- Michael while the solemnity of Egypt - ~~to~~ consists in its being all one uniform colour, all one light or one dark, while here the immense variety makes it look three times as big as it really is - We walked thro' the deserted Government summer=palace garden, where the almond trees ~~& roses~~ were in blossom & every thing smelt of luxuriant malaria - &

8v

I ran down a path overgrown with
cactus & aloe ~~down~~ to the sea, what
a view that must be from that terrace
on a summer evening or a moon light
night - Now it looked wretched &
dilapidated. The funny little town
all crowded together, looked busy enough -
the Govt= house about 3 times too big
for its size - the Venetian walls
still show the lion of S. Mark. But
I could only see him gasping on the
ground, his wings cut, his muzzle on,
dying in agonies. We were hurried
on board again - the sail out of the
harbour would be magnificent on a
fine day - And this morning at
6 o'clock, when I went on deck, we
found ourselves anchored in the
beautiful gulf of Argostoli, disembar
king & re embarking. Cephállonians -
of course my British eyes were averted
with disgust from that stiff necked
generation & rebellious people -
Cefalonia has not the beautiful hills
of Corfu, but is rather wild than
grand, rather stony than rocky, it
is only sown with stones & olive trees.
A Greek campanile was ringing to
prayers - but we did not land and
steered out of harbour in an hour
Another little town, Lixuri, lies on the [Lixouri]
opposite side that beautiful harbour -
Zante - April 20. 1850. [end 7:363]

ff9-14v LETTER TO PARENTS PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN [7:367-72]

f9

Athens. April 24. 1850

Look at that date, my people,
& wonder & rejoice. It is the last
date I expected to put - what
with the blockade, our panoramic
voyage, & the Newfoundland weather,
it is politically, personally & meteo-
rologically a wrong date. Still we
are here. - at least I believe so
when we arrived at Corfu (I mean *returned* to Corfu that
was on our way back/ we were
told by two *English* authorities) one
of them the Captain of the Port/ that
the Growler was blockading Patras
a "strait blockade" were the words
used. & the rest of the fleet the
Piraeus. If it had been on our
way up, I really think we should
have given up Greece - but what
could we do ? we could not go
back - the Adriatic had seen
enough of our faces already. So
we came on - when we reached
Patras - the Growler was not block-
ading at all. (can you conceive that
possible!) but they might have
orders at any moment they said. So we

f9v

went on, thinking it very possible
that when we reached Salamis,
Mr. Wyse might advise us not to
land. Patras is lovely, that is,
the town is wretched, having been
burnt by the Turks ~~over & on~~ & re burnt,
as often as it was useful or
agreeable, in those days when its
valiant Archbishop Germanus
thought that the best religion
was (not to determine whether
clergymen's shirts should be white
black or oxford mixture but)
to give his country independence
& a constitution. In those days
& in this much despised church,
bishops had "pluck" not to drive
out poor clergymen, but to drive out
rich invaders. Patras is sacred
to the memory of Germanus. ~~& the~~ with its
little citadel, whence he drove out
the Turk. Alas for him that that
was all, and a Christian Turk
now holds their place. I did not
walk much about, but went &
took a Turkish bath, while the
Bracebridges went & called on
numerous friends. But the view
from the top of the long nasty street

f10

upon the blue, blue sea, with constant
caravans of jaunty Pallikars, Moreas
women, old shepherds, their girdles
fastened with the real old boss
& their sheep skins on, beautiful
girls, half veiled in the white
handkerchief - who came winding
down the hill from the interior, for
it was Festa. (I like the young
man's dress least of all, with his
full white fustanella, & his tight
girdle, like a wasp, & his long hair
under the red cap. it is too much
like the Theatre) They look like
dwarfs after the gigantic Egyptian
race - but the excessive cleanliness
& attention to dress & the beauty
of the women is wonderful after Egypt.
Over the blue Gulf were the Acarna=
nian mountains. The ground all
the way from Patras to the Isthmus
is brown with the little grape,
which we call currant. (We re=
embarked at 12, with half a gale
blowing out of the Gulf - & the deck
covered with Pallikars, who cannot
sit or stand like Xtians, but lie
in every possible & impossible attitude,
yet not like the Arab, who lies flat

f10v

like the snake sunning himself-
but upon one another's knees like
the puppy. We gave them carriage,
board & lodging they gave themselves
sleeping upon deck, women & children,
in the coldest, wettest night - & living
on the black olive. Then, we steered
up that Gulf of Corinth, which seems
as if unwearily it would make
itself heard in history - for as
we went up the Gulf, we went
up earlier in its story - here at
the mouth, the defense of Missolonghi,
the death of Marco Botzaris, the
rising of Patras - & behind we
could see the mountains which
hide Megaspelion, where were
hatched all these great doings-
monks were men then. here all
the interest was modern - in an
hour we touched at Nanpactos, now
Lepanto - where the triangle of forti=
fications, of which the sea is the base,
running straight up the hill, four
tiers of Venetian ~~f~~ wall one above the
others - only a stray house here & there,
not standing in streets, but dropped
in among the fortifications - as if they
were the principal & the houses
only the accessory - the very port

f11

{2}

walled in - such a little jewel of
a place - with an orange garden
at the bottom. I shd like, tho' not
given to chivalry, to defend that
place myself - then we touched
at Vostizza, the old Aequium, the
capital of the Achaian league &
at night we anchored off Corinth
the most poetical spot I ever saw.
But it is all so *little* - as you
run along that coast - & see first
the Acarnanian hills, then Missolonghi
in Dolis, then a strip of Aetolia,
in which I think is Nanpactos,
then the Locri Ozole, then Phocis,
with its Mount Parnassus, & the
bay running up to Delphi, (you
cannot see Delphi its own self)-
& lastly the Isthmus of Corinth-
you think, why every individual
man here must have been a hero
or a philosopher - there can have
been no room for the common
herd - for there is not place enough
for more than two or three in
each state - & all were famous -
it is true, I must say, that it
makes as much room for itself

f11v

as it possibly can by tumbling up into
hills & valleys continually, so
that every square inch becomes
three - indeed you can see nothing
else as far inland as you can see
but peak within peak - ridge
within ridge sounds too regular.
It was too cold & rainy to stay on
deck - but I could not go to bed
till we had anchored - which
was not till near twelve at
Thermae, now Loutraki - where I
could dimly see the Acro corinthus
by the moon light. At dawn we
were preparing to land - & there
before us lay poor lovely Corinth,
at the foot of that glorious
isolated mountain = rock, which
overlooks the whole of Greece,
crowned with its citadel, no
other hill daring to approach its
noble feet - raising, like man,
its sublime face to heaven, the
Acro corinthus - I cannot describe
to you the poetry of that spot
Sicyon lies a little beyond.
We were carted across the Isthmus
about 6 miles, the whole ground

f12

covered with thyme & little spring flowers, not of ~~with~~ washed = out water colours, like primroses or id genus omne, but with bright deep autumnal colours, a little dwarf red & black poppy, like a geranium in colour, dark blue irises, grass of Parnassus, a deep pink clover &c. All the spots of the Isthmean games, (the Hippodrome, the Temple of Neptune, &c) & the wall which once protected the Isthmus can be seen from the road. & about half way, cried out, I can see the Acropolis - it was not the Acropolis however - but Salamis, Aegina, Poros, you never forget the first sight of the Gulf of Salamis. We came down upon Calamakè, (Kenchraea in another little bay) & waited long in ~~an~~ a Station, like the Great Western for the other fine & fast sailing ship to come in. in which we embarked about 1 - & were blown down the Gulf of Salamis in a storm of wind & rain - even the Amphibious Pallikars were sick - & the Capt. said, if he had known, he would have gone inside Salamis - which

f12v

he has been obliged to do continually
this winter. All our fleet are
anchored just inside ~~Per~~ Salamis,
except the Odin, which with Baron
Gros's French frigate, is in the Piraeus.
All Athens was veiled in angry
clouds & we had hardly made
good our domiciliation, before
such a storm of rain & thunder
& lightning broke forth as we never
see in the North. Right glad were
we to be housed - tho' we cd hardly
believe ourselves in Athens.
The same night came our letters,
two for me, dear people, for which
many thanks - you may certainly
write here till the end of May,
I think - the mail comes in the
8th, 18th & 28th- we shall not go
before the 28th of May - always to
the same direction - it was a
great comfort to me to hear of you -
but are you not going to London?
you don't say a word - I am most
thankful Shore is not going to travel
we brought a good Tout here, Lord
Lothian, with his tutor, Mr. Morrish,
who have been in Rome, are in
Athens, & are going to Constantinople.
He had been, he said, to a number

f13

{3}

of places yesterday - he did not know their names - one, he thought, was the Temple of Theseus - yet it is not vicious - poor beast - but it wd be wasting its time less after a rabbit. I don't think 18 is the time for travelling.

You confound me, heresiarchs about Egypt. As for Solon, I don't think we know much about him. Grote is a clever man - he may be right or he may be wrong - tho' I think circumstantial evidence is greatly against him - but as for Plato & Pythagoras, if there is any value in evidence at all, Plato's 13 years at Heliopolis, his own assertions - the extraordinary identity of the Pythagorean doctrines & what we read (better every day) at Thebes - if there be any justice & if there be any truth, think on these things. "Perdition catch my soul &c" the same thought may come into two great minds at once. Still it is a remarkable fact that that Pythagoras & Plato were in Egypt. ~~illeg the fact — we shall have people proving illeg~~ & that the Tombs of the Kings are *not* posterior

13v

l'Egypte
to Pythagoras. ~~[illeg]~~ "Comme quoi Napoléon
n' a jamais existé. I don't see any
thing else for people to ~~prove~~ do or prove.
Don't use my soap, or throw away
my palm=fibre=tow, till I come
back - for sweet my love, thy
wish forego - I keep it all for
me - don't wear my jacket or
trousers either - those I keep
also for me. but don't give
anything to At Mai (that you like
yourselves). I have got a raal
Arabian scarf, which I think I
shall think too sober for Mama,
which will do. I crammed all
my crannies with that tow, which
is what they rub you with in the
Turkish baths.

I hope my Theban letters came safe
else you must have thot old glorious
Thebes came off short. I wrote
(I forget the count) but 9 or 10
times at least & *fat ones* - which
I mention, because desires me.

Keep my 6 churches of Thebes
for me, (against I come back), *if*
you have it - I could have written
that so much more truly, if I had

f14

had time - it vexes me to think how
much more true I might have
made it. the Amenophisian now
destroyed, of which the Colossi/ the
Pair/ where the portal wardens
ought to have been ~~one~~, the sixth & a failure -
there ought to have been the
seven churches of Thebes - & Karnac
the 7th accepted, because it
did homage to the one God,
& to all the qualities in one.
While I am about it, I must
testify that nowhere did I see
the least trace of the frightening
& childish process we attribute to
the Egyptian priests in the mysteries.
tho' I was particularly alive to it,
& (an evidence of rather more
importance than mine) the little
doctor, Koch, never was able to
find any proof of it - & is it
likely? he says, knowing what we
do of the Egyptian priesthood & their
lights. With regard to their
keeping back the knowledge of
the one God, could the x Greeks understand it, nay what man, I ask
you, understands it now? do you
suppose there is one Xtian out
of one hundred thousand, who x

x Greeks from whom so much of our knowledge of Egypt
has *hitherto* come

f14v

spiritually apprehends the one God
is He not an old gentleman, angry
& jealous, sitting on a throne? and
among the most spiritual, is not
the superstition of three Gods, instead
of one, rife in every land?

Well, I must not go off to Egypt,
being now in Greece, I suppose it
is a geographical error. Yesterday
we rested, being besides an ugly day - &
I did nothing but a Turkish bath,
which was conducted on decent
principles, very unlike Cairo. I
was granted a pinafore - & all the
women had aprons. The whole of
Athens called upon the Bs, who
sate at the receipt of custom all
day long. the Hills heading the van
& bringing up the rear. Today Mr.
B. is gone off to the fleet. With
regard to my letters, is of opinion
that (from previous experience) the
country postmasters pocket an
occasional prepostage & the letters
& that perhaps the error may be
nearer Romsey than Dongola -
of my having had so few. **[end 7:372]**

I am VERY MUCH obliged to you
for thinking of writing to the French [?],
now in heaven, whence I hope
she will write to me.

ff15-29 LETTER TO Parthe Nightingale HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN [7:376-85]

f15

~~f6~~

Athens - April 29. 1850

Well, my dearest - we have been
a week in Athens today - & we
have now left Aeolus Street - &
taken up our abode at Revd
I.E. XIΛΛ, so stands the name
upon the door - they got really
"hurt" because we would stay at
an inn keeper's, so we were
obliged to come - leaving old Trout
at Aeolus Street - they are more
kind than kindness itself.

And now I suppose you are all
agog to know what Athens is like.
And as I have been here a week,
I don't so much mind telling.
My dear, the first feeling one has
about Athens is not disappointment,
but despair (but this is strictly
between ourselves - I wdnt have
ever know it for the world)
how shall I ever feel the venera=
tion for this, one says; without which one
never can really love anything?
it looks like a cork model, like
an antiquarian's plaything. The

f15v

Acropolis is so small, so spoilt by
 the battlements & fortifications that
~~I think~~ Edinbro' is ten times grander
 And when the next morning I
 rushed out on my balcony & saw
 the Theseum lying so low behind
 a few modern houses, I could think
 of nothing for the life of me but
 a baby house.

The next feeling that comes over
 one is one can't help laughing - and
 really, out of this little place, one says came
 the people who resisted the whole
 of the East, who civilized half the [see odd]
 West? it is like the mouse
 saving the lion - like Gulliver
 among the Brobdignags - why
 you little Acropolis, ~~you~~ I could
 cover you with the palm of my
 hand.

Well, my dear, I expect you will
 murder me - but I tell the truth
 as it came to me - & now I begin
 to recover myself - I fancied all
 the way, as I came up the Gulf,
 what were Plato's feelings on

f16

returning to his beloved plane tree
 by Ilyssus, on seeing the Athens no
 Athenian ever forgot - after Helio=
 polis & the Nile - I was certain
 of what he felt, when he saw
 again the places where his first
 Master lived. I could pretty
 well guess what he thought. I
 like to follow his steps from
 Egypt to Greece - to think how
 he looked again from the Pryse
 upon that blue, blue sea,
 which excited the Athenians
 so that the thirty Tyrants
 were obliged to move the Bema.
 to imagine how he stood again by the
 Prison of Socrates, "& he saw &
 believed." Now, my dear, don't
 bite me - I have walked round
 the Theseum & the Areopagus
 & ~~by~~ thro' the Street of Tripods &
 I have seen & believed, believed
 in the power of ~~the~~ genius here, of
 Grecian inspiration which breathed

f16v

life into everything it touched - the life of its own overflowing reverence for human nature. But it is quite a different genius from that of Egypt - *in Egypt, it was God they raised & exalted* - in Greece *they deified man* - in Egypt, they did all to the glory of God, in Greece, to the glory of the country. how truly one sees here the *res publica*, as *the spirits of every thing they did*. A *res publica* cannot exist now - the spirit of it is gone - it is like trying to dress the Parisian revolutionaries of '89 in Roman togae to try & dress us in a republic. The assertion of individuality is so strong in this age, so overpowering that every one must work for his *res privata*, if he is to work at all - thro' his *res privata* he must work for his race - but here you see the *res publica*

f17

†2†

was an incarnation, a reality, a living image in the mind of every one - a person. I cannot laugh any more when I look up at the Acropolis - even after my dear & solemn Egypt. You see what enabled this little ground=plot to do so much - the glory of the country stood them really in stead of the glory of God.

As to their worship of humanity, how sublime was their apprecia= tion of what man was, of what he might become - of how every part of him might be cultivated, ought to be cultivated, not subdued. I doubt whether any nation ever understood this like the Athenians - & what were not the results-? That walk round the Acropolis shews such as are not to be imagined even elsewhere.

f17v

We began by the Theseum, which
stands upon its little brow, no
longer low when you are close to it,
covered with the Chamomile,
which smell after the rain the
mile off - so fragrant it is like
no other smell in the world
besides. This little temple,
dedicated to a hero - the hero
of Athens - the Roman Catholics
have followed nearest in the
steps of the Greeks in their
appreciation of heroism-
their divinizing of what human nature
might be brought to arrive at-
but the Greek made his tree
too luxuriant - the Roman
Catholic ran his up into a pole,
by dint of pruning & lopping.
Those Doric Columns, which
ought to be stumpy & are
the perfection of harmony, how
beautiful they are We went in

f18

the cella & pronaos are thrown
together & turned into a museum.
Several new things have been
lately found - there is a curious
transition figure between the
Egyptn & the Greek - little
sepulchral stellae - an Apollo,
beautifully easy & graceful -
divers fat legs, like real flesh-
but I could look at nothing but
3 women, one of whom had no
nose - & the other two were
mere rough marbles - but that
is really "an inspiration, not
an art" which gives in the
first rude block such an idea.
They were not Goddesses, not the
least, but they might have been
Aspasia. One of them, in form
of face, not in expression, was
very like Mrs. Herbert. But
with all the perfection of female
loveliness, such character, such
expression, such intellect. That

f18v

broad-ridged Grecian nose always
 gives such strength to the face -
 but this was not the strength
 of passion, which made the long
 enduring heroines of Missolonghi,
 nor the strength of the woman
 who looked out of her window & cried to heaven, to heaven
 my love & leave me in the storm
 it was the deep meditative calm,
 the philosophical contemplative
 strength, of which we are so
 entirely without example in
 modern woman's history, that
 I am obliged to fall back upon
 Aspasia again. Yet Philosophy
 has always been female - & those
 statues were essentially women.

From the Theseum, we walked
 between the Pnyx & the Areopagus
 along the Agora, where St. Paul
 had been talking with the people
 below - & was then carried up
 into the Areopagus (the steps of

f19

{3}

which we could not see,
 they are behind on the other
 side) we looked at the door
 of the Prison of Socrates, where he
 laid down his life of himself-
 & round the back of the Acropolis,
 Aegina opening upon us, at every step
 to the Dionysiac Theatre, ~~just above~~ at the top of
 which is the Temple of Bacchus -
 & above it two columns, the
 remains of two Chorajic monuments,
 from which ran the Street of
 Tripods, ~~which~~ the Street of
 the dedications (by the successful
 competitors in the dramatic contests)
 of their prizes to the mystic Bacchus. one
 of these is the Chorajic Monument
 of Lysicrates, (what we call the
 Lantern of Demosthenes). It is
 the loveliest little thing - the
 flowery calix at the top, which
 once supported the successful
 tripod is still there in part -
 & the inscription tells that

f19v

the subject of this contest was
 a dithyramb, for it mentions who
 played the flute when Lysicrates
 led the chorus. One of the columns
 over the Temple of Bacchus was
 the dedication of the successful
 Chorajus at the Helen of Euripides
 for, though the poet's name is
 gone, those of the actors remain.
 That Street of Tripods seems to
 reveal the whole secret of Greek
 inspiration; ~~of~~ why has no genius,
 no art, ever approached the
 Grecian? Why is Shakespeare
 only an artist, (though the first)
 and Æschylus inspired? Why
 is Greek art not art, but inspi=
 ration? I have always felt,
 (though it is ~~o~~ treason in an English
 man to say so)- when I have
 opened Shakspeare, this is *only* art,
 I shall never open this book except

f20

at a leisure moment, never open
 it to fit me for the struggles which
 convulse our lives, to teach me
 the way of the Ideal, that is, of
 the Perfect, whether of Divine Perfection,
 or its image & impression, human
 perfection. There are many inferior
 artists, far, far inferior artists to
 Shakspeare, who have had a
 higher ideal, especially in regard
 to women, than his. With the
 exception of his Brutus' wife (&
 perhaps Isabella), I don't know
 one of his women who lives for
 anything but her personal hopes
 & fears. But Æschylus - who
 will degrade him? any more than one wd Isaiah by calling him
 an artist - whose Prometheus
 is so clearly a fore shadowing,
 an anticipation of Christ -
greater than the sufferings our

f20v

Son of God found necessary to
 achieve his work for men did
 the poet give his Son of God
 for what is the crucifixion of a
 few hours compared with the
 chaining of thirty thousand years?—
 lesser than our Master, how far
 less, in his appreciation of what
 were the real goods for man.
 And Sophocles' Antigone, what
 ideal of woman is there equal
 to her? ~~Ah! those were th~~
 Among the Greeks, poets were
 prophets, & that was the place nation
 for poetry. As Pythagoras popu=
 larized Egyptian philosophy,
 so Æschylus popularized Pythagoras,
 or if you like it, Py. philosophized
 Egyptn mysticism, & Aeschylus
 popularized Pythagorean philosophy.
 But why was Shakspeare only
 an artist, Æschylus a prophet?
 The Street of Tripods tells one the

f21

†4†

reason why. For the same
 reason that Raphael's
 Virgin is a Goddess & Sir Joshua's
 only a woman. Because the
 Greeks considered dramatic poetry,
 as every other faculty of man, a
 sacred thing, considered the develop=
 ment of his every power a matter
 to be placed under the protection
 of the res publica, to be made a
 dedication to the Gods, while we
 say *This* faculty shall be sacred,
that shall be utilitarian, *that*
 shall be only an amusement. The
 Greeks knew no such classification.
 Dramatic power was a human, therefore sacred
 power, had its ideal like all others was to be
 cultivated up to that ideal. It is
 wonderful, it is inconceivable to
 a modern European, thinking
 to what we have degraded the

f21v

dramatic & especially the lyric art,
to a thing to be exercised by the
most sensual of our race, pros=
cribed by the most spiritual,
considered by all as an amusement
inferior to looking at a fine statue,
the living breathing art inferior
to the lifeless speechless one,
to stand in the Street of Tripods
& see the tribe offering its poet to
the state, & its chorajus to enable
that poet to give his thoughts form,
the poet in the great Hypaethral
Theatre, the Acropolis before him
& the sea behind, speaking to the
Gods & ~~the~~ men - once, & but once,
(the representation was never
repeated till more degenerate
days). & the chorajus reverently
offering his success to the Gods.
~~How~~ The very word "chorus", which

f22

meant originally the market place,
the Agora, answers the question
perhaps better still - reminds one
of the time, when the whole
population was the chorus, meeting
in the market place to offer up
thanksgiving to their God, in the
form of a hymn to be sung by the whole nation with
a solemn dance. among the Dorians
where the God was Apollo, his
lyre the instrument, lyric poetry
was the worship. among the
Athenians, where Dionysos was
the God, dramatic poetry by degrees
grew out of the dithyramb, (which
was first danced round the blazing altar)
& a contest between Æschylus
& Sophocles solemnized the conse=
cration of the bones of Theseus
at his canonization in the Theseum.
How often I have thought that
the violent repression of man's

f22v

tendency to act, has produced half the coquetry, hypocrisy, intriguing, deceitfulness, & every= day acting we see *everyday*, especially in the female. If Madame de Chevreuse & that Miss Smith (of the Ferrers case) had but been allowed to act. I don't mean act before an audience - but let every body learn to act as they learn to write - You see in children what an irresistible & therefore natural propensity it is. You see in Greece how it may be cultivated & consecrated. Whatever was natural was to them a means of worship, a subject for the Ideal. But to us the idea of consecrating dramatic power, of putting it as well as our knives & forks under the protection of the state seems inconceivable. Yet out of this republican idea grew an Æschylus - as, out of the theocratical idea in Judea, grew an Isaiah.

f23

The Greek religion seems to me to have been the divi= nification of the faculties of man - as the Egyptian was the worship of the attributes of God - I confess the latter has the greater charm for me but after all, you arrive at the same point, tho' you begin at different ends. The Greek personified his Ideal of a faculty & called it a God - the worship of perfect goodness, which is all that God desires, may be secured both ways.

I do not say a word about matters here. By the *English* boat, which goes next week, I shall have a remark to make upon the dress of Mr. O'Brian, the Times correspondent, who is now here. In Egypt, the priests were clothed, or were meant to be clothed, in righteousness - & wore a frontlet of truth on their foreheads. In consequence of the unusual

f23v

severity of the spring here, this garment is found too transparent by M. Gros & Mr. O'Brian at the Hotel d' Orient here. Well, they will be hot enough at some future time.

I have not been up to the Acropolis yet. is so coquette about it. She will not show it without a fine day - & we have not had one yet. All the groves of Academe are as black as a cinder - it will take years to grow them again. On the 29th Jan, the day after ~~of~~ the great storm, & a fortnight after Mr. Wyse went on board the Queen, he told me he was walking on Salamis & a poor Greek he knew said to him, God Almighty has become an Englishman - what true wit - he just said what every one thinks (& has thought since the time the Jews thought him a Jew). Certainly it never came into any Englishman's head to think God Almighty could be French as well as British - much

f24

less Hungarian. I don't think
myself He can be an Austrian.
I was sitting by Mr. Wyse at
dinner on board the Howe
when the submission of the
Greek government was brought
to him on the 27th

We spent that day on board
the fleet - which looks in the
bay of Salamis like a whale
in a rivulet. 3 great 3=deckers,
besides frigates four & steamers many,
with their poor little dirty
prizes. I was irresistibly
reminded in the contemplation of them of myself catching
fleas. We had a grand laugh
gainst Capt. Hall of the Dragon,
for coming in with a tail of
disreputable looking craft, mud-
dredges from Nauplia. I could
see no crew on board any of
the prizes but an angry dog.
Well, they are all at liberty now.
~~That war~~ We had 7000 men, our
population at Salamis. each

f24v

3 decker has 1000 inhabitants
& we have caused a famine in
the land I hate an English man
of war - the three grand luxuries
of life, solitude, space & water
are so unattainable there - what
wd be said of us, if we stowed
1000 persons in a work house,
as they are stowed on board a
man of war. The tree of freedom
& the British oak &c never excited
my enthusiasm - Still I must
say it is in the finest exemplification
of the bump of Order that can be [lump?]
seen. Sir James Stirling (H.M.S.
Howe) took us out sailing in the
bay - shewed us where the
Corinthians "kept the strait in
the brave days of old" Where
the Athenians formed, so as to
protect their families, all on
Salamis - & where the Persians
before & behind hemmed them in
Psyttaleia, the little island where
the Persian "Immortals", the "noble
guard" of Xerxes were posted to

f25

†6†

intercept & destroy all the fugitive Greeks,
& were themselves destroyed
by Aristides, is now Lypso. We
passed close to it in our sail
from the Peiraeus to Salamis. And
~~The~~ same breeze was just blowing off
the land ~~of Salamis~~, which put
~~destroyed~~ in confusion the Persian fleet -
when the Greeks, singing their
mystic chorus, in those days
when Aeschylus was in the ranks,
(we had his birth place, Eleusis,
before our eyes) when everybody
fought "for the ashes of their
fathers: the temples of their
Gods" - rushed on. Sir J. Stirling landed
us on Salamis & walked us up
to the promontory of Ampelakia,
where the old walls, the founda=
tions of the Temple, the emplace=
ment of the old city of Salamis
are plainly traceable. It was coverd
with the most lovely little
flowers - & on either side the blue sea

f25v

At Kolouri, the modern town, it was proclaimed a few days since by public crier that the people must keep their children within doors, as they would be kidnapped by the English.

The Acropolis, I think, looks best from the Peiraeus, where the Parthenon stands out alone, & the battlements disappear.

We were two hours tacking in the man of war's boat to get back from Salamis to the main land opposite - & were obliged at last to take to our oars - land - & go ~~get back~~ in the dark across that desolate plain which lies between it & the Piraeus.

I have been a good deal at Mrs. Hill's school, which is perfect. We have not yet seen anything else, not even the Academy of Plato, but the Temple of Jupiter Olympius.

f26

But I have been introduced
to the hero of Missolonghi, Mavro=
cordato & his wife, now living
in Athens upon literally nothing,
or rather upon the hope of the
cause ultimately prospering for
which he has sacrificed all.

One advantage of this weather
is that all the springs are full -
even Callihrae has been quite
a fountain & the Ilipus now
really "rolls" its waves ~~along~~ round the
foot of Jupiter's platform -
those Corinthian columns, battered
& broken, are very beautiful -
the Kephissus too, as we drove
down to Peiraeus on Saturday,
was full. & I cannot describe
to you the beauty of the luxuriant
tufts of infant vines, spurge &
crimson poppy, growing up
against the walls - not like a
cornfield, as our poppies grow,
but in fairy groves & underwood.

The Wyse came back last night
& all here, but I went to the

f26v

housewarming. tomorrow we dine
there.

The inside of our little church
here is very pretty, illuminated
with 's texts. (this is Greek
Passion week, by the bye) As
we went in on Sunday, we met
the unfortunate man, who more
ridiculous even than our fate, had
come over from India to be
married - his lady had come
to Corfou to meet him - & he
was carried on to Trieste like
us, without being able even
to call out to her - don't wait
for me at the altar. After this,
we cannot talk of Greek vexations.

~~I must draw up~~ after our
calling at the Porta del Paradiso,
being refused admittance, then
at the Purgatorio - scratching modestly
at the gate - venne not an Angelo but a Guardiano no non si entra qui
but it's no such great favour to
get in here - no, no one gets in
here - ma cosa bisogna andare bisogna

f27

†7†

a much worse & much hotter
place than the Corda mia, into
our berths - andara giù giù giù fino
a Trieste, più malincomici,
più sconsolatì, più mesti di prima,
we did go giù giù giù for ten days
more at sea - by that larga
strada, the Adriatic.

Do you know I am getting to feel
the very diminutiveness of Athens,
makes her more piquante &
more touching? it is like the
Infant Hercules strangling the
serpents - like Proserpine in
the Infernal Regions - ~~the~~ &
when you think of her philosophy,
like the boy Christ among
the Doctors.

f27v

andare giù, giù, giù, fino
a Trieste e più malincomici,
giù sconsolatì, giù mesti di prima
we did go giù, giù, giù, fino into

f28

I wish I could express what
I feel for these dear people here.
I never saw before any in the
Protestant church who had the
real Missionary in them, or
if they were self-devoted, it
was to some fid=fad or other,
which they called "Scriptural
principles", or "the Church", or
"the Truth" or some such nonsense,
but of God & their fellow=
creatures was not at all the
question; at Alexandria & Cairo,
among the Sisters of Charity
there I saw real martyrs for
their *fellow creatures'* sake -
women waiting for death in
order to soothe the sufferings of
the poor Arabs; & without any
of the pomp of martyrdom.
I hate martyrs for opinion's
sake at least I respect them,
but I do not love them. I
always felt even with my dear
Abbess of Minsk much more, with the Free Kirk, how inferior

f28v

a kind of martyrdom it was -
a very secondary affair to the
martyrdom for one's fellow
creatures. Now here
in this house is the true
Missionary spirit. Of course
I perceive that this is a
higher life than that, where
the same spirit is put under
the safe guard of total obedience,
chastity & poverty. I only say
that the other life is the
easier one, fitted for infancy,
& a very good preparation,
& protection for the by far
larger portion of the human
race who are infants, unfitted to act
for themselves & incapable of
planning for themselves. There
is not one woman in a
hundred years, who would have
the courage & discretion to lead
the life these people are doing
& therefore something safer &

f29

lower ought to be provided for
the thousands of useless and
miserable lives I see in En=
gland - where I imagine the
spirit of individuality has
reached a heighth quite un=
known in any other country
or age - & the Missionary spirit,
driven out, has sought refuge
in two very opposite bodies -
the Roman Catholics & the
Americans.

The people in the house here
are Mr. & Mrs. Hill, Mary
Baldwin, a Virginian, & a
single woman - & Elizabet
Kontaxaki, a Cretan & also
a single woman. Elizabet
is very clever & somewhat
wicked. She is the best
company - but Mary Baldwin
the best woman. As for
Mrs. Hill, I never saw any
body the least like her. She

f29v

is the ideal of woman. I see in
her the highest life which
I believe can be led, on earth
I will not say, for I believe
she does God's will as it
is in heaven - & therefore I
suppose her, when I see her
washing up the tea things,
or giving her Bible lesson in
the school, or teaching the
Maids of Honor, to be already
in heaven. And she is so like
a child. What world they come
from, I don't know. I never
saw any thing like them here
before - for in my eyes their
greatest glory is that they have
not converted, in 20 years, one
single soul. Their own words,
when giving to a girl a copy of Archbp.
Plato's Catechism, were, "that
she might reverence the more
the doctrines of her own Church
in which we most earnestly
desired her to remain." That is
what I call a Missionary - the rest
are only Theologians. **[end 7:385]**

ff30-35v LETTER TO PARENTS, HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN DATED MAY 1 {?}
[7:386-90]

f30 May Day - Athens

7

Well, my people, my tongue is untied now, because I am writing by the English boat. All letters thro' Trieste are opened. But I have but few moments to write. All I can tell you is that the friends of Broadlands need never have been less uneasy for his reputation - all parties here give him raison the ~~zero~~ "Zero" tort - & even the sufferers are almost all of them for him. It is no use recapitulating an affair, which every body is sick to death of here - but I can tell you this, that the Zero's position will be a very disagreeable one when our squadron is gone. For all the Greeks thought that we should upset their king for them - they did not know exactly how - but the English had put him there, they said - & the English ought to

f30v

take him away again. that was
the reason we were so welcome.
now they will find they must
do something for themselves. The
Queen is a jockey, a tomboy, as
they call her - the King is a
corrupt idiot - the Chambers
have behaved wisely, in as far
as they would not, at the 11th hour,
consider a question which had
never been laid before them ~~before~~.
But imagine what they have done
now. Kleomenes, (ask Ld Palmerston
who he is - he knows him)
a few years since he ~~murde~~
enticed out & murdered a young
lawyer behind the Greek burial
ground. I cannot tell you all
the particulars - they are too disgust=
ing - his accessory (accessory only
before the fact) was hung - Kleo-
menes was clearly proved guilty
at the trial - but escaped. By
the influence of Coletti with the
King, he ~~was brought back~~ returned to Athens but

f31

at first only skulked about the city by night - then he had an audience of the King of 3/4 of an hour- no one believed it - but it was true - then he was made Demarch - & now this man whom no Greek will speak to, a murderer, has been made deputy by the King, who went down himself to canvass for him - & tho' he had not 3 votes, & the other candidate had them all, his election was declared invalid, & Kleomenes was named. And this murderer is received at the palace - & made a favourite of. But these are things which it is no use telling in England because they won't be believed - how can they? Well, this man, with a packed minority, has voted an address to the King, thanking him for his obstinacy in the English affair- & tho' he had not a majority, the ~~thing we~~ deputation

f31v

was unconstitutionally ~~illeg~~ made - &
unconstitutionally received by the
King yesterday.

As to O Brian, the Times corres
pondent at Constantinople, who
is come over here for the sake
of sending true & accurate accounts
home of this affair, no one believes
one word he says ~~here~~ here, ~~He knows~~
~~nothing, except~~ *nobody*, excepting
that most gullible of all nations, the
English. X Neither he nor M. Gros
wd believe that our squadron
had orders from England to put
on the embargo - on Saturday
he came in to our consul's office,
after the consul had received
official intimation from the fleet
of the blockade having been
renewed, & said Ah! I always
thot. so, I knew Parker had no
authority for coercive measures
He has been detected in such
barefaced lies - that about
Pacífico's house - that about the
amount of the revenue of Greece

f32

that the English here think the
"Times reputation must be ruined
by it" - Ah! poor people - il en a fait
(et imprimé) bien d'autres-

Curious enough, the two correct
accounts which have appeared
of this affair are the Daily News,
& the Mornng Post - so people say
here.

The real reason of Ld Palmerston's
choosing to settle this affair now
is supposed to be that we could
not stay in the Dardanelles, &
yet we could not send the fleet
~~away~~ altogether out of the way,
while Russia & Turkey were in
that state. And another thing
which is not generally known,
but which Ld. P. knows well
enough, X is that there is a prophecy,
set on foot by a certain prophet
Agathaggelos, who lived about
100 years ago, that in 1850 there
would be a great insurrection
against the Turks. Russia has
done all she could to foster this

f32v

superstition in Greece - & it is very likely to fulfil itself - this was another reason for having our fleet here.

If you read any other paper than the Times, whose lies are perfectly inconceivable, uncredited even by Greeks. (by the way, some of those articles are set down here to Reeve's account) you will know so much of the affair that I need not trouble myself. I will only just say that Gros is going overboard. He drew up a "project" which Mr. Wyse could not possibly accede to, for the honour of England he would

~~drawn up by Wyse~~

not accede to the contre=project, drawn up by Wyse ~~project~~ & now the "Solon" French steamer is come in, after Mr. Wyse has let off the Greek govt £ 1500 of the claims demanded in this *his* ~~protocol~~ *project*, giving in the French ~~adhesion to this original protocol~~ (in a protocol of Ld P. & the French ambassador in London) to terms exactly similar to Mr. Wyse's first. The truth of it was that Gros's project was made by him on purpose to be rejected - & he is suspected of more double dealing than this.

f33

The Greek government the moment it had sent in its submission, was in such a hurry, it actually sent down an order on the Treasury for the 330,000 drachmas to Mr. Wyse, who had only demanded the 180,000 in money. (& security for the other 150,000, in case Pacifico substantiated his claim on the Portuguese govt) So ends this mighty matter - why could not they do it before?

I have been to see Pacifico's house - the Times representation of it as a hovel, is an incredible lie uttered by a man who had seen it Mr. Bracebridge has been to see Pacifico on board the Caledonia, & his idea of him is very different from the impression we all had before. Capt. Carter of the Caledonia is very much interested in him.

Well, the greatest is behind. The English claims are settled, but the Greek claims on their king, a much heavier bill, are yet to be settled.

f33v

Mr. Wyse here is much liked -
& but his firmness about this matter
was unexpected. He says however
that he knew Otto must give in
at last - he had nothing else to do -
for France cannot help him. Social
ism is spreading so fast, she may
want help herself from England -
Germany cannot help him. He
may be expecting a republican
representative from Berlin any day
Russia cannot help him - she
is too much alarmed herself
at the spirit spreading among
her army - that message of hers
was only a rhodomontade.

He is perfectly horrified & dis=
gusted at the conduct of the
diplomacy here, which, he says,
passes belief.

Up to this time, the Greeks
said of him, England has sent
us a Professor, ~~but~~ not a diplomat

We dined last night at Mr.
Wyse's with the hero Gros.

f34

I don't think I need say
another word about Sir Henry
Ward - the article in the Examiner
was quite enough - & was literally
accurate. You have no idea
what the island of Ceffalonia has
suffered, because Sir Henry Ward
was in the heroics - & happening
unfortunately to have been reading
Amadis de Gaule, could not send
a constable like an ordinary
mortal to take up a villain Naco)
but must arrive with an army
half an hour too late. However,
you must be sick of the subject,
& so must the poor Cefalonians be,
I assure you.

At the same time, the recall
of the two exiled Representatives
is very honourable to the awaking
of Sir Henry, who was by that
time recovering from his war like
dreams. But what wd you say of Mr.
---- the magistrate of Stanfield Hall, if
instead of taking up Rush, he had laid
Norfolk under martial law, & flogged the
village of Stanfield?

f34v

As for our friend zero here,
what shall I say? I will tell
you a story about him - but
don't believe it - I ask you not
to believe what I say because
it can't be true. The nephew
of Marco Botzaris came here
this spring, after having had
his education at Lepanto, to
be examined & received into
the Military academy here -
he passed his Examination
brilliantly, carried off everything,
was at the head of everything -
and - was rejected - because,
said the king, the Botzaris did
not work for - *me*. The boy, an
acquaintance of our host here,
is now following the plough at
Missolonghi - one of the finest lads you
ever saw.

You cannot think what a nice
old man is Genl Church - quite

f35

the preux chevalier of Bayard's days
sans peur & sans reproche - tho'
not inclined to the melting mood,
I cd find it in my heart to be
in love with that good old warrior.
He is now living here upon nothing,
having been removed by the king
from the superintendence of the
Army. But I must stop my
politics and come back to my
first love.

We are going today to Karà
it being the Greek Good Friday,
to give the Easter presents to
the ladies of the village. But
I don't savour the Greek religion -
the priests are so ignorant, so
indifferent, so careless of their
people - they certainly are free
from the fureur of proselytism,
for they never do anything. There

f35v

is none of the magic of self=
devotion of the Roman Catholic
church here.
x The Greek does not seem
un frugal or inactive - but all
the zeal & flower of Greek industry was
frightened away with the Sciots,
who are called the Jews of
Greece. They wanted to settle
at the Peiraeus, if they were
allowed ground - & when Greek
independence was proclaimed,
all the rich Greeks of Vienna,
Constantinople &c came here -
but that did not suit the
Bavarian views. To keep Greece
poor & dependent was their
ideal - & all the wealth &
industry of these new settlers
was driven away by vexations
& open prohibitions. In one year,
6000 left Greece. The only reason
why she has not driven away the
author of all this is that they do not
know whom else to get, & they do so
dread another year of anarchy such
as preceded him. X [end 7:390]

ff36-44v LETTER TO PARENTS HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN DATED APRIL 2

f36

Easter Monday 2 April [No Greek Easter [5 May]

[7:391-96]

I have been to the service of
the Greek Easter - on Good
Friday night to see the people
kiss the bier covered with flowers in which our Saviour
is supposed to be laid - & to the
midnight service of the Resurrection
on the night of Saturday at which
the king & queen always are. The
first was in the Russian church
& the music was beautiful - a
number of prayers were sung - then
two ~~priests~~ bishops carried round
outside the church (one was Aecono-
mus, a great rascal) the cover
of the coffin - on which was a
figure of our Saviour - then it was
replaced - re covered with flowers.
the Gospel read - & the people all
kissed the bier - & each took away
a rose. The Saturday service
was in the little cathedral - every
one carried a lighted candle - ~~the~~
a great deal of chanting thro' their
noses - a great many bishops -
all the riff raff - including the

f36v

king & queen - but nobody respectable,
because they did not choose to
associate with such rabble, mean=
ing the court. As to the services,
people did not seem to feel
anything at all. I am sure I
didn't. The Greek church seems
to me to have fallen between two
stools. The Roman Cath church
has played a ~~dan~~ great stake,
& ventured her all upon exciting
feeling - she has said, I will
not have services which my
people must follow, word for
word, for if a child knows that
this time next week it will
have to beg pardon of its father,
& promise him an entire change
of conduct & a "new life", it is
a premium upon saying words
without meaning them - for if
once a week it is to say such
words, & knows it is to say them beforehand, how can we suppose that
it will make an entire change
immediately?

f37

Then, in her strong faith that she was to embrace the whole world, she said I will have my services in a language which has spread over the whole world, but which those only who perform the service (& those who choose) understand - & they shall be a kind of acting over again of the life & death of the Great Master. But the people shall not be required to follow them word for word - how can a multitude of people be supposed to feel exactly the same thing at the same hour every day. & if they don't, it is *teaching* them to say what they don't feel. But the service shall be as ~~if~~ it were a series of pictures suggesting rather than dictating thoughts - & each, if he can read, may have his own little book, with the title of what is going on written at the head of each little prayer. So shall we insure unity with variety - unity of

f37v

communion with variety of feeling
And accordingly you never see a
Roman Cath. who cannot tell
by merely looking towards the
altar, at what part of the
service the priest is.

The Protestant church has said
No, we will not have the
priest muttering words for us
in a language we can't understand,
as if he was to come between
us & God - we will follow
every word he says - never mind
whether we can't feel what
he says - at least we will
know what he says - he is here
to teach us - not to be engrossing
God's attention upon himself.
Now, lilt up, old fellow - & [lift?]
let us hear every word - & say
as many as we can. And
don't give us any pictures -
even in words - or play any
of those dangerous games - we
will feel, if we can, for our
own selves - if we can't, you
shan't make us - we will think

f38

Now the Greek church, it
seems to me, has done neither
the one nor the other - it
sings on, it is true, in a language no one
understands, ancient Sclavonic
in one church, ~~and~~ ancient Greek
in the other, like the R.C
church - but unlike her there is no
series of pictures (nothing to suggest
thoughts, rather than to insist
upon them) the people don't
know what they are to think
nor to feel - & accordingly feel
nothing - neither are there sermons
as in the Prot. church to teach them. The
insides of the churches are
bare & unsuggestive to a degree -
a few wretched pictures on
the doors of the choir, behind
which the priests are - the
readers dressed like livery footmen,
the priests in vulgar gold crosses.
I never went to a church
before & felt nothing but
curiosity. As for the king &

f38v

queen being there, toggled out in
full Greek costume - the king
screwing his eyes tight shut, &
twirling his moustaches, the Queen
looking cross & ennuyée to the last
degree - one of them a Jesuit,
the other with no religion at all.
it is a farce. But as to their
not feeling anything, I cd not
blame them, for there was
nothing to feel. The R.C church
has ventured everything to give
feeling - the Prot. ch. to give
knowledge - the Gr. ch. gives
neither that I can see - but
it requires neither knowledge
nor feeling to abuse those who
differ from ourselves - & to
hear the same abuse of Roman
Caths from Greeks which we
so liberally bestow, of their
confession, of their superstitions,
is a commedia that povera
umanità might well have
spared herself

f39

Yesterday, Easter Tuesday,
we went to the Feast of *Saint*
Theseus - that is a sight I
shall never forget. The whole
population in costume turned
out upon the three hills
of the Nymphs, the Pnyx &
the Thesium round those
steps from which in old days
they had been so often excited
to great things. They were
singing the Klepht songs, some=
times improvising them - we
made an old blind Homer
sing us the song of Botzaris
upon his wooden lyre with
3 strings. Two or three
circles of men were dancing
the Epirot dance - it is on
an entirely different principle
from our dancing - (but this
is exclusively for Mama) all
European dancing that I have
ever seen has always seemed
to me to rest exclusively upon

f39v

the connexion between man &
woman - & is to me, even
when properly conducted, sove=
reignly disagreeable - it rests
upon the principle of sexes & their
union & is only to give them
opportunities of intercourse which
in civilized society, they cannot
otherwise have - when im-
properly conducted, the same
principle amounts to intoxica=
tion. but whether proper
or improper, the idea is the
same in both cases. In Greece,
man & woman never dance
together. the men dance alone
& the women do not dance in
public at all that I see.
at all events, it is no more
a principle that a man &
a woman shd always dance together,
as with us, than that a man
& a woman shd always read together or
always go to church together.

f40

The Coryphans, with a slow
solemn movement, leading a
long Cornu ammonis of men linked
together hand by hand, comes
forward, and executes divers
steps, the rest following
& singing Klepht songs, but [but it?]
is more like a solemn
invocation to the Goddess of
Liberty than like an amuse=
ment. I never had the least
idea before of David's dancing
before the Ark - it is clearly a
relic of the ancient times - &
to compare it to our effréné
waltzing is to compare the
choruses of Aeschylus with the
love songs of V. Hugo - they are
not even of the same genus -
the one might precede a
religious festival - the other is
a degrading amusement - which
leads to nothing that I can see.

f40v

While they were in the very
 act of singing their Klepht songs,
 in the very presence of the
 hero who united all the tribes
 of Attica into one, & gave thereby
 to the city her plural name Αθηναί,
 before the steps of Theseus -
 & solemnizing his own Panathenaic
 procession, that insolent
 woman, the queen, rode up,
 I could have murdered her
 for coming at such a moment,
 the king following like an idiot.
 Not a cry was raised - hardly
 a hat touched - but every
 body made way, like gentlemen
 & she rode thro' in the most
 dreary silence. I wish she
 could have seen our queen - &
 known how a constitutional
 sovereign can be loved. X

We were looked at - & the
 people said, as we went by, Do
 you know I believe those are Parker=
 izi! (Parker's people) but with no
 signs of dislike. They are getting to call the

f41

{3}

English "Parkers."

On Good Friday we rode to
 Karà - it is a lovely spot
 looking on the Aegean, & with
 such a view of the Acropolis -
 on a fine day it must be
 beautiful - we went into all
 the cottages, hovels I must
 unwillingly call them, with
 more truth than the Times
 does Pacifico's house - they
 are much like the Ross shire
 cabin, except that they do not
 enclose educated beings - the
 presents met with great appro=
 bation - one woman said May
 you live as long as the mountains.
 All the others were Albanians &
 do not speak Greek. Mr. B.
 & I rode home by a gorge in
 Mt Hymetus, where is a monastery
 (suppressed by the Bavarians)
 called Carreos. The most romantic
 spot I ever saw is prosaic com=
 pared with this. Deep in its

f41v

mountain cleft, sheltered with
Pinus Maritima - in its deserted
court an olive, which looked
as old as the world, & a fig tree,
& at every wind of the mountain
road which zig zags down the
hill from it, fresh views of
the Acropolis, & Pentelicus - there
even Otto's vulgar palace looks
well but the Acropolis is like
what one sees in a Turner or a
dream - I believe the especial
piquancy of the Acropolis is
that one's eye mounts the
steep rock & one expects to
find at the top an Ehrenbreitstein
or a Heidelberg - & instead, one
sees the most fairy like, the
most graceful, the most airy
delicate sprite of a structure
at the top of that rugged rock
It is the Ariel of architecture.
It is like the "baseless fabric
of a vision" mounted all of a
sudden upon a base & a very
solid one. Here you lose the
fortifications & see only the rock
& its fairy crown - & the bay of hills
behind, encircling it with loving
arms - at one turn of the road - no other
house is seen.

f42

The king & queen have had the abominable taste to refuse to receive Adml Parker - c'est pis qu'un crime, c'est une faute. & to forbid all intercourse with English to their court - nous nous en passerons bien. What is more, he has given the Grand Cross, the cross of the Redeemer, the only order he has to give, to Thouvenel & (to mask the reason why), to Persiany also, who is not of rank to wear it. But we shall soon have Parker back - the king seems bent on it. ~~his own destruction~~ - they call him here (d'après Macaulay) *little James*, or Jemmy, the Third being an exact copy (~~in miniature~~) reduced of that worthy James II. But the best is to come - M. Panas, whose name you will find, ~~in~~ made honourable mention of, in

f42v

the blue book of the Greek affair, scents robbers, who do not exist, in an island of the Echinades, which as you know, belongs to the Ionian isles, & with a parcel of liberated convicts, goes over to take up the invented robbers - burns a village & destroys property to the amount of a million & a half of drachmas. It is said that such an inroad into another power is unknown in modern annals. The only explanation satisfactory is that the king is so attached to Parker, that, not having been allowed to receive him (by Bavaria), he has invented this method of getting him back.

I am sorry I cannot confirm our opinion of Pacifico. The old Jew offered Mr. Bracebridge

f43

5000 drachmas to distribute among the proprietors of vessels who had suffered under the late blockade - then reduced it to £90, & finally went away to Malta, & we were left without any. X

The Greeks are very much disappointed that Lord P. has not urged the question of the Greek loan, as they were in great hopes that would have done them some good in the business they have to settle with the king.

It is no use telling English people of the way in which elections are forced here. It is a remarkable fact that when Boudouri's ballot box, who had the people with him to a man, was examined, there was not a vote in it. But English people will say, these things cannot be. X

f43v

We dined with Adml Parker at Mr. Wyse's before the fleet sailed. He says that the bombardment of Messina has not been in the least exaggerated - that the Sicilians struck their flag at night, (as they cd not bear to do it by day) & that the next mornng the Neapolitans went on firing for 8 hours - after the Sicilians had surrendered.

As to the destruction in Sicily, he does not blame the Neapoli=tans - because he says, it is the regular thing, if a shot is fired, that village is to be burnt - this is a Q.E.D.

The Temple Bowdwins are gone leaving here a not very favourable impression - i.e. at the Hills.

Pray thank Mr. Parker for his letter to Mr. Wyse - he is charming

f44

You will be happy to hear that King Otho has presented Mr. O'Brien, the Times correspondent, with the gold cross of the order of the Sauveur - I hope this honour will appear in the columns of the Times - "for services received", the diploma bore. Genl Church immediately said he should send back his. When the last article in the Times appeared, (the "Chronos" as we call him here) - an Irish friend of ours ran down to OBrien's, who was already in bed, and roared out, Eh! Sir Patrick OBrien, my dear, get up, & run to the market to buy your cross, or you'll never git it, my darlin'. The only real joy however that was felt on the occasion was, I believe, by me. I am delighted he has got it. I wish the English could read the Elpis.

f44v

the Ephemeris tou Laou, which are the respectable papers here & the ultra Palmerstonian view they take of the question. The Ephemeris out = palmerstons Palmerston. However I have nothing to tell you of affairs here - for England is the place for news. i.e if you read the Times, like a witch's prayer, backwards. **[end 7:396]**

ff45-55v LETTER TO PARENTS HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN [7:405-12]

f45

Athens. May 20. 1850

10

My dearest I have had all your
letters - (you are very good child)
directed to Athens - also one from
Aunt Mai - but none from Louisa.
I only hope that Bourne will set
you both quite up, & that you are
now in London - & that Mama
feels her bilious attack no more.
I was so sorry to hear of that -
But I hope that tomorrow,
I shall have better news I
am sorry my letters are too full
of phantasies, too little of realities.
Now I will try to be more personal -
& begin by introducing you to
Elizabet Kontaxaki of Crete, my
friend here - tho' no one comes
near Mrs. Hill in the adytum
of my heart - But she is in=
describable - her godlike life who
can tell? from heaven she comes,
in heaven she lives, in heaven
she has her perfect rest here.

f45v

Elizabet spent the first four years of her life in the caves & fastnesses of Mount Ida, running away from the Turks at the time of the revolution. She remembers it all quite well. her father died when she was 40 days old, & her mother, who was 15 when she married, ran away into the mountains with her two children, as she was an object of peculiar suspicion - her husband & consequently the baby now being a Janissary. Ah what a fine school is the school of hardship. how it has nerved Elizabet's character to uncomplaining exertion - how it has softened it to feel for all sorts of woes. As soon as she could walk, she & her brother were always too proud to be carried, or to give any trouble but were

f46

determined to keep up with the rest of the party - Two servants followed them without wages - one carrying a jar of water & a quilt - but afterwards these left them - She remembers once when they had been walking for many hours, her mother was quite exhausted & asked her if she were not tired. The child was getting quite purple in the face. She persisted she was not. The Turks were on their heels. At last the child felt she could not go on - & she said, Mama, Mama, you forgot to comb my hair this morning - hoping that her mother wd sit down & do it & give her that respite. All the party laughed, & the laugh did them good. The two children supped full of horrors. Often they trod on the legs of dead or dying men -

f46v

often they lived on the Corouba [Carouba?]
~~[illeg]~~ - which is what we
translate "husks" in the parable
of the Prodigal Son - in the winter
they slept on the snow - in
the summer on a sort of rough
grass. once the child & her
brother found a headless body,
swelled to a tremendous size, &
perfectly black (with the heat)
as they were playing. She never
forgot it. Once Elizabet was
lost for 24 hours - & the poor
mother's courage completely failing
her, she was on the point of
giving herself up to the Turks,
when her little boy said to her,
Mama, Mama, won't you take
me up & run away - And she
carried him thro' the middle
of the Turks & escaped. The
mother was the most beautiful
woman of her day - & had been
several times before her husband's
death, nearly carried off by Turks.

f47

Once when they were living near
ta Canea, a powerful Turk sent
for her - & her husband was
afraid not to let her go - so
he sent her, with the usual
body guard of Cretan ladies - first walked the
old Aunt, then she, then two
women servants & then a servant.
The Turk of course told her that
he meant to marry her, & get
rid of her husband - she said
she wouldn't - he pointed a
pistol at her & she ran &
sat upon his mother's knees,
who was in the room - then
she struck the pistol out of
his hand, & it went off. His
friends came up & afraid he
should kill her, represented
that he had better lock her
into the room & leave her for
the present, which he did. She
then looked about for means
of escape, & finding herself in a

f47v

tower, but that the ground
below was cultivated ground,
tho' the windows were grated -
she said a little prayer, *bowed
herself 3 times to the floor*, and
wriggled herself thro' the bars;
she fell on the ground, and
though she was about to be
confined, & threw up blood in
consequence of her fall, she ran
straight to her husband's house,
& bursting in, cried, leave all
our goods to the devil, this is
no place for us, & come into
Canea. The child lived & so
did she. The Turk, when he
undid the door & found her
flown, fired straight out of
window, & killed a bridesmaid
in a marriage procession which
was passing. Then he went
down to the house of the
wedding, & killed 8 men there -
& all on her account - she
never recovered the grief.

f48

Elizabeth's mother knew how to read & write, but forgot it all in the mountains - she however taught Elizabeth the Lord's Prayer, & when the child was frightened at having to go anywhere alone, told her to say the Lord's Prayer, which she always did. She used to say too "Lord have mercy upon us" with prostrations, touching the ground with her forehead, & kneeling on the prickles 30 or 40 times a day. The other fugitive families used to come & ask her to say it for them, because they said Perhaps God will listen to these children - so I was, she said, quite a little Pharisee. Then her uncle, a monk of Mt Athos, joined them - & he taught her all manner of prayers. And her mother used to say to her, Trust in God, my child, & he will take care of us. All manner of hungers & thirsts

f48v

they suffered - they were driven out of every village they took refuge in - the Turks always captured the women for the Hareems & the children for slaves. Once, when her poor mother was quite discouraged, Elizabeth repeated to her, Trust in God, My Mother & he will take care of us - And you don't know, said the mother, how much good that did me. At 4 years old, Elizabeth was old in sufferings & experience - they then escaped to Sira - & Elizabeth was put to school at Mr. Kildair's, the Missionary there - her mother, after a while, returned to Crete but Elizabeth, at 11, could not endure life - the crimes she saw, the recklessness, Sira was then crammed with political refugees She saw a hog under her window eat a newborn living child, which had been thrown there. That was the last drop - she had never

f49

been a child - she was weary of life - & hearing that Mrs. Hill, who had just arrived at Athens, was enquiring for a native teacher, She offered herself- she wanted to do something useful & support herself & did not care for anything else. When Mrs. Hill, ~~saw this~~ hearing the new Teacher had arrived, hurried to meet her, she saw a little scraggy ugly child sitting on a stool, whose feet did not reach the ground, who did not speak a word of English & looked like a Cluricaune, not a wholesome child. But Mrs. Hill, so like herself, was not discouraged - she considered that for a Greek to offer herself to a Protestant, was, in those days, no inconsiderable proof of strength of mind - & she set her to work - she found her capable of managing the whole school of

f49v

women old enough to be her mothers, some of them, &, at 11, the most efficient teacher she has ever had. This is my new friend - I cannot say I am in love with her - she has been brought up in the hard school of hunger & persecution - & is somewhat hard. she was weak against the strong - & is somewhat cunning. she has never had any of the joys of childhood & is somewhat ungenial & uncanny. but, though she sometimes makes me creep, with her drawn cheeks, & old wizened yellow face - yet I feel this girl has already worked a life's time - has done more, in her youth, than most people do, in their whole busy lives. & tho' she is worn & weary of the world, I feel how valuable has been her experience. She remembers perfectly seeing her house pillaged in Crete - and many

f50

is the curious story she has told me. She is full of prejudices, ~~abhors~~ ~~the Roman Catholics~~ like most strong characters, dislikes rich people, English, abhors the Roman Catholics & the High Church - & there are few she does like, excepting poor people. Nuns & "Pope", as she calls him, she abuses like the most zealous opponent of Antichrist & follower of John Bunyan. She is an immense talker, but never says a thing she does not intend to say - an immense reader of all her own beloved Greek classics, which sheds a golden autumn light over her withered tree of life. Poor Elizabeth = a little happiness would do you a deal of good - but all enjoyment seems burnt out of her. She is nervous & excitable to the last degree - has taken the employment teaching, in disgust, which has occupied her whole life & has now completely given it up.

f50v

Our plans, dear people, are, as far as we know them ourselves, to leave this on June 3rd by steamer for Trieste, (via the Isthmus) where we shall arrive on 10th to be at Vienna 15th Dresden 22nd Berlin 26th Hanover 30th but their plans are so uncertain that I think you shall write only to *Vienna Dresden & Berlin* - as I am so afraid of losing letters. If Aunt Ju likes us to find out any of her old friends, to see M. Bartelmann, you will send me directions - but it will be more for the sake of bringing her home any thing, as you see we shall be too little time to make much permanent acquaintance. I am sure however Mr. Bracebridge will much like to have a glimpse of all such good men.

I hope you will tell Mrs. Strutt when you see her in London how much we have thought of her grief.

f51

I would write to her, but that such epistles, coming so long after date, seldom touch the string - but when you see her serious, tell her how touched we were by her sister's death, & how yet I cannot help rejoicing to think of what that enduring soul will accomplish, freed from the suffering body. Now it will be a nice job for Mr. James to see after those poor poor children.

Anne Plunkett's confinement was the greatest relief to us all - tell her, when you write, that I called immediately upon her friend Madame Nicoupi here to announce it.

Now you want particulars - we do live in a small house looking up a steep unpaved street. I sleep in the Library which opens on a terrace, looking upon the back of the Acropolis.

f51v

Mary Baldwin is in every respect the exact reverse of Elizabeth - I cannot describe her better - both of them types quite unknown to us in England - Alas! how worthless my life seems to me by the side of these women. Now do you want another character?

τὴν Μανρομυχάλ - the Maid of Honour - & one of Mrs. Hill's pupils. She is of the Spartan Mavromichalis, the grand daughter of the Bey of Mani. All but the old widowed mother of the Bey are come to Athens - She says that the Maniot should never leave her native land. I suppose you know all about the Mavromichalis, so I shall only say what I believe is not known, that the old Bey had a brother, who, when a child was sent to Constantinople as a hostage. The Turks put

f52

about the report that he had fallen overboard in the Black Sea & was drowned - & brought him up as a Mussulman. He rose like Joseph, to a high place - & when another insurrection of Mani made more hostages necessary, he begged to be sent to Mani as the organ of Constantinople. He so completely won over the Maniots that he persuaded his brother to send his two little sons with him to Constante. as hostages - & he persuaded the Sultan to make his brother a Bey, as the strongest chain upon the Maniots saying that conciliation was the best policy. Once he asked his brother & some other chiefs to go out with him in a small boat & appeared on the point of telling them something of consequence, but refrained with great agitation. His own mother did not recognise

f52v

him - no one did but an old nurse, who insisted upon his undressing to shew her some mole but he-, of course, as a Turk refused with a great show of indignation at such an unheard of proposition to Turkish dignity Bref, he returned to Constante. with the two children - but they fell sick with homesickness - & were at the point of death & he prevailed on the Sultan to send them home to die - but they the little cats, no sooner had they seen the walls of Sparta, but they held up their drooping heads & shewed no intentions of dying yet at all. Death however was not so very far off In Argos, one of these very children, grown up then, was, with his uncle, brother to the Bey, the murderer of Capo d'Istria. The uncle was killed on the spot - the nephew

f53

Mavromichalis was executed at Palamidi, where the old Bey was in prison for the revolt of Sparta - & was, it was said, dragged to the window to see his son executed - However that may be, he lived to die at Athens - where his other son father of Photinie, is now a Senator, after having lived here many years almost a beggar - & Photinie, who owes every thing she knows & has to Mrs. Hill, is now the Maid of Honor. They behaved very well to Mrs. Hill at the time of her persecution in '42, otherwise I have no great opinion of this degenerate branch.

This week I am to be presented (not to the queen, abominable woman, but) to the widow of Marco Botzaris.

I hope, indeed I am sure you sent my poor little "Trisaltà" Felicetta her year's board.

f53v

I hope I shall see a great deal of poor Mary Stanley.

What a contrast this country is in all respects to Egypt. Egypt, where all knowledge, & all science, political, ethical, religious, was in the hands of the priesthood - & this, where all religion was in the hands of the people & the poets. How hard to be obliged to admit, as Papa says, that this deification of the human qualities had such a fatal end. No sooner by this hot bed process, had they forced great men to bear unheard of fruit, than they themselves, hasty after the same greatness, must tread under foot those thus brought into being.

The rides about Athens are lovely It is the most ideal scenery - every view so perfect in itself - as if it had delighted to form itself into a perfect whole- the Acropolis always rising between the fork of

f54

two other hills (in this curious plain which is ~~full of them~~ - a tray for isolated rocks) we have however had horrid weather. One day Mr. & Mrs Hill, Σ & I went to Amgelo= kipi, a corruption of Αγγλκ π (the angel of gardens, or the garden of angels.) the ancient Ακω πεκίς where Socrates was born, where the artists lived, who used to come ~~down to~~ to Athens up to the Acropolis every day to work - where Aristides too was born -we sat down in the lane under the shade of a locust tree to wait for Pittakys, who was to come & shew us his garden (people come out here for the summer) & the Temple of Venus, where he has dug up four marble doves. We found the sacred myrtle in the Temple. It is a lovely spot. As Mr. Hill & I sauntered up the lane, we saw a little maiden with the red Fez & long plaited hair, & white Albanian coat -

f54v

leading an old ~~ragged~~ mangy donkey to the spring "by a ragged rope she drew the ragged ass along" - & in her little hand she carried a red earthenware plate. She stooped down & filled her plate at the fountain & gave him to drink. I never saw a donkey drink out of a plate before. But the spirits of Aristides had rested on the little girl - to make amends to the donkey for all ~~the~~ injustice he had suffered.

As we came home, a fawn sprung across the road, & cantered up Mr Lycabettus. But a moment after, one of those huge savage black Attic shepherd dogs ran after it. I was in an agony - for he gained upon it every moment - & they are so fierce that no woman rides alone in Attica, as they will pull her from her saddle by her clothes, & did one of Mrs. Hill's sisters. But when the fawn heard the

f55

dog at its heels, it suddenly
turned round, stood at bay,
gave the dog a roll with its head,
& then pursued it - the dog
being so utterly astonished that
he fled away without more ado -
& the fawn having chased him
some distance, made good its
retreat to Lycabettus.

One glorious sunset we
have had ~~which~~ I shall never
forget it. Mr. Hill & I had been
out riding along the beach to
Cape Kosina, the ancient Axgone,
& home by Trakones - passing the
ruins of innumerable Demi on
our way - how thickly inhabited
this part of Greece must have
been - the day had been cloudy
as usual - but just as we
passed Kará, a beam so golden,
so rich, so lustrous shot across
it that we looked beyond, & all
the Mountains of Morea were

f55v

transparent violet & behind
Corydallus the sun was going down
in a blaze of amber cloud. I
never saw such a change - &
grey in the distance sate the
proud Acropolis. Some Albanians
were driving their asses over the
brow of the hill at the moment
& saluted us, as they always
do.

I had just got so far when we
were thunderstruck by the news
arriving about our difference
with France, & disgusted by the
idea of the triumph of the Court
party here - I see that little
female toad spitting at Mr. Wyse
next time she meets him. what
can France be about? to quarrel
with us about such a trifle.

au revoir my dearest
the post goeth

[end 7:412]

f56-70v LETTERS TO PARENTS PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN to her sister

Athens. May 31st 1850

[7:413-22]

Well, my dearest, I have seen the Parthenon at last by moonlight - & all my expectations of Greece were realized. As you stand within the Western end of the cella, & look out thro' that mighty door between the columns down upon the sleeping world beneath & the distant Aegean - it is impossible that earth or heaven could produce anything more beautiful. Hitherto I have felt there was a something wanting to me I did not know what - a want of imagination in all that the Greeks do - do not think me cracked - but there is. the Greeks were above all, eminently practical - eminently the Artist - there is an entire absence of mysticism in every thing they think - the Doric temple, so

f56v

faultlessly perfect, it is like a proposition in Euclid you know exactly what you are going to see. that there can be no variety, that one part brings another with as much certainty as the steps bring the Q.E.D - The side always one column more than twice the end - the proportion of the column always ~~faultlessly~~ mathematically the same - the Theseium is a diminutive Parthenon - the Olympium is an ornamented & gigantic Theseum. You will say it cannot be otherwise - to alter the proportions of beauty is to make something ugly - it is true. I only state the fact - Greek art is not like the poetry of Aeschylus - it is like the philosophy of Plato - transparent, logical, severe - it cannot be other than it is one feels.

f57

All the Attic temples look towards
 the east - the Parthenon stands
 upon the highest point of the
 Acropolis, to shew the superior
 purity of its Deity - it seems
 to look to where the horizon
 opens between the mountains
 to give her a wider range. The
 longer I am here, the more I
 am convinced that the Athenians
 did not know the one God -
 Plato knew him - that no
 reasonable person can have any
 doubt of - but the Athenians
 in general did not - there is no
 trace of it in any thing that
 remains of their religion, as
 bodied forth by their artists -
 they took each separate faculty
 of the human soul & deified it,
 but the very perfection of their
 artistic perceptions prevented
 them from going further - as the

f57v

greatest genius is commonly the
 man who can least trace the ~~steps~~
~~by which he arrives at~~ origin of his conclu-
 sions. The Greeks had not
 sufficient imagination to conceive
 the Unknown God in spite of what St. Paul says - what they
 knew, that they worshipped.

But the Acropolis by moonlight
 it is so strikingly like Philae
 (in plan) that I could not but
 believe myself all the while in
 Philae, modified by the different
 character of this differing nation.
 The one an island in the deep
 still flowing river, so like the silent,
 dark profound philosophy of the
 Egyptians - with the roar however
 of the Eternal Cataracts in the
 distance, so like the perpetual
 voice which Eternity raised in
 their ears, ever present as it was
 to their minds - the Acropolis
 an island in the air, the
 pure light warm blue aether of Greece

f58

radiant even in the night -
without a cloud - so like their
transparent perceptive philosophy -
but which did not see beyond their perceptions x
the Attic Temple is more like Pope
than Shakspeare - To compare
Philae & the Acropolis in *beauty*
would be absurd - for the temples
of Philae are positively ugly, while
there is not a stone in all
the ruins of the Acropolis which
does not seem to have fallen
in the place for perfect beauty.
The striking likeness consists in
both these sacred islands being
entered thro' a sacred portal,
the Propylæa of the one - the
landing place & porticos of the
other - the principal place being
occupied by the Temple to Isis
in the one, that to Athena in
the other, but the one a mourning
widow, Nature mourning the
absence of her God, or the Church,

x the future world occupied a very small place in
their imaginations.

58v

as the interpreters of Isaiah would
call it, mourning her Husband.
the other the pure triumphant
Virgin Goddess, triumphant both
in wisdom & in war - in War
where necessary to preserve the
State committed to her charge
(not, as Ares, *delighting* in war),
in wisdom to administer it.
How beautiful is the myth
which shews her springing from
the head of Jupiter - the off=
spring of his pure intellect,
superior in this respect I think
to a similar Xtian myth, which
represents the Incarnation of our
Ethical System as springing
from "a pure Virgin." The
conception of Isis & Osiris comes
much nearer our Xtian sympathies
than that however of Minerva & Jupiter -
The situation of the Erechtheum
answers exactly to that of the
God Nilus - & the salt spring

f59

of Neptune in it answers singularly
to the conception of old father Nilus.
The Hypaethral Temple does well
enough for the Temple of Victory.
In all the ground plan, there
is so singular a coincidence
that one cannot but reflect on
the vast difference which
separated the two Nations in
their appreciation of their Gods.
To conceive the Greek idea of
Athena I believe to be now
perfectly impossible. We have
succeeded so completely in
degrading man by our doctrines
of original sin & a fallen nature,
all which are perfectly true in
one sense, that we cannot raise
him again ~~by~~ to an abstract
image of himself - & are perfectly
right in going out of ourselves
& saying of ourselves we can do
nothing - work Thou in us, O God.

f59v

I have made no approach to an
acquaintance with Athena - the
nearest glimpse was when I
stood under her Western portico
& looked up to those mighty
columns, & out from between them
Oh Virgin daughter of Ethics -
how high, how immeasurably high,
I was going to say - but all is in
measurable harmony - the perfect
character, wisely planned - it
is as true a picture of the
Athenian character as St. Peter's,
which I once saw by moonlight,
is of the Xtian - there, imperfection
is everywhere perceptible - but it
seems to be stopped ~~by~~ in its strivings
upwards only by the inability of getting
any higher. It *meant* to go on
till it was stopped. There is a
want of calculation about it.
Here, how artistically is everything contrived that
lofty door of the Apistho domus

f60

3

calculated not to cut the
 columns - & the Temple raised
 upon its steps, so as to produce
 the greatest appearance of height
 & the view of the sea between the
 columns. The Parthenon by moon
 light - a fairy island in the sky
 & the character of the Goddess,
 from which all passion was
 excluded, victory over enemies
 within & without her most
 beautiful attribute, her most
 touching character, seems fitly
 rendered in that faultless tem=
~~fection~~ ple, white, but not
 dazzling, for the golden disco=
 loration of the marble now
 replaces the old colouring. How
 beautifully does the little delicate
 Victory, perched on its little
 promontory at the extreme ~~end~~
 Western edge of the Acropolis
 usher in the more majestic,

f60v

more solemn emblem of victory
 in the Temple of the Virgin Goddess
 the ivory & gold statue, of which
 the place is clearly traceable, carried
 in its hand a little Victory.
 I have overcome the world was
 dear to the Athenians as it is to us
 though our ideal of it is so different.
 "The path of sorrow & that path alone
 leads to the land where sorrow is [leads?]
 unknown" as my dear Cowper
 sings - & I must say that
 homely image has more great things
 in it to my mind. Still the
 calm grace of that Parthenon
 standing above the world,
 claiming companionship with the
 moon & stars alone, that virgin
 daughter of Ethics in her moral
 sublimity has in it an inspiration
 which shews that God did not
 keep all the world in ignorance
 for the sake of magnifying the
 Jews. For I, says the Parthenon,
 sit above it all, I am alone with
 the stars. And as I looked

f61

at the silvery Jupiter setting
 that night
between her two Western columns,
I thought her a fitting daughter
for him.

 You want to know what Mrs.
Hill is like - she is very ~~much~~ like
Grandmama, or rather what
Grandmama will be. For Mrs.
Hill is beautiful, even now
& Mrs. Hill is a woman of
extraordinary genius in the very
line where perhaps genius is
most uncommon - & her
manners are the most calm,
serene, & cheerful, I ever saw. Still
the likeness strikes me perpe=
tually. You want to know
more about our life - so I will
tell you of last Wednesday at
Karà where we went to eat the Paschal Lamb. We were off at 7 o'clock,
some of us riding, some in a
carriage - when we got there,
it was too hot to do much - so
we sate in an upper chamber,
till Bati, (the tenant, everything

f61v

here is on the Mezzerià system),
summoned us to see the lamb
roasted, which he had set his
heart upon giving us. There was
the beast whole upon a spit,
having been killed five minutes
before, which spit one of the
collegas on sub=tenants, sitting
on the ground & holding it in
his hand, was turning slowly
over a handful of fire. The
lamb roasted, we sat down under
a Persian lilac in the garden to
a table whose legs were dressed
with myrtle, which Bati had
sent for from Pentelicus & whose
table cloth was of vine leaves,
a small wooden tub was put
upon the table full of the sheep's
cheese - & poor little Lambros,
the son of one of the most wretched collegas,
& now since 5 months the butler
here, confided his woes to
Elizabet." I was quite ashamed,
he said, to have anything to do with

f62

4

it - in an entertainment, to put
 a common tub upon the table
 instead of bringing it into the
 kitchen & having it put properly
 in a bowl - it was a want of
 common sense- a want of
 knowledge of the world - want of (ανθρωπια)
 I took two steps here & two
 steps there - & did not know
 what to do - & before the
 strangers too - I was quite
 ashamed to have anything to do
 with it") In the afternoon
 came a small wooden instru=
 ment with 3 strings, & played before us
 & all the collegas danced before
 the well - first all the men
 danced the solemn chorus, one
 leading - then each two danced
 a kind of minuet, one standing
 opposite the other, moving slowly
 forwards with various motions
 of the arms, as if they were
 playing castanets - one movement

f62v

was like Waterton advancing
 upon a crocodile, moving forward
 in a crouching attitude - a most
 extraordinary feat - another
 was accompanied with a whoop.
 Once two of the wives joined,
 & each crossing the arm of the
 other over her bosom, led the
 dance most gracefully - but a woman to dance, ~~this~~ is
 only done among the Albanians.
 In the evening, we rode up
 Hymetus as far as the Quarries,
 the horses climbing like cats -
 & saw the most extraordinary
 sunset. ~~Un-Gen~~ first of all,
 all the Morea hills became the
 most transparent violet (Greece
 has appropriated to her sunsets
 a different tint of the rain bow
 from the rest of the European
 countries - they all take purple
 or blue - but her mountains are
 real violet) golden rain fell
 between them - then Mt Geraneca

f63

(behind Megara) became on fire,
& burned literally with a pure
rose coloured flame. I never
saw such an effect before. It
was like Semele burnt up by the
God. You see the sources of
Grecian Mythology in her scenery.
lastly in a blaze of gold & purple
jewellery the sun went down
behind Corydallus, a ruby & amethyst
coronet about his head. The
reflection of Geraneca like a
burning fire was stamped
upon the opposite Hymetus - if
Moses had been there, he would
have thought of his Burning
Bush - as I did.

Now you want to know about
modern Greece. The Greek Church
is dead, it seems to me - the
priests are her undertakers - the
churches her vaults. The priests
are so ignorant that they can
hardly read, except the Liturgy
which they learn by heart. They

f63v

neither are fit nor wish to be
treated like gentlemen - & wd be
quite embarrassed if you did -
they come out of the lowest class
& stay in it - they never preach a
sermon & could not. The Bishops
are all taken out of the monks
The Monastines do not even
wear a dress & are mere culti=
vators of the ground. I prefer
the ~~wildest~~ most intolerant fanaticism to this -
Out of bigotry can come a St.
Paul & ~~has come~~ - but nothing
can come ~~out~~ of nothing. Let there
be life, my God, as in the day
of Creation - Literally you may
count the priests of the Greek
church, who are educated men -
three - Misael & Aeconomus &
one other - & Aeconomus is a humbug
What a contrast to the liveliness
of the Roman Cath. church - I
never go into a church without being
disgusted - & in the monasteries, they
seem not to have the remotest idea
of doing good. of a vocation.

f64

We heard from Mr. Hill yesterday of the death of a poor bride, Madame Χανοπουλος - just before we left Athens, we were at a wedding at her house - I wanted to see a Greek wedding very much - but when I had seen it, I was sorry I had. The silence of the two people most nearly concerned - they make no vows - the crowns of the bride & bridegroom, which it is the business of the brides=maids to change perpetually during the whole ceremony - the bride's for the bridegroom's & the bridegroom's for the bride's - the promenading 3 times hand in hand, the whole family, round the table which is used as an altar - the whole concern looks like a farce, & the bridegroom in his chaplet like a buffoon. I send you home in the box my bridal chaplet - The Protestant ceremony is far more to the purpose.

f65

5

[16:610]

I forgot to say that, as we drove down from the Acropolis that night, I got out to look at the Olympian columns, standing alone in the sky by moonlight. It was a magnificent conception placing the great God there power & wisdom - while his daughter, Ethics, sprung from, yet a higher than he, towers above him. The wild Hymetus background, & the long shadows of those noble columns on the ~~platform~~ Peribolus I never can forget. Under them, on the marble Podium, lay asleep, in his goat-skin cloak, a Klepht looking Greek in the moonlight - taking his night's rest upon this fitting bed for Miltiades - who was, after all, but a Klepht when he began. As you may perhaps see Mr. Lyons in London, & he may tell you that he has not seen me, I think it best to state to the British public in my own hand

f65v

that I have not been well since I came to Athens. I was a little knocked up with the fortnight at sea. & it ended in a sort of low fever - for which Mrs. Hill insisted on sending for her confidential Doctor & I was bled in the foot, told to drink a great deal of every thing but medicine & eat no meat, by which treatment à l'Orientale I was able to go up Pentelicus on Saturday. This is the reason why we have not been to Argos & the usual expeditions - I have been the means alas! of preventing Σ our departure is now put off another week - the Hills were so unwilling to lose her & you were so good about not wishing us to hurry. But I must tell you something about Pentelicus. Mrs. Hill & Σ, Mary Baldwin & I were off by 1/4 past 5 - & after a lovely drive by Kalandri arrived at Pentele's Monastery at 1/2 p 7. Here we left them under the great old evergreen oaks - Σ & I mounted horses,

f66

which we had sent on, & with Demetrio & Spiro, men we knew, & could trust, began the ascent of those lovely mountain sides - all dressed in daphne, maritime pine, dwarf holly, poppies, and wide groves of lilac & white cistus - the profusion of flowers makes it like a garden. Across a mountain bridge & up the steep white marble ascent to the quarries of the Parthenon & the Theseum, then to a mountain crag, where first I looked over upon Marathon - But alas! here the mountain fog began to gather & Demetrio advised us to wait - a pair of noble eagles were soaring above - & we sat down under a crag in that mountain eyrie & looked down as bold & brave a mountain gully as ever Klepht delighted in now & then

f66v

the curtain lifted & I could see
the blue bay of Marathon & the
marshy plain, crossed by the Marathon,
& a white spot by it - that was
the trophy of Miltiades - & a brown
spot which was the Tumulus.
Past the promontory of Gnosura,
the coast takes a sudden turn &
I could see the shores of Euboea
at intervals under the fog as far
as Chalcis. If I had not been
greedy & wished for a map, I
should have thought these lovely
blue vignettes, shining out from
under the curtain at intervals
more beautiful in reality than
a bird's eye view. In half an hour,
Demetrio advised our going on to the
upper summit, which we did on
foot. Here the Southern side was
clearer - & from Megara all along
the Bay of Eleusis, Salamis, the
Piraeus, all was spread out before
us - the Mesagaea, (the plain

f67

6

behind Hymetus, which came
down like a great back bone.
I had not yet looked behind
Hymetus / Mount Gargetus -
the island of Makronisi &
Porto Rafti - all up that coast
we could see, I think it must
be the most beautiful view
in the world - the crags are so
bold - & the vegetation so
luxuriant. the colouring so
Southern & the features
Northern. we spent an hour
& a half on the top before we
thought we had been there
five minutes & at 1/4 to 11
were obliged to turn to go down.
The top was alive with bees -
& as we began going down, we
heard the shepherd piping to his
flock in true Arcadian fashion.
Coming round a point, we saw
the flock themselves, black goats,

f67v

(with long horns, not ~~twisted~~ Cornu Ammonis)
 standing, not bleating, not feeding,
 but perched all over 2 or 3 bare
 crags, the principal Goat occu=
 pying the top most. I never
 saw anything so droll as they
 looked against the sky. At
 the quarries we stopped on
 our way down & went into
 the great cave, where the
 coolness is perpetual, the water
 incessantly falls, & the ferns
 grow - & the little Greek chapel
 has succeeded the Temple.
 At the top of the over hanging
 white marble crag above
 stands a solitary pine like
 a stone pine. Everything in
 Greece always grows like an
 Artist. It was one o'clock
 before we rejoined the party
 at the Monastery - & there
 we sat under the ilexes &

f68

drank water ~~as~~ cold as ice from
 the torrent & delicious coffee
 made by Demetrio. An enormous
 bay tree, the largest I ever saw,
 grows in the yard of I cannot
 call it a cloister. I put my
 head into a few of the
 un = sanctified cells - dirty,
 untidy, & secular, there was
 nothing to remind one of the
 sacred pretensions the inha=
 bitants have chosen to put on
 One occupant lay coiled on his
 mat in his sheep skin.

It was four o'clock before
 we reached home.

The day I saw the tomb of
 Themistocles was such a day for
 such a scene. It had been cloudy
 all day, as Mr. Hill & I rode
 down to Phalerum Bay through
 tufts of young vines & poppies
 & beautiful little lanes (the
 poor olives are beginning in some

f68v

places to revive, but the orange
trees are quite dead) we rode along
the beach for some distance - gallantly
forded the Cephissus- for the
Cephissus now *is* a stream. &
then struck across to the Piraeus -
where we met the others & walked
along the beach to Themistocles'
grave. The sun had by this time
set behind the clouds - a dark
red lurid sunset - the air was
soft as milk & as damp - Salamis
was as black as Cocytus against
the sky - & Egina not much
lighter - & here & there a crimson
break in the clouds shewed the
sea as dark & heaving as The=
mistocles' spirit after his exile.
There lies the solitary sarcophagus,
the waves washing over it - & on
the rocks, which are here level
with the sea, the fragments of
the solitary column which stood
above it. There is something
so wild, so dreary, so sublimely

f69

X

melanc holy & ~~a~~lonely in that spot,
one feels the spirit of Themistocles
hovering near & perhaps delighting
in it - that great weak spirit,
which toiled & laboured for the
love of glory, the sympathy of
his fellow creatures - which sacri=
ficed all for that & failed -
not so weak however as to use
his failure against those he
had toiled to win - his was a
great head, tho' a little heart.
He longed for a trophy like
Miltiades & he obtained it - but
how differently from what he
expected. And now perhaps
he sits beside that tomb &
wonders how he could ever care
for it so much.

We had still light enough to
ride round all the harbours
from Piraeus to Phalerum, exquisite
little bays running in - & all
surrounded by the ruins of the

f69v

Long Walls, which hemmed in
~~all~~ the whole coast - & by quags & steps
 What a wild solitary Coast it
 is - scarcely a fisherman - a
 solitary old man picking up
 seaweed for the tiles ~~perhaps~~ -
 no one else over all the Mung=
 chium promontory, with its many
 inlets & harbours. There it is
 alone with its ruins & its
 recollections. The ships in
 Piraeus were illuminated for the
 King's departure, & the French
 steamer was sending up blue
 lights, as we rode back. It
 was then quite dark. Bondouri,
 a Hydriot, joined us on a high
 white horse, & we rode home
 the five miles to Athens together

On Sunday in the evening
 we went & sate on Mars hill,
 & looked upon the sea & the
 Pnyx & the Theseum & Mr. Hill read to us
 a sermon of his upon St. Paul.

f70

It is very difficult to imagine the
 Areopagus sitting there without
 rolling off, especially as it
 generally tried causes by night.
 There is no place so difficult
 to realize. It is true on the side
 of the Eumenides cave, enormous
 blocks of rock have rolled down,
 probably from an earth quake,
 but this does not seem to have
 been the case on the Areopagus
 side. Yesterday morning Σ &
 I sate a long time in that cave
 of the Eumenides; though the
 overhanging ~~part~~ rock is broken off & torn away
 & lies on the other side, the
 deep black spring is still there,
 & you sit in the cleft & look
 out between the rocks upon
 the Acropolis, the Temple of
 Victory & the Propylaea. I sate
 & thought of poor Cowper's sufferings,
 but not bitterly. I like to think
 how the Eumenides' laws work

f70v

out all things for good - & I
would not be such a fool as
to pray that one tittle of hell
should be remitted, one consequence
altered either of others' mistakes
or of our own. How true the Greek
feeling of the suffering of Orestes
for his mother's murder. Go on,
Eumenides: - your cave is blasted
& your worship destroyed - but
the feeling which dictated it is
as true as it was 2000 years
ago, ~~& will~~ as it was in the
beginning, is now & ever shall be
I love the Eumenides better
almost than any part of the
Greek worship & I love the
spirit, which we have mis=
called fatalism, which so nobly
acquiesced in it, without under=
standing the reason why. [end 7:422]

Eucharis Street June 6'. 1850.

Pray thank Mr. Parker for his letter & yours
of May 5 only just received thro' Mr. Wyse.
I saw Christabelle's son in the paper - congratu=
tulate. You are very good, dearest people, not
to wish us to hurry home - for ever & ever

ff71-74v LETTERS TO FAMILY PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN [7:425-28]

Athens. June 8 - 1850 13

My dearest We are still here, as
you see. The boat we were to
have gone by (on the 3rd) broke down -
& another has been sent for from
Trieste - & whether we go now by
the great Constantinople boat of
Thursday 13th or wait for this on the
17th depends upon how the boats are
settled & whether the Hills go with
us as far as Corfu. Meanwhile
I have been taking some lovely
rides with Mr. Hill to the
Monastery of Syriani on Hymetus,
along the Daphni road & to Karà.
How lovely the scenery is wd be
difficult to describe & why it is
so lovely. I begin to think that
it is the proportion & that there
must be proportion in the things
of nature as of Art - I am talking
nonsense, I believe - but nobody
minds me, you know. In the
valleys of Switzerland the heighth
is too great for the width - & it
looks like a bottle - In the

f71v

valleys of Egypt, the width is too great for the heighth & it looks like a tray. For this reason, clouds are provided in Switzerland & Scotland, otherwise the heighth wd become intolerably out of proportion, unless it were covered in at the top. For this reason, clear sky is in Egypt, or you would feel in a shelf. But here, where the clear sky is meant they say to be perpetual, tho' I can't say I have seen much of it since I came, the proportion observed has been perfect, the exact curve is always there, the exact slope which you want - & if a line were to change its place, you ~~would~~ feel the effect would be spoilt. You feel towards it as to an architectural building. I believe in this lies the great peculiarity of the Athenian views. Otherwise, for colouring I must declare I have seen nothing like the evenings of the Campagna.

f72

I am perfectly certain, though I
dare not say so that the Parthenon
is much more beautiful now than
when it was complete - & that,
were those odious battlements
but taken down, the whole of the
Acropolis wd be so. ~~I should~~ Witness
the Theseum - I believe that
anybody who spoke the truth
wd tell you that their first
impression on seeing it from a
distance was one of deep dis=
appointment & that it was only
after walking under the Colon=
nades of this matchless little jewel
that they had come to feel its
beauty. I am sure the Parthenon
must have lost as an object in a view, when its cella
was complete, & its roof was on,
when you could not see, as now,
the sea through its columns from
all the Northern ~~side~~ country when it
looked like a box with a portico
round it. The more I think of
Architecture, the more it puzzles me,

f72v

because that alone of all the works of Man is not imitation - there it has been left to him to invent. I don't know whether it is a proof of the imperfection of the works of man, & that only those of God are perfect in themselves that when the human figure is broken, it is spoiled - its beauty is gone - a statue, without its head, say what you will, is an ugly object - but a ruined temple is almost always more beautiful than the perfect one - while the beauty you find in the ruined statue is certainly not there but only what you are reminded it has been. Here you know there is a great poverty of statues - you must go to Rome for that. Still in the Theseum, there are some lovely fragments - most of them, sepulchral monuments, bas reliefs, almost all of women - the dying woman

f73

is generally drawing her veil round her head, as she is preparing to separate herself from the living - while the husband says his fare=well to her - & the friend holds up her little baby, Why will you go? Some of them are exquisitely touching & mournful.

But the whole character of the Greek sculpture is to me so inexpressibly pensive & sad. I am sure no one can see the frieze of the Panathenaic procession by Phidias which is within the Portico of the Parthenon & not be struck with the unspeakable melancholy of the expressions of that festive procession. The attitudes of the horses, of every thing in that triumphant celebration of the Attic liberties, (the union of the Attic tribes) are joyous, exulting, glorious the heads of those who ride the horses are bowed in deep thought - their faces, not certainly sicklied

f73v

o'er, but composed with the pale
 cast of thought. Even the indiffe=
 rent ministers in the procession
 are pensive - & the countenance
 of Pericles is one of the saddest
 I ever saw. The Athenians
 must have been a very grave
 people - in their passionate love
 of art & beauty, melancholy. But
 I have often observed how passion
 & melancholy ~~often~~ go together. I
 suppose that that very ardent character
 is more perceptive of the distance
 which separates its aspirations &
 its performances than any other.
 There are casts now here, done
 by a German, of the whole Western
 frieze of the Parthenon. There are
 no duplicates - & he asks only £25
 How I wish somebody in England
 would buy them. They never will be
 done again.

Please read & send the en=
 closed for Mr. Bracebridge to the
 Morning Herald. Also read &

f74

send the enclosed, *if you like*, to
 Anne Plunkett.

I am much better, thank you -
 & last night climbed up to the
 top of Lycabetus, leaving Σ &
 Mrs. Hill at the bottom - &
 there, at the chapel of St.
 George, which crowns the top of
 that rocky peak, all grown
 over with a delicate pale
 lilac wild holly oak, feasted
 on the loveliest view of Athens
 I think there is. The Acropolis
 against the sea - the sun
 setting behind Aethaeron [Cithaeron?]- the
 delicate tints of the gulf & the
 clouds - & then as you come down,
 round a shoulder of Lycabetus,
 the Acropolis bursts upon you in
 all its unearthly beauty, so
 solitary there above the city.
 This morning before breakfast,
 Σ & I went up there. It is never
 so beautiful as by the morning
 light - & I begin to understand

f74v

the ~~beauty~~ excellence of the contrast, by which
the Erechtheum, which I never
could admire, in its delicate &
somewhat irregular magnificence,
sets off the severe & solemn
Parthenon. Any other building
would have distracted one's attention -
this only acts as a foil. How
proud the Greeks were - how
anxious to avoid any low or common
images, when they represented
Athena Wisdom springing at once in full
majesty & perfection from the
Primaeval Power. Yet I like our
conception better - the conception
by which our God passes through
all the stages & humility of
childhood - the slow growth by
which he is made perfect thro'
sufferings is more really sublime
& certainly more true than that
of the sudden development of wisdom. **[end 7:428]**

Mr. B is better

yrs ever

dearest people

ff75-85 Incomplete LETTER TO PARENTS PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN [possibly goes to f95] [7:430-40]

f75

Trieste. June 25. 1850 ~~14~~

Safe arrived here, dearest people,
& once more in Europe - the Levant
is left behind for ever, & between
us & it is a great gulf fixed.
Europe received us today with
very cold wet arms & a tearful
welcome - but still she is Europe
still & no European can ever
look upon the East as *his*,
much less *her* home. The dear
Hills came with us as far as
Corfu, unwilling to part & there
we bade them farewell, after
such a delightful two days in
that fairy ~~place~~ island, where
every flower grows twice as big
as it does every where else,
where no frost can touch the
olive & the pomegranate, &
every thing seems to grow as if
it loved the place.

f75v

We left Athens this day week at four o'clock in the morning, (Monday 17th) having, by the favour of M. Gropius, got a passage by an Austrian war steamer to Callimaki, otherwise we should not have been here at all - as the "Baron Hubeck" had broken down, & no sort of arrangements had been made for conveying the passengers - Oh! you must take a Caique, was all the answer that any one got. So every one else was sold, & we were wafted high & dry to Callimaki sworn to secrecy as we had been by old Gropius. The sun was just rising behind Lycabetus, as we drove down to the Piraeus & I thought, as I looked my last look at the Acropolis that

f76

the last was the fairest - backed as her white crown was with a band of crimson light, while all below her was grey. The sun rose completely as we embarked at the Peiraeus, & long after we left the harbour, the Acropolis was visible with the guardian Lycabetus standing by her side, taller but less beautiful (I always thought when I looked at them, of strength by physical & strength by intellectual gifts - they might stand for Mars & Athena. Only Lycabetus takes his inferiority so meekly & seems only intent upon protecting his more beautiful rival) Well, we steered out of harbour, & I think from no place does Athens look so beautiful - that insulated rock crowned with temples against

f76v

the circle of Hymetus & Pentelicus.
 There is certainly nothing in the
 world like it. So The Marianna
 received us on board, Mr. & Mrs.
 Hill, Mr. & Mrs. Bracebridge, Mrs.
 Trout, Athena the owl, two
 tortoises, a cutting from Plato's
 own platane tree by the Ilyssus
 & me. Athena is a baby from
 the Acropolis, who has already
 rubbed all the feathers off
 her nose in her hair breadth
 escapes from the cage - & eats
 raw meat - & kicks over her
 tub - & makes a scompiglio
 like a wiser & an older man.
 The captain of the man of war
 was as sulky as manners
 (hardly?) would permit -
 neither board nor lodging
 would he give, but only
 carriage & that he seemed
 right glad to put an end to
 when he debarked us at
 Callimaki. The view of the

f77

2

islands, Egina, terminating
 in a long point with its town
 upon it, Paros & all the little
 ones, the promontory of Methone,
 & all ~~the~~ Moreas hills, ending
 with the still unequalled Acro
 Corinthus is beautiful - but
 there is one thing more powerful
 than Joy or Grief, even Joy at
 seeing the very poetry of
 landscape, even Grief at leaving
 Athens - & that is a sandfly,
 for many sand flies produce
 many sleepless nights. & many
 sleepless nights produce a
 strong tendency to tumble off
 one's chair even in the Gulf
 of Salamis - to my eternal
 shame & sorrow be it spoken.
 The Capt was guiltless of giving
 us any appliances or means
 to boot to induce to sleep, that
 much be said - so with His help
 & that

f77v

of a very hard chair, I managed to keep awake enough to see Nicaea, the port of Megara, with its lovely little Acropolis, the scene of our last week's exploit. Landed at Callimaki, Mrs. Hill, like an able general never disconcerted by captain's méfaits, captain's rudeness or captain's want of forethought, gave us our breakfast, which she had brought with her in a basket, accompanied by breakfast for Athena, & water from the spring (very brackish) turned into lemonade by a canny old courier for us. And here horrible reports reached us of quarantine at Corfu, no boat coming to Loutraki, what would the Hills do? However we took a thing called a coach, with three parallel seats, & four horses & drove across the Isthmus. that lovely drive -

f78

to Loutraki, where in spite of prognostics, we found the steamers & I gathering a great bunch of wild Oleanders, we went on board, promising ourselves to come on shore again for a walk (it was only one o'clock) as the steamer did not start till 10 at night. However the heat was so intense that nobody felt inclined to stir - & we dozed & wiled away our time till night, incredible as it sounds - I shall always think I never saw a spot so poetic as Corinth, lying at the foot of its Acro Corinthus, with the mountains of Sicyon on the right, of Nemea on the left, folding in one behind the other - because in all other countries that I have ever seen, the plain is the ~~country~~ ground the mountain is the fringe "of 'Peace's coat" - but in Greece

f78v

in the fringe consists the whole coat
 & there is no plain country at all.
 This is what gives it that
 consummate gracefulness of
 outline - that absence of *wall*
~~outline~~ effect - it is the difference
 between an avenue & a forest -
 an avenue has its beauties -
 but who would compare it
 to the glades of the New Forest?
 This & the proportion, (like
 a Doric temple), make the
 charm of Grecian scenery.
 In the North, where the
 mountains are always too
 high for the vallies, you see
 how the *Gothic* style ~~appro~~
 arose - they could have no
 idea of completeness or harmony
 in architecture, seeing no
 harmonious architecture in
 nature - their idea therefore
 was to build as high as they
 could & only to stop when they

f79

3

could get no nearer heaven.
 The Egyptian architecture, in
 which Wilkinson finds "that
 elegant column, of which the
 heighth is three circumferences)
 is after the exact type of *their*
 scenery - & so ~~it~~ is the Doric
 temple after this. The sun
 went down while we were
 still on board the boat, making
 the Halcyon promontory a
 purplish black fringed with
 gold against the crimson sky,
 & soon after the moon was up,
 we went to bed - & next
 morning found us just passing
 through the Strait of Rhium
 & Anti rhium & nearing Patras.
 We meant to have slept on
 deck, but the deck was so
 covered with fustanellas, male
 & female & their accompaniments
 that it was impossible. And
 in the mornng Missolonghi's sum=

f79v

mits were shrouded in mist.
We debarked at Patras & ~~took~~ for the sake of
Turkish baths & British consuls,
Crows & Woods & Co - who gave
us to eat - ~~illeg~~
~~illeg~~ one of their number to
take us on board. The view
of the hill of Missolonghi from
the arcades of Patras, (in its sun=
lit mist as it was then) is like
the hill of Gibraltar - & nearer
the mouth of the gulf is another
Gibraltar. We were in Zante
by midnight - but I contented
myself with looking at the
curious scene thro' the window
of my berth 2 inch by 3. the
moonlight pouring on the bay -
the groups landing & embarking -
the Zantiots screaming & screeching,
& thrusting their great hands
thro' my berth window. At 6
the next morning we were in

f80

the bay of Argostoli - Cefalonia
differing from other islands by
being a land surrounding water
as well as a land surrounded
by a water. It is nothing but
a great ring opening to let the
water in - I don't particularly
admire Cefalonia - its great
round stony hills, with vineyards
by the water's edge are hardly
pretty even at sunrise, in
comparison with its sister island
Corfu. We had a sea all day,
so that we did not cast anchor
in the port of Corfu till twelve o'clock
at night - too late to get pratique
that night - but we were on
deck at 5 o'clock, when the
heat was already intense - for
the sea breeze had not yet
sprung up. From 6 to 9 is
often the hottest part of a
Grecian day - then the "inbat"
gets up & makes it tolerable.

f80v

We went ashore as soon as we
 could, i.e as soon as the
 Austrian Lloyd had done us out
 of as much money as it could,
 by refusing to take its own
 paper money or anything but
 zwanziger - & toiled up the little
 narrow streets with their
 picturesque arcades & balconies
 from the port to la bella Venezia
 Alas! My dear, into thy
 faithful ear be it whispered,
 to what advantage does an
 English town appear after an
 Attico = Bavarian one. I know
 that such were not my sentiments
 after coming from a
 Turkish one - for the Turks
 must carry the palm before
 any other nation in the civil [illeg] not political=
 =economical line - what shall I
 call it? But to know what one
 means, conceive a town built

f81

4

without drainage, either natural
 or artificial, without water,
 without streets, where dead
 dogs lie continually before your
 door & will never be removed
 except by yourself, where you
 slip over decaying vegetables
 at every step, ~~where~~ unless it is not
 decaying offal, where water is
 dearer than house rent, all
 the water being kept for the
 king's garden, where if a street
 becomes by accident carriageable,
 an immense heap of rubbish
 appears the day after - (no road
 you have ever seen is to be
 compared to one of these streets)
 where the smells about sunrise
 are worse than those of any
 hospital - this is Athens, the
 Greco Bavarian Athens - the
 Athens which in the Turkish

f81v

times was well watered, well
drained, & thoroughly well roaded,
not only in the town but country
round & furnished everywhere with fountains.
If it were not for Nature's
scavengers, the myriads of dogs, that howl
the whole night through, like
jackals, Athens would be
uninhabitable, except by fever.
After this, Corfu with ten
times the disadvantages & none
of the advantages of Athens ~~has~~
cramped, narrow & dilapidated,
but drained, watered & kept
clean appears with its neat
little streets, a paradise of
cleanliness. It does not attain
like Cairo to the seventh heaven,
but like Cairo, every atom of
dung & dirt is carried away
by hand before you are up in
the morning. Down from la
bella Venezia we went to the
sea baths, & there a delicious

f82

seabreeze came springing up &
whispering in before we
returned to breakfast. After
brkft, a wonderful woman, by
name Ly Dorothea Campbell,
what you call Inglesissima but
rather what the "grand Lady" of novels (by
Elizabeth of Pride & Prejudice) is than
anything one sees in real life
asked us into her rooms, till
ours were ready - apparently
to complain of every man, woman,
& child's disrespect to her
under the sun than anything else.
Then divers visitors came to
see Mrs. Hill - & lastly I,
with some trouble & reluctance
& great difficulty about the spelling & penmanship,
indicted two epistolary documen=
tary evidences of my being in
Corfu to the families Ward &
Gisborne, providing that they
shd not be sent till late at night

f82v

& the Levant steamer being to
 call for us the next morning
 as soon as it was good after [see odd]
 dinner, (la bella Venezia's thermo.
 was getting out of the top of the tube) -
 we went out in a carriage
 with a Mr. Bowen, the Prince
 of Owls & Principal of Students
 at Corfu to a village called
 Πελληκᾶ he wanted to shew us
 Out of doors it was not the
 least hot. But oh that drive -
 fancy an island where, unlike
 our dear barren neglected stony
 Attica, every inch of ground is
 cultivated to garden perfection
 (if any sentiments here appear
 not to correspond with Blue
 Book - April 19. 1850. confer
 now - now V. Blue Book)
 where the olive trees are as
 old as Gethsemane, twisted &
 gnarled, every one a study in

f83

5

itself - & standing like forest
 trees on green sward - except
 where vineyards grow up among
 them - *not one* touched by
 the frost as in Greece, where all are black - fancy the hedges of
 pomegranates in full flower, except
 where they are of aloe & cactus,
 & flowering oleander - the myrtle
 & red geranium growing wild -
 the fig tree covered with ripe
 figs - & the vines twining all
 about them - & through this garden
 the most beautiful roads & bridges
 & wells - & beyond it the ranges
 of Albanian mountains, which
 shut the sea in, & make it
 into an enchanted lake. Corfu
 in June is an Arabian night's
 dream - or rather a Persian night's dream -
 such as Persian poets would
 have written, if they had had
 a fancy to write like one Northern

f83v

poet, a *Midsummer Night's*
Dream. Shakspeare made a
mistake when he associated his
with an Attic name - Attica
is an Artist = ~~S~~ Studio's Night's
Dream - Corcyra is truly the
Midsummer Night's Dream -
fragments of the ancient
Corcyra lie about everywhere,
but nothing of any worth. The
country alas! is not healthy -
what is favourable to vegetable
is not to ~~any~~ human life -
the town, thanks to British
prevoyance, & water brought to it
from a great distance is
perfectly so. Up a wonderfully
engineered road we ascended
thro' groves of olive trees, where
women were standing at the
fountain & hasted to give us
to drink in their pitchers, holding

f84

the rope lest we shd swallow
them - till we reached the
top of the mountain which
divides Corfu from the Adriatic
on the Western side - alas! the
higher we went the more we
lost of the view, for the thicker
grew the mist till when we
reached Pellikà, we could see
nothing at all - we were entirely
wrapped in the veil - but I am
glad we persisted - for of all
the poetic mountain fastnesses,
the little villages of Arcadian
shepherds with their tiny
market place, with church on
one side & Signore's house on
the other, & the third occupied
by hut above hut in terraces,
each with its own fig tree, the
aforesaid ~~square~~ agora the only
landing place in the hanging village,
Pellekà is the most romantic,

f84v

& must always live like a dream
in every one's memory. They
brought water to us in a lordly
dish. Before we got home, it
was bright moonlight - we had
left the mist completely behind
or rather above. The good Gisbornes called that
very night - but I was - in bed.
& before sunrise the next morn
came an invitation from the Ward's
Our Levant steamer had not yet been
signalized - wild hopes arose in
our minds of another day's
rest in Corfu - perhaps she
had gone down with all on
board - what joy! However we
would not give up our last day
with the Hills, as they had
come all the way from Athens
to be with us, nor our evening
drive, shd we be so fortunate
as to have our prognostics verified,
& I set out alone to call at the

f85

6

Palace - charged with the excuses
of the whole party - they were all
asked to dinner - I to breakfast
too. But when I got there, they
were so overpoweringly kind, so
overflowingly angry that I had
not come before, Sir H Ward
himself came out, said that
I had often called him tyrant,
& took me in his arms like a
father, & stood over me in the
character of Grant, he said,
till I had written a letter
compelling them all to come,
which he then sealed & sent,
that I could not do otherwise.
How could I, when they were
all so really kind & glad to
see me? So the whole posse
comitatus of us spent the day
there - they sending the carriage
for us - & I am really glad to have

f85v

seen what is my idea of eastern luxury. I had a great deal of conversation with him at dinner where he kept a place for me next him & listened to his sorrowful confessions of having undertaken a place too hard for him - (which of course must go no further). he wd not have undertaken it, had he known [?] worse things were coming- the English were in a false position there- the place was an impossible one &c. But not the less do I feel that he ought to have weighed himself in the balance *first* & found himself wanting. Many think the islands are lost to us the best excuse his own officers make for him is that he was swayed by passion & temper - in the Hungarian War, they said, 300,000 were engaged- in the Cephalonian 300& in each an EQUAL number ~~in each~~ was hanged- the number

f86

of those flogged was 3 times that in the Blue Book - many of the victims were innocent, &c. However that may be, I am glad to have seen Sir H. Ward, because I like, I do (whatever you may think) to be at peace with my fellow creatures, & tho' I think him an insincere man, he had no interest to be so with me - But more of him when we meet. Before I went back to fetch & introduce the rest of the party, ~~loaded with flowers~~, I had been shewn the Palace - *it is* a Palace indeed - had walked in the garden, where every flower & fruit is twice as big as anywhere else, as I told you, had been fed with apri-cocks, & green figs and dewberries & loaded with pink acacias and flowers. I hate being shewn a house, but made a point of "doing" this for Mrs.

f

Mackenzie's sake (by the bye,
 I never had any letter from
 Louisa) & oh what views from
 every window - & oh that little
 three cornered garden - where
 under the shade of high trees, thro'
 groves of flowers you look out
 over a balustrade upon the sea
 made into a lake by S Salvador
 the point of Corfu, & the whole
 range of Albanian mountains,
 or rather range behind range, for
 the last snowy point is 60 miles
 inland. In all the sea views almost,
 the only foreground you get is barren
 land or stony ground or bleak hill,
 but to have a foreground of gera=
 niums & acacias & oleanders & balustrade &
 a different thing the sea is -This
 little raised terrace is the most
 exquisite thing. I gathered a bough
 of the pink Acacia to ~~dry~~ dry for Mrs.
 Mackenzie, in remembrance of this
 place which is always associated
 for me with ~~them~~ her - pray tell her
 how much I thought of her in her own kingdom

f87

After this I went home
 to fetch my people. Pray tell
 Mrs. Mackenzie, when you write,
 that Mrs. Hill always preserves
 the recollection of the pleasant
 hours she owed to her in Corfu.
 We dined at 3 in the large
 oval summer dining room, exqui=
 sitely cool & airy it was - & after
 dinner some went out in the
 yacht & Sir H.W. & Lady Ward
 (who is much better with this
 beautiful climate) staid at home
 to take Mrs. Hill & me up to the
 Summer Palace - that spot in
 summer is so lovely - the white
 Catalpas, wild scarlet geranium, aloes in flower
 red Oleanders, everything growing
 in such profusion of luxuriance,
 it reminds one of one of Guido's
 pictures, in which the flowers
 have been showering (mere figure
 of speech in general) fresh flowers
 upon the earth. And all this
 growing upon the broken ground

Add Mss 45790

680

(for there is not an inch of flat

f

ground in Corfu) gives it the wild look, which so dressed a garden would otherwise lose, *from our* association with these kinds of plants. But the peculiar mysterious charm of this Eastern vegetation to me is that, in the midst of flowering pomegranate & * gay Spanish chestnut & shining green vine you see shooting up to heaven the black cypress, every where, such a curious contrast to all around, its sable foliage unmoved by any wind, giving to the scenery I think, half its character, the character of real life, Death in the midst of Life, Melancholy in the midst of Joy. It is like the veiled figure at the Egyptian feasts, like Lazarus coming out under the light of ~~the~~ the Sun & his Saviour's face, like the ghastly woman one sees in London at the door of Lady Palmerston's soirées - like our day

f88

on the steamer after our day at Corfu - like the owl among the day birds - I like these contrasts, because people should not think that all on earth is good, ever. And on the mountains of Corfu you ever see that mysterious shadow passing, which the Greeks believe to be "Death with his shadowy train" We drove up to the One-Gun Battery which overlooks the lake (which is an arm of the sea) and Ulysses' petrified ship & the little island Greek church & then home. The yacht was not yet come back, so Mrs. Hill & I sate long upon the balcony overlooking the little three cornered garden where the moon had risen & was playing under the trees, and throwing mysterious shadows on the sea - & a great broad defined shadow under the archway - 0 for architecture has done her best here as well as Nature - behind the arch a

f

clump of foliage & a light in it-
In this sort of scenery I like the
mixture of the hand of man with
that of God. It was like a scene
at the Opera (you know I have no
pious horror of dramatic repre=
sentations, which I shd only like
to see set upon the same footing
as they were in Greece) The Wards
had most goodnaturedly left Mrs.
Hill & me alone our last evening -
& how we enjoyed it O & Mrs. Hill
is going to put the Wards up to doing
some little good - for they are
willing & stupid - Just at that
moment up went the signal ball
at the Citadel - our fate was
sealed - our steamer was signalized.
I felt a pang, I must say - it was
such a dirty, stinking cypress rising
up among our pomegranates -They
gave us fruit - the yacht returned
we looked out upon the moonlight
~~from~~ on the Esplanade & walked home,
I going to call on the good Gisbornes
who positively offered us all a
lodgment in their small apartment,
if we wd stay till the next week's
steamer. How hospitable people
are with nothing. The next
morning we toddled out to see the
flower & fruit market - & Santo
Spiridion before embarking - a
beautiful Venetian church, where
the first spectacle of Greek piety,
or of any semblance of any feeling
of any kind, or of any pleasure in their
churches, met my longing eyes, that
I have seen since I have been in communion
with the Greek church. It was
pleasure to me really to see them
kissing the silver shrine of S. Spi. -
~~prejudice~~ superstition is better than apathy -
in front of every Greek chancel is
the screen of the Water Colour Exhibi=
tion, Pall Mall East covered with
small oblong frame, as that is but of
saints. This there was at St. Spi.
still there was something more, I
don't know what, a savour of devotion,
about the church, as if people came
there to pray, & people were there praying

f

I was so glad to find myself in a Roman Cath. country again, when I came here - Well, we embarked, Mr. Hill going with us as far as the boat. We were in quarantine as soon as we touched her - as she is the Constantinople boat - so he could not come on board - let no one conceive what wretchedness is till he has been on board a Levant steamer in June. Prisons & work houses are palaces to her. We had a tolerable passage of 54 hours. we were an age getting pratique here, but were too thankful to get it at all - as we had two sailors ill on board & there were rumours of quarantine - Two nights we stay here to rest - then go on to Vienna, where I hope to find letters from you - dear people

Sir H. Ward told me all about the prorogation of the Ionian Parlt which he had ~~done~~ effected just before we arrived - Under the unhappy circumstances, it seemed all that could be done. they fancied that

f

his hands were tied by Lord Grey not to prorogue & had prepared three motions entirely destructive of his authority for the last week - (particulars won't interest English people - but they want to join with Greece) under these circumstances, he probably cd do nothing but prorogue. They were frantic. They need not wish a juncture with unhappy Greece - but our holding the islands long seems impossible - Cephalonia is the Ireland of the Ionian Isles. The tenure of property there, most gaged above its eyes, is much what in Ireland gave rise to the Encumbered Estates Bill. What the English in Corfu say of Sir H.W. is that he has great parliamentary dexterity but is not the man for the hour. The gist of his Cephalonian disaster seems to lie in what Genl Church said of it, What business had he there at all? Caro Enrico, Che fate là - Why did he go? But more of Ionian affairs, when we meet.

f

With regard to what you & Mr. Parker say about Mr. Ward, we have now seen the blue book & that you may not think me violent nor unjust, I send you Mr. Bracebridge's remarks upon it only adding his comment=ary that to execute 21 persons [?] however just according to law, is unprecedented according to equity & he begs me to copy the following passage from Washington's letters.

General Washington to Major Lee

Head quarters Oct 20, 1780 [1786?]

xx I agree to the promised rewards & leave the whole to the guidance of your own judgment, *with this express stipulation & pointed injunction* that he (Arnold) is brought to me *alive*. No circumstance whatever shall obtain my consent to his being put to death. The idea, which wd accompany such an event,

f

wd be that ruffians had been hired to assassinate him" x x x " Mr Bracebridge would remark that the *cases* are *not* parallel as Arnold's execution was cer=tain, is taken. But perhaps the refusal of the Cephalonians to accept Mr. Ward's bribe is the best commentary.

As to the story told Mr. Ward by the mask (the very circumstance which ought to have awakened his suspicions of a hoax), there was not a child in these parts who did not laugh at him for a gull.

~~Enough of that~~ Mr. Bracebridge believes that the "dead or alive reward" has never been ~~done~~ offered by a British authority.

Enough of that. **[end 7:440]**

Letter to Mrs N. ff92-

End of Sept [1850
My dearest mother, I am
sorry to say, in my dear
Grandmama's impatience,
some of the partridges
were already gone as
presents, others into our
stomachs before your letter
arrived. But I shall
tell Emily of your kind
intentions, & of their having
been frustrated by equally
kind but more tempestuous
ones.

Shore writes to his mother
that Uncle Oc has been
quite overcome -At Jane
had heard from Henry just
before -

I send you a nice letter
from dear Aunt Hannah
I think Grandmama quite
as well as when I saw
her last - But rather
more difficult to understand.
I don't think At Mai is well,
but she is very cheerful -
She does not know her plans
yet, but evidently dreads
the effect of this upon
Uncle Sam -whom she
has not heard from yet.
Shore writes very nicely
about it.

Grandmama desired
Aunt Mai & me to read
a sermon this morning
together, so we read the
Sermon on the Mount

I was very sorry to leave home, just
when you were going to be alone, more
sorry than I can tell - but I think

"it is good for me to be here."

Letter to Mrs N f94

[September or October 1850]

Dearest mother, I opened
the enclosed to Papa,
thinking J.P. might be
like Death "at the door,"
& have answered it,
saying Papa is not here,
but I hope he will be,
or rather *there* tomorrow -
if he hears in time.

I am quite well, thanks,
& no draw back. I give
up the mourning then
as I am bid, & am afraid
I should not have pleased.
Aunt Mai puts all the
children into mourning,
as she thinks that all
the family will be so at

Xmas, & she says if there
is *any* meaning in mourning,
it is that of a community
of feeling - Uncle Sam
has seen the account in
the paper & writes, still
hoping against hope-
he gives up the I of Man,
where he was going with
Shore to visit the Bishop
of Lodor & Man, in conse-
quence of this even, "should
it prove true" as he says
he is to be today at Oban
where he will hear all-
& probably come straight
on home from Achrannist.
I have not yet been able
to make out from Gdmama

f

If she will like to see Papa
 She is so very exciteable-
 The owl is watching quite
 immoveable a most
 tremendous storm of
 wind & rain -

Thank dear Pop for
 undertaking my clothes-
 I hope she won't
 overdo herself - If
 Leicester cd take a
 fat ~~little~~ book called
 "tracts for the Xtian
 Seasons," repapering it
 to Maria Peach, (the
 lowest of Sims's houses),
 I shd be glad -
 ever dear Mum yr
 loving child

f96 LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN Given after own
 [autumn, 1850] {IN PENCIL} ideas about Shore

19

You will like to see, dearest
 mother, what Aunt Jenny
 says of Shore. Indeed I have
 sometimes hopes, since I have
 given up all ideas of my own
 about him, & taken up
 ideas that are not my own,
 that it may be as Aunt
 Jenny says some day. But
 then he must be furnished
 with an employment which
 interests him.

We want exceedingly to
 hear all that you can
 about the poor Nicholsons -
 tell them I long to see them -
 tell them all that is
 loving from me - I hope
 you will write from Waverley.

f96v

I was so glad to see Shore
 so nice during that short
 time here.
 Is the Athenian box come?

ff97-98v LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN Oct 8 [1850]
{[1850] flaws {IN PENCIL

ever dearest mum yr loving child ~~20~~ Oct 8
My dearest mother

Gdmama does not
wish to see Papa now - she
says "we will look forward
to Xmas - & it would be
too much hurry for me
now. He is very good to
me & I shd be very
ungrateful not to feel it."
She seems now in good
humours with all the
world.

When I saw Aunt Evans
on my way here, she said
to me that she wished
all parties to do what
was most convenient - but
that she should not take

f97v

leave of me, because she
should look forward to the
great comfort of seeing
At Mai & me when we left Tapton or, at
all events, me. She was
so much moved that
I ~~we~~ could not say any
thing. She said either
that she had, or that
she would, mention it
to you. Perhaps you
will decide what you
wish me to do, & tell
her your decision.
Aunt Mai's own plans
perplex her much - she
is very unhappy at the
idea of not gratifying the

f98

dear old lady, & wants to manage it somehow. She hears this morning from Uncle Sam that he has given up Ld Lovat's & all his visits, not having the heart for them - that he will be at Glasgow with Shore on Thursday - then matters are uncertain - if she could get rid of Shore at Embley, I think she & Uncle Sam wd go to Malvern, for all his ailments are come back - or if she could get rid of Shore &

f98v

Uncle Sam at Embley, she wd stay here & at Cromford Br. a little longer - but she is afraid to trust Shore *at home* without her - as no one else can prevent him sleeping in town. But unfortunately your plans don't take you to ~~for~~ Embley immediately, & as University Hall opens in the middle of October, she does not like to make Shore so very long after this. Will you say what your plans & wishes are & write us word? Mrs. Strutt wd not be surprised at not seeing me, as I told her I cd make no engagement, I was at the Nicholson's disposal

ff99-101v

21

Tapton - Friday
 plans {IN PENCIL]
 unimpo- {IN PENCIL]
 autumn 1850 {IN PENCIL}

Dearest mother, Aunt
 Mai has heard from
 Uncle Sam this morning,
 that he & Shore will
 not be here till Saturday
 19th or Thursday 17th
 She therefore decides to
 go to Cromford Br. on
 Monday, which she is
 very anxious to do, till
 Thursday or Saturday -
 & has written to Uncle
 Sam & Shore to take her
 up there - I therefore
 decide that it is best
 for me to go with her

f99v

on all accounts, instead
 of putting it off till
 after the visits, as
 you so kindly propose.
 Aunt Mai dreads being
 with Aunt Evans alone,
 & I can't say that I
 don't too, because it
 brings me up a reca=
 pitulation of all the
 old grievances, the
 hundred times told tale.
 And it is ~~so~~ vain to
 shout anything into her
 ear - her *moral* ear
 won't hear - You know -
 but she never does this to two together.
 I think it is therefore

f100

very comfortably settled
that she & I shd go to
Cromford Br. on Monday -
& I have written to
Aunt Evans to that effect.
I see you say in your
note that you go to
Gracedieu on Monday
21st in that case, I
shd still go to Gracedieu
with you, if you liked it.
Uncle Sam is much
cut up, says he shall
give up Whitehall, as
he will have no heart
to return there.

As at present advised,
then

f100v

Aunt Mai & I think
it best for you to take
us away from hence on
Monday - we adjourning to the Rail as there will
then be less occasion to
tell lies to Gdmama, who
must at all events
not know that we are
going to Cromford Br -
Papa's visit I am sure
did good, but she
was afterwards agitated
& did not get up to
dinner. There is a
good deal of discharge
from the breast.
No more, as I shall
see you so soon; Dearest

for all you have done for me

Mother - many thanks

f101 DATED OCT. 20. 1850 death of H. Nicholson? from Cr. Bridge
Oct 20 {IN PENCIL}

Sunday

My dearest mother, I am quite relieved that the Nicholsons have asked us - but I think from what I hear that the longer it is put off the better - to enable them to recover strength first -- Laura writes to Aunt Julia that it was (more dreadful at first (the meeting) than she could have thought possible - beforehand - & she thinks her mother a little overrates her strength & power of seeing people. She says that Aunt Anne finds relief in talking about him, but that Uncle Nicholson

f101v

has hardly spoken of it ~~since~~ - I should not wonder if it were to shorten his life. Jack was the first to tell them - & seems to have done his work beautifully Uncle Nicholson ~~took~~ listened with perfect calmness - but has not spoken of it since.

I enclose McCracken's two bills - & the bill of lading of the *present* box - as you desire that you may write to him, determining what is to be done with it. The bill of lading must be enclosed to him. The

f102 LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN, pale blue paper

FN to Mrs N {IN PENCIL] desiring to stay at Cromford **[1:124]**
arch: 22.Oct? [1850]

23

My dearest mother I was
rather disappointed not
to hear from you this mornng
I should be very glad
if it were so settled that
I should stay - both on
account of companionizing
Aunt Mai & Aunt Evans
& also because I might
then do something in
Holloway - where I have
had so little time & so
much to do.

Uncle Sam went this
mornng

Shore & I should I think
at all events stay till
Friday.

Boots & shoes & a comb
& warm gloves I must
myself buy in London.
ever yr loving child

ff103-04v LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

f103 plans autumn 1850] {IN PENCIL} {IN PENCIL, IN ANOTHER HAND} End of Oct. about 25?

24

My dearest mother Old
Poison does not consider
Shore's foot as ~~material~~ vital
he calls it enlargement
of the periostium, rubs
in Iodine, thinks it
will be some time
before it is well - but
does not wish to keep
him here.

Aunt Mai being out of fear about him has settled
with Aunt Evans to
stay, in order to give

f103v

Miss Hall a fortnight's
holiday, which is
accordingly quite
decided - Indeed
I don't see how she
could do otherwise.

I remain at your
disposal - & shall wait
my answer from you -
& from Laura -

only making the
usual proviso which
always should be
made If we don't

f104

meet, don't let any
body think there is
an accident - I have
Shore to take care of
me - don't let Papa
think me dependent
upon him.

I am going to the Hurst
to day with Uncle Sam.

I am getting my
petticoat made.

ever dear Mum your
loving child.

The singing bird must
be put up to Mrs. *Allgood*,

f104v

Margaret Wigram's
housekeeper with a
special message that
it is very precious
& to be kept dry &
safe - Margaret
being now at Brighton
with her poor father
in law - I am very
sorry to trouble you
with these details -
but it ought to be left
now we are passing
thro' London

ff105-06 LETTER TO PARENTS HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN [autumn 1850] 2nd of Oct.
[arch]

25

My dearest people

You are very good
indeed to let me stay.

I am indeed glad to do
so, as Aunt Evans, tho'
quite good about it,
wishes it so very much.
I am sorry to be so long
away from home - but
feel that I cannot decide
otherwise, as you leave
me so kindly the choice.
I think Shore will
leave us to morrow.

I enclose Laura's letter-
as that may make some
difference in your
movements. It rather

f105v

shook me about staying -
 but Aunt Mai did
 not think it ought -
 especially as you may
 perhaps alter the time
 of your own going.
 Please send me back
 Laura's letter - Aunt
 Evans said It would
 be a very great pleasure
 to me - I am 88 - &
 perhaps I may never
 see you again - as Aunt
 Mai says one can't but
 feel this is true & one
 would be sorry afterwards
 if when one's father &
 mother had given one

f106

the power of staying,
 one had rejected her wish.
 dearest people in haste
 ever yours.

ff107-11 LETTER TO W.E.N. HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN FN at Cromford Bridge to
 W.E.N. {IN PENCIL} 2 the need of education for doing good. Death of H.
 Nicholson. Wesleyan sermon

Oct. 26 [1850]

zealous to do good, & would
 say, "Don't, I advise you not -
 the higher your notion of
 what teaching is, the more
 you will be disgusted
 by what you do, unless
 you take pains to qualify
 yourself beforehand".

[1:232-34]

When, on the one hand, I
 see the numbers of my kind
 who have gone mad for the
 want of something to do,
 people who might have
 been so happy, Miss Edmunds,
 Aunt Evans, Aunt Patty, -
 &, on the other hand, I
 see the tribes of unmarried
 women whose whole life
 is set upon doing good,
 (with which the neighbour=
 hood of Tapton particularly

f107v

abounds) - & who are
actually doing harm, -
I remain in mute astonish=
ment before so practical a
nation, who has made a
Science of every thing but the
Science of doing good -
who has provided a training
for every other profession
but that of education.
And my heart, to use David's
language, longeth, nay thirst=
eth, my flesh crieth out
for the day when we
shall all have the means
given us for fulfilling
that very *home* vocation,
which people are so
often wrongfully accused
of wishing to neglect, when

f108

the fact is that they have
so high an opinion of it
that they cannot bear
to rush blindfold into
the mistakes which they
see committed by their
neighbours.

We have twice been up
to see the dear little Hurst-
it was looking ~~very~~ beautiful,
& I felt so sorry to leave it.

I can fancy you now at home,
glad to have left the House
of Mourning - indeed I
should have felt the same,
not knowing what on
earth to do, say or look
in such a crowd - because
the ordinary life of servants
waiting at dinner, people
processioning two & two

f108v

along the passage, is no
preparation for seeing
the truth, the whole truth
of grief - & you must either
see the whole truth, or
turn away your eyes from
it altogether - I am so glad
to be here in quiet, where
I can think of the whole
truth of the case, where
it ceases to be mournful,
in any sense that God
can put upon the word
mournful, where one sees
more as God sees, instead
of in a bustle where that
becomes impossible - I
quite agree that with
the poor Nicholsons; "grief
must have its course"
indeed I pray that all

f109 ÷

may feel it deeply, for
in feeling it deeply is the
only comfort, the only truth.
But "my mission" there
would be *not to distract*
their thoughts, but to *help*
them to dwell upon it -
which is the only way in
which you can feel *all*,
& not the *mere* loss -
which, in ten or, at most, twenty
years, will be indifferent
to all. "Time is the best
comforter" is to me one of
those most nauseous un=
truths, which I cannot
imagine how people's
common sense accepts.
To dwell upon a thing,
which you know will perish,

f109v

which you hope will perish,
viz the mere grief for a
loss, is the most half way
measure, the most unsa=
tisfactory thing - "Daughter
of God & man, *immortal*
Eve" let her look the
whole case in the face,
the facts that will not
perish thro' all Eternity.

Dear good Aunt sends
you her best love & thanks
for letting me be here -
for which indeed I too
am most thankful.

Aunt Mai & I went
last Sunday to Ebenezer
Enlarged in Cromford -
& we heard a better sermon,
we both agreed, than we
have heard for the last

f110

twenty years - very inte=
resting, not at all exciting,
very reasoning - indeed
I don't believe I have
been able to listen to a
Sermon before for nearly
that space of time.
The Wesleyans have been
progressing for the last
thirty years, I imagine,
if they have come to such
doctrine as that - the
Church, I shd think, has
not. The singing was
good & the prayer very
good.

ever dear Papa your
loving & grateful child

ff111-17 LETTER TO WILLIAM EDWARD NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

Cromford Br 4 Nov

portion of letter [1850] {IN PENCIL}

FN to WEN about teaching, about {IN PENCIL}

individualism & clubbism {IN PENCIL}

or socialism {IN PENCIL}

I am sorry you are alone, 27

dear Papa, & I not with

you - not for your sake,

but mine. As for us,

we go on swimmingly.

I believe I go ~~far~~ still **[5:168-70]**

farther than you in all

you say - I think the

poor=law has been the

ruin of England - I would

make my Hospitals, Schools,

Penitentiaries *all self* =

paying. It is *because*

I see my "good=doing rich

& potent fellow Xtians"

doing *for* "the Cottagers,"

instead of helping them

to do for themselves, that

I would educate ~~the~~

benevolence. It is *because*

f111v

I see two of the best &

cleverest people I know

pauperizing a whole

town with their half=

crowns, that I cry,

Educate them to do better.

I would as soon think

of giving to a Cottager

as to him of Chatsworth.

I don't want to do *any*

thing for the Labourers -

I only want to do exactly

what *God does with us, viz, teaches us*

to help ourselves - God has

provided against our

doing anything else - we

cannot, if we would, do

anything *instead of* another.

But we know, in our

f112

daily experience, that there
are many individuals (in
all classes) who *could not*
raise themselves - unless
somebody will help them.
It is, I believe, an esta=
blished fact that savages
never rise out of a state
of savagery without some
external help - we
know too, that there are
individuals, who would
remain for centuries in
the same state, if there
were no one to help them.
Could Rush will to be
a benevolent man, a
kind & honourable husband,
& are we to wait till
people arrive at the

f112v

state of Rush, before we
help them. It seems
to be the law of God
that Mankind shall
work out the salvation
of man, not that each
man shall work out his
salvation for himself -
we profit by all that
our predecessors have
done for us - both in their
mistakes & in their discoveries.

Would your argument,
if pushed to a principle,
go to having no schools
at all? ~~If so~~, that
every mother should
bring up her own children
in her own cottage? That
every hut should nurse
its own sick? *If so, I*

f113 black-edged paper

But you don't, I believe,
carry out this principle
into our own class - on
the contrary, there never
was a time when there
was such a cry for public
schools, colleges & all the
rest of it. Every body
knows that they can get
a better Professor for
multitudes than they can
for their own family. And
I rather think that
the principle of Clubbism,
Socialism, or whatever
you choose to call it,
will *increase* with
civilization, instead of
diminishing - that the
way education-luxuries -
refinement, -knowledge,-
will be secured to all
the people

f113v

will be

by the principle
of clubbing. Yes but,
you will say, they must
do it for themselves, not
others for them. But
you don't carry out this
principle in other things.
A man makes a discovery
in ~~Educ~~ Chemistry, & offers
it to the world - you
don't say Oh but every
body must work out
his chemical knowledge
for himself. A man
makes a discovery in
Education - why is he
not to help others with
it? Yes but, you will
say, every body must
pay for the new chemical

f114

discovery - I would make
people pay too for my
Institutions. i.e eventually.
I would never say, Come
to my school - but, My
good people, you are very
wrong if you send your
children to my school
for any other reason than
that you think it the best one.

If, as I believe, you
admit of the principle
of schools, (day= & Sunday=)
all I want is to have
good schools instead
of *bad*. I believe our
day schools, in our present
state of ignorance, are
but an imperceptible
step better than nothing -
& as for Sunday school teaching,
it is *voluntarily* bad.

f114v

If you say that domestic
life should be the only
education, I answer that
I want to qualify & send
them back more fit for
domestic life. Every body
knows that there are
mothers totally unfit to
educate their children,
except to vice, dirt &
idleness - they do not
know how. Is it carrying
out (*or destroying*) the
principle of domestic
life to leave these to help
themselves. So with
Hospitals. Would not
your principle of self=
tuition, if carried out,
lead to not teaching the
infant, but leaving it to

f115 3

self-tuition. The only infants are not in the cradle - many mothers & fathers are infants to the end of their lives - & have never had the opportunity to develop themselves - & are perfectly incapable either of teaching themselves or of teaching their children. And are they not to be helped? You say, Who but themselves have taught frugality to the German peasant? I say, Circumstances - & that we see many people in such circumstances that they may continue to the end of centuries unable to will to raise themselves out ~~of it~~,

f115v

were it not God's plan that Mankind should help mankind into all truth & wisdom - not that anybody is to be put into anybody's "keeping", but that all are to discover for all. I believe that there is no *principle* that prevents the rich from communicating to the poor, any more than ~~the poor~~ to each other, or the poor to the rich - or the poor to each other.

If you wish to do away with Sunday school teaching, I have ~~of course~~ nothing more to say - I infinitely prefer, of course, the Sunday Sch., which is set up in Holloway by themselves, than the Sunday Schools we set up for them. But

f116

that does not affect my
principle, which is
that Sunday school teaching
now is *voluntarily* bad - that
people are still in the
belief that, (instead of
moral education being
exactly the same as physical
education - & that you
are to watch the results
of every word you say
exactly as you watch
the result of a dose
of physic), they actually
lay it down as a principle
that you are *not* to look
for results, that you are
to "hope in faith", that
if you see a *good* result,
you are not to ~~dwell upon~~ analyse
it, (for fear it should
"make you ascribe it to
yourself" - "at all events, you have
liberated your own conscience by

f116v

speaking")- & that, if you see
none, you are to rejoice,
& thank God that He
has ~~not~~ allowed you to
"do your best". Good gracious,
is it possible that such
ignorance can exist? wd a
surgeon talk of "liberating his conscience"
could such exist, if people
were taught to teach, as
they are taught to draw?
Yes, you are quite right
not to look for results,
because you would not see any.

I am often told "Oh you
may be quite sure that
you do some good - that
at least you teach better than
other people". Should we
make such a speech about
any single other thing
under Heaven? - ð Is Hilary
satisfied, because she

f117 LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN [the Church & our liberties as dissenters], black-edged paper **[1:124-25]**

Friday. W.A. 1850 {1850 IN PENCIL}
Nov. 29 {IN PENCIL}

28

My dearest mother It's an
ill wind that blows nobody
good & ~~[illeg]~~ ~~[illeg]~~ ~~[illeg]~~
~~[illeg]~~ ~~[illeg]~~ ~~[illeg]~~ ~~[illeg]~~
~~[illeg]~~ ~~[illeg]~~ ~~[illeg]~~ ~~[illeg]~~

I shall not be able
to make my appearance
till Monday - (4.23 at
Romsey with Miss Johnson,
please) & no mistake.

Susan Horner has an
housekeeper she thinks
wd suit us - she was
housemaid with them
20 years ago, then nurse
with Mrs. Frank Marcet,
then married & widowed
& now wants a place - a
valuable person - Mrs. Marcet
would be the person to write

f117v

to - Susan has written to
the person (Mrs. Jones) to
tell her to write to you *if*
she is still out of place.
This entails nothing upon
you, if you do not like to
enquire further - Susan
has also a kitchen maid.
Do you still want one &
shall I do anything ~~further~~ about her?

I have got Parth's hot
bottle.

I hope that people are
now coming to their senses
about the ridiculous row
the Church is making, which
I believe tends to nothing
else but enslaving again
all our liberties as Dissenters.
I hope you saw Baring

f118

Wall's good letter. I
enclose a copy of Uncle
Nicholson's to our Archdeacon.

I am afraid you were
very much disappointed
not to see us to day, dear
mother - but it was not
my fault. I was very
much grieved about it,
but it is very well now
it was so - & I do feel
of much use here. The
Horners are so tiresome
& it keeps them off. I do
wish all these successive
shocks (renewing the first)
of seeing people cd be spared
Marianne - Mr. Beavan [end 1:125]
comes tomorrow.

ff119-20 LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

Nov 30 [1850] 29

My dearest mother

I shall appear at home
on Monday, if you think
best & if I hear from you
that some one comes to
meet me at Farnborough
or Farnham.

The other plan is for
me to come with Uncle
Nicholson on Friday, who
has written to Papa that
he will come on that day.
Of course they are very
anxious for me to do
this - at the same time

f119v

they are perfectly good
about it - not at all
exacting - & if I am
wanted at home, perhaps
I might return for a
week later in the winter.

Marianne I am afraid
will not be able to leave
home for Petersfield, which
I am indeed very sorry
for - for I do think her
trial a most severe one -
so much worse than death.

It has done me so much
good to be here - I am
most thankful to you &
to God to have allowed it.

f120

I cannot tell you how it
has brightened & strength=
ened my views of life.

And when I compare my
feelings with those I
have had at Waverley,
I am indeed surprised
to see how much happiness
I think now there is to
be had ~~at~~ in life.

Aunt Julia is gone to
the reunion at Chatham.
Uncle Nicholson was
quite touched & delighted
with Papa's note this
morning - ever dear Mum
your loving child

ff121-23 LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN from Waverley
Dec. 2.[1850] {IN PENCIL 3
+

My dearest mother

Many thanks for
your note - I find
that Uncle Nicholson
has discovered a
School Meeting here
for Monday 9th &
puts off his coming
to us till ~~Friday the~~ next

Add Mss 45790

710

week (you know the
Nicholsons have no

f121v

organ of Combination)
I therefore think it
better, if you will
send for me on
Thursday, & not let
me depend upon
them - I am very
sorry for this un=
certainty & needless
trouble - at the
same time I don't
think my time is

f122

wasted here. It helps
to keep the peace &
to preserve the atmo=
sphere of holy calm
around this most
holy sorrow which
ought never to have
been cast aside.
Sam is gone into
Suffolk - Marianne
has given up Peters=
field - I am sorry to say.

f122v

They have had letters
from Valencia, which
I am sorry for, raking
up again all the
speculations about
the cause of the
accident, by throwing
a doubt on the story
of the Governor of the
Province who it seems
"crammed the English
consul" with the
hypothesis of the

f123

at all - but got off the road
 before - & fell into the chasm where
 it joins the Sea. But it is all more
 unaccountable than ever. Maule
 must have been out of the coach,
 to become entangled with the
 horses, possibly standing at their
 heads.

Aunt Anne will send me over
 to Farnborough - so you have only
 to fix the train, dearest mother

f123v

& I hope to be	"avalanche of water".
with you Thursday	Whereas it appears
without fail. If	much more probable
I had known of	that the Postillion
this change of	had fallen asleep
Uncle Nicholson's	& the Mules had
I would have come	taken fright, probably
to day - ever dearest	from a clap of
mother your grateful	thunder - & that
child	the Diligence was
Monday	never in the Barranco

ff124-27 LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN Dec. 3
 Tuesday [1850] ?from Waverley after H Nicholsons death, going to his
 chambers inter MA, black-edged paper

My dearest mother
 Many many thanks
 for your note. As you
 mention Friday & as
 Miss Johnson will
 come with me; yielding
 to persuasion, on *Friday*,
 Friday let it be.

I am going tomorrow
 to Henry's chambers
 with Marianne, which
 I think is quite worth
 while to have staid
 for, as I doubt whether
 she would ever have
 had the courage to

f125

have done it alone,
which I think a great
pity, converting God's
comforts into terrors.
But her path is a hard
one, & I think must
give Henry great
pain.

We will choose the
piano, if possible, at
the same time.

Aunt Anne desires
me to say that she
will mention the
plan of their all
coming to Embley to
Mrs. Horner, but

f124v [WRITTEN TOP-TO-BOTTOM ON THE LEFT-HAND SIDE OF THE PAGE]

she fears it will not come to
pass - & she must leave the
time of their visit to us un=
certain for the present. As we
are not likely to be having
Xmas parties, I suppose this will
not signify. You are very good
to spare me, dear mother, so long -
but as it has so turned out,
I am very glad to have accomplished

f125v

this Whitehall business,
which lay much at my
heart - & Marianne
has such an excessive
dread of the Horner's
visit that I am glad
to be with her the first
event that they may
not blurt out their
common places. Uncle
Nicholson has asked
Mr Beavan for Saturday
which is another fear -
as it will all be
talked over at dinner
Why can't we see into
one another's hearts

f126

& save one another
the exquisite pain
we are always inflicting.
I am sorry Marianne
cannot come to us.
I will write what
time we are to be
met at Romsey. I
have written to Laura,
declining her invite,
of course. Jack wants,
I believe, to come &
meet Mr Dawes &
Uncle Nicholson - at
Embley - he says you
asked him - if you
have not written again

f127

again to name the day,
perhaps you will -
ever dearest mother
with many thanks
your loving & grateful
child

ff128-30 LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN? from Waverley
{IN PENCIL}

Thursday [1850]
Dec. 5

f128

My dearest mother ~~32~~ by
some unaccountable mis=
take Miss Johnson,
after she had written
the very letter to you
fixing Friday, under=
stood or misunderstood
that it was Monday
& wrote two letters the
same evening calling it
Monday. When I went
up today to fix the
train with her, she was
in consternation - & tho'
she said she would go
quite kindly, when
I said it would be a
blank to you, she allowed

f128v

it would be an inconvenience, but said that she *could* get ready by Saturday if I wished - you must now decide my dear mother, between Saturday & Monday. I know all that you will say against me, & I know this will be an eternal remorse to me - still it can't be helped now. Mr. Beavan is coming on Saturday & I see it is very much wished that we should see

f129

him, as it is supposed he will tell us more. If you yourselves will desire that I should have seen him, & be able to give you his story, you will say so.

We went to Whitehall yesterday - Aunt Anne choosing to go too, but on the whole we managed pretty well. I will tell you more about that when we meet.

Uncle Nicholson has written to the Dean - & will come to us

f129v

on Saturday week to
 stay till Wednesday -
 seeing the School at K.P. on
 Tuesday - ditto Mr.
 Horner.

We have chosen a
 Broadwood - a very
 pretty one, semi grand,
 at £20 a year on
 £2,,2 a month. ~~ff~~
 You must write to
 him immediately to
 say whether you will
 have it or not & how
 it is to be sent. I
 am sorry about the
 Grand - but you can
 but change this, if you
 don't like it. I think

f130

you must take it in now -
 but you will write to
 Broadwood (Great
 Pulteney St) I told
 him he should hear.
 Parthe, I am very sorry
 not to come home,
 tho' you won't believe it.

ff131-32 LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN from Waverley?
 [1850] black-edged paper

Saturday **fe**
 My dearest mother
 Miss Johnson & I ~~33~~
 shall appear at 4.23
 at Romsey on Monday.
 The invitation to the
 whole party to come with
 Uncle Nicholson on the
 14th being propounded
 by Aunt Anne, (not me,)
 Mrs Horner & Leonora
 accept & Aunt Anne
 declines, (there's ago) -
 so you will have uncle
 N, Mr & Mrs Horner
 & one girl.

f131v

Aunt Anne will I
hope come later. I
think if we could
have her by herself
we might do her some
good, (with the rest,
none) - & the more I
see, the more I lay
it down as a general
rule that the surest
way to prevent all
good from visiting
is for more than one
member of a family
to visit at a time.

f132

Mr Beavan comes
today - I am very sorry
that it should be while
the Horners are here.
I cannot but think that
he knows, must know
more than he tells &
wish I could have
him for half an hour
alone. I don't believe
his story in the least,
Capt Matson's is so
much more probable.
But I shall be glad
when all speculation
is over about it.

ff133-37v LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN
Diakonissin=Anstalt, Düsseldorf 6 Preussen

July 16. 1851 [1:125-28]

Dearest mother It was the
greatest possible relief to me
to hear from you. I thought
the letter long in coming - &
did not write till I heard
from you. I am rather glad
you did not consult Killian,
as he might have set your
minds at sea again - & as the
long journey seems really
rather to agree than not - &
I am very glad she has
taken to drawing - & that
Aschaffenburg & Würzburg are
so pretty - I hope that you
will have seen all the Albert
Dürers at Nuremberg - &
particularly my Crucifixion,
which I am so fond of - the
forehead has all the intellect
of the God, the Jupiter, & the
mouth all the tenderness of
the woman. Power & Sympathy,
the two requisites in a friend,
are both there.

f133v

I shall be very anxious to
hear how Karlsbad agrees -
you have horrid weather.

With regard to me, I am
no longer, I am sorry to say,
in the room you saw, but
I am not at the Pastor's
house at all - & therefore hardly
ever see them - except when
they make their rounds.
I eat now with the Sisters in
the great dining hall you saw,
& sleep in a room in the
Orphan Asylum - the same
house where my last year's room was.
I am afraid any account of
what I do would be very
uninteresting to you. On Sunday
I took the sick boys a long walk
along the Rhine - two sisters
were with me to help me to
keep order - they were all in
ecstasies with the beauty of
the scenery - it was like Africa
turned green - but really I
thought it very fine too in its
way - the broad mass of waters
flowing ever on slowly & calmly
to ~~its~~ their destination - & all that

f134

unvarying ~~land~~ horizon - so like the
slow calm earnest meditative
German character.

I have not mentioned to anyone
where I am - & should also be
very sorry that the old ladies
should know - I have not even
told the Bracebridges. With
regard however to your fear of
what people will say, the
people whose opinion you
most care about - it has been
their earnest wish for years
that I should come here. The
Bunsens (I know he wishes
one of his own daughters would
come) the Bracebridges, the Sam
Smiths, Lady Inglis, the Sidney
Herberts, the Plunketts - all
wish it - & I know that others,
Lady Byron, Caroline Bathurst,
Mr. Tremeneere, Mr. Rich (whose
opinions however I have not
asked) would think it a very
desirable thing for every body
also the Bonham Carters. There
remain the Nicholsons, whose
opinion I don't suppose you
much care for, who would not

f134v

approve - & many others no doubt.
The Stanleys I know would approve
With regard to the time chosen,
I grant people will think it
odd - & I would willingly have
staid with Papa, as you know,
& gone another time. But you
preferred not. No one can judge
of any one's family circumstances
but themselves & you know
how much better Parthe is
without Papa or me - although
she will not think so. One must
judge for her. One cannot ~~either~~
tell people what are the ~~[illeg]~~ excitements
which make it desirable for her
to be alone & without ~~excitement~~ irritation
But with regard to telling
people the fact (afterwards) of
my having been here, I can see
no difficulty - knowing as I do
that all my friends, whose
opinion you most value, will
rejoice in it as a most desirable
thing. The Herberts, as you know,
even commissioned me to do some
thing for them here. The fact itself
will pain none of them. Uncle

f135

Nicholson said directly (when that foolish Marianne proclaimed some=thing about Papa & me going with you) "I think Nightingale & Florence had much better go to the Hurst - if invalids have a good courier & a good maid they are much better alone". I am so glad the travelling suits her.

The world here fills my life with ~~better~~ interest & strengthens me body & mind. I succeeded directly to an office & am now in another so that till yesterday I never had time even to send my things to the wash. We have ten minutes for each of our meals, of which we have four.

The people here are not Saints, as your Courier calls them, though that was a good hit, but good flesh & blood people, raised & purified by a great object constantly pursued. My particular friends are however all on foreign service, which I am very sorry for - all excepting

f135v

that one precious soul, whom I introduced you to in the Penitentiary, but as we are all too busy to visit each other in our respective houses, I have never been able to go to the Penitentiary since I took you there, dear mother. The Pastor sent for me once to give me some of his unexampled instructions, the man's wisdom & knowledge of human nature is wonderful - he has an instinctive acquaintance with every character in his place. Except, that once, I have only seen him in his rounds.

We get up at 5 - breakfast at 1/4 before 6 - the patients dine at 11 - the sisters at 12 - we drink tea, (i.e a drink made of ground rye) between 2 & 3 - & sup at 7. We have two ryes & two broths - i.e, ryes at 6 & 3 - broths at 12 & 7. breads at the two former, vegetables at 12. Several evenings in the week we collect in the great hall for a Bible lesson or an account

f136

of Missions &c. But I must away
ever dearest mother your loving
child

thank dear Pop for her letter

f136v

Athena must not make blots & she
must have sand & not drink the
ink.

ff137-38 LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN at Kai Aug 8
1851 {IN PENCIL}

7

dearest mother I have
just received your letter
& am glad you are so
well content - I don't
think you can expect
more progress at present.

[1:128]

You will be glad to
see by the enclosed that
Mrs. Herbert is safe.
The operation to which
Mrs. Bracebridge alludes
was an amputation
at which I was
present, but which
I did not mention
[~~illeg~~], knowing that
she would see no more
in my interest in it
than the pleasures
dirty boys have in
playing in the puddles
about a butcher's shop.

f137v

I find the deepest
interest in every thing
here & am so well,
body & mind.

~~Now~~ this is life -
now I know what
it is to live & to
love life - & really
I should be sorry
now to leave life.
I know you will be
glad to hear, dearest
mother, this - God has
indeed made life
rich in interests &
blessings - & I wish
for no other earth
no other world but
this.

ever your loving child
dear Mum.

f138

August 8.

Add Mss 45790

725

Kaiserswerth

ff139-40 LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN to Mrs N & FPN {IN PENCIL} advice about their journey {IN PENCIL} **[7:459-60]**

Kaiserswerth

Aug 26. 1851 {1851 IN PENCIL}

Thanks for your letters, dearest ♂

Mother, many. I hope you
will see Prague & Dresden well
& mind you buy plenty of
jewellery at Prague - you will
never have such another
opportunity - go into the old
shops & ask for old Rococo-
the Jewellers are all in one
street -- "Kolowrats-strasse". I
think. They have *real* old Turkish
things there, almost as good
as in Cairo - coming from the
old Turkish times in Hungary:
but I was so stupid & so tired
that I did not buy them, tho'
I saw them - I should like a
handsome bracelet or such
like for Marianne's wedding
present & anything else of the
kind. You cannot buy too much.
The beauties of Prague you
will find out for yourselves.
I am glad you have seen for
yourselves what Austria is -
that you may not think my
account of Vienna exaggerated.

f139v

In Dresden mind you go to a hotel in the square where the Gallery is. I recommend the "Stade Rom" - you can then run into that unique gallery any moment & enjoy the Magdalen - Queen of pictures. How I feel that picture now - dark wood behind - sharp stones in front - nothing to look back upon - nothing to look forward to - clinging to the present, as she does to the book; which beams bright light upon me. Oh what a history that picture contains in its little canvass - & how well it hangs near that "Glorious Sistine Virgin - all that woman *might* be, all that she *WILL* be - near what she *is* - for it is not a Magdalen, in the common sense of the word, or rather it is in the common sense of what woman commonly is - not what we mean by a Magdalen.

f140

I don't suppose your ideas & the Bracebridges' of a hotel would meet - but still, mind you be in the square where the gallery is - & I recommend you to get an introduction ~~to~~ from At Julia to her German Master - I don't know him, but I believe he is know = ledgeable. The Gisbornes (of Corfu) have Aunts at Dresden, *German Russians*. You will be delighted with the Elbe. & Berlin is only 6 hours from Dresden. There (in the Gallery) is my Genie Adorant.

I do not write more, for fear this letter should not follow you - thanks for all. I am sorry you are not yet better - but it will come. Ever dearest mother your

Add Mss 45790

728

loving child.

ff141-42v LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN asking for sympathy {IN PENCIL} & time {IN PENCIL}

Kaiserswerth

[1:129-30]

Aug. 31 1851 {1851}

Dearest mother I rejoiced to receive your letter this morning.

You have not ~~have~~ had my last, written to Karlsbad, where, as I received no address in your last, I directed. I suppose your letters have not followed you, as you left no direction. I hope you will follow Mrs. Bracebridge's advice & consult the man at Berlin. I rejoice to find that you do not think ~~Karlsbad~~ Franzens as bad as you expected. We were ordered there for Mr. Bracebridge. Were not the J.B.C's at the wedding, that they are running about here. The weather is here as cold as winter.

[end 1:129]

I think you must write to Papa to pay the printing bill at the Ragged St. Ann's Dormitory, please, it makes me uneasy

f141v

The Sidney Herberts are coming [1:129-30]
here from Hornburg - so I have
plenty of visitors.

I shd be as happy here as the
day is long - & wish I could hope
that I had your smile, your
blessing, your sympathy upon
it - without which I cannot
be quite happy. My beloved
people, I cannot bear to
grieve you. Life & every thing
in it that charms you you
would sacrifice for me - but
unknown to you is my thirst,
unseen by you are waters
which would save me. To
save me, I know would be
to bless yourselves, whose
love for me passes the love
of woman. Oh how shall
I shew you love & gratitude
in return, yet not so perish,
that you chiefly will mourn.
Give me time - give me faith.
Trust me - help me - I feel
within me that I could

f142

gladden your loving hearts
which now I wound. Say to
me "follow the dictates of
that Spirit within thee" Oh
my beloved people, that spirit
shall never lead me to any
thing unworthy of me who is
yours in love. Give me your
blessing - speed me on my way
to walk in the path which
the sense of Right in me
has been pointing to for years.
Have other paths *right for others*
been untried by *me*? But, my
beloved people, still have I
heard this same voice. This
may appear to you the passing
fancy of a heated imagination,
from which your tender care
would rescue me - but little
do you know how long that
voice has spoken - how deep

its tones have sunk within
me - how I have turned
this way & that, trying if there
were other path for me than

f142v

one which might look like
estrangement from ~~the~~ home &
parents, so loving, so loved.
It shall not be so - again
I say, give me time, give me
faith; give me the help of
your blessing - then will I prove
that I love home & parents
& sisters & friends. It shall not
be necessary for them to conceal
where I am & what I am
doing, for it shall come home
to their hearts that I am
doing nothing of which they
or you, my pure, my lovely one,
will be ashamed. We would
be together always in love.
How thankfully would I return
to my home if it would bless
me, when I come & when I go -
while in my absence what
peace, if I might hope that
you were sympathizing with
me. When I was 6 years old,
with Miss Johnson, this has been
my first thought - for the last
7 years, my first & last.
ever my beloved people, your loving
child

ff143-46v not in FN hand, pale blue paper

23 Montpellier Road
Brighton
25 November 1857

My dear Sir, I am rather bewildered at the subject of your letter because I had no idea that any hospitals deserved the reproach there set upon them. I have made inquiries about our own and have every reason to believe that we are as faultless morally as any establishment of any kind can be of the same number of people. We have between twenty to thirty nurses and none of them of bad character. One nurse has lived with us seventeen years and others for many years. Some are married women; some are widows; some are married but deserted by their husbands and I have met with many such in life, who have been irreproachable. Some men are great brutes and are no sooner married than they begin to treat their wives like savages. Some are single women but of good character.

I am sorry to hear so bad a character attributed to the London nurses. I do not think it was so in my time but I may be mistaken. They were then chiefly elderly women and rather forbidding than otherwise. The whole morale of society was more lax then than now, particularly of hospital students. There was no discipline among them of any kind. I always lamented

this myself and had I continued in London should have been a medical reformer. The fault lay entirely with the treasurer of the hospital who was the ruling person. He would establish what morale he thought proper, except that students must always partake of the character of the families they come from. This I say is most improved, as all society is. In my time we had no waiting rooms. Now they have libraries and museums. I think the chaplain is also bound to know the characters of nurses and pupils and to correct what is amiss. The services of the chapel and the sick is a very small part of his duties. The treasurer, chaplain and medical staff should combine for the moral purpose. I am told that Guy's is now well regulated. I have often take [illeg] great pains are taken with the studies. So may the medical staff I know are religious men. You state low wages as a cause of having inferior nurses. This is evidently unpardonable and unnecessary. Some of the London hospitals at least are rich. A good nurse must be a superior person and should be paid accordingly. She should be intelligent, kind and religious. We know the [illeg] Ill paid labour is the worst economy. Second, I do not think women of a proper age and character unfit to nurse syphilitic cases. Age, habit and office give the mind a different turn. I believe men nurses for such cases have never been tried in England. I have somewhere read that men nurses have been tried abroad and not found to answer. In the Army all the nurses are men and they answer very well, I am told by an old Army surgeon, but that might not be so in a general hospital. I think that the opinion of some London matrons that modest women are unfit for nurses "in a large proportion" of cases must be a mistake.

....I have great doubts about the introduction of sisters of Mercy in England. It is an order suited to the customs of other countries and connected partly, not necessarily, with religion and with a particular form of religion--I would say a *priestly* and *superstitious* form, as if it contributed to justify in a particular way, or was a proof of piety. It is in vain to attempt to graft these externalities upon a system to which they do not belong. If women of the upper classes wish to visit hospitals, like Mrs Fry, they might be very useful, morally and religiously, but they must be very peculiar characters, full of good sense and judgment, as well as of religion, and it must be with the consent and approbation of the treasurer, if not of the chaplain. The work is perhaps too much for the chaplain who might be glad to have the assistance, if he could get it of a proper kind. This is, however, distinct from nursing, and I confess I do not see how "high minded" women would submit to the drudgery of nurses, nor the propriety of it. They would be out of their place.

There is a book well worth perusing connected with this subject, Quetelet (I think) on prostitution in Paris. It was reviewed in all the periodicals some years ago.

The causes of all these evils lie deeper. It is in the early training of all children, particularly of families. All children's schools where the scholars are permanent should be in the country and labour in the open air should be practiced with a moral view. Fellenberg in Switzerland is the only man who ever understood this and his example has never been followed. See "The Institutions of de Fellenberg" published by Saunders and Otley 1842. This was drawn up by myself from W. King

ff147-47v LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

Wednesday
April 1853? {IN PENCIL}

6th
~~14~~

Dearest mother

Aunt Mai wants 3
boxes of the immortal
Jackson's Cerate at 1/1/2
& Papa wants one, to be
brought up to London,
please, with you.

I am sorry Parthe does
not go to Lady Byron's -
sorry that her state makes you feel it
a relief too.

Mind you bring Athena.

I cannot quite say yet
whether I come with Papa
or not. It must depend
upon so many things out

f147v

of my own control, That
I long to see you, dearest
people, you may depend.

You say with truth
how wonderful what
a blank she has left.

We will try to avoid
the meeting between Fletcher
& Fletcher. Fletcher has
set up an Evening Adult
School & seems intent
upon proving to the
Parish what a loss
they are about to have
He says we have cheated
him of £130.

Papa has written to Bain
about the papers after Saturday.

ff148-50 LETTER TO WILLIAM EDWARD NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

PRIVATE {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY IN UPPER LEFT-HAND CORNER}

1 Upper Harley St
Sept 26. 1853 33

Dear Papa

About the Clock I
quite agree with you - but
your notelet came too late.
I wrote off to Dent the
moment I received it -
& my letter had not been
an hour in the post
(telling him that I would
not have the Clock, but
would have its value
at some future time)-
before the Clock arrived.
And now, it being here,
the time which it
would take me to change
it will probably never
come for me. I got it,
returning from taking a

f148v

patient to London Br.
because I had no time
to go anywhere else -
& till I go to fetch that same
patient back, I shall
probably be obliged to keep
the clock. At the same
time, I should be most
glad to change him.

We are filling fast [12:83]
with patients - & to
manage their unmana=
geable tempers finds
me with full occupation.
One of my Committee
called yesterday on
her way through town -
informed me she was
perfectly acquainted
with the disreputable

f149

character of my predecessor
"Then why did you give
her a testimonial?" was
on my lips, but I
refrained. All my
Committee are now gone.
Mr. Marjoribanks is,
I believe, coming on
Friday to do Ladies'
Committee - & I will
deliver your message.
We have not nearly
done with gas & work -
men's troubles. I have
the most curious
"Mémoires pour Servir"
for a future book on
the Statistics of British
Charity Societies, with
which I mean to gratify
the world. [end 12:83]

f149v

Thank you very much
for your letters & information
about Mr. Marjoribanks,
which gratifies me much.

About my account,
I find, (on referring to
Mama's bill against me,
which I asked her for,
(viz £49, 10) that things are
charged twice over to
the amount of £25, 8 -
viz - she had charged
me in one place the Burlington
£17, 17 & you had
charged it me again £20, 17.
I deducted the smaller
sum £17, 17, & let the
other stand. Farther,
my £5 to Mrs. Chisholm
which you had deducted

f150

with you for that absence,
when we are together.

Bertha's nice little tribute
was not the only testimony
to your Xmas successes
which reached us. For
almost every letter from
Embley spoke of "dear
Pop" & her pleasant
kindnesses.

I am very glad you
smooth so much the
downward (or upward,
as I should call it) path
of the poor little Kemmish,
as I need not to be told you
do. I think the musical
box a very good Death=
bed companion.

Our poor soul lingers.
Farewell now, my love.

ff151-51v LETTER TO WILLIAM EDWARD NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN }

1 Up. Harley St.

Sept 30. 1853

Dear Papa

This is only to say that
I have been obliged to use
your cheque of £54, 13
for my Michaelmas pay=
ments. I have not
therefore torn it up. I
shall therefore owe you
£21, 11., 6 which will
have to be deducted
out of my next quarter.

Really, when I see
how Institutions are
managed, I don't wonder
at any amount of
failure. And, instead
of talking about the
Devil, & praying for

f151v

forgiveness, it does seem
cariste [?]
water mattress

to me all so natural
& explicable, the
world is in its very

infancy. Now that I
see the "depons des cartes,"
I can fully understand all
the causes of failure - & it
is not the Devil. Witness what has befallen
me in this one day - a day
not of exception. Savory &
Moore, the first chemists in
London, send me a bottle
of Ether, labelled Sw. Spirits
of Nitre - which, if I had
not smelt it, I should
certainly have administered.
& we should have had an enquiry into poisoning.
And the *whole flue* of a
new gas= stove comes down the
second time of ~~lighting~~ using it,
which, if I had not caught
it in my arms, would certainly
have killed a patient under=

ff152-55v LETTER TO W.E.N.E HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN, black-edged paper

f152

1 Upper Harley St ~~44~~

3 December 1853

[1:237-38]

Dear Papa

You ask for my
observations upon *my* line
of statesmanship. I have
been so very busy that
I have scarcely made any
Résumé in my own mind,
but upon doing so now
for your benefit, I perceive

1. when I entered
into service here, I
determined that, happen
what would, I *never*
would intrigue among the
Com'tee. Now I perceive
that I do all my business
by intrigue. I propose

f152v

in private to A, B, or C the
resolution I think A, B,
or C most capable of
carrying in Com'tee, & then
leave it to them - & I
always win.

I am now in the
hey=day of my power.
At the last Genl Com'tee,
they proposed & carried
(without my knowing
anything about it) a
Resolution that I should
have £50 per month
to spend for the House -
& wrote to the Treasurer
to advance it me.

f153

whereupon I wrote to the
Treasurer to refuse it me.
Ly Cranworth, who was
my greatest enemy, is now,
I understand, trumpeting
my fame thro' London.
And all because I have
reduced their expenditure
from 1/10 per head per day
to 1/

The opinions of others
concerning you depend
not at all or very little,
upon what you are
but upon what *they* are.
Praise & blame are
alike indifferent to me,
as constituting an
indication of what my=

f153v

self is, tho' very precious
as the indication of the
other's feeling.

My popularity is too
great to last. At present
I find my Com'tee only
too easy to manage. But
if they could be so
taken in by my prede=
cessor!

Last General Committee,
I executed a Series of
resolutions on five
subjects, & presented
them as coming from the
Medical Men

1. that the successor
to our House Surgeon
(resigned) should be a
dispensor & dispense

f154

3 Dec 1853 {IN PENCIL} 3
the medicines *in* the house,
saving our bill at the
Druggist's of £150 per an.
2 a series of House
Rules, of which I sent
you the rough copy
3 a series of Resolutions
about not *keeping* patients,
of which I send the
foul copy.
4 a complete revolution
as to Diet which is
shamefully abused at present
5 an advertisement
for the Institution, of
which I send the foul
copy
All these I proposed
& carried in Com'tee,
without telling them
that they came from *me*

f154v

& not from the Medical
Men - & then ~~not~~ & not
till then, I ~~proposed~~ shewed them
to the Medical Men
without telling *them*
that they were already
passed *in Com'tee*

It was a bold stroke,
but success is said to
make an insurrection
into a revolution.

The Medical Men
have had two meetings
upon them, ~~wh~~ &
approved them all,
nem. con. - & thought
they were their own.
And I came off with
flying colours, no one
suspecting

f155

~~knowing~~ of my intrigue, which,
of course, would ruin me,
were it known. As there
is as much jealousy of
the Com'tee of one another,
& of the Medical Men
of one another, as ever
Napoleon had of Wellington,
or what's his name
of Marlboro?

I have also carried
my point of having good
harmless Mr. Garnier,
our Parish Clergyman,
as Chaplain - & no
young Curate as Chaplain to have
spiritual flirtations
with my young ladies.

And so much for the
earth=quakes in this little
mole=hill of ours.

f155v

Ly Monteagle
Ly C. Murray
& Ly C. Russell are my
Standing Com'tee for this
month. The S. Herberts
are gone to Wilton.
ever dear Pa
your loving child

[archivist: FN to WEN, 3 Dec 1853]

ff156-56v

I send you some more documentary 45
evidence - the tail of my Quarterly Report.
My Comtee are such children in
administration that I am obliged to
tell them such obvious truths as are
contained in what *I make the Medical*
Men say. This place is exactly
like the administering of the Poor Law.
We have cases purely lazy fits & cases

deserted by their families. And my
Comtee have not the courage to discharge
a single case. *They* say the Medical

f156v

Men must do it - the Medical Men
say *they* won't - altho' the cases, they
say, *must* be discharged. And *I*
always have to do it, as the stop=
gap on all occasions, - & all the admin
falls upon me, of course. I have just
discharged four cases in this way
at the entreaty of the Medical Men - since my quarterly report. But
whether they will go or not remains
to be seen. They are not gone.

And I am always the go=between
between the Ladies Comtee & the
Medical Men

ff157-59v LETTER TO W.E.N. HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN, pale blue paper

f157

1 Upper Harley St [1:238-39]

IN PENCIL} 22 February 1854 Gray's Inn and Westminster Hospitals, pen on
pale blue paper 67

Dear Papa

I am sorry to say that
the information I have
concerning the morals &
manners of the Gray's Inn
Hospital is so bad
(among the bad this the
worst) that I should
not feel inclined to
assist it - if it were I.

Of the Westminster, which
I have always considered
one of the best though the
poorest, I had a head
nurse with me last
night, (a very admirable
woman), & she told me
that, in the course of
her long life's experience
at the *Westminster* Hospital

f157v

she had never known a
nurse who was not
drunken - & that there
was *immoral* conduct practised
within the very walls
of the Ward, ~~[illeg]~~,
of which she gave me
some awful instances.
So much for our moral
~~England~~ Boards.

But, that this impinges
the *principle* of Hospitals
I cannot think. Without
Hospitals, where would
be our Surgical Science?
If you do away with
Hospitals, you must,
of course, do away with
Lunatic Asylums, ~~Poor~~
Union Houses, & all the
rest of the machinery of
over=populated civilization.

f158 after AP '54 [arch: ? ~~Sheet 2 of letter of Sept 1, 1853~~ black-edged
paper

I remember you were [1:239]
struck with Strauss's 7
comment on the tendency
of some "to soar into the
skies", instead of "mending"
what is at hand. Man,
says he, will never im=
prove as he might, till
he ceases to believe in a
future state.

But I believe there is,
within & without human
nature, a revelation of
eternal existence, eternal
progress for human nature.
At the same time, I
believe that to do that

f158v

part of this world's work
which harmonizes, accords
with the idiosyncrasy of
each of us, *is* the means
by which we may *at once*
render this world the
habitation of the Divine
Spirit in Man, & prepare
for other such work in
other of the worlds which
surround us. The king=
dom of Heaven is within
us. Those words seem
to me the most of a
revelation, of a New Testament,
of a Gospel, (of any that
are recorded to have

f159

been spoken by our Saviour)
-- Whether here, or else=
where, then, *are not*
the conditions of a
Heavenly kingdom the
same ?

I can only add that you
misread me, if you
thought by "crazy old place"
I meant this world. I
meant simply this poor
little Institution No 1 Up. Harley St. This
world is not an old
place, but a very young
one.

ever, dear Pa,
your loving child
FN. Turn over

f159v

We have had an awful
 disappointment in a
 couching for a cataract,
 which has failed. The
 eye is lost (through
 no fault of Bowman's)
 & I am left, after a
 most anxious watching,
 with a poor blind woman
 on my hands, whom
 we have blinded - &
 with a prospect of insanity. I
 had rather, ten times,
 have killed her. These
 are the cases, not those
 like the poor German ob *Ap 29 '54* - {ob *Ap 29 '54* IN PENCIL}
~~poor~~ thing who died,
 which make *our* lives
 so anxious. [~~illeg~~]

ff160-61v LETTER TO ? NOTES ABOUT BILLS HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN
 PRIVATE {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY IN UPPER LEFT-HAND CORNER}

1 Upper Harley St
 from my *former* quarters,
 was charged *again* - &
 two bills of £1,,7 & of
 £1,,1 paid last year
 were down again -
 which makes

£17,,17
 5,, 0
 1,, 1
 1,, 7

£25 , 5
 to be deducted - plus 3/
 which was an error
 of Addition in Mama's
 (or rather Parthe's) bill
 too much -
 making altogether
 £25,, 8 -

f160v

Upon the rest I have
 not the slightest check -
 as the bills have never
 been sent in to me - &
 £24,,2 I see charged,
 which I have not the
 smallest means of
 verifying. This ~~therefore~~
 I pay, but the £25,,8
 I deduct from my
 Furniture Bill, which
 you know, is still owing
 by me, & which amounts
 to £46,, 19,, 6
 25,, 8

 £21,, 11,, 6 I
 therefore still owe you,
 besides other items of
 furniture, of which the
 bills are not yet come in

f161

I have therefore torn
 your cheque of £54,,13
 I deduct - - - - 21,,11,,6

 23,,1,,6
 & beg you to be kind enough to send
 me instead a cheque
 of £23,,1,,6 as per
 account above.
 I do not want any
 thing to be said about
 all this, as they behaved
 very kindly to see me in
 London. But you will
 see what I now say
 that from this time
 I cannot pay anything
 but that, of which the
 bill has been sent in
 to me - & that you must
 please not deduct from

f161v

my allowance anything.
The bills ~~may~~ are to be sent
to me, & I will pay them,
or return the article.
Without this precaution,
my allowance, as you will
see, instead of being £500
a year, would be £200 -
as *both* these quarters
would have been docked
of £70 - if I had not
insisted upon seeing some
kind of account.

I was interrupted
by all the medical
staff & must now
say in great haste
that I am ever
dear Pa

your loving child
FN

ff162-63v LETTER TO WEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN, black-edged paper 68

1 Upper Harley St
22 May 1854

[3:184-95]

Indeed I entirely agree
with my dear Father
in expecting no "Elysium"
in worlds to come. I
do not even wish for such
an existence. I see that
it would not consist
with the Righteousness,
the Goodness, the Wisdom
(in which it is our hope
& our peace to believe) -
that such should be
existence, human or *divine*.
Such existence would
impede humanity in its
course upwards towards
the Divine.

f162v

I cannot, however, agree
that Mankind are now
free to think & act as
seems good & right to
each, *uncrucified*, if no
human Law is broken.
There is no longer the
Crucifixion in the flesh,
which,- after suffering
limited to hours,- trans=
ferred the Spirit to
fresh scenes of hope &
progress. It is well there
is not; we may hope
better to help on this
world to its destination
of becoming one of the

f163

kingdoms of Heaven by
suffering in *Life* rather than in
Death.

But, may we, each man,
(still more I might ask,
each woman,) speak the
thought we feel to be the
most honest, the most
upright, the truest, the
highest within us, & risk
no "crucifixion" to our
sympathies, our affections,
to all that is dearest to
us in life, though the
life itself survives?-

Again, I agree that,
"in this very world",
discovery is to be made.

f163v

I believe this & all other
worlds, inhabited by the
finite & imperfect, to be
theatres for discovery and
improvement - else, we
could not believe in an
infinite & perfect Spirit
of Love & Wisdom, leading
us on through discovery
in these worlds to His
own perfect Spirit.

This Earth has its
"paradisaical" elements, & I
rejoice when such come
home to my dear Father -
but here again I must differ.
I cannot agree with him
that it is a poor calling
"to mend this or that habi=
tation for Man". **[end 3:185]**

F164 typed copy of letter to WEN Dr Wallis, from Candia Jan 10, 1854 [date
can't be right, 1855?] in FPV writing

f166-69 letter not in FN hand, pen, May 10/55

My dearest, My days at Balaklava have been as busy as you may suppose. I
have made a urn of inspection of regl hosps in camps, illeg the
twohospitals here when the nurses wre all in confusion. Te camp is very
striking, more so than anyone can imagine or describe - Between 150 &
200,000 men in space of 20 suqare miles all obeying one impulse, engaged in
one work, it is very affecting. But to me the most affecting but o;;eg right
way to see them illeg and forming for illeg will be fore 24 hourse wihtout
returning & from whom 30 will never return. Yet they volunteer, press
forward to go, when one considers what the work has been they venture, what
the hardship! I am impress not that the army has suffered so much but if
there is any army left at all! Not that illeg so many thru our hands at
Scutari! But that we have not had all. Illeg working 5 nights out of 7 in
the illeg... [hard to read]

f170 letter, Aunt Mai? 25 January [1856?]

ff175-75v LETTER TO FAMILY HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

[Ap. 16. 1857.] {IN PENCIL} 3- 4

Dearest people

I shall be with you
 about 10 o'clock on Saturday
 night. If you like to
 send up to King's Cross
 to meet me at 9. 30
 P.M, you can. Also, if
 you like to ask Sir
 Charles Trevelyan to come
 & see me on Sunday,
 good. Or I would go
 to see him.

I don't much care
 about Livingston or Royal
 Aca. don't keep them

f175v

open for me.
 Au revoir
 ever yours,
 dearest people, F.
 Granten Ho.
 April 16/57

f176 {ADDRESSED ENVELOPE IN F.N'S HAND} H + {STAMP}
 EDINBURGH {STAMP} AP 16
 57 {STAMP}
 Mrs. Nightingale
 30 Old Burlington St
 London W.

ff177-79 LETTER TO ? HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN [1:242-43]

f177

30 Old Burlington St. W.C
 March 23/57 38
 When I left England for
 Scutari, little expecting
 ever to see my dear
 Father again, I left for
 him words true then &
 true now - that I loved
 him as I never loved
 any but him. I need
 not say more to express
 how deeply I must feel
 the affection & the

Add Mss 45790

753

confidence of the letter
before me.

It would have been
dear to me to see you

f177v

where truth & honesty,
such as yours, are
desperately wanted, in an
English House of Commons.
But let us not waste
regret on the impossible.

With regard to health,
let me say that I do not
always agree with you as
to the desirableness, even
for health's sake, of
giving up one & another
object of interest, because
there might, in pursuing
it, be some bodily suffering,
some temporary loss of health.

f178

I rather think health
gains, on the whole, from
following up true & good
interests, even when it
loses at times & for a
time. But, unless at
an age when habits of
life have to be formed,
it would be clearly
unwise to enter upon
a *course of life*, destructive
of the health necessary to
pursue it well. So we
will not give a regretful
look to the Ho. of Commons
in this world.

Yes, in futurity there

f178v

will be a Ho. of Commons
in the real sense of the
phrase. Of this I think
I could bring moral
evidence, as well as evidence ~~at~~ that, in this
futurity, the experience
learnt *here* may be
available.

But, before this futurity
opens upon us, let us work
while it is called to day.
To my Father's active
spirit two populations
afford scope *for* work.
To his sincere desire
after what is true & wise,
a world full of error &
confusion, (which it is for
Mankind, progressively, to

f179

clear up & enlighten)
affords much to be borne
in the spirit of a true
philosophy.

As I receive, amidst
cares & difficulties all
but appalling, soothing
& comfort from the
confidence & affection of
my Father, may he find,
in my true love & sympathy,
something of that peace
& hope which, with my
whole heart, I, F.N.,
desire for him.

ff180-83v LETTER TO W.E.N. written by ? signed by FN PEN 8

Great Malvern
Feb 6./59

[3:362-63]

Dear Papa,

I read a good deal
of Mansel & especially
that part on Anthropomorphism
which you pointed out.

Generally I should say
that I need him in order
to show me what I do
not think, but specially
I shd. say that part about
Anthropomorphism was not
common sense.

If I understand
him aright he says:

f180v

that what is wrong in man
may be right in God &
vice versa if that were
possible. When McConnochy
laid down a scheme for
the reformation of criminals
he urged that we should
always attempt to
imitate the plan of God
& the Secretary of State
answered: that we
had no business with the
plans of God, & that
the less we imitated them
the better, or something

f181

to that effect. Mansel,
if he means anything,
which I don't think he does,
seems to me much the same
as the Secretary of State.
The very basis of the
enquiry seems to me
in utter error, & I do think
that the inextricable
confusion of the principle
of right which is to
be seen in every Theology
& Theodicè extant
arises from this very mistake
which Mansel has made.
Whether God *makes*

f181v

right, or whether God *is*
right, I believe beyond
the limit of human
faculties to determine,
but that I leave.
That Right is God I
think we shall agree,
but all Theologies,
Mansel's included,
assume that *Power* is
God, & this I think
is their fatal mistake
It reigns throughout
the whole Bible & this
is indeed anthropomorphism
because Man takes his

f182

4

own passions, invests them
with power & calls it God,
so that God may do
things which we ourselves
should call abominable
in a human being &
we call them good.

I do think this is all
that Mansel says.

Surely there can be but
one right & whether
God does it or whether
man does it it is the
same thing: it does
not make wrong right
to assume that God does

182v

it.

I should remove the
whole question to quite
a different basis,
indeed Mansel has
no basis at all, &
therefore, I don't see what
there is more to be said.
I do think that all that
crawling & flattering
& praising God for
doing far worse as we
put it than Cayenne
or Ischia or Spielberg
or Siberia, altho we

f183

call the men horrid tyrants
who do these things, is
[illeg], & the sooner we
reform our Theologies
& find out that God is
Right, & Right is God
the better.
If people say that God
is right whatever he does
I say he is not in their
sense. & if I believed that
that the murderer was
on his way not to everlasting
perfection but to
everlasting damnation
I shd. say I submit because

f183v

I can't help it, not because
God is good. **[end 3:363]**
ever dear Pa
Your loving child
F.N

ff184-85v LETTER TO W.E.N. HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN **11**

f184

Great Malvern
Feb 16th/59

Dear Papa,

Hilary sends you old
George Herbert. I am
distressed in looking over
it to see how differently
I think of it from what I
used to do.

The ideas seem
to me to be mere conceits
& the conception of God,
like Milton's, quite below
one's conception of a
high minded man.

f184v

I have marked on the fly leaf
at the beginning the ~~things~~ pages
which still appear to me
to be good.

But, as so often
happens, the man seems
so much better than his teaching.

There is one
exception "Man" at
page 90.

I have always thought
that a really greet
conception of Man.

f185

Compare the degraded
conception in the Psalms
"What is man that thou"
" art mindful of him?"
which is to me unutterably
disgusting, & old George
Herbert's

"Oh mighty love! man is one
world & hath

"Another to attend him

I think there are some

Add Mss 45790

761

nice things in the "Church
Porch" pages 11 to 13.

But if you like this
kind of poetry, I know

f185v

nothing like Petrarch's
Sonnet on Good Friday
beginning.
"Padre del Ciel, dopói
 perduti giorni"
ever dear Pa
 your loving child
 FN

ff186-93v Incomplete letter to W.E. NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN

30 Old Burlington St
W 46

July 6/59

[11:29-30]

Dear Papa

I shall be so
pleased to send you
some of my "works",
as you are so good
as to wish to read
them.

They are, I believe,
all extant & all in
the possession of Aunt
Mai at Combe.

I have asked her

f186v

to send you the last
which is also the
shortest. I think
the subject is, that/this;
-- Granted we see signs
of *universal* law all
over this world, i.e law
or plan or constant
sequences in the moral
& intellectual as
well as physical
phenomena ~~parts~~ of the world
-- granted this, we
must, in this universal
law, find the traces
of a Being who made it,

f187

and what is more
of the *character* of
the Being who made it.
{The question IS WRITTEN TOP TO BOTTOM ON RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE}
If we stop at the
superficial signs, the
Being is something so
bad as no human
character can be found
to equal in badness.
And certainly all the
beings He has made
are better than
himself. But go
deeper & see wider,
& it appears as if
this plan of *universal*
law were the only one

f187v

by which a good Being
could teach his creatures
to teach themselves &
~~to learn~~ one another what the road
is to universal perfection.
And this we shall
all acknowledge is the
only way for any
educator, whether
human or divine, to
act - viz. to teach men to
teach themselves & each other.

If we could not
depend upon God, i.e.,
if His sequences were
not *always* to be
calculated upon in
moral as well as in
physical things - if

f188

[2]

He were to have caprices,
by some called *grace*,
by others *answers to*
prayer &c, there would
be no order in creation
to depend upon. There would be
~~but~~ chaos. And ~~no~~
~~me~~ the only way by
which man can have
free will, i.e. can learn
to govern his own will, to
have what will he
thinks *right*, which is
having his will free,
is to have universal
Order or Law - by some miscalled
Necessity. I put this
thus brusquely because

f188v

philosophers have
generally said that
Necessity & Free Will
are incompatible.
It seems to have
appeared to God that
Law is the only way
on the contrary to *give* Man his free
will. And this I
have attempted to prove.
And farther that this
is the only plan a
perfectly good Omnipotent
Being could pursue.

Aunt Mai shewed
this thing to Sutherland
And he wrote in the

f189

margin his refutations.
They are those of
ordinary Evangelicals.
--whose world *is*
Chaos.

In a famous political
trial at Rome, the
accused was asked
to call his witnesses.
"I want none", he said,
"the witnesses for the
prosecution are enough."

So I say. The
Evangelical arguments
against me are
enough (to prove my
case).

J Stuart Mill, (by

f190

[3]

Nor do I see any one
doing so.

Those who do believe
in Law are absolutely
farther off from the
idea of a perfect God
than the poor little
Methodists who roar
& pray. No one
connects the Study of
Law with that of the
character of the Law
giver. And without
that, what is it
worth?

Then the Religionists
go on at their old
trade of texts.

f190v

And then there are
a few to whom Christ
is half imposter, half
Saint - like Mahomet.

Vie de Jésus p. 21.
"Les natures ardentes
ne se résignent jamais
à voir un hasard
dans ce qui les concerne.
Tout *pour elle* a été
réglé par Dieu, et
elles voient un signe
de la volonté supérieure
dans les circonstances
les plus insignifiantes".

What can be much
worse than this? Why,
here Renan is positively

f191

finding fault with
Jesus for what little
belief in Law he had.

[end 11:31]

f192

[4]

of God law=ing. God
willing - as if we could
not find any thing for
Him to do.

In framing a theodicy,
I would take infinite
care not to shirk these
"mysteries" -(I am much
obliged to Theology for
the word). While striving,
as has never been striven
yet, to understand the
character of God - the
"différens rapports qu'il
a des ouvrages" -- I
would not blink the fact,
that we cannot understand
the existence of God willing
laws that we cannot

f192v

understand the Perfect
Being - the Infinite.

Indeed I think that
Bossuet asked the
question, "la perfection
est elle un obstacle à
l'être?"--so certain it is
that we cannot understand
a Perfect Being - & that
Leibnitz answered that
the Perfect *can* exist.

A modern philosopher
has said it can only
exist in thought & not
in reality.

Now, all this appears
to me, exactly what we
ought to allow to be a
"mystery". And we ought to set

f193

ourselves with all our
might to learn the
perfections, not to
understand the Perfect
-- to study His characters
& His laws - not His
essence or How He lives willing
His laws.

This is what I would
call Positivist Idealism
--what ought to be our
work to do.
E.g. It is evident that creation
is a "mystery" -- but God's
end & object (in creating) is
not a mystery - need not
be.

"Il ne faut pas confondre
la question de la nature
de Dieu avec celle des

f193v

rapports de Dieu et du
monde."

That is just what I
think.

Let us study these. But
Bossuet & Milton tell us that
the compatibility of God's
foreknowledge & Man's free
will is an "inscrutable mystery"
--which is the plainest thing
in all the world -- vide Mill.
And every body tells us that the
existence of evil is incom=
prehensible, whereas I believe
it is much more difficult to
conceive the existence of God
(or even of a good man) *without*
evil I believe it is impossible.

ever dear Pa

your loving child

FN

ff194-96 LETTER TO WILLIAM EDWARD NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

f194

Montague Grove 53
Hampstead NW
Sept 21/5

Dear Papa

I hope that you will
come & see us here when
you go South, which I
understand is to be
next week. And we
can give you a bed.
Perhaps you could come
before you go to Claydon
ever dear Pa
your loving child
F

f195 62

Please remember
if you want Bratby
to initiate the new
man, I want only
a Messenger now --
& Mary will live
in widowhood for
a short time.

ff196-98v LETTER TO W.E. NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN **[1:246]**

30.Old Burlington Street. {PRINTED address}
W.

April 4/61

Dear Papa

I was obliged to see
Saunders (the dentist_)
to day for myself.
So I asked him
about things in
general. He says
it is of the utmost
importance, if people
intend to have false
teeth at all, to
have than [them?] AS SOON

f196v

as possible after the
last tooth has fallen
out. Otherwise the
muscles of the jaw
contract. And there
is no end to the
trouble caused. The
muscles do not
contract *after* they
are accustomed
to the false teeth
which support them.
This is according to
common sense.

f197

You compare Art
& Hospitals
(justly) their
present low ebb
-- the prospect
of a future.

Dearest, *no one*
has a right to
speak of "the future"
who has done
nothing to prepare
it. What I
could, with quite
moderate talents,
I have done, with

f197v

regard to Hospital
construction. And,
as far as that is
concerned, I can
lie down &
confidently see
a future for the
germ I have sown,
tho' I shall not
live to know it.
But what have
you, with far
greater talents,
done for Art?'
In what way have

f198

you prepared any
thing of a future?
Unless I am to
believe M. Jeanron
a fool in a knave,
I must believe
that you could,
that you can now,
do much for that
future. Have you
even begun "to
walk"?

This is an allusion to
a speech of Dr. Waller's.
I asked him whether

f198v

I should ever be
able to go to India.
He said, Had you
not better first
be able to walk?

I have never
seen you even try
"to walk". Had you
not better begin
now? There is
still time.

FN

ff199-200v LETTER TO W.E. NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN [1:246-47]

30 Old Burlington Street. {PRINTED address}

W.

April 20/61

Dear Papa

If I must answer
the offer you mention,
it would be thus:

that I have to see
a great variety of
people on a great
variety of subjects --
and that no *residence*
could be of any use
to me which was
not near enough to the official

f199v

centre of London to
enable me *during*
the business season
to see these people
at a moment's
notice & without
deranging them from
their avocations --
they being all business=
people. Such Sun,
quiet & air as are
consistent with this
condition, of course
I must have.

The worst that

f200

could come of this ~~offer~~ answer
would be the repetition
of the offer of Kensington

But I should
never accept it,
except for the autumn
& early winter months.

[They have Royal
residences nearer
that Kensington. But
I am sure I should
not ask for them.]

I may as well
mention as an
accessory which would
tell with you more

f200v

perhaps

than with me that
Sir Jas= Clark, Drs.
Williams & Sutherland
all said that
experience had proved
that I must never
spend another winter
at Hampstead or be there later
than the beginning
of December (I agree
with them)--Now
Kensington Palace is certainly
worse than Hampstead

I think W. Cowper
thinks that I have
retired from business
or am in the Bankrupt
line --ever your child F.

ff201-04 LETTER TO W.E. NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN **[1:247-48]**

30. Old Burlington Street. {PRINTED address}
W.

April 22/61

Dear Papa

It requires only an
explanation of my
work for any one to
see (without farther
talk) that I may
as well give it up
at once as go to
a place different
by 8 miles nearly
(to & fro) from this,
qua Whitehall.

~~W.~~ The proposition

f201v

made, as I learn from
the B. of Trade, was
to find me an
apartm *which wd*
suit me in one of
the R. residences.

Without the
slightest communicatn
with me, the Verneys
pitch upon Kensington.

When once Mrs
Herbert was setting
forth to me her views
upon Hospital Nursing,

f202

I exclaimed, quite involuntarily, What *can* you know about it?

Does Parthe know more about my work than Mrs. H. about Hospitals?

Where should I have been now in any part of my life's work, had I followed any part of her life's advice?

It would not

f202v

appear to me ~~more~~ so extraordinary, had they disposed of me in marriage, as their disposing of me in my habitation.

No more than Man is made for the Sabbath am I made for the house.

The "Sanitarians", tho' this is a secondary matter, persist in saying that Kensington Palace is very unhealthy

f203

& that it is as little
fitted for my change
of air - in comparison
with Hampstead -
as I say it is little
fitted for my
business residence.

I have consulted
one or two of my
collaborators, under
the strictest seal
of secrecy - and,
contrary to my
expectation, which
was that they
would shilly = shally,

f203v

they said at once it
would "shelve my
work altogether"
to go to Kensington.

Believe me, dear
Papa, what success
in life I have had
is due to my not
seeing double with
my eyes - as so
many do.

Remember that
Sir H. bought me
a horse at the very

f204

time he was assured
 that my ever riding
 again on horse back
 was just as possible
 as that a man's
 leg which had been
 cut off should grow
 again

ever dear Pa
 your loving child
 F.

I cannot see how
 Sir H. having been
 Col. Phipps' school=fellow
 makes him competent
 as my adviser.

f204v {ADDRESS PRINTED UPSIDE-DOWN AT THE BOTTOM OF THE PAGE}
 30. Old Burlington Street.
 W.

ff205-09 LETTER TO WEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN [3:319-21]

April 28/61

Dear Papa

In re Port Royal & your letter ---
 I always venture to be surprised-
 at the high estimate you have of
 the value of abstract truth - and
 at your low estimate of the value
 of truth in *practical action*, so
 to speak.

Take Hegel & Comte - men who
 I suppose have had a grasp of
 absolute truth, never before
 equalled. Yet really I don't know
 what good it has been of to any
 one. What progress have they
 caused the world to make?
 I imagine ~~that~~ if J. Stuart Mill
 had not taken up one of Comte's
 doctrines, that of Universal Law, *none*

f205v

It is said that Voltaire re=made his age. But, had he not been a ~~mere~~ destroyer and a great Artist besides, I don't think he would. Because he was a mere searcher after abstract truth - he had no truth in practical action - he made nothing.

You condemn the Port Royalists
1. because they did not throw off the Pope & 2. because they reached no abstract truth or freedom of thought in religious matters.

1. then The whole of the 17th century ~~seems~~ in France seems to me to have been the most gallant struggle after truth & freedom in religion which the world has seen.

I admire the German struggle.

f206

I cannot have a particle of interest in it. Luther & Calvin seem to me quite as frightful tyrants as the Pope. And Calvin's religion to have been absolutely worse - than the Pope's.

But 2. the *Royal* authority in France was much more to be dreaded than the Pope's.

I have made you an Extract from Bossuet, which I enclose.

Now I take it Bossuet was by far the greatest genius the Gallican Church has produced - far greater than Pascal. Yet Pascal over=threw for ever the worst tyranny the world has ever known, that of the Jesuits. These upheld the King. Port Royal resisted him Looking at that sentence of Bossuet (who was by no means

f206v

a vile flatterer) I don't see how the nation could ever throw off any despotism, except by a sea of blood & murder, like the Great Revolution - in other words, by an unrighteous, not a righteous Revolution.

Such a sentence makes one see what is in the minds of Kings, of Philip II of Spain, of the last King of Naples &c&c when they do such things as they/these did.

I take it, Arnauld was not a man of genius at all - at least nothing compared with Bossuet. Yet he headed (from his exile) a long line of conspirers after religious freedom - of which, curiously enough, most of the local hands were women - the Mère Angélique, the essentially *moral* character of whose life's

f207

fight is to me the most interesting part - the Supérieure de "l'Enfance" at Toulouse, who worked the secret printing press, for free tracts by the hands of her own nuns, & for doing which they all suffered martyrdom & she perpetual imprisonment -- and ~~much~~ later, Madame Guyon, not at all an interesting person, selon moi, because she did nothing. But she made Fénelon who opposed Bossuet.

3. The Popes' influence, as in the struggle of the Guelphs & Ghibelhines in Italy, so in that of the 17th century in France, was not at all uniformly against the side of freedom. That of the French Kings was. The Popes often interfered, tho' feebly, on the side of liberty.

{THE FOLLOWING IS WRITTEN TOP-TO-BOTTOM ON THE LEFT=HAND SIDE OF THE PAGE}
can be, read Montalembert. If you want to know how
grand human nature can be, read Port Royal.

f207v

I cannot give up my belief that the Mere Angelique was one of the most efficient because most practical religious deliverers the world has had.

How often, in my isolated life of discouragement, sayings of hers recur to my mind.

4. As to Sir Jas Stephen's grievance against her, that of the "family", I cannot *adhere* at all.

I should be glad enough to admire his ideal of a family - viz. persons uniting together to further the views of God. Only I have never seen it - never heard of it - I cannot admire what I do not know to exist. On the contrary, the Mère Angélique

f208

did realize what it pleases Sir Jas Stephen to call the "family" in her convent. And others have done so too.

Now neither convent nor "family" realize this ideal, I believe.

"Socialists" have yearned after it. And it may be that in that way it will be found.

ever dear Pa

your loving child

F.

Roger Collard says, "Who does not know Port Royal, does not know"

"Mankind" or "what mankind can do". I forget his expression - But I agree with either

One thing more. It is said that Jowett is the only man who has taken

f208v

old J.H. Newman's part at
Oxford in influencing the young
men. I feel that this fact
is what gives the only value
to his, Jowett's, "Essay" - which, as abstract
truth, is of no value whatever

F.N.

I have just read Montalembert's
"Moines de l'Occident", 2 vol. They
serve as a contrast to the Port
Royalists. They are like the Lord's
Prayer said the wrong way, which
the Devil is said to do. The
biographer's intense admiration
for them, which gives the minutest
details, serves but to shew more
glaringly the intense selfishness &
futility of their lives, so unlike Port Royal
If you want to know how disgusting monk=hood

f209

"Nul prétexte, nulle raison ne peut
autoriser les révoltes! Il faut révéler
l'ordre du ciel et le caractère du
Tout Puissant, dans les princes *quels*
qu'ils soient; xxx. L'Eglise leur a érigé
un trône dans le lieu le plus sur de
tous et le plus inaccessible, dans la
conscience même, où *Dieu a le sien*,
& c'est là le fondement le plus assuré
de la tranquillité publique!"

Bossuet. [end 3:321]

ff210-12v LETTER TO WILLIAM EDWARD NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

30. Old Burlington Street. {PRINTED address}
W.

June 13/61

Dear Papa

I shall always be
well enough to see you,
as long as this mortal
coil is on me at all

Mr. Herbert goes
to Spa the first week
in July. After that,
there will be less
pressure on me - the
pressure of disappoint=
ment in his (more/less than
excusable) administrative

f210v

indifference.

But July will be
later than your
ordinary transit.

Please tell Mama
that the jug & nosegay
were beautiful.

An ordinary good [7:330-31]
nurse would have
saved Cavour. This
makes the blow all
the heavier. I should
have put a sentinel

f211

at his door, opened
the windows, kept
his room cool & him
quiet, starved him
& put cold water on
his head. And
according to all that
is known, the man
would have been
saved. As it is,
if they had cut his
throat, they could
not more have
killed him.

But how grand
a death! "La cosa va",

f211v

(speaking of Italy)
"state sicuri che la
"cosa va" - are said
to have been his last
words. No one ever
does any good who
has *not forgotten* his
own salvation.

[end 7:331]

Yah! these miserable
sneaking selfish
religionists - how I
hate religious people -
both High Church &
Low Church - is there
anything higher \forall in
thinking of one's own
salvation than in

[3:364]

f212

thinking of one's own
dinner.

I have always felt
that the soldier who
gives his life for
something which is
certainly not himself
on his shilling a day -
whether he call it
his Queen or his
country or his colours
-- is higher in the
scale than the Saints,
or the Faquirs or
the Evangelicals who
(some of them don't)
believe that the end

f212v

of religion is to
secure one's
salvation.

What shall I do
to be saved? is
generally the most
selfish question.

ever dear Pa

Your loving child

F

[end 3:364]

ff213-13v LETTER TO WILLIAM EDWARD NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

30. Old Burlington Street {PRINTED address}

W.

June 22/61

Dear Papa

I will keep all
Sunday vacant for you.
I should like to have
you at twice, please,
say 11 1/2 and 3 1/2 -
or any other hours
more convenient to
you.

ever dear Pa
your loving child

F.

Mary always goes

f213v

to morning church -
so you must please
force your way up
to me, if you come at 11 ½

ff214-16 WEN letter of condolence to FN from Lea Hurst Aug 14 [1861]:
My hand and heart misgive me at the thought of approaching even within the shadow of such grief as yours. Perhaps it is best to magnify it, not try to soften it. Your words (just read) are the very inspiration of the work that you have done but can do no more. What a depth of despair was that which was expressed in the "unfinished work"--words too solemn almost for a repetition, but too real and too important to be left unrecorded. But have you not valued and enjoyed the lost good? And are we not all better for being raised high enough to be able to contemplate such a fate as that which you have wept over, but which you have honoured and identified with humanity.

Is there no consolatory thing in thinking of the "days that are no more," pity those of us who have had no days worth thinking of. Is there no compensation in the intensity of regret? But my thoughts wander I know not where and I have only failed (or I well might do) to realize the occasion of your hopes so broken and your work so damaged.

Then you bear to hear of the two waking sleeping insinuating creatures who alternate between the two sides of the window sill. Tom the now familiar one, the other [illeg] occupied with its field mice which it seems to treat as if it loved them.

Enough of this, our appetite must feed on sterner stuff. No more till we have more cause. Adieu.

W.E.N.

ff217-21 LETTER TO W.E. NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN **[1:249-50]**

Hampstead NW

Aug. 21/61

Dear Papa

Indeed your sympathy
is very dear to me -
so few people know
in the least what
I have lost in my
dear master. Indeed
I know no one but
myself who had it
to lose. For no two
people pursue
together the same

f217v

object as I did
with him. And
when they lose their
companion by death,
they have in fact
lost no companionship.
Now he takes my
life with him.
My work, the object
of my life, the means
to do it, all in one,
depart with him.

"Grief fills the
room up of my

f218

absent" master. I
cannot say it
"walks up & down",
with me. For I don't
walk up & down.
But it "eats" &
sleeps & wakes
with me .

Yet I can truly
say that I see it is
better that God
should not work a
miracle to save
Sidney Herbert, altho'

f218v

his death involves
the misfortune, moral
& physical, of five
hundred thousand
men - & altho' it
would have been but
to set aside a few
trifling physical laws
to save him. And **[1:248 end]**
altho' he killed me,
on whose life that
of the Army hung. And
nothing but his own life made this

Add Mss 45790

789

worth while. If you would
like to read the
enclosed to Liz

f219

what it should be
to a man of that
stamp.

Lord pity us - for
we know not what
we are about.

"The righteous [1:249]
perisheth & no man
layeth it to heart" -
the Scripture goes on
"none considering that
he is taken away from
the evil to come -
I say "none considering

f219v

that he is taken away
from the good he
might have done.

Now, not one
man remains (that
I can call a man)
of all those whom
I began work with,
five years ago.

And I alone,
of all men "most
deject & wretched",
survive them all.
I am sure I meant
to have died.

f220

Pray be careful
how you write this
heavy news. For
Bertha has not been
very well & they
keep it from her.

The news was
only received at
Combe this morning.

ever dear Pa
your loving child

F

Add Mss 45790

791

Parthe has found
time & strength to
write me 8 closely

f220v

written pages of worry,
worry, worry, because
I said that *her*
house was "devoted"
to "talk". I cannot
think who could have
told her that I
said so. I hope,
dear Papa, that
it is quite understood
between us that my
letters to you are
for you alone. I
always thought that
you desired this

f221

as much as I do.
It is indeed quite
necessary. This is
the reason why I
was so unwilling
to come into any
house of Parthe's, to
accept any obligation
from her. This is
the *third* time this
fatal year that she has
chosen my time
of deepest misery
& distress to give
me a scold 8 pages
long. **[end 1:249]**

ff222-23 LETTER TO W.E.N. HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

Hampstead NW
Sept 11/61

Dear Papa

Certainly I will
see you when you
"pass through London
next month", if I
am in the land of
the living.

I have taken this
house on till the
end of this month -
but, as I see no
prospect of my being
able to do anything

f222v

better, I shall probably
only move then into
an opposite house
for another month.

Mrs. Sutherland is
indefatigable in her
kindness - & is indeed
the only one as to
efficiency - in
arranging these little
matters for me.

The Barrack Commee
(Sutherland & Galton)
go to the Mediterranean
to morrow - for a
Barrack Inspection -

f223

the last thing I extorted
from my poor master.

And, as I say,
this breaks my last
tie to that noble Army
which I have served
so faithfully seven
years next month.

"in weariness oft -
in watchings oft -
in prisons -" 4 years.

I have quite
decided not to return
to the Burlington -
the place where, one
by one, my fellow =
workers, whom I had

f223v

so laboriously got
together, have been
removed from me.

And I am glad
to think that, in this
decision, I save a
very great expence
to you.

Mrs. Sutherland
is looking out for
a place in London
for me - if I have
to pass another
winter in this weary
world.

Is Mrs. Tom going
to increase her family?
I beg for one or two.

ff224-26 LETTER TO W.E. NIGHTINGALE {GOOD COPY} HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

Hampstead NW

Sept 11/61

Dear Papa

Certainly I will see
you when you "pass thro'
London" next Month if
I am in the land of the
Living.

I have taken this
house in till the end
of this month - but, as
I see no prospect of my
being able to do anything
better, I shall probably only
move then into the opposite
house for another month.

f224v

Mrs Sutherland is indefatigable
in her kindness - & is indeed
the only one as to efficiency
in arranging these little
matters for me.

The Barrack Commission
(Sutherland & Galton) go
to the Mediterranean to
morrow - for a Barrack
inspection the last thing
I extorted from my poor
Master.

And as I say this breaks
my last tie to that noble
army which I have served
so faithfully seven years
next month:

f225

"in weariness oft
in watching oft
in prisons "4 years

I have quite decided
not to return to the
Burlington the place
where one by one my
fellow workers, whom I
had so laboriously got
together have been removed
from me.

And I am glad to think
that in this decision I save
a very great expence to You

Mrs Sutherland is looking
out for a place in London
for me. if I have to pass
another winter in this
weary world.
FN

f226

I have closed my paper
for the Dublin "Social Science"
meeting with a little
tribute to him Oh how
much more he deserved
then all we could say
but I don't think I could
have finished my paper
except to do this (at Dublin
where he was so known
& so well loved) also at
my request the new
magnificent Woolwich
Hospital is to be called
after him

"Exegi monumentum
aere perennius" he may say
I don't believe any man
was ever so loved.

ff227-30 LETTER TO WILLIAM EDWARD NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN

Hampstead NW

Oct 24/61

(seven years this very day
since I began "the fight"
for the Army)

Dear Papa

I think Dicey's Cavour
& M. Milnes' Tocqueville
in the Quarterly the two
most masterly sketches
of a true statesman
I have read for some
time.

[7:331-32]

Cavour's death was
heroic - in the prime
of his glory & success -
working to the last.

f227v

But I am not sure
that there is not
something more heroic
& more pathetic in
De Tocqueville's, broken
hearted but not in
despair, faithful to
the end of the "good
fight", lost, altho'
fought so well.

People call him
narrow - i.e people
who are so wide
that they can do nothing
themselves.

The un=heroic tone
of the teachers of the

f228

present day is bad -
as when excellent
Jowett says that
in these days, only
"exceptional" cases
can fight the good fight.
Is not this the reason
why these cases are
exceptional? And was
there ever an age in
so much need of
heroism?

Most just is the
praise to Tocqueville
of imitating God in
his statesmanship
in reconciling Man's
Free Will & God's Law.

f228v

the only mode in which
God or statesmen can
govern.

But he is unfair
to himself when he
says he will not
"play the part of
Providence"! He did,
as far as he could.

He is untrue to
himself in saying how
little we can ever
find out of the Laws
of History.

Undoubtedly we
have as yet found out
hardly anything [I
suppose Buckle has some

f229

of the crudest general-
izations extant]. But
did we ~~know~~ study
history as much as
physical science,
would this be so?
Is it not like the
children who say,
I'm too little, (when
told to do a difficult
sum), to attribute
this to the "inability
of our reason"?

Surely God says
just the contrary.

Tocqueville tells
us not to call events
"mysterious". He calls

f229v

upon "governments
to comprehend the
mysterious influences".
"mysterious" only to
our ignorance. And
I would drop the
word - altogether.

Perhaps de Tocqueville
was the first statesman
who united an
acknowledgement of
the fact that, according
to the laws of God,
all human history
could not have been
other than it has been;
with the conviction

f230

that this instead of
stimulating us to do
nothing, stimulates
us to do every thing.
Only physical strength
was wanting to him.

ever dear Pa

Add Mss 45790

800

Your loving child
F

ff231-34v LETTER TO UNCLE DICTATED BY FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE, WRITTEN IN ANOTHER HAND, PEN

32 South Street

W [16:606-07]

Saturday Nov 9th/61

Dear Uncle, Flo bids me write for her.

"The reason why a
"Hospital should always be kept
at above 100 beds if possible
is a vital one: for by the
Medical Acts the Graduation
of a Medical man depends
upon it.

In this graduation
no attendance at a Hospital
of *under* a hundred beds
counts. For London Hospitals

f231v

the number has even been
raised recently.

You will see
at once that it is fatal to a
Provincial Hospital even
pecuniarily if it cannot
rank as a Medical School
for Medical Educational
purposes, & this is the reason
why Winchester does quite
right to struggle if
possible to keep itself up
above 100 beds: & IF

f232

Winchester is going to build
a new & healthy Hospital
on the best type it seems
to me a most extraordinary
discouragement to the good side
if you withdraw your
Subscription from good &
energetic Winchester to
give it to Southampton, or
Salisbury, or Reading, or Portsmouth,

Add Mss 45790

802

all of which are worse
one than the other: --all
of which are sunk in the

f232v

blackest depths of sanitary ignorance & not one of which has made the slightest effort to better itself -- Reading excepted which got itself reported upon by Rawlinson last winter but has satisfied itself with getting itself reported upon & has done nothing since.

It seems to me that the logically good act, is for you to subscribe to the *best*

f233 F.N. Dictated letter {IN PENCIL}

2

& not to the *nearest* Hospital & to send the patients where they will get well, though it may be a little farther off.

I even told Sir Will Heathcote sometime ago, when I communicated to him Lord Ashburton's message:--namely that if the Hospital were removed he would give £1000. if *not* nothing, that I thought you would give from 50£ to 100£ on the same condition.

f233v

I fancied I had understood this from you. It was the condition I made for myself: viz that I would give £50 to £100 from my own private earnings, if they removed, & I am sure I understood from you that you meant to encourage them by money.

The Hospital movement is becoming general throughout the country & you

f234

Hampshire people will be
left quite in the dark
ages if you don't take
care.

You ought to force Salisbury
Southampton Reading &
Portsmouth to go & do likewise
by your example at Winton
I am doing the very same thing
just now for the North
Stafford Infirmary, to
which I have furnished plans
& for the Royal Hospital
which I am striving to do

f234v

for the Winton Boeotians
so let them draw back &
stay in the last rank if
they like it.

But surely there will be
eno' in the advanced
guard to prevent that!

[end]

ff235-38v LETTER TO W.E. NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN DATED NOV. 30, 1861,
black-edged paper

Dear Papa

Will you tell
Mrs Watson that
the three Critturs
arrived in excellent
order - that like
their two predecessors,
they said, We don't
want any refreshments,
we want to see
the house - which
accordingly they did
for the space of 3

f235v

hours, without resting
-- that the black
one of the former 2
saluted them, (I
regret deeply to say),
with swearing,
spitting & hissing -
the same as the
old one did the
former 2 - that
I recognise the
Watson hand in
the beautiful cleanly
education of all 5 --

f236

that we think the
original stock
immensely improved
in each successive
edition - which is
always the case
where they meet
with care. (I have
no doubt Tom
having been taught
to help himself with
his hand out of
the cream jug has
a hand in it) that
the mouse=colour
-- to my mind the

f236v

prettiest - has a
bad cough & I am
afraid will not
do well - otherwise
the whole lot is
rampant - and
the applications for
them so many I
could give away
twice five. Old
Pussy will have
nothing whatever
to do with them.
They are much more
clever & active than
the lot I brought up
ever your child F

f237

& Mama's interest. Otherwise Parthe
may oppose it.

ever your loving child

F

Dec 5/61

Dear Papa

The enclosed is
a sketch of Sidney
Herbert, drawn up
by me at the
request of Mr. Gladstone
for his speech at
the "Herbert" Meeting.

[Also an article
in the Daily News
of Monday Dec 2 was
done from it.] It
is private, of course.

I do not think
Clough's mind formed

f237v

"studies" as you say.
I don't believe you
would find that he
had made any
study of America,
for instance, when
he was there - or
of Rome, altho' one
of the most remarkable
traits of his life
was that he, an
Oxford Don, should
stay in Rome thro'
the siege. But ever
since he left Oxford,
he was intent upon
doing practical work,

f238

"plain work", to use
his own words to me.
He said he had
studied & taught
too much for a man's
OWN MORAL good.

The "Puss who coughs"
improved so rapidly
that she went
yesterday *on selection*
to her new home
at Mrs. Sutherland's.
They are all "larky"
LITTLE things.

You have not
sent me back my

f238v

Feet of the Cats
copy of "Notes on
Hospitals", which I
WANT, please.

I shall be very
glad if poor Blanch
finds a winter & spring's rest
at the place she
loves, for having been
last there with her
husband. I will
write to Parthe to bespeak

ff239-44v LETTER TO W.E.N. {DICTATED} PEN, black-edged paper

32 South Street

Jany 6/62. **[3:364-66]**

Dear Papa,

You ask me how I can
reconcile my faith with
my grief. I don't at all
set up for myself as being
perfectly consistent,
but I do not think that
it is fair to judge of
a faith, or of a person's
faith in a faith
~~from~~ in this way.

vide yr letter.

If it were not for my faith
I believe I should be mad.

f239v

Political prisoners have
gone mad from far
far less isolation
disappointment &
suffering than mine.

In one sense of course
all positions are intended [see]
by God but in another
sense, certainly no
such isolation as mine
is intended by God.

God intends all of us
to work in his work.

I can have faith that
he will set all things

f240

right in time, but it does
not prevent a person being
starved who is without
food, that he has faith
that it is all right &
I am in that state of moral
starvation.

God certainly
intends no men to live
by faith alone,
whatever the Bible may
say. He intends us
to live by faith & by
work, & he no more
intends me, or you, or
anyone to be happy by
a true faith than he

f240v

intends us to live physically
without food.

He intends
me to be unhappy in my
present state, & I resign
myself to be unhappy
with a kind of comfort that
it is necessarily so by his
will. Neither does he
intend any man to be
happy without sympathy.
And what sympathy
have I now?

I would not say: "How can
"you reconcile yr being
"unhappy with yr faith"?
for it is rather, that it [see]

f241

3

of the "sufferings" of one part
of God's mankind, that
I thought it worth while
to give up my own proper
work & to sacrifice
knowingly my own life
in order to educate a
Secretary of State, God
giving me a chance which
hardly ever could happen
again. In 5 years this
Secy of State is taken
away, By his death
all my hopes are blasted,
& all my plans destroyed
& the sacrifice of my health

f241v

made of none effect.
and remember the losses
I have had are not in
the common course of
nature. one was a man
of 51 & three, AH Clough
Alexander & Prince Albert
were men of 41 (of course [5:419]
I don't pretend to say that I
have felt Prince Albert's
death like the rest, but
still I hope I have
national feeling eno'
to feel it very much,
& Lord Palmerston said

f242

"Better for England to have
had a 10 year's War with
America than to have lost
Prince Albert"]
Again I hate the Low
Church doctrine, that
one person is to die for the
spiritual good of "me"
therefore à fortiori, I
don't think a person is to
live for my good.

I don't think God ought
to have stopped & said
"No I won't take Sidney
Herbert, or Arthur Clough
because, Florence Nightingale

f242v

will miss them so", but
still the fact remains.
Sidney Herbert was as
the object of my life, as
Arthur Clough was the
support of my life.

I had been educating
Alexander - & never
can educate another
Director General, just
as never another
Secretary of State.

My work is all gone
from my hands, & I alone
remain. If you say

f243

5

I am in: out of every
48 hours I have 40
continuous hours without
sleep & during the last
24 of those 40, I can
neither read nor write
or hardly bear anybody
in the room. I don't think
anyone can know the
state which this want of
sleep brings one into. It
is impossible to help
saying: "How God wastes
one's time!" altho' one may
be quite sure of the
perfection of his plan as
a whole, but never

f243v

believe that I have gone
back by one iota
from what you call my
revelation. I always
feel there is hardly anyone
but me to defend the
poor Creator, ie to proclaim
~~defend~~ his character
& I shd be ~~very~~ sorry indeed
if there were chance
of your thinking that
I think that my fate
makes any difference in
the perfection of his
designs

f244

Thus far dear Uncle
Florence has dictated
from her bed, with
your letter & appeal for
her *personal* answer
lying by her hand.

As she does not "read
over" nor hesitate she
fears this is "rather long
for you".

It is a fortnight today
that she has been unable
to leave her bed - for her
one little trial led to no good.

f244v

but she will creep out in
a day or two.-- You
will observe that she
has alternate worse
days & this is the
beginning of a 48 hours
or she wd. not have been
able to dictate so much
even to you. [~~illeg~~] (She
has *written* nothing during
the time herself - I believe)

One day will you shew
me this letter again &
pardon dear Uncle my
haste in writing **[end 3:366]**

ff245-46v LETTER TO W.E.N. DICTATED to Hilary Bonham Carter PEN, black-edged paper

Jan 23/62
32 South Street

Dear Papa,

The Winchester is a great victory. I will not ask you to put my subscription down under yours, because mine is entirely contingent upon whether I approve the plans at sight. I have made this condition with every hospital I have assisted. I promised the Winton from 50£ to 100£ if they made the hospital

[16:608-09]

f245v

what I consider "conducive
to the welfare of the sick"

NB.

I hope you know
that I pay all my charities
out of my own earnings,
including the 50£ to the
Herbert Memorial &
300£ for the printing of
the "Stuff".

You have
been so exceedingly liberal
to me that I should be
sorry you thought that I

f246

gave these things out of yr
pocket, I have taken eno'
out of it without that
or more truly *you have*
given me eno'

I have managed my donation to several County
Hospitals ie to the building of new ones, in the same
way as I propose to do ~~so~~
with the Winton.

I have no doubt it will
have to be made £100.

Will you tell Parthe
that I will answer Sir
Willm Heathcotes question

f246v

about 'Site' to him direct
tomorrow.

[end 16:609]

(Tomorrow, dear Uncle, is
the day fixed & I think
all will be well for the

[to 31 Dover st. - till March 1] {IN PENCIL}
morning - Dr Williams
gives permission - & the
Rooms are as good as we
cd. hope to find & quiet.
In haste & with thanks
for Parthes letter

yr. fileally

J Hy BC

Lord Tantenvilles house, quite *at the end*
declined us, but we do not [Lord Tantenlles?]
regret now.

ff247-50 LETTER TO W.E. NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

London February 2 1862 **[14:1014]**

Dear Papa

I should like my little traps, including the Crimean mementos, to be collected, a list made of them & the whole placed together, to remain in your possession during your life; my Mother & Parthe successively to have the custody of them for their respective lives and then to go to Beatrice.

My "little traps" are, as far as I remember, shells, books, mathematical, astronomical &c with my notes, an unique

f247v

collection of "Régles" of Religious Orders, chiefly French, made by me at Paris - the memorials of my Roman stay and Egyptian and Greek journey - the prints I had at Harley St - the Crimean remains - the presents & testimonials on my return &c

I earnestly wish that no other biography of me should be given by my family or friends

ever dear Papa

Your loving child
Florence Nightingale

[end]

f248**[11:48]**

London February 2 1862

I leave to Aunt Mai and Papa the little trunk (once belonging to Miss Coape) which contains the copies of the "stuff", annotated by Mr. Jowett & Mr. Mill in pencil - with their letters &c upon it Also the stack of (half-bound) copies of 'stuff'.

I should greatly have wished that it could have been revised & arranged according to the hints of Jowett & Mill but without altering the spirit according to their principles with which I entirely disagree.

248v

But he who would have done this is gone.

I think however that some errors pointed out in these pencil notes, (as eg. Mill says that Descartes is misrepresented and Jowett that the Stoics are so) might be taken ~~away~~ out of the 'stuff' in a revision, without giving any one much trouble.

M. Mohl would be a capital advisor, if he would consent.

Florence Nightingale

[end]**f249** {BACK OF AN ENVELOPE}

[1862]

As to "Stuff"

f250 {BACK OF AN ENVELOPE}

to be enclosed in my Will

F. Nightingale

W.E. Nightingale Esq

ff251-52 LETTER TO WILLIAM EDWARD NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

Feb 21/62

Dear Papa The Review
of Sismondi was in
the 1st January Number
of the Revue des Deux
Mondes. But I have
tried in vain to get
you that number.
His correspondence therein reviewed has
been lately published,
not very interesting,
chiefly to a Mlle de St
Aulaire. But what
would interest you
are the old Geneva

f251v

remembrances - and
the progress of his
religious opinions,
from regarding God
as simple Law, (&
envying Silvio Pellico
who looked upon
Him as a constant
special interferer)-
to his coming to have
some faint glimpse,
very faint, that Law
is the wisest kind
of "interference", the goodness of an
~~good~~ Almighty Father.

f252

Please tell Beatrice
that Galton's baby is
wonderfully better today,
tho' not out of danger.
But it is so wonderful
that it should be
alive at all that
I suppose it means
to live. I don't know
how far it is desirable
that any infant should
survive such an
illness. But poor Galton
will be overjoyed. And
Marianne has sate
up with it every night.

ever dear Pa
your loving child

ff253-64v LETTER TO MRS. NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN [1:150-54]

9 Chesterfield St.

March 7/62 W.

Dearest Mother

So far from your
letters being a "bore",
you are the only
person who tells me
any news. I have
never been able to
get over the morbid
feeling of/at seeing my
~~two~~ lost two's names
in the paper, so that
I see no paper.

I did not know
of the deaths you

f253v

mention, (excepting of
course Galton's baby,) & am very glad to hear of them, yes really glad. As for poor Galton's baby, it is a deep loss to him. And I cannot be glad. All his future he had built on it. And he would have made it such a good father. I don't know when I have been so sorry for the dropping of such a little life on earth.

f254

But Laura's husband & baby's father & others do not know how much they are spared by having no bitterness mingled with their grief. Such unspeakable bitterness has been connected with each one of my losses - far, far greater than the grief.

Then I have lost all. All the others have children or some high & inspiring interest to live for. While I have lost

f254v

husband & children
& all. And am left
to the weary hopeless
struggle with Hawes
at the War Office &
Lord Stanley in the
Indian Sanitary Commissn
While it is an aggravation
to everything to think
that I predicted to
my poor lost chief
exactly what has
happened, if he left
the War Office *without*
an organization &
with a Hawes ~~in it~~.

Sometimes I wonder

f255

[2]

that I should be so
impatient for death.
Had I only to stand
& wait, I think it
would be nothing -
tho' the pain is so
great that I wonder
how anybody can dread
an operation. If Paget
could amputate my
left *fore quarter*, I
am sure I would
have sent for him
in half an hour.

But it is this
desperate guerilla
warfare, ending in

f255v

so little, which makes
me so impatient of
life - I who could
once do so much. And
that wretched Sir G.
Lewis, writing Latin
jeux d'esprit.

Yes, the Canadian
expedition was very
well done. But Lord
de Grey & I did that
together. And we did
it by means of the
very machinery,
constructed by me
& Sidney Herbert,
which Hawes is now
wanting to destroy.

f256

When I hear the
Street band playing
"Auld Lang Syne", & think
that these five last
years of my life are
indeed now *auld*
lang syne - it takes
a deal of faith to
~~think~~ make God's
will mine. For
indeed, I don't see
how, in any world
there could be such
a combination for
good as that which
existed between me
& my lost ones -
here.

And as it

f256v

in no way depressed
my joy in it to suffer
so much as I did
even during that time,
so it in no way
comforts me to think
that I shall soon
be past my sufferings.
For the Army will
not be better because
I am dead.

2. Beatrice is going
to see Miss Clough
before she leaves her
school at the Lakes,
which I am very
glad of.

From the very first

f257

[3]

moment I ever saw
either Miss Clough
or her lost brother,
(the "man of God")
I felt, ~~why~~ "these
people are quite
of a different clay
from ours. They move
in ~~a~~ quite a different
order of ideas &
feelings from what
we do".

I think what I
have felt most (during
my last 3 months of
extreme weakness) is
the not having one

f257v

single person to ~~say an~~ give me one
inspiring word or even
one correct fact ~~to me~~.

I am glad to end
a day which never
can come back; gladder

to end a night - gladdest
to end a month.

I have felt this
much more in setting
up (for the first time
in my life), a fashionable
old maid's house in
a fashionable quarter
(tho' grateful to Papa's
liberality for enabling
me to do so) because
it is as it were deciding

f258

upon a new & independent
course in my broken
old age. Which I never
have been called upon
to do even in my vigorous
youth. Always before
my path was so clear
to me, what I ought
to do, tho' often not
how to do it.

But now it was
quite doubtful to me
whether, (when all was
broken up,) I had
better not have left
the Army altogether.

The question was

f258v

decided in my mind
by my being so much
worse that I *could* do
nothing else - & by
Lord Stanley throwing
all this Indian Commissn
business upon us. I
have now written the
biggest part of their
Report. But I have
not begun my own
Evidence; nor the
Digest of the Reports
for our Indian Stations,

150 in number.

But oh! if I were
now able to do what
I could do 5 years ago,

f259

[4]

or even what mothers can do
for their children,
how little my griefs
would ~~do~~ be to me,
except to ~~urge~~
inspire me to do
more.

In the Medea,
Jason says, "What
remains?" And
Medea answers, "I".
I remember when
I came home from
the Crimea, 5 1/2 years
ago, writing this from
Lea Hurst to those

f259v

who would have
deterred me from
stopping in the Army.
All are now gone.
And there remains
only half "I".

I did all (& more
than) I intended when
I had "I", & got up
that Commission, having
only "I" to begin with.

But now... ?"what
remains"? --
3. The Queen, poor thing,
is more "bowed to the
earth" (her own expression)
than ever.

f260

She is never able to
see but one person at a time
- never to sit down to
dinner with more than
one person - which
used to be Princess
Hohenlohe or Pss Alice.
Even her uncle, K of
the Belgians, never dined
with her when he was
here. She told Lord
Palmerston that she
should not live long.
But I hear there is
no reason for fearing
this. Ld P. says she is
half the size she was

f260v

She fronts the work
gallantly. But there
are such serious doubts
whether she can even
get through the daily
routine of work,
without Albert, that
the Cabinet considered
every constitutional
possibility of creating
an Office, to be filled
by Lord Clarendon.
It was found to be
unconstitutional &
that she must do
the work herself with
her Private Secretaries.

f261

[5]

Albert arranged that
Pss Alice should stay
2 years in England
after her marriage.

People say that
time heals the deepest
griefs. It is not true.
Time makes us feel
what are the deepest
griefs every day only
the more by showing of
the blank (which
nothing now can fill)
every day more & more
of the evils which ~~nothing~~
there are none now

f261v

to remedy, every day
one more.
4. Thank you very much
for the weekly box.
And tell Burton that
I ate a piece of her
rabbit pie, which
was the first real
meat I have eaten
for 3 months. The
smallest contribution
is thankfully received
- even a sausage,
when you kill a pig.

I could not help
sending the game,
chicken, vegetables &

f262

flowers to King's Coll=
Hospital.

I never see the spring
without thinking of my
Clough. He used to tell
me how the leaves were
coming out - always
remembering that,
without his eyes, I
should never see the
spring again. Thank
God! My lost two
are in brighter springs
than ours.

Poor Mrs. Herbert
told me that her chief
comfort was in a little

f262v

Chinese dog of his, which
he was not either very
fond of, (he always
said he liked Christians
better than beasts) but
which used to come
& kiss her eyelids &
lick the tears from
her cheeks. I remember
thinking this childish.
But now I don't.
My cat does just
the same to me. Dumb
beasts observe you
so much more than
talking beings, & know
so much better what

f263

[6]

you are thinking of.

You may send this
letter to Lea Hurst,
if you like it. Papa
wanted to know
about the Queen.
But don't send it
anywhere else.

If you could send
me up some snowdrops,
primroses, anenomes
& other wild spring
flowers with roots,
I have a fine
balcony here looking
on Chesterfield Gardens

f263v

where I mean to take
out a license for rural
sports & kill cats.

ever dear Mum

Your loving child

F

Parthe told me you
wanted to know whether
the Dresden Raphael
had come in its new
frame. Yes, it did,
seven or eight months
ago (for I remember
I had it before August
2, when my dear Master
died) The frame is
beautiful. It is just

f264

[7]

what that kind of print
wants to lighten it -
an open work frame.
I always think ~~p~~ good
prints are spoilt by
framing them in
solid work - & made
to look heavy.

I have turned out
all Mrs. Plumer Ward's
performances in her
bedroom which is
mine. (I had as soon
be in the room with
bugs & fleas) & hung up
your Dresden Raphael

f264v

& Murillo Virgin,
Mrs. Bracebridge's
annunciation (from the
Papal Chapel) an
unframed Guercino
Ecce Homo, & Sistine
Isaiah - and two
Chromo. lithographs
from Roberts & a
Norwegian.

And Sutherland
said I was "a vain
"thing, to have decorated
my room. There are
some people who always
say the wrong thing. [end 1:154]

f265 {ENVELOPE WITH STAMP IN UPPER RIGHT CORNER} HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

Mrs. Nightingale

Embley

Priv {WRITTEN TOP-TO-BOTTOM}

Romsey

f266 letter to FN by Mary Jones, My dearest friend from K.C.H. 15 March
[1862] 3 pm. I have this morning recd your note or shd have sent the papers
by the bearer of your most kind print. Of Fish-Flowers & and the letter
have charmed our wards today almost like sunshine, the patients are charmed
with the "Daf-a-down Dillies" and the little children clapped their hands.

Many thanks dearest friend, always yours MJ

ff267-68v PART OF A LETTER TO MRS NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN, black-edged paper

These are the
poor little Patients
in King's College
Hospital.

I should like
you to know how
much pleasure
your spring things
give - to those
who *never* see the
spring, or never
will again.

F.N.

Please send this on

f267v

to Papa. With the
exception of yourself
& him, I do think
our family loses so
much pleasure,
by never thinking
of giving pleasure
-- poor Hilary excepted,
who wasted her
life in doing nothing
else. Without one
penny of expence,
with only half an
hour's trouble, oh
the pleasure that

f268

[2]

would be given by
the able = bodied
of our family, with
nothing worthy to
occupy their time,
who would just
pick a nosegay
of "Daf-a-down-dillies"
on Sunday; & send
it to one who has
been nearly confined
to 4 walls for
41/2 years, like
myself - (and I
have taken thought
for *them* all that

f268v

time) or to the poor
little inmates of a
London Hospital.

Please thank
Mrs. Watson & Mrs.
Burton for the
trouble they have
taken. And tell
them that every
minute of the
existence of the
gifts they make
gives pleasure to
every minute of the
existence of some
poor human being

FN.

ff269-70v LETTER TO W.E.N. DICTATED {IN ANOTHER HAND} PEN

"never has there been an age in which
wrong & oppression were so hated, or
in which the reformation rather than
the torture of the criminal was the
object sought, & knowing this I
endure to hear the age we live in
sneered at as utilitarian? or the efforts

of its nerves decried, their lives
misunderstood & misrepresented?

Of all false narrow cruel views,
that which denies to our god-serving,
man - loving age the praise it deserves
& sneers at it because greet in works
of mercy & Christian beneficence, it
is also great in mechanical inventions
seems to me the falsest & most cruel,

f269

My trust in human nature, in other
 words in the nature which God has given
 us is very deep. When I see all the
 wretched superstitions it has struggled
 thro', x x x x

yet running into no wild
 revolutionary excesses having learnt
 wise self restraint, having put away
 childish things, & grown into a
 manhood that, knowing God as
 a Father & mankind as his children
 will no longer worship him, with
 the slavish worship of worn out creeds
 but with the cheerful love & trust
 of a benign & intelligent religion.

f270

I do not like to hear people say; that our
 life here is of no value, that we ought
 not to think of happiness here, but to
 look forward to hereafter; If it should
 be our destiny to pass thro' successive
 stages of being hereafter may it not be
 the punishment of some always to
 neglect the stage they are in for
 the one that is coming.

x x x

The best preparation for another life
 must be to rightly value this.

x x x

When we are children how do we best
 prepare for becoming men & women.

x x

Not by perpetually looking forward

f270v

to the coming Time & questioning if
 we are prepared for its approach.

ff271-72 LETTER TO W.E.N. DICTATED, PEN

Sunday. March 23/62 [1:250-51]

"Father to me thou art, & brother dear,"
 "And mother too, kind husband of my heart "
 *

The poet then goes on to draw the parallel
 between ~~our relation~~ this & our relation
 to God, & ends with.

"Thou art as much His care, as if than thee",
 "Nor men nor angel lived upon this earth"

Dear Papa. I wanted to have sent
 you the whole of these lines [but I can't find
 the book because I think they are an
 accurately true description of God's "tendresse
 " à mon égard" - but then I would not say
 "au lieu de" but "together with" his bienfaisance
 universelle" The eternal laws are as much
 constructed in the view of & for the good of

* Andromaches parting address to Hector
 in the 6th book of the Iliad

f271v

every one of us as if every one of us
 were the sole being upon this earth, but then
 you see that is nonsense because the public
 good is the good of each one of us, or
 as Plato said. " Common sense is the
 sense of the common interest." & the
 common interest is the interest of each one
 of us. It all turns to the same thing

I send you the great man's "Hey diddle diddle"
 because I was too weary to get up &
 look for the trash last time please return
 it to me. It is a great thing to have
 trash sent us by a Secretary of State

I think you would like an article
 on "La Suisse Chrétienne" including Rousseau
 by your old friend Tallandier in the
 " Revue des deux Mondes" of 15. Mars.

f272

Please send me back my letter to you
upon this house, for I mean to send it to
Mr. Bracebridge, who knows Mrs. Plumer
Ward & is so sharp that she'll find
some way of letting her see it, also if I
live to write another Edition of my
"Notes on Nursing" I mean to put in in there
I was very glad to hear from Mr. [?] Breech [?]
that my description of a nuisance at the
Burlington in my first "Notes on Nursing"
had been recognized & had very much injured
the Burlington.

ff273-75 LETTER TO WEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN, black-edged paper

9 C St

Mar 27 [1862]

Dear Papa

I like the idea of
your Letitia Locke very much.
At least, I should
not like at all that
any one who had been
in Clough's family
& whom they had liked
should go out of our
family.

But I want
Beatrice to consider
the following important
questions, while
Letitia is still with
you.

f273

1. You say truly:"of course
all will depend on my
Mrs. Walker". Now nothing
must depend on her.
She is the most active
person I ever knew.
She does quite as
much (& *quite as well*)
as Hilary, Mary Bratby
& Richard did all
together - & finds time
besides to go out from
11 till 1 every day.
If she were to leave
me, I must quit the
country, rather than
run the gauntlet
of Hilary's incapables

f273v

again. BUT: she has
just the two main
faults which render
her unfit for training
others. She has no
nicety, cleanliness or
tidiness in the bedroom
tho' she makes an amazing bustle about it.
And she has an
immense positiveness
about things she knows
nothing at all about.
2. I could not do with
a "makeshift" housemaid,
tho' very likely I may
be able to get no
other. But I must
try for one who will
clean, not dirty, my

f274

house. And a housemaid
I could *recommend*
would be sure of a
score of places after
me, whatever happened
to me. So that I do
not consider mine a
"makeshift" place
3. I do not want a
finished housemaid
but only one who can
be trusted to keep
the house clean
without looking after.
She would have no
china or gimcracks
in her charge. For it is all put away [Ann
Clarke "does" my own
rooms]. But she must

f274v

[2]
know how to keep the
rest of the house with
the most scrupulous
cleanliness in *common*
work. There is no *fine*
work to do.
4. You see I have 3
maids who know how
to do literally nothing.
1. Mrs. P. Ward's housemaid,
whom I have dis=
charged 2. her cook,
whom I can't discharge;
& 3. my Ann Clarke -
A.C. who was, during
her 15 months under
me at Harley St., the
brightest, cleanest girl

f275

I ever had, is come back
to me a dirty half=
witted slattern. So
much for the mistresses
of the present=day.
A.C. will still do
things excellently under
my eye. E.g. she dusted
& arranged all my
books & things under my directing
here. But set her to
dirty the room, when
I am too ill to attend
to her, & she does that
excellently too.

You see I could
not have two of *this*
sort. But I should be
very sorry *not* to have
Letitia. ever your loving child

f276 LETTER TO MRS. NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE PEN

9 C St

London W

Mar 29 [18]62 {18 IN PENCIL}

Dearest Mother

I was rather in
hopes I should have
heard from you today
about the housemaid.
I am in treaty with
two, one of them
rather promising. So
that I should be
glad to be able to
give a final answer
as soon as possible
ever dearest Mother
your loving child
F.

ff277-78v LETTER TO MRS. NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN, black-edged paper

9 C St

Mar 31 [1862] {18 AND SQUARE BRACKETS IN PENCIL}

Dearest Mother

I think your Sarah
Fletcher takes my
fancy most. But
as I have another
very good candidate
for my place, I
should like to know
1. Sarah Fletcher's age
2. how long she was
with Miss Boulton
3. why she parted
with her
& generally what kind
of a family Miss

f277v

Boulton's was.

[It is better for me
to have a housemaid
accustomed to a
single handed place
& to a place without
menservants].

You see Miss
Boulton's note does
not mention (2) &
(3). very important
particulars for me.

I should make
no difficulty about
wages. I would give
£14, 1/6 a week beer

f278

money, 1/6 a week
washing money - tea
& sugar & everything else
found.

I don't like giving
beer & washing money.
I prefer finding
everything. But I
began with Mrs.
Plumer Ward's horrid
London servants &
cannot get out of
their ways.

If you could
send me the particulars
I want as soon as

f278v

possible, I would
delay my final
answer to my other
string.

ever dear Mum
your loving child
F

f279 {ENVELOPE}

Mrs. Nightingale
Embley
Romsey

ff280-81v LETTER TO ? HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

Private

9 C St

[1:280-81]

May 23/62

I must tell you the
first joy I have
had since poor S.
Herbert's death.

Lord Palmerston
has forced upon Sir
G. Lewis the re=or=
ganization of the W.O.,
which follows from
the non=filling up
of Hawes place, as Deputy Secretary, &
the appointment
of Galton in his other
place (modified)
called Asst Under Sec.

f280v

Sir G.L. & has this
day written it to
the Queen.

Galton resigning
the Army of course

F.N

[end 1:251]

I have seen Galton
since he knew it.
He behaved very
quietly - more pleased
I believe because
he could now carry
out S. Herbert's
plans than for
anything else.

f281

Tell Kingsley that the [1:251-52]
Protestant doctrine, viz
that to be disappointed
in love or in search of a
love is THE qualification
for a good Nurse or
"Sister", (advocated by
him & triumphantly
vindicated in practice
by Mrs. Teresa Longworth,)
has been for the first
time, as far as I know,
in *R. Catholic* literature,
stated in a R. Catholic
novel - A.D. 1861. But it is
by an English pervert.
Kingsley's doctrine

f281v

that the *highest* life
is a two in one &
one in God I should
think is denied by
no Protestant but
Miss Sellon.

But it is incalculable
the mischief his ~~this~~ other
doctrine does - as
I can *practically* testify.

You would not expect
a man to accept or value
a woman's love very highly on the
rejected plan. Yet it
is thought such a
good reason for God
to accept it. Yet He does
NOT. These women make
infamous nurses. F.N. [end 1:252]

ff282-85v LETTER TO W.E.N.E HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN 18632 Cook 2:62-63

9 C St. W

[1:252-54]

Poor Queen's birth day

[24 May 1862] {IN PENCIL}

Lord Palmerston has forced Sir G. Lewis to carry out Sidney Herbert's & my plan for the reorganization of the W.O. *in some measure*. i.e by "taking in" Sir G.L.'s ignorance & idleness. Hawes' place is not to be filled up. Galton is to do his work as "Assist Under Sec." This brings with it some other reforms. Lord de Grey says that he can reorganize the W.O. with Capt. Galton, *because* Sir G.L. will know nothing about it & never enquires. Sir G.L. wrote it (innocently) to the Queen yesterday. And Capt. Galton was appointed to day, resigning the Army, of course.

No, Sir C. Trevelyan would not have done at all. It would have been perpetuating the

f282v

principle (which I have been fighting against in all my Office life i.e ~~for~~ 8 years) of having a dictator an autocrat, irresponsible to Parlt, quite unassailable from any quarter, irremovable, in the middle of a (so called) constitutional Govt & under a Secretary of State, who *is* responsible to ~~Govt~~ Parlt. And inasmuch as Trevelyan is a better & abler man than Hawes, it would have been worse (for any reform of principle)

I don't mean to say that I am the first person who have laid down this. But I do believe I am the first person who have felt it so bitterly, keenly, constantly ~~that I would~~ as to give up life, health, joy, congenial occupation for a thankless work like this.

f283

Nunc dimittis servam tuam,
Domine.

No "reform" was to be expected
from Trevelyan. On the contrary, he
would have confirmed the Dictatorship.

And, with an idle master like
Lewis, he would have been an absolute
(tho' wise) Despot.

It has come too late to give
happiness to Galton, as it has
come too late for me. He seems
more depressed than pleased.
And, I do believe, if he feels any
pleasure, it is that now, he can
carry out Sidney Herbert's plans
in some measure.

"Poor Florence, our work unfinished"
was his last prayer, his last ε χη
How often I have said to God, Oh
Remember his prayer, his last prayer,

f283v

Oh God." In this sense (as ε χη,)
prayer is no doubt true. I do not
mean that God alters his mind.

But I HAD done all I could
to bring about the ε χη

And it may seem to you
some compensation for the enormous
expenditure I cause you that, if I
had not been here, it would
not have been done.

Would that Sidney Herbert
could have lived to do it himself
Would that poor Clough could
have lived to see it. He wished
for it so much - for my sake.

Had Hawes, that worthless
profligate, died but one
twelvemonth sooner, I do believe
it would have saved Sidney
Herbert's life - as it would certainly
have saved the most fatal error S.H.
ever committed.

f284

Poor Mrs Herbert spent the afternoon here yesterday. She had only come home the day before. The poor little great nobleman is at Eton, 11 years old, £60,000 a year. The old scamp left £100,000 to that woman at Paris. There is not a farthing of ready money any where - but a great debt - which Mrs. Herbert has to pay. Her 6 younger children are almost without a provision. It is not quite certain yet whether Wilton falls into Chancery. I trust they will, if it does, give her a large allowance & that she will have courage to save for the younger children. I cannot help repeating that there is a great "*fond*" of justice

f284v

& magnanimity in her. I am always first with her, because I was first with him. My claim to be consulted, to be informed, is always recognised.

It is this which I think our family so singularly deficient in. They recognise no claim. Had I ~~not~~ never known poor Clough, I could not have been treated more as a stranger in his death.

Hampden is come. Not Savonarola yet. My admiration of Savonarola is mainly this - that he was the ONLY religious teacher I know of who distinctly recognised the duty, as a religious duty & claim, of every citizen to aid in forming a free Govt. It is most extraordinary that England, the

f285

most political nation in the world, has never recognised this in any form as a part of religion. God is an old woman, who does not understand much about politics & has nothing to do with the House of Commons.

If Hookham gets the right edition (& I have told him to write to Florence for it - he says he can't get it in London) I will shew you in Savonarola's "Trattato circa il governo di Firenze" (which is in the Edition of Andin di Rians,) a passage which I think beats all statesmanship & moral philosophy of the present day. It is to the effect that God has expressly left imperfection for men to work out perfection

f285v

for themselves (by His laws) in government of states as in other things. **[end 1:254]**

Please tell Mama that I don't think she ever gave more real happiness than by her cordial invitation, so kindly expressed, to Miss Jones to Lea Hurst. She has quite broken down again, & is going next week to Lea Hurst for a fortnight "to be quite alone", which she longs for. I hope we shall be able to persuade her to stay longer

ever dear Pa **[1:254]**

your loving child

Please send this to Mrs. Bracebridge at Atherstone, by next post. I have no power to write (what it is her right to know) & my joy to tell her.

ff286-89 LETTER TO MRS NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN **[1:156-57]**

Miss Mayos House

Hampstead NW

Aug 9/62

Dearest mother Thank
you for boxes, the account
of poor G. Sterndale's
death; & a little set
of Etruscan china, if
meant for me. It came
in the last box without
any letter. I think that it is
hardly any use for
me to have any
more boxes from
Embley, thank you,
when you are not
there. All is grist
which comes to my
mill, because I have

f286v

so many poor Patients
in London, to whom
flowers & vegetables
are the only heaven
they know. But
what the Embley
Gardiner sends, when
you are not there,
costs in carriage more
than what I could
get it for in London
markets.

I was glad that
poor G. Sterndale died
"at home" - he was
well taken care of--
glad that he did
not try Mr. Smedley

f287

whose first bath would
certainly have killed
him, as it does in
all kidney disease -
& then one would have
felt that he had been
murdered by a quack.
Had there been an
Inquest, it would
certainly have been
correct to bring it in
"manslaughter". And
that the poor fellow
did die in a week
would not have told
at an Inquest in
favour of Mr. Smedley

I have been worse
since I have been here.
And this is the first

f287v

day I have been able
to write.

Mrs. Bracebridge
comes to me today (till
Monday) a great blessing
to me - this weary week.
6 years this week since
I came home from
the Crimea - a year
since Sidney Herbert
died.

ever dearest mother
your loving child
FN

It is better always to
send an "invoice" with
your box.

f288

Palgrave & Tennyson
are going to the Peak &
Matlock for a tour.

You know both are
great friends of Clough.

I don't know whether
you know Palgrave well
enough to ask them to
Lea Hurst

Mme Mohl is at Cold
Overton.

"The Prison Chaplain:
A Memoir of John Clay"
is a book well worth
getting for Papa. I have
read it. It contains a
masterly sketch of the
progress of Prison

f288v

discipline - memoirs
of the Preston Gaol
Chaplain (John Clay)
of Maconochie &c.
It is a little unfair
upon Jebb. But Papa
will find there
memoirs of the crank
& tread wheel, about
which he too is a
little unfair upon Jebb.
And it completely
agrees with "me" [end 1:157]

f289 {ENVELOPE} LONDON-N
[cancelled] 5
AU 9
62

Mrs. Nightingale
Lea Hurst
Matlock

ff290-93 LETTER TO WILLIAM EDWARD NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

Aug 19/62

Dear Papa

1. I cannot call *these*,
"unfinished disputes"
which I have had with
P. Ward & Co: I call
it a system of extortion
& bad faith begun
from the time *before*
I entered the house; &
which will never end,
because they reckon upon my
having no business-like
protector.

In speaking of this
to anybody, I should
not like you to say
my "disputes" with

f290v

them - but to say the
truth that they have
broken their word in
everything & have never
given anything but
their word.

I don't know what
you think. But I
think, having tossed
about the world a
good deal, that it is
one's duty to the world
to expose ~~these~~ such people
(not in such a way
as to get oneself
prosecuted for libel)
& *not* to use vague
terms, as if there were
fault on both sides.

f291

I have been kind
to her servants. I have
spent £40 on her house.
And she pays me
back with lies,
extortion & fraud.
It has been a regular
system for 8 months,
since Jan 1, from which time she
told her agents to let
her house & then kept
me out of it till
March 1, exacting the
same price.

If people who have
suffered these extortions
told the truth about
them, there would be
fewer committed.

f291v

Mrs. Bracebridge asks
me to leave the "final
settlement" to you &
Mr. Bracebridge (in her
letter of to day) which
I thankfully do - only
praying that you all
will call "things by
their right names", in
speaking of this. ~~after=~~
~~wards~~

Do you think if
Johnstone & Jeanes
believed that all my
friends would hear that
they are extortioners,
that they would be so?
It would be against
their interest.

f292

2. I have had some
choice Indian seeds given
me - a largish parcel.
I don't want to vilify
Mr. Hill, who don't
hurt me. But it seems
to me that he is as
much of a gardener
as I a horse breaker.
Will you ask Mama
whether he is capable
of bringing up these
Indian seeds ? or
what I had better
do with them. I
presume they must
be reared in stove
or hot house
3. Will you tell Mama

f292v

that Pussies don't have
more than two litters
a year - at least I
never heard of such a
thing - that there
would have been
therefore no danger to her
in bringing Thomas -
& that it is so
exceedingly rare
for a Puss to be
faithful to a Thomas
(all her children
are quite the
contrary) that it is
most important to
keep up the conjugal
relation in her mind.

[This in answer to a sentence
in Mrs. Bracebridge's letter]

f293

4. The Trevellyans are
at Buxton - did you
know it?
 ever dear Pa
 your loving child

f294 {ENVELOPE} LONDON - N.W X
 AU 19
 62
{BIG INK SMUDGE} Nightingale
 Lea Hurst
 Matlock

ff295-96 LETTER TO WILLIAM EDWARD NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

Oct 27, 1862 {IN PENCIL}

Dear Papa

I understand that
Sir Harry came up on
Friday & asked Mama
to send for "Folk" to
put up a rain water
cistern - & that Mama
& "Folk" settled it
was to be not lead
but oxidysed iron.
This is all I know -
I do not enquire or
interfere, because you
know there is no one

f295v

capable of giving correct
information or carrying
an order. And even
this may not be correct.

The limewashing I
will do when I come
in & the bell hanging,
for I am so afraid
of their spoiling the
drawing room walls by
hanging my bell, when I am
NOT there to see.

I forgot to say,
about the Winchester
Dispensary, that the
very ~~fo~~ best thing
that can be done is

[16:610]

f296

to leave it, with the
6 Doctors (& their
ridiculous requirement
of "6 rooms",) inside
Winchester. Dispensaries
never did any good
- do do great harm.
And let the 2 evils
stop together

[end]

ever your

F

Oct 27/62

ff297-99 LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

Oct 28/62

Dearest Mother

I am not a little
alarmed at the "30
gallon cistern".

You see I have
twice been drowned
in my bed - once
I have had the
dropping through of
such a cistern into
my bed room for 6
weeks - and in two
houses & especially

f297v

even in this my
present one, so nice
in every other respect,
I have been kept
awake at night
for months either
by the perpetual
running of water
or by the dripping,
drip, drip, for hours
after rain has ceased.
Would you therefore
say to Mr. Fulkes
these three things:
1. the 30 gallon cistern

f298

must be so placed that
damp from it cannot
get into the house

2. there should be a
sufficient *overflow*
to prevent a deluge
of water coming into
the house in a heavy
thunder storm

3. the *inflowing pipe*
should go *down to*
the bottom of the
cistern to prevent
noise

Mrs. Walker says that
the roof is not enough

f298v

to supply the cistern
with water, if the
cistern is ~~not~~ to be
on the roof- that
the water on the leads
is so much more, it
ought to be collected
into the cistern, & the
cistern be in the basement.
Of this I know nothing.

f299

I congratulate on Shore's
daughter.

Dearest Mother [1:159]

Don't forget my
greeneries. You
cannot send me
too many - the
sooner the better,
to dress the Hospitals
&c by Christmas Day.
It gives such pleasure
to people who never
see anything but
four walls.

Many thanks for the
boxes & for your own
letters still more. Ever your
Dec 20 1862 F

f300 letter to Uncle Night from JHBC, from Blandford Sq re seeing her Xmas
day, visits of Miss Clough, nothing settled re houses, re bust of AHC

ff301-01v LETTER TO W.E.N. HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN [1862]

Dear Papa

As I find that
neither Parthe nor
Mama forward to
you the letters I
write, with the
express purpose
of their being
forwarded to you,
I am obliged to
write it all over
again to you.

Keep the enclosed
letter & show it

f301v

about wherever you
can. How I should
like a copy of it
to fall into Mrs.
P. Ward's hands.
The only punishment
for these people is
publicity.

Have people no
eyes & noses? I
do think my case
is a hard one.

ff302-02v LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN [1:160]

[Jan 12, 1863] {IN PENCIL}

Dearest Mother

I am glad you
liked my little tribute
to my dear chief,
so great in life as
in death, as ~~I think,~~
~~comparing~~ to me,
comparing him with
other men, he seems
more & more every
day. I sadly survive
him.

Please tell Sir
Harry that his servants
may certainly come

f302v

up on the 23rd. I
am quite sure to
be gone by then.

If you have a
few sheets to spare
for an unfortunate
beggar, I send the
list of what I want
But as it will
come out of your
pocket ~~both~~ either
way, don't pinch
for me. Also tell
Mrs. Webb I much
want my night gowns **[end 1:160]**

Ever dearest mother
your loving child
F

Jan 12/63

f303 {ENVELOPE} IN FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE'S HAND

THE FOLLOWING 4 LINES ARE PRINTED ON A STAMP
LONDON

X
JA 12
63

Mrs. Nightingale
Embley
Romsey

f303v {BACK OF AN ENVELOPE} IN FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE'S HAND

Today poor Clough
has been dead a year
Nov 12/62

ff304-04v LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

4 Cleveland Row

[1:160-61]

Dearest Mother S.W. Feb 3/63

My strength protests
against my writing - which
I don't wonder at - for I am
of the same opinion myself.
But I always dearly love
to receive letters (not begging
ones).

But now I write to beg.
Miss Jones is in the most
miserable state of health.
I think God will take her
before me. And I want
you to invite her while
you are alone & will
nurse her *as you only can*.
She could leave town next
week, but must go into
Devonshire first. And I
want her to go to Embley
afterwards for a few weeks while
you are alone, if you will
have her. To be let alone,

f304v

to feel perfectly at her ease,
to have entire rest of
body & mind is what she
wants. A drive in an
open carriage occasionally
is all she is fit for & to
be sent to bed at 9 o'clock
She is often unable to go
up & down stairs. And
I used to invite her when
at South St. "*to spend
Saturday & Sunday with
me in bed*". And she did
it. Hers is such a
valuable life. I know
Webb would wait upon
her kindly & take her
her meals *cut up*.

Please tell Papa I am
looking forward to seeing
him on Thursday **[end 1:161]**
ever dearest Mother

Add Mss 45790

864

your loving child F

ff305-05v LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

[Feb. 1863]

Dearest Mother

Miss Jones was so
very much obliged to you
for your very kind letters.
And so was I. Her address
is St John's House
 Norfolk St
 Strand

But do not you trouble
yourself to write again.
I will, as I am in
almost daily communication
with her. I am sorry
to say she has been
detained in town by
a most disagreeable
business with one of
her subordinates, & has

f305v

been obliged to give up
her Devonshire visit
She will come to you
however, if she can
stand on 4 legs. And
you must keep her
more than a week
or she will die. She
cannot yet fix when
she ~~will~~ can go. But I
trust it will be in
a few days. [She was
spending the Sunday
at Mr. Bowman's at
Hampstead. That is not
her address. I wish
it were.]

Many thanks for
sheets & little birds &

ff306-07v LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN4 Cleveland Row
S.W.**[1:161-62]**

Feb 23/63

Dearest Mother

You are very good to
me & to my dear Miss
Jones too.

She will come to you
on Wednesday (I trust)
by the 3 o'clock train
from here - & will
bring a Nurse, as you
so kindly recommend.
Will you meet them in
the carriage?

She intends to stay
a fortnight, (she has
been obliged to give
up all her other visit)

f306v

But I hope you will
make her stay longer.

She has incessant
flooding - never entirely
without it. And of
course such a state
gives great fear of her
valuable life being
terminated by jaundice
or rheumatic fever or
dropsy. But there is
no *immediate* danger,
to make you anxious
while with you. All
she wants is fresh air
& little fatigue - rest
of body & mind.

The South room &

f307

Music room would, as
you so kindly propose,
suit her exactly. But
I thought you used the
Music room yourself.

She will be no gêne
upon you; for the best
thing for her is to let
her be alone & at rest
& at ease. She ought
to be made to go to bed
at 9 o'clock. She ought
to take a drive, in
an open carriage, if the
weather is fine. But
then that would perhaps
not suit you.

She feels your kindness
most deeply. And so do
I.

f307v

2. I must ask for a sod
& some grass (in a handful)
by every box ~~W~~ for the
cats. Perhaps the Watson's
can recommend

what

grass. Is it the clovery
grass they like?

3. I like my night gown
very much. Please thank
Webb for it. I should
like them better 2 inches
longer & a little more
sloped round the
throat in front, i.e cut
down in the neck. But
if they are all cut out,
both these emendations
are immaterial

[end 1:161]

Ever dearest Mother
your loving child F

ff308-09v LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

4 Cleveland Row
SW

March 6/63

Dearest Mother

Pray present my
thanks to Mrs. Webb
for beautiful night
gowns & to yourself
for many beautiful
boxes. And pray
tell Mrs Watson
that the cats struck
work last night
from sheer disap=
pointment that
there were no sods

f308v

or grass for them -
& that they say, if
in future there is
not something for
them in every box,
they will eat mine,
which they did accordingly.

Do pray keep
Miss Jones as long
as you can. She
is not fit to come
back. She will be
fitter every week
you keep her. I
have written to her.

f309

I am sure she gets
nowhere such great
peace & freedom
from all care as
with you.

Does she drive
out?

To do as she likes
& not to do as she
does not like (which
is more) is the
main cure for her.

I have been so
worn with exertion,
seeing both Lord

f309v

Stanley & Lord de
Grey this week
(poor Capt. Galton
has bilious fever
& is confined to bed)
that I cannot write
more but to tell
my dearest Mother
that I am ever her
loving child

F

What lovely Rhodendrons
& white Azaleas you
have sent - the true
Danish colours - they
are wedding favours

ff310-11v LETTER TO WEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN [1:255-56]

4 C Row SW

Mar 19/63

Dear Papa

A thousand & more
thanks for your
willingness to buy me
a permanent house
to myself.

But it was only a
raid of Parthe's -
such as she ran
two years ago to make
me accept the Queen's
offer of apartments -
such as she runs
about every two years.

f310v

However, she has
yielded to my reasons
with good humour -
and I am grateful
to my friends, in my
humbled state, even
for ceasing to trouble
with good humour.

I have often said,
the Christ of the present
day is not efficiency
in good - it is good=
humour.

I believe I am
beginning to be thankful
for it myself - & to be

f311

glad when I get no
worse.

I wish I could say,
All's well that ends
well. But these raids
take a terrible deal
out of me. And
everybody seems to
think me a convenient
subject to make a
raid on.

Do not (a burnt
child fears the fire -
& I have been so
burnt that I have
ceased to trust my

f311v

nearest friend) do not
let Parthe suppose
that I speak of her
well meant efforts
thus

ever dear Pa
your loving child

F

To me it seems simple
madness to talk about
buying a house in
town for me, unless
it were something
which was such a
catch it would be worth
having anyhow.

ff312-17 LETTER TO WEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN [3:368-70]

Hampstead NW

Sept 26/63

Dear Papa

I am sure that, if any
one finds nourishment
in Renan or in any book,
I should be very sorry
to "depreciate" it. There
is not so much solid
food in books nowadays,
especially in religious books,
that we can afford to
do so - I always think
of Mme Mohl's, "I don't
want any book=writer
to chew my food for me".
Now nearly all books
~~now~~ are *chewed food* -
especially religious books.

f312v

I think you weaken your digestion
by reading "chewed food".
I therefore only write about
Renan because you did me.
[And I am sure I have
made a list of good
passages at the end of
Renan enough to satisfy
you.]

What I dislike in
Renan is (not that it is fine
writing but) that it is *all*
fine writing. His Christ is
the hero of a novel - he
himself a successful novel
writer. I am revolted by
such expressions as
"charmant", "délicieux", {CURLY BRACKET THAT INCLUDES THE LINE BELOW}
"religion du pur sentiment", in
such a subject. This age
has always appeared to me,

f313 {LARGE CURLY BRACKETS PLACED AROUND TWO FIRST LINES}

to *effleurer*
the *effleurant* of serious
& deep subjects, to which
Rowland Hill, leading
Articles & Magazines have
effectually contributed.
Now Renan is the very
production of such an age.

As for the "religion of
sentiment", I really don't
know what he means. ~~He~~
It is an expression of Balzac's.

If he means the "religion
of love", I agree & do not
agree. We *must* love
something *loveable*. And
a religion of love must
certainly include the
explaining of God's character

f313v

to be something loveable
-- of God's "providence", which
is the self=same thing as
God's laws, - as something
~~loveable~~ loving & loveable.

On the other hand, I
go along with Christ, not
with Renan's Christ,
far more than most
Christians do.

I do think that
"Christ on the Cross" is
the highest expression hitherto
of God -- not in the vulgar
meaning of the Atonement
-- but *God* does hang on
the Cross *every day* in
every one of us.

f314

[2]

The whole meaning of
God's "providence", i.e. His
laws, is the Cross.

When Christ preaches
the cross, when all
mystical theology
preaches the Cross, I
go along with them
entirely. It is the self=
same thing as what
I mean when I say,
that God educates the
world by His laws,
i.e. BY SIN -- that
man must create
mankind - that all
this evil, i.e. the Cross,

f314v

is the proof of God's
goodness, is the *only* way
by which God could
work out man's salvation,
without a contradiction.

You say, but there is
too much evil. I say,
there is just enough,
(not a millionth part
of a grain more, than
is *necessary*) to teach
man by his own mistakes,
by his *sins*, if you will --
to shew man the way
to *perfection*
in *eternity* -- to perfection

f315

which is the only happiness.

The doctrine of the Cross is exactly the same thing.

And in this sense,
I do believe Christ is
"the way". And, if Renan
means ~~by this~~ by Christ
"being the founder of pure
sentiment," -- in that
Christ was the first
who voluntarily, eagerly,
in his own person,
embraced the Cross, &
taught us all to embrace
it. I agree entirely. For the [2 lines INSERTED IN SMALLER WRITING]
feeling of the Cross, the "*sentiment*", the *practice* of the
Cross is better than the doctrine of the Cross.

But I believe a
practical life of "embracing

f315v

"the Cross" oneself is
necessary to make one
apprehend this. When
you say that it requires "imagination" to take in
~~you cavil at~~ such
expressions as St. Paul's,
"I die daily - yet ~~not~~ I
live"-"yet not I, but
Christ liveth in me"
I think, it requires not "imagination" but *practice*.
I feel, not only that I
can understand them,
but that every day,
every night of my life
for six years, they are
the true expression of
my daily, nightly ~~feelings~~
& practice.

I entirely agree with
Renan that Christ was

f316

[3]

"the one who caused
mankind to make the
greatest step towards
the 'divine'."

[By the way, I cannot
say with him that 'the
sermon on the mount
will never be surpassed.'
For there are cruel mistakes
in the sermon on the Mount,
tho' it is quite possible
Matthew put them
there.]

When Renan says
that mankind are now
"eternal children", I echo
his expression. Every one
I have to do with now,
all, are "eternal children".

f316v

And Renan says that
Christ was able "to affirm",
"to create". Here I quite
agree. The bane of
religious books now is
that they do nothing but
cut off errors, destroy
superstitions. No one
constructs - no one
"affirms" a perfect
God, working out *by*
law through sin, through
evil, the eternal
perfection & happiness
of every one of us. [But
Christ himself did
not "affirm" *this*]. How *can*
man be perfected without sin?

f317

without the Cross?

Ever dear Pa

Your loving child

F.

If you like to send me
back this letter, I think
I could make ~~or~~
something out of this
parallel between the
"Cross" & God's working
out man's salvation
by evil - between God's
"providence" & God's laws.
It is all that I mean
by my stuff.

[end 3:370]

ff318-19v LETTER TO W.E N.E HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN

April 29/64

[3:371-72]

Dear Papa

It would seem as if you made
it a law to keep the "silence éternel"
towards me.

I write you a letter with
much pain & difficulty.

You don't even acknowledge
it, without either pain or difficulty.

Nevertheless I try again.

I have read somewhere this fine line:
"Seul le silence est grand, tout le reste est
faiblesse!"

I think I have practised it a good
deal myself. But the question is now
of God's silence:--

there is an old myth, said to be
worthy of Aeschylus himself, (but a

f318v

Christian myth) in which the Fates, when Christ is born, re = ascend to heaven & ask for their new orders, for the new law. This new law is again under this new name.

"Grace." And the Fates come down

This is strictly true: in all ~~the~~ Christian ~~religion~~ doctrine, "grace" is nothing but a new *fatality*, a blind *decree* (an arbitrary gift) of God. And man has no more self = government than before.

In the myth, man asks this question. And God is silent for all answer.

But God's "seule parole" is going on in that "silence". And if man would but hear it, he would see that "grace" is entirely subject to God's laws; & ~~which~~ he (man) can command it, if he chooses, ~~it~~ by observing what those laws are.

f319

A ~~The~~ second myth, which is really very fine, is: --

What was Christ thinking of during his Agony in the Garden -- he is supposed to be asking his Father, as the price of his coming, to answer to man all those questions of good & evil, of providence & free = will.

The Father is "silent".

And Judas is heard in the dead of the night & in the deep silence lying in wait with his torch.

[This is the deepest tragedy. And how much truer than the ordinary view of Christ - & how much more ~~grea~~ sublime.]

(The end is a great falling off. So I shall not tell it).

But God was saying his "seule parole" in the midst of his

319v

"silence".

All these problems He is
answering to us every day.
Christ did not answer them
tho' he is called the Word. But
he was one Word. But we know,
or might know, much now that
Christ could not know.

It has been well said that,
in the great masters of tragedy,
nothing has such an effect as
"silence"; as Eurydice's "silence" in
Sophocles' Antigone, when she hears
of her son's death -- as Dido's
silence in Virgil's Elysian Fields,
when she will not answer Aeneas
who ~~has~~ deserted her.

But, with all this silence, you
must *do* to the end, as on a
forlorn hope - casting the "bottle" [end 3:372]

ff320-21v LETTER TO WEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN [1:258]

27 Norfolk St.
Park Lane W.
5/11/64

Dear Papa

Do PRAY send me
back John Stuart Mill's
letters: by post,
without delay.

The letter=weight,
~~parcel~~ book=weigher, &
British & Foreign
postal guide,
not yet arrived.

Could you tell
Watson to send me

f320v

*by next box, a
small silver cup,
with my initials, F.N.*

*[Forty years ago, Uncle
Ben gave us each one,
F.N. and F.P.N.]*

*I want mine, please,
for a sacrament cup.*

*ever dear Pa
your loving child
F*

f321

Sidney Herbert,
Pastor Fliedner,
Lydia Shore - these
are deaths on which
I cannot rejoice -
irreplaceable they
are - they made this
already the "better
world".
"Do God A'moighty know
what He's doing
a'taaken of these?"
A'moight a'taaken
Joanes, as a'aaut a
a'porthe of sense."

To day November 5
is ten years since the

f321v

battle of Inkermann -
yesterday, ten years
since we landed at
Scutari. Ten eventful
years to me, tho' seven
have been passed in
bed. The last three,
since Sidney Herbert
& Clough left me,
have been as if I had
gone into a different
existence in a different
world. Three lives I
seem to have lived
in ten years. Three times
gained all & lost all.

ff322-27v LETTER TO WILLIAM EDWARD NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

23/11/64

Dear Papa

You cannot be serious - it is impossible that you can be serious in any one of the three propositions in your letter.

I take the most important first.

"I dare not resist the logic of J.S.M."

Why, there is not one word of logic in his letters from beginning to end.

Are you gone back, as he is, to the time of Zoroaster, who teaches of a God and a Devil of equal power, which is much what our absurd Church teaches, with its "everlasting damnation"?

I would rather have burnt off my right hand, like Horatius Cocles, than given you those letters, if I could have thought you would be so taken in by them. But then I am tormented by the thought - that you only do it

[1]

f322v

to make me talk, little thinking how I take everything *au sérieux* - too much for my peace in a world which taken *nothing* *au sérieux*.

Tomorrow you will say just the contrary. And I shall have had all my labour in vain.

Did you, because Ld Bacon is a great inductive philosopher, (*much* greater than Mill,) take all that nonsense for gospel which Bacon calls his religious Aphorisms, & which you found in the "Athenaeum"?

Certainly not.

And ~~really~~ yet you can swallow all ~~those letters~~ that nonsense of Mill's, & bid me "comfort you, *if I can*".

There can be no "comfort" for any man, woman or child, who will blindly follow any leader, without exerting his or her own faculties any more than there can be any digestion for a person who does not chew his own food.

Add Mss 45790

883

I see you so disturbed by passages

f323

in the Bible, which I don't care a bit about - because, how do they spoil for me what I find of good in the Bible?

And yet you will swallow J.S.M. whole?

And what is it he says? I have no patience to look over his letters, which have made such an impression as this upon you - but their gist is this: that if evil is to be the means of perfecting the human being, then there is *not enough* evil (!)

then comes his extraordinary Zoroaster proposition

& then that the proofs of Law do not prove a Law=*giver*.

It so happens that, as I think I mentioned to you, I was receiving letters from M. Mohl, a greater philosopher than Mill, (on my "stuff") those very same mornings. And without knowing it, he exactly controverted all three propositions of Mill's.

As for the first, I have heard you

f323v

yourself say, that you could believe if there were only a little *less* evil - Mill says he could believe if there were only a little *more* evil. [I think God knows best]

As for the second, M. Mohl said, quoting something I had once said to him - men now - a - days are always asking what Plato said, what the Fathers said &c -- they never ask what God says.

And here is Mill actually gone back to what Zoroaster says.

As for the third, M. Mohl said, (to me,) I really think you take too much trouble to prove a Law=giver. *Of course*, logically, if there is Law, there *must* be a Law=giver.

I really cannot think Mill's letters worth contradiction. Yet that does not in the least touch my admiration of his "Logic" - any more than the fog of to day touches my admiration of the sunshine of yesterday.

f324

The second proposition (second in order of importance) in your letter, about which you cannot be serious, it is impossible that you can be serious, at least not in making such a proposition to me, is:--

about the new Winchester Infirmary

"Your model at Winton" you say "helps us not."

If you were thoroughly convinced that you were sending a person to a place where he would have 9 chances to 1 of being killed, instead of to a place where he would only have 3 chances against him to 7 for him, or to a place where he would ~~only~~ have 9 chances of life for him, against 1 of death, which would you choose?

But then you have no convictions. I have: And so strong - that I have just paid my second hundred. out of my hard=earned store (which

[16: 618-20]**f324v**

I shall never be strong enough to earn again,) to Sir W. Heathcote for the new Winton Infirmary.

I think you would have been perfectly right, if you had stoutly refused to subscribe to the *old* Winton Infirmary, & said, I *won't* send people there to be killed.

I think you would have been perfectly right, if Southampton or Salisbury were going to build a new & *healthy* Infirmary, to refuse to contribute to the new Winton Infirmary, *however healthy*, on this ground: that your people prefer going to Salisbury or Southampton.

But, as for your being "constrained to give a ticket to Salisbury", - WHEN the new Winton Infirmary *is built*, I'd be hanged if I would send

f325

these poor ignorant people to their deaths, when you know better. It is just ~~as~~ ~~if~~ what Cavour's physician (who bled him) said, "he was constrained", & *he killed him.*

But then, as I say, you have no convictions about these things.

You have repeatedly referred to them to me in these terms: --repeating the third=class apothecary's (of last century's) arguments, used by Dr. Crawford & Jack's constituents, who ought to be ashamed of them, explaining away the awful loss of life from Erysipelas at the old Winton Infirmary.

Asking me again & again "how" our Inspectors "could tell that the ground was saturated"--"did they dig holes?" - why these are mere school=boy's lessons to us - [and let me say that the saturation of the ground was only *one* of the awful evils of the old Winton Infirmary.]

f325v

You say, " North Hants ought to have been ashamed to *solicit us*" -- *only* "ashamed", if you South Hants people had been going to build an Infirmary for yourselves. [*I should be ashamed if any "constraint" made me send a Patient to ANY but the new Winton Infirmary, from the county of Hants or Wilts, until South Hants & Wilts have built Infirmaries for themselves.*

Then you say to me: "so & so has got well at such & such an Infirmary". We don't deny it. But do you think we don't know (at the General Register Office here) *exactly* the proportion that has got well & that has died, which ought not to have died, (which is very like saying, that has been killed)?

I began my book "on Hospitals"

Add Mss 45790

888

with saying, "The first requisite of a

f326

Hospital is to do the Patient *no harm*",
And this has been quoted in every
review since, as if it had never
struck any body before.

Poor Dundas Thompson, who is
dead, said (quietly) in his evidence
before our R. Commission, "I conclude
therefore that the Vauxhall Water
Company killed 1600 persons in
that year".

I tell you, that we know exactly
the proportion that your Winton,
your Southton, your Salisbury
Infirmary has, each of them, killed,
over & above the proportion which
ought to have died from such
& such diseases.

That people, who have not
made these things a study, don't
know them, does not surprise

f326v

me, any more than it surprises
me that they don't know Persian.
But for people, especially those
Dr. Bullars of Southampton, to
write to me these worn-out &
exploded arguments, (which are
exactly like the arguments for
a belief in witchcraft,) does surprise
me, just as much as if I were
to write to *M. Mohl*! a theory
of *mine*!! upon *Persian*!!!

Yes= I feel so strongly upon a
subject (on which I am said to
be the first authority in Europe)
that I have just promised a
contribution to Swansea, much
larger than I can afford, who is
just building a new Hospital, on

f327

the ~~ground~~ condition that I shall revise the plans, which I have just done - & that I shall withdraw my contribution ~~it~~, if they job the plans.

I have done the same, & shall do the same, for every healthily constructed Hospital, wherever it is - & shall steadfastly refuse any subscription to any unhealthy one.

[You know I gave £30 to poor Sidney Herbert's memorial Convalescent Cottages - of which I made the plans myself.

I did the same with Aylesbury - i.e. I revised the plans & gave £25.]

I do not expect you, tho' you are my father, to Quixotize about the country in this way. But neither must you expect me to

f327v

reply anything farther to your arguments for your *triad of wretched County Hospitals* but "you cannot be serious, it is impossible that you can be serious". [end 16:620]

F.N.

23/11/64

ff328-29v LETTER TO WEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN, FN **[3:373-74]**

26/11/64

Dear Papa

Tho' this letter of Mr.
Jowett's is not new, I think
you will like to see it. Please
return it to me.

I am sure you would
like to read
an article on Tübingen
Theology in the *October*
MacMillan's Magazine
~~for November~~
an article on Tertullian
in *Revue des Deux Mondes*
1er November
(I wish we ever treated
subjects of theology in
that kind of way, in
England - la détestable
méthode historique
qui ne voit rien dans

f328v

la réformation en Allemagne
que le désappointement
d'un petit moine - Dans
la réformation en Angleterre
que les beaux yeux
d'Anne Boleyn)

"Abraham's Sacrifice"
a sermon by Bishop
Colenso - price twopence

"Examen de la Vie
de Jésus de M. Renan
par T. Colani

Strasbourg 1864

a far superior book to
Renan's - read p. 108.

By the way, could you
send me my translation
from Ewald of Isaiah's
53rd Chap? I would send it

you back. F.N. **[end 3:374]**

f329 After {IN PENCIL} Nov. 5 {IN PENCIL 1864] {IN PENCIL}

To Dr. Varrentrapp of Frankfort, a man of some note (& who represented his country at our London International Statistical Congress,) I sent a copy of my "Notes on Hospitals." He answered it in a long letter, perfectly reasoned from perfectly false premises. I did not reply, having no strength to waste. And my reply would have been merely to write again the whole of my book. But more shortly I might have said, *If experience were*

exactly the contrary of what it is, your theory would be perfectly correct.

So I say to you, I must write again the whole of my "stuff"- which you have (printed) by you to answer Mill. And, *if experience were exactly the contrary of what it is*, then J.S.M's letters would be worth attending to.

The odd part of the thing is that you should think that such theories could make a moment's impression upon me. I mean, it is as if some one

(2)

f329v

27. Norfolk Street. {PRINTED address}
Park Lane. W.

were to write to me, "I cannot think
there is any truth in any sanitary
reform of the British Army" - & believe that
a word of this kind would turn
away a person who has devoted a
life to it.

But, I do so hate *negativizing*.

I remember a most just criticism
upon a book, written against R.
Catholicism, which aspired to be
a religious book (it might have
been by Kingsley) viz. that it advocated

no particular virtues *except* an
opposition to Romanism - & that
its chief argument against Romanism
~~was~~ appeared to be that that religion had prevented
the marriage of two Captains of Engineers.

Now I don't want to waste my
strength in *negativizing* Mill. Let
us go on to the *positive*.

[But I do assure you, that nothing
in Newman's Apologia has pained or
surprised me so much as your letter
in its bowing down before authority.]

(3) F.N.

ff330-31 LETTER TO W.E. NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN [1864?]

Dear Papa If you
like to read the
enclosed letter to
Mme Mohl before
forwarding it, pray
do.

It is in answer
to one of hers - which
she desires me not
to shew - therefore
don't notice to her
that I have shewn
you mine. She
won't notice the
post mark.

f330v

The worst of it is
that I always feel
after having written
a letter with great
physical, not mental,
difficulty & fatigue,
& so earnestly, in
answer to questions
asked so indifferently
& flippantly &
without a day's
consideration -
that people care
so little about
their own questions
that they will not
consider the answers

f331

even enough to remember
~~them. But next~~
their own questions.
And next time I see
them, they will just
say the same things
all over again {AN ARROW INDICATES TO CONTINUE READING HERE}
They don't think
enough even to know
whether they agree
or disagree with you.
 ever dear Pa
 your loving child

ff332-32v PART OF A LETTER TO W.E. NIGHTINGALE? HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

f332

 [2] [1864?] {IN PENCIL}
last friend I had -
the last of my fellow
workers in spirit &
in truth.
 If you mean me
by his "adoring survivor
preparing his grave
stone" -- I don't need
to have "this concealed
from" me - because
Sir Joshua's reputation
rests upon a little
firmer basis than
what can be upset
by a Ducane. If you
mean his "widow", I
have helped her to

f332v

"prepare his grave stone".

I expect to hear you,
after I am dead, when
somebody in the Horse
Guards says, Ah the
fallacy of all that
Sanitary Stuff is
found out now -
say, "Good" Flo. And
she was taken in.

Or when Sutherland
says - what I know
he says of me to you
all - & there is not
one of you to answer

Ever dear Pa your
loving (but a little
indignant) at having to waste
my strength F.N.
on these things

ff333-33v LETTER TO WILLIAM EDWARD NIGHTINGALE? HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

Please tell Parthe that
Sir Harry *has* sent me
Ly Herbert's first letter
to burn.

I had no time to
answer the doctrine
about *infection* you
repeated to me. Infection
is just as much a
poison from without
as a poisoning by
Arsenic in sugar plums.
The 17 children at
Bradford ~~who~~ were
poisoned by poison in
buns. You might just
as well say that
these "caught" "it" from

[12:157]

f333v

one another; or say
that one "conveyed"
the "infection" to
another, "while it
had not yet" "appeared"
in itself, as say what,
as I understood, your
informant told you
about "fever". It is a
remnant of Middle
age superstition &
what all my teaching
on Nursing has been
directed against.
Don't give poison, don't
~~give~~ allow foul air {F.N. WRITTEN OVER TEXT} & dirt,
& leave "infection" from
man to man to take care
of itself. F.N. [end 12:157]

ff334-35 LETTER TO WEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN [1:258-59]

Dear Papa

I have sent for Müller
according to Parthe's desire
And it shall come to
you by the next "empty".
Horace Mansfield's
original remark about
the myth of Prometheus
reminds me of "Mr. Puff".
'Perdition catch my soul,
but I do love thee."
*"I think I have heard
that line before"*
I shall not keep Müller.
For I think we have
got a good deal farther

f334v

(indeed I think Aeschylus
had - perhaps you
may remember that
I ~~had~~ read Aeschylus'
Prometheus with you)
than Müller or Mr. Horace
Mansfield either.
Indeed I did not know
that the "myth of Prometheus"
had ever been taken for
anything else. The
Christian myth of Christ
obtaining "gifts for men"
against God's will is
not finer than that of
Prometheus. But the
finest of all would be that of
Christ of *man* obtaining "gifts

f335

for men" *with*, not
against, God's will. which
is not a myth, but the real fact.

There is a most
interesting chapter (far
better than Müller)
in Grote's History --
on Grecian Mythology.
That & his inestimable
Chap. on Socrates, Vol VIII,
constitute the main
merit, I think, of his
History of Greece

ff336-41v LETTER TO W.E. NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN [1:259-61]

Hampstead N.W.

Sept 15/65

Dear Papa

I have not written,
because I could not.

I thank you very much
for your letter, which
touched me deeply.

The "golden bowl is
broken" - those words
keep running in my
ears, with reference
to *her* because it was
the purest gold, the
most *unworked* gold
I have ever known.

But she is gone to a

f336v

higher & more perfect
service.

If God had asked me
(which I assure you
He did not) I should
have said: - Rather
take her now than
leave her here 30
years more.

That is, for *her* specially,
you understand.

[There are those whom
I would have given
my salvation for, if
they could have been
kept but one year
more here.]

f337

But better for *her* to go.
-- that is, if it had not
been for this dreadful,
this agonizing illness,
which even now, one
can scarcely think of
with resignation.

No: I don't think she is
looking down upon us
now - [this in answer
to Mama's dear letter.]
And I am sure I don't
wish it. It would
rack those who are
gone, & do us no good.
It would break Sidney
Herbert's heart to
see what is doing here

f337v

now - if he could look & see.

I think they go to an
ever higher & more
perfect service.

I no more believe
in heaven than I do
in hell. i.e. in the
sense of a permanent
un=progressive state.
This *is* hell - but not
a permanent one.
And probably there is
no state, called heaven,
to which there is not
a higher heaven.
"Which way I fly is hell
- myself am hell" is
a truer line than Milton

f338

[2]

ever wrote elsewhere.

And "the kingdom of
heaven is *within*" -

but we must make

it *without*, too, as

He did, - is one of the
divinest of Christ's
sayings.

You ask me what is to
be done with 35 South
St., for which (house)
I am deeply grateful
to you.

The Sutherlands have
no house yet - (they have
seen 69 houses) - I think they

f338v

may still fall back on
35 S. St. And as it
can't let at Michaelmas,
it makes no difference
to leave it open for
them. I don't think
they will settle nearer
London than Dulwich.
But, even there, is nothing
yet to be taken at
once.

No: I could make no
use of 35 (this in
answer to Parthe)
till I go into it. I
have never been
dressed (here) more than
I am, to sit up in bed.

f339

Even to go into a dressing=
room, if I have to
go out upon a stair
case, is often impossible
to me. To go out into
the street from one
house to the next
would be absolutely
& always impossible
to me. I never
go out of my front
door from the moment
I enter my house to
the moment I leave it.
Here I have not once
left my bedroom floor.
-- often not my bedroom
The house must be
kept, therefore, quite

f339v

irrespectively of me, from
the moment it becomes
yours. You will put
some one in to keep it. **[end 1:260]**
I *may*, in parting with
my present housemaid,
give her the option of
remaining in 35 to
keep the house; but
you will understand
that I have not as
yet given her warning.
So, for a month at
least, she will not
be available for 35,
even if she accepts --
which I don't expect.
It is impossible for *me*
to make any arrangements

f340

[3]

for 35 - [And, of this housemaid,
I will give you due
notice, if it comes to
pass.]

I stay on here from
day to day, from sheer
inability to get out of
bed. But I am most
anxious to get back
to London. (this in
answer to Mama's
kind wish that I
should stay here.)
I had made an
appointment with
an Indian in London
for next Monday, 18th.
And longer than

[1:260-61]**f340v**

*Monday week, 25th, I am
quite determined
not to stay here.
Besides which, I cannot
bear ~~having~~ the
expence of three
houses going on at
once.*

So much for the present.
Please God I will
write again.
Let this letter be for you
& yours only.
I assure you I treasure
yours as the greatest
of my treasures.

f341

Please tell Mama
that I have had
partridges & grapes
from Embley, for which
many thanks-
that I have had "no
"grouse from Scotland"
nor any "grouse" at
all this year.
I merely mention this,
because she desires me.
And, for the same reason,
I mention that the
"4 Lancets" have
never been found.
ever dear Pa
your loving child
F
Have you read Grote's

f341v

three Vols: of "Plato and
the companions of
Sokrates"? I should
much like to have
them to look over
again - if you have
them.

F.N.

Let me just say - I who
am much given, too
much given, to be,
instead of the "Lamb
of God", God's *wild*
beast - how nobly
Elinor has gone thru'
the 'agonizing' attendance
of the last 4 months-
& been a sister to *her* in
death.

ff342-42v LETTER TO WEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN **[3:376-77]**

1865? {IN PENCIL}

Dear Papa

I send you Jowett,
as you care about him.
But he says it is
to be 'private' - remember
that. I should like
to see my darling
Jowett in the naughty
women's lock=up
for 48 hours - not
more than that, I
think. It would make
an impression on the
Church. But I only
~~wd~~ regret their persecution,
because it is for so

f342v

little. *Unlike* Socrates,
I would die *guilty*,
while I was about it.
After all, what have
Colenso or Jowett
done towards the
knowledge of a perfect
God?

Savonarola is out.
Yes, I think Savonarola
did a good deal more
than these, towards the
love of a perfect God
caeteris paribus. He
was always, like his
mother city, a great
hero of mine. I don't think
we only want light but food too **[end 3:377]**

ff343-43v LETTER TO WEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN, blue pencil
[6:527-28]

Feb 26/66

Dear Papa

You know perhaps that "we" have entirely differed from the first with the Cattle Plague Commission And few things have I regretted so much than my inability (from over-work) to take an active part in it

Read what the Registrar Genl says of it in his Report in this day's Times. p. 7 "The Public Health in 1865."

Farther, he writes to me: --

"we have been saying a word or two about the cattle=panic & *fruitless* slaughter. xxx

"The panic would not have sprung up - if we had known more about the matter - & the cattle had been insured - on a plan I sent G. -- which he gave to Childers of the Treasury - where it

f343v

"was kept until the evil was done.
"He proposed to take the `premium"
" -- 5/ per head of cattle - & to pay nothing in return - unless the beast
"was slaughtered by order of Inspection."

Few things surprise me so much - this is F.N. -- as the way in which *men* AND women of my education & station - think it worth their while to tell you *anecdotes* - as, e.g. "this is a most unhealthy season" - "every body was in mourning at church last Sunday" -- or "so & so has lost 71 out of 72 cows". [Therefore (I suppose) only 1 cow is left in Great Britain/]

ever dear Pa

Your loving child

F

ff344-45v LETTER TO W.E. NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

Dec 17/66

35 South Street, {PRINTED address}

Park Lane

London, W.

Dear Papa

I referred Messrs.

[16:694]

Berthon & Lorhan's paper
enclosed to the General
Register Office. And you
will see what Dr. Farr
says (enclosed).

To which I will add: --
we should not admit the
Burial Board returns
as evidence of Death rate.

You may depend upon
the Registrar = Genl's figures.
Why? -- Because every thing
is taken into account.

f344v

And with a labour & trouble
little known outside
that office.

E.g. R. Catholics often
& Dissenters sometimes
take their dead to be
buried at a distance.

Such a vague statement
as that of Mr. Berthon's,
page 2., would never
be received.

I have known every
Death scrutinized at
a radius of 10 miles round
to ascertain the true
Death=rate of a sub=
district.

Again:-- the "sub-district"

f345

of the Registrar=Genl may not be the same as that of a corporate town. This will make a difference both in population & number of Deaths. I do not say that any of these things is the case with Romsey. I only give them as instances of the excessive care with which the Registrar Genl's returns are made. Again: inhabitants die in Hospitals & in Workhouses. All this is allowed for in Registrar= Genl's returns. Otherwise, all the deaths of Romsey people in

f345v

Winchester Hospl would be put down to Winchester. This, too, I ~~would~~ only give as an instance. You see what care has been taken about Romsey Workhouse in the Return.

Please return me Dr. Farr's letter - & the Romsey Return (Registrar Genl's) of which Mr. Taylor has already a copy.

[end]

ever dear Papa
your loving child
F.N.

I should be glad to hear anything about the "Henderson" foundation

ff348-49 LETTER TO WILLIAM EDWARD NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PENCIL

Good Friday/67 [19 April]

Dear Papa

I enclose the Extracts
(which are of course private)
that you wished to have
of our friend, our big Plato.
He is gone to Darmstadt.
In the same little M.S. book
of his thoughts, I saw
these words - writing of
the "future of the University",
& the "sort of mission" which
the "ordinary life" of a Professor
ought to be there - he gives as his aim
"Of those that thou gavest me I
have not lost one".

This day reminds me that [3:378-79]
I think religion immensely
fallen since the days of the

f348v

(so called) Mystics.

Of all the sermons that will
be preached to - day in all
sects & churches, of all
countries, called Christian -
not one will get beyond the
wounds, the "Passion" of Christ.

Now I find St. Teresa
saying, in her strong
picturesque language: --

"Notre Seigneur me dit: *que
ce n'était pas ces blessures
qui me devaient affliger
mais celles qu'on lui
faisait* PRÉSENTEMENTE."

So I think.
If instead of dwelling upon
those few hours of Passion,
interesting as they are, as

f349

if they were the only point
of interest in God's scheme
of Government - why not
look at the Passion which
God is undergoing, rather
undertaking, every hour,
every day, in every part
of the world? --

ever dear Pa
your loving child

F

[end 3:379]

ff350-51v LETTER TO WEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PENCIL [3:378-80]

May 7/67

35 South Street, {PRINTED address}
Park Lane,
London. W.

Dear Papa

I sent you the Edinburgh
(last box but one)

The article on *Ritualism*
is by Dr. Stanley - (Dean of
Westminster, I should call
him -) very good, much better
than his deeper writings.

I sent you (by last box)
Grove's Correlation & Continuity.
I marked one or two
passages at the end.
Tho' I think he very
properly repudiates the
question of "beginning", I

f350v

don't see that he makes
it much better by
substituting for it the
word "Continuity".

What do we - what can we
- know of either? -

You wrong me entirely
however by saying that
I think it no use
studying such books !!

on the contrary.

It is just such books
that I think we ought to
study.

[I have no time for them
- but that is nothing to the
purpose] What I do

f351

say is: - that, whereas the
whole question of the
government of God, the
character of God, the
~~nature~~ & laws of progress
of man, is under our
hands, our eyes, our
understandings, day &
night, year after year,
placed there expressly
by God *for our study*,
we literally know no
more about the moral
government of God, or
his character, (which is
the same thing,) than we
did in Socrates' time --
(& say we *can't* know
anything about it) while

f351v

we employ ourselves
about such ridiculous
questions as the *nature*
of God the Father, God
the Son, God the Holy Ghost
-- of the beginning & the
ending &c &c &c vide
all Bampton Lectures &c &c &c
==

I sent you Macmillan's
Magazine (by last box.)
The article on "*Social
Disintegration*" is the
first of a Series - which
was submitted to me in
its whole - very remarkable
-- I will tell you afterwards
by whom it is.
Please return it to me - I
keep the series.
ever dear Pa your loving child **[end 3:380]**

ff352-55v LETTER TO W.E. NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN

Oct 4/67

[6:430-32]

Dear Papa

I have been so pressed by
business that I have never
been able to answer your
question by Dr. Anstey whether
I "approved of his scheme"
to rule the new Workhouse
Infirmary by an Executive Committee of
3, taking these "from under
the control of the Guardians".

Before Dr. Anstey was or
Mr. Ernest Hart was at all,
we advocated the removal
of all Workhouse sick from
under the control of the Guardians
& placing them in suburban
Hospitals to be supported by
a Metropolitan rate.

I do not think 3 Governors
would answer at all. What I
proposed was one Executive
Officer who should be Chairman

Add Mss 45790

913

of a Committee, *not* to govern

f352v

but, (as our money is raised
by rates, & therefore there
must be a Financial Board),
to represent partly the
rate - payers & partly the
Poor Law Board.
As the whole of the vast
Hospitals at Paris are
managed (without a Board)
by one M. Husson (whom
I tried to introduce to you
- what *could* we want
with *three*? -- One Executive Chairman
(& at most a Deputy Chairman)
is all that is wanted --
the Board to be simply
for financial matters - not an
Executive at all. This scheme I believe we
should have carried (&
may one day carry) under
Mr. Villiers.
The present Metropolitan Poor
~~Bill~~ Act is, in many respects,

f353

actually worse than the
old system. But Mr.
Ernest Hart, because he had
been promoted by Govt
vouchsafed himself content
with it.
Did I think you were
sufficiently interested in it,
I would point out in what
~~points~~ respects it is worse than
the old state of things.
But it ~~MUST~~ bad to
better.
Hardy is one of those charlatans
whom all leading articles
consent to praise.

I always think of a friend
of mine who, hearing a
condemnation of centralization,

said: Gentlemen, *that* is
vestralization. Vestralization
is, when things have become
very bad, whenever you have
money to spare, to put them

f353v

right. Our idea is to prevent them from becoming bad at all.

You are quite right about Dr. Sutherland & the Govt and Malta. It was said, I discovered Royal Commissions. Because, in the two Royal Commissions which I worked, I never considered them concluded, till a thoroughly comprehensive organized system of proceeding had carried out all their recommendations. Things have been very different since Sidney Herbert died. Still, you will see we shall do something. In fact, it is that doing something which has prevented my coming to Lea Hurst or out of London.

f354

[2]

The only way I believe to teach paupers to support themselves would be what early Monasticism did - the Benedictines, & S. Bernard of Clairvaux. They set themselves down where every body robbed his neighbour. And they invited anybody to join them, who would undertake not only to obey - but to work & get others to work. [Clairvaux had all the elements of a Colony -- not only agriculture but carpentering, smith work &c &c &c besides learning.] The Monastic orders did this for every body. And

Add Mss 45790

917

every body learnt *except*

f354v

a remainder. The remainder
are the *paupers*.

Now, why does no one
teach *them* to work? -
No one even thinks of
that. It is only quite
lately that we have even
thought of teaching
pauper *children* to gain
their livelihoods.

As for the pulpit, it is **[4:497]**
no use looking to them
to preach. They have
not even agreed on the
first principles: - what
is love to God & love to
mankind? - Some preach
a strange doctrine about
saving the soul by the
Church - others by the
Atonement.

f355

"il faut sauver l'âme
par l'âme elle même"
says Plutarch.

M. Mohl says that we
are far behind Bouddha,
Confucius &c in real
Christianity.

And Mr. Jowett says
that we are behind
M. Antoninus, Plato,
Xenophon & Socrates.

When I read that Plutarch
denounces those who
threatened eternal punishments
beyond the grave - those
who, when they were
unfortunate, laid it
not at their own door
but at God's - [exactly
what we do now] - who said

f355v

that it was God who, to
 avenge Himself, brought
 these afflictions upon men
 [exactly what we say
 now] - those who
 "flattered" & "calumniated"
 God by turns - when,
 instead of doing our
 business for us, He
 maintains His general
 laws - [exactly the way we
 "flatter" & "blaspheme" now]
 when I read these things, I do
 indeed think that Plutarch,
 1800 years ago, was wiser
 than we - & a better Christian. **[end 4:497]**

f356 letter to W.E. Nightingale, Dear N [?] from 16 Wimpole St October 8
 [1867 arch] I beg to thank you very much for your kindness in speaking to
 Miss Nightingale about the view I hinted in the hurried conversation as to
 Poor Law matters which we had at the green. I am delighted to find so high
 an authority as Miss Nightingale so far agreeing with my own ideas as to
 approve the plan of a small but very highly skilled & paid executive.
 Whether there be only one, or two, individuals intrusted with the whole
 business is of course a mere matter of detail. The grand principle that the
 unskilled representatives of ratepayers should only deal with financial
 matters is what is so important. We will need all the influence of all the
 wisest and most trusted advisers of government to get ordinary statesmen to
 see the necessity of this innovation.

I enclose a few lines which I have ventured to address to Miss
 Nightingale on the subject. I should however be very sorry to trouble her,
 and if you think she would regard it as a worry pray put my note in the
 fire.

Believe me, dear Sir,
 yours faithfully
 Francis E. Anstie
 on back in WEN hand:

I have just seen Mrs Anstie (née Wass) pleased by your readiness to answer
 her husband's note. This induces me to send you the enclosed one to me
 [contd at front] of the same date as his letter to you.

ff358-59 LETTER TO ? HANDWRITTEN BY FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE PEN **[6:432]**

Oct 12/67

It was not at all a "worry"
 to me to have Dr. Anstie's

note - you were quite right there. And I shall answer it, as soon as I have a moment's time.

Otherwise I believe it to be a rule without any exception, if you are in direct communication with the Government, (as I was about the Poor Law,) not to intrigue or agitate 'au dehors'. And therefore I kept myself quite free from (& declined all invitations to join them of) the Association of which Dr. Anstie & Ernest Hart formed part. [But E. Hart is a bad one].

f358v

To return to Poor Law matters.
I hold that, without cant,
we should consider that
1. the same tie really connects
us to every one of our fellows
as the tie which connects
us with God.
2. that, to neglect or ill=use
the imbecile old woman,
the dirty child, is the
same crime of *lèse-majesté*
against the Almighty that
blasphemy of God is.
I think that love to mankind
ought to be our one principle
in the Poor Law - *not*
philanthropy - philanthropy
is the biggest humbug
I know - philanthropy is
to love of mankind what
Popery is to Christianity -
all parade.

f359

To follow out the principle,
I think (& I believe we have
led Mr. Villiers to think too)
that all paupers who can
move arm or leg can more
or less support themselves
-- that the first thing to do
is to remove all the sick,
the incapable, out of the
Workhouses, & to provide for
their *cure* or nursing in
Hospitals [a very great
part of that sickness
being the result of our
own sanitary neglects in
towns]
next, not to punish the
hungry for being hungry -
but to teach the hungry
to feed themselves.
This is the grand difficulty: --
statesmen fancy that it

Add Mss 45790

922

f359v

can be done by education,
by teaching the three r s
and the laws of nature.

Now, we know that some
of the greatest rascals are
those who knew the laws
of nature best.

We see America where
rascal dom has become
the form of government -
where every body knows
reading, 'riting & 'rithmetic
--& the fourth r - rascal=
dom - the result of the
three first.

The greatest sovereign, the
world ever saw, Charlemagne,
could not write his own
name - could not
read a letter.

ff360-61 LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN [1:187]

Oct 19/67

35 South Street, {PRINTED address}
Park Lane,
London, W.

Dearest Mum

I hope that you are not
much the worse ~~for wear~~ for your
journey.

A thousand thanks for the
beautiful flowers - made
more beautiful by the fact
that you picked them
yourself.

They carry me back to the
lovely Hurst. And I can
hardly believe that you
were walking on that
exquisite terrace the same
morning, where I have

f360v

not been for 11 years. Time
makes it seem as far off
as Scutari.

Mr. Jowett, whom I have
not seen for nearly 4
months, is coming tomorrow
(Sunday) to give me the
Sacrament. I trust
that my dearest Mum
will feel able to join
us.

He will sleep *to - night*
at 32, "partly in the hope",

361

he says, of finding you
there. [I had asked
him before.] He will
not come till half past
ten tonight - & will
leave tomorrow afternoon.

I am afraid he
comes up mainly for
us - as he is too
busy to stay over
Sunday night

ever dearest Mum

Your loving child

F

ff362-63 letter by WEN from Embley

The universal philanthropist C.H. Bracebridge bid me last week write to Lord Belper to beg him to vote for a protégé as House Surgeon at the Derby Infirmary & the Peer (as you will be on the side) goes out of his way a little to shew that he disapproves of the "new building". I suppose he means the Nightingale Wing. (I enclose documents) at all events he puts us on our guard as to Frank Wright's proceedings - whether if Lord Belper or Wright is the safer man, I for one cannot say, but the former has the character of a very practical man. Adieu WEN

f363 copy

"A majority of the governors having adopted some schemes for the enlargement of the building which I think rather ill considered, I have stated my opinion on the subject & I leave it to those who propose & support them to undertake the responsibility & trouble of carrying them into effect."

f363v HANDWRITTEN Note BY FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE PENCIL on back of letter,
copy of letter of WEN to Lord Belper 1867 re Poor Law

[Nov. 1, 1867]

It was exactly because Wright
did not hold the views
expressed in Ld Belper P.L. -
that the Hospital has succeeded

And there is no doubt
that all the people who
have been defeated consider
the plans very bad

And,

It is just because Wright has
acted "without judgement" i.e. without Ld B's
that he has carried the day judgement
for the best Hospital
improvements that could
be effected under the
circumstances.

How savage Ld Belper is Galton
admits that Wright has acted without judg

ff364-64v LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PENCIL

List of F.N.'s little works
offered to her dearest mother

[1:187-88]

London 2 Nov 1867

- | | |
|---|------|
| 1. R. Indian Sanitary Report | |
| 2 Blue Books | 1863 |
| x2. Army Mortality Diagrams | |
| lilac folio 1 Vol | 1858 |
| x3. Contribution to Sanitary History | |
| green folio 1 Vol | 1859 |
| x4. <i>Confidential</i> Report | |
| 2 lilac Vols (1 thick & 1 thin - 8 vo) | 1858 |
| [These are <i>really</i> confidential] | |
| x5. Native Colonial Schools & Hospitals | 1863 |
| 1 pamphlet | |
| x6. Lord Herbert's Army Sanitary administration | 1862 |
| 1 thin pamphlet. | |
| x7. How people may live & not die in India | 1863 |
| 1 thin pamphlet | |
| x8. International Statistical Congress paper | 1860 |
| (thin) blue 4 vo pamphlet | |
| x9. the same in French | |
| pink - 4 vo pamphlet | 1860 |
| x10. How people may live & not die in India | 1864 |
| the same as 7. | |
| reprinted with a Preface | |

f364v

- | | | |
|----------------|--|------|
| x11 | <i>Notes on Hospitals</i> | 1863 |
| | 1 small 4 to | |
| x12 | <i>Notes on Nursing</i> | 1860 |
| | 1 vol 8 vo | |
| x13. | Observations (on Sanitary state) India | 1863 |
| | 1 red Vol 8 vo | |
| x14. | Suggestions on Workhouse Nursing | 1867 |
| | (written by desire of Poor Law Board) | |
| | 1 folio pamphlet | |
| x15. | Method of improving Hospital Nursing | 1867 |
| | an abridgement of above | |
| | 1 folio paper | |
| Una & the Lion | | |
| | "Good Words" for June | 1868 |

ff365-66v LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

Ap 25/ 68

[1:191]

35 South Street, {PRINTED address}
Park Lane,
London. W,

Dearest Mum

I meant to write to you a long letter. But, as usual, I have not half got thru' each day's work, before time & strength comes to an end.

Revd Mother of Bermondsey, has been very ill - & tho,' thank God, she is better - yet she does not at all recover her strength or appetite. She liked some *Orange Jelly* which was sent me from Embley two or three weeks ago better than anything else. And, since then, I have been supplying her with Orange Jelly & other things from Gunter's.

If, by Tuesday's box, Mrs. Watson could send some more

f365v

Orange Jelly for her - & also
are there not
nourishing things like
Arrowroot Blancmange or
Rice Blancmange ?--
we should be very much obliged.

She was delighted with
some flowers I sent her from
Embley.

I should be glad to tell you
more about Bunsen's Life -
but, tho' it was sent me 3
weeks ago, I have not had
time to look thro' even, much
less to read more than half a Vol.=

It is interesting to me as an
Almanac would be to a person
who had been present at
all the events & dates.

But I see no reason to alter,

f366

but on the contrary great reason
to be confirmed in, the
opinion that all these
things being published
only tend to lower the
public's general opinion
of the person treated of -
& that the publishing of
private letters not only
is a treachery & a theft
but a treachery & a theft
which recoils upon the
head of the very memory,
so sacred, which they
are meant to exalt.

I have always steadily
refused to give up to
dear Mme Bunsen, to Lady
Richardson, to Mrs. Herbert
&c &c - the letters I have
from their husbands.

VAnd, if I thought that
letters in my possession were

f366v

to be given up after my
 death, I would destroy
 every letter I have at
 once.

And I would never write
 another.

In these days, EVERY letter is
private; because public
 news is given in the newspapers.
 It was quite different in Madame
 de Sévigné's days.

ever, dearest Mum

Your loving child

F.

I am afraid poor dear Bismark
 has not been heard of.

ff368-72 LETTER TO WILLIAM EDWARD NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PENCIL,
 black-edged paper, pale gray

Dear Papa

I sent you a Cheque (to order)
 for £10 for the Embley Meat
 by last letter.

`Did it not `come to hand?'

I own myself to be so completely
 at a loss when people use
 such expressions as "the wheel
 of fortune", and "man's fate
 "being turned indiscriminately(?)
 "round & round" - that I
 never know what to say.

Because, either one believes in
 God or one does not.

Are we savages & Pagans -
 or are we not?

~~Because~~ Even Homer's times
 did not believe in the "Wheel
 of Fortune".

[3:385-87]

f368v

If, we are to go back to the times before Homer, or out into the African tribes of Sir S. Baker, then let us begin at the beginning & reason out the whole thing from the first.

But don't let us say -- "I believe in God" & then talk about "indiscriminate fate".

Of course, if I believed in "indiscriminate fate", I should go at once & hang myself. Because I have actually nothing to support myself by except by the belief in God.

The only woman is taken & who could (apparently) carry out the Workhouse Infirmary reform.

the only man has been taken

f369

who could (apparently) carry out the War Office reform -

the only Minister has been taken (Cavour) who could (apparently) carry out Italy's reform.

if I believed these things were done by "indiscriminate fate", of course I should have nothing to do but to do like Judas - since I may say that I betrayed two of these to their "fate". [As for Agnes Jones, I sent her like Iphigeneia to her sacrifice.]

I always feel that I *don't* believe what I say I believe, because if I really believed

f369v

what I say, viz. that God is bringing every one of mankind to perfection, & that every one of His laws is adapted in its minutest particular to this end, i.e. perfect happiness - of course I should be perfectly happy

But I can still less suppose that men believe what they say when they talk about "indiscriminate fate" and "Fortune's wheel" - because I really don't see what there is then to prevent them from going & committing suicide at once - even if they are much less sufferers than I am.

f370

[2]

In your previous letter, about "Trust" & "Faith", which I enclose. I don't object to the word "Faith" - [I do object to the word "Hope", which it seems to me is a stupid virtue.] I only take the word "Trust", because it has been less abused than "Faith", & because I think it means something very definite, (not at all what you ascribe to it.)

If, as the writer to the Hebrews tells us, "Faith is the evidence of things not seen, the substance of things hoped for" - then I entirely agree - I think that definition perfect. And I will use the word "Faith".

f370v

But I have been accustomed
to apply the word "Trust"
to that state of mind -
i.e. that "Trust" (or "Faith")
finds sufficient "evidence"
(as to the character of God)
to shew her - not that the
thing she "hopes" for will
come to pass - but that the
thing which does come to pass
- brought to pass by *God's* laws,
not by "indiscriminate fate" --
is *the very best* that could
have happened to her & to
the world, to bring them to
perfection.

Surely this is a matter
susceptible (not of proof
but) of ever-increasing
"evidence" - a thing which *is* to be
"mastered" by our "faculties"

f371

I don't *want* to "hope". To
"hope" for a thing, of which I can't
possibly know whether it
will ever come to pass, is
a stupid thing to do.

To hope that *the best thing*
will come to pass, because
of the ("evidence" we have
already as to the) character
of God, is not "hope" at all
- but "trust" I "trust" (or believe), not that
what I wish for will be done, but that what will be done
is best.

But, if you like to call
this - "faith" - (only that the
word has been so prostituted
by Christians), I also like the
word.

"I give thee joy! O *faith=ful* word!"
says Clough in the most
striking lines he ever wrote.

f371v

"I give thee joy! O *faith*=ful
word".

And then, in 3 lines, he goes
on to describe the "martyr"
breathing out "his last sigh"
"in *ignominious*" death",
believing his work to have
"failed" - and he says: -
"I give thee joy! O not in vain"
&c &c

[I would give you the lines,
but Parthe has got both my
Vols: of Clough, & does not
return them.]

So do I say - "Shall give thee joy"
that *is* a "faith"=ful word
Tho' the Workhouse work seems
to have failed, that "word"
"shall give thee joy".
Tho' the War Office work
seems to have failed, that

f372

[3]

word "shall give thee joy".

Tho' the Italian Kingdom
seems to have failed, that
word "shall give thee joy".

"*Shall give thee joy!* O NOT IN VAIN!

Why? -- Because we
believe in God. That is "Faith"
indeed. **[end 3:387]**

ever dear Pa
your loving child
F.

Beatrice gave me hopes that
you were coming *this*
Saturday. I wish it could
have been so - as this next
Sunday is a tolerably open
day with me.

FN

ff373-74 LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN, pale blue
paper

Mrs N. is {IN PENCIL}
June 22/68
35 South Street {PRINTED address}
Park Lane,
W.

Dearest Mum

You have kindly asked
me several times "when I
"meant to go away for rest
"& change of air". "And
"where"?

I think it possible that
I may be able to go away
this day fortnight, July 6 -
partly because I am so ill.
And of course I should go,
wherever my dearest Mum is.

If you intend to go to
Lea Hurst, I would go there
-- which would set this
house at liberty for you,

f373v

as No 32 will not be
empty till the end of
July. But I hope for
my sake you would not
make a long stay in
London *then*, as I cannot
be sure of many weeks
at Lea Hurst.
If on the other hand you
think you shall remain
at Embley altogether, then
I would come straight
to Embley as soon as
I leave this.
Of course I never can be
certain of the exact time

f374

I shall be able to leave
London.
And of course I depend
upon no one knowing when
& where I go - as this is
the only way of getting
any rest for me.
About going to Lea Hurst
or Embley, *pray* do not
say: -`do as you like'.
What I like is to go
wherever you are or like
best to be.
dearest Mum
ever your loving child
F
I shall be obliged to ask for
Watson for the journey, whenever
it is. please.

f375 {ENVELOPE} HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

Mrs. Nightingale
Embley
Romsey

f376 LETTER OF BENJAMIN JOWETT TO Frances N. dated July 1868

Freshwater I of Wight [printed address]

Rectory, Devonshire Square

Bishopsgate, N.E.

Dear Mrs Nightingale

I saw Miss Nightingale yesterday-She appeared to me to be very much broken down & depressed.

I am not an alarmist about her; nor do I think that there is any immediate danger. But I am convinced that she cannot go on much longer

v
in her present pursuits unless she can be pressured to take two or three months rest in the year & that she might break down finally at any time

I begged her to go to Lea Hurst & she seemed to fancy this-But I found that she held fast to one objection which was that she feared you would not be there. Otherwise I think that she might be persuaded to go down with Mr Nightingale next week. For she says

f377

that she is doing no good
in London.

Could you hope to meet
her there? Please not
to let her know at all
that I have written to
you. I dare say you
know that with all her
strength of mind she is
very helpless in matters
which nearly concern
herself.

Since I have known her
I have a great interest
about her & a great wish
that her valuable life
should be prolonged.

v

This makes me humbl
y write these few lines
She can do everything for
others & nothing for
herself & therefore we
who are her friends
ought to take care of
her:

With most high regards
to Mr Nightingale
Believe me Dear Mrs
Nightingale
Ever yours truly
B. Jowett

ff378-78v LETTER TO WILLIAM EDWARD NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN
election of 1868 {IN PENCIL]

[Nov 1868?] {IN PENCIL]
35 South Street {PRINTED address}
Park Lane
W.

Dear Papa

Surely this Election is the most
glorious event of our Parliamentary
history the grandest story of our times.
[And this, tho' many of the men I cared
most for have lost their Elections]
There is a backbone of common sense
in our people, which carries us thro'
all our difficulties. Here are above
a million, who come forth untried
by experience, tried by every kind of
sophistry & cry, & say " we will not
have Radicals - we will not have
extreme men of any kind - we will
have the real men - we are
'constitutionalists', not of D'Israeli's? sort.
I think we have reason to be proud of
our good old country. God bless her!
And I am glad to have lived to see this
day.
D'Israeli might however very plausibly say
'when the opposition proposed reform,

f378v

half ran into the cave, half voted against
their leaders. We had confidence in the
people. Here is the result. Why do
you turn us out?

ff379-80v LETTER TO WEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN [3:388-89]

35 South Street, Jan 10/69
Park Lane {PRINTED address}
W.

Dear Papa

I remember your saying (at
Lea-Hurst) "I can't bear the words:
'the truth'."

I had a letter (in 1864) from
Mr. Jowett on this subject
which I have only just been
able to find - & knowing
you like quotations better
than my words, I give
his. He says: --

"I sometimes think that the
state of religion in England
gets worse & worse. *The
very idea of 'the truth'
is becoming ridiculous* --
& more & more, religious
teaching is losing its

f379v

"moral character. The two
"great parties which
really could say "Rise
up & walk' in the last
generation hardly
have any moral purpose
at all. The effervescence
of their spirituality has
passed away - & cunning
& activity & political
tactics have filled up
the vacuum. Build
Churches, fill them with
low Church Ministers,
or set up the authority
of the Church - that is
the great end. One
healing word of the evils

f380

"of mankind - *one voice*
in behalf of truth
among the so-called
orthodox clergy I
cannot hear. I am
much afraid that the
Established Church
which has many
advantages rather
increases the evil -
you have not the
chances of Dissent.

x x x x

*"The doubtful points of
fact & doctrine in
Christianity should
drop off of themselves.*
Unitarianism & German
theology have both of
them in different ways
a zeal for criticism &
for truth which is very
commendable. But

f380v

*"neither of them have
ever found a
substitute for that
which they were
displacing. They have
never got hold of the
heart of the world.
The attempt to shew
the true character
of the Pentateuch &
the Gospel History
is very important
negatively. But it
does nothing towards
reconstructing the
religious life within
us".*

I agree with every word of this. **[end 3:389]**

ever dear Pa
your loving child
F.

ff381-81v LETTER TO WILLIAM EDWARD NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

35 South Street, Jan 24/69

Park Lane, {PRINTED address}

W.

Thanks for the "wuts" - &
particularly for the roots
of "snow-drop- that's for
"remembrance". They have
been planted in a pot -
& look as fresh & sweet
in this muddy East wind
fog as tho' on their
native hills.

Yes: please, I should like
"wuts" every Thursday
while you stay.

Thanks, too, for your
encouragement about my

f381v

"reflections" on the Religion
of Philosophy or the
Philosophy of Religion.

I shall lay it to heart &
perhaps do more.

In great press of business -
so no more at present
from your

F

ff382-83v PART OF A LETTER TO WILLIAM EDWARD NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN
PEN [2] [To W.E.N.?] {IN PENCIL]

performing this week at the
India Office (which is
moving into its new
House):- a thing to be
performed once in a
century only. But a
much better thing for
them than for me, since
they confess themselves
it was necessary to
compel them to bring
some order into their papers.
I wish I had a Milton. [I so
much miss having no
standard books]. Since
you quote Lycidas to me, I
will quote Samson Agonistes
(?) to you.

f382v

"Eyeless in Gaza, *in the mill*
with slaves."
Since I have lived looking
on the Park, & seen those
people making their
"trivial round", or rather
their tread= mill round,
blind slaves to it, I have
scarce ever had that line
out of my head. It will
be a material alleviation
to me, if I have to spend
September in London, that
the "mill" is gone. Also,
tho' my whole life is laid
out to secure it against
interruptions, no one could
believe how much it is
interrupted. And September

f383

diminishes this. The *beggars*
are out of town.

I send you another quotation: -

*"I ask no heaven till earth be
thine*

"Nor glory=crown while work of mine

*"Remaineth here; when earth shall
shine*

"Among the stars,

"Her sins wiped out, her captives free,

"Her voice a music unto thee

*"For crown, new work give thou
to me*

"Lord, here am I."

I found this in an intensely
Evangelical Baptist
American's work - a
Lecture which he had
delivered upon me,

f383v

(publishing, as Americans
always do, a letter I had
written to him).

Now those lines appear
to me exactly true - and
an extraordinary advance
in the way of truth on
English Evangelicalism -
who banish work, like
sin, from "heaven" - &
who have no idea that
heaven is to be made
out of earth by us.

Ask Aunt Mai!

Nay, it strikes me that all truth lies between
go on to p.3

ever dear Pa

Your loving child

F.N.

ff384-84v LETTER TO WILLIAM EDWARD NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

Dear Papa I send you a letter just received
from Jowett, which please return to me.
And my answer to Jowett, which
please forward, as soon as read.

I am so weary of hearing people say
(Not that Jowett does) that God's character
is beyond our power to study.

2260 years ago, Socrates said this
of Astronomy - that it was a mystery,
not intended by the Gods for our study.

We have conquered astronomy.
And now I hear people repeating it,
argue ad nauseam, about God's
character - never thinking that they
are aping Socrates, speaking about a thing
which *they* have introduced into
children's school books.

f384v

I think they must mean that we cannot study God's *nature*, in which I should entirely agree . Yet they write Libraries upon His nature, which is certainly insoluble. And check you if you say a word about His character.

Kant & Milton did much mischief in this way. And I think Kant & Milton so superficial.

F.N.

I have sent my parcel direct to Sheffield. Please give your one, *removing the cover*, to Miss Hall. Miss Hall is one of the cleverest women & most enlightened nurses I know. She had no grain of principle, no atom of truth. Else she might have been of great use as one of my Officers. If you give her my parcel, you must give it in my name.

F385 blue paper printed London and South Western Railway 19 Novbr 1872 the Station Master begs to inform Mr Nightingale that the rhododendrons will leave to be forwarded illegs

f387 and f388 printed forms Hudnred Weighing Eng 20th Novbr 1872
f389 telegram fromMr WE Nightingale Goods Departmetn Nov 20 1872 to the London and South Western Railway company. Plants....

F390 blue envelope WEN hand
Miss Nightingale